

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE LIBERALIZING OF THE GARMENT TRADE IN CAMBODIA

Introduction

Garment production has served as a critical incubator of many national economies, among which include Cambodia. Though the industry's centrality to national growth is not unique to country *per se*, recent debates within policy circles and academia have been animated by the global and temporal salience of the issue in light of the liberalization of the garment sector. In what is known as the phase-out of the Multifibre Agreement, an agreement that guaranteed market access for developing countries, its corresponding system of sourcing quotas was eliminated beginning January 1, 2005. Within this framework, the discussion has been oriented around nations as perceived winners and losers, measured within the logic of market-based principles, such as competitive advantage. Notwithstanding this logic (which places Cambodia in the latter category), the significance of the sector to country's viability cannot be underemphasized as one instrumental in forging economic growth and social stability in the country's post-conflict period.

As this period in part can be defined by the country's movement toward economic integration and democraticization, the future of Cambodia's garment sector has been a locus of a number of initiatives by major development aid agencies based on two interrelated issues. I highlight these two as they figure central to the policy analysis on garment production, notably in the research of my host organization, the Economic Institute of Cambodia, a policy group that works with NGOs, donor groups, and government officials on development issues, primarily the social and institutional impacts of economic development.

One evolves within larger state (I include development institutions, as well as the Cambodian government, as part of the "state") strategies towards poverty alleviation. While it provides a source of income for 260,000 workers¹ formally employed in the sector, wage remittances situate garment production as the critical site through which the rural and the urban meet. As workers in the industry migrate to Phnom Penh from the provinces, the scale of impact is far more pronounced as wages support workers' families at home, such as in the provinces of Kandal, Kompong Som, Prey Veng, while creating "spillover" effects in supportive informal sectors, such as unregulated forms of transportation that shuttle workers between their home and work, or the informal vending of food and goods that proliferate on the edges of many factory compounds. Thus the benefits of wage labor can be seen as impacting over one million people²; a figure which only begins to signal the sector's role achieving economic development goals through

¹ Figure from GMAC. Interview with Ken Loo, Secretary General, Garment Manufacturers Association of Cambodia. Interview on 15 June 2005. Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

² EIC. 2005. "Cambodia's Garment Industry in 2005 and Beyond: A Quantitative Analysis of the Critical Challenges" *Economic Review* 1(5).

workers' remittances and their corresponding multiplying effects. However, this raises questions concerning the nature of economic viability, as multiple forms of dependency on a single sector prefigure the impacts that its instability pose in light of inadequate program and policy mechanisms.

The second issue that emerges in these policy debates is the increasing cache of the model of development-through-trade, whereby future development relies on economic integration and market-adjudicated competitiveness. Rather than relying on social programming, this policy practice shifts the role of growth from outside the purview of social development to the market where access to foreign direct investment and global capital is seen to address structural needs. Cambodia's accession to the World Trade Organization in October 2004 can be seen to both facilitate and necessitate such integration. Though free trade-based economic integration has historically excluded the country from beneficial participation, the drive towards greater "competitiveness" equally fails to elucidate the means toward which such integration is enacted. In other words, workers' roles in production and their livelihoods are only tangentially taken into consideration. If workers' rights are included in such an analysis, it is done so either within the context of an abstracted goal towards poverty alleviation noted above or as monitored labor conditions through the ILO described later.

In this regard, looking at the gendered economy of production, in both the feminization of labor within the sector and the role of women as wage earners, opens up an analysis often absent or marginal to the debates of the future of garment production. Insofar as such macroeconomic shifts are "localized," contextual policy and practice have become a means to begin assessing the impacts within a post-quota era of trade. In what follows below, I expand on these points to synthesize my time as a Human Rights Center Fellow in Phnom Penh this past summer.

Overview

My focus on the implications of the end of the garment quotas was predicated on the larger aim to engage the broader themes of the feminization of labor in garment manufacturing, the contradiction of development policy which works against poverty but advances the practices of liberalization; and to look at points of critical intervention on the level of policy and the grassroots.

Examining the discourse as it pertains to the abolition of the global garment quotas under World Trade Organization rules signals a new moment of economic restructuring and an advancement of free trade as ideology and practice. By focusing on broad themes of development practice, poverty management and economic transformation as it relates to liberalization, my future research goals are to examine how such movements restructure the way free market development paradigms shift and how neoliberal trade regimes are territorialized in material consequences.

