



# Commonwealth Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs

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## **CURRENT AND EMERGING GENDER ISSUES IN THE MULTILATERAL TRADING SYSTEM**

### **1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND**

1. Poverty reduction is central to meeting all the goals and targets of international development programmes and commitments, including gender equality and the economic empowerment of women and men. The common and acceptable international framework for measuring progress and ensuring successful achievement is the universal consensus developed around the recently launched Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

2. Undeniably, a key factor in determining what serious steps can be taken for poverty reduction and ultimately the successful achievement of the MDGs is the extent to which developing countries are relieved of the stranglehold of external debt services, in a context which provides continuous access to a generous (as opposed to predatory or pecuniary) flow of foreign capital. This should include carefully regulated international lending directed at development and not simply at debt repayment. But another critical element is related to the careful sequencing, structuring and management of trade policy. In this context the manner and nature of trade negotiations undertaken at multilateral level, which is the template for national trade policy reformulation, has significant implications for the lives of children, women and men, especially those living in poverty or vulnerable to falling into poverty in Commonwealth developing countries.

3. Trade liberalisation, while promoted as a key model for development, has no built-in mechanism to ensure it has a positive effect on poverty reduction, or to pre-warn when the impacts and effects are likely to be counter-productive to development. Even though, within the framework of a poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP), the prioritising of the objectives and targets of macroeconomic policies, including trade policies, leaves much to be desired, the trade liberalisation agenda has even less flexibility than the PRSP for assessing how policy variables will impact on social infrastructure such as health care, and access to water and energy.

4. Undeniably, trade liberalisation generates changes in the domestic economy and on economic and social development. Conventional wisdom presupposes that the effects are always unambiguously positive for development as well as poverty reduction within and across countries. Conventional wisdom also assumes that the outcomes of trade liberalisation are equally beneficial to men and women or, at least, are gender neutral.

5. However, trade liberalisation has specific economic (including consumption, production and fiscal revenue) effects, political (power and governance dynamics) and social (poverty and equity) effects, which can impact on the already tenuous and often

unequal situation of women vis-à-vis men in terms of access to land, credit, training and technology, and in terms of domestic and household responsibilities. Trade liberalisation, therefore, raises the issue of how female and male economic actors are faring with regard to changes in a trade policy regime oriented towards the reduction and elimination of import barriers.

6. Since the Uruguay Round of global trade negotiations, concerns have been voiced by a number of inter-governmental organisations, research organisations and gender and development advocates about how global trade negotiation, and the resulting changes in trade policy, impact on the commitments of governments to gender equality (inscribed in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [CEDAW], the Beijing Platform of Action and Beijing Plus Five). The process of engendering trade agreements has been given much impetus with the Doha Development Agenda (DDA) proclaimed by the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) held at Doha in 2001.

7. The DDA attempted to make development the centrepiece of WTO trade negotiations. It included a declaration that the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) agreement does not prevent governments from fulfilling their public health responsibilities by reaffirming their rights to override the agreement and breach patents on medicines and pharmaceuticals. Governments, in the public interest and with attention to specific stipulations of the agreement, can authorise the production of such patented products without the permission of the patent holder.<sup>1</sup> The DDA also promised stronger commitments on agricultural liberalisation (in the form of 'substantial improvement on market access, the phasing out of all forms of export subsidy, and substantial reduction in domestic support' [para. 13]). This would help to reduce the level of dumping of subsidised (via export credit and food aid) food exports from the European Union (EU) and the United States in developing countries. Doha further promised that non-trade concerns such as animal welfare, bio-diversity protection, employment, environment and food security would be taken into account for the first time in the agricultural negotiations.

8. Though gender was not explicitly listed as one of the non-trade concerns, the opening up of the debate in this area made room for gender to be integrated as a crosscutting theme. Women's and men's different orientation and different access to food security, essential public services and good environment have significant impacts for how trade liberalisation policy works its way through the economy. It also may help to explain the wide divergence between the overwhelming positive expectations of trade openness and the disappointing results that some developing countries have experienced. Clearly, trade openness has not been the deliverer of poverty reduction in many Commonwealth developing countries.

