



Cordell Hull Institute

# Trade Policy Analyses

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The Cordell Hull Institute held a one-day Trade Policy Roundtable on December 4, 2001 to discuss strengthening the ILO's role in promoting core labor standards.

The meeting was held at Arnold & Porter, attorneys-at-law in Washington, DC. Pictured above is the well of the firms building.



Reproduced opposite is the paper presented by **Herwig Schlögl** (above).

## About the Author

Herwig Schlögl is Deputy Secretary-General of the OECD, Paris, France. Previously, Dr Schlögl was an economist in the German Ministry of Economics and Deputy Director General for Trade Policy in Bonn, Germany.

Dr Schlögl has nearly thirty years of government

## POST-DOHA MEETING

# An International Perspective On Trade and Labor Standards

Herwig Schlögl

COULD IT BE that the issue of international trade and core labor standards is maturing? By this I do not mean that the substance of the issue has been worked out. Rather there is increasing agreement among key international players about essential elements of a strategy for dealing with the issue multilaterally. These elements include:

- (a) affirmation of the basic principles related to the treatment of issues regarding trade and core labor standards,
- (b) definition of the core labor standards and increased official recognition of them through the ratification by governments of the fundamental conventions of the International Labor Organization (ILO),
- (c) emphasis on constructive dialogue in an appropriate forum,
- (d) assessment of particular problem areas to be confronted through dialogue and concrete policies and
- (e) improvements in the instruments for the monitoring, supervision and promotion of core labor standards.

Concerns about labor standards are sometimes interwoven with those related to the social costs of globalization. Here, too, we have gained insights and experience in the development of policy frameworks that can help by facilitating the generation of employment and labor-market adjustment.

## BASIC PRINCIPLES

experience in trade, competition and industrial policy issues.

After studying law and economics at Marburg University, Dr Schlögl received a PHD in economics in 1969.

### About the Meeting

In November 2001, the International Labor Organization approved the establishment of a World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, but its Director-General was requested to consult further on the Commission's parameters, terms of reference and membership.

To discuss the trade-related aspects of the ILO initiative, the Cordell Hull Institute convened in Washington on December 4 a roundtable meeting of specialists on trade, labor and development. Thirty five participated in the meeting where several presentations were made on the question of enforceable labor standards in trade agreements.

### Other Speakers

In addition to Dr Schlögl, other speakers included: **William D. Rogers**, Senior Partner, Arnold & Porter Washington, D.C. and Vice Chairman, Kissinger Associates, New York, NY; **Jagdish Bhagwati**, Columbia University and Council on Foreign Relations, New York, NY; **Jeffrey Lang**, Partner, Wilmer Cutler & Pickering, Washington, DC, former Deputy U.S. Trade Representative; **Daniel W. Drezner**, assistant professor of political science, University of Chicago, Illinois.

The concern in the multilateral trading system for the trade and labor standards issue has twice been affirmed in formal declarations of the Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization (WTO): first at its initial session, in Singapore in December 1996, and again at its fourth session, in Doha in November 2001. The agreed position of the WTO members is clear, in essence there being:

- (a) commitment to the observance of internationally recognized core labor standards,
- (b) recognition that the ILO is the competent body to set and deal with core labor standards,
- (d) rejection of the use of labor standards for protectionist trade purposes, and
- (c) support for the existing cooperation between the WTO and ILO secretariats.

### DEFINITION OF LABOR STANDARDS

The debate on trade and labor standards has begun to focus on respect for issues relating to core labor standards as a first priority, without losing sight of other concerns related to labor standards. The focus on core labor standards has been promoted, in part, through the adoption in June 1998 of the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. Adopted at the ILO's International Labor Conference, nearly all countries around the world now subscribe to this declaration, which (i) succinctly states the four principles and rights that embody core labor standards, (ii) commits the ILO's member countries to respect them and (iii) stresses that labor standards are not to be used for protectionist trade purposes. According to the ILO Declaration, the fundamental principles and rights include:

- (a) freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining;
- (b) elimination of all forms of forced or compulsory labor;
- (c) effective abolition of child labor; and
- (d) elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation.

