Why do states commit to international labor standards?

Interdependent ratification of core ILO conventions, 1948-2009

Web-Appendices

Contents

Web-Appendix A. The control variable RATIFIED HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES 1

Web-Appendix B. An alternative measure of economic competition 2

Web-Appendix C. Survival estimates for four conventions 4

Web-Appendix D. Interdependence among ILO conventions 5

Web-Appendix E. Assessing the "tipping-the-balance" hypothesis 9

Web-Appendix F. Identifying "unconditional ratifiers" 12

References in Web-Appendices 14

Note: the tables in the Web-Appendixes use the following abbreviations. C29: Forced Labor Convention; C89: Freedom of Association Convention; C98: Collective Bargaining Convention; C100: Equal Remuneration Convention; C105: Abolition of Forced Labor Convention; C111: Discrimination Convention; C138: Minimum Age Convention.

Web-Appendix A. The control variable RATIFIED HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES

In the main text, we noted that the analysis of ratification of ILO core conventions should control for the propensity of states to commit to human rights norms. To capture this propensity, created a variable – RATIFIED HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES – that counts how many core international human rights treaties a state ratified in previous years. The treaties included are (1) the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, (2) its first optional protocol, (3) its second optional protocol, (4) the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, (5) the International Covenant on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, (6) its provisions on individual petition, (7) the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, (8) the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, (9) its optional protocol, (10) the

Convention on the Rights of the Child, (11) the International Convention on the Protection of Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. Ratification information is from UCL's *Nominal Commitment to Human Rights* project.[1]

Web-Appendix B. An alternative measure of economic competition

We checked whether and how our findings change by using the measure of export similarity developed by Elkins, Guzman and Simmons instead of the measure developed by Polillo and Guillén.[2] This indicator is obtained by disaggregating trade flows into 17 sectors and then assessing whether countries export the same basket of goods. Data are from the World Development Indicators. To create an index of export similarity, we correlated the export basket of all countries.[3] We label this variable EXPORT SIMILARITY 2. We constructed a variable labeled COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION 2 using the same procedure that yielded COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION (see main text), but on the basis of EXPORT SIMILARITY 2 instead of EXPORT SIMILARITY. Table A.1 shows that COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION 2 has a positive and statistically significant effect on the ratification of all conventions except the Minimum Age Convention.

[1] See Çali et al. 2009.

[2] Elkins et al. 2006, 830.

[3] For computational reasons, and following Elkins et al. 2006, we rescale the correlation index from 0 to 2.

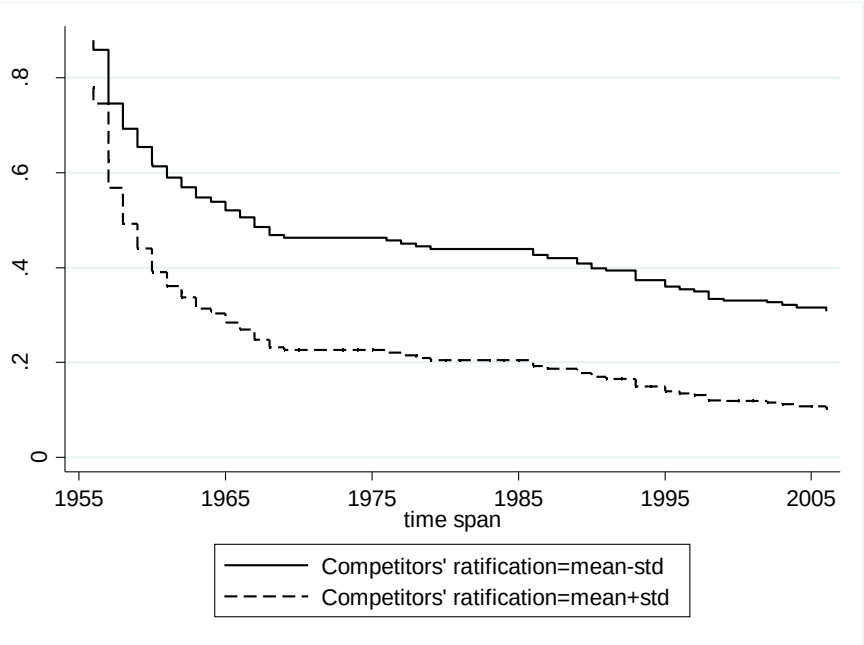
Table A.1. Determinants of ratification of seven core conventions, including COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION 2.