9. These tensions and dilemmas around the gaps between expectations and outcomes of trade liberalisation need to be reconciled. But the continuous WTO trade negotiations agenda, as well as the attempts by the rich countries to speed up the pace of liberalisation (including attempts to widen and deepen its scope into the so-called Singapore issues of competition policy, government procurement, investment and trade facilitation) are making it even more difficult to resolve these tensions. In addition, the failure of the rich governments themselves to vigorously pursue agriculture liberalisation as well as to faithfully and fervently implement the liberalisation they have proposed for developing countries within their own trade policy, make it increasingly likely that the gap between expectations and results will continue to widen. All this has made gender and trade advocacy even more imperative.

10. The Singapore issues, along with the negotiations in the areas of agriculture and services, are significant for women in their multiple roles as caretakers, workers and business owners. (See Annex I for a short review of the gender dimensions of these sectoral issues.)

## **2 GENDER, TRADE AND TRADE LIBERALISATION**

11. From a gender perspective, there are many positive and negative effects of trade liberalisation. On the positive front, trade liberalisation can stimulate increased employment for some groups of women and men. It can also provide opportunities for entrepreneurship and sustainable livelihoods, access to resources and technology, and access to overseas markets.

12. But trade liberalisation, if not properly managed, can result in decreased access to affordable food, shelter, and basic services and livelihoods. This can impact more harshly on women because of gender roles. For instance, the negative effects of trade liberalisation have outweighed the positive effects for some Kenyan women. Increased food imports and dumping, coupled with increases in the price of farm inputs, have left women worse off than they were in 1981. As a result, many women cannot afford adequate chemicals and fertilisers.

13. Women farmers and entrepreneurs comprise a large proportion of small and medium enterprise holders (SMEs), who cannot compete with highly subsidised goods produced by giant multinationals in the developed countries, and consequently can lose markets and their livelihoods. Some rural women in Kenya, under structural adjustment programmes, were integrated into micro enterprise in village markets where they bought and sold farm products like milk, maize, beans and vegetables. While some have managed to increase incomes others have not. In addition, women-owned and other SMEs are likely to be unfavourably affected by changes in investment regimes that preclude governmental use of performance requirements on foreign direct investment.

14. Finally, given existing gender dynamics around property rights and access to knowledge, information and technology, women are more likely than men to be disadvantaged by changes in the intellectual property rights regime, the theft of biodiversity, and the misappropriation of traditional (communal) knowledge and property – through marketisation, privatisation and monopolisation. Women rely intensively on the use of natural and genetic resources. It has also been noted that when women have access to fertilisers and training, they often achieve higher yields than men do. The World Bank notes that women farmers in Kenya could increase yields by 9-24 per cent if they had the same experience, input and education as men.

### **Gender analysis and the political environment of trade negotiations**

15. In terms of impact on the policy space/environment of gender and trade, the strengths here are threefold:

- i. the intervention of highly recognised and influential players among gender and trade advocates;
- ii. the slow and incremental exposure of the WTO and trade officials to the gender equality dimension of trade; and
- iii. the growing influence of women's and feminist groups on gender and trade.

16. Over the last eight years, well-known international institutions have increasingly turned their attention to gender and trade. National women's machineries, such as Status of Women Canada, and research-based institutions, such as the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Canada, are becoming engaged in gender and trade work.

There is also now the intervention of inter-governmental organisations (IGOs) such as the United Nations Committee for Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the Commonwealth Secretariat. UNCTAD, which was one of the first IGOs to host an expert group meeting on the subject of Gender and Trade (1999), is now the focal point of the UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Gender and Trade. This is part of the UN Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality, and its ultimate objective is 'to sensitise agencies within and outside the UN system, as well as governments on issues/policies identified by the Task Force, and possibly to develop technical assistance activities in this area'.

17. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) have both issued gender policy statements and Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) has established gender focal points. In addition, many other regional trade and trade-related organisations are also increasingly focusing on gender and trade. In this regard, regional trade organisations, in partnership with UN bodies such as the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and UNCTAD, are themselves initiating meetings, consultations and seminars on gender and trade. For example, the workshops of UNIFEM/UNECA and the Network of African Women Economists (NAWE) on gender perspective on macroeconomics have included one devoted to gender and trade liberalisation, and another on engendering economic partnership agreements which was held in Dakar in 2003. National governments, for example in India and Cambodia, are also themselves organising symposia on trade, globalisation and gender, as well as encouraging economists to utilise gender analysis in examining how trade liberalisation is impacting on women workers. Another notable example of government involvement in this area is the formation of an expert group on gender and trade to advise the United Kingdom's Department of Trade and Industry.

