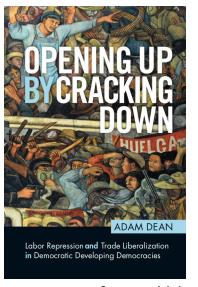
If There Is No Struggle, There Is No Progress

Labor-Led Democratization and Labor Rights



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Background



Democratic governments often used labor repression to overcome union opposition to free trade

Why do some democracies respect labor rights more than others?

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In Colombia, union members are regularly murdered

$\textbf{Democracy} \rightarrow \textbf{Labor rights}$

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Why Colombia?

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Political emancipation (democracy) \rightarrow labor exploitation

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Why Uruguay?

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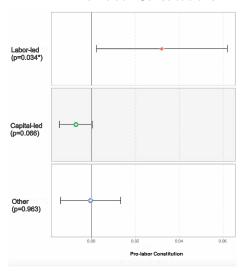
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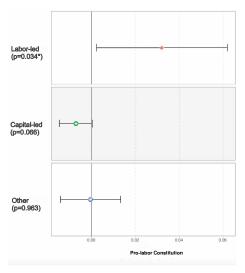
OLS w/ lagged DV, country and year FEs, PCSE or clustered SEs

Pro-Labor Constitutions

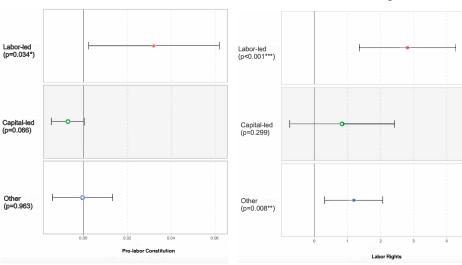
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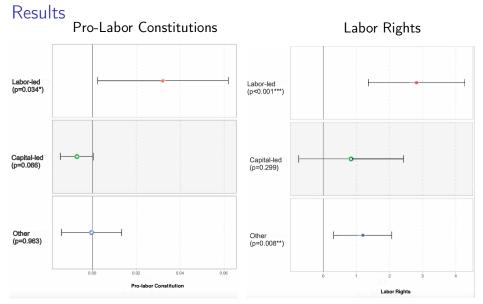


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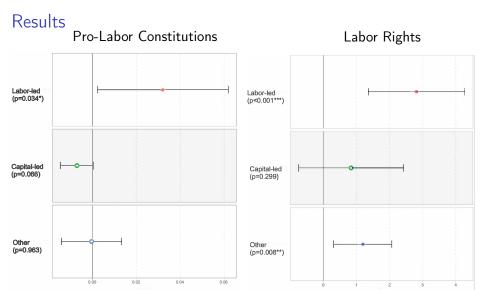


Pro-Labor Constitutions





Labor-led democratization:



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7% relative increase in pro-labor constitutions

Pro-labor Constitution

Results Pro-Labor Constitutions Labor Rights Labor-led Labor-led (p=0.034*)(p<0.001***) Capital-led Capital-led (p=0.066)(p=0.299)Other Other (p=0.963) (p=0.008**)

Labor-led democratization:

0.06

0.00

0.02

Pro-labor Constitution

0.04

7% relative increase in pro-labor constitutions 1/3 standard deviation increase in labor rights

Does democracy lead to labor rights?

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Capital-led Democratization was associated with neither

Labor-led

- Albania 1991
- Argentina 1983
- Bangladesh 1991
- Bolivia 1982
- Brazil 1985
- Bulgaria 1990
- Democratic Republic of the Congo 1992
- India 1947
- Lesotho 1993
- Mali 1992
- Peru 1980
- Portugal 1974
- Poland 1989
- South Africa 1994
- Spain 1977
- Korea 1988
- Ukraine 1994
- Uruguay 1985
- Zambia 1991

Capital-led

- Belarus 1991
- Costa Rica 1949
- Czech Republic 1993
- Georgia 2004
- Greece 1975
- Hungary 1990
- Kenya 2002
- Panama 1990
- Russia 1992
- Senegal 2001
- Slovenia 1991
- Thailand 1993

Who leads the struggle for democracy? (NAVCO)

