



The Subir & Malini Chowdhury Center for Bangladesh Studies

at the Institute for South Asia Studies
University of California at Berkeley

South Asia Research Notes

Fall 2019

LABOR, GLOBAL SUPPLY CHAINS, AND THE GARMENT INDUSTRY IN SOUTH ASIA: BANGLADESH AFTER RANA PLAZA

Edited by

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This book argues that larger flaws in the global supply chain must first be addressed to change the way business is conducted to prevent factory owners from taking deadly risks to meet clients' demands in the garment industry in Bangladesh.

Using the 2013 Rana Plaza disaster as a departure point, and to prevent such tragedies from occurring in the future, this book presents an interdisciplinary analysis to address the disaster which resulted in a radical change in the functioning of the garment industry. The chapters present innovative ways of thinking about solutions that go beyond third-party monitoring. They open up possibilities for a renewed engagement of international brands and buyers within the garment sector, a focus on direct worker empowerment using technology, the role of community-based movements, developing a model of change through enforceable contracts combined with workers movements, and a more productive and influential role for both factory owners and the government. This book makes key interventions and rethinks the approaches that have been taken until now and proposes suggestions for the way forward. It engages with international brands, the private sector, and civil society to strategize about the future of the industry and for those who depend on it for their livelihood.

A much-needed review and evaluation of the many initiatives that have been set up in Bangladesh in the wake of Rana Plaza, this book is a valuable addition to academics in the fields of development studies, gender and women's studies, human rights, poverty and practice, political science, economics, sociology, anthropology, and South Asian studies.

SUMMARY

**AN INTERDISCIPLINARY
ANALYSIS TO ADDRESS THE
RANA PLAZA DISASTER
WHICH RESULTED IN A
RADICAL CHANGE IN THE
FUNCTIONING OF THE
GARMENT INDUSTRY**

**LARGER FLAWS IN THE
GLOBAL SUPPLY CHAIN
MUST FIRST BE ADDRESSED
TO CHANGE THE WAY
BUSINESS IS CONDUCTED
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CLIENTS' DEMANDS IN
THE GARMENT INDUSTRY
IN BANGLADESH**

Routledge Contemporary South Asia Series

LABOR, GLOBAL SUPPLY CHAINS, AND THE GARMENT INDUSTRY IN SOUTH ASIA

BANGLADESH AFTER RANA PLAZA

Edited by
Sanchita Banerjee Saxena



INTRODUCTION



DR. SANCHITA BANERJEE SAXENA is the Executive Director of the Institute for South Asia Studies at UC Berkeley and the Director of the Subir and Malini Chowdhury Center for Bangladesh Studies. She holds a PhD in Political Science from UCLA. She is the author of *Made in Bangladesh, Cambodia, and Sri Lanka: The Labor Behind the Global Garments and Textiles Industries*.

This introductory chapter lays out characteristics of the Bangladeshi garment industry that led to the Rana Plaza tragedy. Using the literature around international interventions, it makes several arguments critiquing the strategies of the international brands and buyers after the disaster. At the end, the chapter lays out innovations in rethinking the global supply chain, direct worker empowerment through the use of technology, community initiatives, the enforcement of gender protections, and a renewed role for the domestic private sector, the Bangladeshi government, and international buyers.

The volume does three things through its collection of chapters that are both theoretically analytical and “solution” oriented. First, it puts Rana Plaza into a larger context to help readers understand the structural, managerial, and political conditions within which poor labor standards flourish.

