COTTON IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

Mapping Material Culture through Indian Ocean Trade

BY KAYLEE STECK
Mapping Material Culture Through Indian Ocean Trade: Cotton in the Global Economy

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Cover Image: Length of Cotton, first quarter 18th century, Indian, Coromandel Coast, Cotton, painted resist and mordant, dyed, 153 x 46 in. (388.6 x 116.8 cm), Textiles-Painted and Dyed, Purchase, Rogers Fund, and Gerald G. Stiebel and Werwaiss Family Charitable Trust Gifts, 2005, Accession Number 2005.166

Title Page Image: Dress (Robe à l'Anglaise), 1785–95, American, cotton, baleen, Brooklyn Museum Costume Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the Brooklyn Museum, 2009; A. Augustus Healy Fund, 1934, Accession Number 2009.300.647
Introduction

This lesson on Indian Ocean trade focuses on the rise of cotton as a global commodity. It foregrounds the antecedents of Europe’s cotton industry and their contributions to industrialization.

First, students identify cotton trade routes from the Medieval Era to the Industrial and Imperial Era in order to connect the global success of cotton to the export markets, material culture, and technologies that were cultivated by centuries of cotton trade centered on the Indian Ocean and dominated by the Middle East and Asia. They use interactive maps available on the Indian Ocean in World History website to collect and record information. The lesson then examines some sources of our historical knowledge about cotton trade. Students read and analyze a speech extracted from *Hansard Parliamentary Debates* from the mid-nineteenth century and study cloth artifacts from the “Interwoven Globe.” In follow up activities, students may write about themes such as the decline of cottage industries due to mechanization, research the relationship between imperial power and merchant networks, or analyze important technologies that facilitated the rise of global cotton after the eighteenth century.

This lesson provides material relevant to understanding industrialization and globalization. It can be taught as a freestanding lesson, or divided and combined with other lessons.

Grade Level
7th through 12th grades

Time Required
Two to three class periods, depending on how many of the activities, optional activities, and suggested follow-up activities you chose to implement.

Materials
Maps (available on Indian Ocean in World History Website)
Cloth artifacts (photographs of cotton samples are available on the “Interwoven Globe” exhibition website; teachers can also obtain additional cotton prints for a hands-on demonstration from a fabric store)
Projector

Essential Questions
How does the history of cotton trade aid in the reimagining of cultural and geographic boundaries?
Why was cotton a critical commodity in global trade?
What factors supported and challenged industrialization and the rise of Europe’s cotton industry?

Skills Taught
Analyzing maps to make historical deductions.
Critical reading of primary sources and artifacts.
Make historical arguments based on written and material evidence.
Standards (All national standards (5-12) are available: http://www.nchs.ucla.edu/history-standards/world-history-content-standards)

National Standards for World History (5-12), Standard 1: The Emergence of the First Global Age, 1450-1770.
- Understand how the transoceanic interlinking of all major regions of the world from 1450-1600 led to global transformations

National Standards for World History (7-12) Standard 2: An Age of Revolutions, 1750-1914
- Assess the relative importance of geographical, economic, technological, and political factors that permitted or encouraged the rise of mechanized industry in England.

National Standards for World History (7-12) Standard 3: An Age of Revolutions, 1750-1914
- Describe patterns of British trade linking India with Europe and assess ways in which Indian farmers and manufacturers responded to world trade.

Procedure

Activity 1. Introduction to Cotton as a Global Commodity

Go to www.indianoceanhistory.org. Click on the “Maps” tab and open Medieval Era, First Global Era, and Industrial/Imperial Era in three separate tabs. Move between the maps in chronological order and tell students to observe the geographical linkages over land and sea. Ask students to make hypotheses about the technologies and goods that characterized Indian Ocean trade over time.

Tell the class that archaeologists have discovered cotton cloth fragments on the banks of the Indus River that date to 3200 BCE. Cotton textiles were a critical commodity in early global trade and would become one of the most important manufactured goods in world trade in the Industrial/Imperial Era.

Distribute Handout 1 to students. Handout 1 includes excerpts from different map entries about cotton in the Medieval Era. While displaying the Medieval map, ask students to work in pairs to make hypotheses in the following categories based on the maps and the evidence in the descriptions.
- Potential import/export markets
- Potential sources of cotton
- Potential uses of cotton textiles
- Nascent substitution strategies (ex: supplementing local production with imports; using imported cloth as raw material for production of local products by unraveling imported clothes; using Indian cotton cloth for local printing)

Next ask students to look up a definition of mordants and/or share with them the following information:
Mordants are substances that fix dyes to fabrics. Alum--a by-product of mining--was one substance that fixed the color so that it would not come out with repeated washings. Mordant printing was often used in combination with other dyeing techniques such as resist dyeing and
hand painting. Resist dyeing was done by applying wax or clay to fabric to prevent the dye from penetrating it during the dye bath.