18. The Commonwealth Secretariat has organised three international workshops with policy makers, national women's machineries and trade negotiators on the subject of gender and trade (e.g. Fiji Islands 2002 and Geneva 2003). In addition, the Commonwealth Secretariat has produced a handbook on gender mainstreaming in the multilateral trading system (MTS). Other international agencies concerned with the importance of global trade rules and the workings of the MTS on gender are the ILO, which has for sometime now been involved in exploring the impact of global production processes on women workers, and the International Trade Centre, which is exploring the impact of trade rules on women entrepreneurs. In addition, the Commonwealth Business Women's Network has also begun to explore gender, trade and SMEs. (For more on these and other such efforts, see Annex II).

19. Along with the interventions of IGOs interested in the gender equality dimensions of the multilateral trading system, the subject is also slowly making its way into the WTO orbit. The subject of gender and development/trade was a major subject area for the first time at the WTO annual public symposium in June 2003. The Director General of the WTO, who was the keynote speaker at the plenary entitled *Women as Economic Players in Sustainable Development*, acknowledged by his presence and in his remarks the importance of women's contribution to development and global trade. In addition, the women ambassadors of the WTO were actively involved in bringing the event to the organisation. At the same time, there is a strong and controversial debate, being led by a few European-based philanthropic organisations and some women's organisations, on the appropriate modalities for the mainstreaming of gender into the WTO institutional and decision-making process.

20. Since the Uruguay Round, global trade negotiations have become a key strand of the organising and monitoring activities of many women's organisations and feminist economists, including the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action

(CAFRA), Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), Women Development Organisation (WEDO), Network Women in Development Europe (WIDE), the Asia Gender and Trade Network (AGTN), NAWA and the International Gender and Trade Network (IGTN). These groups have paid particular attention to the negotiation processes at country and regional levels, in Geneva, and at the premier decision-making forums of WTO, the Ministerial Conferences, from Singapore to Cancun. In recent times, larger membership organisations such as the Association for Women's Rights and Development (AWID) and the Women's Edge Coalition have also taken on the WTO trade agenda debate. In addition, large development NGOs such as Christian Aid and Oxfam are including gender and trade in their agendas.

21. However, there are ostensibly at least four main weaknesses in the political process of incorporating a gender perspective into the multilateral trade system.

22. First, the focus on gender and trade, though growing, is still relatively small and often tends to be segregated within the larger programmes of the institutions discussed above. For the most part, efforts at exploring the links between gender and trade are maintained within the gender and social manpower areas, without much linkage to the major economic analysis divisions of these institutions. In addition, trade negotiators tend to be resistant to the idea of gender, because many do not understand gender nor how it fits analytically into their negotiating mandate. To some extent this signals a failure of gender mainstreaming

23. Second, many negotiators worry that gender may become another political football which is used by the major powers to further circumscribe national policy-making. This reaction also appears to be symptomatic of a lack of understanding, and the perpetuation of misconceptions, about gender. Many trade negotiators will argue that trade is 'gender neutral' or 'gender blind', so trying to incorporate gender is adding yet another variable to an already crowded agenda. In any event, they argue that trade will benefit or hurt everyone – poor people, farmers, workers – the same. However, they fail to recognise that trade policy analysis almost universally assumes the perspectives and concerns of the male gender. There is also an implicit assumption by economic decision-makers that the adjustment cost that is necessitated by trade policy reform will be borne by women, who will adjust their time and energy in accordance with the effects of liberalisation on household budgets, employment and community services.

24. A third area of weakness in the political acceptance of gender and trade is that national women's machineries, with only a few exceptions, do not seem to be well informed about the application of gender analysis to trade. They, therefore, are not able to make appropriate interventions into national trade policy decision-making and mandates. This is a continuation of the macro-policy analysis deficit within gender mainstreaming.

25. The fourth weakness when it comes to gender is that in the trade policy environment, as with much macro-policy decision making, final results exhibit what Helen Derbyshire has identified as 'policy evaporation of gender priorities'<sup>ii</sup> and the lack of follow through.

