

## **Globalization and Political Participation: Exploited or Empowered?**

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A significant interdisciplinary body of literature has examined the social and economic effects of low-skill, low-wage manufacturing jobs on workers in poor countries. Some discussions of globalization focus on the exploitative effects and others highlight the positive developmental effects. Whether globalization increases economic power and social autonomy or creates grievances (or both), its effects outlined in this literature are familiar determinants of political participation. This paper examines the predicted effects of the globalization on political participation and poses an original view of export-oriented workers as neither unambiguously exploited or empowered. Rather these workers are “insecure winners” from globalization. They enjoy wage benefits and increased opportunities as a result of their employment, but are also particularly sensitive to the higher costs of job loss. This makes them risk averse and vulnerable to manufactured quiescence when it comes to their political participation. Export-oriented employment appears to drive a wedge between desires for political participation and actual participation in all but the most uncontroversial political activities. Export workers talk about politics, feel women’s involvement in politics is important both personally and nationally, and vote at significantly higher levels than the non-export women workers do. However, they are less likely to protest, involve themselves in other campaign-electoral activities, or belong to civil society groups, even when controlling for working hours, family status and company size.

## **Globalization's Effect on Workers**

Those considering the effect of globalization on the poor, low-skilled workers in less developed countries tend to emphasize two very different kinds of effects. In the view of globalization as exploitation, discussion centers on the undesirable working conditions that prevail in many of these jobs. Lack of health and safety protections, low wages, and sexual harassment are endemic in export-oriented industries in poor countries (Sforza 1999, Wright 1995, Sweeney 2006, Richard, et al 2001, Gray, et al 2004, Razavi 2001, Subhalakshmi 2012). Workers can be fired without cause or for seeking benefits and protections required to them by law. Many of these issues are so egregious that various groups consider them human rights abuses. This approach to globalization takes a particularly dim view of globalization's effect on government responsiveness to its population. Desperate to preserve the country's comparative advantage deriving from low labor costs (and the nationally important export-driven revenue), governments are reluctant to respond to demands for more regulation on business, even to protect workers.

The second view of globalization emphasizes its developmental effects. Even though they do not deny the low wages paid to workers in export-oriented employment, proponents of developmental globalization emphasize the benefits of such employment relative to other available opportunities. In this view, globalization empowers people economically by bringing them into more formal employment and allowing them higher wages than they could get in jobs traditionally available to them. Furthermore, globalization provides economic growth and development at the national level, which allows the government to do more for the health and well-being of its people. In this view, public opinion or government regulation in wealthy countries to change the behavior of the firms that buy the products of these export-oriented

sectors (or, in the case of multinational corporations, own the production facilities) can best address the issues of low wages and substandard working conditions.

In both views, globalization has considerable economic and sociological impacts on the lives of workers employed by firms engaged in the international economy. Numerous studies have examined these impacts on workers. They find that globalization produces higher wages in export industries<sup>1</sup>(UN Research Institute for Social Development, Marcouiller and Robertson 2009, Savchenko 2012, Gamberoni 2012, Schank, Schnabel and Wagner 2007, Bernard, Jensen and Lawrence 1995), changes in the level of inequality (Williamson 2005, Feenstra and Hanson 2003, Robertson 2004, Bigsten and Durevall 2006, Winters 2000, Gonzaga, Filho and Terra 2006), human rights abuses (Sforza 1999, Wright 1995, Sweeney 2006, Richard et al 2001), and female employment (Kapsos 2005, Hazarika and Otero 2004, Fontana and Wood 2000, Makino 2013, Haque 2009) and empowerment(Dau-Schmidt 1996, Gladden 1993, Ashfar and Barrientos 1999, Sircar and Kelly 2001, Soni-Sinha 2001). Scholars of political participation will recognize these as important determinants of individuals' motivation and ability to participate in the political process (Andersen 1975, Desposato and Norrander 2009, Girard 2014, Barnes and Burchard 2012, Cohen et al. 2001, Gradstein and Milanovic 2004, Simmons 2009, Lowndes 2004). However, few studies have examined the connection from globalization to participation. This paper seeks to connect these two extensive literatures in examining how export-oriented employment affects political participation.

The two views of globalization outlined above produce conflicting expectations about how export-oriented workers will participate relative to other similarly positioned workers. In the

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<sup>1</sup> To be clear, we have in mind wages that are higher than in other jobs available to the same workers. The wages are certainly still low in both relative and absolute terms.

exploitative view, workers may have higher levels of grievance and, hence, have a motivation to participate. However, they are also more likely to be constrained from participation by relative lack of resources and overt deterrents from their employers. In the developmental view of globalization, increased resources and social freedom should lead export-oriented employees to more fully participate in the political process. We propose a more nuanced view of globalization that combines both exploitation and empowerment.

Export-oriented workers represent what we term “insecure winners” from globalization. Due to employment opportunities, economic growth or wage premiums, export-oriented workers are, unsurprisingly, what studies of globalization traditionally think of as “winners” from globalization. However, these gains make loss of one’s current job more costly for export-oriented workers relative to workers where other jobs are closer substitutes for their current employment. Since employers or families may still pressure these workers relative to some aspects of their political participation, insecure winners are predicted to engage in uncontroversial political participation at higher levels than other, similar workers, but to shy away from controversial political participation. Uncontroversial political participation includes acts that are largely confidential and/or widely socially acceptable, such as voting or discussing politics. Controversial political participation tends to be more visible, less socially acceptable and/or potentially threatening. The category of what qualifies as controversial political participation depends on the context. In established, rich-country democracies, peaceful protest is relatively uncontroversial, though still much more controversial than voting. Signing petitions, campaigning for a candidate and joining civil society organizations are largely uncontroversial. However, in other settings, publicly advocating for unpopular ideas or being seen as “rocking the boat” are controversial behaviors.

The study examines the political participation (and its determinants) for low-skilled, female labor force participants in Chennai, India.<sup>2</sup> This population was chosen because women in sweatshops are a group emphasized by proponents of both developmental and exploitative views of globalization. They are also more likely than men to be subject to pressure and scrutiny over their political participation. Because these women face significant social, educational, and economic barriers to political participation, it is difficult to meaningfully compare their participation to that of other citizens. However, restricting the sample to a single respondent profile minimizes unobserved or unmeasured differences between respondents. This increases the likelihood that observed differences in political participation can be attributed to export-oriented employment. I present empirical evidence export workers have increased interest in political participation, but that their participation is realized only for political discussion and voting behavior. They are less likely than other women workers to protest, belong to civil society organizations, or participate in other types of political activity, in spite of their reported higher levels of interest. Results from a survey experiment indicate that export workers face social pressure with respect to their political participation to a greater extent than other workers do.

These limitations on participation contribute to our understanding of how globalization affects the functioning of democracy. Globalization has been posited to have countervailing effects on the quality of democracy ((Li and Reuveny 2003, Rudra 2005, Przeworski et al 1996, Starr 1991, O Neal and Russet 1997, 1999, Schmitter 1996, Bhagwati 1994, Boli and Thomas 1999, Risse and Sikkink 1999, Diamond 1994, Gill 1995, Jones 1995, Gray 1996, Schmitter 1996, Cox 1997). Globalization's potential to augment or hinder the ability of vulnerable

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<sup>2</sup> The problems of worker exploitation by globalized industries are not restricted to women, but they disproportionately affect women because women have less bargaining power and fewer outside employment options than men in developing countries.

populations to engage in the political process is an important and unexplored component of this relationship. Even where democratic institutions and processes operate in nearly perfect conditions, if citizens do not or cannot participate in the democratic process many of the positive outcomes attributed to democracy are diminished.