Tell students that these ancient techniques are still used to produce what we think of as modern designs. Ask students if they have ever heard of tie-dye. Tie-dye uses ancient resist-dyeing techniques such as folding and twisting the fabric and/or binding the fabric with string or rubber bands. This is only one example of how ancient printing techniques have survived the test of time.

→ For other textile terms and techniques see the textile terms glossary at the end of the packet.

The mastery of dye techniques enabled the production of intricate designs with a variety of colors and rich details. This helps explain the pre-eminence of Indian cottons. Competition with Indian cottons spurred the development of import substitution strategies in the Middle East, Africa, and Europe. Historians hypothesize that Indian advantage was in part due to quality of design. From the early Middle Ages, the Indian subcontinent had advanced techniques for printing and painting cotton textiles. Ask the class to identify other factors that might have contributed to the pre-eminence of Indian cottons and the rise of cotton as a global commodity. Examples of students’ answers might include:
  - Lower prices of Indian manufactured goods
  - Qualities of cloth, dyes, washability
  - Trade networks
  - Adapting designs to different cultural groups

**Activity 2. Primary Source Document Analysis: Sir Charles Wood and Cotton Supply**

Using the same website in Activity 1, display the Industrial/Imperial Era map. Click on the entry called “Cotton Calico, machine made prints.” Read the entry together with the class as an introduction. Emphasize themes from Activity 1, such as the exchange of Indian cotton and its pre-eminence in global markets before they became saturated with European textiles. Also, point out that European governments wanted to protect their markets for wool and linen against Indian cottons’ popularity. After reading the entry, ask the class to explain how Europe went from an importer to an exporter of cotton textiles. What resources did British merchants and manufacturers draw on to build a European cotton industry?

Now, tell students they are going to read excerpts from a primary source to learn about the markets and materials that supported Britain’s cotton industry. The source is *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, a series of reports on the proceedings of British Parliament that date back to the early nineteenth century. Thomas Curson Hansard (d. 1833) originally compiled newspaper accounts of parliamentary debates to publish as reports under the title of “Hansard’s Debates.” Hansard began publishing without parliamentary support, but later volumes were subsidized for distribution to public departments and colonial legislatures.

Distribute the primary source document in Handout 2. Working in pairs or small groups, ask students to answer the questions on the back of the handout.
Afterwards, synthesize information with the entire class by holding a discussion in which students share their answers, after they deliberate in pairs or small groups.

→ Optional Activity: You may also ask students to watch a video segment on Colonial India and note the ways that the British attempted to influence the clothing of the people they ruled. Go to Bridging World History at https://www.learner.org/courses/worldhistory/unit_video_21-2.html# and watch minutes 13:04-24:56.

**Activity 3. Assessing Artifacts: The Art of Making Chintz**

Activity 3 is based on materials from an art exhibition on global textile trade. Tell students the name of the exhibition, “Interwoven Global: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800.” You may ask the class to preview or speculate on the contents and origins of the exhibition based on the title and other activities in this lesson. Examples of students’ answers might include:

- International diffusion of design through textiles
- Trade between Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Europe (land routes shift to ocean routes)
- Material culture

Without giving any more background information, distribute Handout 3. Working in pairs or small groups, ask students to guess the provenance, approximate date or period, and the style of the clothing in the images.

After they have shared their hypotheses and arguments with the class, give students the correct information.

**Image 1**

- Type: Dress
- Date: 1785-95
- Culture: American
- Origin: Indian
- Medium: Cotton
- Other information: The apparent regularity of the pattern on this American-made dress suggests that the cotton was block-printed in England, but subtle differences in each vine, leaf, and flower indicate that they were meticulously hand-painted, revealing the fabric's Indian origins. The broad width of the yardage—forty-four inches—also points to Indian manufacture. Notwithstanding early technological advancements in European printing centers in France and England, the exoticism and affordability of Indian painted and printed cottons encouraged their popularity.
- Image Credit: Dress (Robe à l'Anglaise), 1785–95, American, cotton, baleen, Brooklyn Museum Costume Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the Brooklyn Museum, 2009; A. Augustus Healy Fund, 1934, Accession Number 2009.300.647
Image 2