These four core labor standards are further reflected and made operational in eight fundamental conventions. Most ILO member countries have ratified these international treaties. Since 1996 the number of countries that have ratified all of the seven original fundamental conventions has more than doubled. In addition, the

Additional speakers were **Gary N. Horlick**, Partner, O'Melveny & Myers, and Georgetown University, Washington, DC; **Gerard Depayre**, Deputy Head of Mission, Delegation of the European Commission, former Deputy Director-General of External Relations, European Commission; **John M. Weekes**, Chairman, Global Trade Practice, APCO Worldwide, Geneva, former Canadian Ambassador to the WTO, and Chairman of the WTO General Council.

### Trade Policy Roundtable

The Cordell Hull Institute's Trade Policy Roundtable is sponsored by seven international law firms in Washington, DC: Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, Arnold & Porter, Hogan & Hartson, O'Melveny & Myers, Sidley Austin Brown & Wood, Steptoe & Johnson and Wilmer Cutler & Pickering.

new fundamental convention on the worst forms of child labor has experienced a rapid pace of ratification.

### AN APPROPRIATE FORUM

The OECD Council meeting at ministerial level in May 2001 affirmed the importance of an approach that focuses on dialogue, stating:

"Trade and labor as well as other social development issues raise concerns that must be addressed through dialogue that takes into account the expertise of all relevant international institutions, including the WTO."

The implication of this statement is that substantive and inclusive dialogue – rather than negotiation – is the way forward on the trade and labor issue.

Given the acknowledgement by the members of the WTO of the central role of the ILO with respect to setting and dealing with core labor standards, and given the ILO's unique tripartite structure (with employer, worker and government representatives), it is clear that the ILO is well placed to facilitate constructive dialogue on the trade and labor standards issue. In particular, the ILO's working party on the social dimension of globalization has become a recognized locus for the international debate on the full range of social issues related to globalization, including trade and labor standards. Moreover, the ILO working party is a relatively broad forum for discussion of the trade and labor issue, because, in addition to the traditional ILO constituents, a number of international organizations – including the OECD – participate in its activities. The ILO's work in this area was expressly noted by the World Trade Organization's membership in the Doha Ministerial Declaration.

Recently, in the context of its working party, the ILO's Director-General, Juan Somavia, proposed the establishment of "a world commission of eminent personalities" to study the social dimension of globalization and prepare a report for presentation in 2003. While not a high-level *inter-organizational* forum for dialogue – the commission members would participate in their individual capacities – its establishment would represent a useful opportunity for the cross-fertilization of ideas and consensus building with respect to trade and labor standards.

### ASSESSMENT OF THE ISSUE

Perspectives on trade and labor standards have also matured through assessments of the issue. A substantial body of literature has developed and the issue is being examined via a variety of approaches and analytical techniques. The OECD has contributed with a number of empirical studies and reviews. Although there

are differences of opinion, the thrust of the work on core labor standards indicates two interesting conclusions with particular relevance to future dialogue:

*One*, the evidence points to a positive relationship between respect for *core* labor standards and various desirable economic factors.

*Two*, there is no evidence of gains to trade arising from abuse of core labor standards.

The existing literature can also help to inform the dialogue on appropriate policy responses to mitigate potential negative labor impacts resulting from growth in trade, as might result from structural adjustment pressures. For example, as discussed below, the OECD's *Jobs Study* has highlighted the types of policy mix that can promote a favorable adjustment process.<sup>1</sup>

The OECD has focused on assessing core labor standards issues through two recent studies. In 1996 it published a pioneering study on *Trade, Employment and Labor Standards* that was instrumental in helping to foster a high degree of international political consensus about the definition of a limited set of core labor standards.<sup>2</sup> It found no evidence that countries failing to respect core labor standards gained a comparative trade advantage from doing so. In 2000 an update to this study was published, *International Trade and Core Labor Standards*, which (i) confirmed the validity of the OECD's original findings, (ii) underscored the existence of continued shortfalls in application of the core labor standards, (iii) highlighted the strengthening of instruments to promote core labor standards and (iv) noted positive associations between respect for core labor standards and various favorable economic factors.

One important finding with respect to these studies is that OECD countries tend to comply broadly with the requirements of core labor standards and tend to maintain high standards in other aspects of the workplace. At the same time, the OECD studies have confirmed that, while not true for a number of them, many developing countries comply with the core labor standards.