## **Theory**

### *Insecure Winners*

Globalization has been noted for producing increased insecurity for workers. Some of this insecurity, even for those benefitting from revealed comparative advantage, comes from the potential of globalized firms to more easily relocate, as has been noted in the literature (Scheve and Slaughter 2004). Other studies have noted high job turnover in globalized industries, which, in some cases, is even higher for women workers than for men (Gamberoni 2012).

An additional source of insecurity for winners in some contexts, including low-skilled manufacturing in poorer countries, ironically, comes from the benefits emphasized by the developmental view of globalization. If there is a wage premium (and some evidence suggests that there is, UN Research Institute for Social Development, Marcouiller and Robertson 2009, Savchenko 2012, Gamberoni 2012, Schank, Schnabel and Wagner 2007, Bernard, Jensen and Lawrence 1995), then a worker in a globalized industry has greater incentive to minimize the probability of job loss. An individual who loses her current job faces some probability of finding another job that is as good as the current job, having to take a lower wage job, or remaining unemployed. While job loss can be costly for every worker, it is less of a concern for those who can quickly find another job with the same level of income and benefits. For poor workers in poor countries, the probability of getting another “good” job is lower because these workers

cannot afford to be unemployed for any length of time and lack a social safety net. The greater the wage premium or the discrepancy between opportunities in export-oriented and other employment, the lower the probability of being able to find a replacement job as good as the current employment. This increases the value of keeping her current job. In addition to rational calculations of the difference in the expected values of keeping a current job versus losing it, there may be psychological effects as well. If the benefits of export-sector employment are viewed as a realized “gain,” to use the language of prospect theory, workers are risk averse about behavior that might be regarded negatively by their employers (Kahneman and Tversky 1979).

This insecurity can exist for any worker whose job specifically benefits from globalization, but is exacerbated if globalization has the exploitative features attributed to it. If governments and employers collude to keep wages low in order to preserve profits and national comparative advantage, than supporting political movements to raise wages by protesting, signing petitions for legal minimum wage increases, or joining a union are going to be activities regarded negatively by employers. When workers can be fired for any reason with no legal redress, then any political behavior that might become known and be seen as inappropriate by an employer is risky. This is true in contexts where various forms of political participation are legally protected rights, but even more so in electoral democracies or partly free countries. In such systems, participation is permitted, but pressuring the government for real policy changes or governmental accountability is not. Thus, a much broader set of political activities would generally be viewed as controversial.

*Development, Exploitation, Insecurity and Participation*

The choice to participate in political activity is a function of the costs and benefits expected from participation. For example, in the well-known Downs paradox the decision to vote is a function of the costs of voting, the benefit of having the preferred party, candidate or policy prevail, and the likelihood that the individual's vote will be decisive in the outcome. Other models expand the decision to include intrinsic payoffs from the political behavior (Riker and Ordeshook 1968). In low-income countries, a significant percentage of the people can be deterred from participation by even relatively low costs, since many require all or nearly all of their resources to survive. Export-oriented employment can affect the costs and benefits of political participation. We are ultimately interested in workers' participation in both controversial and uncontroversial political activity. Additionally, we test for a relationship between export-oriented employment and various costs and benefits of participation to establish the theory.

Export-oriented employment increases the benefits from participation. However, it is unclear whether their participation will reflect worker interests that align or conflict with their employers' interests. While the expected size of the benefit is always relatively low, due to the low probability that one individual's participation is decisive, the payoffs of political victory for a preferred candidate or party can be significant, especially for individuals concentrated in a particular industry or political district. Policy decisions can have a significant positive or negative impact on the competitiveness of an industry, the availability of jobs, or the quality of life in those jobs. Working for an exporter potentially increases the salience of political policies relative to working in a domestic industry. Foreign policies, treaties, trade policies, etc. can have a direct impact on export-oriented employment opportunities. This is particularly true because many of the export-oriented industries are associated with "footloose" capital (Ascloy, et al.

2004, ILO 2014) and are sensitive to political changes (Hajkova et al 2005; Mooij and Ederveen 2005, Jones and Temouri 2014, Altomonte and Bonassi 2004). This motivation for political activity aligns workers' interests with those of their employers, rather than asserting workers' rights or seeking protection from their employers. This type of potential benefit would most likely lead to conventional or employer- approved political participation. Employers have an incentive to emphasize these common interests to influence their employees to support certain parties or policies. This type of benefit from participation would be potentially higher for export-oriented workers whether globalization is exploitative, developmental, or produces insecure winners, but would be highest if globalization produces insecurity and politics is seen as potentially mitigating that insecurity.

On the other hand, grievances against an employer for which the political system might offer redress represent another motivation for participation. Unsafe working conditions, sexual harassment, etc. (particularly if there are unenforced legal protections) can provide motivation for workers to participate in protests, support particular political platforms or join activist NGOs to seek greater government protection. This would potentially increase motivation for both controversial and uncontroversial types of participation. This type of motivation is unlikely to affect workers if developmental globalization is prominent, but a likely motivation under exploitative globalization, and a possible motivation for insecure winners.

When we consider costs of political participation, the real distinctions between the different view of globalization become more obvious. The real costs of participation depend on the resources available to the potential participant. Resources may include time, information, and wealth. Employment clearly is a time-consuming activity and changes in participation from, for example, being able to vote outside regular business hours have been noted [Dropp 2014]. If

export-oriented employment involves longer hours of work or a more inconvenient schedule, it may diminish workers ability to participate by preventing the act of participation and the ability to become informed or join networks that provide information. This is particularly true for women workers, unless this employment is accompanied by changes in domestic responsibilities.<sup>3</sup> If employers provide or conceal certain information from their employees in order to better control them or influence their political opinions (Gaventa 1980), then participation would react accordingly. If wages are no better than in other types of employment, then we would not expect to see a wealth effect on individuals' participation. According to the view that globalization is exploitative, export-oriented workers' resources for participation are low relative to other workers.

However, according to the developmental view of globalization, export-oriented employment may provide greater wealth resources for women to participate in political activity. Proponents of globalization argue that these industries and jobs provide women with increased purchasing power, higher social status, greater power within their family structure, opportunities for adult education, and other marks of empowerment (Mills 1999, Dau-Schmidt 1996, Gladden 1993, Afshar 1998, Afshar and Barrientos 1999, Zohir 2001). These resources easily equate to the kind of political capital that makes participation more likely. Even if time is constrained, additional income may offset that effect.

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<sup>3</sup> Globalization, in fact, may alter domestic responsibilities for women. In other contexts, it has been associated with acceptance of the idea that domestic responsibilities are no longer the ultimate test of womanhood, with economic activity and labor force participation playing a crucial role in this shift (Sircar and Kelly 2001). Globalization may also be associated with greater sharing of domestic responsibility between spouses and a shift in perceptions for women where they are newly able to see their interests as separated from the family (Soni-Sinha 2001). In this case, export-oriented employment may not negatively affect the time resources available for political participation.

Under the exploitative or insecure winners view of globalization, an additional cost also arises from negative repercussions as a direct result of participation. Consequences including job loss, arrest and injury for activities like peaceful protest or joining a non-governmental organization clearly influence decisions about participation. In democratic regimes all adult citizens should be able to vote, engage in civil society associations, or participate in legal protest without government or employer reprisal. However, a high level of *de facto* political and economic rights is required before workers can ignore potential risks from political activity. Particularly for political issues that affect the workplace, employers may view negatively activities such as collecting petitions, protesting, providing information to an NGO and campaigning. This leads to loss of wages, promotion or employment. Only a worker with considerable resources (including knowledge of the law and the ability to hire a lawyer) in a country with clear protections for political activity can ignore such risks. Export-oriented companies may be particularly sensitive to workers' political behavior since politically active workers can raise production costs by lobbying for regulations, better enforcement of standards for working conditions, collective bargaining for higher wages etc. Higher costs can result in loss of competitiveness for the company and the country (Hajkova et al 2005; Mooij and Ederveen 2005, Jones and Temouri 2014, Altomonte and Bonassi 2004). The government may also be less likely to protect workers from their employers or respond to such political activity since countries with labor-intensive export-oriented manufacturing sectors benefit from low female wages and the accompanying comparative advantage they provide. If so, job related risks and potential benefits of political behavior would be higher for export-oriented workers.