Gendered Economies of Production

Arguably, gendered work and the normative identity of the worker as inherently male has to be recalibrated; necessitated by the relationship between women and work. Though the feminization of the garment industry can be demonstrated by women's high participation rates and relevant to the Cambodian context, as women account for approximately 90% of the workforce,³ to argue that capital is dependent on women's labor is to conflate the consequence of gendered work as its cause.⁴ The gendered trope of the third world women worker as cheap and docile has been part of the discourse of transnational capital location for some time and though gendered policy research often speculates on the identity of Cambodian women workers (as docile and subject to external social pressures),⁵ such research also tends to take women's exploitation as an a priori truth.⁶

Indeed, the participation of women in sectors such as garment manufacturing cannot be the justification for their cheapness, though this is often how it is rationalized when the work is characterized as low-skilled and poorly paid. Undeniably, garment work is poorly paid and the skills are generally not transferable. The minimum wage in Cambodia is approximately \$40 per month, which comes to twenty-two cents an hour, but it is the only sector with a mandated minimum. The distinction that women's labor is somehow inherently cheap rather than constructed is important in a discussion of the struggle over rights whether that be the right to a living wage, the right to organize or when one evaluates the monitoring of such things as labor standards.

Nevertheless, taking the gender composition of garment labor in Cambodia where women comprise between 85 to 90% of the total formal registered workforce,⁷ economic restructuring and the freeing of trade on the scale of the global has localized implications for the women who constitute the body of labor.

Moreover, research on the geography of development practice and poverty management has argued that women "often experience the state of poverty differently from men, and

³ Asian Development Bank. October 2004 *Cambodia's Garment Industry: Meeting the Challenges of the Post-Quota Environment. Phase 1 Report*.

⁴ "In arguing that capital is dependent on women, [some researchers] confused cause with consequence." Salzinger, Leslie. 2003. *Genders in Production*, p. 15.

⁵ E.g. United Nations Development Fund for Women. 2005. "Exempt from growth? The Impact of Trade Liberalization on Women in Cambodia's Garment Sector Commission on the Status of Women 49th Session 28 February – 11 March 2005; Gorman, Siobhan with Pon, Dorina and Sok, Kheng. 1999. *Gender and Development in Cambodia: An Overview*. Working Paper 10. Phnom Penh: Cambodia Development Resource Institute. June 1999.

⁶ See Salzinger, Leslie. 2003. *Genders in Production* for a critique of dominant feminist analysis on gendered work.

⁷ UNDP/UNIFEM (2003) figures put the proportion of women workers at 85%, ADB survey figures (2003) indicate that it is closer to 90%. Cited in Neak, Samsen. 29 July 2005. "Background Paper: Trade in Garments and Poverty Reduction" Draft Report for CUTS International and Economic Institute of Cambodia, p. 4.

become poor through different processes”⁸ and thus a discussion of garment manufacturing in Cambodia must be situated within the country’s development landscape.

Landscapes of Poverty and Development

The issue of garment liberalization exists in the larger debates about economic globalization and the historical trajectory of what is traditionally invoked through the term and site “sweatshop” – a place where one’s sweated labor is sold but not fully remunerated and where its location at the bottom of the supply chain produces susceptibility to multiple and overlapping pressures.

The lens of history reveals that poor working conditions and low wages have characterized garment manufacturing since the Industrial Revolution. How this value of labor is linked and structured by race/nationality and gender has been engaged in scholarship⁹ as have the issues ranging from critiques of neoliberal globalization and free trade, and more proactive governance strategies to counter the ill effects of liberalization. There is a concern over the correlation between the more pervasive demands of competition and exploitative working conditions (the Spanish retailer Zara wants to institute fifty-two fashion cycles, to correspond for each week of the year, to remain competitive in fashion. How these pressures materialize is embodied in such an example¹⁰). Demands for greater flexibility have in many cases been born by labor itself. Such come in the form of increased use of casual labor, subcontracting and home-work. Like in other countries, subcontracting is difficult to measure in Cambodia let alone manage given regulation’s purview of only “formal,” or licensed production.

