Worker Voice: What it is, What it is Not, and Why it Matters

Summary Report

January 2025

By Mark Anner and
Matthew Fischer-Daly

PennState
College of the Liberal Arts

CGWR
Center for Global Workers' Rights

ICF

Department of Labor · United States of America

Worker Voice: What it is, What it is not, and Why it matters

Summary Report

The Center for Global Workers' Rights
The Pennsylvania State University

Authors:
Mark Anner
and
Matthew Fischer-Daly

With case study contributions from:
Sifat Amita (Enforceable Brand Agreement case)
Katherine Maich (Domestic Workers case)
Samuel Okyere (Child Labor case),
and Ye Yint (Myanmar case)

January 2025

DISCLAIMER: This report was prepared for the United States Department of Labor under project No. 1605C2-20-A-0002. The authors' views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the United States Department of Labor.

Worker Voice: What it is, What it is not, and Why it matters

Summary Report

The Center for Global Workers' Rights (CGWR)

January 2025

The Center for Global Workers' Rights (CGWR) was established in 2012 as a research center within the School of Labor and Employment Relations at the Pennsylvania State University (Penn State). It has a particular focus on structurally and legally vulnerable workers in a variety of sectors of the global economy which are subject to particular risks to labor and human rights. This includes garment workers in global supply chains, agricultural workers, domestic workers, and informal economy workers. It publishes research reports, funds student projects on workers' rights, organizes scholar-practitioner exchanges, and co-hosts the Global Labour Journal. It is home to the Labour Rights Indicators, a comprehensive global database on workers' rights that established the foundation for the U.N. Sustainable Development indicator for Goal 8.8.2 on workers' rights. The Center works in close association with the School's Master of Professional Studies (MPS) program in Labor and Global Workers' Rights as part of the Global Labour University.

This Summary Report draws on the longer version of "Worker Voice: What it is, what it is not, and why it matters" produced by the Center for Global Workers' Rights with ICF Macro, Inc. for the Worker Voice Policy Research (Project No. 1605C2-20-A-0002) of the United States Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs (Anner et al. 2024). More information on the project is available on the USDOL-ILAB website and the CGWR website. There is also an accompanying Worker Voice Literature Review that can be found here (Fischer-Daly and Anner 2023).

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments 4

Executive Summary 5

Introduction 7

Worker Voice Definition 8

A Framework for Analyzing Worker Voice Mechanisms 11

Case Study 1: Enforceable Brand Agreements (EBAs) in Bangladesh, Honduras, India, Lesotho, and Pakistan 13

Case Study 2: The Facility-Specific Rapid Response Labor Mechanism (RRM) in the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) 15

Case Study 3: Worker Voice Mechanisms in Domestic Work 16

Case Study 4: Worker Voice in Agricultural Employment in the United States 17

Case Study 5: Migrant Worker Voice Through Transnational Labor Rights Corridors (TLRCs) 19

Case Study 6: Worker Voice in Authoritarian Regimes—Myanmar 21

Case Study 7: Worker Voice in Efforts to Eliminate Child Labor 23

Summary Takeaways from Worker Voice Research Project 25

References 27

Expert Participants 33

Acknowledgements

This report was made possible thanks to the support, insights, and collaborative work of a very large number of people who provided inputs through roundtable discussions, focus groups, interviews, and written feedback on drafts of case studies and the full report. The authors are especially grateful to the United States Department of Labor Bureau of International Labor Affairs (USDOL-ILAB) and ICF for supporting it. We deeply appreciate the participation of numerous experts who provided keen observations in interviews, focus group discussions, and roundtables. Their names are listed at the end of this report.

We thank the many people who helped produce this report. Jafar Iqbal at the University of British Columbia provided excellent contributions and feedback on the enforceable brand agreements case, and Luis Mendoza at Penn State offered meticulous research in compiling a chart of Rapid Response Labor Mechanism (RRM) complaints for the RRM case study. Selim Benaissa and Piyamal Pichaiwongse, ILO Liaison Office in Myanmar; Jennifer Gordon, Fordham University; and Victor Yengle, the University of Virginia provided insightful feedback on case studies. Excellent feedback on drafts was also provided by the USDOL-ILAB. Finally, we thank Tara Mathur for her excellent editing and graphic design.

Executive Summary

1. The term "worker voice" has been used by practitioners, policymakers, and scholars to cover a broad range of institutions and mechanisms, from suggestion boxes and corporate social responsibility programs to trade unions and enforceable brand agreements.

2. The challenge of establishing a definition of "worker voice," and what does and does not constitute effective forms of worker voice, is exacerbated by attempts at building worker voice in non-standard and precarious work, including in global supply chains, informal work, agriculture and domestic work, authoritarian regimes, and segments of the economy with migrant workers and child labor.

3. Through an extensive exploration of the literature,[1] roundtable discussions, interviews with top experts in the field, focus groups, and seven in-depth case studies, this report defines worker voice as the capacity of workers to speak up, articulate, and manifest collective agency to improve the terms and conditions of work and livelihoods and to contribute to more equitable and democratic societies. It finds that worker voice is most effectively supported by institutions and mechanisms that enhance workers' ability to elect, represent, protect, include, enable, and empower workers and their organizations—a six-component framework elaborated below.

4. To analyze worker voice institutions and mechanisms, the report establishes a three-step process. The first step involves analyzing the context, including the regulatory regime, patterns of worker rights violations, union dynamics, and structures of exclusion in society. The second step entails analyzing the mechanisms or organizational structures, forms of participation and governance, and remedy mechanisms. The third step is to study outcomes for workers and society as a result of these mechanisms.

5. Using the six-component framework and the three-step analytical process, the report finds that democratic trade unions and collective bargaining are the most effective mechanism for supporting worker voice. The study also finds that enforceable brand agreements (EBAs), the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) Rapid Response Labor Mechanism (RRM), worker organizing along migration corridors and in agricultural and domestic work, and freedom of association protocols have supported worker voice in extraordinarily challenging contexts.

6. Individual voice mechanisms such as suggestion boxes, corporate social responsibility programs, management-controlled participation committees, and mandatory due diligence under authoritarian rule lack the components of effective mechanisms outlined above and have, in various ways, posed challenges to the development of effective worker voice.

[1] See Worker Voice: A Literature Review, https://ler.la.psu.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2024/04/literature_review_Worker_Voice_Research_Project_9November2023_amended16March2024-1.pdf.

7. Key considerations for policymakers include the importance of universal application of legal protections for workers and their organizations in exercising voice, worker voice as a means for strengthening labor law enforcement, and worker voice as a means for enhancing economic and crisis management. While worker voice in economic policymaking has long demonstrated capacity to balance interests in society, the recent outbreak of COVID-19 provided fresh evidence of the role of worker voice in mitigating crises.

8. Going forward, the report concludes that understanding of worker voice would be enhanced by more research on worker voice in the understudied regions of Africa and Central and South America, on the relationships between social hierarchies and worker voice, on worker voice as a means of ending child and forced labor, and on worker voice in mitigating environmental crises and just transitions towards environmentally sustainable economic systems.

Introduction

Worker voice entails the capacity of workers to speak up, articulate, and manifest collective agency to improve their terms and conditions of work and livelihoods and to contribute to more equitable and democratic societies. Trade unions and collective bargaining most clearly fit this definition of voice. Yet the term "worker voice" has been used to cover a wide range of other mechanisms, from suggestion boxes and corporate-led social responsibility programs to co-governance models such as through enforceable brand agreements (EBAs).

The need for a clear definition of the term is important and timely. Confusion has emerged from the use of "worker voice" to describe initiatives controlled by companies, such as management-organized committees, suggestion boxes and hotlines. Furthermore, today's global economy is fragmented: global supply chains, informality, non-standard work, labor migration, child labor, and under-regulated agricultural and domestic work are increasingly the norm. How might migrant workers on board distant water fishing vessels—who are in debt to recruitment agencies—organize and exercise their voice? How should voice be exercised by a garment worker in Bangladesh who is employed by a local factory but with terms and conditions of employment shaped by the purchasing practices of global brands headquartered in other countries?