We have noted from this work that there are indications of a virtuous circle, whereby countries that improve their respect for core labor standards tend to improve their trade and economic performance. For example, at the AFL-CIO in the United States, Thomas Palley found that implementation of improved rights of freedom of association had a large statistically positive effect on country GDP growth rates in the subsequent five-year period.<sup>3</sup> The point is reinforced by the OECD's study in 2000 on *International Trade and Core Labor Standards*, which found a positive association between respect for freedom of association and real per capita GDP, confirming a finding in the OECD's earlier study in 1996. The OECD's recent study also found that most foreign direct

investment (FDI) flowed to countries with high labor standards, which may help further to reinforce this virtuous circle – although China is a significant exception to this pattern.<sup>4</sup> Other recent studies consider the links between trade, democracy and wages, among them a paper by Dani Rodrik at Harvard University.<sup>5</sup> The results suggest that countries that develop democratic institutions (here taken to include core labor rights) before the transition to trade liberalization will weather the transition with smaller adverse consequences than countries without such institutions.

### **Case of Child Labor**

In the specific case of child labor, some recent literature suggests that the threat of trade sanctions may effectively encourage countries to change their laws and improve their practices, rather than bear the costs. It is also suggested that, in certain circumstances, a ban on child labor may be effective in shifting the economy into an equilibrium where adult wages are high and children are not compelled to work.<sup>6</sup> This could apply to countries with relatively high labor productivity that are able to support all their children without sending any to work.

The literature also suggests, however, that in very poor countries a ban may worsen the condition of households. Under such conditions, a ban on the import of goods produced with child labor might drive children out of export industries and into the informal sector (which is the major employer of child workers in such countries). Instead, recent analysis, drawing on experience in Brazil and Mexico, suggests that a subsidy to families to keep their children in school is likely, for example, to be a superior policy to trade interventions in terms of curbing child labor. The conclusion is that trade interventions do not appear to be an optimal instrument to abolish exploitative child labor and expand the formation of human capital.

### **Core versus Non-core Labor Standards**

One recurrent problem in the debate is confusion between core labor standards and other labor standards. In addition to having different international political statuses, these two groups of labor standards can be expected to have different economic properties. Consequently, they should be considered separately. Core labor standards are viewed by the international community as a small and clearly defined set of basic rights – a point under-scored by the ILO's 1998 declaration, albeit with some flexibility in certain aspects depending on each country's level of development.

There are many non-core labor standards, including, most prominently, those embodied in the ILO conventions beyond the fundamental conventions. Such non-core labor standards tend to have less extensive application. For example, in some cases, they may apply more narrowly to particular groups of workers, they

may have rather technical applications or, thirdly, the numbers of ratifying countries may be smaller than for the ILO's fundamental conventions. Core labor standards, it is important to note, do not address wage levels, widely recognized as key elements of the comparative trade advantage for many developing countries.

### **Are There Risks of a Race to the Bottom?**

A number of recent studies point out that there are major constraints on a "race to the bottom" in labor standards.<sup>7</sup> In competitive markets, any firm that attempts to gain a competitive advantage by cutting benefits without paying increased money wages is essentially trying to cut compensation below the workers' marginal value product. Pressure from other employers will ultimately force the firm to return the total compensation package to the original level if the firm expects to be able to hire quality workers. But, where such competitive pressures are weak, the outcome may be different.

Similarly, with respect to core labor standards, one might expect workers in a competitive market to assess the situation at individual employers and make their labor market decisions accordingly. As Albert Hirschman argued a generation ago, in competitive markets, employees experiencing declining conditions in a workplace may well use their leverage to bring about change or exercise their option to exit to competing employers.<sup>8</sup> Where there are systemic problems, however, such as a lack of competition or enforcement of core labor standards, this natural check on abuse may not operate. Although in most modern market economies, democratic institutions have established basic enforcement mechanisms for minimum standards, there may be other cases where this is not the situation. From an international perspective, it is in such cases that various monitoring, supervisory or promotional mechanisms might assist in correcting the situation.

### **MONITORING, SUPERVISION AND PROMOTION**

A number of instruments and approaches are being invoked to encourage respect for core labor standards. In particular, as a consequence of the ILO's 1998 declaration, promotional approaches have come to the forefront of these efforts. There is not yet a comprehensive assessment as to the effectiveness of these approaches, but there are some encouraging signs.

