

HEC 2021/01  
Department of History and Civilisation  
Twentieth-Century International Economic  
Thinking, and the Complex History of Globalisation  
(ECOINT)

# WORKING PAPER

**Twentieth-Century International Economic  
Thinking, and the Complex History of  
Globalization: A New Research Programme**

Glenda Sluga



European University Institute

**Department of History and Civilisation**

Twentieth-Century International Economic Thinking, and the Complex  
History of Globalisation (ECOINT)

**Twentieth-Century International Economic Thinking, and  
the Complex History of Globalization: A New Research  
Programme**

Glenda Sluga

HEC Working Paper 2021/01

ISSN 1028-3625

## Department of History and Civilisation



**ECOINT**  
Twentieth Century International  
Economic Thinking



European Research Council  
Established by the European Commission



*“This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 885285 ).”*

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Sluga, Glenda (2021) ‘Twentieth-Century International Economic Thinking, and the Complex History of Globalization: A New Research Programme’ EUI Working Paper HEC 2021/01

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Published in June 2021 by the European University Institute.

Badia Fiesolana, via dei Roccettini 9  
I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)  
Italy  
[www.eui.eu](http://www.eui.eu)

Views expressed in this publication reflect the opinion of individual author(s) and not those of the European University Institute.

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**Abstract:** This Working Paper is the first in a series launched as a platform to make openly accessible and put forward for debate knowledge generated in the ERC funded project “Twentieth-Century International Economic Thinking, and the Complex History of Globalization (ECOINT)”. This first paper outlines the terms of that project, its major concerns and ambitions, including the generation of cutting-edge knowledge on the struggles over economic ideas that have fashioned the paths to globalization, and social history of women economic thinkers in international institutions.

**Keywords:** International Economic Thinking; Globalization; Women economic thinkers.



# Twentieth-Century International Economic Thinking, and the Complex History of Globalization: A New Research Programme

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## Setting the Scene<sup>1</sup>

Today, as globalization is blamed for widespread crises of corporate excess, gaping economic inequality, and revival of populist nationalisms, the necessity for fully understanding the historical realities of the integration of the world's economies, is more pressing than ever. There is a growing body of historical literature that addresses this task, studying the 'what', 'when', 'how', 'why', and 'for whom' questions of the long-term story of the integration of the world's economy, whether by reviving the history of capitalism, returning to the economic legacies of imperialism, or writing the origins of neo-liberalism (Cooper 2001; Hopkins, 2002; Jones 2002; Arrighi 2010; Dejung & Petersson 2013; James 2014; Kocka 2016; Slobodian 2018; Olsen 2019). One aspect of the history of globalization, however, has attracted surprisingly little systematic attention: its *international* dimensions. We can think of these as the influence and ideas generated in the context of the intergovernmental organizations and their non-governmental satellites (Amrith & Sluga 2008; Sluga 2013; Sluga & Clavin 2017b).

ECOINT sets out to fill this gap by writing a history of the international character of globalization focused on the ideas and influence of not only better-known economists, but also 'mid-level' and 'non-intellectual' economic thinkers working in and with intergovernmental organizations [IGOs] and international non-government organizations [INGOs], 1919-2001—we call them 'international economic thinkers'.

ECOINT advances an innovative approach to the study of the struggles over economic ideas that have fashioned the paths of globalization. It shifts our focus from international economic thought as an unanchored field of ideas, to 'international economic thinking', generated in and through institutional sites distinctive to the 20th century: intergovernmental organisations and associated international non-governmental organisations. It asks: Where do we find international globalization thinking? Who were international economic thinkers? How did they shape the course of globalization? What does it mean that many of them were women? What does this history tell us about the paths taken or missed by globalization? ECOINT's starting

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<sup>1</sup> This text is an amended version of the successful ERC Advanced Grant proposal with the same title, submitted by Glenda Sluga. The has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme, grant agreement no 885285 (2020-2025).