- Industrial workers
- Urban (business elites, professionals, students, and professors)
- Public employees
- Peasants
- religious/ethnic groups

Table: OLS Regression Results. DV = Pro-Labor Constitution

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
LagDV	0.942***	0.940***	0.920***	0.908***	0.924***	0.901**
-	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.020)
Democracy	0.003	, ,	` '	, ,	` '	, ,
	(0.003)					
Labor-Led		0.019**	0.027***	0.029**	0.022^{\dagger}	0.032*
		(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.015)
Non-Labor		-0.001	-0.002	-0.002	-0.000	-0.001
		(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.006)
GDPpc			-0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
			(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Urban			-0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001*
			(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Globalization				-0.000	-0.000^{\dagger}	-0.001^{\dagger}
				(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Left Exec					-0.003	-0.005
					(0.003)	(0.003)
IMF						-0.000
						(0.001)
Country FEs	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Year FEs	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Countries	175	175	166	165	158	135
Earliest Year	1945			1970	1975	1981
N	8802	8802	7062	6209	5232	3485
R ²	0.975	0.975	0.973	0.975	0.982	0.977
adj. R ²	0.974	0.974	0.973	0.974	0.981	0.976
Resid. sd	0.078	0.078	0.081	0.080	0.067	0.077

PCSE in parentheses

 $^{^{\}dagger}$ significant at p < .10; $^{*}p <$.05; $^{**}p <$.01; $^{***}p <$.001

Table: OLS Regression Results. DV = Respect for Labor Rights

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
LagDV	0.440***	0.437***	0.425***	0.430***	0.399***	0.399**
	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.055)	(0.055)
Democracy	0.968**					
	(0.320)					
Labor-Led		2.192**	2.491***	2.457***	2.817***	2.814**
		(0.679)	(0.690)	(0.690)	(0.744)	(0.741)
Non-Labor		0.618^{\dagger}	0.945**	0.956**	1.128**	1.127**
		(0.349)	(0.360)	(0.352)	(0.357)	(0.358)
GDPpc		,	0.000***			0.000**
•			(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Urban			-0.029	-0.031	-0.008	-0.008
			(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Globalization			` '	$-0.020^{'}$	-0.005	-0.005
				(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Left Exec					0.376 [†]	0.376 [†]
					(0.213)	(0.213)
IMF					()	0.005
						(0.048)
Country FEs	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Year FEs	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Countries	145	145	143	141	134	134
Earliest Year	1986	1986	1986	1986	1986	1986
N	2918	2918	2839	2821	2546	2546
R ²	0.782	0.782	0.787	0.789	0.803	0.803
adj. R ²	0.768	0.769	0.773	0.775	0.789	0.789
Resid. sd	3.667	3.664	3.633	3.609	3.459	3.460

Robust standard errors in parentheses

 $^{^{\}dagger}$ significant at p< .10; $^{*}p<$.05; $^{**}p<$.01; $^{***}p<$.001

Table: OLS Regression Results. DV = LaborRight; Pro-Labor Constitutions

	LaborRights	Constitutions
LagDV	0.398***	0.901**
	(0.018)	(0.020)
Labor-Led	2.815***	0.032*
	(0.612)	(0.015)
Top-Down	0.835	-0.007^{\dagger}
	(0.802)	(0.004)
Other Democracy	1.187**	-0.000
	(0.396)	(0.007)
GDPpc	0.000***	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Urban	-0.008	0.001*
	(0.032)	(0.000)
Globalization	-0.005	-0.001^{\dagger}
	(0.016)	(0.000)
Left Exec	0.376 [†]	-0.005
	(0.200)	(0.003)
IMF	0.005	_0.000
	(0.040)	(0.001)
Country FEs	yes	yes
Year FEs	yes	yes
Countries	134	135
Earliest Year	1986	1981
N	2546	3485
R ²	0.803	0.977
adj. R ²	0.789	0.976
Resid. sd	3.460	0.077

PCSE in parentheses

[†] significant at p < .10; *p < .05; **p < .01; **** p < .001

"If there is no struggle there is no progress...Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will."

-Frederick Douglass, 1857