

Patriarchal Unions = Weaker Unions? Industrial Relations in the Asian Garment Industry

This paper explores how gender ideologies shape industrial relations in the Asian garment industry. Drawing on ethnographic research, it illustrates how widespread norm perceptions of acquiescent women and assertive men reinforce patriarchal, authoritarian unions. Even if privately critical, women may be reluctant to protest if they anticipate social disapproval. Such beliefs reinforce patriarchal unions, curbing women workers' collective analysis, engagement and activism. This weakens the collective power of labour to push for better working conditions. Tackling norm perceptions and building more inclusive unions may help strengthen the labour movement.

Introduction

Trade unions have been a major driver of improved working conditions in the garment industry and beyond. Yet they are heavily constrained, by widely-recognised economic and political obstacles. This paper highlights a further impediment: gender ideologies. Widespread expectations of acquiescent women and assertive men mean that unions are often patriarchal and authoritarian, inattentive to their female members' ideas and concerns, curbing their collective analysis. Ethnographic research from across Asia suggests this is a regional trend, undermining the labour movement. This analysis of industrial relations also makes a theoretical contribution. Concerned by the vagueness of 'gender norms', it pushes for more attention to individuals' *norm perceptions* (their beliefs about what others think). By causally connecting individual psychologies and wider practices, this concept helps us theorise the drivers of social change, and devise apt policy solutions.

Earlier research on globalisation, women and work includes: gendered impacts (employment, pay gaps, and household relations); gendered control regimes in factories¹; women's disposability;² and the need for 'gendered codes of conduct'.³ Such concerns might be addressed by tackling norm perceptions and building more inclusive unions. This proposition diverges from that of Elson, Pearson and Seguino. They argue that low wages in the garment industry are a cause (not consequence) of its predominantly female workforce.⁴ Because garment factories typically prioritise low labour costs, they seek docile workers, assumed to accept poor working conditions (i.e. women). If confronted by resistance, garment firms can relocate to wherever labour costs are cheaper. This threat of capital flight curbs government support for wages increases.

This 'race to the bottom' is indeed harmful. It cannot be wholly abated through more inclusive, stronger trade unions in low- and middle-income countries. But that does not render such strategies futile. This paper will argue that more inclusive, stronger Asian trade unions are feasible and important complements to much needed reforms to productivity, buyers' practices and trade agreements.

Theoretical Framework

¹ Acknowledgements: I am grateful to Günseli Berik, Stephanie Barrientos, Sarah Childs, Sylvia Chant, David Hudson, Emma Mawdsley, Chris Roche, Judith Teichman and Yana van der Meulen Rodgers for encouragement and constructive criticism. Any deficits are clearly mine.

While 'gender norms' have always been central to research on women and economic globalisation, our theorisation could be fine-tuned. We need to articulate how wider social practices influence individual behaviour; distinguish between internalised ideologies and wider cultural expectations; explain why norms change or persist over time; and accommodate evidence of heterogeneous gender beliefs within a specific locale. This section argues that conventional understandings of gender norms do not fulfil these requirements, so should be reformulated.

In India, Mezzadri suggests that 'patriarchal norms mediate women's differential entry into the labouring experience, structure women's shop-floor experience and also endlessly recreate an imagery of gender subjugation'.⁵ But what exactly are gender norms, and how do they influence behaviour? This is rarely specified, perhaps taken as obvious. Surmising the wider literature on gender norms, Pearse and Connell define them as 'collective definitions of [men and women's] socially approved conduct'. Apparently, gender norms do not reside in individual consciousness but are 'more fundamentally properties of a community, society or organization'.⁶ But what kind of properties are these? Butler suggests norms are iterative, embodied, social performances.⁷ Somewhat similarly, Salzinger refers to 'discourses'. For her, 'femininity matters in global production ... because it functions as a constitutive discourse which creates exploitable subjects'⁸. Caraway likewise discusses 'gendered discourses of work'.⁹ But how do performances and discourses shape other people's behaviour? What is the causal connection here? In order to ascertain the drivers of social change and continuity, we surely need to focus on people's reasons for acting (their beliefs and desires), not just their behavioural expressions.

First, we need to analytically distinguish between different kinds of gender beliefs: individuals' internalised stereotypes and norm perceptions. A person's internalised stereotypes are their accepted assumptions about a gender. In Bangladesh, Indonesia and Thailand, male employers, union leaders and NGO workers are said to 'stereotype' female garment workers as 'docile': thinking them unlikely to talk back, demand higher wages or unionise.¹⁰ As Caraway argues, 'whether women possess these traits is irrelevant; the crucial point is that employers believe that they do'.¹¹ Employers' internalised gender stereotypes influence hiring and factory management.

Internalised gender stereotypes are developed through observation. If people only see men in leadership, they may assume men are naturally better leaders, so prefer male leaders.¹² Importantly, such beliefs are not static, but change through association and exposure to alternatives (as chronicled in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Thailand).¹³ However, given confirmation bias, people tend to disregard information that contradicts their assumptions, especially if fleeting.¹⁴

Some people privately question widespread gender stereotypes, but still conform due to their norm perceptions: beliefs about *other* people's stereotypes. They moderate their conduct due to concerns about how they will be perceived and treated by others. '[L]ocal gender norms delineate acceptable behaviours for women and men and police the moral worth of those who transgress' – suggests Mills, drawing on ethnographic research in Thailand.¹⁵ This 'policing' is echoed in the testimony of a 22 year old garment worker in West Java: "My parents wouldn't like it if I joined in strikes".¹⁶ Anticipation of social sanction curbs her union activism. Further, even if female garment workers champion gender equality, they may doubt whether men will ever respect them as equals – as Pangsapa found in Thailand.¹⁷ In one factory, '[t]hese women were not unaware of their exploitation, but they felt powerless to do anything about it and thus conformed to the complacent woman assembler stereotype'.¹⁸ Women's compliance need not imply their uncritical endorsement.¹⁹ Workers may publicly adhere to expectations of docility, but privately joke about management (as observed in some Chinese garment factories), slow down production (in Thailand), or express frustration through spirit possession (as in Malaysia).²⁰ Disavowal of perceived local norms is also revealed when female workers speculate that they might act differently in another city, where union activism is more widely supported (as in Indonesia).²¹ Here, acquiescence seems due to their spatially specific norm perceptions, not their internalised ideologies. This analytical distinction between internalised stereotypes and norm perceptions is well evidenced, but tends to

be obfuscated. Research on gender tends to equivocate between the two, referring to them interchangeably.²²

One similarity between norm perceptions and internalised stereotypes is that they are both developed through personal experience. By observing and interacting with others, individuals learn which behaviours are widely endorsed and enforced in their communities. They expect that they will be respected according to the extent to which they conform to norm perceptions for their presumed sex category. These concepts of 'internalised stereotypes' and 'norm perceptions' thus articulate how wider practices/ discourses influence individual behaviour and reinforce path dependency. Conventional understandings of gender norms cannot explain this link.

Another challenge for gender theory is that it must be able to accommodate evidence of heterogeneous gender beliefs within a specific locale. For instance, within urban West Java, there is mixed acceptance of women's union activism: some clusters are very supportive, others not so.²³ Within any given city, there is likely to be a range of sub-cultures and generational differences. Such diversity cannot be surmised with a singular, aggregate gender norm. By contrast, the concept 'norm perceptions' is entirely compatible with local heterogeneity because refers to plural *individuals'* subjectivities (as shaped by their idiosyncratic interactions and observations).

The remainder of this paper explores how internalised ideologies and norm perceptions shape industrial relations in the Asian garment industry.