point 1919, marks the establishment of the League of Nations and its system of international institutions, including the International Labour Organization [ILO], and satellite INGOs such as the International Chamber of Commerce [ICC], and its younger sister organization, the International Federation of Business and Professional Women [IFBPW]. By taking 2001 as its closing parameter, ECOINT's research program usefully extends across a period of intense economic developments that were crucial to the making of the 21st century global economic order—whether imperialism or the complicating factor of postcolonial economic nationalism, the remarkable (but not unpredictable) moment of the New International Economic Order, the arrival of neo-liberalism and market fundamentalism in the 1970s, the anomaly of international cartels and irresistible rise of multinationals. ECOINT pursues the Cold War, and its end, when the UN 'Human Security' program exemplified the impact of a longer history of social modes of thinking about the economy, on the one hand, and the neologism 'globalization' became a conventional tool for depicting in simple terms that more complex, and forgotten, international and intellectual past, on the other hand (Selchow 2017). In order to advance our understanding of globalization in innovative ways, ECOINT's ambition is to historicise and narrate a nuanced tableau of the changes and continuities in international economic thinking over this period, while helping us understand the significance of ideas, institutions, and individual economic thinkers in that same history. By focusing on international economic thinking, and providing novel historical evidence, ECOINT not only fills a gap in the historical scholarship on globalization, it recovers alternative ways in which global integration has been imagined, and, hence, historically informs the current debate on possible global futures.

### **ECOINT Objectives**

The overarching ambition of ECOINT is an integrated history and deeper understanding of the registers of international economic thinking that facilitated global economic integration. Its central objectives are:

1. The capture of the breadth and depth of international economic ideas from 1919 to 2001, leading to a capstone global history of international economic thinking, with a particular focus on mid-level and 'non-intellectual' intellectuals working with/at through international institutions, both IGOs and INGOs.
2. The study of an important but understudied cohort of these mid-level and 'non-intellectual' international economic thinkers in the 20th century international system, namely women, leading to a history of women economic thinkers working with/at international institutions, both IGOs and INGOs.
3. An emphasis on economic thinking generated in and through institutional sites that distinctly shaped the 20th century, leading to the mapping of international economic thinking at major IGOs, with particular attention to the UN Regional Economic Commissions, in Europe, Asia and the Pacific, Latin America, and Africa. ECOINT will also map the business INGOs that orbited in the international system, the IFBPW and where relevant the ICC, leading to new histories of these bodies, their expert staff and a deeper understanding of their international economic influence.

The establishment of a collaborative empirical research database gathering the primary evidence of male and female economic thinkers who found work as elite and 'mid-level intellectuals' in international policy making bureaucracies: the League of Nations, ILO, UN,

UNESCO, FAO, IMF, World Bank, UNCTAD, and UN Regional Economic Commissions [ECs]; as well as women who sought influence through the IFBPW and ICC (Hq and regional branches), including as 'non-intellectual' economic thinkers.

### **An innovative focus for understanding the complex history of globalization**

At critical moments in the 20th century—before 'globalization' became a popular term of political and economic reference—reflections on the virtues (or otherwise) of processes termed 'international economic integration' rehearsed perspectives that still sound familiar today. For example, in 1957, Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish economist and head of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe [ECE] (1947-1957), elaborated a personal stake in what he defined as the competing worldviews of 'economic nationalism' and 'economic internationalism'. Myrdal took the side of economic nationalism, despite the threat he believed it posed global economic equality and international unity, on the grounds that it was a necessary condition for the survival of social democratic welfarism. More than half a century later, these same framings of economic choices echo through critiques of 'globalization'. Progressive versions of economic nationalism have returned as the mantra of political campaigns, such as that of Elizabeth Warren, even as populist anti-globalization rhetoric fuels the xenophobia of the contemporary 'Right'.