- Type: Man’s Morning Gown
- Date: mid-18th century
- Culture: India, for the French market
- Medium: Cotton (printed and painted resist and mordant, dyed)
- Other Information: The Indian palampore-inspired floral designs on this cotton fabric are more typically seen in expensive French dress silks of the mid-eighteenth century. The surface of the cotton, produced in India for the French market, is enlivened by labor-intensive gilding and burnishing, elevating the cotton to an exotic luxury fabric. This outfit would have been reserved for private encounters and the gold leaf would have glittered in a candle-lit room.
- Image Credit: Man’s Morning Gown (Banyan), mid-18th century, Cotton (printed and painted resist and mordant, dyed) with applied gold leaf, silk lining, made in India, for the French market, Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the Textile Arts Club

Next ask students to look up a definition of chintz and/or share with them the following information:

*Chintz is a printed and glazed cotton fabric, typically with a flowery pattern. The word Chintz comes from the Hindi chheent (meaning spattering, stain). Its earliest documented use is 1614.*


Pause the clip at the end and ask students to examine the example of a finished Chintz. Ask students to give examples of where they have encountered similar designs in their lives (ex: curtains, wall hangings, bedcovers, upholstery, paintings, and drawings). The idea is to connect modern material culture with designs and techniques that took root in the East centuries before they were absorbed into Western aesthetic vocabularies.


**Suggested Follow-Up Activities**

- Assign students to write an account of the multi-rooted character of the cotton industry. Students should draw on information they garner from the background essay for this lesson and the activities.
- Assign students to research and write about the experience of cottage industry workers in India and Europe.

- Ask students to create a presentation of cotton cloth from different regions involved in Indian Ocean cotton trade. How are their designs similar or different? Is there evidence of cultural exchange between different geographies and cultures? Include maps of the location of various cotton-producing areas.
  - Artifacts: “Interwoven Globe” online exhibition.
- In order to support cotton trade, different types of infrastructure were developed to facilitate production and exchange. Study ways in which technological developments and changes in labor practices affected cotton trade in the early modern period. (examples: spinning wheels, cotton gin, water-frame, spinning jenny, power looms)
  - Resource: Indian Ocean in World History, use maps to read entries about technologies

**Online Lesson References:**

Bridging World History: Colonial India
http://www.learner.org/courses/worldhistory/unit_video_21-2.html

Indian Ocean in World History:
http://www.indianoceanhistory.org/

The Interwoven Globe:
http://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2013/interwoven-globe

The Textile Museum:
www.textilemuseum.org

**Printed Lesson References**

*Primary Sources*


*UK Parliamentary Debates:*

172 Parliamentary Debates. 3d Series, 1863.

*Secondary Sources*


Historical omissions are useful insofar as they reinforce major trends and themes; they make history digestible. However, the privileging of certain information over time creates powerful narratives that overstate certain trends, while ignoring others. For example, there is a view that Europe’s industrial revolution can be explained by socio-cultural factors such as Enlightenment traditions, rational beliefs, strong institutions, and the rule of law. This view is deeply rooted in colonial discourses, which provide socio-cultural explanations for European “superiority” over indigenous populations. It also leaves out the less benign factors that supported industrialization: captive markets and coerced labor.

The global success of cotton as an industrial product of mechanization cannot deny its indebtedness to export markets, material culture, and technologies that were cultivated by centuries of cotton trade centered on the Indian Ocean and dominated by the Middle East and Asia. This essay goes against the grain of the privileged narrative by contending that the rise of a new global power did not result in the immediate deindustrialization of Indian cotton, since early substitution in Europe was mostly confined to printing rather than the cotton cloth itself;\(^1\) nor did it entail the rapid replacement of Middle Eastern intermediaries.

The main secondary sources that inform this argument are *The Spinning World* (2009), a global history of cotton textiles, and *Empire of Cotton* (2014), which is similar in scope. Most historians have focused on local, regional, and national aspects of cotton history. What sets these works apart is their global approach to understanding cotton as it relates to transformations in trade, material culture, industry, and labor. The former is an edited collection of essays that is broad in content and expertise. Drawing on the linguistic and historical skills of twenty scholars residing in nine countries and three continents, *The Spinning World* explores the modern history of cotton textiles through a global perspective that links modern industrialization with the early history of cotton. This compendium challenges Eurocentric narratives that have dominated histories of cotton and industrialization by broadening its historical focus to encompass multiple geographies across time.