	(A1) C29	(A2) C87	(A3) C98	(A4) C100	(A5) C105	(A6) C111	(A7) C138
COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION 2	1.083***	0.482***	0.492***	0.484***	0.461***	0.832***	0.006
	(0.271)	(0.178)	(0.179)	(0.169)	(0.135)	(0.169)	(0.067)
NEIGHBORS' RATIFICATION	0.218	-1.110	-0.297	-2.031**	-0.813	2.262***	-1.641*
	(1.066)	(0.820)	(1.043)	(0.804)	(1.200)	(0.819)	(0.926)
CUMULATIVE RATIFICATIONS	-0.003	-0.011	-0.005	0.004	0.012**	0.000	0.008
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.007)
GDPPC	0.014	-0.167*	-0.112	-0.181**	-0.044	-0.022	0.074
	(0.100)	(0.096)	(0.089)	(0.080)	(0.083)	(0.080)	(0.054)
REGIME	0.258	0.289*	0.328	0.465**	0.435**	0.186	0.139
	(0.271)	(0.165)	(0.258)	(0.188)	(0.213)	(0.207)	(0.188)
LEGAL TRADITION	0.083	-0.943***	-0.510**	0.674**	0.479**	0.521**	-0.625***
	(0.245)	(0.267)	(0.254)	(0.269)	(0.215)	(0.242)	(0.216)
RATIFIED HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES	-0.145**	-0.051	0.064	-0.013	0.009	0.148***	0.072
	(0.065)	(0.037)	(0.046)	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.042)	(0.047)
ABSOLUTE IGO MEMBERSHIPS	0.003	0.008	0.001	0.011	0.008	-0.003	0.005
	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.006)
POPULATION	-2.978**	-0.687*	-2.170**	0.420	-0.437**	-0.365	-0.028
	(1.219)	(0.389)	(0.957)	(0.413)	(0.179)	(0.375)	(0.103)
COLD WAR	-0.379	-0.901***	0.578	0.088	0.287	0.867***	-0.640
	(0.462)	(0.276)	(0.425)	(0.347)	(0.392)	(0.213)	(0.534)
PH test (Prob>chi2)	0.67	0	0.29	0.03	0.53	0	0.47
Number of countries	125	172	173	173	172	173	169
Number of ratifications	92	99	109	138	135	137	128
Observations	1,867	3,969	3,354	2,945	2,511	2,675	3,567

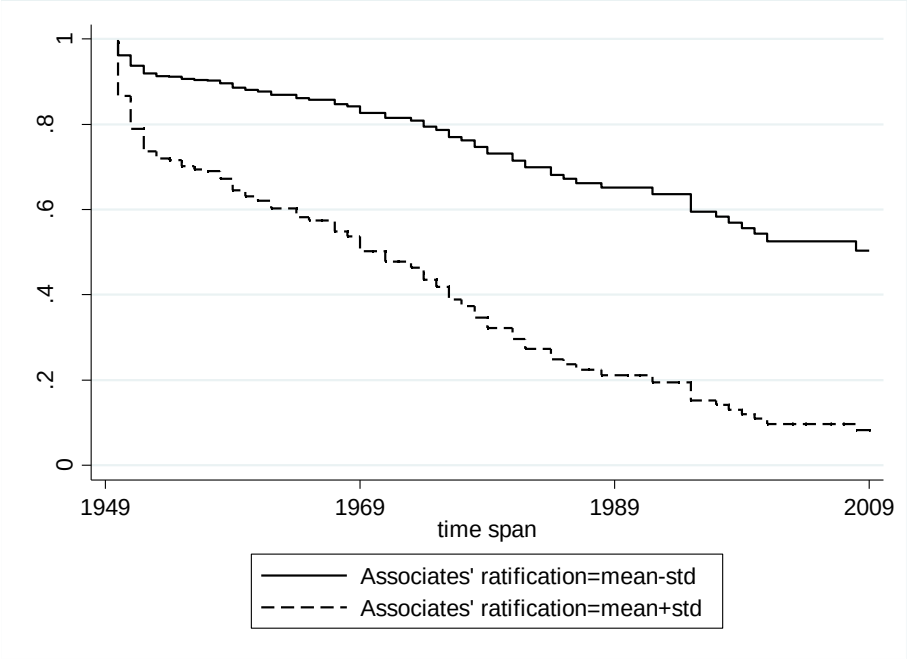
Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Web-Appendix C. Survival estimates for four conventions