Even if employers are no more than strategically ambiguous about how they view political activity by their employees, a worker making the decision whether to participate must

weigh the probability of employer retribution with the cost of loss of employment. If export-oriented jobs are relatively better, workers will view potentially controversial political activity as more costly.

In the exploitative view, export-oriented winners will participate less than other workers, as their resource constraints and concerns about risk will cause the costs of participation to exceed the expected benefits, for all participation that conflicts with employer interests. In the developmental view, resources and lack of risk increase the propensity to participate across types of political behavior. Insecure winners from globalization have both greater resources for participation (in contrast to the exploitative view), but also face higher risk than non-export workers (in contrast to the developmental view). Accounting for the possibility of higher risks and loss aversion creates expectations that export-oriented workers, relative to similarly positioned non-export workers, will participate more only in low-risk political activities, such as voting, which are confidential and unlikely to be viewed by employers as problematic. Participation in high-risk political activities such as protest or campaigning is expected to be constrained. Table 1 summarizes the hypothesized effects of globalization on the costs and benefits of participation, as well as on the ultimate variables of interest, political participation.

[Table 1 about here]

## **The Context**

India is particularly suited to studying the impact of export-oriented employment on women's political participation. As in many developing countries, trade liberalization led to increased levels of female labor force participation in India as women were disproportionately drawn into export-oriented labor. Export-oriented industries are also important in the national

economy. While statistics are not available for all export-oriented employment, the world's most globalized industry, garments and textiles (which also has a predominantly female workforce) provides direct employment to over 45 million people in India, making it second only to agriculture in employment. The industry contributes 14% to industrial production and 4% to India's GDP, but contributes 27% to the country's foreign exchange inflows.

Compared with many other developing countries that have become major exporters of goods and services produced primarily with low-skilled labor, India has stronger democratic credentials. Political participation is relatively easier in India than in China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Vietnam, Turkey, Cambodia or other similar exporters in Asia. There are no formal or institutional governmental barriers to women's full participation in the political sphere, though cultural barriers persist (SIGI 2014). India has implemented a number of policies that are designed to bring women into the political process. According to the 1990 constitution, thirty-three percent of seats in local councils are reserved for women. In the 2014 elections, female voter turnout surpassed male voter turnout in several regions of India. The poor in India also vote at higher rates than the wealthy, unlike in many other settings.

The survey respondents work and live in the city of Chennai (previously known as Madras), the capital of the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu. Chennai's economy has benefitted greatly from globalization. Its largest industries include automobiles, software services, hardware manufacturing and apparel. Companies such Ford, Hyundai, BMW, Renault-Nissan and Hewlett-Packard operate plants in the area (Schilling 2001). As of 2014, the city proper has a population of about 4.9 million. The area is predominantly Tamil-speaking Hindus, but has more diversity than many other areas of India with significant Muslim and Christian minorities.

Demographically, the population of Chennai is relatively young, with over half the population under 30 years of age in 2011.

### **Data Collection Methodology**

Surveys were conducted via face-to-face interviews in Tamil, the dominant language in Chennai. Survey participants were paid \$1.50 (approximately equal to the hourly wage for production workers in manufacturing, but considerably higher than average hourly wages for most low-skill women workers) for their time in taking the survey.

To capture a mix of domestic and export-oriented workers, the following recruitment strategy was used for the survey. All textile factories in Chennai were selected for inclusion. Interviewers recruited a haphazard sample of respondents from among the women exiting the factories. If a respondent agreed to complete the interview (or provided an address to complete the interview at a more convenient time), then the fourth woman passing by was subsequently selected for the next interview. If the selected respondent refused to proceed, then the next passing woman was invited to participate in the study. About 30% of the sample was collected in such a manner. The remainder of the participants were selected through residential sampling. In each of the residential colonies inhabited by low skilled workers, one address was randomly selected as starting point. After a completed interview, the third address down the street was again selected for invitation to participate in the survey. If the selected household declined to participate, the next address was invited to complete the survey.

A screener questionnaire was used to ensure that only women fitting a narrow socioeconomic profile were included. The survey includes women only between the ages of 18 and 60. While women younger than 18 work in India, they cannot vote, and so were excluded

from the survey. Sixty is the standard retirement age for workers in manufacturing according to several statements by the Supreme Court of India and the Reports of the Norms Committee for Labour. The median age in the sample is 35. To be included, the respondent must work for money at least 20 hours a week. The median hours worked per week in the sample is 48. Less than 8% of respondents work less than 40 hours per week. Because many women of this socio-economic profile in India work in the informal economy (and this is a realistic outside option for women leaving or losing employment) the definition of working was intentionally broad.<sup>4</sup> In terms of education, anyone that had no formal schooling or more than a complete secondary education was excluded. Over half of the participants have 5-9 years of schooling. Around a fifth attended secondary school, but did not finish. The remainder are almost evenly split between having complete secondary education and having fewer than five years of formal schooling. The screener questionnaire also excludes more prestigious occupations (executives, supervisors, professionals and entrepreneurs with employees) even if the women fit the other criteria. Finally, an income requirement also existed. While no screening was done on the basis of household income, the woman's personal average daily income had to be between 130 and 475 rupees (approximately between \$2.00 and \$7.60)

## **Data**

Following the hypotheses above (summarized in Table 1), I use several measures to capture the costs and benefits that these women perceive political participation has for them as well as their

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<sup>4</sup> When asked if they work to earn money, the question includes a detailed description as follows: "Do you engage in some economic activity to earn money? (The answer is yes if you have a job for which you are paid at an office, factory, school, farm, or another family's home; it can be work in your home for which you are paid by someone else (i.e., sewing, making things to sell at a market). If you produce food for your own family or tend children in your household, the answer would be "No")."

reported levels of various types of political participation. The measure of participation intentionally broad as women in developing countries frequently participate in the political process in non-traditional or indirect ways.

The first measures of benefits of participation attempt to capture respondents' motivation or assessment of whether political participation makes them better off. Women were asked how strongly they agree that their involvement in government decision-making will a) help improve people's lives in India and b) ensure their rights to live and work. Their agreement is measured with a five-point scale.<sup>5</sup> Respondents are also asked how important (on a four-point scale) they think it is for women to vote or participate in protests and demonstrations.

The second measure of potential benefits from participation examines the kinds of grievances that workers have. Higher levels of grievance can provide motivation to seek political redress for problems. Respondents report how often they worry about a) being the victim of a crime at work, b) that their worksite is physically unsafe, or that c) their work will harm their health.

Resources, which allow respondents to better navigate and overcome the costs of participation are measured according to time spent working, political information and how respondents see outside job possibilities, relative to their current job. If export workers spend more hours working, know less about politics, or have less income relative to what they would have in a different job, they will have fewer resources to overcome the costs of participation. This is measured by hours worked and an index of political knowledge (how many correct of five questions). The income resource is captured, objectively, in whether, all else being equal,

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<sup>5</sup> The exact wording of these statements and all subsequent survey items are listed in an appendix.

export workers report higher earnings (controlling for hours worked, industry, education and occupation). Respondents report whether their wages are enough for their needs or are better than they could get at another job.<sup>6</sup> They also report what portion of their household income comes from their wages.<sup>7</sup> They also report how difficult it would be for them to find a similar job that pays as much, if they lost their current job. While these questions get at their resources, they also potentially open the way to discuss sources of risk for these workers.