Unions

As recognised by the International Labour Organisation, '[i]n the garment sector, [wage] adjustments are usually adopted only after mass protests and strikes that disrupt the industry'.²⁴ In Vietnam, for example, wildcat strikes comprising 200,000 workers enabled a 30% increase in the minimum wage in 2006 and mandated inflation-adjusted nationwide annual increases thereafter. Likewise in Indonesia, minimum wages rose by 47% in Jakarta and 57% in Subang following labour mobilisation. Parallel dynamics hold for Bangladesh, Cambodia and China.²⁵

Unionisation can also improve compliance with legislation. In Indonesia, union mobilisation strengthens the International Labour Organisation (ILO)'s capacity to enforce mandated minimum wages.²⁶ Similarly in Cambodia, there is a statistically significant association between union presence in factories and compliance with minimum wages, hours and leave standards. Notably, union presence only improves compliance on issues prioritised by union leadership. In Cambodia this includes pecuniary matters but not health and safety.²⁷

Successful activism also shifts norm perceptions. Instead of passively accepting their fate, workers learn that collectively they *can* influence wage negotiations. Recognising that others will support their activism, they gain confidence in the possibility of social change. This galvanises further mobilisation – as observed in Cambodia, China, Korea and Vietnam.²⁸ Past experience of striking shifts norm perceptions about the acceptability of women's activism, encouraging further mobilisation. This fosters a positive feedback loop – as illustrated by Silvey's comparative analysis of two cities in West Java.²⁹ Similarly, in his history of class formation in England, E. P. Thomson suggests that through organising, workers developed ideas of solidarity and collective resistance.³⁰ Behavioural change thus precedes ideational change.³¹

While unions have driven major improvements, they are also heavily constrained by widely-recognised economic and political factors. These include the prevalence of short-term, insecure contracts; intimidation by factories; fear of job loss; consequently low union density; as well as the fragmentation and multiplicity of politically-divided unions, enabling management to 'divide and rule'.³² Workers' power is further constrained by ease of firm relocation. Concern for capital flight curbs government responsiveness to (and tolerance of) union activism.³³ These labour abuses are incentivised by buyers' short-term contracts, low prices and late penalties. Buyers may be reluctant to reform individually, given price competition within the garment industry.³⁴

Without denying the primacy of these obstacles, the next section draws on ethnographic research from across Asia to highlight a further, widespread impediment to industrial relations: gender ideologies.

Gender Ideologies and Inequalities

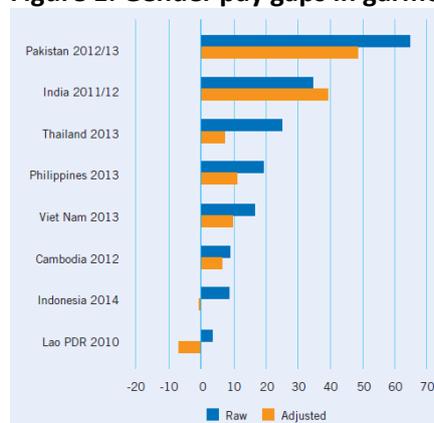
Among the many impediments to union activism in the garment industry are gender ideologies. Factory supervisors, owners, monitors, regulators and parliamentarians are mostly male, interacting with predominantly female garment workers (see Table 1).

Table 1: Percentage of Female workers in the Asian Garment Industry³⁵

Myanmar	95
Sri Lanka	87
Cambodia	82
Bangladesh	80
Vietnam	79
China	66
Indonesia	65
Pakistan	28
India	23
Total	63

Occupations in the garment industry are horizontally and vertically gender segregated: poorly paid female sewers encircled by male mechanics, electricians, guards, supervisors and managers.³⁶ In Bangalore, '[w]omen cut, sew and clean what men design; women operate machines that men service, women work on the factory floor whilst men stand guard, women toil while men manage and so forth'.³⁷ Likewise in Vietnam, the garment workforce is predominantly female but two thirds of supervisors are male. Men are also more likely to be promoted and receive training, even though they tend to be at the same factory for less time.³⁸ In northern India and Pakistan, norm perceptions deter women's mobility and employment in the public sphere. They thus primarily work as sub-contracted home-based workers, earning far less (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Gender pay gaps in garments, textiles and footwear³⁹



Despite a predominantly female workforce (except in northern India and Pakistan), the vast majority of garment union leaders are male.⁴⁰ Further, they are widely characterised as patriarchal and authoritarian. In Bangladesh, Dannecker observed that, '[t]ypically, the representatives of the unions – all men – sat behind a table, while the female workers who attended the meetings sat in front of them on the floor. Often the women were very shy, hiding their faces while listening to the

representatives, who lectured them about labour law. It was relatively normal for people attending such meetings not to dare to ask questions'.⁴¹ Kabeer likewise suggests that 'not only are most male trade unionists largely indifferent to [women's] needs and priorities as workers, but they also tend to reproduce the norms and behaviour that treat women as a subordinate category and marginalise their needs and priorities as women.'⁴² Parallels are found in Cambodia⁴³ and Indonesia, where 11% of surveyed workplaces terminated women employees upon pregnancy, but no union raised this issue.⁴⁴ Cambodian garment workers interviewed by Human Rights Watch 'said they had no access to independent complaint mechanisms in factories where they could safely complain and seek redress for workplace sexual harassment'.⁴⁵ In the Philippines, male-dominated union leadership rarely prioritises or secures women-related proposals in collective bargaining agreements – especially not if financially costly (as shown in Table 2).

Table 2: Gender sensitive provisions in collective-bargaining agreements, The Philippines⁴⁶

CBA Provisions	Yes (%)	No (%)
Maternity leave beyond what is provided by law	35	65
Menstrual leave	0	100
Reproductive health	45	55
Protection against sexual harassment	80	20
Equality of opportunities for training and education	45	55
Pay equality	10	90
Special leaves for women	0	100
Daycare services and facilities	0	100
Breastfeeding facilities	10	90

In The Philippines, collective-bargaining agreements tend to be more gender-sensitive if negotiated by female representatives – according to interviewed male and female unionists from garment, textile and leather industries.⁴⁷ This suggests that the disregard of gender in other agreements reflects the concerns of union leaders, but not their members. Female activists in the Cambodian garment industry similarly suggest that sexual harassment and other gender-based concerns would be more likely addressed if there were more women in union leadership at factory and federation levels.⁴⁸

Experience of neglect influences norm perceptions. If workers learn that pertinent gender-specific concerns are unheard, they may not raise them to union leaders (as observed in West Bengal).⁴⁹ In Indonesia, 85% of garment workers expressed concerns about sexual harassment and physical abuse to the ILO. But only 30% raised this with their union representatives.⁵⁰ This selective silence suggests that workers had not passively, fatalistically accepted abuse. The problem was not their 'false consciousness'/ internalised ideologies, but rather their norm perceptions of union representatives.

If women workers do not expect to be heard by unions, they may disengage. In Bangladesh (and also Cambodia), '[t]he leaders of the unions adopted a very paternalistic mode of interaction with women workers.... [W]omen obeyed gender norms by behaving shyly and obediently during the meetings, but made their point of view quite clear by not participating further... Hazara, a senior operator, commented:

What can I say? One of my colleagues motivated me to go to this meeting because they might help us. But I do not know what this organisation can do for us, the man who talked was not even a garment worker. I did not understand what he was talking about. He asked what problems we have, what can I say, he will not understand. I felt very uneasy with all these people around'.⁵¹

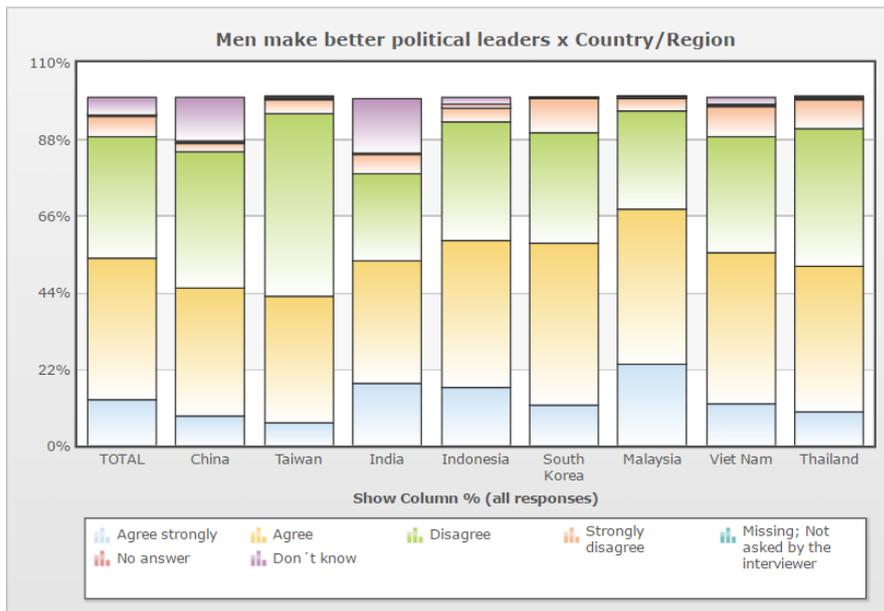
This regional trend of patriarchal, authoritarian unionism may explain why women are said to be less likely to participate in union activities in Indonesia.⁵² In a survey of Cambodian union members,

women's limited participation in union activities was the most widely identified internal problem.⁵³ Female garment workers' disinterest also concerns union leaders in Thailand.⁵⁴