CHAPTER 1

HOW DO WE UNDERSTAND THE RANA PLAZA DISASTER AND WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE TO PREVENT FUTURE TRAGEDIES

Editor

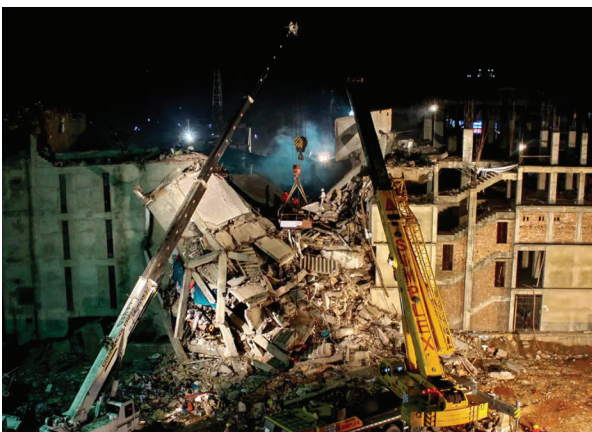
Sanchita Banerjee Saxena
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Second, the book productively critiques the existing plans that are in place and highlights their limitations with the hopes of new and improved methods to address these critical concerns. And finally, many of the authors provide a way forward by examining

innovations, new ideas, and novel approaches that can all be part of a larger set of “solutions” to address workers rights post-Rana Plaza and beyond.

It is clear that third party monitoring initiatives are limited in their scope and focus and will not likely prevent future tragedies from occurring. To effectively addressing the gaps going forward, there must be

This volume presents an interdisciplinary approach to addressing the crisis of labor rights from the perspective of workers, brands, international protections, community organizations and governments. It is a unique contribution to the field, with chapters that are unified around the central theme of global supply chains that stretch around the world, as well as the sourcing decisions and business models that animate those chains, and how these pertain to poor labor conditions.



A top view of the wrecked Rana Plaza building that housed several apparel factories producing clothes for US & European brands. The deadly factory collapse left over 1,100 workers killed and many more wounded © Farid Ahmed



Garment worker Laboni, stands with her husband, she lost her left hand at Rana Plaza collapse © Khorshed Alam Rinku

a concerted effort by all actors in the global supply chain, public and private, from consumers to donors, international organizations, local

industry, civil society, to governments to engage in a dialogue. This book argues that in order to prevent horrific tragedies like Rana Plaza from occurring in the future, larger flaws in the global chain must be addressed, direct and long term buying relations with factories must be established, the government of Bangladesh must assume responsibility for properly regulating garment production, and linkages with existing movements must be created with the hope that this will change the way business is conducted and reduce the incentives of factory owners to take deadly risks in order to meet the demands of their clients.

CHAPTER 2

THE LONGUE DURÉE AND THE PROMISE OF EXPORT-LED DEVELOPMENT: READYMADE GARMENT MANUFACTURING IN BANGLADESH
by

Shelley Feldman & Jakir Hossain

and issues of compliance. We offer a long view of the sector to situate Bangladesh manufacturing in the global economy and highlight its changing structure, organization, and conditions of production and compliance.

DR. SHELLEY FELDMAN is International Professor (1984-2016) and currently a Visiting Scholar in Feminist, Gender, & Sexuality Studies at Cornell University. Her relevant publications include *Historicizing Garment Manufacturing in Bangladesh: Gender, Generation, & New Regulatory Regimes*; *Bengali state and nation making: Partition & displacement revisited*; and with C. Geisler, *Land Expropriation & Displacement in Bangladesh*