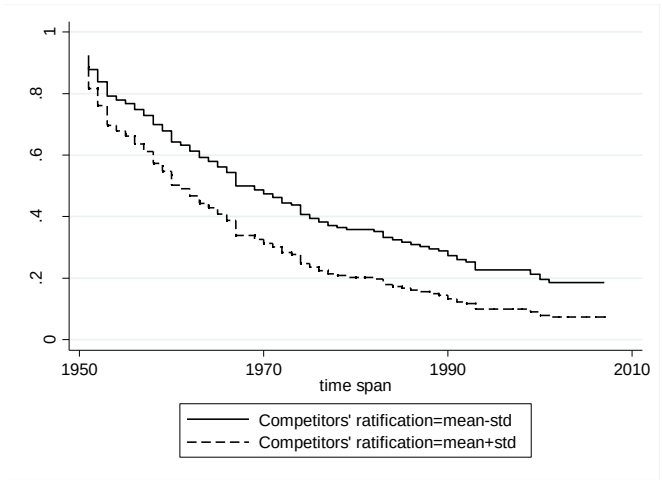
Figures A.1. Abolition of Forced Labor Convention: estimated probability of non-ratification at different levels of COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION.

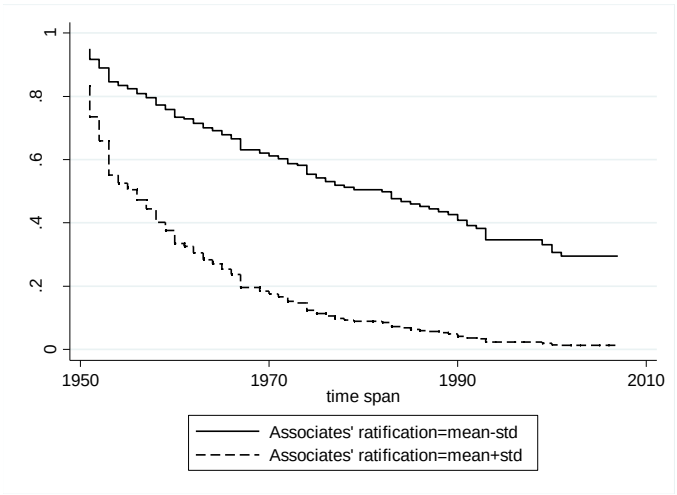


Figures A.2. Freedom of Association Convention: estimated probability of non-ratification at different levels of ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION.