With expected shifts in the geography of the garment industry, there remains, however, concerns over the impact over the livelihood of workers, economic dislocation, erosion of wages, where the specter of job insecurity is constituted through labor and human rights violations as can job loss.

When shifting this lens onto Cambodia, the primacy of garment manufacturing makes the country a critical site of analysis. Cambodia is a transitional post-conflict country; one that has moved away from a centrally-planned economy to a free market based one. Beginning with the contentious democratization processes with the signing of the Paris Peace Accords of 1991, the development community continues to have a very substantial presence in the country; what can be considered the NGO-ization of development and its politics. Development agencies impact projects and governance structures, but where

⁸ Kabeer, Naila. 1994. *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*. London: Verso.

⁹ See Roy, Ananya. 2002. *City Requiem, Calcutta: Gender and the Politics of Poverty*. University of Minnesota Press; Salzinger, Leslie. 2003. *Genders in Production: Making Workers in Mexico’s Global Factories*, University of California Press; Constable, Nicole. 1997. *Maid to Order in Hong Kong: Stories of Filipina Workers*. Cornell University Press.

¹⁰ Bendell, Jim (2004), “Barricades and Boardrooms: A Contemporary History of the Corporate Accountability Movement,” Technology, Business and Society Programme Paper No. 13, June, Geneva: UNRISD.

multiple aid and donor agencies vie with each other to offer the country technical assistance.

Cambodia is ranked 130th in human development out of 177 countries, according to the United Nations' 2004 Human Development Report, placing it amongst the world's poorest nations. Though reducing poverty to a single figure is problematic,¹¹ as much as characterizing women's labor as inherently exploitable, it must be duly noted that women employed in one of the few formal industries are not the poorest of the poor. When situating garment trade liberalization within the politics of development, the discourse and invocation of "free trade" has maintained primacy within economic policy by state and international actors, including the Cambodian government and the WTO, signified by Cambodia's recent membership to the world body. In my interviews with various trade policy experts and NGO advocates over the summer, there seemed to be a consensus that the desire to be integrated into the "global economy" should not obscure the fact that a country's participation in dominant practices and structures does not mean that it is equitable participation.

Like WTO membership, liberalization promises increased economic opportunities for developing economies insofar as unrestricted access to the North's garment market is determined advantageous. However there remains a deep disjunct in the conceived economic benefits of liberalization and the realities of free trade. Liberalization, as a return to neoclassical economics, benefits consumption and production – the windfall in savings for consumers and increased profits for garment retailers – but absent from this formulation is how socioeconomic structures impact and are impacted by these processes.

A central question is thus: if it is recognized that the country's poverty and underdevelopment is not inherent, but produced by the very set of circumstances that the state hopes will make it a player in the global economy, then where are the points of intervention that include a social or rights framework?

For these reasons, the issue of garment liberalization and business practices underlie an interesting dynamic underpinning this development landscape. The resulting efforts to address the impacts of the freeing of garment trade move in parallel and contradictory directions.

The Logic of Liberalization

Garment liberalization occurred on January 1st of this year, signaling the end of a forty-year quota system for the global textile and apparel industry. This liberalization was a process adjudicated over a ten-year phase-out process known as the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing. Therefore, the moment of liberalization had been known for over a decade though there is debate over the kind of negotiability and leverage countries have had to counter or harness its perceived impacts; specifically countries heavily reliant on the garment sector. This is not merely coincidental as, not because these countries are

¹¹ Kabeer, Naila. 1994. *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*. London: Verso. xv.

without much of an industrial or export base, but because it reflects the history of geopolitics as colonialism and globalization.

The Multifibre Agreement was the global textile arrangement, signed in 1974, designed to protect the domestic markets of developed countries through an extensive system of import quotas; one forged, ironically, by anxieties during the crisis of capitalism in the 1970s. Quota allocations forced manufacturers to diversify their locations rather than being solely dictated by lowest production costs or consolidating their locations based on the business considerations of price-quality-time.

It is with the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing phase-out that only the U.S., Canada, Norway, and the European Union chose to maintain the quota system; a hegemonic bloc of clothing and textile importers that determined and constituted a very specific trade regime. Some have argued that such a regime was distorting for exporting countries and more specifically for countries that would be the natural dominators of the garment industry – like China and India with their management of supply chains and strong infrastructure – countries that were being artificially and therefore unfairly squeezed.¹²

However it is under such a regime, that the United States had given preferential market access to Cambodia, for one, creating a pathway to development for the country by incubating a significant clothing export industry. Moreover, it was in this agreement that the U.S. specifically linked trade privileges with labor conditions.¹³ Garment liberalization would proscribe such preferential access.