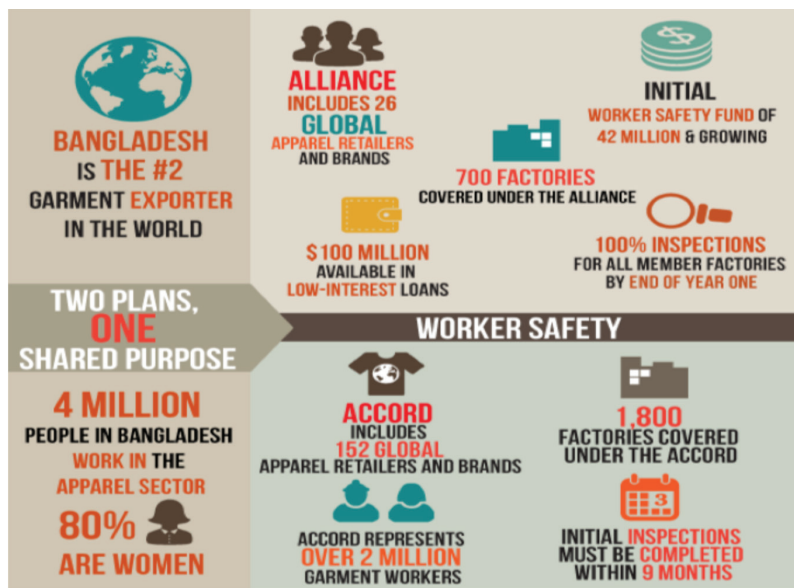


DR. JAKIR HOSSAIN is a professor at the Institute of Bangladesh Studies, University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh. He holds a PhD in International Studies from the University of Trento, Italy. His research interests are international labor standards, decent work, occupational safety and health, participation and representation, and labor governance.



Rana Plaza garnered international outrage and led to calls for reform of the Bangladesh readymade garment sector...that has been producing garments for the world market since

the mid-1970s. This tragedy, however, was not an isolated incident. Yet, it took more than 40 years for European and North American buyers to acknowledge the cost to Bangladeshi workers of cheap garment production, and to propose two international interventions, the Accord on Fire and Building Safety, and the Alliance for Worker Safety each, demanding safety checks by companies buying clothing from the world's second largest producer.



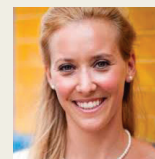
Rana Plaza hosted garment factories that functioned as direct suppliers to brands but also took in subcontracted orders. According to our empirical research, the garment production involves more than twice as many facilities than brands and retailers currently monitor directly. While many brands are adamant about their 'zero tolerance policy' for unauthorized subcontracting, the policy is largely ineffective in practice. In this chapter we argue that unless business models change and all factories in Bangladesh are

CHAPTER 3

OFF THE RADAR: SUBCONTRACTING IN BANGLADESH'S RMG INDUSTRY
by

Sanchita Banerjee Saxena & Dorothee Baumann-Pauly

DR. DOROTHEE BAUMANN-PAULY is the Director of Research at the NYU Stern Center



for Business and Human Rights, managing its strategic, industry-specific research agenda. She is the co-editor of *Business and Human Rights - From Principles to Practice* (Routledge 2016), the first textbook on business and human rights.

contd.

PART I CONTD.

contd. brought under a monitoring system that upgrades the entire sector, a large portion of the garment workers in Bangladesh will remain unsafe and other tragedies that cost workers' lives cannot be excluded.

Why does the actual size of the industry matter so much?

Defining adequate solutions requires a proper definition of the problem. Without better knowledge about the size of the industry and the scope of the problem (how prevalent are fire safety and building integrity issues in all levels of the supply chain), approaches designed to address these issues will not be able solve the problem comprehensively. It is even questionable that current approaches, which involve inspecting the direct suppliers of western brands, solve the issue partially...

The research highlighted in this chapter is an important step in gaining greater understanding of the true size and complexity of the contd.

PART II: DEALING WITH THE AFTERMATH

CHAPTER 4

OPPORTUNITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE ACCORD: NEED FOR A WORKER ORGANIZING MODEL

by

Chaumtoli Huq



CHAUMTOLI HUQ is an Associate Professor of Law at CUNY School of Law with an expertise in labor and employment law and human rights. She is the founder/ Editor of an innovative law and media non-profit called Law@theMargins (www.lawatthemargins.com)

After Rana Plaza, the Accord and the Alliance emerged as factory-safety inspection programs with the goal of preventing another workplace tragedy. While these agreements were historic in the sense that there had not been a unified effort by global brands to address safety issues, they were not a radical departure from the existing framework of corporate social responsibility programs by global brands. This chapter will focus on the opportunities and limitations of these programs, which essentially rely on private market approaches to address workplace safety and labor rights issues, in the context of neoliberal policies that seek minimal regulation by state actors and other non-binding accountability measures. It will argue that without a labor rights focus and greater accountability measures their impact will be limited.