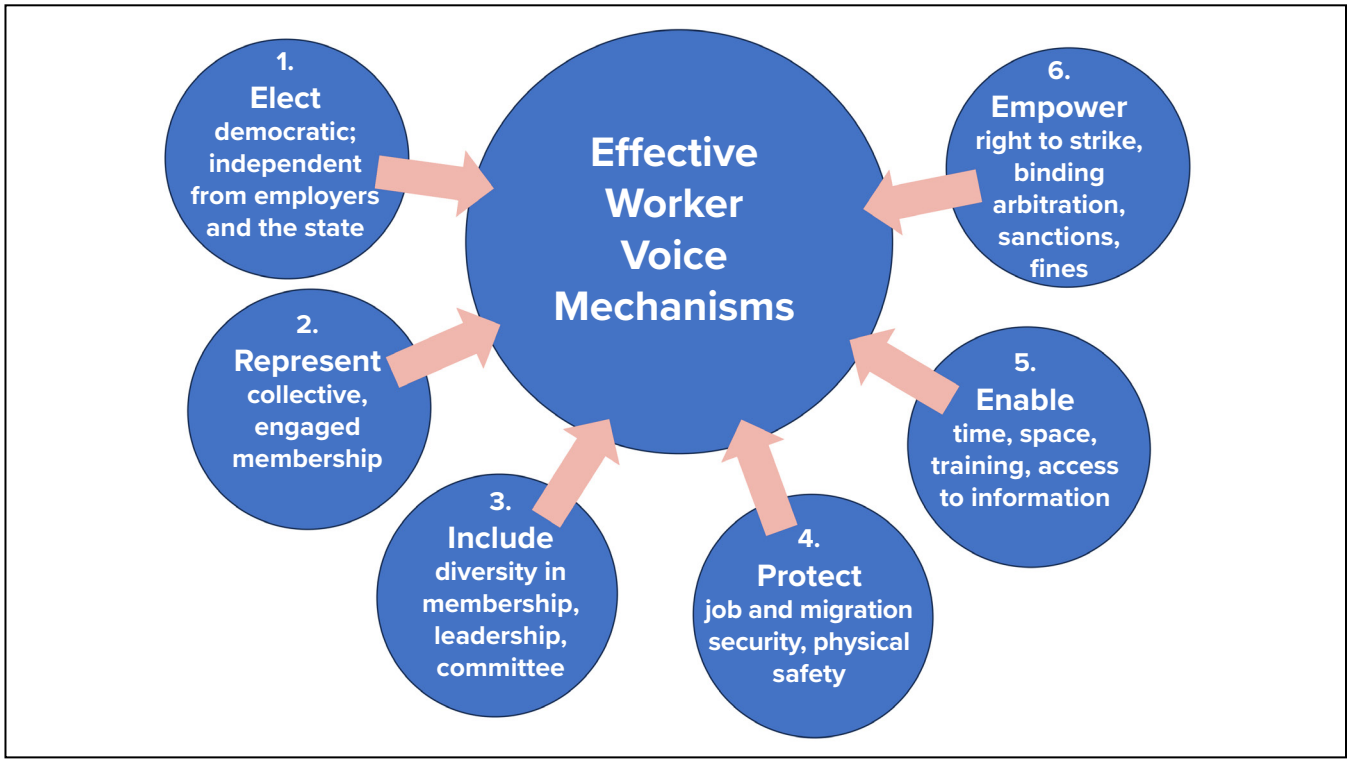
The most effective forms of worker voice are institutions and mechanisms that enhance workers' ability to elect, represent, protect, include, enable, and empower workers and their organizations. This finding is based on a year-long research project that included an extensive review of extant literature, roundtable discussions, interviews with top experts in the field, focus groups, and seven in-depth case studies. The definition of worker voice, framework for analyzing mechanisms' effects on worker voice, case studies, and takeaways for researchers, policymakers, and practitioners are elaborated in the project's full report and summarized here.

Worker Voice Definition and Its Six Core Components

Worker voice is defined as "the capacity of workers to speak up, articulate, and manifest collective agency that ultimately improves the terms and conditions of their employment, their democratic participation in society, and their livelihoods." Trade unions are the prototypical form of worker voice, and the diversity of conditions and interventions in the world of work demands a deeper analysis of what makes worker voice effective. As depicted in Figure 1, our research highlights six core components:[2] 1. **Election** of representatives; 2. **Representation** of members; 3. **Inclusion** of member diversity in leadership, on committees, and throughout organizations and worker voice mechanisms; 4. **Protection** of workers from acts of anti-union and other forms of discrimination, harassment, threats, and violence; 5. **Enabling** organizations to carry out their functions by ensuring members have the time, space, information, and training they need; 6. **Empowering** workers and their organizations to use their leverage for their goals and use of State and private mechanisms that have sanction power.

Worker voice is defined as the capacity of workers to speak up, articulate, and manifest collective agency that ultimately improves the terms and conditions of their employment, their democratic participation in society, and their livelihoods.

Figure 1: Six Components of Worker Voice



[2] These components of worker voice build on Anner, 2017b.

1. Elect: In effective worker organizations, workers elect their representatives, and operate independently and without interference from employers and government.[3] While most unions meet these criteria, the persistence of employer- and State-controlled unions underscores the importance of democratic worker organizations. Examples include management pacts with employer-protection unions in Mexico and State and party control of unions in China, especially at the upper echelons (Bensusán and Middlebrook, 2013; Hui and Chan, 2015). Meanwhile, some forms of worker representation, that may or may not be connected to formal union structures, such as worker cooperatives and worker centers, use participatory governance methods (Wolford, 2010; Carter, 2015). In contrast, company directed initiatives, such as corporate social responsibility (CSR) and worker engagement programs, by definition, deny control to workers and thus cannot be considered legitimate worker voice mechanisms (Anner, 2012, 2023).

2. Represent: The most effective form of worker voice is collective representation (Budd, Gollan, & Wilkinson, 2010; Doellgast, 2022; Freeman & Medoff, 1984; Godard, 1992; Kochan et al., 2019). Beyond elections, leaders must be accountable to members, who are informed, engaged in organizational activities, and consulted on important matters. When management appoints, controls or co-opts worker representatives, they render the representation function ineffective. Individual mechanisms for workers to communicate to management lack the legitimacy and power derived from collective worker voice mechanisms and thus fail to resolve rights-based employment conflicts (Batt et al., 2002; Budd et al., 2010; Charlwood & Pollart, 2014; Mowbray et al., 2015).

3. Include: Workers' organizations' prioritization of inclusivity also strengthens worker voice. In many organizations, including some trade unions, individuals with privileged social positions dominate leadership (Ledwith, 2012; Lee & Tapia, 2021; Munakamwe, 2021). When worker organizations prioritize participation, inclusion and leadership among the diverse workforce they represent, they are more likely to succeed (Tapia et al., 2017; Fischer-Daly, 2023). With innovative worker voice mechanisms, such as the Lesotho and Dindigul agreements—examined in the case study of Enforceable Brand Agreements (EBAs), governance structures that include women's organizations and trade unions are directly and effectively addressing gender-based violence and harassment and discrimination based on caste.

4. **Protect**: Worker voice is more effective when workers can speak up without fear of reprisal. Repression, including violence and threats against unions and workers, continues to severely impede worker voice throughout the global economy (Anner, 2017a; ILO, 2023). The importance of protection from retaliation can be heightened for migrant workers (Ford, 2019; Gordon, 2007). More job stability, including just-cause termination requirements, supports worker voice, as demonstrated through international comparative research (Doellgast, 2022; Doeringer et al., 2003). Protection against unjustified dismissal also contributes to reducing gender-based violence at work, as shown in this project's case study on EBAs in Lesotho.

5. Enable: Worker representatives need time, space, information, resources, and training to fulfill their functions. While all organizations have such operational needs, worker organizations must account for the reality that workers' time is limited by their need to work, a lack of control over how they spend their workday, and caring for their families. Given that many workers, especially women, balance work, care responsibilities, and trade union activities, addressing

[3] See ILO C087 - Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 and ILO C098 - Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949.

time and unpaid care work also enables effective, inclusive worker organizations (Blofield & Jokela, 2018; Paz, 2023; Ferrant et al., 2014). Exemplifying interdependence between components of effective worker voice mechanisms, co-governance of the Bangladesh Accord enabled workers to improve working conditions by providing training on occupational safety and health. Even when otherwise enabled, lack of information can impede effective worker voice.

6. Empower: Workers and their organizations must be able to use leverage that empowers them to achieve their goals, including the right to strike, access to legally-binding dispute resolution procedures, and sanctions for rights' violations. Without the ability to withhold their labor, workers lack leverage to negotiate improved terms and conditions of employment (Bellace, 2014; Katz et al. 2017; Vogt et al., 2020). The countervailing power of striking underscores why mechanisms that prohibit the right to strike impede worker voice. There are, nevertheless, additional forms of leverage, which include binding clauses in EBAs and in trade agreements, as illustrated in this project's case studies.[4]

These six components, as depicted in Figure 1, are interdependent. A workers' organization needs workers to elect their leaders; collective organization; inclusion of workers' diverse perspectives; protection from discrimination, threats, retaliation, and physical harm; the time, space, information, and training to operate; and the leverage to pursue workers' interests. Without any one of these components, the other components are weakened, and worker voice is less effective overall. The proliferation of voice mechanisms controlled by management, such as worker-management committees, create mechanisms that lack authentic worker voice, and are often used to undermine or replace legitimate worker voice mechanisms. These approaches do not provide a steppingstone to authentic worker voice and could actually block it.

[4] On labor law enforcement capacity enhancement, see Fine and Bartley, 2019 and The Workplace Justice Lab at Rutgers University.