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Empire of Cotton also draws on a global framework to study Europe’s cotton industry. It emphasizes links between war and industry and focuses on exogenous factors, such as the cheap supply of raw materials and labor. While The Spinning World foregrounds cotton as a commodity and highlights the multi-rootedness of modernity, Empire of Cotton uses cotton to explain the imperial underpinnings of industrialization, turning our gaze from coal mines and railroads to raw materials and producers.²

Given their overlapping agendas, The Spinning World and Empire of Cotton take similar stances regarding the role of Asian merchants and the factors that enabled the rise of Europe’s cotton industry. Both works argue that Asian merchants continued to be major players in Indian Ocean cotton cloth trade into the nineteenth century. Likewise, both works emphasize Europe’s apprenticeship to Indian cotton, and the central role of captive markets and mercantilist state policies in Britain’s cotton industry. Moreover, their use of a comparative method reveals patterns across time and space, such as the pre-eminence of Indian cottons across differentiated markets, and the use of diverse import substitution strategies in the Middle East, Africa, and Europe.

Overall these sources are provocative in that they provide revisionist narratives of modern history; they suggest that global hegemony is not stable, and that the pendulum of history will reliably swing in favor of a new region, leading to the destruction and resuscitation of industry. Moreover, they shed light on issues that usually lurk in the background, such as slavery and expropriation. Finally, by taking a global perspective, these works point to links between Asian and European weavers; they draw attention to networks of power that connected merchants, manufacturers, and state bureaucrats; and complicate colonizer-colonized binaries.

Nevertheless, there are pitfalls to consider when using these sources as framing narratives. First, a global framing runs the risk of generalizing the development of different cotton industries and homogenizing the variety of methods and tools used in cotton exploitation and production. Second, these sources promote a comparative method because it is a relatively new way of studying cotton. Historians should debate the merits of doing something simply because it is new, and ask whether new is actually better. Part of the reason why global commodity studies have become more fashionable is that our contemporary understanding of history is shaped by a context in which the forces of globalization are very tangible. Despite these pitfalls, we can use these sources to unravel and rework narratives of industrialization.

Handout 1: Introduction to Cotton as a Global Commodity

Medieval Era
(From The Indian Ocean in World History website http://www.indianoceanhistory.org)

**Ibn Battuta in the Maldives:** “From these [Maldive] islands there are exported the fish we have mentioned, coconuts, cloths, and cotton turbans, as well as brass utensils.”

**Yemeni Ikat Shawl:** This picture shows a fragment from a shawl that dates back to nearly a thousand years in the 10th century CE. It is cotton, woven in stripes using the ikat method for making a design. Ikat patterned fabrics are found in Central Asia and in Southeast Asia. In the Spice Islands of Indonesia around the tenth century, ikat woven fabrics began to appear.

**Kilwa (Southeast Africa):** Kilwa was known for its stone houses made of coral for the wealthiest citizens, and wooden as well as earthen ones for the lower classes. Gardens and cotton fields added to the city's wealth and beauty, and cloth was one of the crafts in the city. A specialty fabric was made by unraveling imported colored cloth dyed in colors not available there, and the threads were worked into locally produced cloth. Kilwa was at its height from the 1100s to the 1500s, and declined after it was attacked by the Portuguese.

**Calicut:** A city of spice and textile trade on the Malabar (western) coast of India, Calicut has many names. The Chinese called it Kalifo, and the Arabs Kalikat. The name is actually world famous, though most people do not know it is related to a city. Calicut gave its name to the cotton printed fabric called calico, the kind of fabric in traditional quilts.

**Block Printed Indian Cotton to Egypt:** This piece of cotton printed fabric was found in Egypt, where it was imported from India in the 12th century. This piece shows a design of geese and flowers, known as the sacred goose pattern. Indian printed cottons were sold all around the Indian Ocean, in places such as East Africa and Indonesia. Indian textile artisans adapted designs to differentiated markets. Later fabrics of this type were called 'calicoes' after the Indian city of Calicut.
Hypotheses/Observations:
Handout 2

Primary Source Document: “Cotton From India,” *Hansard Parliamentary Debates (1863)*