The Accord, which functions more like a business service agreement than a labor agreement, is narrowly tailored and fails to address additional safety concerns impacting a female majority workforce. It maintains the business model of garment production that keep wages low and discourages organizing and does not fundamentally change the socio-economic relationships between worker, supplier and global brands. Further, the impact of the Accord and similar agreements will remain limited without a broader labor rights focus to these safety programs, binding global brands through agreement to follow and be liable for labor rights in their business practices and change their business model.



contd. apparel supply chain in Bangladesh. It is incontrovertible that the supply chain is bigger, more complex, and contains greater risk for more workers than previously imagined. New ways of thinking and acting are needed to ensure that all factories provide employment in safe conditions and with the dignity of work for all workers

CHAPTER 5

**DOES THIRD-PARTY
MONITORING IMPROVE LABOR
RIGHTS?****THE CASE OF CAMBODIA**

by

Kristy Ward



DR. KRISTY WARD is a Postdoctoral Research Associate at the Sydney Southeast Asia Centre at the University of Sydney. Her research interests include labor activism, gender and migration, and urbanisation in Southeast Asia.

Over the last two decades third-party monitoring initiatives have emerged to improve working conditions in factories. These programs have had mixed results. In Cambodia, the first country to implement the International Labor Organisation's Better Work program, compliance with some labor standards has improved. Yet program reports also show compliance regression in the area of freedom of association and non-discrimination. This chapter considers whether such programs strengthen state & brand legitimacy without corresponding rights gains for workers. It argues that as a complementary and parallel mechanism to state legislative enforcement, third-party monitoring alone runs the risk of eroding worker agency and substantive labor rights reform in the long term.

Greater attention is required to enabling a range of opportunities for worker representation and engagement which challenge the decision-making status quo, and enable workers to claim greater representational and collective power to drive improvements in labor rights. Ultimately, however, different strategies – including pressure on the state to enforce its own labor laws – are needed to disrupt the enduring power dynamics between the state, global capital and labor. Otherwise third-party monitoring will continue to de-mobilise and de-politicise the efforts of organised labor to advance sustainable employment rights in global production networks.

CHAPTER 6

**SPACES OF EXCEPTION: NATIONAL INTEREST AND THE LABOR
OF SEDITION**

by

Dina M Siddiqi



DR. DINA M SIDDIQI is Clinical Associate Professor in the Faculty of Liberal Studies at NYU. She has published extensively on gendered labor in Bangladesh's garment industry, Islam and transnational feminism, and the cultural politics of minorities and secularism. She is a Fellow at the Center for the Study of Social Difference (CSSD), Columbia University.

This chapter builds on earlier work on dominant narratives around the garment industry as they inform transnational policies and practices of solidarity. This chapter argues, hegemonic Euro-American framings of "the problem" privilege some issues while occluding or dismissing others. The emergence of the Accord-Alliance "solution" and corresponding ILO initiatives to form factory level unions illustrate the limited nature of such interventions. Both leave untouched long-term structural issues that fundamentally shape workers' experiences on the shop floor and with respect to organizing. This chapter shows how evoking the rhetoric of the garment industry's survival being a question of national interest allows the state to create a space of exception where routine labor laws do not apply.



The analysis proceeds on the premise that fundamental contradictions and constraints remain untouched by the legal and others reforms – much needed as they were – that occurred after 2013.

My argument is nested in a broader analysis of the ways

that dominant, neoliberal framings of the "problem" of labor in the garment sector privileges some issues while occluding

or dismissing others. The Accord-Alliance solution and corresponding ILO initiatives to form factory level

unions illustrate the limited nature of existing interventions. The technocratic approach to "fixing" the problem elides the realm of the political, leaving untouched critical issues – such as persistent and systematic delays in payments – that fundamentally shape workers' experiences on the shop floor and beyond.