A Framework for Analyzing Worker Voice Mechanisms

Collective bargaining between representative trade unions and employers and their organizations represents the worker voice mechanism that has consistently contributed to increasing equality and democracy (Freeman & Medoff, 1984; Doucouliagos et al., 2017; Farber et al., 2021; ILO, 2022: Figure 3.3; Jaumotte & Osorio Buitron, 2020). Yet the exercise of worker voice via democratic and empowered trade unions faces a multiplicity of challenges. These can take the form of employer resistance, interference by employers or the state, gaps in coverage, lax enforcement of labor laws, or lacking access to effective remedy. In such contexts, workers collectively engage allies and seek to leverage mechanisms that might address violations of rights and encourage good faith negotiations, such as pressure on brands, the supervisory system of the International Labour Organization (ILO), and dispute resolution processes within trade agreement labor chapters (see Figure 2).[5] While not, themselves, "worker voice mechanisms", these interventions clearly open space and offer protection for the increased exercise of collective worker voice (Johnston & Land-Kazlauskas, 2018).

The most effective mechanisms reduce the blockage faced by workers and their organizations. For example from our case study on EBAs (Anner et al. 2024; see also Anner, 2022), in Honduras prior to 2010, workers were largely unable to successfully organize their workplaces or address their grievances through State institutions (Figure 2, phase 1). With the establishment of an EBA (phase 2), they pressured the global brand and gained access to the factory. This reduced blockages at the factory level, opening space for local trade unions to organize workers and collectively bargain with employers (phase 3). Similar boomerang strategies—workers reaching beyond their home country and using mechanisms with international scope to unblock resistance to worker voice in their employment setting—have been used by workers' unions in India, Lesotho, Mexico, and Myanmar, as documented in this project's case studies.

Analysis of the effects of a mechanism on worker voice requires examination of the context, the mechanism itself, and outcomes (Figure 3). The context may include regulatory regimes, historic patterns of worker rights violations, relative strength of unions and allied organizations, and discriminatory structures based on gender, racial, and other forms of subordination. With the context understood, the mechanism and outcomes also require assessment. Did the mechanism enhance effective worker voice as conceptualized in the previous section? This project's case studies apply this analytical framework to consider worker voice in diverse contexts.

[5] Keck and Sikkink, 1998 called this strategy the boomerang effect.

Figure 2: Local Blockage, Worker Voice Mechanisms, and External Pressure: Boomerang use of international mechanisms to support worker voice

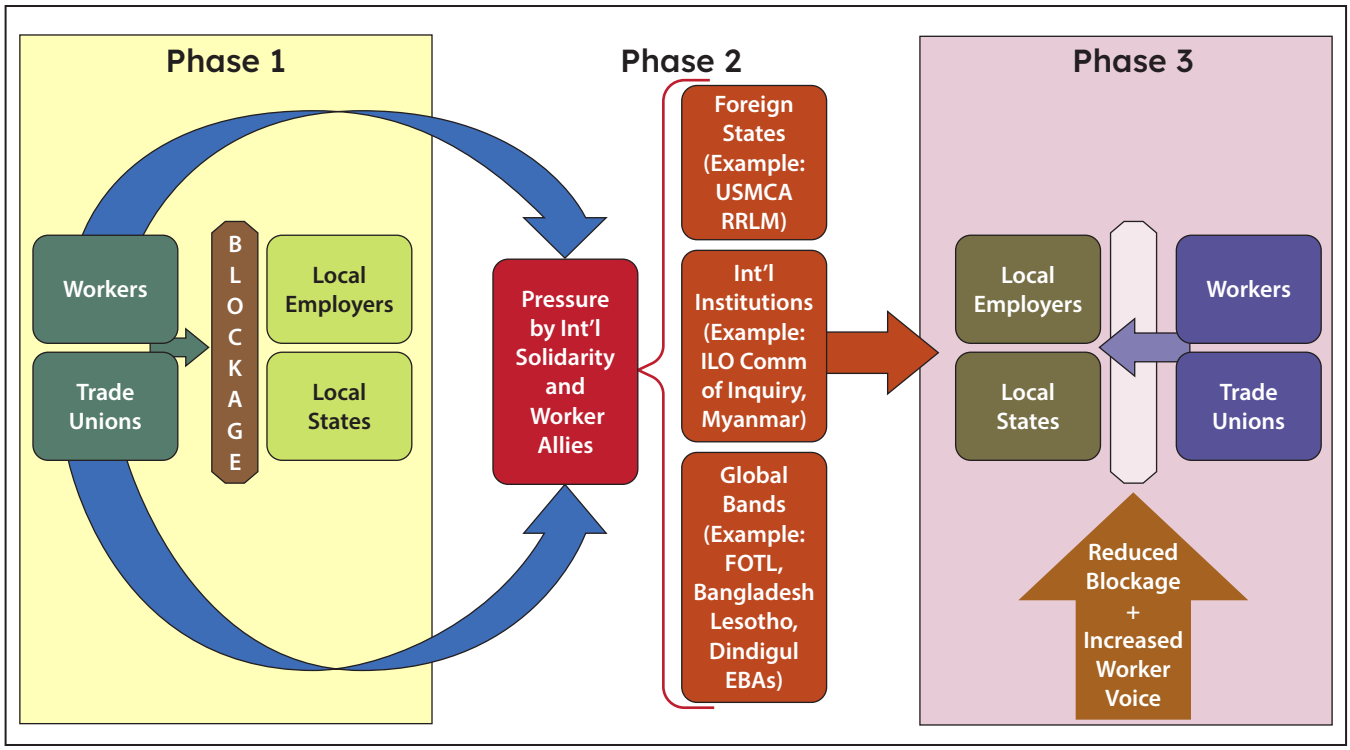


Figure 3: Three Steps for Analyzing Worker Voice Mechanisms

Case Studies

This project used a multimethod research strategy to analyze seven case studies. Case selection emphasized diversity of geographic contexts, sectors, mechanisms, and problems. Research included reviews of prior studies relevant to the cases, interviews and focus group discussions with subject-matter experts, and analysis of original documents. Summarized here, the case studies provide further evidence, that builds on extant literature, in support of the six-component definition of worker voice and framework for analyzing worker voice mechanisms presented above.

Case Study #1: Enforceable Brand Agreements (EBAs) in Bangladesh, Honduras, India, Lesotho, and Pakistan

EBAs address failures in international workers' rights protection and demonstrably enhance worker voice. A variety of challenges – from purchasing practices, weaknesses in the legal and regulatory framework, lax enforcement, a lack of access to labor justice and a failure of voluntary, private regulatory approaches – have led workers, trade unions, and labor NGOs to push for EBAs. These are agreements that establish terms and conditions of work in supply chains enforced through workers' participation in the negotiation of the agreements, monitoring of negotiated standards, and creation of dispute resolution processes and oversight committees.

The All Employee Meetings held under the Accord's Safety Committee and Safety Training program inform all workers about workplace safety, safe evacuations, and their rights under the Accord. *Photo courtesy of International Accord Secretariat.*