26. Opportunities for better integration of a gender perspective into the trade policy space are at least fourfold, as follows:

- i. the emergent work of UNCTAD, other IGOs, and national level efforts, and in the direct WTO environment;
- ii. social and gender impact assessments;
- iii. the regional trade arrangements; and
- iv. NGO activities.

27. To the extent that UNCTAD/the UN Task Force and the Commonwealth Secretariat can deepen and broaden their sensitisation efforts among member governments, this will open up the political space at many levels. The possibility of more seminars on gender at WTO-sponsored events makes it more likely that trade ministers and trade negotiators will have exposure to the subject matter. More co-ordination and deepening relationships between national women's machineries and national trade policy-making decision makers (ministries of trade, ministries of finance, ministries of commerce, permanent secretaries and national parliaments) will also facilitate greater openness towards the consideration of the gender equality dimensions of trade.

28. The responses of some Northern governments, such as members of the EU, to claims by civil society about the negative impacts of trade liberalisation on key areas of economic development in many Commonwealth countries have led to the emergence of social impact assessments (SIAs) of trade policy. However, developing countries have not paid much attention to this for their national economies. At the same time, gender advocates have been creating their own methodologies for gender impact assessments (GIAs) of trade policy. SIA/GIA, though still at an experimental stage, are gaining currency among some policy makers. More utilisation of these methodologies will help trade policy makers to speak credibly about the developmental impacts of trade, as well as to define more clearly trade positions, technical assistance and capacity building programmes.

29. Some regional trade arrangements have developed gender policy statements (for example SADC and COMESA). Others are strengthening or incorporating gender mainstream tools and processes (APEC). At present the focus of regional trading organisations are broadly on gender and development or in the well-accepted area of gender, science and technology. But over time more attention is being paid to gender and trade, even if the initial entry point is via women SMEs. As these processes develop, they present the possibility for opening much broader awareness, dialogue and action on the gender equality dimension of trade agreements.

30. Threats to gender and trade at the political level are:

- i. the high potential for making gender an instrument to promote trade liberalisation by, for example, perpetuating the myths of unambiguous benefits for women; and
- ii. the potential for the misuse of gender and gender mainstreaming by rich countries in such a way that it becomes a controversial and discredited idea.

31. This could happen, for example, if gender is promoted as a clause or conditionality and hence ends up in the same vein as the social or labour clause debates. Clearly, there are very real concerns about extending the power of the WTO into areas beyond its mandate and giving it even more control over the policy making of developing countries.

32. A third threat to the political operationalisation of gender and trade is the overwhelming nature of the multiple and highly involved trade negotiation agenda in which many governments are already involved. The danger here is that developing country negotiators are already out of their depth in trying to understand the minutiae of a multitude of issues. So gender analysis needs to be integrated in a very user-friendly and value-added way.

### **Gender analysis of the content of trade liberalisation/trade agreements**

33. As noted above, there is an ongoing process of deepening the activities of gender and trade advocacy in terms of analysis, research and policy interventions on the trade agenda from a gender-analytical perspective. The future development of gender analysis should include:

- i. the ongoing work focused on case studies and country level research by women's groups and other NGOs;
- ii. the potential of IGOs such as UNCTAD and the Commonwealth Secretariat to extend their analysis of gender equality in the context of trade into the 'hard' areas of investment, competitiveness and the work of the various, trade policy boards, etc; and
- iii. the work of UN agencies such as the FAO in the area of agriculture/food security.

34. In addition, the legitimacy of gender as a critically important analytical and policy variable in economics and economic policy analysis has been consolidated in the work of the World Bank and of feminist economists. The World Bank's publication on Engendering Development (2001), two volumes of the World Development Journal devoted to the subject matter and the gender chapter of the World Bank's Sourcebook for PRSP have provided a solid background for leveraging the analysis on gender and trade.

35. Another potential tool for advancing the analytical work, and hence generating more research and policy outputs, are the many studies on gender and export-oriented models, and on gender and foreign direct investment. Moreover, the developing work by feminist economists on gender and fiscal policy, which has paralleled the practical application of women's budget projects, could be a useful base for examining the trade dimension of the fiscal budget.