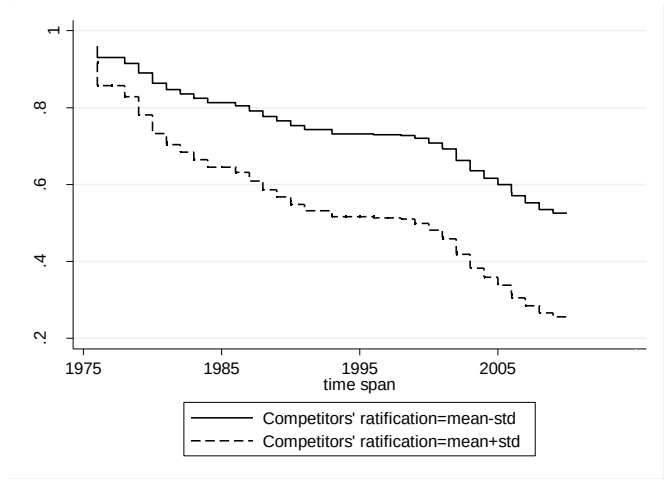


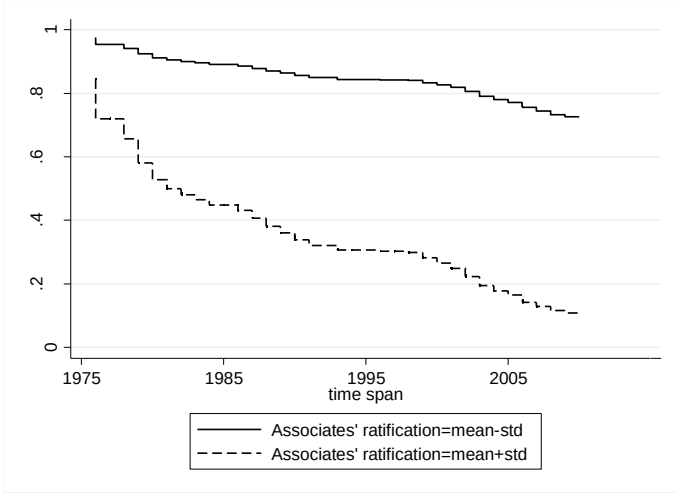
Figures A.3, a, b. Equal Remuneration Convention: estimated probability of non-ratification at different levels of COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION and ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION.





Figures A.4, a, b. Minimum Age Convention: estimated probability of non-ratification at different levels of COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION and ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION.





Web-Appendix D. Interdependence among ILO conventions

As noted in the main text, it is possible that the ratification of a core convention *x* by country *i* might influence the probability that country *j* ratifies a core convention other than *x*. This interdependence among conventions is illustrated by Figure A.5, which shows the

distribution of the maximum number of ILO conventions ratified in the same year by each country in the dataset. For instance, Botswana, Eritrea, and Gambia ratified all seven conventions in the same year, whereas Brunei, Bhutan, and Taiwan have ratified no conventions during the period under investigation.[4] In general, the majority of the countries ratified more than one convention per year, whereas less than 10 percent of the countries do not ratify any core conventions.