Table 1: EBAs as Effective Worker Voice Mechanisms, 2013-2023

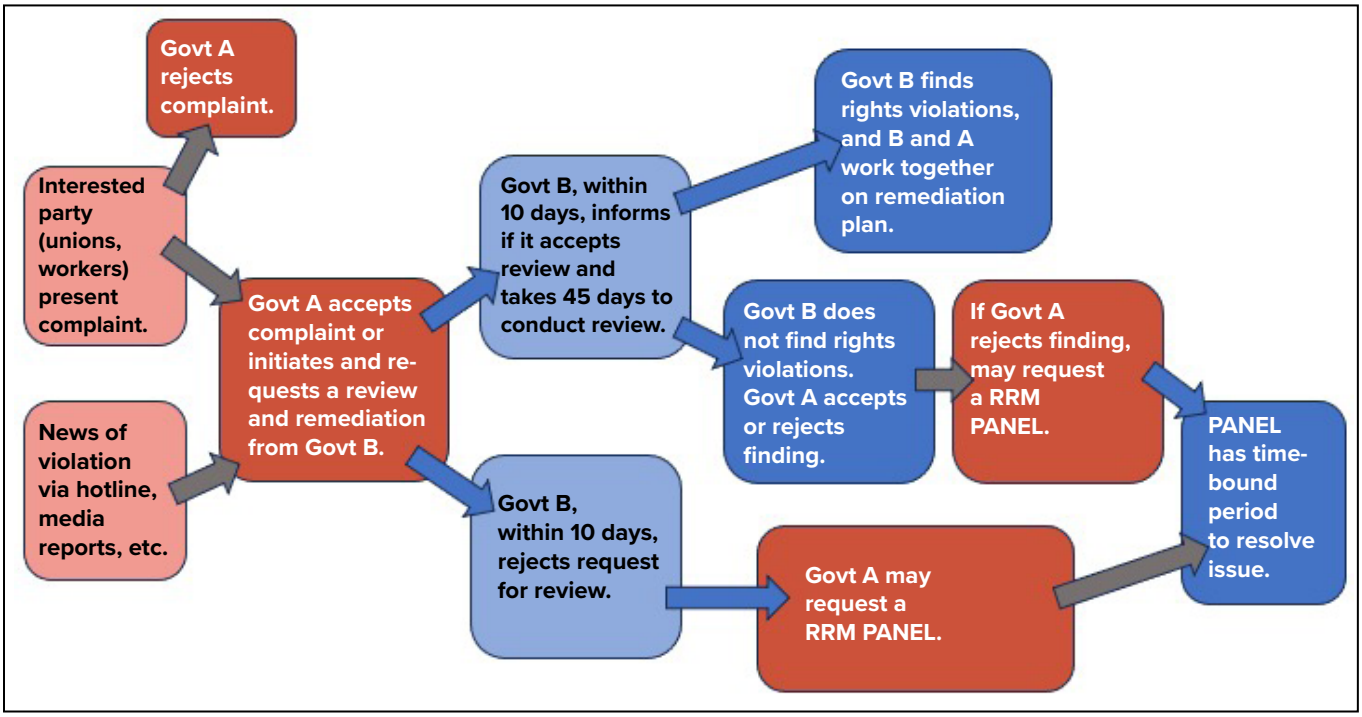
	Years	Country	Issue	Outcome examples
Agreement between Fruit of the Loom and CGT union	2009 to date	Honduras	Freedom of Association	• 22 collective bargaining agreements covering 45,737 workers (44% of total in country's sector) • 6.5% higher wage and female workers not covered by agreement 10.7% More likely to face GBVH
Bangladesh Accord on Fire & Building Safety	2013-2018	Bangladesh	Occupational Safety & Health (OSH)	• Two million workers at 1,600 factories covered • 97,235 violations remedied • 1,000 OSH committees trained • 183 complaints resolved • 96 factories sanctioned for violations
Lesotho Agreements	2019 to date	Lesotho	Gender-Based Violence and Harassment (GBVH)	• 10,000 workers covered (20% of country's sector) • End of short-term contracts • 81 worker complaints investigated • Harassers terminated
Dindigul Agreement	2022 to date	India	GBVH, caste- and migration-based discrimination	• 182 of 185 worker complaints resolved, 90% within 1 week • Safe-circles training for workers, supervisors, & management
Pakistan Accord on Health and Safety in the Textile and Garment Industry	2023 to date	Pakistan	Occupational Health and Safety (OHS)	• 500+ factories covered • Factory inspections are underway

Case Study #2: The Facility-Specific Rapid Response Labor Mechanism (RRM) in the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA)

Governments agreed to include the RRM under the USMCA after decades of pressure from trade unions to establish enforceable protections of freedom of association, collective bargaining, and strike rights in trade and investment agreements (Compa et al., 2018; Brooks, 2022; Compa, 2022). The RRM responded to failures of prior, unenforceable agreements on labor standards in multiple contexts and the widespread use of employer-protection pacts to block worker voice and genuine, voluntary collective bargaining in Mexico (Collier & Collier, 1991; Cook, 1996; La Botz, 1999; Bensusán & Middlebrook, 2013), and it complemented national labor law reforms. See Figure 4 for steps in the RRM process.

The RRM has been characterized by many of the core components of worker voice. It has strengthened Mexico's reformed labor law, which promotes the election of representatives. Women workers increasingly lead unions and are often responsible for filing the complaints, strengthening the inclusivity component. Workers are better protected as trade sanctions can result from a violation of workers' rights. Additionally, worker organizations have been empowered to exercise voice by access to redress mechanisms that include the threat of sanctions for rights violations and enabled by increased access to workplaces, information, and training. From the first RRM case in 2021 through 2023, 13 cases involving suppliers to some of the largest multinational corporations provide evidence that the RRM is an effective worker voice mechanism. In most cases, the RRM reduced local blockages and allowed for union formation and collective bargaining. Over its first two years of implementation, the RRM cases that led to new contracts with increased wages and benefits (Anner et al., 2024: Table 2). A hotline established by the RRM to receive complaints has resulted in 444 worker tips, including 97 involving freedom of association and collective bargaining violations.

Figure 4: Process of the Rapid Response Labor Mechanism in the USMCA



Domestic workers organizing in Peru during the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak. *Photo courtesy of the International Domestic Workers Federation.*

Case Study #3: Worker Voice Mechanisms in Domestic Work

Domestic workers have created mechanisms to exercise their voice in addressing the unique challenges of the sector. Domestic work is ubiquitous worldwide, highly informalized, often conducted in private settings by isolated workers, often not recognized as employment by State actors and employers, and characterized by intersecting inequalities based on race, ethnicity, caste, gender, language, nationality, and immigration status.

Domestic workers have organized collective actions for more than a century, despite regulatory exclusion from labor laws in many countries. The National Domestic Workers' Movement began in the 1950s in India, and the International Domestic Worker Federation was founded in 2013 as a union representing 670,000 workers in 69 countries (Paz, 2023). These organizations have created innovations to enhance democracy at work and in society, such as tripartite sectoral boards launched by the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India, which have been adapted for U.S. cities and states. Domestic worker organizations are characterized by inclusiveness, as they counter intersecting forms of exploitation based on caste, class, gender, nationality, race, and sexuality (Bernardino-Costa, 2014; Brown & Bayard, 2015; McBride et al., 2021; Guimaraes, 2021). Domestic workers' advocacy has begun to create legal protections for exercising their voice, building on national examples such as Uruguay's tripartite joint regulatory regime and establishment and promotion of the ILO Conventions on Domestic Workers and Violence and Harassment in the world of work.[6] Training, organizing to unite isolated domestic workers, and advocacy for the development of complaint systems linked to labor law enforcement are examples of the enabling initiatives of domestic worker organizations. Domestic workers have empowered themselves despite the isolation that impedes their collective action by leveraging their importance to employers and society in public demonstrations, protests, and campaigns—which led to such outcomes as the Domestic Workers' Bill of Rights advanced by the US-based National Domestic Workers Federation.

[6] ILO C189 - Domestic Workers Convention and ILO C190 - Violence and Harassment Convention.

Case Study #4: Worker Voice in Agricultural Employment in the United States

Farmworkers have created innovative worker voice mechanisms to counter legal and economic blockages in the United States. The federal and most state governments exclude farmworkers from freedom of association and collective bargaining rights protections (29 U.S. Code § 152 (3); Perea, 2011; Costa et al. 2020; Costa & Martin, 2023; Rodman et al., 2016). Fear of retaliation can impede the exercise of voice by agricultural workers (Bauer & Stewart, 2013; Massey et al., 2016; Bauer & Perales Sanchez, 2020). Employers may avoid collective bargaining with farmworkers in order to maintain price competitiveness as suppliers to market-dominating retailers (Burch & Lawrence, 2007; McMichael, 2013; Corrado et al., 2016; Costa & Martin, 2023; Fischer-Daly, 2023).

In this context, the United Farm Workers (UFW) and Familias Unidas por la Justicia (FUJ) created collective bargaining regimes in California and Washington, and the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) created the Fair Food Program (FFP), an enforceable agreement committing farm employers in Florida and the U.S. Southeast region to adhere to labor standards or risk losing business from supermarkets and restaurants. The three worker organizations' strategic choices of mechanisms responded to their industry and sub-national conditions, and their outcomes demonstrate the importance of each component of worker voice (See Table 2).

Workers ratified the collective bargaining agreement between their union, Familias Unidas por la Justicia, and Sakuma Brothers in 2016. *Photo courtesy of David Bacon.*

Table 2: Effective Worker Voice in U.S. Agribusiness

	Collective	Democratic	Inclusive	Empowered	Enabled	Protected	Outcomes
United Farm Workers (UFW)	Union	Votes, workplace delegates	Multi-ethnic unity; immigrant rights advocacy	Strikes, boycotts, political advocacy, collective bargaining agreements	Worker training; member dues; access to worksite, financials via contract	Federal: NLRA, FLSA exclusions State: ALRA	Better wages, job security, health & safety; ended child labor, forced labor, discrimination
Coalition of Imokalee Workers (CIW)	Worker center	Popular education, FFSC worker interviews	Multi-ethnic unity; immigrant rights advocacy	Strikes, boycotts, corporate campaigns, FFP agree-ments, co-enforcement	Worker training; grant funds; access to worksite	Federal: NLRA, FLSA exclusions State: none	Better wages, job security, health & safety; ended child labor, forced labor, discrimination
Familias Unidas por la Justicia (FUJ)	Union	Popular educa-tion, votes, workplace delegates, staff-member indexed earnings	Multi-ethnic unity; immigrant rights advocacy	Strikes, boycotts, lawsuits, collective bargaining agreements, worker-owned cooperative	Worker training; member dues; access to worksite, financials via contract	Federal: NLRA, FLSA exclusions State: LNLA	Better wages, job security, health & safety; ended child labor, forced labor, discrimination

Case Study #5: Migrant Worker Voice Through Transnational Labor Rights Corridors (TLRCs)

International migrant workers created TLRCs to collectively and transnationally overcome blockages to exercising voice and to seek remedy for extraordinarily low wages, high rates of occupational injury, lack of social protection, and high risk of labor rights violations (ILO, 2017; Bernhardt et al., 2009; Bobo, 2009; Sarathy & Casanova, 2008; Nevins, 2012; Ford, 2019; Costa, 2022). With few livelihood opportunities in home and destination countries, risk of retaliation, and social ties weakened by displacement, international migrant workers have limited ability to refuse poor terms and conditions of employment (Massey, 1999; Garrison et al., 2015; GAO, 2017). Access to redress is limited by low levels of domestic labor law enforcement, barriers to legal representation, and limited extraterritorial application of laws, including payment of wages owed and non-discriminatory employment practices (Compa 2017; Farbenblum & Berg, 2021; Lee & Micah-Jones, 2022; Polaris, 2022; Lee, 2023).