CHAPTER 7

BANGLADESH'S PRIVATE SECTOR: BEYOND TRAGEDIES AND CHALLENGES

by

Rubana Huq



DR. RUBANA HUQ is the President of the Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BGMEA) and Managing Director of Mohammadi Group in Bangladesh. She has been in the position for the last eighteen years, actively empowering seven thousand women in the industry. Dr. Huq has a PhD from Jadavpur University.

This chapter presents a background of the industry along with case studies and recommendations based on the aftermath of the Rana Plaza accident of April 2013, the worst of its kind in the history of the garment industry in Bangladesh. The chapter reviews the measures that have been put in place to improve standards of safety and labor after the Rana Plaza collapse, compliance and auditing pressures, implementation of measurable standards of work and safety, and the extent to which retailers and manufacturers in Bangladesh are now taking responsibility for improving working conditions and for the quality of life of factory workers.

The readymade garment industry has learnt a huge lesson post-Rana Plaza which will haunt the nation as a collective tragedy. The only way out of this tragedy is through an initiative that promises transparency, readiness, and remediation steered by a higher degree of commitment & ethics from the industry players themselves. There is really no other alternative.

CHAPTER 8

POST RANA PLAZA RESPONSES: CHANGING ROLE OF THE BANGLADESHI GOVERNMENT

by

Shahidur Rahman



DR. SHAHIDUR RAHMAN is a Professor of Sociology in the Department of Economics & Social Sciences at BRAC University, Bangladesh. He completed a PhD in Sociology at Monash University. His current research is involved in a three-year research on "Changes in Governance in garment production network." He is the author of *Broken Promises of Globalization: The case of the Bangladesh Garment Industry*.

The government in Bangladesh has historically failed to protect the rights of workers; more than 2200 garment workers have died and hundreds have been injured between 2000 and 2013 in Bangladesh. Soon after the Rana Plaza disaster, however, the government initiated various methods of ensuring compliance with labor standards. The main aim of this chapter is to understand why there has been this shift --what labor policies have been adopted by the government since the Rana Plaza disaster and how has the government negotiated the challenges raised after 2013. This study will provide unique insights into the factors that both foster and prevent change in workplace policies designed to improve labor standards in garment factories.

Figure 8.1: Government programs since Rana Plaza disaster
Source: BGMEA (2017)

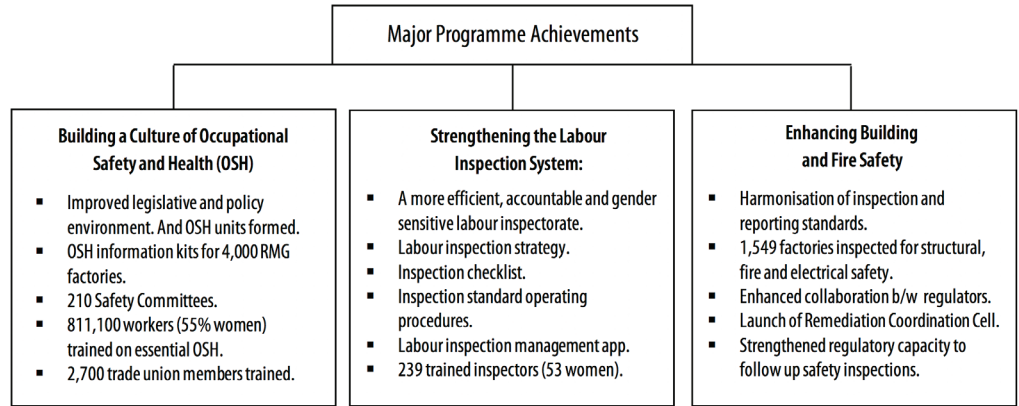


Table 8.1: Changes of workers' wage
Source: Fair Wear Foundation (2015)

Grade	2006 (Taka)	2010 (Taka)	Increase over 2006 (%)	2013	Increase over 2010 (%)
Grade 1	5140	9300	80.93	13000	39.87
Grade 2	3840	7200	87.50	10900	51.38
Grade 3	2449	4120	68.23	6805	65.16
Grade 4	2250	3763	67.24	6420	70.60
Grade 5	2046	3455	68.87	6042	74.87
Grade 6	1851	3210	73.42	5678	76.88
Grade 7	1662	3000	80.45	5300	76.66

The momentum that started five years ago should continue and the government needs to play an exemplary role by addressing the drawbacks of

the entire process in a systematic way, and utilise the resources available from different stakeholders to prevent another incident similar to the one at Rana Plaza. There is no way to deny that the capacity of the government needs to be strengthened contd.