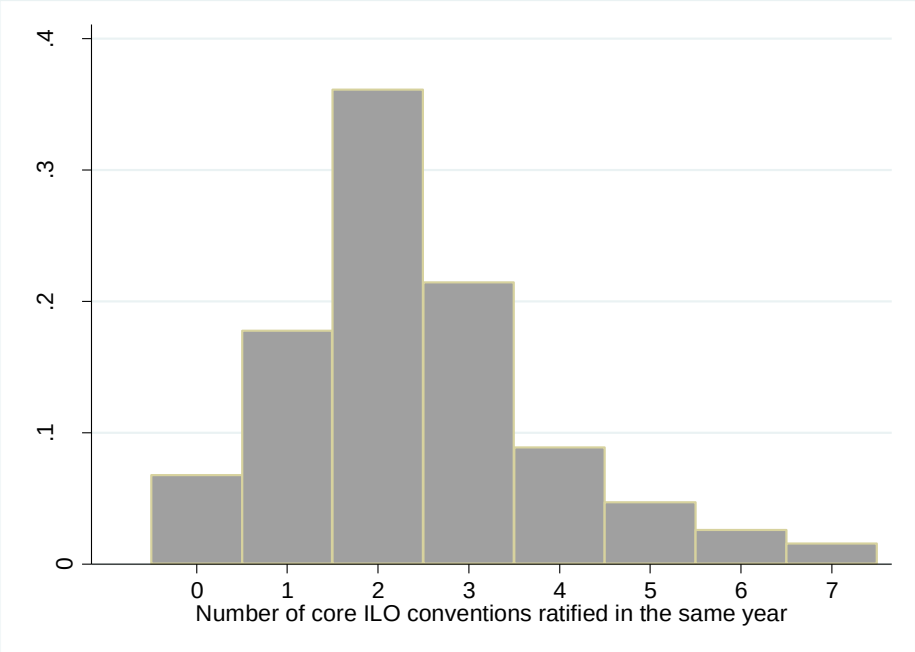


Figure A5. Distribution of the maximum number of ILO conventions ratified in the same year by each country in the dataset.

To account for the possibility that states may be influenced not only by the ratification of a specific convention by others, but also by the ratification of core conventions in general, we pooled six core conventions together (we left the Minimum Age Convention out from this analysis, because this convention was ratified much later than the others and so we would lose many observations by including it). As noted in the main text, by pooling the conventions together, our dependent variable becomes the number of years before a country ratifies one of the six conventions. Thus, countries *do not* leave the dataset when they ratify a convention. In other words, we have multiple unordered failures of the same events. To

[4] Brunei ratified the Minimum Age Convention in 2011.

correctly estimate this model, we used the Efron method and stratified observations by convention. In essence, we allowed for a different baseline hazard function for each convention. Table A.2 shows the results of this analysis. Spatial terms capturing COMPETITORS' RATIFICATIONS for each convention are highly collinear with one another as well as the spatial terms capturing ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION. Thus, we include each spatial term in a separate model to avoid multicollinearity problems. Moreover, results for COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION of the Forced Labor Convention are very similar to results for COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION of the Freedom of Association Convention and the Collective Bargaining Convention. Likewise, results for ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION of the Forced Labor Convention are very similar to results for ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION of the Freedom of Association Convention and the Collective Bargaining Convention. As such, we only report estimates of models including COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION of the Forced Labor Convention and ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION of the FORCED LABOR CONVENTION. The other results are available upon request.

The key finding is that both COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION and ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION of the Forced Labor Convention, the Equal Remuneration Convention, the Abolition of Forced Labor Convention, and the Discrimination Convention influence the ratification of the other conventions. Indeed, the coefficients of these variables are positive and statistically significant at the 99 percent level, with the exception of ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION of C111

We note that if we include COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION of the Freedom of Association Convention, or of the Collective Bargaining Convention, and ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION of the Freedom of Association Convention or the Collective Bargaining Convention instead of the corresponding variables for the Forced Labor Convention, we obtain similar results to those reported in Table A.2: competitor as well as associate ratification variables have a positive and statistically significant effect on the ratification of other conventions.

Table A.2. Pooled analysis of core conventions. Cox model with robust standard errors clustered by country.

VARIABLES	(A8)	(A9)	(A10)	(A11)	(A12)	(A13)	(A14)	(A15)
COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION of C29	0.325***							
	(0.044)							
COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION of C100		0.271***						
		(0.043)						
COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION of C105			0.099**					
			(0.041)					
COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION of C111				0.220***				
				(0.043)				
ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION of C29					0.227***			
					(0.041)			
ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION of C100						0.166***		
						(0.032)		
ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION of C105							0.056***	
							(0.020)	
ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION of C111								0.027
								(0.019)
GDPPC	-0.046**	-0.064***	-0.063***	-0.063***	-0.043**	-0.054**	-0.057***	-0.063***
	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
REGIME	-0.124	-0.140	-0.136	-0.133	-0.094	-0.107	-0.121	-0.124
	(0.088)	(0.096)	(0.093)	(0.090)	(0.072)	(0.076)	(0.084)	(0.086)
POPULATION	-0.111**	-0.127***	-0.126***	-0.123***	-0.078*	-0.080*	-0.107**	-0.098**
	(0.047)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.047)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.047)
LEGAL TRADITION	-0.213***	-0.195**	-0.245***	-0.321***	-0.255***	-0.239***	-0.296***	-0.153*
	(0.080)	(0.084)	(0.089)	(0.084)	(0.077)	(0.077)	(0.078)	(0.087)
COLD WAR	0.218***	0.241***	0.251***	0.253***	0.212***	0.225***	0.238***	0.231***
	(0.064)	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.064)
RATIFIED HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES	-0.018	-0.024	-0.030*	-0.037**	-0.015	-0.025	-0.033*	-0.015
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
ABSOLUTE IGO MEMBERSHIPS	-0.005**	-0.002	-0.001	-0.000	-0.003*	-0.003	-0.002	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Observations	47,849	47,849	47,849	47,849	47,849	47,849	47,849	47,849