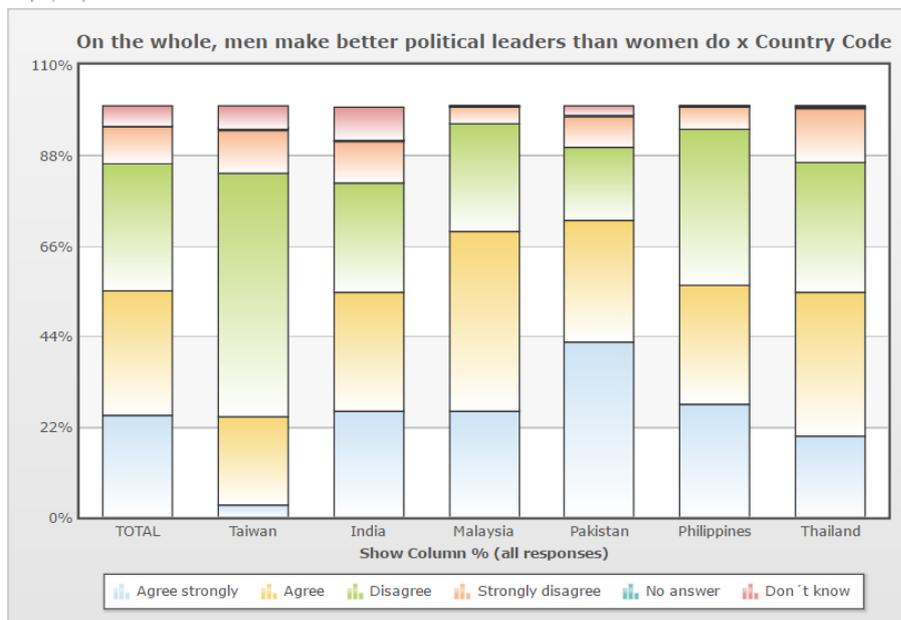
While female garment workers may prefer more inclusive union leadership, they may not put themselves forward as leaders if they anticipate social sanction. Assertively negotiating with employers, addressing large rallies and leading demonstrations are regarded as masculine in Bangladesh, Cambodia, Malaysia and Thailand.⁵⁵ Transgressive women may be chastised, with questions raised about their sexual respectability. Fear of recrimination likely deters other women from pursuing leadership roles. Working-class women may also doubt their capacity to influence or challenge men. "Don't hit a stone with an egg" cautions one Cambodian proverb. One Malaysian garment worker described patriarchy as 'normal': what they have observed, become accustomed to, and now expect.⁵⁶ Similar fatalism has been observed in Bangladesh, Korea, Indonesia and Thailand.⁵⁷

Patriarchal unions reflect wider politics. South East Asian women tend to be less confident in their ability to change the political system; less likely to engage collectively; and less likely to contact an influential person.⁵⁸ Such ideologies are reinforced by male-dominance of leadership, which seems self-perpetuating. With little exposure to women demonstrating their equal competence in socially valued domains, many assume that men are more suited to leadership. Table 3 depicts intra-regional variation here.

Table 3: 'Men make better leaders': reported agreement



Selected sample: China 2007, India 2006, Indonesia 2006, Malaysia 2006, South Korea 2005, Taiwan 2006, Thailand 2007, Vietnam 2006 (12,664)



Selected sample: India 2014, India 2012, Malaysia 2011, Pakistan 2012, Philippines 2012, Taiwan 2012, Thailand 2013 (11,797)

These gender ideologies appear to wane through exposure to women leaders. For example, in Indonesian districts with female incumbents, political parties are more likely to nominate women. They realise that voters will support women candidates – a shift in norm perceptions. Female incumbency also appears to increase voters’ proclivity to elect women representatives.⁵⁹ This is consistent with a growing body of evidence. Gender quotas (and other forms of exposure to women leaders) appear to – slowly and incrementally – weaken gender ideologies. This motivates others to follow suit and enables a positive feedback loop.⁶⁰

Inclusive leadership also appears to increase women’s union engagement. Research in Bangladesh, India and Vietnam suggests that women are more likely to voice their concerns and become members of unions with female leaders.⁶¹ Relatedly, Vietnamese women who had participated in leadership training said they had been ‘inspired’ by seeing women leaders, and felt more comfortable speaking out in the presence of other women.⁶² In the Philippines, collective bargaining

agreements negotiated by women are more often gender sensitive. If female workers perceive unions as responsive they are more likely to actively engage, suggest Serrano and Cortez, drawing on quantitative and qualitative research.⁶³ Further, of Malaysia's three major garment-producing states, the state that has pro-actively increased female leadership (to 80% of the executive council) has the highest level of female union membership.⁶⁴ (Causation may run in either/ both directions here). Also, it may be a coincidence, since there are other factors at play, but strikes are particularly common in the South East Asian country with the highest support for women's employment and leadership: Vietnam.

Diversifying leadership could aid public communications. For example, in January 2014 there was a violent crackdown on striking garment workers in Cambodia. The Government banned public gatherings of more than ten people. Yet the Workers' Information Center (WIC) still wished to hold their Annual Workers' Forum. No venue would rent them space though, due to concerns about Government reprisals. Instead WIC held the event in their office, under the guise of an apolitical 'fashion show'. 300 workers attended – a large number given the threatening political situation. They watched beautifully coiffed, fellow garment workers confidently strut down a catwalk, wearing clothes made in Cambodia. This glamorous spectacle was juxtaposed and interspersed with dramatic recreations of recent killings, as well as posters detailing industry profits and poor working conditions.⁶⁵ This creative, politically savvy event appealed to women workers, strengthening solidarity in extremely difficult times. It was designed by women.

If more unions provided safe, welcoming spaces then women workers could reflect on their shared experiences; come to question their gender ideologies; learn about labour laws; discover another world, beyond the factory gates; build support networks; iteratively develop solidarity; and devise collective strategies for change (as Pangsapa observes of one workers' centre in Thailand).⁶⁶ By sharing information, these Thai workers learned about better conditions elsewhere, and realised a different situation was possible. They became less fatalistic, more critical of their own situation, and 'gained a sense of agency'.⁶⁷ Research in Cambodia similarly underscores women's appreciation of association and shared learning; no longer 'frogs in a well'.⁶⁸ Public interactions may be especially important for home-based, sub-contracted workers – who are typically less exposed to alternatives, less inclined to question their gender ideologies.⁶⁹ As Mohammad wrote of British Pakistani women, "The public realm is where the legitimacy of collective social norms and values is negotiated through visibility and presence".⁷⁰

In sum, gender divisions of labour and leadership within the garment industry appear to perpetuate patriarchal practices, curbing women's union activism and engagement. Though dissatisfied by male leaders, many women appear reluctant to put themselves forward, due to concerns about how they will be perceived by others. Patriarchal unions, in conjunction with gendered discourses and divisions of labour in factories, sustain gender ideologies. These beliefs, together with economic and political obstacles, undermine the collective strength of labour. Importantly, this phenomenon is not unique to the Asian garment industry; it is a shared, global challenge.⁷¹

Though widespread, the influence of gender ideologies on industrial relations is seldom acknowledged by mainstream development discourse. For instance, the World Bank's gender analysis of the ILO's *Better Work Programme* narrowly focuses on the household-level effects: detailing how communication training and women's employment has democratised and household financial budgeting and care work. The report mentions managers' perspectives, but not their attitudes to female workers. The ILO's report, "Women, Work & Development: Evidence from Better Work" also omits unions and hierarchies therein.⁷² Policy recommendations for Asian trade unions similarly tend to neglect the *influence* of gender inequalities – even when they find that women's limited union participation is the most widely identified internal problem.⁷³ Oxfam's recent report in Myanmar mentions that women are under-represented in leadership, but does not address this in their policy recommendations.⁷⁴

Without more inclusive leadership, gender codes of conduct⁷⁵ and proposals for better maternity protection⁷⁶ are unlikely to be enforced. The widespread disregard of social reproduction and paucity of maternity protection reflect the ideologies and interests of existing leadership. This needs to be tackled in order to gain traction for gender-sensitive policies.