CHAPTER 9

**BEHAVIOR OF THE BUYERS & SUPPLIERS
IN THE POST-RANA PLAZA PERIOD: A
DECENT WORK PERSPECTIVE**

by

Khondaker Golam Moazzem



DR. KHONDAKER GOLAM MOAZZEM is Research Director at the Centre for Policy Dialogue in Bangladesh. His recent research includes *Least Developed Countries in the Global Value Chain: Trends, Determinants and Challenges* and *Strengthening the Social Dialogue Mechanism within a Weak Enabling Environment: The Case of Bangladesh's RMG Sector*.

The post-Rana Plaza period has been marked for various national and global initiatives with a view to fix the decent work agenda of Bangladesh's apparels sector. According to the ILO, decent work has four components, which include employability, decent wage, workplace safety and workers' rights. Among different stakeholders, the buyers and suppliers play the most important role in implementing the decent work agenda in the value chain. The main focus of this chapter is to examine how the buyers and suppliers have taken part in implementing related activities during this period and how distinctive those activities were compared to those of the pre-Rana Plaza period.

The post-Rana Plaza initiatives are a step forward in implementing the decent work agenda in the apparels sector value chain of Bangladesh. The international agreement of the Sustainability Compact, USTR Plan of Action and the National Initiative had identified a set of activities which the stakeholders have committed to implement. However, the activities pursued have primarily focused on workplace safety issues and, partly, on workers' rights issues.

contd. so that dependence on transnational or private governance approach would be reduced and a self-reliant independent body would lead effectively. To make it happen, the cooperation of and collaboration with different stakeholders is essential which has already initiated and should be continued.

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INDUSTRY IN SOUTH ASIA: BANGLADESH AFTER RANA PLAZA**

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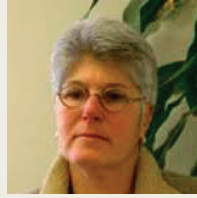
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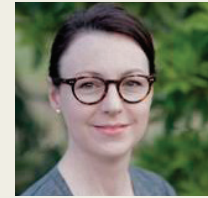
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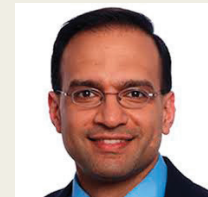
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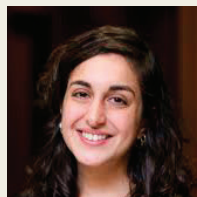
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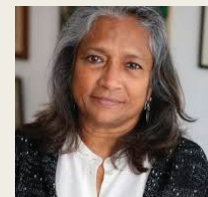
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CHAPTER 10

RETHINKING SOLUTIONS: CAN PLACE BASED NETWORK CONTRACTING FOSTER DECENT WORK IN INFORMAL SEGMENTS OF GLOBAL GARMENT CHAINS? SOME LESSON FROM MEWAT, INDIA

by Meenu Tewari



DR. MEENU TEWARI is an Associate Professor of Economic Development and International Planning at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. She studies economic development, skill formation and upgrading within regional and global production networks. Her latest book *Development with Global Value Chains: Upgrading and Innovation in Asia* (eds. D. Nathan, M. Tewari and S. Sarkar) was published in November, 2018, by Cambridge University Press.