For all its conceptual resonance, Gunnar Myrdal's mid-20th century assessment of the relative virtues of economic nationalism and internationalism was situated in a richer field of economic thinking about the potential of international economic integration. Even within his close circle there were differences of opinion on the relative virtues of an internationalist approach to economic policymaking. By the 1940s, Alva Myrdal, who worked with her husband Gunnar to institute social democratic welfare policies in Sweden, imagined a 'democratic welfare world', as she termed it. In her international roles—first as Director of UN Social Affairs (1949), advocating for 'technical assistance' programs in the colonial world, and, then at UNESCO in charge of the Social Sciences Division (1950-1956)—Myrdal was motivated to use her positions to upscale the welfare state through the instruments of intergovernmental institutions. In other words, on her view, economic internationalism was the means of prioritising and expanding welfare policies and promoting economic equality globally. For most of the 20th century, Alva Myrdal's internationalist version of the methods and benefits of international economic integration constituted a subdued, yet consistent strand of thinking. Significantly, her gender-inflected economic policies run through the international economic thinking of the rare female economist on Gunnar Myrdal's ECE team, Ester Boserup, who also made women her development focus (Boserup 1999, Humphries & Best 2003). Eventually, by the 1990s, a gendered version of economic internationalism resonated too in the UN 'Human Security' concept, which put economic and gender equality at the heart of security strategy (Sluga 2014).

Ester Boserup and Alva Myrdal's feminist priorities, and Gunnar Myrdal's preoccupation with the nation, are just some examples of the range of 'distributional imaginaries' and economic thinking hatched in the landscapes of international institutions. But they help illustrate the relevance of two central premises of ECOINT's approach to the study of globalization. First, they demonstrate the significance of international organisations as distinct sites of vivid and influential negotiations of imaginaries of global economic integration between all kinds of,

notably, mid-level intellectuals, including women. Second, they demonstrate the value of taking women international economic thinkers, like Myrdal and Boserup, seriously, and understanding their unique contributions to the struggles over the path of globalization.

## ECOINT Research Program

The ECOINT research program has been designed as a series of interlocking, mutually reinforcing research projects studying the multifaceted forms of international economic thinking, as a means of capturing the international character of globalization through the 20th century. Its empirical foundations are the program's investigations of the archives of IGOs, INGOs, relevant national collections, personal correspondence, papers, and diaries. This research, the analysis of primary sources, and mapping of people, their ideas, their locations, and relative influence, is driven by four research questions that harbour our core conceptual problematics:

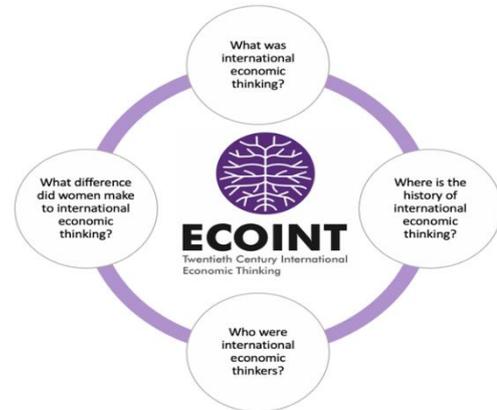


Figure 1: ECOINT's four main research questions

### 1. What was international economic thinking?

To the extent that there is currently a field of historical study that takes international economic thinking seriously, it is splintered. In some of these versions, the international is an under-theorised space, conceived as a limited set of national relationships (Cohen 2005; Barnett 2015); in others, 'development' is the dominant paradigm of international economic thought (Engerman 2003; Unger 2018; Macekura 2019). The conceptual vocabulary for understanding that globalizing past is often limited to interpretations that contrast 'Keynesianism' and (Hayek-inflected) neo-liberalism or pit the economics of 'Social Democracy' against the rule of markets (Offner and Söderberg 2018). The classic IPE theorization of the international economy studies 'the connection between economics and politics beyond the confines of a single state' (Cohen 2005, 1; Strange 1970). Although it leaves relatively undiscussed the bases of this *international* space, or its significance as a context for ideas, or how different thinkers have defined *economics* and *international* in relation to each other, it asserts that the 'international arena' was able to 'strengthen or weaken certain [economic] arguments on the resources of those advancing them' (Gourevitch 1989, 102). Beyond such assertions, there has been little historical investigation of such claims.