While it is reasonably straightforward to measure motivation or perceived benefits of political participation, grievance, and time and income resources, perceived risk presents a greater challenge to measure. It is measured most directly by asking how likely workers feel that they are to lose their job and how likely they are to “lose [their] job or be penalized at work for something in [their] personal life or conduct, unrelated to work, of which [their] supervisor disapproved.” Respondents also report how often they worry about losing their jobs, even if they perform those jobs well. In addition to these perceived risk measures, we also take a measure of risk aversion by asking them about whether they would choose a certain prize or a risky lottery, when the two are mathematically equivalent.

In addition to these more direct measures of perceptions of risk, a survey experiments asks workers about their political behavior or support for political behavior prefaced by frames that manipulate the potential risk. The first asks how likely a respondent is to vote in the next election. This question is asked alone (for the control group) or with one of three different

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<sup>6</sup> The answers are dichotomous, zero means that the respondent indicated it was never true and one indicates that she said it was true sometimes or more often.

<sup>7</sup> In pilot surveys among more educated Indian women, reporting percentages represented a challenge for many respondents or they gave invalid numerical answers, so the question simply asks about proportions (i.e., one quarter, one half)

framing treatments. Each of the framing treatments stress the confidentiality of one's vote choice. One frame reads,

“When you go to vote, there are laws to make sure that your vote is completely secret. You vote in a screened compartment that keeps anyone from seeing how you vote and your choice is not seen by anyone, not other voters, polling officials, or election commission staff. Even if you cannot read or write, you can still vote in secret.”

A second frame has that paragraph, then adds the statement “Your employer cannot find out which party or candidate you voted for.” A third frame contains the paragraph and the statement, “No one in your family can find out which party or candidate you voted for.” The treatment received by each respondent is randomly determined. Political participation is potentially risky for workers because they assign some probability that their behavior will be observed and will not be deemed acceptable. The logic of this question is that women who adapt their voting behavior due to risk report a higher likelihood of voting when they are reassured that other parties will not know how they voted. Since questions about risk from political behavior present challenges in a survey, this question that randomized the degree to which workers are reassured that voting is not risky for them to see how it affects political participation.

After assessing how export workers compare to other workers of similar socio-economic conditions on these measures that influence costs and benefits of participation, we turn to measures of actual participation. A subjective measure records whether respondents would like to be more involved in politics than they currently are. They also report behavioral measures of how often they speak to others about political and social issues; whether they voted in the most

recent election; they have ever interacted with a campaign, election or official in various ways;<sup>8</sup> participated in or belonged to any one of ten kinds of civil society group; or participated in a protest or demonstration. We test whether export workers participate at higher or lower reported rates than other similar workers. If export workers represent insecure winners from globalization, then they will participate more in uncontroversial political behavior, but less where political behavior is controversial. While distinguishing where the line between controversial and uncontroversial political behavior is impossible, it is a more manageable task to compare the different kinds of political participation relative to each other according to their probable social acceptability and visibility (i.e. their potential riskiness).

A second survey experiment incorporates asks about support for lobbying or striking and protesting for better conditions and pay. The questions are asked unframed (the control group) or with one of four randomly assigned frames. The frames invoke 1) a specific safety grievance; 2) workers receiving poor treatment, even though their industry contributes significantly to the national economy, 3) the potential of workers to disrupt production in a nationally important industry; and 4) the possibility that higher wages decrease India's international competitiveness.

*Frame 1:* In 2013 a factory where workers sew clothing collapsed in Mumbai, killing at least one person, and injuring several people. Investigation revealed that there was unauthorized construction at the building.

*Frame 2:* The garment industry represents 14% of industrial activity and 17% of export income in India. It provides jobs for 35 million workers in India. The garment industry is vitally important to the overall economy of the country, but workers in the garment industry are paid little and work long hours in poor conditions.

*Frame 3:* The garment industry represents 14% of industrial activity and 17% of export income in India. It provides jobs for almost 35 million workers in India. It is vitally

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<sup>8</sup> They are specifically asked about 1) attending public meetings called by local councils; 2) helping to organize election meetings; 3) participating in a campaign for a party or candidate; 4) explained voting procedures to someone; 5) worked as a polling agent; 6) spoken at public meetings; 7) signed a petition; or 8) written a letter to an elected official. A reflection of the low levels of political capital of the sample are indicated by the fact that over 80% of survey respondents have not done a single one of these activities.

important to the overall economy of the country. Problems with workers could disrupt production in this industry

*Frame 4:* Many international companies have workers in India sew clothing for them because it is less expensive for workers in India to make the clothing than for workers elsewhere to do it. If wages go up, some of these companies might have their clothing made in a different country.

The independent variable is simply whether a worker reported that “the place where they work export[s] product or services to another country.” While workers may be unaware or misinformed about this, only 17% of the total sample gave a “don’t know” response. This leaves a potential 738 observations that we can classify as export or non-export workers. As controls, we include industry of employment (textiles and apparel, construction, domestic and personal services, other manufacturing, and other), occupation (96% of the sample identify themselves as skilled or unskilled laborers), education (86% have less than a complete secondary education), average hours worked each week, literacy (15% of the sample were unable to read a simple statement off of a card), age, nature and size of their workplace, wages, and family situation (dummy variables for marriage and children). In addition, since potential social pressures depend on the workers’ social network, an index is constructed to control for how traditional that network is. This measure is an index responses about what percentage of women of their acquaintance were married before the age of 16, are in a polygynous marriage, live with the parents of the groom as newlyweds, are married to first cousins and paid dowries for marriage.

## **Results**

Because export-oriented employment is not randomly assigned and considerable imbalance exists in the sample, coarsened exact matching as described in Iacus, King and Porro (2008) is implemented using marital status, having children, age, type of workplace, company size, household size, and self-assessed economic status. Control variables continue to be necessary as some imbalance remains, though it is considerably reduced. The following results

include the weights calculated by the matching procedure. However, they do not depend on any particular method of matching.

With respect to beliefs about the importance of political participation (general motivation or associating participation with greater benefits) export-oriented employment is associated with significantly higher assessments for four different measures as indicated in Figure 1. This is unsurprising, since all three possible views of globalization outlined above predicts this outcome. Grievance, on the other hand, is only associated with export-oriented employment in the exploitative and insecure winners views of globalization. In the data, grievances over working conditions are also significantly and positively associated with export-oriented employment.

[Figures 1 & 2 about here]

Turning next to resources, which would allow workers to better navigate the costs of political participation, we find that export-oriented employment is only weakly significantly correlated with greater political information. It is correlated with more hours spent working, which corresponds with fewer time resources to dedicate to political participation. However, in terms of resources from income, export workers seem to believe that their current employment is better than available alternatives. They believe that their wages are better than wages at other jobs, they earn a higher proportion of their households' incomes (which in the absence of risk and social pressure, should lead to greater empowerment), and they believe that it would be significantly more difficult to find another job at the same wage level. This is consistent with the developmental view of globalization and bolsters the contention that export workers are, in fact, winners with some motivation to feel insecure.

[Figure 3 about here]

Globalization is also associated with more job insecurity and higher risk aversion as predicted by the insecure winners view. While workers do not feel significantly more likely to face job loss in the near future, they are significantly more concerned about being fired for arbitrary reasons. They report higher likelihood of being fired for personal behavior that their supervisors disapprove of (making political participation potentially risky). They also worry more frequently about being fired regardless of their performance at their job. However, based on their preferences over a sure prize or a risky lottery, export workers are more risk averse than other similar workers. Given export workers assessments that their jobs are relatively riskier, it seems unlikely that risk averse individuals systematically self-select into export-oriented employment.