To ensure that benefits reach the most vulnerable workers at the bottom of labor intensive value chains we need move beyond a narrow focus on the workplace to also target the places and communities where workers live. Alongside top down, multilateral arrangements, we also need to think of more proximate, locally embedded initiatives

that can simultaneously build vigilance and accountability from the bottom up. This

'sandwich' strategy of scrutiny where mobilization, engagement and oversight from below meets reformist mechanisms from above, can serve to deepen workers' own agency while building local institutions and organizational capacity that can remain in place even after more global initiatives have faded. This chapter draws on insights from a place-based experiment in spatially embedded contracting in Mewat, India to illustrate this argument.



We need to move beyond the workplace and into the community where the most vulnerable, informal garment workers live and work to really make a difference. To ensure that benefits reach them, we need to

target the places, localized labor markets and communities that they are a part. In addition to place the state needs to get involved by forging new sourcing models that involve networked ties between public sector agencies, branded buyers, and locally rooted community associations (or NGOs) that can provide continuous oversight, accountability and learning as global (and local) work reaches those that are the most unprotected at the base of the garment industry's value chains. By building up local relationships, workers can become a central part of a local movement to creating safer

working conditions and decent work. Adopting an approach such as this could be critical to preventing horrific tragedies such as Rana Plaza from occurring again.

CHAPTER 11

EMERGING SOLUTIONS TO THE GLOBAL LABOR TRANSPARENCY PROBLEM

by

Kohl Gill & Ayush Khanna

DR. KOHL GILL, a quantum physicist turned entrepreneur, founded LaborVoices after observing patterns of opaque supply chains and high mobile phone penetration while working with the U.S. Department of State. He has a BS in Physics from Caltech and a PhD in Physics from UC Santa Barbara.



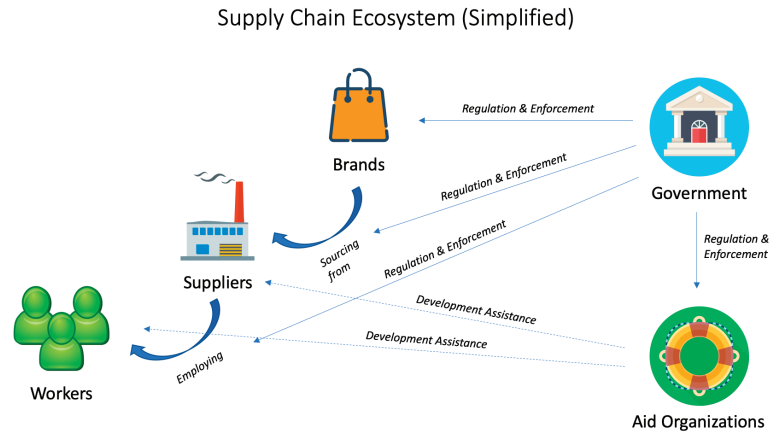
AYUSH KHANNA is co-founder and COO at LaborVoices, where he is building a platform that guides workers to jobs that pay and treat them fairly. He has an MS in Information Systems from UC Berkeley.



approaches and technology that enable these solutions. We end by examining the barriers these solutions need to address to be successful at scale.

A solution that works for brands, workers and suppliers (and NGOs, governments) is a solution that will actually work. It will move us

past the stale debate of whether traditional governance works (spoiler alert: it doesn't). Keeping this view in mind, we will now outline some characteristics of the ideal solution—aligning incentives to drive market pressure to support labor rights, rather than undermine them.



CHAPTER 12

FAST FASHION, PRODUCTION TARGETS, AND GENDER BASED VIOLENCE IN ASIAN GARMENT SUPPLY CHAINS

by

Shikha Silliman Bhattacharjee

SHIKHA S. BHATTACHARJEE is a Researcher for Asia Floor Wage Alliance (2016-2018), Society for Labor and Development, and Global Labor Justice; and Content Director at HELM Social Design Studio. Recent publications include reports on Gender Based Violence in Gap, H&M, and Walmart Garment Supply Chains (2018)



Gender based violence in the garment industry is a predictable outcome in an industry where women workers in subordinate, low-wage employment roles are driven to meet demanding production targets for below living wages in order to keep pace with fast fashion trends. Building upon inroads in brand accountability in the Bangladesh Accord Model, this chapter makes a case for substantive obligations on apparel brands and retailers through binding, contractually enforceable agreements that are developed and implemented in partnership with workers and their unions. In order to address gendered power relationships that subordinate women garment workers, agreements must not only be worker driven, but should be driven by women garment workers.