In asking 'what was international economic thinking?', ECOINT takes seriously the *international* context and *institutional* locations of economic thinking, and the people and ideas that shaped that thinking—its variety and breadth—through the twentieth century. At a time when the 'foundations of *international* thought' has begun to be tackled as a legitimate historical field of inquiry (Armitage 2013, 2014), to the extent of launching expansive empirical inquiries into women and the history of international thought (Owens 2018), the ECOINT research program recovers and analyses the complex twentieth century intellectual history of economic ideas in the institutional context of a distinctive system of IGOs and INGOs that

comprised a significant segment of the twentieth-century international order. The emphasis on *thinking* in ECOINT signals a shift away from the traditional preoccupation of histories of thought with elite intellectuals, usually (European) men, to evidence of thought in less conventional sites of study, namely institutional contexts where the interface between ideas and practices is much closer, and where women (and non-European men) with economic training were more likely to be employed.

The ECOINT research program will traverse the key (at times overlapping) framings of 'international economic thinking' reflected in the agendas and ambitions of economic thinkers working with IGOs and INGOs through the 20th century. These include:

- economic nationalism and economic internationalism (eg. Myrdal 1957; Helleiner & Pickel 2005; Berger & Fetzer 2019)
- a world economy—whether as clusters of nations and empires, the sum of national interdependence, or the wandering movement of prices in world markets (eg. Clavin 2013; Slobodian 2018)
- development theory (eg. Engerman 2003; Unger 2018; Macekura 2019)
- neo-liberalism and social democracy (Olsen 2019; Offner and Söderberg 2018)
- labour and trade (e.g. Boris et al 2018; Mackenzie 2019)
- growth and sustainability (e.g. Macekura 2019; Sluga 2017a)

As these headings suggest, international economic thinking assumed different *registers*. ECOINT's research will recover, and reassemble, those registers across the multiple strands of international economic thinking. Its emphasis on the breadth of *international* economic thought reflects intersecting calls for a new kind of intellectual/history of ideas that transcends geopolitical and gender limits (Sluga & Rowse 2015; Bateman 2019). ECOINT is more than an effort in synthesis, it brings these framings of international economic thinking into dialogue. For example, our research will unpack development, shifting emphasis from its study as a self-contained historiographical problem, to its reintegration in a broader history of entangled dynamic competing ideas. In this sense too, we will document, analyse, and categorise the international dimensions of the very possibility of imagining an integrated global economy. A fundamental premise of ECOINT is that emphasising the 20th century's unique international institutional context and highlighting the role of women is critical to the conceptual scope of this historical endeavour.

## **2. Where is the history of international economic thinking?**

The idea that international organizations influenced economic norms is not in itself new (Hall 1989; Best 2004). For example, IR and IPE scholars who specialize in the connections between economics and politics beyond the confines of the nation-state have commented on the role of the International Monetary Fund [IMF] in bringing about a hegemonic 'market fundamentalism' (Stiglitz 2002). Historians too have recently begun to draw attention to international actors in similar scenarios, whether the influence exerted by an Austrian school of free marketers (or 'ordoglobalists') willing to deploy the governance institutions of the League of Nations, and the UN system (Slobodian 2018); the imposition of development ideals through the decolonizing world by the IMF and World Bank (Unger 2018; Engerman 2017); the

expansion of tax havens between the spaces of nations (Ogle 2017); or the connection between the rise of human rights and the decline of 'distributional imagination' (Moyn 2018).

These accounts of the rise of neo-liberalism has fashioned the 1970s into a critical 'globalizing' turning point, as the decade in which national and international institutions turned from Keynesianism to monetarism. At the same time, some critics of these studies have noted that 'by not weaving in the voices of contrasting intellectuals or narrating the founding moments of the most important supranational institutions', the current historical emphasis on the unlikely interest of neoliberals in making intergovernmental institutions work for free markets, building a world order that put 'capital first,' 'conveys a misleading picture of why so many policymakers and elites embraced global institutions in the twentieth century' (Burns 2018). In other words, historians are neglecting the spectrum of economic thinking that has been at work through the 20th century, and the diverse interlocutors operating in the historically, socially, and institutionally specific spaces of the so-called 'international arena', within the bureaucracies and working bodies of IGOs and INGOs.