[1] Mr. Cobden, a representative of a cotton constituency: Now, I do not come to this House or to any one else to help me to get cotton. I say you are in possession of India, and for Heaven’s sake, in the present crisis in Lancashire, try to get cotton there in a legitimate way. I maintain that this is a matter in which not merely the cotton spinners and manufacturers of this country are concerned. I wish to say a word with regard to the position in which Lancashire stands with regard to this House, and what I may call the governing classes in this country. A calamity has befallen us, national in its effect and national in its origin. It is not a calamity that has befallen us through any neglect of duty. It is not because business is dying out, because coal or iron is exhausted, because skilled hands have gone out of the country, that this crisis has happened. You have capital in Lancashire ready to employ all your people, and ready to compete with all the world. You have the most ingenious artisans and the most enterprising capitalists in the world. You have the ingenious artisans and the most enterprising capitalists in the world; but they have been deprived of the raw material of their industry, and by no act of their own but by a national act. This blockade of the Southern ports of America is part of the national policy.

[2] Sir Charles Wood, the British foreign secretary for India: I have always been afraid that I stated too strongly my expectations of what the supply of cotton from India might be. At the same time, I have always expressed the opinion that supply could not come at once, but must be gradual. To divert land from the production of one description of crop to the production of another must be a gradual process. Machinery may be multiplied in a short time, and the produce of it rapidly increased; but I repeat that land can not be suddenly diverted to the production of a new description of crop, especially in India, where the main crop is bread stuff, or grain of some kind for the food of the people. Therefore, though I have held out expectations that there would be a large increase in the supply of cotton from India, I have always guarded myself by saying that increase must necessarily be gradual. I believe that the supply will come now, because now, for the first time, there has arisen that which is the indispensable stimulus for the production in India – that is, the prospect of a fair, reasonable and certain price. That is the condition which will produce a supply of cotton, and I do not think that anything else is necessary.

[3] Sir Charles Wood, the British foreign secretary for India: On the part of the Government, I have only to say, that while I was unwilling to undertake functions which ought to be left to private enterprise, I was ready to afford the facilities I have described. Is it so extraordinary that anything of this kind should be done? Is it not the practice as regards other goods, and indeed as regards cotton elsewhere? Not long ago I read an article in a Review, sensibly written by a gentleman of great knowledge in regard to the purchase of cotton. The writer says – “In the States of America the cotton planter has been followed to his plantations by the agents of the European spinners, and the stimulant of the price paid for the article…has promoted the growth of the best classes of cotton, and has vastly extended their cultivation.” Why should not the agents of the European spinners adopt a similar course in India?

Handout 2: Close Reading of Hansard Parliamentary Debates

Answer each question, citing information from the document by paragraph number.

1. Why are *Hansards Parliamentary Debates* a valuable source for historical analysis? What institutions and activities can this source help us study?

2. Why was there distress in the cotton manufacturing districts of Lancashire?

3. Why did the British government consider expanding Indian cotton production? Whose perspectives are left out of the discussion on exploiting Indian cotton?

4. What strategies does the British foreign secretary for India recommend for increasing cotton production?

5. Give an example of another primary source that could be used to study cotton trade in the Imperial era.

6. Do these excerpts give us a sense of the India’s cotton legacy or Britain’s apprenticeship to Indian cotton industry? Explain why these omissions are potential pitfalls?

7. What do these excerpts indicate about relations between state and business powers?
Handout 4:  
Consuming Kashmir: Shawls and Empires, 1500-2000

Answer each question, citing information from the document

1. How were shawls used as ritual objects given by elites to one another?

2. How did the British become familiar with the shawl?

3. How did they begin to be interested in its use as well as in its trade?

4. Why did the British reproductions of the motifs and designs of the shawls initially fail?

5. Why do world historians consider it important that Napoleon’s wife created the fashion of wearing the shawl in Europe?

6. How is the story of the Kashmiri shawl an example of unsuccessful colonial domination?

*Questions taken from Bridging World History lesson on Colonial India
Textile Terms Glossary*

**Dyeing**: A process through which molecules imparting color are chemically bonded to fibers.

- **Natural dye**: Dye in which the coloring agent is extracted from plant, animal, or mineral matter. The most common natural dyes are found in plants, but certain insects produce a red dye and certain shellfish produce a purple dye. Rust is an ancient mineral dye.
- **Synthetic dye**: Dye in which the coloring agent is chemically manufactured. The first synthetic dyes were developed in the mid-19th century, and many types have been invented since then.
- **Mordant**: A substance that helps to create a chemical bond between the dye and the fiber in the dyeing process.
- **Resist dyeing**: A process of dyeing selected areas of yarns or fabrics by covering up the areas intended to remain undyed so that they “resist” the dye.