36. Finally, the empirically based emphasis of the MDGs (in particular goal 3) and the PRSP are also potentially positive areas for adding data and new indicators to bolster work on gender and trade.

37. Research and analysis is weak however in the area of services, which is under negotiation in the WTO and increasingly a component for discussion in regional trade arrangements. There is a problem of lack of analysis and data demonstrating how trade liberalisation is impacting on women's sexual and reproductive health (for example TRIPS and essential services such as health care). There is also a lack of data and discussion round gender and competition policy, government procurement and trade facilitation.

38. Opportunities for increasing research on gender and trade exist with regard to the UNCTAD Task Force, the IDRC and national women's machineries and agencies which deal with health care, education, entrepreneurial development, and for pushing the envelop on trade and gender in these areas. The use of gender impact assessment also presents another possible tool for research, informing trade mandates, and developing guidelines for implementing trade reform strategies.

39. The major threat in the area of analysis, both for research and policy-oriented results, is the under funding of this area and the under staffing of national women's machineries. This presents a serious drawback to building the capacity of national gender machineries to tackle gender and trade issues. It ultimately impacts on their ability to intervene and contribute more strongly to national trade-policy discussion and the formulation of trade-negotiating mandates.

40. There is clearly a need for further analysis and the evaluation of trade liberalisation and trade governance at the various levels of the MTS. However, such processes must be grounded in and accountable to the perspectives of human development, human rights and gender equality. What are the social implications of trade rules and adjustments to trade policy instruments? As indicated in the Doha Mandate, there is certainly scope for the WTO to consider more carefully the implication between trade rules and non-trade concerns, especially with regard to food security, rural development and sustainable livelihood. Furthermore, the UN Human Sub-Commission on the Promotion of Human Rights in its 2001 report has also highlighted the potential human rights implications of the

liberalisation of trade in services, and has reaffirmed that governments must play a role in ensuring the availability, accessibility and quality of basic social services.

### **3 ACTIVITIES FOR ENGENDERING INTERNATIONAL TRADE**

To date there have been at least three significant official meetings on the subject matter of gender and trade:

- i. UNCTAD's expert group on the subject;
- ii. UNIFEM's series on regional trade agreements; and, more recently
- iii. the Commonwealth Secretariat's symposium on gender and trade.

42. Additionally, Status of Women Canada has also produced two important pieces of work (for the Canadian economy). And, as mentioned above, the UN Inter-Agency Task force, with UNCTAD assuming the role of focal point on gender and trade, will probably undertake a comprehensive study of the different dimensions of gender and trade.

43. There is also evidence of government attempts to understand the issues at both regional and national level. For instance, the Regional Negotiating Machinery of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) has attempted to develop a Caribbean perspective on gender and trade by forging a link between academics and trade negotiators through seminars and possible joint research projects. Another example is the collaboration of the Indian Government with UNIFEM and UNCTAD in organising a seminar on gender and trade in the context of globalisation. These activities are also charting new territory for future growth and understanding on gender and trade. However, there is much more that can and should be done at all levels of governance.

#### **National women's machineries**

44. National women's machineries can contribute to the deepening of the political and policy analysis of gender and trade by making it a key cornerstone to their existing work in facilitating the implementation of the Beijing Platform of Action, the MDGs and PRSP. This could be pursued by interlinking gender and trade within the focus of the agendas for PRSP and the MDGs. National women's machineries also need to push to integrate themselves in the debate on trade-related capacity building.

45. This may involve, for example, convening national consultations with key stakeholders on gender and trade, focused on specific topic areas such as how directional shifts in trade policy affect:

- entitlements/rights: food, land, medicines and other social and cultural assets;
- capabilities: education, skills, training, access to technology, etc;
- functioning: health, nutritional status, access to essential services;
- domestic law, policies and programmes;
- trade-related fiscal revenue effect/expenditures

46. National women's machineries can also seek to develop partnerships with ministries of labour, commerce and agriculture around the areas of social and gender impact assessment, with particular focus on exploring:

- What are the new/expanded opportunities and new areas of involvement for men and women, firms and governments in international trade?
- And what policy mechanisms are needed to promote women's effective participation?
- What are the areas of contraction of some existing opportunities for men and women, firms and governments, and what policies and mechanisms need to be developed?