ECOINT renders international bureaucracies important sites for investigating the contributions to international economic thinking of elite, 'mid-level' and 'non-intellectual' intellectuals—many of them women—and for enabling a *global* perspective (Conrad 2016; Osterhammel & Petersson 2005). In this sense ECOINT's attention to IGOs will make use of recent projects investigating the bureaucracies established at the League of Nations (Gram-Skjoldager & Ikonomidou 2019), and older studies of imperial bureaucracies embedding development norms (Cooper 1998). At different moments in the course of the 20th century, the League of Nations, ILO, IMF, World Bank, Food and Agricultural Organization [FAO], UN Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], and the UN Regional ECs, were among the most high-profile economic IGOs. While each of these have been the subject of historical study, little attention has been paid to the operation of economic thinkers in their midst (cf. Clavin 2013). When economists have been studied, the emphasis is usually on men, as if there were no women economists, or they did not warrant naming (*vedi*: Endres & Fleming 2002; Macekura 2019).

The ECOINT research program will comprehensively traverse the economic research units and working parties of these organizations, with their various concerns—whether trade, labour, finance, natural resources, international cartels, or food security, for example (Pernet & Ribi 2019; Clavin 2013; Unger 2018). It will take notice of the better-known European economists such as Cassel, Tinbergen, Viner, Fisher and of course Keynes, associated with them (Endres & Fleming 2002). However, this emphasis on *thinking* in ECOINT signals a shift away from the traditional preoccupation of histories of thought with elite intellectuals, usually (European) men, to institutional contexts where women (and non-European men) with economic training were more likely to be employed, and where the interface between ideas and practices was much closer. ECOINT builds on the foundations of the new international history which is throwing up evidence that international institutions were particularly important for women, and vice-versa. For much of the 20th century, women had limited opportunities to utilise their economic qualifications in academic careers but, in some cases, were able to put forward their economic views in the settings of intergovernmental organizations that were part of the League of Nations, such as the ILO, and then the more expansive United Nations systems (Sluga 2017b). Female experts, including those trained in economics, were able to find work and roles in

international bodies in ways that were not possible for them in national-state contexts through the twentieth century. What we don't know is the extent of their presence, or their impact, or what they thought.

Nowhere is this point more pertinent than in the operations of the UN Regional Economic Commissions established in the immediate post-Second World War. Planted through the world from the late 1940s, these Commissions are a specific focus of the ECOINT research program, covering: the ECE (Geneva, 1947); ECAFE (Shanghai, 1947, then Bangkok, 1949); ECLA (Santiago, Chile, 1948); ECA (Addis Ababa, 1958), and where possible, sub-regional bases established in Suva, New Delhi, Incheon, and Almaty (Kazakhstan). Yves Berthelot (ECE Executive Secretary 1993-2000), has described how the 'initial conditions' at the UN ECs had a 'long-lasting influence', making it difficult to separate the history of ideas from the history of the institution itself (2004, 4).

Other research has posited that each of the commissions 'developed its own culture'. Under Myrdal, the ECE established a 'social market economy' approach to economic development in Europe, East and West (Cecco, 1989). That said, the ECE had two consecutive Yugoslav Executive Secretaries—the understudied Vladimir Velebit (1960-67) and Janez Stanovnik (1968-82), part of an understudied Cold War history. At ECAFE, P.S. Lokanathan promoted nation-based planning under the aegis of 'The Economic Parliament of Asia', then in the transition to ESCAP, technical assistance became the guiding idea. The ECA's executive secretaries Mekki Abbas and Robert Gardiner balanced national sovereignty, regional and subregional cooperation. ECLA was the setting in which *Raúl* Prebisch disseminated his dependency theory of a world economy, in which resources travelled from an underdeveloped South to the wealthy North, making the rich richer at the expense of the poor. In each case, although rarely noticed, women thinkers were involved in defining the ideological and intellectual profile of these IGOs (Betancourt & Espinel 2018).