[Figure 4 about here]

The first survey experiment, about the probability of voting in the next election indicates that the possibility of having the behavior observed does seem to depress voting slightly, but only among export workers. As seen earlier, this group of women has a high level of voting participation (or, at least, reports voting at high levels), so it is unsurprising that with this question almost 78% of the sample reported that they definitely will vote, while an additional 21% are “likely” to vote. The differences observed in responses to these questions represent a small change in the likelihood of voting. Table 2 shows the ordered probit analysis of responses to this question. The excluded category in all the models is the control version of the question, meaning that the coefficients for each of the other versions show how they differ from the control treatment. A positive coefficient indicates an increase in the reported likelihood of voting. The results are reported with robust standard errors, clustered by industry of employment. Without controls, the different frames do not appear to significantly affect the prospect of voting.

When *Export* and the other controls are included in the analysis, export workers are significantly more likely than non-export workers in the control group to report that they definitely will vote. Confidentiality from one's employer and in the general sense, however, decrease the likelihood of voting. However, of primary interest in this study is whether the effects of these different treatments have different effects on export workers versus non-export workers. Repeating the above analysis, controlling for export-oriented status and interacting that status with the treatment received shows that, relative to non-export workers, export workers receiving any of the reassurances about voting confidentiality are more likely to vote than in the control condition. This indicates that concerns about having their political behavior observed and disapproved of do seem to affect export workers propensity to participate.

[Table 2 about here]

Finally, turning to political participation, women working at export-oriented firms are more likely to talk at least weekly to co-workers about politics than other women. While this is easily attributable to the type of workplace and the isolation of workers, the effect persists (indeed the marginal effect increases) when only workers in a factory/store/office are included.<sup>9</sup> All the women in the sample vote at extraordinarily high levels. Over 90% of the full sample reported voting in the most recent national, regional, and local elections. However, export-oriented employment is associated with even higher probability of reporting having voted. Relatively few women (less than 8% of the sample) report having participated in a protest or demonstration. In spite of stronger agreement with the statement that it is important for women to participate in protests and in spite of their stronger voting record, women who work for exporters are significantly *less* likely to report having participated in a protest. Of the other eight

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<sup>9</sup> Other types of workplace include schools, markets, government offices, or from home.

types of political involvement the women were asked about, most have very low levels of involvement. The most common activity that some women have been involved in is explaining the procedures of voting to someone else (14% have done it at least once). Because almost 83% of the sample have not participated in any of the activities, this is reduced to a simple binomial variable of participation.

Civil society involvement is also significantly lower for export workers. Of the 10 types of civil society organizations that the survey questionnaire included, the most any woman reported was membership in four. 43% of the respondents stated that they belonged to no civil society groups. Due to this preponderance of zeros, tobit analysis was used to analyze how the labor and personal characteristics of women affect this type of participation. Again, export workers show significantly lower membership in organizations than non-export workers do.

Consistent with a high approval of the ideas that it is important for women to participate and the relatively lower levels of several kinds of actual participation, export workers are less likely to be satisfied with their overall political involvement. 50% of women surveyed indicate that they are not as politically involved as they would like to be. However, that aggregation masks considerable differences. 37% of non-export workers are less involved than would be their preference, while over 70% of export workers are of that opinion. Ordered probit regression reveals that this difference is not accounted for by differences in age, education, wages literacy, family situation, occupation, industry of employment, type of workplace, or size of the company for which they work.

[Figure 5 about here]

The final survey experiment primes respondents to think of worker grievances, potential worker influence in an important industry or the footloose nature of capital in the industry. Then

it asks them how strongly they agree or disagree that workers should 1) protest or demonstrate for better wages and conditions and 2) lobby the government for better wages and conditions. In the control condition, export workers do not differ from non-export workers in their support for protests or demonstrations from the workers. Export workers are less likely to agree that workers should organize and lobby the government for better wages and conditions in the control group. Interestingly, the effects of the three of the four frames are significant, but in opposite directions for export workers and non-export workers. This is also an interesting indication of the divergent attitudes toward these behaviors that exist within a single demographic group in a city. These differences reinforce the suggestion that concerns about social acceptability of behavior among one's neighbors might influence an individuals' decisions to participate, even if they are willing to support someone else's participation.

The frame that emphasizes the industry's contribution to the national economy, but low rewards for the workers is not significantly affect attitudes differently from the control and reactions do not differ between types of workers. The frame that emphasizes the power of workers to potentially disrupt an important industry reduces support among non-exporters for any political action, but increases it among export workers. This is perhaps unsurprising. Since the question is asking specifically about political behavior where workers' interests are in conflict with ownership and management interests in the industry, non-export workers are more likely to focus on possible disruption and costs to the national economy of behavior that increases worker welfare. However, invocation of workers' potential power increases the perceived benefits export workers ascribe to the action.

The frame that emphasizes the footloose nature of the capital in the industry and potential loss of competitiveness reduces export workers support for either type of political action, but has

a more strongly negative effect on support for protest. Export workers appear to alter their attitudes toward making demands in the political arena in response to information that indicates that their industry and employment may be at risk as a result. At least theoretically, this indicates that management, the government or general social pressure can promote quiescence among export workers by invoking similar concerns. On the other hand, for non-export workers, for whom the frame does not contain risk of job loss, strengthen their support for workers making demands for better wages and conditions. This is perhaps in response to a fairness concern that Indian workers are paid less than workers elsewhere or a belief that international companies should be able to afford to pay more.

## **Conclusion**

Taken together these results provide evidence, albeit in a limited empirical test, that globalization's effects on workers are more complicated than simple exploitation or development. Rather, export workers have higher motivation to participate, more grievances against their employers, a wage premium, less time away from work, a greater fear of being fired for behavior unrelated to their job performance, and more difficulty finding a suitable replacement job. This is consistent with the idea that, as predicted by traditional trade models, workers in export industries benefit from trade. However, that benefit itself can be a source of insecurity, inducing caution about anything that might threaten a worker's continued employment. This insecurity is exacerbated if there are few or unclear protections for workers. The combination of benefit and insecurity has a peculiar effect on political participation. Because of their insecurity, workers are particularly vulnerable to pressure from government, management, or society not to bring their (frequently justified) demands and grievances to the public arena.

Though this empirical test is limited in scope, the increased comparability of the individuals studied provides greater confidence that other factors are not driving these relationships. The limited empirical test can also tell us a great deal about a population of particular interest in the debates over globalization. Even if the generalizability of these findings is limited to women working in exporting firms in India, this dynamic can easily affect in excess of 40 million people. Only the 32 most populous countries in the world have populations higher than that. If it provides even limited insight into the situation of men in export-oriented employment or workers in other countries, that is useful, but not necessary to justify the importance of studying these specific effects of globalization.

This study provides insight into the difficulty of politically addressing grievances or protecting workers in globalized industries. Quiescence, according to this study, may be manufactured, denying access to the full political means of seeking redress that is formally available to workers. This adds another dimension to the long debate about the effect of globalization on democracy.