- With regard to competition policy, investment rule change and government procurement, how will these affect the legal framework in terms of entitlements, rights and responsibilities, and access to assets and government services?

47. National women's machineries may also seek to be more involved in the review of their national trade policy by the WTO's Trade Policy Review Division. They may have a double role in this: first, as contributors to the WTO staff research for the Secretariat's report; and second, as contributors to the preparation of country reports by their national governments. National women's machineries, where possible, should seek to inform the research and data collection with guidelines and briefing papers, as well as responding to questionnaires sent to government. They may also prepare their own gender chapter for the country report. Fact-finding missions from the WTO Secretariat provide possible entry points for national gender machineries to present studies and policy briefs.

### **Governments**

48. National governments should recognise and accept that trade liberalisation is an inherently political process which generates winners and losers both nationally and internationally, and thus poses particular dilemmas for men and women, despite existing gender relations and local patriarchies.

49. Governments should, therefore, always seek to conduct as much social/gender impact analysis as possible in order to assess and monitor consumption, production, fiscal revenue, balance of payments, and the poverty/equity effects of decreasing tariffs and non-tariff barriers, the elimination of behind-the-border measures, competition policy, and intellectual monopoly privileges in the form of intellectual property rights, etc. Governments should also consider taking strong measures to ensure national food security/sufficiency; and protect essential public/social services such as water, energy, and primary health care.

50. At the national level, trade policy and other economic decision-makers should focus on macro, meso and micro level programmes to assess the transaction costs, imperfect information, gender biases, market inter-linkages, asymmetric property rights and gender segmentation of markets.

### **Regional trade institutions**

51. In their co-ordination, regulation and monitoring of trade in the region, regional trade and trade-related institutions should:

- develop policy frameworks for mainstreaming gender. And, where these already exist, they should be updated to reflect concerns and commitment regarding gender and trade;
- ensure that there are gender focal points at sector levels in their institutional framework for advancing gender equality;.
- undertake gender and social impact assessment of their trade negotiations and programmes;
- convene expert groups on gender and trade, as well as institute ad hoc groups on gender and trade with regard to specific sub areas.

### **The Commonwealth Secretariat**

52. Policy-oriented interventions that the Commonwealth Secretariat should consider might include:

- promoting the integration of gender analysis and a gender perspective in trade policy-making, through, for example, regional expert group meetings, seminars and workshops with ministries of trade, commerce and agriculture;
- enhancing the availability of gender disaggregated trade-related statistics and other

data;

- promoting gender impact assessments of trade liberalisation and export promotion;
- providing support and assistance to help regional organisations undertake research and develop policies and mechanisms to ‘put the lessons and results from studies and data collection on gender and trade into practice’ (APEC Ministerial Document);
- developing guidelines for gender mainstreaming in technical assistance/trade capacity-building programmes;
- advocating, and providing assistance for, the inclusion of gender specialists in the trade teams set up for national, regional and international negotiations;
- helping to provide gender sensitisation programmes and gender focal points in ministries of trade and in regional trade organisations;
- promoting and undertaking policy-oriented research and documentation on specific issues in gender and trade (movement of natural persons in health care and education, implications of government procurement on gender equality, etc.).

53. The integration of gender analysis into the multilateral trading system is reaching a critical turning point in terms of its acceptance in the policy space as well its maturity with regard to impacting the content of trade negotiations/agreements. Gender and trade advocates are beginning to find their way both analytically and empirically in policy analysis and monitoring in the multilateral trade environment. While there are many constraints and challenges, there are also numerous opportunities for deepening the work on gender and trade. Many of these opportunities can be explored through better co-ordination of information, consolidation of policy-oriented research and the proactive intervention of women and national gender machineries at the national, regional and global levels. The debate and programmatic discussions around MDGs, PRSP and trade-related capacity building are important entry points for ensuring that the perspectives and concerns of national women’s machineries have more influence on trade liberalisation.

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<sup>i</sup> This safeguard called compulsory licensing is justifiable when the patented medicine is essential but unavailable due to lack of supply or an unreasonably high price

<sup>ii</sup> Commitments to gender equality tend to evaporate in planning and implementation process. Helen Derbyshire 2002. Gender Manual: A Practical Guide for Development Policy Makers and Practitioners. UK, DFID, Social Development Division.