Participants at the Third Summit of Corridors for Justice in Labor Migration, 2021. *Photo courtesy of the National Domestic Laborer Organizing Network (NDLON)*

TLRCs are networks of migrant worker centers and allied advocacy organizations that provide access to legal and other services, advocate for government protections of migrant workers' rights, and support the organization of trade unions and collective bargaining. An emergent mechanism in the Americas, the TLRCs build on decades of migrant worker initiatives, including the creation of worker centers and advocacy at international, national, and local levels.[7] TLRCs have contributed to the establishment and implementation of Deferred Action for Labor Enforcement (DALE)—a U.S. program that has extended visas to thousands of workers whose rights were violated—and are engaging labor ministries throughout the Americas on enforcing local labor law. Despite TLRCs' potential, empowering and protecting international migrant worker voice implies changes in policies and practices, including those summarized in Table 3 (Farbenblum & Berg, 2021; Costa, 2022; Polaris, 2022).

Table 3: Enhancing Worker Voice of International Migrant Workers in the United States

ACTION	OBJECTIVE
Permit international migrant workers to work with full labor rights	Reduce blockages to worker voice
Increase labor law enforcement, with resources, toward employers and recruiters	Reduce retaliation against workers' asserting voice
Protect workers reporting violations of labor law from retaliation Facilitate participation in labor disputes from any country	Increase access to redress rights violations
Create and administer public registries of workers, recruiters, and employers involved in temporary work programs	Hold all parties accountable for rights violations, including direct employers, labor contractors, and companies dependent on subcontracted labor

[9] TLRC participating organizations include: Asamblea Abierta de Migrantes y Pro-Migrantes de Tarapacá, Asociación Civil Guatemaltecos Por Nuestros Derechos, Asociación de Retornados Guatemaltecos, Centro de Derechos Laborales Sin Fronteras, Centro de Integración para Migrantes, Coalición de Trabajadoras y Trabajadores Migrantes Temporales Sinaloenses, Comisión de Acción Social Menonita, Global Labor Justice-International Labor Rights Forum, Grupo de Monitoreo Independiente de El Salvador, IRCA Casa Abierta, Movimiento de Acción Migrante, National Day Laborers Organizing Network, Proyecto Derechos Económicos, Sociales, y Culturales, Red Nacional de Jornaleros Agrícolas, Réseau d'aide aux travailleuses et travailleurs migrants agricoles du Québec, Sanctuary Health Vancouver, and Visión ML.

Case Study #6: Worker Voice in Authoritarian Regimes—Myanmar

Workers and their unions in Myanmar are demonstrating that strong, independent unions can counter authoritarianism in defense of democracy in workplaces and society. Since the coup d' état in 2021, the Myanmar military junta has shut down an elected parliament, jailed numerous parliamentarians and political opponents, established a state of emergency granting itself sole authority, criminalized workers' organizations, and retaliated against workers for exercising their rights. Workers' organizations formed the Myanmar Labor Alliance (MLA) and joined the National Unity Consultative Council (NUCC), an advisory body to the National Unity Government (NUG), as part of a national, multi-ethnic social movement struggling to restore democracy.

The MLA has employed international mechanisms to counter the formidable blockages to worker voice, including its campaign for Comprehensive Economic Sanctions (CES) and the ILO's Commission of Inquiry (COI). The CES campaign led to 434 trade unions from

Workers call for comprehensive economic sanctions to pressure the military government in Myanmar. *Photo courtesy of AHS, 2021.*

111 countries publicly calling on multinational corporations to cease business in Myanmar (IndustriALL, 2021). The COI found extensive violations of ILO Conventions on forced labor and freedom of association and urged the Myanmar military to take "immediate action, so as to stop egregious violations of the two Conventions and prevent further abuses" (ILO, 2023).[8] The MLA's work led 12 global union federations to call on governments worldwide to recognize the NUG.

The MLA also worked with the Action, Collaboration, Transformation on Living Wages (ACT) initiative to respond to the military's coup and violent retaliations against workers by ceasing ACT operations in Myanmar, a co-governance decision that was built on multiple years of dialogue among multinational companies, their suppliers, and trade unions in the country. The workers' struggle continues to face obstacles.

In response to the decision by the Multi-stakeholder Alliance for Decent Employment in the Myanmar Apparel Industry to encourage its participating companies to continue business in the country, the MLA stated:

> ....the project activities could not be achieved under the rule of the military regime and martial law where legitimate rights, the elected civilian government, independent trade unions, and civil society cannot exist. (MLA, 2023)

The ongoing struggle in Myanmar demonstrates worker voice as a means for advancing democracy not only at work, but in society more broadly. The labor movement of Myanmar continues to call for international support, including for multinational companies to cease business in the country and for governments of other countries to sanction the military and support the NUG.

[8] ILO C029 - Forced Labour Convention, 1930 and ILO C087 - Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948.

Case Study #7: Worker Voice in Efforts to Eliminate Child Labor

Workers who are able to freely unionize, collectively bargain with employers, and engage in social dialogue with governments effectively eradicate child labor by addressing its economic and other determinants. This finding holds across more than a century of research (Devreese, 2006; Hansan, 2022), because collective bargaining improves workers' livelihoods (Card, 1996; Budd & Brey, 2003; Mishel, 2012; U.S. Department of the Treasury, 2023:5), addresses the root causes and economic drivers of child labor (Edmonds, 2005; Fors, 2010; Soares et al., 2012; Filho, 2012; Tagliati, 2021), and increases labor law enforcement (Wright, 2014; Esim et al., 2019; ICETT, 2021). Four cases in recent years demonstrate the role of worker voice in eradicating child labor.

- In Ghana, farmers and fishermen unionized, created child protection committees, and negotiated higher compensation with buyers in their supply chains and improved social services with the government (SCL, 2015a,b; ILO, 2016). They improved their livelihoods, thereby allowing 1,481 children to stop working and preventing an additional 1,284 children from entering work in the cocoa, palm oil, and fishing industries (SCL, 2015a,b; Solidarity Center, 2020).

- In Morocco, the national teachers' union SNE-CDT successfully advocated for improved educational resources and labor law enforcement from the government by showing that poor terms and conditions of employment in the education system was contributing to child labor and that educators held strategic positions to contribute to eliminating child labor (Hivos, 2015; Kouya, 2012; Kasraoui, 2019; EI, 2022). The union's improvements to teaching and learning environments enabled 3,786 children to remain in school and prevented 3,741 children from entering child labor (Hivos, 2015; Millard et al., 2015).

- In Liberia, workers at Firestone's rubber plantations elected the Firestone Agricultural Workers Union of Liberia (FAWUL) to replace an employer-controlled union. The union brought an international lawsuit against the company for child and forced labor (WRM, 2006; Bergman, 2011; CRIN, 2015; Pailey, 2007, 2023). In the face of violent employer resistance (Redmond, 2011), FAWUL leveraged international solidarity to negotiate wage increases, quota reductions, an explicit ban on child labor, and improved educational facilities for workers' children (AFL-CIO, 2008; Newman & Woods, 2011; U.S. Department of Labor, 2011).

- In Peru, workers between the ages of 18 and 24 advocated to repeal a law aimed at formalizing employment for their age group. They protested it because the law had the unintended consequence of incentivizing employers to hire child labor instead of the more protected youth (Mora, 2014; Ipsos, 2016; Pavlic, 2020; OECD, 2019; Cole, 2018:49; TeleSUR English, 2015). Their advocacy demonstrated the importance of worker voice in policymaking and the capacity of young workers to effectively exercise voice to advance labor standards.

Childcare workers and others in Morocco's education system join teacher protests to achieve rights at work. *Photo courtesy of Democratic Labor Confederation (CDT), 2021.*

Summary Takeaways from the Worker Voice Research Project

The findings of the worker voice research project provide insights to guide action in a complex world of work. The evidence points to worker voice as workers' capacity to collectively act to advance their interests and thereby achieve more democratic and just workplaces and societies. By embedding the six-component framework of effective mechanisms for worker voice, every actor can contribute to advancing these goals.