Tackling Gender Ideologies

Building on the above theorisation of social change and continuity, this section reviews ongoing interventions to tackle gender inequalities in the garment industry, and suggests improvements.

Gender-focused interventions have typically focused on women workers' deficits: their limited knowledge of their rights, i.e. their internalised ideologies. For instance, ILO (2012) attributes the paucity of women's leaders to women's lack of experience and confidence.⁷⁷ Similarly, to curb the trafficking of Bangladeshi, Indian and Nepalese women into the garment industries of India, Jordan and Lebanon, DfID-ILO seek 'to strengthen both migrants and aspiring migrants' understanding of their own rights in the context of patriarchy, mobility and work'.⁷⁸

If participatory, gender sensitisation *can* be effective: creating a safe space for participants to analyse common grievances, share their experiences, see others disavow gender inequalities and thereby revise their norm perceptions (as per the earlier paragraph on 'association'). However, participatory modalities seem uncommon.⁷⁹ Moreover, gender project reports usually only detail *numbers* of workers trained in workshops: i.e. processes, not outcomes.⁸⁰ In Malaysia, '[d]espite sustained efforts by both NGOs to transform women's consciousness, there appeared to be great reticence on the part of the women themselves to believe that they can challenge the very system... to them it is part of their lives to be exploited, they simply accept it'.⁸¹ Telling women workers that they have rights (in abstract) may not necessarily shift their norm perceptions – that others will support resistance.

Instead of 'raising awareness', it may be more effective to: tackle occupational segregation; support ongoing campaigns for inclusive leadership; and facilitate horizontal networking.

(i) Horizontal and vertical occupational desegregation in factories.

People develop their gender beliefs through observation of the world around them. For garment workers this includes horizontal and vertical sex segregation in the garment industry. Segregation reflects and reinforces widespread assumptions of difference (as Caraway observes in Indonesia).⁸² But such ideologies are changeable: through prolonged exposure to women demonstrating their equal competence in socially valued, 'masculine' roles.⁸³ Experimental research in Bangladesh suggests that gender beliefs change only after four months of working with trained female supervisors.⁸⁴

Exposure to flexibility in gender divisions of labour could be amplified through active labour market interventions: scholarships, in-service training, scholarships or gender quotas.⁸⁵ For example, Agence Française de Développement has lent the Garment Manufacturers Association in Cambodia (GMAC) \$3.26 million to establish a Cambodia Garment Training Institute.⁸⁶ They might have stipulated gender quotas for training programmes for mechanics and mangers.

Exposure to flexibility in gender divisions of labour could also be amplified by TV shows. National soap operas – like 'At the Factory Gates' (sponsored by Better Factories Cambodia, to provide edutainment on workers' rights) – might feature women mechanics or union representatives in garment factories. Shows might also showcase men sharing unpaid care work: cooking, cleaning and caring for children.⁸⁷ Such films are already being made in Cambodia, by the Women's Media Center.

(ii) More inclusive leadership – of unions and dispute resolution committees

Many South East Asian female unionists have long campaigned for more inclusive leadership. The Vietnam General Confederation of Labour has resolved to increase the percentage of women in union leadership to at least 30 percent. In 2016, FSPMI (a metalworkers' union in Indonesia) adopted a 40% quota for women in leadership⁸⁸ (as have some Ghanaian and South African trade unions).⁸⁹ Some unions permit branch and regional structures to send additional female delegates (with full voting rights) to annual meetings.

Efforts might be made to limit male dominance of dispute resolution mechanisms. 'Performance Improvement Consultative Committees' – comprising worker and management representatives – in Vietnamese factories could include more women workers, for instance.⁹⁰ This could be lobbied for through reference to Article 54 of the Labor Code, which mandates employers to consult female employees.⁹¹ Further, in factories where women comprise 40% of labourers, the management committee must include a woman (as per the 1967 Law).⁹²

Support for more inclusive mechanisms might be galvanised by highlighting increased profitability and reduced strikes in factories where workers are comfortable raising concerns;⁹³ learning from pilots; and showcasing benefits in neighbouring countries (as proved effective in Vietnam).⁹⁴ Further, to legitimise their engagement in this masculine domain, women workers have often framed it as consistent with accepted identities: referencing gendered kinship metaphors of responsibility and sacrifice in Thailand; feminist interpretations of the Quran in Indonesia; and maternal responsibilities in Mexico and Indonesia.⁹⁵

Greater female union membership and leadership has also been prioritised at the global level – by the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation; the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; and IndustriALL (the Women's Committee is pushing for a gender quota).⁹⁶ Rather than more gender sensitisation, these federations (and other partners) could incentivise reform by making gender quotas a condition for their financial and legal support to factory-level unions. In Cambodia, the Center for Alliance of Labour and Human Rights (CENTRAL) has been lobbying the Cambodian Alliance of Trade Unions (CATU) to change their by-laws: mandating all affiliated plant-level garment unions to have a female president and female general secretary. After two, slow years of discussions, CENTRAL offered financial incentives. It would prioritise legal aid (for illegally dismissed or criminalised workers) to unions with gender quotas. While CATU is yet to change its by-laws, it has made de facto reforms. In recent elections in CATU-affiliated unions, women won 12 out of the 14 leadership positions. Other funders could adopt similar tactics: incentivising gender quotas, rather than just raising awareness.

(iii) Horizontal networking, peer learning and coalition-building

Political analyses of inclusive development increasingly emphasise reformist coalitions.⁹⁷ However, there is less evidence about how these are best supported. At present, donor-funded NGOs tend to be fractured: focusing on their own projects (providing services or trainings for poor beneficiaries), rather than collectively pushing for change.⁹⁸ I suggest that more horizontal networking and peer learning between Asian factories, unions and countries could build coalitions by enabling unions to learn from successful peers. Seeing victories elsewhere could also increase workers' confidence in the possibility of social change and thereby galvanise further mobilisation. It may also lead sceptical colleagues to regard it as normal. Research from social psychology indicates the particular importance of increasing exposure to groups perceived as peers – as people are more likely to conform to the norms of a group with which they identify.⁹⁹ Demonstration effects also seem to operate at the regional level: when countries adopt gender policies and treaties, or increase female representation, their neighbours are more likely to follow suit (controlling for other variables).¹⁰⁰

Traction for gender quotas within the garment industry might be accrued by learning from Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Nepal, the Philippines, South Korea and Timor-Leste, which have all introduced various forms of gender quotas at sub-national or national levels – after prolonged transnational feminist activism.¹⁰¹ Further examples include Malaysia (which introduced a

gender quota in the public sector and for corporate boards); and the Bangladesh Independent Garment Workers' Union (where women hold at least nine out of fifteen leadership positions).¹⁰² IndustriALL's recent Asia-Pacific women's conference called for a gender quota.¹⁰³ Horizontal, pan-Asian networking could enable workers to learn from others' successful tactics and strategies.

Peer learning, support and solidarity may also be cultivated through collective, creative endeavours: poems and short stories for pro-labour newspapers; street dramas; as well as songs and dances (performed at both small group meetings and large events, like the Asian Women Workers' Festival in Bangkok in 2002). Solidarity and collective discussions can also be facilitated through weekly saving meetings – as observed in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and India.¹⁰⁴

It might also prove effective to strengthen coalitions and synergies between middle-class feminist activists and trade unionists (as proved effective in tackling sexual harassment in Malaysia).¹⁰⁵ Shared concerns might include equal pay, parental leave and safety in cities. However, there may be class-based differences in priorities.¹⁰⁶

Conclusion

Across the Asian garment industry, gender divisions of labour and leadership appear to reinforce widely-shared assumptions that men are more competent in socially valued domains and thus more suited to leadership. With minimal support for women leaders, unions remain patriarchal. This appears to deter women's union engagement and thereby weaken the labour movement. The foregoing analysis complements earlier feminist research by pinpointing the underlying drivers of gender inequalities. Previous studies called attention to gender pay gaps, gendered control regimes, the construction of women as 'disposable', and need for gendered codes of conduct. These would likely be addressed by tackling norm perceptions and strengthening inclusive leadership.