#### **At the ILO**

Countries that have ratified ILO conventions are required to submit periodic reports via the ILO's supervisory mechanisms. The substantial increase in ratifications has resulted in an expansion of the range of countries covered by the ILO's supervisory mechanisms. A key feature of the ILO declaration is that, under its promotional mechanism, it extended the range of reporting on the

application of the fundamental principles and rights to include countries that have not yet ratified all the corresponding conventions. As a result, the range of available reporting on core labor standards was broadened, by virtue of their membership obligations, to include all ILO members.

The follow-up mechanism under the declaration also established a special ILO annual report designed to provide a dynamic global picture of the situation and facilitate the assessment and prioritization of ILO technical cooperation activities. Through this mechanism and other initiatives, the ILO is imparting a renewed impetus to its already substantial technical-cooperation endeavors. While it will take time before the full effects of these changes are felt, it appears that some countries are responding to the increased international scrutiny and assistance in support of the full application of core labor standards.

### **Other Channels for Promotion**

While sessions of the WTO Ministerial Conference have focused multilateral attention, where core labor standards are concerned, on the supervisory and promotional efforts in the ILO, the issue of trade and labor has also been addressed under a number of bilateral or regional trade agreements. For example, in the context of NAFTA, the North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation has helped to address labor law issues by promoting enforcement of existing labor laws in the three member countries. Commitments to adhere to core labor standards were included in a partnership agreement between the European Union and the Africa, Caribbean and Pacific countries (ACP) and in a trade, development and cooperation agreement between the European Union and South Africa.

Labor standards have been brought into play with respect to preferential tariff schemes. Between 1984 and 1999, for example, 47 countries were cited in labor rights petitions under the United States's Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). The European Union's GSP scheme, using a different approach, provides supplemental trade preferences to countries that can demonstrate their compliance with certain core labor standards. It also allows for temporary suspension of preferences under certain circumstances.

Moreover, labor standards are being integrated into other instruments such as development cooperation programs, international guidelines and corporate codes of conduct. Development cooperation programs may take labor standards into account, for example, by setting objectives such as eradicating identified cases of exploitative child labor. The World Bank and certain other international financial institutions are also demonstrating heightened awareness of the importance of core labor standards, in some cases by instituting staff training on the issue.

The OECD has been active in the promotion of the core labor standards, in particular, through its guidelines for multinational enterprises. A review completed in June 2000 added recommendations in relation to those core labor standards that were missing from the earlier text (specifically, child labor and forced labor). The revised recommendations make it clear that they apply to enterprises operating in or from adhering countries and that they are relevant for the operations of these enterprises in all countries.

Beyond government and international organizations, various private sector initiatives are also springing up. One example can be seen in the growing number of voluntary codes of conduct (written expressions of commitment to a given standard of business conduct). These codes are, in part, a response to rising awareness and concern on the part of some consumers with respect to social and environmental issues. In the United States, for example, most *Fortune* 500 companies have adopted codes of conduct or internal guidelines, dealing with a variety of matters, including in some cases core labor standards.

### **Globalization, Labor Standards and Social Costs**

The convention establishing the OECD, signed in December 1960, commits the Organization, *inter alia*, to promote policies designed “to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations”. A number of OECD analytical studies have emphasized the importance of this effort, highlighting the potential benefits of trade and investment liberalization.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, we have also considered the potential costs of liberalization and globalization, notably in terms of the possible impacts on the labor market. Indeed, when I addressed the WTO’s ministerial meeting in Doha, I included the admonition that we must encourage sound policies dealing with the social dimensions of globalization.

This broader discussion of the labor impacts and social costs of globalization goes beyond the scope of core labor standards. Research by the OECD and others points to the association of labor standards, generally, with level of development and with a variety of related factors (*e.g.* good governance). From this optic, it is best to consider the issue of trade and labor standards in the broader policy context, taking into account the potentially complementary relationships among the various measures. For instance, respect for labor standards is one element of a policy approach to dealing with the adjustment brought on by globalization, and facilitating adjustment may in turn promote growth. Other examples might include measures to improve education and life-long learning or safety and health, which can complement the positive effects of a policy of respecting core labor standards, supporting open trade and investment and ultimately growth.