Governments can:

- ✓ Enact and enforce laws protecting worker voice for all workers, recognizing the critical importance of governmental protection and its absence in agricultural, domestic, 'gig', and other industries as an impediment to the full and effective development of worker voice;
- ✓ Incorporate procedures that effectively enforce internationally recognized labor rights as a condition for international trade and investment, building on the evidence of the USMCA RRM's contributions to worker voice in North America;
- ✓ Create and strengthen existing forums for social dialogue with trade unions and employers' associations on public policies, including macroeconomic policy towards balancing employment and inflation, social protection towards eliminating deprivation, and environmental policy to mitigate current crises and advance just transitions to sustainability;
- ✓ Support worker voice across global supply chains by encouraging domestic-based multinational companies to participate in EBAs and supporting multilateral cooperation to expand the scope of these demonstrably effective mechanisms; and
- ✓ Ensure that technical assistance projects are based on the full realization of freedom of association as an enabler of other rights, involve workers' organizations and employers in design, implementation and evaluation, and incorporate effective procedures for remediating violations of workers' rights.

Companies and employers' associations can:

- ✓ Respect workers' rights throughout owned workplaces and supply chains, recognizing that the exercise of freedom of association and collective bargaining rights enable other rights, equity, and democracy, that workplace discrimination impedes inclusive worker voice, and that worker organizations' access to time, company facilities, and information enables worker voice;
- ✓ Support worker voice by engaging trade unions in collective bargaining at the local, national, and international levels and, where local unions are not yet organized, by engaging in dialogue with national and international unions that represent workers in the industry;
- ✓ Avoid impeding worker voice by incorporating the insights that employer-, company-, or industry-controlled initiatives may provide important business information but are not worker voice mechanisms; and
- ✓ Engage in social dialogue with trade unions and governments, especially in support of enactment and enforcement of labor law aligned with internationally recognized standards.

Workers and worker organizations can:

- ✓ Organize and operate organizations democratically and inclusively, thereby integrating diverse workers' perspectives into and strengthening collective representation of shared interests in negotiations and dialogue with employers and governments;
- ✓ Build international solidarity through cross-border engagement and the development of effective cross-supply chain initiatives, building on the insights of EBAs, international actions for labor rights and democracy in Myanmar, and networking by international migrant workers; and
- ✓ Engage in social dialogue with employers' associations and governments, including towards universal legal protection of labor rights to all workers, robust social protection systems, and just transitions.

Researchers can expand research on worker voice:

- ✓ Geographically across the Global South with a focus on Africa and Central and South America,
- ✓ Methodologically with an intersectional approach to social hierarchies and employment relations, and
- ✓ Programmatically with focuses on the roles of worker voice in eradicating child labor and forced labor, in macroeconomic policymaking, and in mitigating environmental crises and advancing just transitions towards sustainable production and distribution systems.

References

American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organization (AFL-CIO). (2008). 2007 George Meany-Lane Kirkland Human Rights Award: Firestone Agricultural Workers Union of Liberia (FAWUL). Executive Council Statement. Available at: https://aflcio.org/about/leadership/statements/2007-george-meany-lane-kirkland-human-rights-award-firestone.

Anner, Mark. (2012). "Corporate Social Responsibility and Freedom of Association Rights: The Precarious Quest for Legitimacy and Control in Global Supply Chains." *Politics & Society* 40 (4): 604-639.

Anner, Mark. (2017a). CSR Participation Committees, Wildcat Strikes and the Sourcing Squeeze in Global Supply Chains. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 56(1), 75–98.

Anner, Mark. (2017b). "Wildcat strikes and Better Work bipartite committees in Vietnam: Toward an elect, represent, protect and empower framework." Discussion Paper 24. International Labour Organization and International Finance Corporation.

Anner, Mark. (2022). "Bargaining for Decent Work and Beyond." State College, PA: Center for Global Workers' Rights.

Anner, Mark. (2023). "The contested terrain of global production: collective versus private labor governance on Guatemalan banana plantations." *Review of International Political Economy*, 31:1, 382-408.

Anner, Mark, Matthew Fischer-Daly, Sifat Amita, Katherine Maich, Samuel Okyere, and Ye Yint. (2024). "Worker Voice: What it is, what it is not, and why it matters." Center for Global Workers' Rights, The Pennsylvania State University. Washington, DC: United States Department of Labor Bureau of International Labor Affairs. https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/ILAB/Worker-Voice-Report-Final-3-6-24.pdf.

Batt Rose, Alexander Colvin and Jeffrey Keefe. (2002). "Employee voice, human resource practices, and quit rates: Evidence from the telecommunication industry." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 55: 573–94.

Bauer, Mary and Maria Perales Sanchez. (2020). "Ripe for Reform: Abuses of Agricultural Workers in the H-2A Visa Program," Baltimore, Mexico City, Oaxaca: Centro de los Derechos del Migrante, https://cdmigrante.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Ripe-for-Reform.pdf (accessed May 10, 2023).

Bauer, Mary and Meredith Stewart. (2013). "Close to Slavery: Guestworker Programs in the United States." Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center, https://www.splcenter.org/20130218/close-slavery-guestworker-programs-united-states (accessed May 10, 2023).

Bellace, Janice. (2014). "The ILO and the right to strike." *International Labour Review* 153 (1):29–70

Bensusán, Graciela, & Kevin J Middlebrook. (2013). *Sindicatos y política en México: cambios, continuidades y contradicciones*. FLACSO Mexico/UAM-X/CLACSO.

Bergman, Jessica. (2011). "The Alien Tort Statute and Flomo vs. Firestone Natural Rubber Company: The Key to Change In Global Child Labor Practices." *Indian Journal of Global Legal Studies* 18:455.

Bernardino-Costa, J. (2014). "Intersectionality and female domestic workers' unions in Brazil." *Women's Studies International Forum* 46,72–80.

Bernhardt, Annette, Ruth Milkman, and Nik Theodor. (2009). "Broken Laws, Unprotected Workers: Violations of Employment and Labor Laws in America's Cities" NELP, https://www.nelp. org/publication/broken-laws-unprotected-workers-violations-of-employment-and-labor-laws-in-americas-cities/ (accessed October 4, 2023).

Blofield, Merike and Merita Jokela. (2018). “Paid domestic work and the struggles of care workers in Latin America.” *Current Sociology*, 66(4), 531546.

Bobo, Kim. (2009). *Wage Theft in America*. New York: New Press.

Brooks, Tequila J. (2022). “Enforcement of labor standards in trade agreements: the case of Guatemala.” *Handbook on Globalisation and Labour Standards*, 314.

Brown, Kimberly Freeman and Marc Bayard. (2015). “Editorial: The New Face of Labor, Civil Rights is Black & Female.” *NBC*, September 7. https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/editorial-new-face-labor-civil-rights-black-female-n422896.

Budd, John W. and Angela M. Brey. (2003). “Unions and family leave: early experience under the Family and Medical Leave Act.” *Labor Studies Journal*. 28(3):85–105.

Budd, John W., Paul J. Gollan, and Adrian Wilkinson. (2010). “New approaches to employee voice and participation in organizations.” *Human Relations* 63 (3):303–310.

Burch, David and Geoffrey A. Lawrence (eds.). (2007). *Supermarkets and Agri-food Supply Chains*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Card, David. (1996). “The effects of unions on the structure of wages: A longitudinal analysis.”
Econometrica, 64, 957–979.

Carter, Miguel. (2015). *Challenging Social Inequality*. Duke University Press.

Charlwood, Andy and Anna Pollert. (2014). “Informal Employment Dispute Resolution among Low-wage Non-union Workers: Does Managerially Initiated Workplace Voice Enhance Equity and Efficiency?” *British Journal of Industrial Relations*. 52(2): 359–86.

Child Right International Network (CRIN). (2015). Liberia: Firing Back At Firestone. Available at: https://archive.crin.org/sites/default/files/liberiacasestudy-crin_1.pdf/.

Cole, Felipe F. (2018). *Neoliberalism’s Law in Peru: A Model*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier. (1991). *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Compa, Lance (2017). “Migrant workers in the United States: connecting domestic law with international labor standards.” *Chicago-Kent Law Review*, 92(1): 211–248.

Compa, Lance. (2022). “NAFTA’s lessons on labor standards and trade agreements.” *Handbook on Globalisation and Labour Standards*, 274.

Compa, Lance, Jeffrey Vogt, and Eric Gottwald. (2018). “Wrong Turn for Workers’ Rights: The US-Guatemala CAFTA Labor Arbitration Ruling–And What To Do About It.” Washington: International Labor Rights Forum.

Cook, Maria Lorena. (1996). *Organizing Dissent: Unions, the State, and the Democratic Teachers’ Movement in Mexico*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Corrado, Alessandra, Carlos De Castro, and Domenico Perrotta. (2016). *Migration and Agriculture: Mobility and Change in the Mediterranean Area*. London and New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Costa, Daniel. (2022). “As the H-2B visa program grows, the need for reforms that protect workers is greater than ever.” Washington: Economic Policy Institute.

Costa, Daniel, Philip Martin, and Zachariah Rutledge. (2020). “Federal labor standards enforcement in agriculture.” Washington: Economic Policy Institute.