Theoretically, it pushes for more attention to individuals' norm perceptions. This contrasts with the more conventional reference to 'gender norms' (a singular feature of a given society). 'Norm perceptions' is preferable as it: clearly articulates how wider practices influence individual psychologies and behaviour; explains why norms change or persist over time; accommodates evidence of heterogeneity; and provides policy guidance. Individuals' norm perceptions reflect their observations and experiences. They can change through exposure to multiple instances of disconfirming evidence. Multiplicity is necessary to overcome confirmation bias: occasional counter-examples will be disregarded. Norm perceptions could be shifted by routinising and institutionalising exposure to flexibility in gender divisions of labour – such as through gender quotas for female mechanics, managers and union leaders. Participatory, collective discussions at weekly savings groups could then enable workers to reflect on their observations. Feminist campaigns are already ongoing in Asia: they could be amplified and heard more widely, to increase confidence in the possibility of social change.

However, more inclusive union leadership is highly unlikely to be immediately achievable or independently transformative. Ideological change is slow, incremental and inevitably conflictual. The gender ideologies that influence industrial relations will not change within a project cycle. Further, any such reforms in low and middle-income countries would neglect a central cause of low wages in the global garment industry: fears of capital flight. Stronger, more inclusive unions are only suggested as a complement to much needed international reforms.¹⁰⁷

References

- Agarwal, B. "'Bargaining' and Gender Relations: Within and Beyond the Household", *Feminist Economics* 3, no. 1 (1997): 1-51.
- Agence Française de Développement (AFD) "Creation of a training institute for the Cambodian garment sector". Phnom Penh: AFD, 2013.

http://www.afd.fr/webdav/site/afd/shared/PORTAILS/PAYS/CAMBODGE/CKH%201080_centre_formation_textile_en.pdf

- Alois, P, "Better Work and Global Governance". Unpublished dissertation. New York: City University of New York, 2016.
- Amengual, M. and L. Chirot, "Reinforcing the State: Transnational and State Labor Regulation in Indonesia", *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, forthcoming.
- Anner, M. "Worker resistance in global supply chains: wildcat strikes, international accords and transnational campaigns", *International Journal of Labour Research* 7 nos. 1-2 (2015): 17-34.
- Bair, J. "On Difference and Capital: Gender and the Globalization of Production", *Signs* 36 no. 1 (2010), 203-226
- Basu, S., "Gender Knowledge Of Female Textile Workers In West Bengal", *Journal of Workplace Rights*, 17, no. 1 (2012-13): 93-111.
- Barrientos, S; C. Dolan; and A. Tallontire "A Gendered Value Chain Approach to Codes of Conduct in African Horticulture", *World Development* 31 no. 9 (2003): 1511-1526
- Barrientos, S., and S. Smith, "Do workers benefit from ethical trade? Assessing codes of labour practice in global production systems", *Third World Quarterly* 28 no. 4 (2007): 713-729.
- Berik, G. and Y. Van Der Meulen Rodgers, "Options for enforcing labour standards: lessons from Bangladesh and Cambodia", *Journal of International Development* 22 (2010): 56-85.
- Britwum, A. and S. Ledwith (eds.): *Visibility and voice for union women: Country case studies from global labour university researchers*. Munich: Rainer Hampp Verlag.
- Broadbent, K. and M. Ford. "Women and labour organizing in Asia: diversity, autonomy and activism", in *Women and labour organizing in Asia: diversity, autonomy and activism*, edited by K. Broadbent and M. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008.
- Brickell, K. "'Plates in a basket will rattle': Marital dissolution and home 'unmaking' in contemporary Cambodia", *Geoforum* 51 (2014):262-72.
- Brickell, K. "'The Whole World Is Watching': Intimate Geopolitics of Forced Eviction and Women's Activism in Cambodia", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 104 no. 6 (2014): 1256-1272.
- Brickell, K., and S. Chant, "'The unbearable heaviness of being': Reflections on female altruism in Cambodia, Philippines, The Gambia and Costa Rica". *Progress in Development Studies* 10 no. 2 (2010): 145-59.
- Butler, J. *Undoing gender*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Cagna, P. and N. Rao, "Feminist mobilisation for policy change on violence against women: insights from Asia", *Gender & Development* 24 no. 2 (2016): 277-290.
- Caraway, T. "The Political Economy of Feminization: From "Cheap Labor" to Gendered Discourses of Work", *Politics & Gender*, 1 no. 3 (2005): 399-429
- Carswell, G. and G. De Neve, "Global Production Networks, Labour and Development", *Geoforum* 44 (2013): 62-70.
- Chang KC. and K. Nadvi, "Changing labour regulations and labour standards in China: Retrospect and challenges", *International Labour Review*, 153, no. 4 (2014): 513-514.
- Chang, ACH and B. Welsh "Are East Asian Women Democratic Citizens or Subjects? Gender and Democratic Citizenship in East Asia", Paper prepared for Democracy and Citizen Politics in East Asia Conference, Taipei, June 17-18, 2013
<http://www.asianbarometer.org/publications//722e902ccc9b331977c7957814e0ba32.pdf>
- Chiricosta, A. "Following the trail of the fairy-bird: the search for a uniquely Vietnamese women's movement", in Mina Roces and Louise Edwards (eds.) *Women's Movements in Asia: feminisms and transnational activism*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010: pp.124-143.
- Costa, M.; M. Sawar and R. Sharp "Gender-responsive budgeting in Timor-Leste", *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 15 no. 3 (2013): 333-352.

- Cox, Anne (2015) "The pressure of wildcat strikes on the transformation of industrial relations in a developing country: the case of the garment and textile industry in Vietnam", *Journal of Industrial Relations* 57(2): 271–290.
- Crinis, V. "Malaysia: women, labour activism and unions", in Broadbent and Michele Ford (eds.) *Women and Labour Organizing in Asia: Diversity, Autonomy and Activism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).
- Dannecker, P. "Collective action, organisation building, and leadership: Women workers in the garment sector in Bangladesh", *Gender & Development*, 8 no. 3 (2000): 31-39.
- Department for International Development, "Work in Freedom Programme: Annual Review". London: DfID, 2016. <https://t.co/MWnHUD2fJO>
- Desai, V. "NGOs, Gender Mainstreaming, and Urban Poor Communities in Mumbai", *Gender and Development* 13 no. 2 (2015): 90-98.
- Domingo, Pilar; Holmes, Rebecca; O'Neil, Tam; Jones, Nicola; Bird, Kate; Larson, Anna; Presler-Marshall, Elizabeth and Valters, Craig (2015) *Women's voice and leadership in decision-making: Assessing the evidence* (London: ODI). http://www.managingforimpact.org/sites/default/files/resource/womens_voice_and_leadership.pdf
- Elson, D. and R. Pearson, "Nimble Fingers Make Cheap Workers": An Analysis of Women's Employment in Third World Export Manufacturing", *Feminist Review* 7 (1981): 87-107.
- Evans, A. "'For the Elections We Want Women!': Closing the gender gap in Zambian politics", *Development and Change* 47 no. 2 (2016): 388-411.
- Evans, A. "The Decline of the Male Breadwinner and Persistence of the Female Carer: Exposure, Interests, and Micro–Macro Interactions", *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 106 no. 5 (2016): 1135-1151.
- Evans, A. "Gender Sensitisation in the Zambian Copperbelt", *Geoforum* 59 (2015): 12-20.
- Fontana, M. and A. Silberman, "Analysing Better Work Data from a Gender Perspective: A Preliminary Exploration of Worker Surveys with a Focus on Vietnam", Better Work Discussion Paper Series: No. 13. Geneva: ILO, 2013.
- Ford, M, "Indonesia: separate organizing within unions" in Kaye Broadbent and Michele Ford (eds.) *Women and Labour Organizing in Asia: Diversity, Autonomy and Activism*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008.
- Ford, M. "Briefing Paper on Trade Unions in Indonesia". Geneva: ILO, 2010.
- Gunawardana, S. "Struggle, Perseverance, and Organization in Sri Lanka's Export Processing Zones" in Kaye Bronfenbrenner (eds.) *Global Unions: Challenging Transnational Capital through Cross-border Campaigns* London: Cornell University Press, 2007.
- Hewamanne, S. *Stitching Identities in a Free Trade Zone: Gender and Politics in Sri Lanka*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
- Hickey, S; K. Sen and B. Bukenya (eds) *The Politics of Inclusive Development: Interrogating the Evidence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Hill, E. "India: the Self Employed Women's Association and autonomous organizing", Kaye Broadbent and Michele Ford (eds.) *Women and Labour Organizing in Asia: Diversity, Autonomy and Activism*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008.
- Hiwasa, A. "Changing gendered boundaries in rural Cambodia: community-based organizations as a platform for empowerment", in Gabi Waibel, Judith Ehlert and Hart N. Feuer (eds.) *Southeast Asia and the Civil Society Gaze: scoping a contested concept in Cambodia and Vietnam*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Hossain, M.I.; G. Mathbor and R. Semenza, "Feminization and Labor Vulnerability in Global Manufacturing Industries: Does Gendered Discourse Matter?" *Asian Social Work and Policy Review* 7 (2013) 197–212