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Web-Appendix E. Assessing the "tipping-the-balance" hypothesis

The UK case study presented in the main text prompted us to formulate the following general conjecture: ratification by social peers can tip the balance in the domestic contest between supporters and opponents of ratification, by providing argumentative ammunition to former and potentially extending the pro-ratification coalition to include actors interested in the good standing of their state in international forums in addition to (or sometimes instead of) the consequences of the ratification on domestic labor markets. In order to assess this conjecture empirically, we formulate a more directly testable hypothesis:

> *Hypothesis 3: ratification of ILO conventions by social peers will have the clearest impact on states where the coalition in favor of ratification is neither very weak nor very strong relatively to anti-ratification groups.*

The rationale underpinning this hypothesis is that, according to our "tipping-the-balance" argument, foreign examples of ratification should play a major role where the coalition in favor of ratification is strong enough to make effective use of them, but not so strong to be able to obtain ratification regardless of what other states do.

We test this hypothesis with reference to the Equal Remuneration Convention. We focus on this convention because the previous discussion of the UK case suggests a suitable proxy for the strength of the pro-ratification coalition on equal pay issues: the percentage of legislators who are women. We expect that (a) women legislators should be more actively supportive of ratification than men, and (b) a higher percentage of women legislators in a state should increase the probability of ratification.

These expectations are grounded in theoretical and empirical research that maintains that the gender identity of legislators affect their policy priorities, preferences, and actions.[5] A substantial body of research on various countries shows that female legislators are more likely than male legislators to prioritize legislation related to women, children, families, health care and social services, and to introduce, speak and vote for bills on those topics.[6] Other studies show that the proportion of female elected representatives influences the

[5] Phillips 1995, Sweers 2002, Wängnerud 2009.

[6] See, for instance, Bratton and Haynie 1999, Wängnerud 2000, and Schwindt-Bayer 2006.

content of legislation, notably ensuring higher attention to women's rights and to social welfare policy.[7]

In some countries, the executive has exclusive competence over ratification of international treaties and in most other countries the executive is responsible for submitting treaties for ratification to the legislature. But, as we have seen in the UK case, pro-ratification legislators can press the executive to ratify or submit for ratification, and all else being equal this pressure is likely to be stronger if a significant number of women sit in the legislative assembly. Moreover, all else being equal, an executive can be more confident that its request to ratify the treaty will be accepted by the legislature if in the latter there is a significant presence of women.

Thus, Hypothesis 3 can be tested by ascertaining whether ratification of the Equal Remuneration Convention by social peers is most influential when the percentage of women legislators is intermediate rather than very low or very high. For this purpose, we analyze the interaction between our variable ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION and a new variable expressing the percentage of FEMALE LEGISLATORS. This variable ranges between 0 (United Arab Emirates) and 56.3 (Rwanda) with a mean of 8.7.[8]

Moreover, we further interact ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION and FEMALE LEGISLATORS with REGIME, since women legislators can be expected to have an independent effect on ratification when the legislature itself has an independent effect of ratification, i.e. it is not merely a passive tool of unelected executives. In sum, we have a triple interaction term consisting of ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION × FEMALE LEGISLATORS × REGIME on the right hand-side of our equation as well as double interaction terms deriving from the combination of these three variables.