Although there can be no doubt that men were among the main recruits of the Economic Commissions, particularly in the early decades, even then, these UN bureaucracies harboured women experts. We know that Gunnar Myrdal placed a premium on the ECE as a research body, a place in which government experts and bureaucrats could exchange ideas and develop new economic policies. With 166 posts in its secretariat, including 34 economists and statisticians in the Research division, the ECE had the capacity and obligation to think deeply about the economic challenges of the postwar, as well as undertake research, extensive economic surveys, provide statistics, and policy analysis, and take action (Myrdal 1957). Among the economists who contributed to that 'thinking' was fellow welfarist Nicholas Kaldor, on the one hand, and the figure most (in)famously associated with modernization development theory, Walt W. Rostow, on the other hand. The ECE also appointed the Danish Boserups, husband Mogens and Ester (Boserup 1999, Berthelot & Rayment 2007). Ester Boserup's own memoir underscores the relevance of her contributions on women, population (as an anti-Malthusian), development, and agricultural policy in association with the FAO (Boserup 1999). Indeed, adding Boserup draws our attention too to the longer history of sustainability as a critical economic idea, particularly in the context of development thinking, and the ECE as an important instrument of Europe-wide environmental policy. Just as Ester Boserup found a place at ECE, ECA was the site from which, in the 1970s, Olubanke King Akerele from Liberia

published on women's labour and industry, and ECLA gave women trained as economists and sociologists the opportunity to publish on economic issues from social and gender perspectives through the 1980s and after (Madden & Dimand 2018). Adding these 'mid-level' intellectuals allows us to see the debates and discussions taking place beneath, and in negotiation with, executive views. None of this history has been written, despite the range of international economic thinking and its long engagement with environmental challenges through the twentieth century.

Within the 20th century international system, the INGO represented a crucial innovation, creating the capacity for lobbying in an international arena of idea (and even norm) generation and policy influence.

The scope of ECOINT will extend to the study of the 'business' INGOs, the ICC, or, as its members liked to refer to it, the businessman's 'League of Nations' (this grew into a vast international bureaucracy shadowing League and UN bodies, including the UN Regional Economic Commissions; Herren (2013: 54) singles out the ICC as connecting 'the elites of internationally active industrialists'). We will pay particular attention to the IFBPW (Sluga 2017c; David & Eichenberger 2017; Kelly 2005; Druelle-Korn 2017). Now known as the BPW International, the IFBPW was set up in 1930 by the American lawyer Lena Madesin Phillips as an INGO. Its earliest branches were in China and India, as well as in the US, Europe, Britain and Canada.

Intended as the women's version of the ICC, the IFBPW was less imposing, but it became among the first INGOs to gain consultative status at the UN in 1947, and it profiled women's economic agency and interests from a range of regional as well as international locations (Bishop 2018). It counted among its members some of the most influential and unheralded women of the 20th century, including Alva Myrdal (a Vice-President) and Persia Campbell, an agricultural and labour economist, who became a crucial figure in the development of consumer rights, as well as adviser to FAO and UNESCO, and delegate to the UN environmental conference, again linking economic and environmental thinking.

ECOINT's focus on the IFBPW, with its significant conflation of 'professional and business' interests, will take the measure of the range of economic thinking and distributional imaginaries deep in the bureaucracies of organizations more commonly associated with entrenching neo-liberal objectives. As historians of internationalism (Kuehl 1983:105) and business (David & Eichenberger 2017) have shown, businessmen were both overrepresented among the most influential private internationalists of the 20th century, and in the international system—although the status of businesswomen has been rarely considered in these same settings. Just what economic ideas the IFBPW promoted, through whom and how, and its relationship with the ICC, will be the object of our attention. Together these two INGOs and our work on IGOs—connecting people, institutions, and ideas through the regional foci of Europe, Asia and Pacific, Africa, and Latin America, and through the international hubs and fora of international institutions—will add hitherto unseen thinkers and enable a *global* institution-based perspective onto the history of twentieth century international economic thinking and the complex history of globalization.