Since the late 1990s, Cambodia's garment industry has been vital to the country's economic growth, and a critical source of employment and income. Garment production comprises of upwards to 80%¹⁴ of Cambodian exports. Therefore, although it is more expensive to produce in Cambodia, despite the fact that wages remains among the lowest in the world, there are currently over 200 factories mostly in Phnom Penh and its urban fringe and the hundreds of thousands of workers who account for nearly 40% of those formally employed.¹⁵ To situate the Cambodian garment factory in a production context; the transportation infrastructure is patchy, electricity rates are the highest in the region, and kickbacks to government officials are considerable. Therefore, the incubation and growth of this industry is significant in many ways.

¹² ILO. 2005. "Promoting fair globalization in textiles and clothing in a post-MFA environment." Geneva: International Labour Organization, p. 3.

¹³ Kolben, Kevin. 2004. "Trade, Monitoring and the ILO: Working to Improve Conditions in Cambodia's Garment Factories." *Yale Human Rights & Development Law Journal* 7:79-120; Polaski, Sandra. 2004. "Protecting Labor Rights Through Trade Agreements: An Analytical Guide." *Journal of International Law and Policy*, UC Davis.

¹⁴ Figures range from 70% - 85%. Based on ILO calculation from United Nations Commodity Trade Database in "Promoting fair globalization in textiles and clothing in a post-MFA environment." 2005. Geneva: International Labour Organization.

¹⁵ ILO. 2005. "Promoting fair globalization in textiles and clothing in a post-MFA environment." Geneva: International Labour Organization.

Most workers in the garment industry are from the provinces, while over 85% of the national population is rural based. It is estimated that 90% of workers send an average of \$20 per month to their families.¹⁶ Assuming that remittances are monthly, \$240 per year is a significant figure against that of the per capita income of \$300 (in 2003). Aggregating this figure paints an even more dramatic picture - one that translates into \$80 million dollars per year where the rural-urban continuum is forged precisely through this labor.¹⁷

Increasingly, there is mounting concern amongst gender, labor and human rights groups working in Cambodia that the end of the quota system will undermine the social and political fabric of the very country it has economically enfranchised. Coupled with Cambodia's accession to the WTO in October of 2004, the country is subject and governed by the post-quota era mandates of free trade.

As noted above, the bilateral agreement with the United States gave Cambodia preferential access and has been cited as the impetus behind the "ratcheting up"¹⁸ of labor standards. The agreement signed in 1999 made market access contingent on an agreed set of labor issues; and one externally monitored by the International Labour Organization.¹⁹

It is within this context that garment manufacturers (predominantly East Asian transnationals), in collaboration with the ILO, the unions, and the Royal Government, is working towards embracing social responsibility on the shop floor as part of its competitive advantage strategy globally. I discuss the ILO program as a mode of regulation, one that has the support of the state but is not state-based, and a program that publishes findings on factory-level conditions, but which are findings that are not enforceable.

Contemporary Signs: Current Viability

Immediately following the end of the quotas, anecdotal evidence indicates that rapid industry consolidation has taken place, resulting in the closure of smaller factories and the loss of twenty thousand jobs. I asked many – policy analysts, feminist advocates, development practitioners - where these workers went, and no one could tell me for certain. There was an increase in factory jobs as the industry stabilized in April and May of this year, a few months before I arrived in Cambodia, but not enough to recuperate for this job loss. Of course, one of the challenges in working in a policy setting was that I began to realize how statistics were less than scientific but rather highly contingent, underscoring how it measures what is visible. I had access to factories, managers and

¹⁶ Asian Development Bank. December 2004. Phase I Survey. Cited in Neak, Samsen. 29 July 2005. "Background Paper: Trade in Garments and Poverty Reduction." Draft Report for CUTS International and Economic Institute of Cambodia, p. 6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Braithwaite, John, and Peter Drahos. 2000. *Global Business Regulation*. Cambridge University Press

¹⁹ "The labor standards provision represented a strategy by the Clinton administration to link trade with labor and environmental standards". Kolben, Kevin. 2004. "Trade, Monitoring, and the ILO: Working To Improve Conditions in Cambodia's Garment Factories" in *Yale Human Rights and Development Law Journal* vol. 7, p. 90.

workers who were, first of all, willing to talk to me, and second, willing to let me visit, but most importantly were visible because they were still in operation. The question of how to trace a link to those who are dislocated points to the larger question at hand of what it is at stake in the political economy of liberalized production.