As shown by Ai and Norton (2003), in non-linear models the significance and the sign of interaction terms are difficult to interpret. Interpretation is particularly problematic with a triple interaction term. For ease of interpretation, we split the sample at different values of FEMALE LEGISLATORS in addition to showing the estimation with the triple interaction term and three double interaction terms. Specifically, we split the sample into first quartile [0, 2.9),

[7] See, for instance, Thomas 1991, Kittilson 2008, and Bolzendahl 2011.

[8] Data are from Paxton et al. (2008) and World Bank (2012).

interquartile [2.9, 13.3.], and third quartile (13.3, 56.3].[9] Then, we show the effect of ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION on the probability for ratifying the Equal Remuneration Convention for these three sub-samples, considering only electoral democracies.[10]

Table A.3 reports the results. In line with our hypothesis, ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION has a positive and statistically significant effect on the probability of ratifying the Equal Remuneration Convention only in the interquartile sub-sample, i.e. when FEMALE LEGISLATORS is neither too low nor too high. By contrast, the coefficient of ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION is not statistically significant at the conventional level for very low values and very high values of FEMALE LEGISLATORS, i.e., in the first and third quartile. This provides support for our Hypothesis 3.

[9] Japan and Turkey are democratic regimes that usually belong to the first category. Argentina, Brazil, Israel, the US and many European countries usually belong to the second category, though the US moved to the third category since 2000. Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, and Canada usually belong to the third category.

[10] For a similar approach, see Simmons (2009).

Table A.3. The effect of ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION on the ratification of the Equal Remuneration Convention at different levels of FEMALE LEGISLATORS. Cox model with robust standard errors clustered by country.

VARIABLES	(A16)	(A17) Low FEMALE LEGISLATORS in democracies	(A18) Medium FEMALE LEGISLATORS in democracies	(A19) High FEMALE LEGISLATORS in democracies
ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION	0.594**	-0.048	0.606*	0.111
	(0.291)	(0.363)	(0.330)	(0.152)
FEMALE LEGISLATORS	0.042			
	(0.104)			
ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION X FEMALE LEGISLATORS	-0.004			
	(0.019)			
REGIME	-0.149			
	(2.191)			
ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION X REGIME	0.099			
	(0.398)			
FEMALE LEGISLATORS X REGIME	0.137			
	(0.144)			
ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION X FEMALE LEGISLATORS X REGIME	-0.026			
	(0.026)			
GDPPC	-0.204**	-0.112	-0.155	-0.787
	(0.085)	(0.322)	(0.164)	(0.690)
POPULATION	-1.121**	-0.602	-4.216**	-11.462***
	(0.533)	(0.772)	(1.924)	(2.518)
LEGAL TRADITION	-0.485***	-0.234	-0.573**	-0.021
	(0.174)	(0.461)	(0.247)	(1.091)
RATIFIED HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES	-0.077	-0.099	-0.201**	-0.375**
	(0.051)	(0.159)	(0.097)	(0.185)
ABSOLUTE IGO MEMBERSHIPS	0.014*	0.065*	0.038**	0.143***
	(0.008)	(0.034)	(0.017)	(0.039)
PH test (Prob>chi2)	0.12	0.65	0.54	1
Number of countries	161	45	53	29
Number of ratifications	123	15	36	9
Observations	2,327	409	458	147

Web-Appendix F. Identifying "unconditional ratifiers"