### **3. Who were international economic thinkers?**

International economic thinking has conventionally been associated with economists who have reputations as ‘intellectuals’, whether working at universities or in the ministries of nation-states, usually men. Historians are now acknowledging that a ‘mid-level’ category is vital for salvaging the significance of individuals who by virtue of their gender, race or class, were unlikely to earn prominence as ‘thinkers’, but who still were influential by other means (Rothschild 2011; Bayly 2015; Jones & Savage 2015; Sluga 2015; Sluga & Rowse 2015). With its emphasis on ‘thinking’, ECOINT goes in search of international economic intellectuals/thinkers at the margins as well as the centre of intellectual and political history. In this sense, ECOINT broadens the bases for studying who is a thinker, where thinking takes place, and, ultimately, how ideas ‘perform’ in the world to influence and even transform the social order (Callon 1998; Mackenzie 2006; Moyn 2014).

ECOINT takes the novel approach of looking for the history of ideas in the context of institutional settings— the bureaucracies of IGOs and NGOs —where intellectuals I term ‘mid-level’ deployed their versions of the purpose and possibilities of international economic interdependence. For example, in the long 20th century history of international economic thinking, as well as the women I have already mentioned, once we begin to look, it is not difficult to find Gertrude von Lovesay, who considered herself part of the Vienna (neoliberal) school, and worked at the League of Nations, and then the IMF. In both settings, Lovesay published internal documents on questions of monetary policy and finance, as well as on foreign trade and international cartels. Edith Penrose was employed as a research assistant at the ILO (her husband was chief of the Economic Section at the ILO in Geneva), at the point of transition between the League and the UN, and then at the emerging IMF in Washington DC. She made her mark in several distinct but overlapping areas, publishing on the theory of the firm, and multinational enterprises (their capacity to evade taxation), the oil industry, and the economics of the Middle East—all at crucial periods in the changing international history of economic policy. Penrose kept a diary that allows us to trace her networks, and connections with other key figures in the making of the international economic order. In her case, her husband’s networks, her own interest in food policy and the FAO, linked her to important international thinkers such as Frank McDougall, the key figure in the founding of the FAO and its broader (abandoned) policy objectives.

In the second half of the 20th century, the women who published, and influenced international economic thinking brought into international settings a variety of networks, sometimes the influence of the Vienna school (Lovesay), and, as in the case of the Indian (Hayekian) economist Sudha Shenoy (1943–2008), the LSE. Lourdes Beneria studied economics in 1950s Barcelona and ended up at the ILO working on rural women (while also a professor at Rutgers)—an experience that she would claim ‘changed her understanding of the world and the orientation of her work’. Martha Chen brought a background of Indian missionary work to her employment with the ILO and the World Bank, and her interest in divining statistics on the ‘informal sector’ in the context of development policy (Betancourt & Espinel 2018: 430, 435). ECOINT will add women such as these, and search for a global history of international economic thinkers to add to the study of acknowledged advanced guard of international economic thinking such as Susan Strange and Elinor Ostrom, and in that way change our picture of the landscape of globalization, in the past as well as the present.