- Htun, M. and L. Weldon, "The Civic Origins of Progressive Policy Change: Combating Violence against Women in Global Perspective, 1975–2005", *American Political Science Review* 106 no. 3 (2012): 548-569.
- Hughes, C. "Transnational Networks, International Organizations and Political Participation in Cambodia: Human Rights, Labour Rights and Common Rights", *Democratization*, 14 no. 5 (2007): 834-852.
- Human Rights Watch, "'Work Faster or Get Out': Labor Rights Abuses in Cambodia's Garment Industry". New York: Human Rights Watch, 2015. https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/cambodia0315_ForUpload.pdf
- IndustriALL, "Asia-Pacific conference highlights struggles and women's representation", 2014 www.industriall-union.org/asia-pacific-conference-highlights-struggles-and-womens-representation
- IndustriALL, "Indonesian union adopts 40 per cent women quota", 2016 <http://www.industriall-union.org/indonesian-union-adopts-40-per-cent-women-quota#.Vt6Zzit1OTw.twitter>
- IndustriALL, "IndustriALL women stand by quota demand", 2016. www.industriall-union.org/industriall-women-stand-by-quota-demand
- International Labor Organisation, "Action-oriented research on gender equality and the working and living conditions of garment factory workers in Cambodia". Geneva: ILO, 2012.
- International Labor Organisation, "Better work Indonesia: garment industry baseline report: worker perspectives from the factory and beyond". Geneva: ILO, 2012.
- International Labor Organisation, "Practical challenges for maternity protection in the Cambodian garment industry". Bangkok: ILO, 2012.
- International Labor Organisation, "Bangladesh: Seeking Better Employment Conditions For Better Socioeconomic Outcomes". Geneva: ILO, 2013.
- International Labor Organisation, "Better Work Vietnam shows path for labour law reform". Geneva: ILO, 2014. <http://betterwork.org/global/?p=3795>.
- International Labor Organisation, "Women, Work & Development: Evidence from Better Work". Geneva: ILO, 2015. <http://betterwork.org/global/wp-content/uploads/Women-Influencing-Brief-V3.pdf>
- [International Labor Organisation](#) "Brief on Work in Freedom Programme in Bangladesh". Dhaka: ILO, 2015.
- International Labor Organisation, "Indonesia 2015". Results. Jakarta: ILO, 2016.
- [International Labor Organisation](#), "Women at Work: Trends 2016". Geneva: ILO, 2016.
- [International Labor Organisation](#), "Wages and productivity in the garment sector in Asia and the Pacific and the Arab States". Geneva: ILO, 2016.
- Jacob, S.; JA. Scherpereel and M. Adams, "Gender Norms and Women's Political Representation: A Global Analysis of Cabinets, 1979–2009", *Governance* 27 no. 2 (2014): 321–345.
- Jad, I. "The NGO-isation of Arab Women's Movements", *IDS Bulletin* 35 no. 4 (2004): 34–42.
- Jenkins, J. "Organizing "Spaces of Hope": Union Formation by Indian Garment Workers", *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 51 no. 3 (2013), 623–643
- Kabeer, N. "Globalization, labor standards, and women's rights: dilemmas of collective (in)action in an interdependent world", *Feminist Economics* 10 no. 1 (2014): 3-35.
- Kabeer N. and L. Huq, "The power of relationships: money, love and solidarity in a landless women's organization in rural Bangladesh" in *Feminisms, Empowerment and Development: Changing Women's Lives*, Cornwall A, Edwards J (eds). Zed Books: London.
- Kirton, G. "Progress Towards Gender Democracy in UK Unions 1987–2012", *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 53, no. 3 (2015): 484–507.
- Khanna, P. "Making Labour Voices Heard During an Industrial Crisis: Workers' struggles in the Bangladesh garment industry", *Labour, Capital and Society* 44, No. 2: 106-129
- IDEA, "QuotaProject: Global Database of Quotas for Women," <http://www.quotaproject.org/aboutQuotas.cfm>, accessed 5th December 2016.

- Kumar, A. "Interwoven threads: Building a labour countermovement in Bangalore's export-oriented garment industry", *City*, 18 no. 6 (2014): 789-807.
- Ledwith S. and J. Munakamwe, "Gender, union leadership and collective bargaining: Brazil and South Africa The Economic and Labour Relations Review", *The Economic and Labour Relations Review* 26 no. 3 (2015): 411-429.
- Lee, W. K. M. "Gender ideology and the domestic division of labor in middle-class Chinese families in Hong Kong". *Gender, Place & Culture* 9 no. 3 (2002): 245-60.
- Leung, P. *Labor Activists and the New Working Class in China: Strike Leaders' Struggles*. Palgrave Macmillan US.
- Macchiavello, Rocco; Menzel, Andreas; Rabbani, Atonu; Woodruff, Christopher (2015) "Challenges of Change: An Experiment Training Women to Manage in the Bangladeshi Garment Sector" CAGE Working Paper No. 256.
- McDowell, L., D. Perrons, C. Fagan, K. Ray, and K. Ward. "The contradictions and intersections of class and gender in a global city: Placing working women's lives on the research agenda". *Environment and Planning A* 37 (2005):441-61
- Merk, J. "Stitching a Decent Wage across Borders: the Asia Floor Wage Proposal". New Delhi: Asia Floor Wage Alliance, 2009.
- Mezzadri, A. "Class, gender and the sweatshop: on the nexus between labour commodification and exploitation", *Third World Quarterly* 37, no. 10 (2016): 1877-1900.
- Miles, L. "The Social Relations Approach, empowerment and women factory workers in Malaysia", *Economic and Industrial Democracy* (2016) Vol. 37: no. 1: 3-22.
- Mills, MB "From Nimble Fingers to Raised Fists: Women and Labor Activism in Globalizing Thailand", *Signs* 31 no. 1 (2005): 117-144.
- Mills, MB "Gendered Morality Tales: Discourses of Gender, Labour, and Value in Globalising Asia", *The Journal of Development Studies*, forthcoming.
- Mohammad, R. "Making gender ma(r)king place: Youthful British Pakistani Muslim women's narratives of urban space", *Environment and Planning A* 45 (2013):1802-22.
- Ngai, P. *Made in China: Women factory workers in a global workforce*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Ng, C. and HL. Chee, "Women in Malaysia: present struggles and future directions", in C. Ng (ed.) *Positioning Women in Malaysia: Class and Gender in an Industrializing State*, London: Macmillan, 1999.
- Nuon, V. and M. Serrano, "Building unions in Cambodia: History, Challenges, Strategies". Singapore: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2010.
- Oka, C. "Improving Working Conditions in Garment Supply Chains: The Role of Unions in Cambodia", *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 54 no. 3 (2016): 647-672
- Ong, A. *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline*. 2nd edition. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010.
- Oxfam "Made in Myanmar: entrenched poverty or decent jobs for garment workers", 209 Oxfam Briefing Paper. Oxford: Oxfam, 2015. https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/bp209-made-in-myanmar-garment-workers-091215-en_0.pdf
- Pangsapa, P. *Textures of Struggle: the emergence of resistance among garment workers in Thailand*. London: Cornell University Press, 2007.
- Park, N. "The Korean Women's Trade Union: Mobilizing women workers", *Development* (2009) 52 no. 2: 246-250.
- Pearse, R. and R. Connell, "Gender Norms and the Economy: Insights from Social Research", *Feminist Economics* 22 no. 1 (2016): 30-53.
- Pearson, R. "Beyond women workers: gendering CSR", *Third World Quarterly*, 28 no. 4 (2007): 731-749.