The OECD has contributed to this discussion through specific empirical analyses such as the study of trade, earnings and employment published in the OECD *Employment Outlook*<sup>10</sup> or the OECD-commissioned survey of the literature on trade and labor standards by Drusilla Brown, of Tufts University.<sup>11</sup> We have also contributed analyses through our thematic assessments such as those prepared as part of our *Jobs Study* work over the past decade. These analyses can help to inform the policy debate by highlighting important aspects of policy coherence and interaction. This work helps to shed additional light on the labor-market impacts of trade liberalization and potential policy responses.

### **Trade with Developing Countries**

From the available evidence, it appears that any negative wage and employment impacts resulting from OECD trade with developing countries, as a group, are relatively limited. This finding is not a surprising one for two main reasons.

First, the OECD countries are shielded from trade competition with low-wage countries due to the structure of their economies. Almost 70 percent of output and employment in the OECD countries, on average, originates from the services sector – which largely produces non-traded goods.

Second, to the extent that OECD output is traded, the competition generally comes from other developed countries. For instance, imports of manufactured goods from the emerging economies during the 1990s amounted in value terms to less than 2 percent of OECD countries' combined output.<sup>12</sup>

The situation is similar to foreign direct investment. Most FDI flows are between OECD countries (85 percent of outflows and 65 percent of inflows) and, globally, most FDI flows are to the services sector whose output is largely not traded. While FDI flows to developing countries have increased, particularly to China, the biggest share of them remains within the OECD area.

Thus it appears that the contribution of trade and FDI liberalization to observed trends in employment and wage inequality between skilled and unskilled workers in OECD countries is modest, regardless of the influence of labor standards. Rather, it seems that other factors such as skill-biased technical change or changes in labor-market institutions and policies play a larger role in such labor-market developments.

### **Export-processing Zones and FDI?**

One area of concern, where the growth of trade may play a role, involves export-processing zones (EPZs). There are numerous EPZs operating in China, although a precise count is not available. Outside China, EPZs have grown from some 500 at the time of the

OECD's 1996 study to about 850, employing 27 million people. This growth has not been completely problem-free with respect to labor standards. In a few countries, certain aspects of national labor legislation have not been applied in some EPZs. An ILO study concluded that problems like high labor turnover, absenteeism, stress and fatigue, low rates of productivity, excessive wastage of materials and labor unrest are still too common.

But there is some evidence of positive developments. Increasing international competition is changing the priorities for foreign investors who increasingly tend to favor investment locations with highly skilled workers and modern infrastructure. Consequently, "smart" export-processing zones have adopted strategies to ensure on-going improvements. More broadly, recent FDI data confirm that multinational enterprises invest principally in the largest, richest and most dynamic markets. With the notable exception of China, as mentioned earlier, countries where core labor standards remain in question tend to receive very small shares of global investment flows. At the same time, wages in EPZs tend to be higher than average wages in the rest of the economy. As a result, there is no robust evidence that low-standard countries provide a haven for foreign firms seeking to gain a competitive advantage by this route.

### **Workforce Adjustment to Globalization**

Concerns about the interaction of trade liberalization and respect for core labor standards are sometimes linked to concerns about the social costs of globalization. While there is ample evidence of the benefits of trade liberalization, for example as laid out in such publications as the OECD's *Open Markets Matter*, the costs of trade-induced adjustment are also real and will be unequally spread across society.<sup>13</sup>

As outlined above, where there are genuine issues of abuse of core labor standards, such instruments as the ILO's monitoring, supervisory and promotional systems can help to address the situation. While improving the effectiveness of these instruments can be a subject for further dialogue, we must also not neglect the need to address the broader social costs of globalization, regardless of the causes.

The imposition of trade protection is not generally an appropriate response to the social costs of globalization. It risks increasing prices of imports and competing domestic products, restricting consumer choice and, in some cases, burdening disproportionately those in society who are least well off. The answer is rather for society to foster greater capacity for workforce adjustment while compensating the losers.

Given the complexity of these issues, a comprehensive package of reforms may be needed to tackle them. The OECD Jobs Strategy



The **mockingbird** is the state bird of Tennessee.

Cordell Hull represented a district of Tennessee in the Congress of the United States, and was elected a senator from there, before becoming U.S. Secretary of State (1933-44).