Now that the quota expiration has been in effect for over ten months (which still makes the current state of affairs one snapshot in time), the ILO in a recent publication has reported that the volume and value of Cambodian exports has increased since January.²⁰

There is, generally, a perception among buyers that working conditions are better in Cambodia when looking at the region, that of South and Southeast Asia). This is according to a survey of major buyers conducted this past year²¹ which reveals in part the success of the northern consumer movement in putting pressure on major retailers to ensure better practices in its factories. This perception of Cambodia as a place of favorable working conditions is also attributable to the monitoring program established there in 2001.

Democratic Governance

Of the various strategies managed by economists and government officials working on competitiveness programs training middle management, to the Ministry of Women's Affairs establishing skills development centers for women, I focus on the International Labour Organization's Better Factories Cambodia project which illuminates a kind of initiative that integrates a core set of labor standards based on both the ILO conventions as well as Cambodian Labor Law.

Most if not all retailers such as the Gap, Ann Taylor, Wal-Mart, Marks and Spencer have had their own firm-specific "codes of conduct" for some time. Codes of conduct set out these retailers' expectations from the factories they contract from in terms of their labor and operational practices. These retailers also have deployed in-house inspectors that go out to factories to conduct evaluations. There has been deep and valid skepticism as such visits are scheduled in advance and are otherwise quite infrequent, whereas Better Factories Cambodia is locally based and is considered credible established in partnership with the trade unions, the industry association in Cambodia as well as the government. This reveals, what in the language of development, is an example of multistakeholder participation, where consensus in this instance is oriented around a framework that has established the importance of labor rights for the benefit of both workers and the industry. Again, this project was established through the U.S. – Cambodia trade agreement in 1999. And though such preferential market access is no longer permitted under WTO rules, the program is still funded in part by the U.S. Department of Labor.

Working conditions are systematically monitored by the Better Factories Cambodia project, which aims to improve working conditions in the country's export garment

²⁰ ILO. 2005. "Promoting fair globalization in textiles and clothing in a post-MFA environment." Geneva: International Labour Organization, p. 6.

²¹ World Bank Buyers Survey cited by Better Factories Cambodia.

factories. This project is unique to Cambodia as well as unusual for the ILO though it fits within its larger mandate towards decent work and labor rights. The project has a team of twelve monitors, who visit factories in pairs and arrive unannounced. The monitors' checklist, based on national and international standards, covers more than 500 items. To ensure accuracy, monitors interview workers and management separately and confidentially, and interviews with workers usually take place away from the factory.²²

One reason the monitoring program has been sited a success is that all exporting garment factories are registered with the project. Although registration is nominally voluntary, the Ministry of Commerce has made this a prerequisite before it will grant an export license to a factory. Again, the state's involvement in facilitating a process where labor conditions constitute a core institutionalized platform becomes a significant development. There have been concerns about the government's motivations given the requirements of donor aid but also its own agenda towards economic growth. When companies register with the project, they agree to provide full access to the factory premises when ILO monitors visit, and to allow these monitors to interact freely with shop stewards, union representatives and factory workers, both inside and outside the factory.

The ILO publishes its findings regularly, readily available on its website. Their assessments however reveal a mixed picture. For example, worker health and safety fall short of the standards set out in Cambodian law. A majority of factories do not install safety guards on the sewing machines which is considered to hinder production, and protective equipment like face masks to deal with dust and metal mesh gloves for cutting are also not always supplied. There is reportedly no forced or child labor in the factories, however, though this likely reflects larger corporate action towards social responsibility outside of the ILO's monitoring.