- Plankey-Videla, N. *We Are in This Dance Together: Gender, Power, and Globalization at a Mexican Garment Firm*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2012.
- Reerink, A. "Report on a Survey of Women and Gender Issues in Trade Union Organisations in Indonesia". Geneva: ILO, 2006.
- Republic of Vietnam, "Law No. 10/2012/QH13". Hanoi: Republic of Vietnam. <http://vietnamlegal.com.vn/Legal-document/Law/LABOR-CODE/4-19c86.html>
- Robinson, K. *Gender, Islam and Democracy in Indonesia*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Rock, M. "The rise of Bangladesh Independent Garment-Workers Union" (BIGU)", in J. Hutchison and A. Brown (eds) *Organising Labour in Globalising Asia*. London and New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Rossi, A. "Better Work: harnessing incentives and influencing policy to strengthen labour standards compliance in global production networks", *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 8 (2015): 505–520.
- Rudman, LA. and P. Glick *The Social Psychology of Gender: How Power and Intimacy Shape Gender Relations*. London: Guilford Press, 2008.
- Ruwanpura, K. "Women workers in the apparel sector: a three decade (r)-evolution of feminist contributions?", *Progress in Development Studies* 11, no. 3 (2011): 197–209
- Salzinger, L. *Genders in Production: Making Workers in Mexico's Global Factories*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Seguino, S. "Accounting for Gender in Asian Economic Growth", *Feminist Economics*, 6 no. 3 (2000): 27-58.
- Serrano, MR. and AR Certeza, "Gender, Unions and Collective Bargaining in the Philippines", in Akua O. Britwum and Sue Ledwith (eds.) *Visibility and Voice for Union Women*. München: Rainer Hampp Verlag, 2014.
- Siddiqi, DM. "Do Bangladeshi factory workers need saving? Sisterhood in the post-sweatshop era", *Feminist Review* 91 (2009): 154-174.
- Silvey, R. "Spaces of protest: gendered migration, social networks, and labor activism in West Java, Indonesia", *Political Geography* 22, no. 2 (2003): 129–155
- Simón, P. and T. Verge, "Gender Quotas and Political Representation in Spain and Portugal: Electoral Competition, Learning and Emulation", *South European Society and Politics* (forthcoming).
- Shair-Rosenfield, S. "The alternative incumbency effect: electing women legislators in Indonesia", *Electoral Studies* 31 no. 3 (2010): 576–587.
- Tankard, ME. and Paluck, EL 'Norm Perception as a Vehicle for Social Change', *Social Issues and Policy Review* 10 no. 1 (2016): 181–211.
- Teichman, J. *The Politics of Inclusive Development: Policy, State Capacity and Coalition Building*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Thompson, EP. *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Penguin, 1963.
- Trần, Angie (2013) *Ties that Bind: Cultural Identity, Class, and Law in Vietnam's Labor Resistance* (Ithaca: Cornell University).
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) "Women's Leadership in Viet Nam: Leveraging a Resource Untapped", Hanoi: UNDP, 2013. <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/vietnam/docs/Publications/Women%20Leadership%20in%20Viet%20Nam%20Leveraging%20A%20Resource%20Untapped.pdf>
- Van Klaveren, M. *Wages in Context in the Garment Industry in Asia*. Amsterdam: WageIndicator Foundation 2016.
- Wieringa, SE. "Islamization in Indonesia: Women Activists' Discourses", *Signs* 32 no. 1 (2006): 1-8.
- World Bank, *World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development*. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2011.
- World Bank, *Interwoven*. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2015.
- World Values Survey "Online Data Analysis". Vienna: World Values Survey Association, 2016.

Wotipka, CM and K. Tsutsui “Global Human Rights and State Sovereignty: State Ratification of International Human Rights Treaties, 1965–2001”, *Sociological Forum*, 23, no. 4 (2008): 724-754.

Yoon, Y. “A comparative study on industrial relations and collective bargaining in East Asian countries”, ILO Working Paper No. 8, Geneva: ILO, 2009.

¹ Salzinger, *Genders in Production*; Pun, *Made in China*; Caraway, “The Political Economy of Feminization.”

² Mezzadri, “Class, gender and the sweatshop”; see also Pangsapa, *Textures of Struggle*: 39, 141.

³ Barrientos et al. “Do workers benefit from ethical trade?”; Pearson, “Beyond women workers”.

⁴ Elson and Pearson “Nimble Fingers”; Seguino “Accounting for Gender”.

⁵ Mezzadri, “Class, gender and the sweatshop”, 1887.

⁶ Pearse and Connell, “Gender Norms”: 31-34, 46.

⁷ Butler, *Undoing Gender*: 48–51

⁸ Salzinger, *Genders in Production*, 21

⁹ Caraway, “The Political Economy of Feminization”.

¹⁰ Hossain et al, “Feminization and Labor Vulnerability”; Caraway, “The Political Economy of Feminization”: 407; Pangsapa, *Textures of Struggle*: 27.

¹¹ Caraway “The Political Economy of Feminization”: 403.

¹² Rudman and Glick, “Social Psychology of Gender”.

¹³ Macchiavello et al, “Challenges of Change”; Hewamanne, “Stitching Identities”: 129; Pangsapa, *Textures of Struggle*.

¹⁴ Rudman and Glick, “Social Psychology of Gender”.

¹⁵ Mills, “Gendered Morality Tales”: 3

¹⁶ Silvey, “Spaces of Protest”.

¹⁷ Pangsapa, *Textures of Struggle*: 71.

¹⁸ Pangsapa, *Textures of Struggle*: 77.

¹⁹ Agarwal, “Bargaining”.

²⁰ Pun, *Made in China*; Ong, *Spirits of Resistance*; Pangsapa, *Textures of Resistance*: 149.

²¹ Silvey, “Spaces of Protest”.

²² Lee, “Gender ideology”; McDowell et al, “The contradictions and intersections of class and gender”: 448, 454, 457; Brickell and Chant, “The unbearable heaviness of being”; Brickell, “Plates in a basket will rattle”.

²³ Silvey, “Spaces of Protest”.

²⁴ ILO, “Bangladesh”.

²⁵ Amengual and Chirot, “Reinforcing the state”; see also Anner, “Worker resistance”; Cox, “The pressure of wildcat strikes”; Hughes, “Transnational Networks”; Siddiqi, “Do Bangladeshi factory workers need saving?”; Trần, *Ties that Bind*; Yoon, “A comparative study”: 22; Chan and Nadvi, “Changing labour regulations”; Khanna, “Making Labour Voices Heard”.

²⁶ Amengual and Chirot, “Reinforcing the state”.

²⁷ Oka, “Improving Working Conditions”: 648.

²⁸ Anner, “Better Work”; Leung, *Labor Activists*; Park, “The Korean Women’s Trade Union”: 248.

²⁹ Silvey, “Spaces of Protest”.

³⁰ Thompson

³¹ Evans, “The Decline of the Male Breadwinner”.

³² Though the latter does not apply in Vietnam or China, where one union confederation is permitted.

³³ Alois, “Better Work”: 174; Human Rights Watch, “Work Faster”; Merk, “Stitching a Decent Wage”: 30; Nuon and Serrano, “Building unions in Cambodia”; Seguino, “Accounting for Gender”.