**Embroidery**: The embellishment of fabrics by means of needle-worked stitches.

**Ikat**: A dyeing technique used to pattern textiles that employs resist dyeing on the yarns prior to dyeing and weaving the fabric. In ikat the resist is formed by binding individual yarns or bundles of yarns with a tight wrapping applied in the desired pattern. The yarns are then dyed.

**Indigo**: A dye containing the coloring agent indigotin, which produces a blue color. Indigotin is found in the leaves of several species of plants native to and utilized in different parts of the world. It was first synthesized in the late 19th century.

**Loom**: A device for weaving, containing means of lifting selected warp yarns above other warp yarns, forming a space called a shed through which the weft is passed. The invention of the loom increased the speed at which cloth could be made of spun yarns.

**Palampore**: Large, usually hand-painted cotton bedcovering or hanging made in India for export markets; often decorated with Tree of Life designs and motifs culled from both East and West.

**Printing**: Although with the invention of synthetic dyes it is now possible to apply color directly to fabric, this process will not produce washable colors with natural dyes. Instead, designs first had to be printed either with a mordant or with a resist, and the entire fabric then immersed in the dye bath.

**Spinning**: The process of drawing out and twisting together massed short fibers into a continuous strand. Fibers of naturally limited length, such as cotton and wool, must be spun to achieve a desired length, texture, and strength. Traditionally most fiber was spun by hand. Today most fiber is spun by machine.

*See more definitions at [www.textilemuseum.org](http://www.textilemuseum.org) and [http://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2013/interwoven-globe](http://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2013/interwoven-globe)
Economic Terms Glossary*

**Argument for protection:** A reason given for restricting imports by tariffs.

**Bilateral trade:** The trade between two countries; that is, the value of quantity of one country’s exports to the other, or the sum of exports and imports between them.

**Bottleneck:** A situation that causes delay in a process or system; lack of imports is making the bottlenecks in domestic output worse than usual.

**Capital:** (1) The plant and equipment used in production. (2) A stock of financial assets.

**Capital intensive:** Describing an industry or sector of the economy that relies heavily on inputs of capital, usually relative to labor, compared to other industries or sectors.

**Capitalism:** An economic system in which capital is mostly owned by private individuals and corporations.

**Commodity:** Could refer to any good, but in a trade context a commodity is usually a raw material or primary product that enters into international trade, such as metals or basic agricultural products.

**Comparative advantage:** The ability to produce a good at lower cost, relative to other goods, compared to another country.

**Cottage Industry:** A business or manufacturing activity carried on in a person’s home.

**Dumping:** Export price that is “unfairly low,” defined as either below the home market price or below cost. With the rare exception of successful predatory dumping, dumping is economically beneficial to the importing country as a whole (though harmful to competing producers) and often represents normal business practice.

**Globalization:** The increasing world-wide integration of markets for goods, services and capital.

**Import Substitution:** A strategy for economic development that replaces imports with domestic production. It may be motivated by the infant industry argument, or simply by the desire to mimic the industrial structure of advanced countries.

- **Import substituting industrialization:** A strategy for economic development based on replacing imports with domestic production.
- **Infant industry protection:** Protection of a newly established domestic industry that is less productive than foreign producers.

**Industrialization:** The establishment and subsequent growth of industrial production in a country, usually meaning heavy manufacturing.
Mercantilism: An economic philosophy of the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries that international commerce should primarily serve to increase a country’s financial wealth, especially of gold and foreign currency. To that end, exports are viewed as desirable and imports as undesirable unless they led to even greater exports.

Protection: Restriction of imports by means of tariffs, and thereby intended to insulate domestic producers from competition with imported goods.

Tariff: A tax on trade, usually an import tariff but sometimes used to denote an export tax.

Terms of Trade: The relative price of a country’s exports compared to its imports. Could also refer more broadly to the policies, facilities, and other arrangements that characterize the trade between one country or group of countries and another.

Textiles: Cloth. The textiles sector is important for trade, along with apparel, because with some exceptions it is a very labor intensive sector, and it is therefore a likely source of comparative advantage for development countries.

Textiles and Apparel: These largely labor intensive sectors are often the first manufactured exports of developing countries. Because of the threat to employment in developed countries, however, they have long been protected there.

*See more definitions in Terms of Trade: Glossary of International Economics (2006), available online through Georgetown Libraries.
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