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**Table 1: Effect of Export-Oriented Employment on Political Participation**

	Exploitative	Developmental	Insecure Winners
Benefits: Industry-wide interests	Increased	Increased	Increased
Benefits: Worker Grievance	Increased	No effect	Increased/No effect
Resources to participate	Decreased	Increased	Increased
Risk from participation	Increased	No effect	Increased
Controversial Participation	Decreased	Increased	Decreased
Uncontroversial Participation	Decreased	Increased	Increased

Figure 1

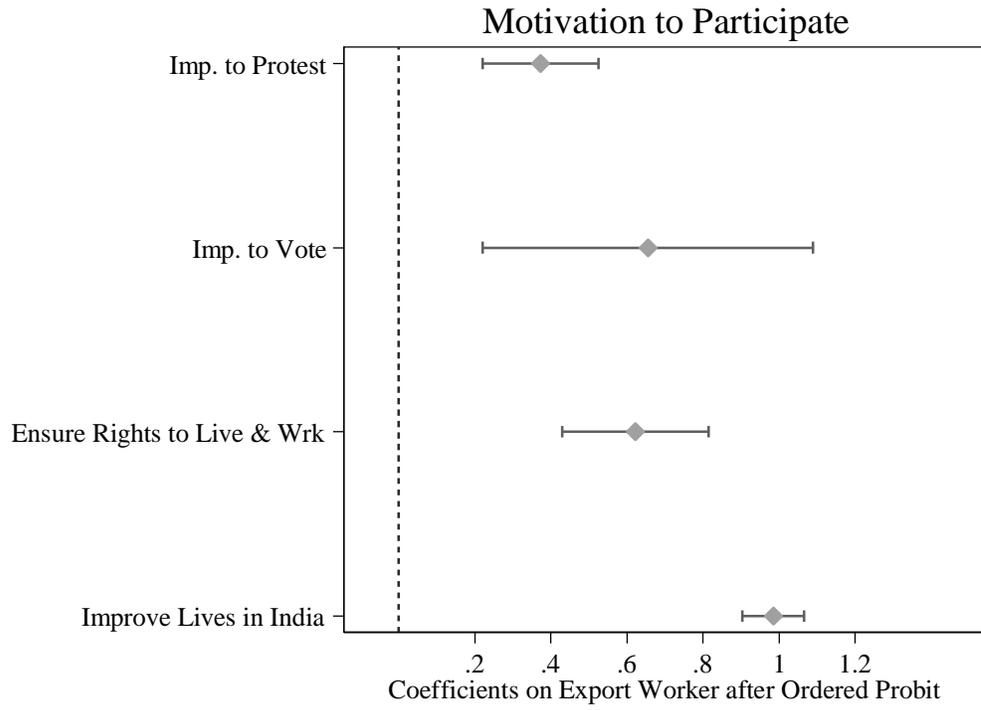


Figure 2



Figure 3

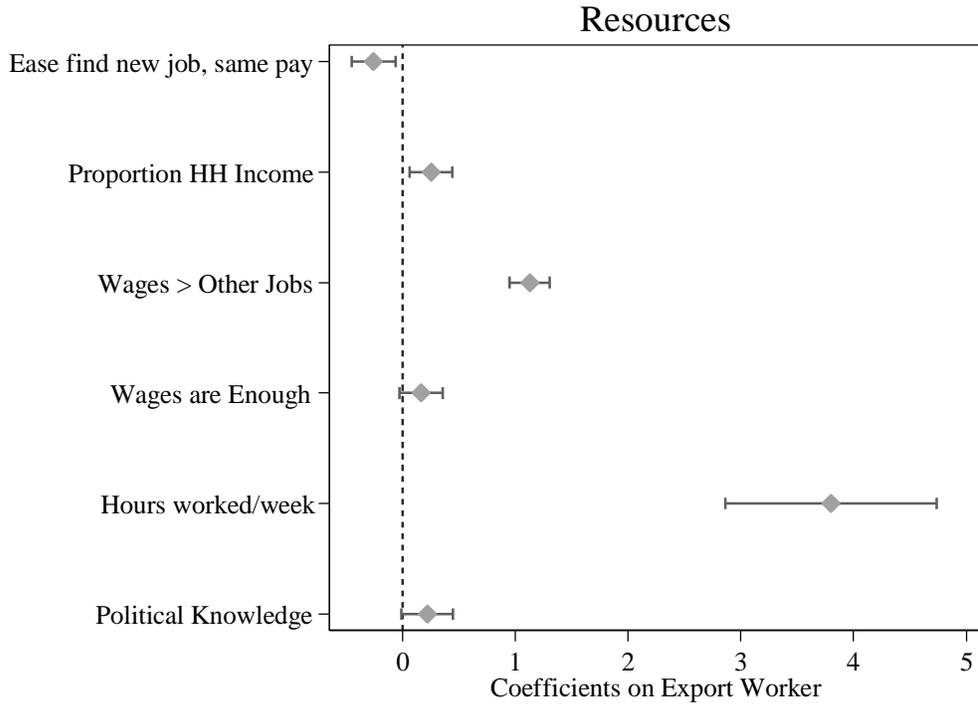


Figure 4

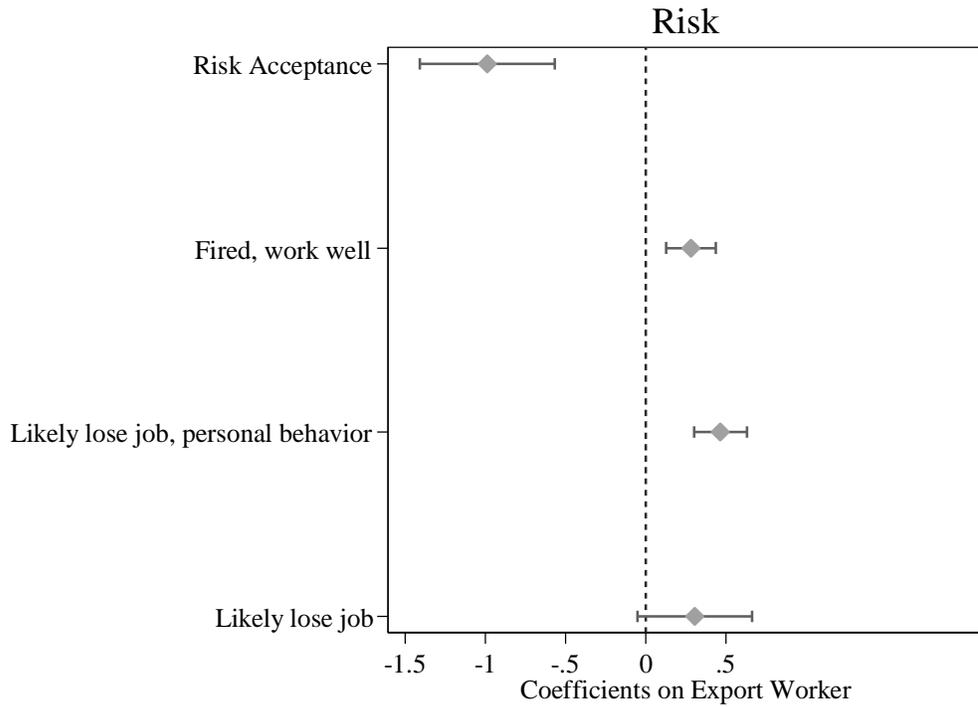


Table 2: How likely are you to vote in the next election? (1—Definitely will not vote, 5—Definitely will vote)