In the main text we found strong support for the influence of competitors and associates in ratification decisions. However, ratification by associates or competitors is neither a

necessary nor a sufficient condition for domestic ratification when we consider the population of countries as a whole. Some states ratify core labor conventions regardless of ratification by competitors and associates. Our method for estimating the extent of spatial interdependencies can also help us to identify those states that are indifferent to foreign ratifications – what, for the sake of brevity, could be called "unconditional ratifiers" with respect to our variables of interest. Unconditional ratifiers can be defined as those states that have very low values of both ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION and COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION shortly before they ratify the convention. The absence or near absence of ratifications among their competitors and associates does not deter such states from ratifying. Defining low values as those at, or lower than, the 5th percentile, we obtain the list of unconditional ratifiers presented in Table A.4. Interestingly, no state qualifies as an unconditional ratifier in relation to the Equal Remuneration Convention, the Abolition of Forced Labor Convention, and the Minimum Age Convention. The table also shows that, with the partial exception of the Forced Labor Convention, unconditional ratifiers tend to be electoral democracies and have above-average per capita incomes. Such conclusions are of course tentative, and the question deserves to be researched more thoroughly.

Table A.4. Countries that ratified ILO core conventions despite low values ($\leq$5th percentile) of both ASSOCIATES' RATIFICATION and COMPETITORS' RATIFICATION.

		Year	Electoral democracy	Above-average GDPpc
Forced Labor Convention	Argentina	1950	Yes	Yes
	Indonesia	1950	No	No
	Sri Lanka	1950	No	No
Freedom of Association Convention	United Kingdom	1949	Yes	Yes
	Norway	1949	Yes	Yes
	Sweden	1949	Yes	Yes
	Austria	1950	Yes	Yes
	Finland	1950	Yes	Yes
	Israel	1950	Yes	Yes
	Mexico	1950	No	No
	Netherlands	1950	Yes	Yes
Collective Bargaining Convention	United Kingdom	1950	Yes	Yes
	Sweden	1950	Yes	Yes
Discrimination Convention	Israel	1959	Yes	Yes

References in Web-Appendices

Ai, Chunrong, and Edward Norton. 2003. "Interaction Terms in Logit and Probit Models." *Economics Letters* 80, no. 1: 123-129.

Bolzendahl, Catherine. 2011. "Beyond the big picture: Gender influences on disaggregated and domain-specific measures of social spending, 1980–1999." *Politics & Gender* 7, no. 1: 35-70.

Bratton, Kathleen A., and Kerry L. Haynie. 1999. "Agenda setting and legislative success in state legislatures: The effects of gender and race." *Journal of Politics* 61, No. 3: 658-679.

Çali, Başak, Alice Wyss and Cristian Anton. 2009. *Nominal Commitment to Human Rights: A Global Survey*. London: UCL School of Public Policy.

Elkins, Zachary, Andrew T. Guzman and Beth A. Simmons. 2006. "Competing for Capital: The Diffusion of Bilateral Investment Treaties, 1960-2000." *International Organization* 60, no. 4: 811-46.

Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2008. "Representing Women: The Adoption of Family Leave in Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Politics* 70, no. 2: 323-334.

Paxton, Pamela, Jennifer Green, and Melanie Hughes. 2008. Women in Parliament, 1945-2003: Cross-National Dataset [Computer file]. ICPSR24340-v1. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2008-12-22. doi:10.3886/ICPSR24340

Phillips, Anne. 1995. *The Politics of Presence.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Polillo, Simone, and Mauro F. Guillén. 2005. "Globalization Pressures and the State: The Worldwide Spread of Central Bank Independence." *American Journal of Sociology* 110, no. 6: 1764–1802.

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. 2006. "Still supermadres? Gender and the policy priorities of Latin American legislators." *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 3: 570-585.

Simmons, Beth A. 2009. *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Swers, Michele L. 2002. *The Difference Women Make*: *The Policy Impact of Women in Congress*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Thomas, Sue. 1991. “The Impact of Women on State Legislative Policies.” *Journal of Politics* 53, no. 4: 958–76.

Wängnerud, Lena. 2000. "Testing the politics of presence: women’s representation in the Swedish Riksdag." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 23, no. 1: 67-91.

Wängnerud, Lena. 2009. “Women in Parliaments: Descriptive and Substantive Representation.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 51–69.

World Bank. 2012. World Development Indicators. Available at data.worldbank.org.