### **Trade Policy Analyses**

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is an example of such a package. Launched by ministers in 1994, it sets out a framework for employment-facilitating reforms in macro-economic policies and a wide range of structural areas covering labor and product markets.<sup>14</sup> While it clearly takes time for such a substantial package to bear fruit, the evidence indicates that it does work in promoting employment and adjustment.<sup>15</sup> For example, it might employ an appropriate and balanced mix of "passive" policies for income support for the unemployed and "active" policies aimed at getting them back to work (e.g. policies to foster job search, training, in-work benefits).<sup>16</sup>

### **CONCLUSION**

Is the issue of trade and labor standards maturing in the sense that there is now a basis to move forward in addressing concerns? I believe that we now have key elements for constructive dialogue and a better understanding of policy instruments to deal with certain of these concerns.

In recent years, the international community has established a variety of instruments to promote respect for core labor standards. Their relative effectiveness will only become fully apparent with time, but already there are indications of approaches that work. This is particularly true in cases where the state concerned is essentially supportive of core labor standards, and therefore responsive to supervisory and promotional mechanisms (including technical co-operation). Challenges clearly remain, particularly in more difficult cases where the motivation of the authorities in a particular state may not be clear (e.g., as in the case of forced labor in Myanmar). Overall, it is in the interests of all countries to address the issue of trade and core labor standards in a constructive way, not only from a basic rights perspective but also because it makes economic sense.

At the same time, concerns about core labor standards do not call into question the fundamentals of trade and investment liberalization. Rather, the response to the trade and labor standards issue is one of facilitating growth through a combination of policies including trade liberalization, promotion of core labor standards and measures to address the social costs of globalization and support social cohesion. While it appears that more can be done, dialogue grounded in solid analysis will be needed to shine a light on the various options and clear the path forward, leading to implementation of a coherent policy framework to address the various dimensions of this issue.

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<sup>1</sup> *The OECD Jobs Study: Facts, Analysis, Strategies* (Paris: OECD Secretariat, 1994).

<sup>2</sup> *Trade, Employment and Labour Standards: a Study of Core Workers' Rights and International Trade* (Paris: OECD Secretariat, 1996).

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<sup>3</sup> Thomas I. Palley, *The Economic Case for International Labour Standards: Theory and Some Evidence*, Economic Policy Paper No. EO36 (Washington, DC: AFL-CIO, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> See the discussion in this volume by Kenneth Heydon, "Is China Profiting from its Low Labour Standards?" in Chapter 8 below.

<sup>5</sup> Dani Rodrik, "Democracy and Economic Performance", mimeo, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 1997 (<http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~drodrik.academic.ksg/demoecon.PDF>).

<sup>6</sup> Kaushik Basu and Pham-Hoang Van, "The Economics of Child Labour", *The American Economic Review*, Princeton, NJ, Vol. 88, No. 3, June 1998.

<sup>7</sup> Drusilla K. Brown, *International Trade and Core Labour Standards: a Survey of the Recent Literature*, Labour Market and Social Policy Occasional Papers No. 43 (Paris: OECD Secretariat, 2000), which has been substantially updated in "Survey of Recent Literature on the Trade and Labour Debate", Chapter 5 in this volume.

<sup>8</sup> Albert Hirschman, *Exit, Voice and Loyalty: Responses to Declines in Firms, Organizations and States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970).

<sup>9</sup> One of the most comprehensive studies was published as *Open Markets Matter: the Benefits of Trade and Investment Liberalisation* (Paris: OECD Secretariat, 1998).

<sup>10</sup> *Employment Outlook* (Paris: OECD Secretariat, 1997).

<sup>11</sup> Brown, "International Trade and Core Labour Standards", *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> John P. Martin, "Globalisation, Employment, Wages and Core Labour Standards", Opening Statement to the Commission on the Globalisation of the World Economy, German Bundestag, Berlin, 12 February 2001.

<sup>13</sup> Martin, *op. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> *The OECD Jobs Study: Facts, Analysis, Strategies* (Paris: OECD Secretariat, 1994).

<sup>15</sup> A review of the implementation of the OECD Jobs Strategy over the second half of the 1990s is provided in *Implementing the OECD Jobs Strategy: Assessing Performance and Policy* (Paris: OECD Secretariat, 1999).

<sup>16</sup> Martin, *op. cit.*