Employer	-0.320 (0.302)	-0.775 (0.233)***	-1.303 (0.268)***
Family Member	0.183 (0.114)	-0.030 (0.125)	-0.369 (0.158)**
General Confidentiality	-0.435 (0.318)	-0.491 (0.205)**	-0.931 (0.170)***
Export		0.847 (0.135)***	0.202 (0.160)
Export*Employer			0.891 (0.337)***
Export*Family Member			0.617 (0.164)***
Export*General Confidential			1.025 (0.147)***
Skilled Labor		0.684 (0.188)***	0.768 (0.211)***
Other		1.162 (0.141)***	1.296 (0.152)***
Literate		0.841 (0.302)***	0.928 (0.344)***
Age		-0.004 (0.016)	-0.003 (0.014)
Education		-0.215 (0.068)***	-0.179 (0.080)**
Hours work/week		0.012 (0.004)***	0.013 (0.006)**
Children		-0.112 (0.149)	-0.056 (0.165)
Married		0.295 (0.182)	0.410 (0.203)**
Daily wages		-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)
Company size		0.448 (0.041)***	0.490 (0.053)***
Traditional social		0.853 (0.147)***	0.878 (0.164)***
Cut 1	-2.745 (0.321)***	-0.754 (0.594)	-0.521 (0.606)
Cut 2	-0.836 (0.182)***	1.603 (0.525)***	1.883 (0.601)***
	355	350	350

Dummies for industry of employment and type of workplace are also included.\*  $p < 0.1$ ; \*\*

$p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Figure 5

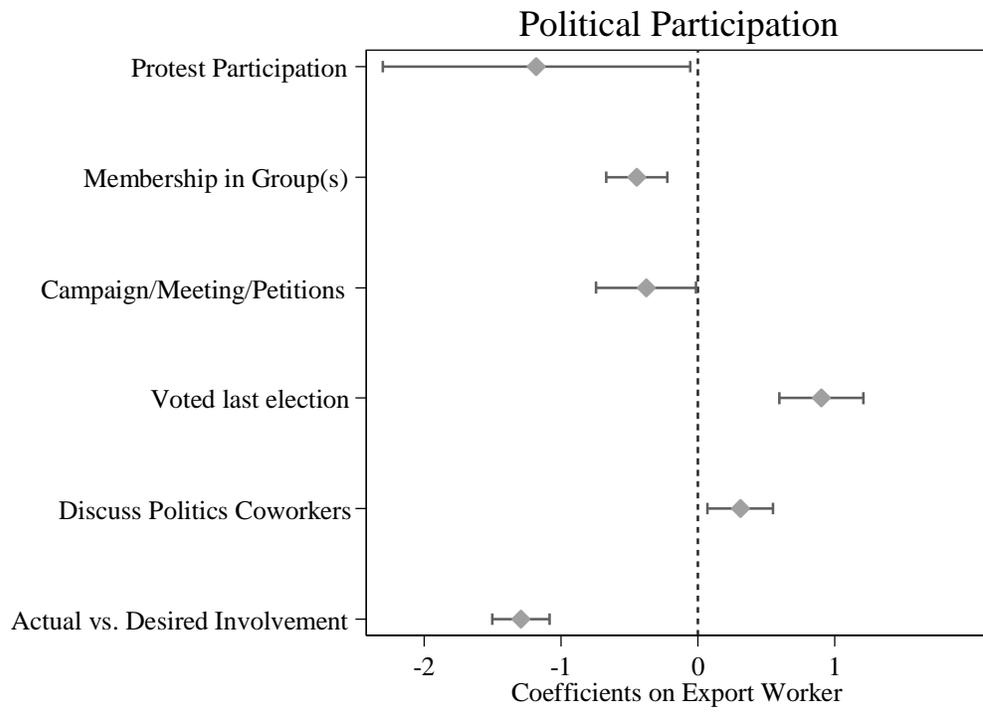


Table 3: Should Garment Industry Workers Strike/Protest for better wages and conditions?

Unsafe Conditions	0.640 (0.200)***	0.795 (0.111)***	1.556 (0.124)***
Imp/Workers' power	-0.260 (0.144)*	-0.127 (0.131)	-0.361 (0.188)*
Footloose Capital	0.313 (0.149)**	0.449 (0.129)***	1.030 (0.108)***
Imp/Workers grievance	-0.566 (0.264)**	-0.459 (0.373)	-0.684 (0.541)
Export		-0.141 (0.032)***	-0.078 (0.118)
Export*conditions			-1.747 (0.222)***
Export*Imp/Wrkr's power			0.274 (0.105)***
Export*Footloose Capital			-1.062 (0.109)***
Export*Imp/Wrkr's Grievance			0.578 (0.459)
Literate		0.039 (0.110)	-0.061 (0.067)
Age		0.030 (0.002)***	0.032 (0.001)***
Education		0.063 (0.044)	0.117 (0.063)*
Hours worked/week		-0.006 (0.007)	0.007 (0.007)
children		0.469 (0.145)***	0.669 (0.181)***
married		-0.403 (0.112)***	-0.435 (0.129)***
Daily wage		0.001 (0.000)**	0.001 (0.000)**
Company size		0.073 (0.041)*	0.025 (0.072)
Traditional social network		0.381 (0.052)***	0.406 (0.060)***
cut1	-2.929 (0.220)***	-1.211 (0.448)***	-0.332 (0.533)
cut2	-1.987 (0.225)***	-0.220 (0.461)	0.647 (0.552)
cut3	-1.172 (0.139)***	0.630 (0.436)	1.531 (0.549)***
cut4	0.029 (0.120)	1.907 (0.460)***	2.866 (0.586)***
N	355	350	350

Occupation, industry and workplace controls are included. \*  $p < 0.1$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 4: Should Garment Industry Workers Lobby the government for better wages and conditions?

Unsafe Conditions	0.568 (0.224)**	0.692 (0.135)***	1.334 (0.124)***
Imp/Workers' power	-0.171 (0.118)	-0.028 (0.114)	-0.339 (0.201)*
Footloose Capital	0.144 (0.187)	0.286 (0.155)*	0.684 (0.147)***
Imp/Workers grievance	-0.595 (0.261)**	-0.444 (0.370)	-0.674 (0.559)
Export		-0.224 (0.040)***	-0.246 (0.121)**
Export*conditions			-1.545 (0.231)***
Export*Imp/Wrkr power			0.428 (0.187)**
Export*Footloose Capital			-0.764 (0.139)***
Export*Imp/Wrkr Grievance			0.526 (0.503)
Literate		0.158 (0.163)	0.073 (0.114)
Age		0.022 (0.009)**	0.022 (0.009)**
Education		-0.018 (0.056)	0.020 (0.080)
Hours worked/week		-0.002 (0.007)	0.009 (0.008)
children		0.323 (0.157)**	0.504 (0.182)***
married		-0.567 (0.114)***	-0.615 (0.122)***
Daily wage		0.002 (0.000)***	0.002 (0.000)***
Company size		0.066 (0.066)	0.013 (0.100)
Traditional social network		0.421 (0.036)***	0.419 (0.039)***
cut1	-3.007 (0.246)***	-2.060 (0.797)***	-1.543 (0.932)*
cut2	-2.484 (0.076)***	-1.536 (0.579)***	-0.985 (0.718)
cut3	-1.113 (0.123)***	-0.083 (0.469)	0.505 (0.623)
cut4	-0.061 (0.078)	1.033 (0.511)**	1.655 (0.676)**
N	355	350	350

Occupation, industry and workplace controls are included. \*  $p < 0.1$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

## Appendix: Survey items

### **Political motivation/benefit**

- If women are involved in deciding things in government, it will help improve people's lives in India (five-point scale of agreement)
- Women need to be involved in deciding things in government to ensure their rights and ability to live and work (five-point scale of agreement)
- Overall, how important do you think it is for women in India to vote? (four-point scale)
- Overall, how important do you think it is for women in India to participate in protests and demonstrations? (four-point scale)

### **Grievance** (Dichotomous; Never vs Sometimes or more frequently)

- I worry about being the victim of a crime at work
- I worry that my worksite is physically unsafe
- I worry that my work will harm my health

### **Resources**

- Political knowledge index—respondents were asked to identify
  - the current president of India (Pranab Mukherjee),
  - which house of the Indian legislature has more members (Lok Sabha),
  - what year India gained its independence (1947),
  - which party holds the most seats in the Lok Sabha (the BJP), and
  - how old someone must be to be eligible for election to president of India (35 years old).