³⁴ Alois, “Better Work”: 187

-
- ³⁵ Van Klaveren, "Wages in Context".
- ³⁶ ILO, "Action-oriented research"; Kumar "Interwoven threads": 797.
- ³⁷ Kumar, "Interwoven threads": 797.
- ³⁸ Fontana and Silberman, "Analysing Better Work Data": 11-16
- ³⁹ ILO "Wages and productivity"
- ⁴⁰ ILO, "Action-oriented research": 60; Serrano and Certeza, "Gender, Unions and Collective Bargaining"; Crinis, "Women, labour activism and unions".
- ⁴¹ Dannecker, "Collective action": 34-35
- ⁴² Kabeer, "Globalization, labor standards": 22-23
- ⁴³ Nuon and Serrano, "Building unions in Cambodia"
- ⁴⁴ Ford, "Briefing Paper": 7; see also Ford, "Indonesia"; ILO, "Action-oriented research": 63.
- ⁴⁵ Human Rights Watch, "Work Fast or Get Out", 91.
- ⁴⁶ Serrano and Certeza, "Gender, Unions and Collective Bargaining": 84
- ⁴⁷ Serrano and Certeza, "Gender, Unions and Collective Bargaining": 85-86
- ⁴⁸ Human Rights Watch, "Work Fast or Get Out", 91.
- ⁴⁹ Basu, "Gender knowledge", 101
- ⁵⁰ ILO, "Better work Indonesia": 19
- ⁵¹ Dannecker, "Collective action":35; Nuon and Serrano, "Building unions in Cambodia"
- ⁵² Reerink, "Report on a Survey of Women and Gender Issues": 41
- ⁵³ Nuon and Serrano, "Building unions in Cambodia": 108.
- ⁵⁴ Mills, "From Nimble Fingers to Raised Fists: 126
- ⁵⁵ ILO, "Action-oriented research": 60. ILO, 2012: 22; Mills, "From Nimble Fingers": 135-138; Rock, "The rise of Bangladesh Independent Garment-Workers"
- ⁵⁶ Ong, *Spirits of Resistance*, 192.
- ⁵⁷ Ford, "Indonesia": 24; Miles, "The Social Relations Approach": 13-14; Park, "The Korean Women's Trade Union": 250; Pangsapa, *Textures of Struggle*.
- ⁵⁸ Chang and Welsh, "Are East Asian Women Democratic Citizens?".
- ⁵⁹ Shair-Rosenfield, "The alternative incumbency effect".
- ⁶⁰ Evans, "For the elections, we want women!"; World Bank, *World Development Report 2012*.
- ⁶¹ Dannecker, "Collective action"; Hill, "India"; Kabeer, "Globalization, labor standards,,"; Trần, *Ties that Bind*: 206.
- ⁶² UNDP, "Women's Leadership in Viet Nam": 19, 32.
- ⁶³ Serrano and Certeza "Gender, Unions and Collective Bargaining": 91
- ⁶⁴ Crinis, "Malaysia": 59; see also Dannecker, "Collective action"; Hill, "India"; Kabeer, "Globalization, labor standards, and women's rights"; Trần, *Ties that Bind*: 206.
- ⁶⁵ The two minute video summary is available here:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A2QSuZkkw8c>.
- ⁶⁶ Pangsapa, *Textures of Struggle*: 85, 114-119.
- ⁶⁷ Pangsapa, *Textures of Struggle*: 98, 117-118
- ⁶⁸ Hiwasa "Changing gendered boundaries": 140; Brickell "The Whole World is Watching": 1264.
- ⁶⁹ Evans, "The Decline of the Male Breadwinner": 1147.
- ⁷⁰ Mohammad, "Making gender ma(r)king place": 1804.
- ⁷¹ Kirton, "Progress Towards Gender Democracy"; Ledwith and Munakamwe, "Gender, union leadership"
- ⁷² ILO, "Women, Work & Development".
- ⁷³ Nuon and Serrano, "Building unions in Cambodia".
- ⁷⁴ Oxfam, "Made in Myanmar".
- ⁷⁵ Barrientos et al, "A Gendered Value Chain Approach"; Pearson "Beyond women workers"; Ruwanpura, "Women workers"

-
- ⁷⁶ ILO, “Practical challenges for maternity protection”; Human Rights Watch, “Work Faster or Get Out”.
- ⁷⁷ ILO, “Action-oriented research”: 59
- ⁷⁸ UKaid and ILO, “Brief on Work in Freedom Programme in India”:1.
- ⁷⁹ Evans, “Gender Sensitisation”; UNDP, “Women’s Leadership in Viet Nam”: 16-17, 44-47.
- ⁸⁰ For example: DfID, “Work in Freedom Programme”; see also Desai, “NGOs, Gender Mainstreaming”.
- ⁸¹ Miles, “The Social Relations Approach”: 13-14; Park, “The Korean Women’s Trade Union”: 250; Ford, “Indonesia”: 24.
- ⁸² Caraway, “The Political Economy of Feminization”: 415.
- ⁸³ Evans, ““For the Elections We Want Women!””; 2016b; Shair-Rosenfield, “The alternative incumbency effect”; World Bank, *World Development Report 2012*.
- ⁸⁴ Macchiavello et al, “Challenges of Change”
- ⁸⁵ Macchiavello et al, “Challenges of Change”
- ⁸⁶ AFD, “Creation of a training institute”.
- ⁸⁷ Evans, “The Decline of the Male Breadwinner”
- ⁸⁸ Trần, *Ties that Bind*: 122; IndustriALL, “Indonesian union adopts 40 per cent women quota”; Reerink, “Report on a Survey of Women”: 48-55;
- ⁸⁹ Britwum and Ledwith, *Visibility and voice*.
- ⁹⁰ Fontana and Silberman, “Analysing Better Work Data”: 25
- ⁹¹ Republic of Vietnam, “Law No. 10/2012/QH13”. <http://vietnamlegal.com.vn/Legal-document/Law/LABOR-CODE/4-19c86.html>
- ⁹² Chiricosta, “Following the trail”: 133
- ⁹³ Rossi, “Better Work”: 515; World Bank, *Interwoven*.
- ⁹⁴ ILO, “Better Work Vietnam”.
- ⁹⁵ Mills, “From Nimble Fingers to Raised Fists”: 130; Robinson, *Gender, Islam and Democracy*; Wieringa, “Islamization in Indonesia”; Cagna and Rao, “Feminist Mobilisation”; Plankey-Videla, *We Are in This Dance Together*: 2012; Silvey, “Spaces of Protest”.
- ⁹⁶ Broadbent and Ford, “Women and labour organizing in Asia” : 3; IndustriALL, “IndustriALL women”.
- ⁹⁷ Cagna and Rao, “Feminist Mobilisation”; Hickey et al, *The Politics of Inclusive Development*; Teichman, *The Politics of Inclusive Development*.
- ⁹⁸ As also observed by Jad, “The NGO-isation of Arab Women’s Movements
- ⁹⁹ Tankard and Paluck, “Norm Perception”: 196.
- ¹⁰⁰ Jacobs et al, “Gender norms”; Htun and Weldon, “The Civic Origins of Progressive Policy Change”; Simón and Verge, “Gender Quotas”; Wotipka and Tsutsui, “Global Human Rights”.
- ¹⁰¹ Costa et al, “Following the trail of the fairy-bird”; IDEA, “Quota Project”; Reerink, “Report on a Survey of Women”
- ¹⁰² Rock, “The rise of Bangladesh Independent Garment-Workers Union”: 37).
- ¹⁰³ IndustriALL, ““Asia-Pacific conference highlights struggles”.
- ¹⁰⁴ Kabeer and Huq, “The Power of Relationships”; Gunawardana, “Struggle, Perseverance, and Organization in Sri Lanka’s Export Processing Zones”; Jenkins “Organising “Spaces of Hope””, 638.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ng and Chee, “Women in Malaysia”.
- ¹⁰⁶ Robinson, *Gender, Islam and Democracy*: 113; Cagna and Rao, “Feminist Mobilisation”.
- ¹⁰⁷ Berik and Van Der Meulen Rodgers, “Options for enforcing labour standards”.