ECOINT then goes one step further, by adapting Robert Darnton's (1998) category of 'non-intellectual' intellectual from his study of 18th century bookmakers (as a supplement to writers and books themselves) in order to map particularly the women who 'thought and made sense of the world, even while trying to make money'. In this way, ECOINT begs new questions about the significance of the diverse ideological motivations, perspectives, and relative influence of economic thinkers, many of whom were only given fora to express their ideas in the institutional, often bureaucratic, settings of IGOs, and 'private sector' INGOs. Here, ECOINT also extends and reframes important work by economic historians on international business networks (Carroll & Carson 2003; Wilkins 2005; Carroll 2010; Bühlmann Thomas & Mach 2013), and businesswomen (Deakin 1996; Hamilton 2006; Phillips 2006). It makes use of the neglected archives of the IFBPW and ICC that allow us to see and hear the views of women as economic thinkers—whether elite, mid-level, or 'non-intellectual'. New work on the ICC—an INGO from 1919—is beginning to unveil the extent of influence of business on the policymaking in intergovernmental organizations. This scholarship is deepening our understanding of how business figures 'imagined and enacted cross-border business opportunities,' 'how entrepreneurial actors' positioning may have shaped the futures they imagined', 'how legitimation was pursued in a complex and changing multipolar world rather than the static, bi-polar world often assumed in international business theory' (David & Westerhuis 2019). ECOINT will explore the potential of 'non-intellectual' intellectuals for recovering the complex history of globalization, and its ideological and ideational roots.

#### **4. What difference did women make to international economic thinking?**

ECOINT's attention to women as economic thinkers reflects their ontological status, 'hidden from history', noticeable once we look beyond the conventional locations of intellectual thought. As I have already mentioned, ECOINT is not intended as a women's history, but rather it reintegrates economics and politics, the national and international, men and women as the subjects and objects of historical investigation (Sluga 2019, 2014). It uses otherwise marginalised and neglected evidence of women's thinking to recast how we understand the international character of globalization. Its close historical focus on women engaging international institutions is intended to capture a more comprehensive history of 20th century international economic thinking.

In this way, given that neither the spectrum of economic ideas that informed this internationalist thinking, nor their interlocutors, within and beyond the global North have been studied, ECOINT opens a new chapter in the history of globalization. As part of the program we will maximise the potential of ECOINT's research program and discoveries by addressing a future-casting question that still shapes political discourse on the absence and presence of women in the making of the modern world, and how to fix it: What difference have women intellectuals, whether acting in elite or mid-level institutional scenarios, made? How and when have women's economic ideas mattered? These questions will be discussed in public fora and addressed by the research team in working papers that draw in the contemporary situation and significance of women economic thinkers addressing Europe's future, global-scale inequality, and environmental and climate crises.

## **Key Innovations**

The ECOINT research program is designed to be innovative and adventurous in its methodological and conceptual strategies in the following ways:

1. ECOINT takes seriously the *international* character of globalization's history and the international *institutional* contexts that fostered ideas about the purpose and potential of integration of the world's economies. Its research program reveals the international character of 20th century globalization by historicizing international economic thinking.
2. ECOINT categorises and classifies 'international economic thinking' as a means of illuminating the breadth and depth of 20th century international and economic history, on a global scale.
3. ECOINT will endeavour to fundamentally rethink how we approach/write the intellectual history of economic thought, and the international 20th century, by recognizing that century's institutional and archival distinctiveness, and focusing on thinking, at the interface of ideas and practices. It has at its methodological core the incorporation into history of economic thought 'mid-level' and 'non-intellectual' economic thinkers. It emphasises the importance of women as well as men as economic thinkers, from around the globe.
4. ECOINT 'stirs' women back into our general understanding of international economic thinking (Sluga 2014) and insists on the general relevance of the history of women to how we think about both the international character of the 20th century, and the international paths to contemporary globalization.
5. On these conceptual and methodological bases, ECOINT tracks the ideational and ideological paths, the connections between politics and economics, that led not only to 'market fundamentalism', but also in other directions, 'welfarism' on a world-scale, economic internationalism and nationalism. More generally, ECOINT's global, multi-faceted approach will add 'distributional imaginaries' to the repertoires of our understanding of 20th century international economic thinking, and a globalizing world.
6. ECOINT builds on the burgeoning trends of a new history of capitalism in *international* contexts by launching an ambitious research program to establish a broad history of international economic thinking, and practices, that will rewrite the complex history of globalization.