-

- How many hours per week do you generally work to earn money?
- How often is it true that “My wages are better than I could get at another job”
- How often is it true that “My wages are enough to meet my needs”
- If you were to lose your job, how easy or difficult do you think it would be for you to find a similar job that pays as much?
- Approximately, what portion of your household income do you earn at your job?
  - a.) A quarter/ one-fourth or less
  - b.) between a quarter and a half
  - c.) about a half
  - d.) more than one half
  - e.) I earn almost all of my household income

### **Risk**

- How often is it true that “I worry that I might be fired even if I do my job well”
- 2.) How likely do you think it is that you will lose your job in the next 12 months?
  - a.) Not at all likely
  - b.) Not very likely
  - c.) Neither likely nor unlikely
  - d.) Likely
  - e.) Very likely
- 3.) How likely is it that you might lose your job or be penalized at work for something in your personal life or conduct, unrelated to work, of which your supervisor disapproved?
  - a) Not at all likely
  - b) Not very likely
  - c) Neither likely nor unlikely
  - d) Likely
  - e) Very likely
- 
- Suppose you are asked to choose between winning a prize of 1500 rupees or entering a lottery where you either 3000 rupees or nothing. If half (one out of every 2 people) who play the lottery win the 3000 rupees, but half get nothing, would you choose the lottery with a chance to win 3000 or the certain prize of 1500 rupees?
  - a.) I would take the prize
  - b.) I would enter the lottery
  - c.) I would not care which one I chose

### **Participation**

- Overall, how involved do you consider yourself to be in political activities such as voting, talking about politics, working on campaigns, signing petitions, serving on school committees, participating in demonstrations or any of the other activities mentioned in the earlier questions?
  - a.) Not as involved as I would like to be (I want to do more of these activities)
  - b.) As involved as I want to be (I do as much of these things as I desire to)
  - c.) More involved than I want to be (I feel pressure to do them, but would prefer to do less)
- How often do you speak with people you work with about political or social issues?
  - At least once a week
  - At least once a month, but less than once a week
  - Only in the month or so before an election, but then it is frequent
  - Only in the month or so before an election, but then it is infrequent

Do you participate in or belong to any of the following ?

-Mahila mandal?

-Trade union, business, or professional group?

-Self Help Groups?

-Credit or Savings Group?

-Religious or social group or festival society?

-Caste association?

-Development group or NGO?

-Agriculture, milk or other cooperative?

School committees?

Other type of association or group. Please specify\_\_\_\_\_

- Many people find it difficult to get to vote when there is an election. In the most recent national/regional/local election, did you vote yourself?

Have you ever?

- Attended a public meeting called by the village panchayat/nagarpalika/ward committee
- Helped organize any election meetings
- Participated in a protest or demonstration
- Participated in a campaign for a party or candidate (for example, house to house)

- canvassing, distributing literature or polling cards, contributing money or raising money, putting up posters)
- Explained the procedure of voting to someone else
- Worked as a polling agent
- Spoken at public meetings
- Signed a state or local petition
- Written a letter to an elected official

### **Experiment 1**

*Version 1:* When you go to vote, there are laws to make sure that your vote is completely secret. You vote in a screened compartment that keeps anyone from seeing how you vote and your choice is not seen by anyone, not other voters, polling officials, or election commission staff. Even if you cannot read or write, you can still vote in secret.

Your employer cannot find out about which party or candidate you voted for.

How likely do you think you are to vote in the next election?

Definitely will vote

Likely

Neither likely nor unlikely

Not likely

Definitely will not vote

*Version 2:* When you go to vote, there are laws to make sure that your vote is completely secret. You vote in a screened compartment that keeps anyone from seeing how you vote and your choice is not seen by anyone, not other voters, polling officials, or election commission staff. Even if you cannot read or write, you can still vote in secret.

No one in your family can find out about which party or candidate you voted for.

How likely do you think you are to vote in the next election?

Definitely will vote

Likely

Neither likely nor unlikely

Not likely

Definitely will not vote

*Version 3:* When you go to vote, there are laws to make sure that your vote is completely secret. You vote in a screened compartment that keeps anyone from seeing how you vote and your choice is not seen by anyone, not other voters, polling officials, or election commission staff. Even if you cannot read or write, you can still vote in secret.

How likely do you think you are to vote in the next election?

Definitely will vote

Likely

Neither likely nor unlikely

Not likely

Definitely will not vote

*Version 4:* How likely do you think you are to vote in the next election?

Definitely will vote

Likely

Neither likely nor unlikely

Not likely

Definitely will not vote

## **Experiment 2**

*\*\*Participant will see one of the following four versions of the question*

*Version 1:* In 2013 a factory where workers sew clothing collapsed in Mumbai, killing at least one person, and injuring at least people. Investigation revealed that there was unauthorized construction at the building.

Workers in the garment industry and others like it should organize and, potentially, go on strikes or hold protest to demand higher wages and better working conditions

- a.) Agree strongly
- b.) Agree
- c.) Neither agree nor Disagree
- d.) Disagree
- e.) Strongly Disagree

Workers in the garment industry and others like it should lobby the government for laws that dictate better working conditions and/or better pay.

- a.) Agree strongly
- b.) Agree
- c.) Neither agree nor Disagree
- d.) Disagree
- e.) Strongly Disagree

*Version 2:* The garment industry represents 14% of industrial activity and 17% of export income in India. It provides jobs for almost 35 million workers in India. It is vitally important to the overall economy of the country. Problems with workers could disrupt production in this industry.

Workers in the garment industry and others like it should organize and, potentially, go on strikes or hold protest to demand higher wages and better working conditions

- a.) Agree strongly
- b.) Agree
- c.) Neither agree nor Disagree
- d.) Disagree
- e.) Strongly Disagree

Workers in the garment industry and others like it should lobby the government for laws that dictate better working conditions and/or better pay.

- a.) Agree strongly
- b.) Agree
- c.) Neither agree nor Disagree
- d.) Disagree
- e.) Strongly Disagree

*Version 3:* Many international companies have workers in India sew clothing for them because it is less expensive for workers in India to make the clothing than for workers elsewhere to do it. If wages go up, some of these companies might have their clothing made in a different country.

Workers in the garment industry and others like it should organize and, potentially, go on strikes or hold protest to demand higher wages and better working conditions

- a.) Agree strongly
- b.) Agree
- c.) Neither agree nor Disagree
- d.) Disagree
- e.) Strongly Disagree

Workers in the garment industry and others like it should lobby the government for laws that dictate better working conditions and/or better pay.

- a.) Agree strongly
- b.) Agree
- c.) Neither agree nor Disagree
- d.) Disagree
- e.) Strongly Disagree

*Version 4:* The garment industry represents 14% of industrial activity and 17% of export income in India. It provides jobs for 35 million workers in India. The garment industry is vitally important to the overall economy of the country, but workers in the garment industry are paid little and work long hours in poor conditions. How much do you agree with the following statements:

Workers in the garment industry and others like it should organize and, potentially, go on strikes or hold protest to demand higher wages and better working conditions

- a.) Agree strongly
- b.) Agree
- c.) Neither agree nor Disagree
- d.) Disagree
- e.) Strongly Disagree

Workers in the garment industry and others like it should lobby the government for laws that dictate better working conditions and/or better pay.

- a.) Agree strongly
- b.) Agree
- c.) Neither agree nor Disagree
- d.) Disagree
- e.) Strongly Disagree