In-depth factory profiles of 13 garment supplier factories from Bangladesh, Cambodia, & India revealed consistent distribution of workers by gender across departments and roles. Women workers are concentrated in low-

wage production jobs where they are hired on short term contracts. Within these roles, they are driven to reach unrealistic production targets through excessive hours of work in unsafe workplaces. These risk factors for violence stem from the structure of garment supply chains, including: asymmetrical relationships of power between brands & suppliers; brand purchasing practices driven by fast fashion trends & pressure to reduce costs; and proliferation of contract labor and subcontracting practices contd.



DR. NAILA KABEER is Joint Professor in the Departments of International Development and Gender Studies at the London School of Economics and Political Science. Her single authored books include *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*, *The Power to Choose: Bangladeshi Women and Labor Market Decision in London and Dhaka*, and *Gender and Social Protection in the Informal Economy*.

This chapter provides a brief history of three or more decades of national and international efforts to improve labor standards for the workers in the garment industry. It concludes by looking forward to what could be done in the future. The author draws on her own research in this field to structure the wider literature on this topic. This chapter argues that any account of achievements and failures in relation to these efforts has to be embedded in the wider context in which the Bangladesh industry emerged and grew because this helps us to understand why its working conditions continue to fall short of international conventions and national regulations. While it faces the difficulties faced by any underdeveloped country with a limited history of industrialization and an industrial working class, Bangladesh has featured particularly prominently in international efforts to promote labor standards in global value chains in the garment sector. It can therefore provide an important case study of the challenges encountered by these efforts when the apparent protectionism of powerful global actors encounter the apparent intransigence of locally powerful actors.

CHAPTER 13
THE SHIFTING POLITICS OF LABOR STANDARDS IN BANGLADESH: A WAY FORWARD
 by

Naila Kabeer

...to understand why problems of working conditions are so pervasive and persistent in garment value chains, we would be looking in the wrong place if we focus only on the factories where these problems are manifested. We need to move from a narrow 'spotlight' perspective on working conditions in global value chains, a perspective that draws our gaze to the locus of production alone, to a 'flood light' approach which illuminates the broader political economy

contd. among supplier firms. In short, gender based violence in the garment industry is a by-product of how multi-national brands do business. The structure of production in global production networks, involving several companies across multiple countries, allows brands and retailers to dictate sourcing & production patterns while deflecting accountability for how purchasing practices drive severe violations of rights at work.

of supply chain capitalism within which these production processes are located...Studies have shown that the fast fashion retailing has been particularly inimical to the observance of decent wages and working conditions across the global industry (Anner et al., 2012). Global brands and buyers have been able to use the increasingly unequal distribution of bargaining power within these chains to pressure their suppliers to meet the competitive pressures within the industry by producing smaller batches of increasing varieties of products more rapidly and at decreasing prices.

Even if some global buyers did make efforts to improve labor standards among their suppliers, and even if some suppliers were responsive to these efforts, the 'upstream' business practices associated with fast fashion retailing inevitably undermined its 'downstream' CSR efforts. Faced with CSR practices which increased the production costs of suppliers, and purchasing practices which reduced the prices they received, suppliers had a limited range of options: to reduce their profit margins, pay their workers lower wages, demand longer hours of work, subcontract out their work to lower cost units and take short cuts in safety standards.



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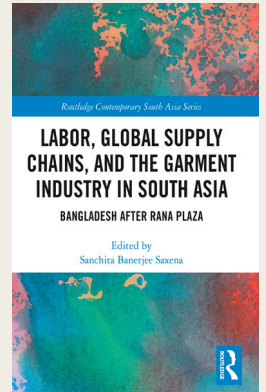
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