When talking about the management of compliance, adherence to labor standards in Cambodia is comparatively good. When it comes to wages, factories generally abide by minimum wage requirements for permanent workers. Because of the extreme seasonal nature of garment production, there is however, casual workers who remain the most marginalized as 20% of factories do not pay them the minimum wage even though it is mandated by law. Most factories monitored ensure that overtime work is voluntary. However, workers spoke of pressures to work overtime and their understanding of it as an implicit expectation. There is also the issue of what kind of parameters the ILO works within in terms of its monitoring program. It monitors what is formal. What this means is that it cannot assess the conditions that occur beyond the factory floor if a factory subcontracts work to smaller, unregistered businesses.²³

Assessing the Better Factories Cambodia project nevertheless provides an example of how labor rights has been integrated on the shop floor, though there are no mechanisms of enforcement. The project heralds itself as representing a convergence of common interests of the industry, international buyers, the desires of western consumers for sweat-

²² Better Factories Cambodia. October 2005. *Fifteenth Synthesis Report*.

²³ www.betterfactories.org

free products.²⁴ And with labor inspectorates that are both local and their methods (of interviewing workers outside of the factory for example which some monitoring programs do not do), the program has advocated what is called “continuous improvement” which uses highlights the nature of incremental change.

Workers themselves do not participate in the actual monitoring outside of formal interviews conducted by monitors. Whether this would result in a different perspective on the overall picture on labor conditions is critical to an examination of the project’s success, though empirical evidence nor ethnographies provide such a countervailing perspective. Cambodia’s aim to integrate into the global economic system has meant that, “suppliers in developing countries increasingly see compliance with new labor standards as a prerequisite to entry into global supply chains. Today contractors have to meet, or perhaps perform, not only world-class standards on quality and price but also on labor and environmental standards.”²⁵ This is not an argument that the market corrects itself but that market mechanisms rationalize positive impacts in labor and the environment, particularly for big name buyers. There is also the critique that such consumer and buyer-oriented external monitoring systems engender a halo around clothing, creating a sort of commodity fetish making it difficult to truly assess the labor conditions under which such clothing is manufactured.

Thus, there are positive impacts but limitations to such practices as they are proscribed by profit imperatives. More favorable working conditions are variable and alone cannot sustain an industry which leaves the question of future dislocations open-ended.

Looking Ahead

The larger challenge ahead is what will happen when Chinese garments and textiles are no longer subject to imposed caps by the European Union and the United States, in effect until 2007. When garment imports from China skyrocketed, U.S. free-trade advocates were up in arms and insisted on imposing quotas. The U.S. reserved the unilateral right to institute limits on garment imports as part of China’s agreement in joining the WTO in 2001. This in part reveals the uneven applications of free trade. Accordingly, it can be expected that continuing shifts and impacts will reveal a new regime of trade.

Earlier, I made the distinction that women’s labor was constructed rather than inherently cheap; important to a discussion of the struggle over rights whether that be the right to a living wage or the right to organize, which brings me to my closing point on the importance of organizing.

There are few independent unions in the garment sector and most are considered privatized unions forged under the patronage of the dominant political party or factory management. Though I was told that unionization rates were universal by some, including the CCADWU (Coalition of Cambodian Apparel Workers’ Democratic

²⁴ www.betterfactories.org

²⁵ O’Rourke, Dara. 2003. “Outsourcing Regulation: Analyzing Nongovernmental Systems of Labor Standards and Monitoring” in *The Policy Studies Journal* vol. 31, no. 5.

Unions), I was also told by garment workers that this didn't necessarily render any sort of protection or representation. That union leadership is dominated by men though they represent only 10% of the workforce signals in part the gendered geography of labor and power.

But it also is imparted by the nature of anti-union discrimination, which still remains very common at the point of production while union activities have led to dismissals. This reveals that the struggles between labor and management are constantly in flux. And to that end, the right to association as articulated both in ILO and the human rights conventions is the struggle over labor rights as the greater battle than the struggle over standards.

Rights are conceptualized as inviolable and universal; standards are managed through compliance. What is interesting then is not to distinguish rights as absolute and labor standards as relative, but that the struggle over meanings and ownership of one's labor is one that is equally contingent and negotiated. Looking at the many dimensions of liberalization, such as a human rights framework that cuts across many disciplines, provides linkages between the political economy, gender and labor which just begins to allow for what is my continued engagement with neoliberal trade in the situated landscape of Cambodia.