Costa, Daniel, and Philip Martin. (2023). “Record-low number of federal wage and hour investigations of farms in 2022” Washington, D.C.: Economic Policy Institute, epi.org/271660.

Devreese, D.E. (1999[2006]). The International Working Men's Association (1864–1876) and Workers' Education: An Historical Approach. *Paedagogica Historica*, 35(1):15–21.

Doellgast, Virginia. (2022). *Exit, Voice, and Solidarity: Contesting Precarity in the US and European Telecommunications Industries*. Oxford University Press.

Doeringer, Peter B., Edward Lorenz, and David G. Terkla. (2003). "The Adoption and Diffusion of High-Performance Management: Lessons from Japanese Multinationals in the West." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 27 (2):265–286.

Doucouliagos, Hristos, Richard B. Freeman, and Patrice Laroche. (2017). T*he Economics of Trade Unions: A study of a research field and its findings*. London and New York: Routledge.

Edmonds, E.V. (2016). Economic Growth And Child Labor In Low Income Economies. A Synthesis Paper Prepared for IZA/DFID. Bonn: Institute for the Study of Labor. Available at: https://g2lmlic.iza.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/glmlic_sp003.pdf.

Education International (EI). (2022). "Teacher Unions At The Forefront Of The Fight Against Child Labour: Good Practice." Available at: https://www.ei-ie.org/en/item/25832:teacher-unions-at-the-forefront-of-the-fight-against-child-labour-good-practice.

Farbenblum, Bassina and Laurie Berg. (2021). "Migrant Workers' Access to Justice for Wage Theft: A Global Study of Promising Initiatives." Sydney and Melbourne.

Farber, Henry S.; Daniel Herbst, Ilyana Kuziemko, and Suresh Naidu. (2021). "Unions and Inequality over the Twentieth Century: New Evidence from Survey Data." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 136(3). 1325–1385.

Ferrant, Gaëlle, Luca Maria Pesando, and Keiko Nowacka. (2014). "Unpaid Care Work: The missing link in the analysis of gender gaps in labour outcomes" Paris: OECD Development Centre. Fine, Janice, & Tim Bartley. (2019). "Raising the floor: New directions in public and private enforcement of labor standards in the United States." *Journal of Industrial Relations* 61 (2):252–276.

Fischer-Daly, Matthew. (2023). *International Trade, Labor Relations, and Bargaining Power: International Strawberry Commodity Networks*. New York: Routledge.

Fischer-Daly, Matthew and Mark Anner. (2023). "Worker Voice: A Literature Review." Center for Global Workers' Rights, The Pennsylvania State University. Washington, DC: United States Department of Labor Bureau of International Labor Affairs, https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/ILAB/Worker-Voice-Literature-Review-3-6-24.pdf.

Ford, Michele. (2019). *From Migrant to Worker: Global Unions and Temporary Labor Migration in Asia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Freeman, Richard B. and James L. Medoff. (1984). *What Do Unions Do?* New York: Basic Books.

Garrison, Jessica, Ken Bensinger, and Jeremy Singer-Vine. (2015). "The New American Slavery: Invited to the U.S., Foreign Workers Find a Nightmare," *BuzzFeed News*.

Godard, John. (1992). "Strikes as Collective Voice: A Behaviorial Analysis of Strike Activity." *Industrial & Labor Relations Review* 46(1):161–175.

Gordon, Jennifer. (2007). "Transnational Labor Citizenship." *Southern California Law Review* 80(3):503–87.

Government Accountability Office (GAO). (2017). "H-2A and H-2B Visa Programs: Increased Protections Needed for Foreign Workers." GAO-15-154.

Guimaraes, S. (2021). *Domestic Workers and Their Intersectional Struggle for Rights in Brazil*. *Development in Latin America: An Examination of Women's Autonomy.*

Hansan, J. (2022). "The American era of child labor." *Social Welfare History Project*. Available at: https://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/programs/child-welfarechild-labor/child-labor/.

Hivos, Stop Child Labour. (2015). "Omar's Dream – The Beginning Of The End Of Child Labour. Annual Report For Omar's Dream Project." Available at: https://stopchildlabour.org/ assets/150428-Bi-Annual-report_Omars-Dream-project_Mar-2015.pdf.

Hivos. (2015). Hivos Annual Report, Available at: https://hivos.org/assets/2019/02/Hivos-Annual-Report-2015.pdf.

Hui, Elaine Sio-ieng and Chris King-chi Chan. (2015). "Beyond the Union-Centred Approach: A Critical Evaluation of Recent Trade Union Elections in China." *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 53 (3):601–627.

IndustriALL. (2021). "IndustriALL calls on companies to divest from Myanmar," Available at: https://www.industriall-union.org/industriall-calls-on-companies-to-divest-from-myanmar (accessed June 15, 2023).

International Labour Organization. (2016). "Child Labour In The Fish Supply Chain On Lake Volta, Ghana: The Torkor Model." Available at: https://respect.international/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/WDACL_2016_GPs_No_01_Lake_Volta_EN_WEB_20160604.pdf.

International Labour Organization (ILO). (2017). "Addressing Governance Challenges in a Changing Labour Migration Landscape." Geneva: ILO. ILC.106/IV.

International Labour Organization. (2022). *Social Dialogue Report 2022: Collective bargaining for an inclusive, sustainable and resilient recovery.* Geneva: ILO.

International Labour Organization (ILO). (2023). "ILO Myanmar Commission of Inquiry finds far-reaching violations of freedom of association and forced labor Conventions.", Geneva: International Labour Office (accessed October 10, 2023).

Ipsos Flair Collection. (2016). "Peru 2017, From informality to modernity." Ipsos Edition. https:// www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/2017-04/Flair_Peru-2017.pdf.

Jaumotte, Florence and Carolina Osorio Buitron. (2020). "Inequality: Traditional Drivers and the Role of Union Power." *Oxford Economic Papers*. 72(1):25–58.

Johnston, Hannah and Chris Land-Kazlauskas. (2018). "Organizing On-Demand: Representation, Voice, and Collective Bargaining in the Gig Economy." Geneva: International Labour Office.

Kasraoui, Safaa. (2019). "Moroccan Contractual Teachers Strike For 4th Week For Equality. Morocco World News." Available at: https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2019/03/268900/contractual-teachers-morocco-government-education.

Katz, Harry C., Thomas A. Kochan, and Alexander J.S. Colvin. (2017). *An Introduction to U.S. Collective Bargaining and Labor Relations*. Ithaca: ILR, an imprint of Cornell University Press.

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink. (1998). *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Kochan, Thomas A., Duanyi Yang, William T. Kimball, and Erin L. Kelly. (2019). "Worker voice in America: Is there a gap between what workers expect and what they experience?" *ILR Review* 72 (1):3–38.

Kouya, Rachid. (2012). "Morocco: How Can Unmotivated Teachers Motivate Unmotivated Students? Morocco World News." Available at: https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2012/03/29620/ morocco-how-can-unmotivated-teachers-motivate-unmotivated-students.

La Botz, Dan. (1999). *Mask of Democracy: Labor Suppression in Mexico Today*. Boston: South End Press.

Ledwith, Sue. (2012). "Gender politics in trade unions. The representation of women between exclusion and inclusion." *Transfer* 18(2):185–199.

Lee, Jennifer J. and Rachel Micah-Jones. (2022). "Delegating discrimination in the temporary work visa programs." *Race, Gender, and Contemporary International Labor Migration*, edited by Leticia Saucedo and Robyn Magalit Rodriguez. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 63–89.

Lee, Tamara L. and Maite Tapia. (2021). "Confronting Race and Other Social Identity Erasures: The Case for Critical Industrial Relations Theory." *ILR Review* 74(3):637–662.

Lee, Thea. (2023). "Returning What is Owed to Migrant Workers." http://blog.dol.gov/2023/03/17/returning-what-is-owed-to-migrant-workers (accessed October 3, 2023).

Massey, Douglas S. (1999). "Why Does Immigration Occur? A Theoretical Synthesis." *The Hanbook of International Migration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, p. 34–52.

Massey, Douglas S., Jorge Durand, and Karen A. Pren. (2016). "Why Border Enforcement Backfired." *American Journal of Sociology* 121(5):1557–1600.

McBride, Justin, Chris Tilly, Rina Agarwala, Jennifer Chun, Georgina Rojas, Ben Scully, Sarah Swider, and Nik Theodore. (2021). "Organizing Informal Workers to Win: Lessons from Informal Domestic and Construction Workers in Six Countries." UCLA College of Social Sciences, Institute for Research on Labor & Employment and Center for Global Workers' Rights.

McMichael, Philip. (2013). *Food regimes and agrarian questions*. Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.

Mishel, L. (2012). "Unions, Inequality, and Faltering Middle-Class Wages." Economic Policy Institute, Issue Brief 342. 2012. Available at: http://www.epi.org/publication/ib342-unions-inequality-faltering-middle-class. (accessed June 17, 2023).

Mowbray, Paula. K., Adrian Wilkinson, and Herman H.M. Tse. (2015). "An Integrative Review of Employee Voice: Identifying a Common Conceptualization and Research Agenda." *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 17(3), 382–400.

Mora, R. (2014). "Peruvian Police Attack Youth Labor Rights Protesters." Available at: https://www.telesurenglish.net/news/Peruvian-Police-Attack-Youth-Labor-Rights-Protesters-20141219-0028.html.

Munakamwe, Janet. (2021). "'Selective Amnesia' and trade union exclusionary strategies in contemporary South Africa" *International Union Rights* 28(1):3–5, 25.

Nevins, Joseph. (2012). "Policing Mobility: Maintaining Global Apartheid from South Africa to the United States." in *Beyond Walls and Cages* by Matt Mitchelson, Andrew Burridge and Jenna M. Loyd. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 21.

Newman, Tim & Emira Woods. (2011). "Labor Rights Advocates Congratulate Bridgestone/Firestone Workers In Liberia On Award From U.S. Dept. of Labor." Foreign Policy in Focus. Avilable at: https://fpif.org/dept_of_labor_liberia_workers_award/.

OECD. (2019). Negotiating Our Way Up: Collective Bargaining in a Changing World of Work. Paris: OECD Publishing. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1787/1fd2da34-en.

Pailey, Robtel N. (2007). "Slavery Ain't Dead, It's Manufactured in Liberia's Rubber" in Patrick Bond and Firoze Manji (eds.) *From the Slave Trade to 'Free' Trade: How Trade Undermines Democracy And Justice In Africa*. Nairobi, Kenya and Oxford, UK: Fahamu, Networks for Social Justice: 77–83.

Pailey, Robtel N. (2023). "Stopping Firestone and starting a citizen 'revolution from below': reflections on the enduring exploitation of Liberian land and labour." *Third World Quarterly*, pp.1–18. Available at: DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2023.2240729.

Pavlic, Rodolfo D. (2020). "Choosing From The Repertoire Of Contention: Evidence From Student Protests In Latin America." *Revista de Sociologia e Política*, (28)76. Available at: DOI: https:// doi.org/10.1590/1678-987320287611.

Paz, Adriana. (2023). Labor and Employment Relations Association (LERA) Conference Presentation. Detroit, Michigan.

Perea, Juan F. (2011). "The Echoes of Slavery: Recognizing the Racist Origins of the Agricultural and Domestic Worker Exclusion from the National Labor Relations Act." *Ohio State Law Journal* 72:95–138.

Polaris. (2022). "Labor Trafficking on Specific Temporary Work Visas: A Data Analysis." Available at: https://polarisproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Labor-Trafficking-on-Specific-Temporary-Work-Visas-by-Polaris.pdf.

Redmond, Fred. (2011). "USW Helps Empower Workers on Firestone Plantation in Liberia." HuffPost. Available at: https://www.huffpost.com/entry/usw-helps-empower-workers_b_125171 (accessed August 2023).

Rodman, Sarah, Colleen Barry, Megan Clayton, Shannon Frattaroli, Roni Neff, and Lainie Rutkow. (2016). "Agricultural Exceptionalism at the State Level: Characterization of Wage and Hour Laws for U.S. Farmworkers." *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development* 6(2):1–22.

Sarathy, Brinda and Vanessa Casanova. (2008). "Guest Workers or Unauthorized Immigrants?" *Policy Sciences* 41(2):95–114.

Stop Child Labour (SCL). (2015a). "Child Labour Free Zones evaluated." Available at: https://stopchildlabour.org/child-labour-free-zones-evaluated/.

Stop Child Labour. (2015b). "Is The End Of Child Labour In Sight? A Critical Review Of A Vision And Journey. A CLFZ Synthesis Report." Available at: https://www.stopchildlabour.org/ assets/151022-CLFZ-Synthesis-Report-FINAL.pdf.

Solidarity Center. (2020). "Ghana Union Fights Child Labor In Cocoa Production." Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7LnO_g9MkNI.

Tapia, Maite, Tamara L. Lee, and Mikhail Filipovitch. (2017). "Supra-union and intersectional organizing: An examination of two prominent cases in the low-wage US restaurant industry." *Journal of Industrial Relations* 59 (4):487–509.

TeleSur English. (2015). "Inside The Americas–Labor Rights Under Attack In Peru." Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F5N0eV_NoYQ.

U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). (2014). "Research On Reading In Morocco Analysis Of Teachers' Perceptions And Practices. Final Report – Component 3." Available at: https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pa00m2wn.pdf.

U.S. Department of Labor (USDOL). (2011). "U.S. Department of Labor Presents Iqbal Masih Award To Liberian Workers Group for Efforts to Combat Exploitive Child Labor." Available at: https:// www.dol.gov/newsroom/releases/ilab/ilab20110216.

U.S. Department of the Treasury. (2023). "Labor Unions and the Middle Class." Washington, D.C. Available at: https://home.treasury.gov/system/files/136/Labor-Unions-And-The-Middle-Class.pdf.

Vogt, Jeffrey, Janice Bellace, Lance Compa, K.D. Ewing, John Hendy Q.C., and Klaus Lörcher. (2020). *The Right To Strike In International Law*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing

Wolford, Wendy. (2010). *This Land Is Ours Now*. Duke University Press.

Expert Participants in Interviews, Focus Group Discussions, Roundtables, and Conference Panels

Interviews

1. Bassina Farbenblum, University of New South Wales and Migrant Worker Justice Initiative
2. Michele Ford, University of Sydney
3. Richard Freeman, Harvard University
4. Jennifer Gordon, Fordham University
5. Thomas Kochan, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)
6. Sarosh Kuruvilla, Cornell University
7. Gonzalo Mercado, National Day Laborers Organizing Network (NDLON)
8. Adriana Paz, International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF)
9. Eduardo Villareal, Proyecto de Derechos Económicos, Sociales, y Culturales (ProDESC)

Focus group discussions

1. Kalpona Akter, Bangladesh Center for Workers Solidarity
2. Alejandra Ancheita, Proyecto de Derechos Económicos, Sociales, y Culturales (ProDESC)
3. Evangelina Argueta, Central General de Trabajadores
4. Khaing Zar Aung, IWFM/ CTUM
5. Anannya Bhattacharjee, Asia Floor Wage Alliance (AFWA)
6. Mayela Blanco, Red Nacional de Jornaleros Agrícolas de México
7. Jessica Champagne, Worker Rights Consortium (WRC)
8. Jennifer Gordon, Fordham University
9. Christina Hajagos-Clausen, IndustriALL Global Union
10. Jacob Horwitz, Global Labor Rights-International Labor Rights Forum (GLJ-ILRF)
11. Gustavo Juarez, Asociación de Retornados Guatemaltecos
12. Zehra Khan, Home-Based Women Workers' Federation
13. Nasir Mansoor, National Trade Union Federation
14. Tara Mathur, Worker Rights Consortium (WRC)
15. U Maung Maung, CTUM/ MLA/ NUCC
16. Maribel, Sofia, and Jennifer, Centro de Integración Para Migrantes
17. Fidelina Mena Corrales, Centro de Derechos Laborales Sin Fronteras
18. Gonzalo Mercado, National Day Laborer Organizing Network (NDLON)
19. Sethelile Nthlhakana, Worker Rights Consortium (WRC)
20. Thusoana Ntlama, Federation of Women Lawyers
21. Koen Oosterom, International Accord
22. Walton Pantland, IndustriALL Global Union
23. Mercedes Perez, Comisión de Acción Social Menonita
24. Thivya Rakini, Tamil Nadu Textile and Common Labour Union
25. Laine Romero-Alston, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs
26. Phyo Sandar Soe, CTUM/ GSCB
27. Vinicio Sandoval, Grupo de Monitoreo Independiente de El Salvador

Focus group discussions, continued

28. José Sicajau Xoc, Asociación Civil Guatemaltecos Unidos Por Nuestros Derechos
29. Eduardo Villareal, Proyecto de Derechos Económicos, Sociales, y Culturales (ProDESC)
30. Robert Wayss, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs
31. Ineke Zeldenrust, Clean Clothes Campaign

Roundtable speakers

1. Alejandra Archeita, Proyecto de Derechos Económicos, Sociales, y Culturales (ProDESC)
2. Anannya Bhattacharjee, Asia Floor Wage Alliance (AFWA)
3. Françoise Carré, University of Massachusetts-Boston and Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing
4. Karen Curtis, International Labor Organization (ILO)
5. Susan Hayter, International Labor Organization (ILO)
6. Chris Kazlauskas, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs
7. Tom Kochan, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)
8. Thea Lee, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs
9. Sue Longley, International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations (IUF)
10. Molly McCoy, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs
11. Patricia Nogueira, ICF

Conference panels

1. Anannya Bhattacharjee, Asia Floor Wage Alliance (AFWA)
2. Susan Hayter, International Labor Organization (ILO)
3. Adriana Paz, International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF)
4. Cirila Quintero Ramírez, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte