

**“Globalization and International labour Solidarity Movement: a Study on Readymade Garment Industries of Bangladesh”**

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### **Abstract**

Bangladesh is a developing country. One of our important sectors of business is readymade garments industries. It is one of the largest export oriented sector which made a new way in our country for the economic sector. From the very beginning of this sector, our garment workers are deprived of their basic rights and living miserable life .They don't get minimum wage .Women workers especially rural women do not get any healthy environment there. Both Male and female workers are at vulnerable situation. It is high time to come over from it. But for that A over all solidarity is needed among the. In the globalization process the problem of RMG labors of different countries are same. One's problem Affect all other. So an international solidarity is seen for movement to improve RMG labors life. More over Solidarity canter of Bangladesh working on labor solidarity for various movements to improve their overall situation. That is why I am interested about this topic. So I decided to work on this issue to find out their problem I tried to find out their back ground history on movement. I tried to find out AFL-CIO's role in Bangladesh. I conducted a qualitative research through in-depth Semi Structured Interviews and try to find out the answers from Experts. I also conduct a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) to know about the labors and their condition. Finally I have given the limitations of my research with Future suggestion.

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**Dedication**

To my parents, Md. Shamsuzzaman and Mrs. Shahara Banu.

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**List of Abbreviation**

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| <b>ALFLD</b>  | <b>American Federation of labour and Congress of Industrial Organization</b>                          |
| <b>AAFLI</b>  | <b>Asian American free labour institute</b>   |
| <b>AFLCIO</b> | <b>American Free Labour Institute</b>   |
| <b>ACILS</b>  | <b>American Center for Labour Solidarity Bangladesh garment<br/>And industrial workers federation</b> |
| <b>BGMEA</b>  | <b>Bangladesh Garments Manufacturers and Export Association</b>                                       |
| <b>BGIWF</b>  | <b>Bangladesh Garment and Industrial Workers Federation</b>   |
| <b>BCWS</b>   | <b>Bangladesh Center for Workers Solidarity.</b>  |
| <b>BIGUF</b>  | <b>Bangladesh Independent Garment-Workers Union Federation</b>  |
| <b>BILS</b>   | <b>Bangladesh Institute of Labour Studies.</b>  |
| <b>EPZ</b>    | <b>Export Processing Zone</b>   |
| <b>EU</b>     | <b>European Union</b>   |
| <b>FTUI</b>   | <b>Free trade union institute</b>   |
| <b>FME</b>    | <b>Free Market Economy</b>  |
| <b>FGD</b>    | <b>Focus group Discussion</b>   |
| <b>GDP</b>    | <b>Gross Domestic Product</b>   |
| <b>ILO</b>    | <b>International Labour Organization</b>  |
| <b>IMF</b>    | <b>International Monetary Fund</b>  |
| <b>MFA</b>    | <b>Multi Fiber Agreement</b>  |
| <b>NGO</b>    | <b>Non Government Organization</b>  |
| <b>NGWF</b>   | <b>National Garments workers Federation.</b>  |
| <b>SC</b>     | <b>Solidarity Movement</b>  |
| <b>SKOP</b>   | <b>Sramik Karmachari Oikko Parishad</b>   |
| <b>SMS</b>    | <b>Short Message System</b>   |
| <b>UN</b>     | <b>United Nation</b>  |

**UK**            **United Kingdom**  
**US**            **United States**  
**USA**          **United States of America**  
**WB**           **World Bank**  
**WTO**         **World Trade Organization.**

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## **Chapter One: Introduction.**

## **1.1 The problem:**

Globalization became a buzz word which has been popular since the 1980s, although its root went back to the development of capitalism. Although globalization has many dimensions, its main dimension seems economic. Hence, economic globalization became synonymous to globalization. In a broad sense then, globalization is synonymous to both economic globalization and capitalism. According to Anthony Giddens, ‘Globalization refers to the fact that we all increasingly live in one world, so that individuals, groups and nations become independent. It is often portrayed solely as an economic phenomena, much is made of the role of transnational corporations whose massive operations stretch across national borders influencing global production process and the inter-nation distribution of labor’ (Giddens, 2006:50). On the other hand, as Rahman (2011) mentioned :‘We have been living in an era, popularly known as globalization, which has transcended all the previous ventures of capitalism in terms of its irresistible influence on societies and states. In nutshell, the world cabalist forces have been penetrating national economy, society and culture under the guise of ‘North South integration’ or ‘Global village/global city’ rhetoric for the last four years’ (Rahman,2011:1).

Since 1980 Bangladesh has been one of the LDCs countries where Readymade garments (RMG) have been manufactured for export to Western countries. According to the World Trade Organization (WTO), Bangladesh became the 4<sup>th</sup> largest RMG producing country by 2007. Now Bangladesh is the second largest country in the RMG sector. Millions of people are working in this sector and recently the number has increased. RMG sector’s contribution in our economy and society is beyond imagination. So many studies came out concentrating mainly on the conditions of the workers and contributions of the RMG in the economy and employment. Although labour rights violation is a concurrent issue in many researches, little has been focused on the issues related to labour rights and workers’ protest movements, let alone international solidarity movements. In 2011, Zia Rahman conducted a major research on labour unions and labor movements of RMG in Bangladesh, where he focused on the dynamics of labour unions and labour movements in the RMG industries in Bangladesh (Rahman, 2011). In general studies on RMG

industries suggest that the workers in the RMG industries in Bangladesh live in a miserable condition in which they are deprived by their labour rights. In most cases the owners violate the country's labour law and ILO conventions. Apart from Rahman (2011), few other studies focused on international solidarity movements, but mainly focusing on just one labour union in the RMG industries i.e., AAFLI or later Solidarity Center based movement. Looking into various international solidarity movements, we see that some international solidarity movements got popularity that fight for the rights of workers living in the third world countries. Some of these are Clean Cloth Campaign, Sweatshop movements War on War.

Since the 1990s, the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organization popularly known as AFL-CIO started its activities in Bangladesh by establishing the Asian American Free Labour Institute (AAFLI) which was later renamed after Solidarity Center, Bangladesh. Using some young female RMG workers AAFLI-sponsored labour union appeared as a strong union fighting for the rights of the RMG workers as some studies suggested. On the other hand some studies criticized that the organization mainly serves the US hegemonic interest e.g., some protectionist measures of the USA and some dependent unions serving the interests of the workers' union of the USA (Rahman, 2011 and Rahman and Langford, 2013). Although the organization claims they successfully ensured many labour rights of the Bangladeshi workers, workers working in the RMG industries in Bangladesh are still living in a miserable condition without having any labour rights. Some of the deadly fire accidents and the recent Rana Plaza building collapse indicate that the workers' conditions remained unchanged. Some movement experts indicate that in the era of globalization the efficacy of national labour movements should be broadened all beyond the national border having an articulation among the workers all over the globe and this might be the alternative in preserving the interests of the workers living in the 'majority world' countries. Hence, I decided to conduct a research on the international solidarity movements in the RMG sector in Bangladesh in the era of globalization.

## **1.2 Research Questions:**

After reviewing literature, the major research questions that came to my mind are:

1. What are the conditions of the workers in the RMG industries in Bangladesh in the era of globalization? Have the socio-economic conditions of the workers improved compared to that of the early phase of the industry?
2. How did AFL-CIO involve in the labour movements in Bangladesh? What are their main activities in Bangladesh? How do their activities work?
3. Can the AFL-CIO sponsored movements in Bangladesh be treated as international solidarity movement? Do the AFL-CIO sponsored movements have positive impacts on the lives of workers? Does the AFL-CIO have any hidden agenda under the guise of international labour solidarity movement?

## **1.3 Theoretical perspectives**

Three major theoretical perspectives related to labour movements were taken into consideration. Since this study was finished using qualitative method ‘theoretical perspective’ was used instead of theoretical framework. These theoretical perspectives gave me guidelines in developing research questions and or the guideline of constructing major interview questions. The major theoretical used in this thesis are:

1. Classical Marxist theories
2. Dependency theory (Defined Dependency theory broadly- How 3rd world countries labor are exploiting and Why labor imperialism creates)
3. The theory of World System Perspective

## **1.4. Methodology**

As I mentioned before, this research was carried out by using qualitative research method. Textual document analysis and in-depth semi-structured interview were chosen as a technique of data collection. In describing the history of labor condition in Bangladesh I relied on a large number of primary and secondary documents, published in both Bengali and English. As primary source I use Newspaper, Magazines published by Labor unions, political parties, government departments, BGMEA and NGOs. The most important source of information for my research is interview with a wide range on individuals who have expertise knowledge in this topic and also have working experience in this field. These interviews included trade unions leaders, top level executives of several NGOs, BGMEA members and academicians who are working on labour solidarity, and were all conducted in between February-December, 2013.

### **1.4 Organization of the Dissertation:**

The dissertation has been divided into seven chapters. Chapter two discusses about the theoretical perspectives. I also discussed the present conditions of labors and role of the AFL-CIO at present in the world. Imperialism started with British colonization. So I discussed British imperialism and trade union imperialism also. I also presented my research questions that I have linked with theoretical ideas. In chapter three I have discussed about history and the development of Bangladesh RMG industries. Chapter four focused on the history of trade union imperialism in Bangladesh and the conditions and vulnerabilities of worker in the RMG industries in the era of globalization, rapid growth and rise of RMG industry in Bangladesh, the nature of their profit & exploitation, activities and role of trade unions. In chapter five I have discussed the history of labour movement of RMG in Bangladesh from 1971 to present. In Chapter six I have presented my findings of this very research and have systematically answers the research question. Chapter seven identifies the limitations of this research project and offers suggestions for future research in the area.



**Key Concept:**

- **International Solidarity Movement:** The term solidarity comes from solidarism. It means a belief in the sharing of aims and interests. Solidarity is valued as a source of resistance and strength. A belief in solidarity refers to characterize the traditional working class occupational community. It is a shared experience of work and community life to generate and sustain strong feelings of fraternity together with the values of mutual aid and participation. When solidarity exists among labour they get a mental support that they are not alone to face any problem. When they are in solidarity then one's problem become all other problem. So they face it together. It enhances their power and ability to protest and to go for any movement. (Marshall:2008)
- **Labor Imperialism:** In the era of globalization Labour has become commodity. They sells themselves by money per hour, But in third world countries because of unemployment problem workers become bound to sell their labour at cheap price. Their owner takes that chance and enjoys profit earning. They make their workers vulnerable not only by low wage but also by not providing other facility. They don't follow the labour law or not let the government implement this labour law. This is labour imperialism.
- **Globalization:** The concept of globalization has become widely used for politics, business and the media debates for the past few years. It refers to the fact that we all live in one world, so that individuals, groups and nations become interdependent. It often means economic phenomenon ,the role of transnational corporations whose operation cross the national border and influence production process and international distribution of labour .Basically Globalization has been created to gather political social, cultural and economic factors (Giddens:2006).

## **Chapter Two: Theoretical perspective and research questions**

Another form of trade union bureaucracy is Trade union imperialism. From Asia to Latin America to Africa almost all majority world countries, including Bangladesh, have been bound to enter in the globalization process. (Rahman, 2011).

In the era of globalization, labors of 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries live in a miserable condition. They have to work for a long hours with a low wages & they don't have the basic labor rights, even the labor organization responses is too poor. So a crucial investigation is required for this situation. Globalization is playing a very critical role mostly negative on the workers. In the name of upgrading a nation and connecting it with the world it is actually exploiting the labor.

Globalization creates labor imperialism and it makes the labor of RMG vulnerable that they fall in deep problem.

Globalization has created competition among the workers. Unskilled labor are also using in factories and also the labors are from village where they don't have any work for income so they are willing to work in the factories whether it's condition are favorable to them or not. The main cause for earning to them is bread & butter. Various organizations are now working on labor issues to find out their problems and how to mitigate that. And find a very little response from the labors. Now globalization has created a sense among the workers that going to the trade union/ labor union is just the wastage of time. That time can brought some extra money for the labors as RMG offers part time/ overtime money benefits. So a deep crisis emerged in the contemporary labor issue & in labor movement.

Different approaches found to explain the recent labor movement's crisis & variations also exist among them. Marxists theory, world system theory, Dependency theory, can explain the emerging labor rebellious issue today.

World system theory mainly says that today no nation state can be explained in isolation from the international context. It argues that the concept of 3<sup>rd</sup> world development is rooted in specifically western ideas of technical progress and the accumulation of capital.

This leads to development policies which destroy the cultures of non-western populations' (Marshall, 2008). Dependency theory explains the dependency chain of 1<sup>st</sup> world & 3<sup>rd</sup> world that make labor victims & vulnerable.

In this section I will review three theories related with labour imperialism to find out the recent labor imperialism and movement crisis & why/not the movement is building. Then I will review the present condition of the workers. Role of AFL CIO in third world countries.

## **2.1 Theories of labor Imperialism:-**

**2.1.1 Classical Marxism.** 'Classical Marxist from Marx-Engle's to Grams Ci provided more or less similar theoretical perspectives on labor movements since the main focus of these theorist was their conviction of the inevitable end of capitalism & the classless society, their theories of labor movements resemble many theory of social change and revolution' (Rahman,2011:15-16).

'The term 'class' designated a group sharing a common relation it is the means of production, and in the simple model two classes were identified, bourgeoisie an proletariat (or working class). Logically class consciousness can therefore be thought of as referring (I) to the perceived relation between an individual and his/her own class, (II) to the perceived relation between his/her own class and the other class' (Kelly, 1988:86).

Marx and Engel's treated trade unions as a mode of economic movement encircled in the premises of the factories & developed against the employers related to the issues of wages factory condition etc (Rahman, 2011:17).

Marx's idea explains that capital and labour are free to move; Marx primarily was interested to discover the nature of capitalism found in colonialism, pre-capitalist society and the world market. He work on this issue, collaborated with the Hegelian dialectics. Capitalist society was considered as totality by him.

### **2.1.2 Dependency Theory and World System Theory:-**

‘ The anti colonial and anti imperialist struggles that swept over Asia , Latin America and Africa following second World War have a revolutionary wave that inspired the emergence of dependency theory. It originated in the 1960s through the work of a number of academics and development economist who were particularly concerned over the continuing economic failure of Latin American countries. They argued that the massive and persistent poverty in countries like Argentina, Peru, Chile and Brazil was caused by exposure to the economic and political influence of the advanced countries. The growth of the advanced industrial centers in the world today meet the simultaneous underdevelopment of those countries whose economic surplus the west exploited’. (Webster, 2002:67).

Andre Gander Frank is the most closely associates with the view that the persistent poverty of 3<sup>rd</sup> world is a reflection of its dependency. The third world elites were incorporated in to this system and could do little to establish a mare diverse independent form of economic activity. They became the mere intermediaries between the rich purchaser and the poor (Peasant) producers. Frank dubs them the comprador (literally interpreter) elites whose wealth and lifestyles were more & more tied to and so heavily dependent on the activities of the economic elite in the center or in what Frank calls the metropolitan country, while the 3<sup>rd</sup> world elite enjoy high standard living from this relationship, Frank argues that there is a chain of dependency, down from the highly advanced centers of the world, a hierarchy of metropolises with their subordinated “Satellites” through which the economic is passed upwards with in a nation and their internationally. (Webstar, 2002:72)

My conclusion is that from this theory I found some major points that are-

1. Labor imperialism is created by 1<sup>st</sup> world countries. They create imperialism to paralyze 3<sup>rd</sup> world country.
2. They exploit 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries and accumulate capital.

3. They make the internal structure of a country vulnerable .Mainly the dependency tendency is responsible for these.

The responsible group for this is the third world elites. Who play negatively a strong role in labour imperialism as their lifestyles heavily depends on 1<sup>st</sup> world elite class So that they can easily enjoy the capital accumulation. & they play a strong role in labor imperialism negatively. Globalization is playing supportive role for 1<sup>st</sup> world countries & negative role for 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries in the name of connecting the countries internally. It is exploiting & accumulating capital from 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries & the 1<sup>st</sup> world countries are getting richer. Globalization is making 1<sup>st</sup> world as bourgeoisie country & 3<sup>rd</sup> world as proletariat country.

During the last century, sociologists had seen the world as a single economic system. The world capitalist economic system is not merely a collection of independent countries engaged in diplomatic and economic relation with one another but must instead be understood as a single unit as argued by world system theory (Giddens; 2006).

According to world system theorists three economic zones are found in the world, they are –

1. Core countries.
2. Peripheral countries.
3. Semi- peripheral countries.

**1. Core Countries:** Most advanced industrial countries are considered as core countries. They have the lion share of profits in the world economic system. Countries such as Japan, United States and the countries of Western Europe are core countries.

**2. Peripheral Countries:** They are the low income generating nations which mostly agriculture based economy. They often manipulated by core countries for their own economic advantage.

**3. Semi- Peripheral Countries:** Semi-industrialized, middle income countries that extract profits from the more peripheral countries are considered as Semi- peripheral country. Brazil, Argentina Chile is the example of Semi- peripheral countries.

Basically world system Theory explains us that in the globalization process through the world system today core countries are exploiting peripheral countries. They have put the world in such a system where 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries labors wage remain cheap and workers are bounded to do the work because they don't have any work to earn and no money to survive. So they participate in the globalize labor process and work more and earn less. In this way labor imperialism created. (Giddens, 2006).

## **2.2 Condition of workers in the period of globalization:**

'The division of the third world into a small group pf rich nations and a large group of poor nations has been apparent to careful observers for a long time'(Bagchi,1982:1)The total socio economic condition of the workers in the era of globalization in 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries is beyond imagination. Although it has created jobs for many workers in various high tech sectors also with creating a big number of temporary ,part time, unskilled and marginalized workers, but on the other hand it is exploiting 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries labour by giving low wages and facilities to them.

Various anti sweatshop organizations developed by western students, human right organizations, international bodies like the international labour organizations who are very much concern about the low wages of the workers in the era of globalization. In 1980s wages fell by about 30% over the decades. Income varies by gender region and type of enterprises.

### **2.3 Role of AFL-CIO:**

AFL-CIO refers to The American Federation of labour Congress of Industrial Organization. It works to improve the lives of people who work. They help people those who want to join unions so that they can easily bargain collectively with their employers for better working conditions. They work for people to ensure that all people who work are being treated fairly, with wage and benefits, safe job respect and equalities. In 1955 AFL-CIO was created by the merger of the AFL and the CIO which is a democratic and voluntary federation of 57 International labour unions and national labour unions that represent 12.2 million working people. They provide various information to workers about their daily life that affect them and also encourage them to make their voice heard for a government and for labour rights of them.

Kim scipes, teacher of Purdue University, Indiana works on labour issue. He said AFL-CIO has carried out a reactionary labour program around the world. It has worked to overthrow democratically elected governments with dictators against progressive labour movement. It has practiced 'labour imperialism' accurately in short. In October 1995, when John Sweeney was elected to presidency of the AFL-CIO, he had disbanded labour semi-autonomous regional institutes-AAFLI, AALC, ALFLD and the free trade union institute (FTUI) operating in Europe by 1997 and replaced them with a centralized organization, headed by a long time progressive with an encouraging name: American center for international labour solidarity (ACILS) today known as solidarity center.

### **2.4 British Imperialism:**

Britain is a major source of imperialism power. For the last 150 years structure of British capital is ruling the world. Imperialist character of Britain has been decisive in determining British economic and political developments.



Today globalization means that we are living in a world of competing imperialist power blocks. European union, US, Japan and their allied countries divide the world according to economic power through MNCs, Bank, Financial institution the driving force in this process. After USA, Britain is the leading imperialist power, is one of the five countries together responsible for two third of global foreign direct investment and also spreading the poverty destruction and death around the world. Investment in abroad by British is booming. Their over accumulation bound them to export capital and expansion of trade to the other part of the world. Imperialism is aggressive as capital seeks new source of capital. So they are still exporting capital and expanding their business.

### **2.5 Globalization and International labour solidarity movement:**

‘Globalization refers to the fact that we all increasingly live in one world, so that individuals groups and nations become interdependent. Globalization is often portrayed solely as an economic phenomenon. Much is made of the role of transnational corporations whose massive operations stretch across national borders, influencing global production process and the international Distribution of labor’ (Giddens: 2006, 50).

In the era of globalization now we are connected internally around the world. It takes just 1 second to know what is happening in our next country. People become more conscious about their rights. They try to protest all the evils and get support form others. Labour imperialism is an important term in globalization. Globalization has make 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries labour vulnerable. Not only labors are being exploited by low wage but also they are facing other difficulties also. But now labors are more conscious then previous. They know about their rights. So they want to establish it. The situation is same for all the third world countries. So they all are standing to gather to change their poor condition. Because together effort can be stronger .Labours of developed country that already have passed this stage of other countries are also helping this labour .They want to build a solidarity among themselves so that their protest movement can bee more strong to establish their right .Because solidarity among labors makes their way more smooth. When solidarity exists in national borders it becomes national solidarity but when it is crossing national border it become international solidarity. Problem of any

single labour now affect all the labors of national and international. So they start to conduct protest movement all around the world and it become international solidarity movement. For example after the destruction of 'RANA PLAZA' or 'TAZRIN FASHION' various movements took place internationally. People and labour precede rally, procession by holding banner, festoon, and placards.

By the Dignity of the work, working people around the world are united. They are facing many of the same issue. They are suffering and struggling with massive unemployment and a global push to lower living standard and lower wages. So they join together in a global network to build the strength to advance workers right and improve their ability organize and collectively bargain in the global economy.

## **2.6 Trade union Imperialism:**

'Any organization of employees established in order to substitute or attempt to substitute, collective bargaining for individual bargaining in the labor market is a trade union '(Gordon Marshall:2008-09: 671) .

The Trade Union through its leadership, bargains with the employer on behalf of union members and also negotiates. The main purpose of a Labor Union is to-

1. Negotiate labour wages and working condition terms.
2. A Regulation of relations between workers and the employer.
3. Try to help to settle dispute.
4. Fulfillment of demands and rising new demands according to their necessities.

The leaders of the Union always maintain good relation to national capitalist & national capitalists have a chain of dependency with International Capitalist. They all maintain a money relation and make the labors vulnerable and bound to work in a miserable condition. They pay the worker in such a way that as much as you will work you will get money. So the mental set up of the workers becomes something like, what's the need of spending my own time & money on Unions of labor rather on that time I can earn money.

In this way Trade Union is suffering from imperialism. Next chapter of this study will describe more specifically the condition of trade union imperialism in Bangladesh.

## **Chapter three: Present condition of labour in Bangladesh in the era of globalization**

### 3.1 Rapid growth and rise of readymade garments industries in Bangladesh:

In Bangladesh growth of RMG Export is not Unique. According to the domestic demand industry basically develops, but in Bangladesh this pattern was not followed. Because of cheap labour here RMG industries developed in a high rate.

**Table 3.1:- Growth in the Garment Industry of Bangladesh**

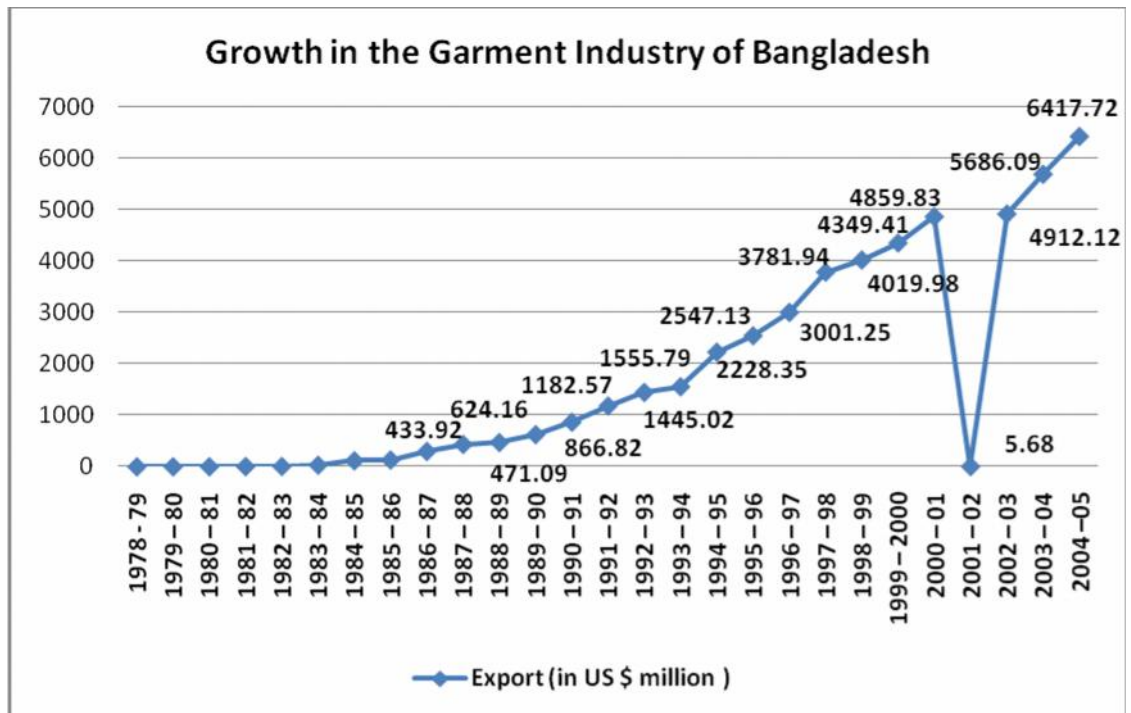
| Year      | Export (in US \$ million ) | Percentage Change |
|-----------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1978 - 79 | 0.04                       | ---               |
| 1979 – 80 | 0.25                       | 84.00             |
| 1980 – 81 | 1.32                       | 430.00            |
| 1981 – 82 | 3.50                       | 62.14             |
| 1982 – 83 | 6.37                       | 82.14             |
| 1983 – 84 | 31.57                      | 395.60            |
| 1984 – 85 | 116.20                     | 268.07            |
| 1985 – 86 | 131.48                     | 13.15             |
| 1986 – 87 | 298.67                     | 127.16            |
| 1987 – 88 | 433.92                     | 45.28             |
| 1988 – 89 | 471.09                     | 8.57              |
| 1989 – 90 | 624.16                     | 32.49             |
| 1990 – 91 | 866.82                     | 38.88             |
| 1991 – 92 | 1182.57                    | 36.43             |
| 1992 – 93 | 1445.02                    | 22.19             |
| 1993 – 94 | 1555.79                    | 7.67              |
| 1994 – 95 | 2228.35                    | 43.47             |
| 1995 – 96 | 2547.13                    | 14.11             |
| 1996 – 97 | 3001.25                    | 17.83             |

|             |         |         |
|-------------|---------|---------|
| 1997 – 98   | 3781.94 | 26.01   |
| 1998 – 99   | 4019.98 | 6.29    |
| 1999 – 2000 | 4349.41 | 8.19    |
| 2000 – 01   | 4859.83 | 11.74   |
| 2001 – 02   | 5.68    | 4583.75 |
| 2002 – 03   | 4912.12 | 7.21    |
| 2003 – 04   | 5686.09 | 15.83   |
| 2004 –05    | 6417.72 | 12.91   |

Source: Notun projonmo.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/RAEADYMADE-GARMENTS-INDUSTRY.PDF

I have shown this table in the following diagram to get a over view of it.

Figure 3.1:-Growth in the Garment Industry of Bangladesh



The number of garments factories increased up to some 3000 in 2002 and by 2005 it reached 3560. By 2004-05, exports had reached US \$ 6.4 billion

**Table-3.2:- RMG exports and its share in Total Export of Bangladesh**

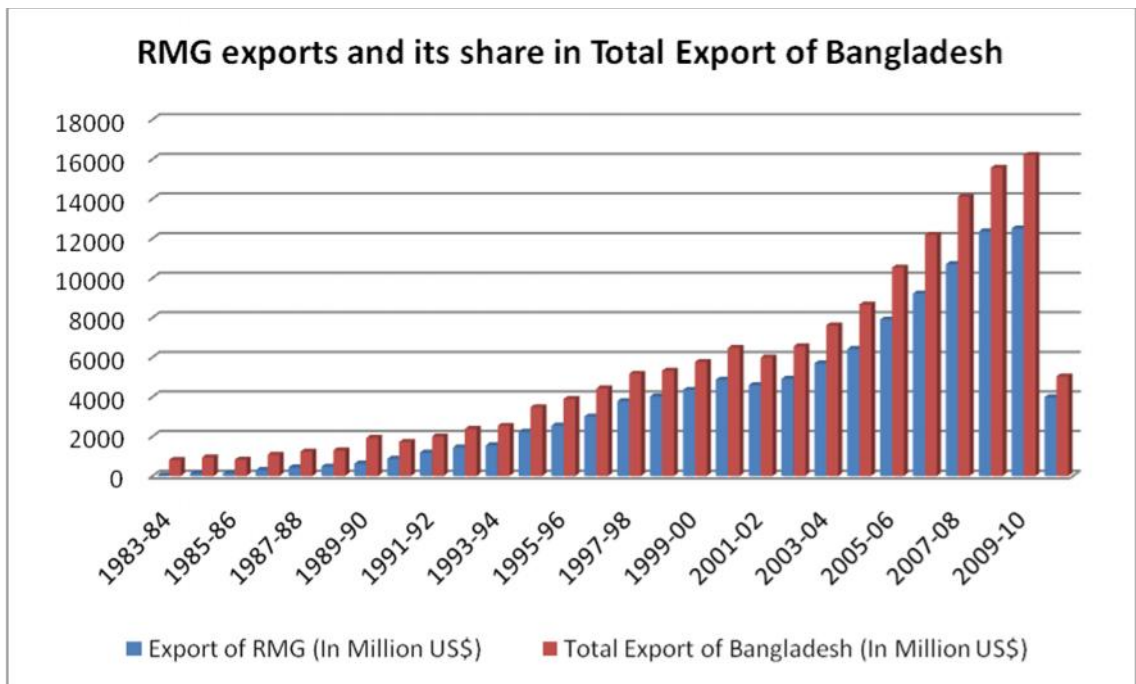
| <b>Year</b> | <b>Export of RMG<br/>(In Million US\$)</b> | <b>Total Export of Bangladesh<br/>(In Million US\$)</b> | <b>% of RMG'S TO<br/>Total Export</b> |
|-------------|--|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1983-84     | 31.57                                      | 811.00  | 3.89                                  |
| 1984-85     | 116.2                                      | 934.43  | 12.44                                 |
| 1985-86     | 131.48                                     | 819.21  | 16.05                                 |
| 1986-87     | 298.67                                     | 1076.61   | 27.74                                 |
| 1987-88     | 433.92                                     | 1231.2  | 35.24                                 |
| 1988-89     | 471.09                                     | 1291.56   | 36.47                                 |
| 1989-90     | 624.16                                     | 1923.70   | 32.45                                 |
| 1990-91     | 866.82                                     | 1717.55   | 50.47                                 |
| 1991-92     | 1182.57                                    | 1993.90   | 59.31                                 |
| 1992-93     | 1445.02                                    | 2382.89   | 60.64                                 |
| 1993-94     | 1555.79                                    | 2533.90   | 61.40                                 |
| 1994-95     | 2228.35                                    | 3472.56   | 64.17                                 |
| 1995-96     | 2547.13                                    | 3882.42   | 65.61                                 |
| 1996-97     | 3001.25                                    | 4418.28   | 67.93                                 |
| 1997-98     | 3781.94                                    | 5161.20   | 73.28                                 |
| 1998-99     | 4019.98                                    | 5312.86   | 75.67                                 |
| 1999-00     | 4349.41                                    | 5752.20   | 75.61                                 |
| 2000-01     | 4859.83                                    | 6467.30   | 75.14                                 |
| 2001-02     | 4583.75                                    | 5986.09   | 76.57                                 |
| 2002-03     | 4912.09                                    | 6548.44   | 75.01                                 |
| 2003-04     | 5686.09                                    | 7602.99   | 74.79                                 |
| 2004-05     | 6417.67                                    | 8654.52   | 74.15                                 |

|                    |          |          |       |
|--------------------|----------|----------|-------|
| 2005-06            | 7900.80  | 10526.16 | 75.06 |
| 2006-07            | 9211.23  | 12177.86 | 75.64 |
| 2007-08            | 10699.80 | 14110.80 | 75.83 |
| 2008-09            | 12347.77 | 15565.19 | 79.33 |
| 2009-10            | 12496.72 | 16204.65 | 77.12 |
| 2010-11 (July-Sep) | 3971.52  | 5029.05  | 78.97 |

Source: - Source:-[www.boi.gov.bd/index.php/potential-sector/germents &textiles](http://www.boi.gov.bd/index.php/potential-sector/germents&textiles).

I have shown this table in the following diagram to get a over view of it.

Figure 3.2:- RMG exports and its share in Total Export of Bangladesh





### 3.2 Condition and Vulnerabilities of workers in readymade garments industries of Bangladesh in the era of globalization:

At present around 4 million workers are working in RMG sectors. They are living a very miserable condition over there. They don't have enough money to live their daily life. Working condition is very poor. Women are the worst victim. They don't even have separate wash rooms. They don't get fresh water. Those who have little children do not get child day care facility. Also they are abused verbally and physically by male persons of the factories. At all the over all situations is one's beyond imagination.

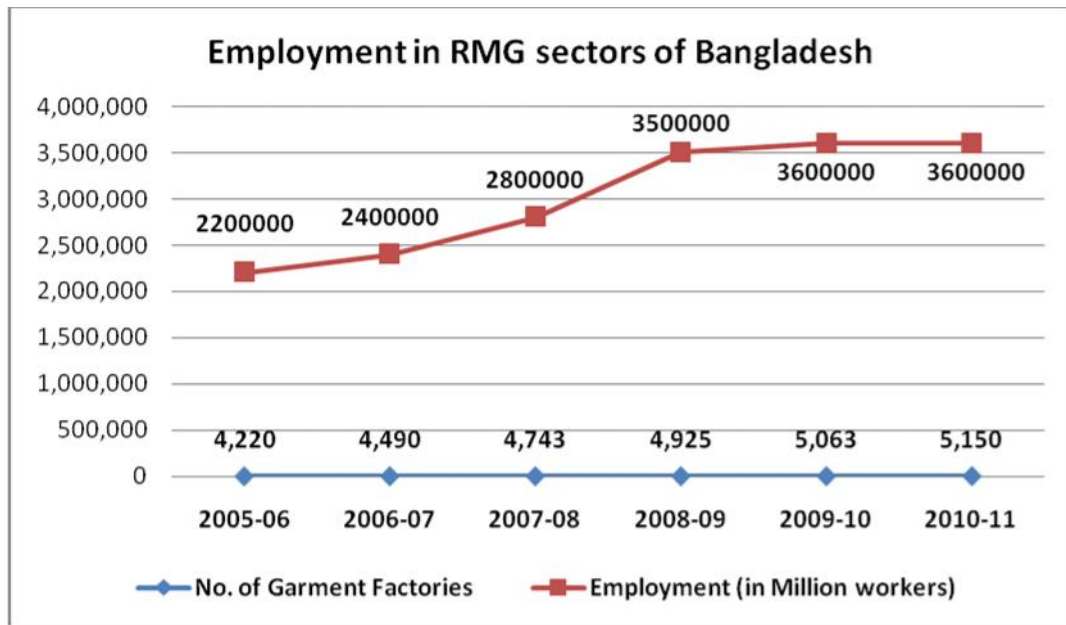
**Table-3.3: Employment in RMG sectors of Bangladesh**

| Year    | No. of Garment Factories | Employment<br>(in Million workers) |
|---------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 2005-06 | 4,220                    | 2.2                                |
| 2006-07 | 4,490                    | 2.4                                |
| 2007-08 | 4,743                    | 2.8                                |
| 2008-09 | 4,925                    | 3.5                                |
| 2009-10 | 5,063                    | 3.6                                |
| 2010-11 | 5,150                    | 3.6                                |

Source:-[www.boi.gov.bd/index.php/potential-sector/germents &textiles](http://www.boi.gov.bd/index.php/potential-sector/germents&textiles).

I have shown this table in the following diagram to get a over view of it.

**Figure 3.3: Employment in RMG sectors of Bangladesh**



The Wage Board on garments in Bangladesh nearly doubled minimum wages on July 29, 2010. About 3.5 million Bangladeshis work in the garment industry, which accounts for 80 percent of the country's exports. RMG exports nearly doubled in last five years.

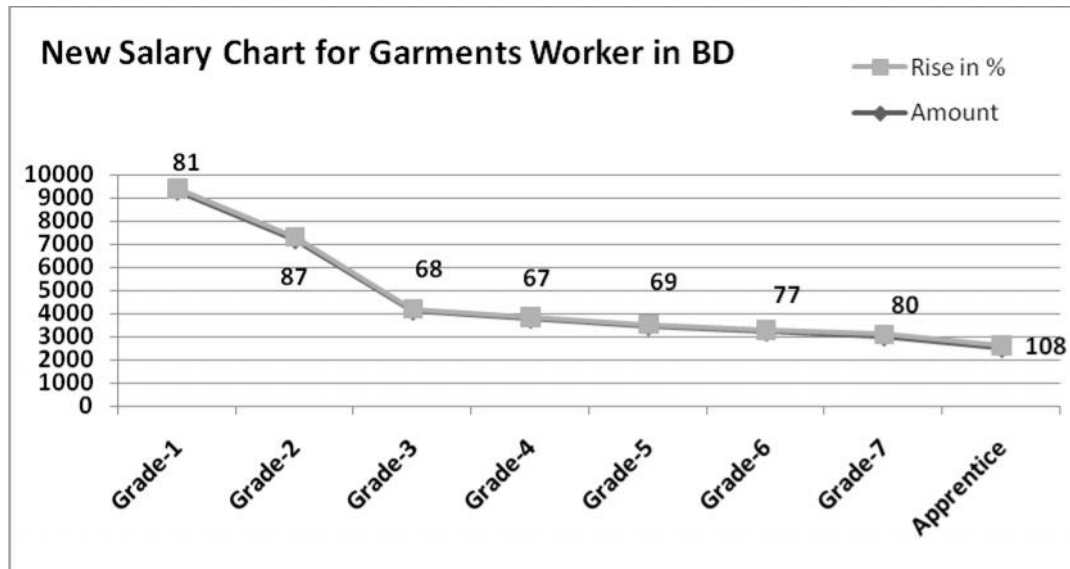
**Table-3.4: New salary chart for garments worker in Bangladesh.**

|            | Amount   | Rise in % |
|------------|----------|-----------|
| Grade-1    | Tk 9300  | 81        |
| Grade-2    | Tk 7 200 | 87        |
| Grade-3    | Tk 4120  | 68        |
| Grade-4    | Tk 3763  | 67        |
| Grade-5    | Tk 3455  | 69        |
| Grade-6    | Tk 3210  | 77        |
| Grade-7    | Tk 3000  | 80        |
| Apprentice | Tk 2500  | 108       |

Source-Google-new salary chart for garments worker in Bangladesh –Images for new salary chart in Bangladesh.

I have shown this table in the following diagram to get a over view of it.

**Figure 3.4: New salary chart for garments worker in Bangladesh.**



Although the garments industry belong to the formal sector, the recruitment procedure is largely informal compared to western practice. No contracts are given to the labors when they start their job. So the termination of their job is very pathetic also very miserable. Also gender is found in garments. Still women get less salary then man, just because they are women. Beside this the regular tragedy of garments still going on. So many people died .So many mother cried to lost their son and daughter.

In the appendix b, picture-1 is the Story of a Bangladeshi poor mother who had lost his son in the tragedy of a garment. He was crying for her son beside his grave, holding a photo of his. This was her only son or the only earning member of the family, but is she really crying for it, I think no. may be because of the cruelty of the garments where his son worked. Because of owner's carelessness and cruelty her son died. But that mother has nothing to do instead of shedding her tears.

Picture-2 shows that how Bangladeshi volunteers and rescue workers climb on rubble after an eight-story building collapsed in Savar, on the outskirts of Dhaka, April 25, 2013.

Picture-3 shows how a garments labour dies through the collapse of Rana plaza at savar in 2013. The way she was stuck with the internal pillars of the building, it was impossible to get her out from it. So finally she died.

The education rate among the RMG workers has increased. In the past education rate was too low in RMG sectors. Uneducated peoples those who do not find any work, come to the city and worked in RMG areas. But recently a big change found in the RMG areas. People especially from village those who have minimum education came to the city to work in RMG industries. Because now there is a opportunity among the educated workers that is if they work hard, learn a lot and become experienced they can be promoted to higher position. Many labors are found in RMG sectors those who are working in high level by getting promotion. Many labors found in RMG, those who have started their job with only 1200 taka salary and now getting 4000 taka, just because they have a little educational background and lots of experience and management power.

Also these minimum educations help them to become conscious. They can be aware of their situation. And they can raise their voice. So a minimum level of education is very important for the labors to improve their situation. But those who don't have any education can also work easily on these sectors. Because these is machine work area where you need experience. So RMG is a area where is a country can input its uneducated people and can reduced their burden. So jobless situation can be avoided by it. But lots of problem found in the RMG sectors. Various problems are seen there and labors suffer from it. Mostly women are the worst victim of those problems in RMG industry. Rural women are at dangerous situation. They suffer from lots of problem those are beyond imagination. A big number of women workers from rural and urban areas work in RMG sector of Bangladesh. Although this area has been discussed very little but needs to discuss a lot on it. Government and a lot of NGOs are working on gender issues especially on RMG women labor issue but this is really not sufficient because still the

environment did not improve. Even Trade unions are not aware of these problems and work very less on this vulnerable group.

RMG labors can hire at a very cheap price and women labor can hire at cheaper price. No reason found behind it still, that, why women get less salary or even half salary compared to man. May be the reason is they are women. Basically we need to identify the women workers rights. Four types of rights are seen to lead a decent human life and work life. These are the basic rights, formal rights, informal rights, and reproductive rights.

Everywhere Women are harassed, in society and in workplace even. There are discriminated everywhere by male domination superstition and non existing laws. Women workers are mostly working in low-paid type job such as cutting, sewing, washing. Even they don't raise voice for the justice because their education rate is low. They live in an unhealthy environment. They can't send their children to school because they earn a little which is not sufficient for her to support her family. Even a RMG women labors salary is 2500 taka and her room rent (where she lives) is 2000 taka. 500 taka rest for her at the end of the month. So her physical condition doctorate day by day. They don't get any appointment letter only get a card or ticket. So she always remains in a fear that she may loose her job. They work for long hour and get a negative health pressure on her. She has to perform both duties and responsibilities of household and features.

Even she doesn't get any weekly rest or any holidays. Even the salary payment is irregular. The condition internally is vulnerable. Such as male person of the garments harassed them. Even male person sometime bound them to harass physically by saying that if she don't agreed she will not her salary. Abused languages are used there. Rooms are dirty and unclean and lots of people work in a same room even lighting facility is no sufficient. They don't get any reproductive life facility. No maternity leave is given. Many mother joined in the workplace to safe their job even after the child-birth of her.

So government has to ensure that a proper labor law is there for those women and it is implementing. Women workers should get proper wage, health care facility, housing, transportations facility. A rule of limited working hour should be there. All types of discrimination should be removed. Maternity leaves should be given to the workers with salary should be implemented. National and international NGOs and labors unions should come forward together with government with trade union leader.

A written contract of appointment should be given to them. Over all a safe, secured place is required for those women, who are working in RMG sectors. Medical care/centre schools and day care facility should be given to them. Media can help a lot by campaigning. Education background of union leader is enough but experience required more than formal education. But a minimum level of education is required. And they have that required level of education.

There are both good and bad union leader there are such leaders who really work for the labor. But on the other hand there are also such union leaders who maintain a relation with elite class to pursue their own interest. They have a money dependency chain with RMG owner.

### **3.3. Role and activities of labour union in Bangladesh.**

Trade Unions have a lot of unavoidable problems in Bangladesh.

1. Trade union is not completely aware about employee's legal rights and duties. They have lack of consciousness.
2. In Bangladesh trade unions are separated for political influence. So a lack of unity found there.
3. The workers of Bangladesh don't have enough knowledge about their rights and duties. They suffer from lack of knowledge.

Trade union plays a major role in creating ideal working conditions in Bangladesh. It helps management to create better policies for workers. It negotiates for the standard

wage and benefits with the management. It helps the management to increase the productivity as well as the profit. Trade union can play a very important role in Bangladesh. If they properly perform their activities then laborers will be benefited and attracted more to join trade union. And if all the trade unions join to gather under one banner then the owners are bound to fulfill the labor rights. But at first we have to get together.

On 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> July 2009 8<sup>th</sup> national conference of Bangladesh trade union center (BTUC) was held in Dhaka. Thousands of workers and employees, leaders of national trade union federations, political leader's representative from local ILO office, Leaders from international trade unions and other distinguished guests participated in the conference. Chief Guest Engr Musharraf said-the government was doing everything so that the global economic crisis does not adversely affect the working people of Bangladesh. We consider the workers trade union and the employers as partner of production. He said that his ministry is labor ministry not labor and owner's ministry. And it should be clear to all that his primary duty is to protect the workers. BTUC president Sahidullah Chowdhury said the workers of Bangladesh are being deprived of trade union rights, living wages, and guaranteed by laws. We demand immediate opening of the factories which have been closed down. It is now clear like day light that imperialism and capitalism cannot overcome its inherent contradictions and is plunging into deep, prolonged and unprecedented crisis. Around 7 million workers are working right now. This toiling people keep the country going. If we can unite them we can perform miracle. There must be a fundamental change. This change can bring by working class unity. He called upon big national trade union federations to reform them and remove betrayers of workers cause black legs and corrupt persons from trade union leadership. On 14<sup>th</sup> January 2013 garment workers brought a procession in Dhaka city demanding Assurance for 'safe work place' in garment industries in Bangladesh. The workers, during the procession, carried placard & festoons on different demands, including 'safe workplace' & trade union rights. The speakers said that 55 serious factory fires taken place in Bangladesh Garment sector since 1990. In these fires, 566 garment workers were killed while several thousands were injured—some of them became

permanently retarded physically. Besides, 64 garment workers were killed in Spectrum Garments factory collapse in 2005. But, 'safe workplace' and health & safety for garment workers were not ensured till now. The speakers demanded to establish 'safe workplace' in Garment industry for the workers. They stressed the need for joint initiative of the factory owners, government, buyers and trade union organization in this regard expressing resentment.



## **Chapter Four: History of RMG sector in Bangladesh.**

In Bangladesh Globalization has resulted in a major structural transformation in the business & production. When Bangladesh began to respond to the globalization process with market liberalization, a large population migration has been observed from rural to urban areas for employment & other economic activity. Now RMG has become the largest export oriented sector in our economy.. In 2000-2001, near about 1.8 million workers (80% of them were women) were employed in 3480 garment factories and our country earned US \$ 4895.83 million 75.14% of the total national export. Changing world situation from 11 September '2001 incident in the USA, play a major role in the industry which caused around 500 factories closed down and hundred thousand workers lost their job. Ready Made Garment in our country is produced mainly by imported fabrics. Only 18% to 20% of the total consumption of fabrics is produced locally in the textile mills and now 80% of the accessories are made locally. (Prothom alo)

RMG came from developed country to developing nations because developed country started to make electronics materials cost less to produce but can sell in to high price. On the other hand it needs small number of labor, after 71 two sectors came into Bangladesh.

1. RMG- “Desh Garments” is the first garment of Bangladesh established in 1978-1979 in Chittagong.
2. EPZ- for foreign factory owners EPZ (Export Processing Zone) was established in 1980s. Government started open door policy to attract business of foreigner.

This is how four EPZ started in Bangladesh. Labor law was different in EPZ then outside. For the last 15 to 16 years RMG labors are being organized. If they were organized together on national level then it would be stronger movement & their solidarity would increase more. Multi-Fiber agreement (1974) works a lot behind RMG to come in to Bangladesh. Although it gone from Bangladesh in 31<sup>st</sup> December of 2004.

Developing economics like Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea presented themselves a good destination for relocations because they had open economic policies and had non-

unionized and highly disciplined labor force that could produce highly quality products at much cheaper costs, in order to control the level of imported RMG products from developing countries in to developed countries. Multi-Fiber agreement (MFA) had a long history in Bangladesh.

Form the very beginning of this sector, our garment workers are deprived of the basic rights and severely humiliated. With compared internationally and even South Asia, wage level of Bangladesh garment industry is very low. The average hourly wage of our workers is 50%, 42% and 33% of Nepal, India and Srilanka's wage standard respectively. In 1994 the government declared Tk. 930.00 only as the minimum wage for the garment workers. But still now many of the garment factories don't implement the minimum wages and other facilities such as-

1. The workers are suffering in low wages and they have no appointment letter, ID card, Service book, wages receipt.
2. Salary and overtime money do not paid in the proper time.
3. Irregular weekly holiday and almost no annual leave. They don't get any annual leaves and holidays are found rarely.
4. Bound to do over time and extra shift.
5. Violation of female workers rights to the maternity leave and maternity protection.
6. No health facility and Poor safety working condition.

If we observe we will see many tragedies that took place in RMG sector. I will give twelve serious tragedy of RMG sector in the next page.

**Table-4.5:- Incident those took place in RMG sector**

| Name                               | Address           | Date of incident | Injured | Dead |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------|------|
| Saraca Garments                    | Mirpur-10, Dhaka  | 27.12.1990       | 100     | 22   |
| Tamanna Fabrics & Jahanara Fashion | Ibrahimpur, Dhaka | 16.04.1995       | 100     | 23   |
| Trimood, Suntex                    | Pollobi, Mirpur   | 24.06.1996       | 50      | 12   |
| Jahanara Garments                  | Mirpur-1          | 31.07.1997       | 100     | 24   |
| Globe Netting                      |                   | 28.08.2000       | 100     | 12   |
| Chowdhury Knitwear                 |                   | 25.11.2000       | 200     | 53   |
| Mayiko Soater                      | Mirpur, Dhaka     | 08.08.2001       | 100     | 24   |
| Sun Netting & Processing           | Siddirgonj        | 07.01.2005       | 100     | 28   |
| Spectram Garments & Textile        | Savar, Dhaka      | 11.04.2005       | 84      | 64   |
| KTS Garments & Textile             |                   | 23.02.2006       | 100     | 54   |
| Tajrin Fashion                     |                   |                  |         |      |
| Rana Plaza                         | Savar, Dhaka      | 24.04.2013       |         |      |
| Standard Group                     | Gajipur           |                  |         |      |

**Source: BILs Officials Report-2014**

Basically a Trade Union is an organization of workers that unifies them to achieve common goals such as better working conditions. RMG sector started its journey in the late 1970s in Bangladesh and it is one of the keys of our national economy. It has experienced a growth since the 1980s. This sector significantly contributes to the GDP of Bangladesh. It provides around 4.2 million employments to Bangladeshis, mainly women from low income families. The MFA agreement imposed an export rate 6% increase every year from a developing country. In the early 1980s Bangladesh start receiving investment in the RMG sector. Some Bangladeshi received free training from the Korean company Daewoo. After these workers came back to Bangladesh, many of them broke ties with the factory they were working for and started their own factories. But most of

the RMG entrepreneurs are the genuine patriot and started from grass root level who contributing in boosting of country economy.

Like other 3rd world countries Bangladesh is a developing country. Its economic sector recently depends on RMG sector. RMG sectors of Bangladesh given its poor people a scope to work and earn some money. But they sell their labour on a very cheap price. Uneducated people especially women's are joining RMG and earning money so they are no more burden on our country in the field of export in come it has keep a remarkable contribution.. Once the cloth of Bangladesh achieved worldwide fame specially Moslin and jamdani cloth of our country was used as the luxurious garments of the royal figures in Europe and other countries. The British rulers in India did not allow developing our cloth industries at all. Rather they destroyed them and imported cloths from England. But we still have the opportunity to enhance our clothing sector.

Most importantly, the growth of RMG sector produced a group of entrepreneurs who have created a strong private sector. Of these entrepreneurs, a big number is female. Many women hold top positions in RMG industry. RMG sector relieved Bangladesh from over populous unemployment burden through providing the largest employment after agriculture, transport, and trade and industry sector.

The hundred percent export-oriented RMG industry of Bangladesh experienced phenomenal growth during the last 15 years. In 1978, there were only 9 export-oriented garment manufacturing units, which generated export earnings of hardly one million dollar. Some of these units were very small and produced garments for both domestic and export markets. Four such small and old units were Reaz Garments, Paris Garments, Jewel Garments and Baishakhi Garments.

Within a short period, Bangladeshi entrepreneurs become famous in world market. Foreign buyers found Bangladesh as an attractive sourcing place. So they stared to take advantage of these and started to extend their business in our country.

By 1982, there were only 47 garment manufacturing units. In 1984-85 the number of garment factories increased up to 587. The number of RMG factories grew to 2,900 in 1999. Bangladesh is now one of the 12 largest apparel exporters in the world, the sixth largest supplier in the US market and the fifth largest supplier of T-shirts in the EU market in terms of exports. Still Bangladesh is the second largest RMG export country. If we can organize this sector with proper labour law and facilities then we can even take the 1<sup>st</sup> position of China in export. In Asia China is at a better position in the RMG sector. Because China is a number one export oriented country. They have trade unions and they give emphasis on labor development. Their labor gets shelter, minimum standard of living wage because their government provides it. China is committed to their labor for their communist state system. They declare to their labor, what kind of facility they will provide if they came into power. And they also maintain their commitment, which we never seen in our country or in any political party of our country.

Today laborers do not attend unions regularly. Union leaders think that they are actually responsible for that. Because they can't help laborers properly. Many times they sell themselves. Again laborers come with a target and when this target is not fulfilled their faith on the union leader's becomes weak. We have to come out from this situation. We have to give the laborers proper understanding, that if they do not spend money on the federation then that union cannot achieve exact aim. A union has several types of costing. If that costing is not borne by the laborers then a union leader may be biased. It is a vice versa matter. One laborer has to understand that from whom I want service, I have to pay him. In developed country such as in Singapore laborers cut down 2.5% of their salary for welfare funds or trade union funds. On the other hand laborers of our country think that- "What is the use of spending even 2Tk in a trade union? I can buy a Gold leaf cigarette with that". For this not only laborers but also leaders become irresponsible. Laborers must understand that trade union is a tree. It needs nurturing- "If you want to get your rights you have to nurse it." There is a lack of motivation found. A proper administration should be there.

Labors of China get more advantage than their salary. Also China has run their business in a planned way their market is big. They have labor orientation for their labors. To reform the union step should be taken by the leaders. There should be recreation games, cultural programs for the labors. Globalization has made people property oriented. Clubs have become limited. In this area sociology has to come forward. New theories should be originated. But the way RMG plays an important role to the economy of Bangladesh we could not give proper facility & care to our labors. So gradually their interest on union leaders loosed. As well as their attention on work become weakened. If we could take proper care of our labor we would get more output from them. But as our RMG sector is disorganized. So it becomes a dream now. In the name of globalization obviously 1<sup>st</sup> world is exploiting 3<sup>rd</sup> world. But we have to overcome from it. Because 1<sup>st</sup> world exploits us as well as they give us order also. Why will I give them that opportunity to exploit us? We have to stop our political clashes between owners & labors. Actually globalization theory has been created by 1<sup>st</sup> world to exploit us. But it is we who can try to stop this exploitation. The concept globalization has been created by 1<sup>st</sup> world to exploit us. Globalization means free market around the whole world. You can produce any product and can try to sell it. It is up to you, that how can you attract people for your product. Also globalization creates competition among people for cheap price. They try to give service at lowest price to attract market. So producer try to produce their product at cheap price. Because if costing of a product will small then price will be small so sell will be high. So they try to give best service at a cheap price as much as they can. But the basic issue is for maintaining the cheap cost they search for cheap labour, so that they wouldn't have to compromise with their profit. So the ultimate loss suffered by our labor .owners search for cheap labor. In the village there is no work for people .unemployment covers maximum area because of the vulnerabilities of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries. The entire picture is same for Bangladesh Pakistan, Cambodia and all other 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries. So Unemployed people of these countries started to look for work. The RMG owners of that country took that chance. They employ this labour at cheap price. It was more helpful for the labour that they are earning some money rather than having no money and being able to live their own live with their income. But gradually needs of these labor increased in RMG sector and they started to know that they are being exploited by the owners .

owners of RMG offers international buyers cheap price for their products. And Globalization means competition. So through cheap costing owners took that chance and get offers from international buyer's .But these owners never suffers from losses. Because they always maintain their earning at profit level. So all the sacrifice is doing by our labors and the money was accumulated by our RMG owners. If our RMG owners wanted, they could easily organize the labour sector by providing facilities (Health care, maternity, good environment, proper wage) and implementing labour law. But they never did that. As a result now our RMG sector is at dangerous point. This is globalization what is making our people brutal and selfish. If the government, experts and civil society Become aware and gather for planning that how we can organizes our RMG sector then still we have time to organized these sector. So that our RMG labors will be benefited and we will not lose our RMG market. With that 1<sup>st</sup> world will not be able to get any chance to exploit us. But first RMG owners have to reform themselves.



**CHAPTER FIVE: HISTORY OF LABOR  
MOVEMENT IN THE RMG INDUSTRIES OF  
BANGLADESH.**

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Until 1884 no organized effort was there by the working class organization. Narayan Meghjee lokhanday organized a labour conference on September 23 and 26, 1984, which is the second sign of an organized movement by the workers. The conference adopted the five major demands. They are-

1. A mandatory Sunday holyday for each week.
2. A half an hour mandatory break at noon for each day
3. Work should begin at 6:30 a.m. and should end at sunset.
4. Wages should be paid by the 15<sup>th</sup> of the following month.
5. Accidents occurring during duty should be compensated by salary until recovery and if any worker faces any permanent obstacles, necessary measures should be taken.

The above demands were submitted in a form with signed by 5,500 workers in 1984 to the commission set for the necessary amendments for the first factory act (Das, 1923:9-10; Sharma, 1963:51)

The Ready Made Garments (RMG) sector has started its journey in the late 1970s in Bangladesh started exporting garments in 1976. The first joint venture garment factory in Bangladesh was Desh garment. Bangladesh garment manufacturers and exporter Association (BGMEA) was formed in 1982 to protect the interest of the manufacturers and the exporters of RMG sector. Imposing of “quota” restriction on Bangladeshi products by UK, France, Canada and USA in 1985 was a critical challenge towards the growth of this sector.

Out of 108 industrial federations and 15 garment Federations, some are affiliated with national federations. As per the current statistics of the Directorate of Labour under Ministry of Labour and Employment there are more than 2 million members in the basic

unions, 50149 members in garment federations; more than half million members in Industrial Federation and about 1.3 million members are in National Federation.

The industry flourished in 1980s and 1990s and has become the largest industry in Bangladesh. At present a total of 5242 basic unions are registered. Of which most of the unions are affiliated with national federations. But other than nationalized sector, almost 30% of the basic unions are not affiliated with any national federation (Labour-A BILS Journal-july-December, 2012:6)

**Table-5.7:- Number of Trade unions and its members**

| Categories            | Total number of union/ Federation | No. of Unions included | Total number of members |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| National Federation   | 32                                | 1,264                  | 12,63,665               |
| Industrial Federation | 108                               | 721                    | 6,40,221                |
| Garments Federation   | 15                                | 80                     | 50,149                  |
| Basic Union           | 5,242                             | 0                      | 20,69,614               |

**Source:** Labour-A BILS Journal-july-December, 2012:6)

In 1972 after the successful war of independence, a socialist economic policy was introduced by the Awami League Government and more than 90% enterprises of the countries were nationalized. In 1975 government try to incorporate all the labour unions under one organization. Although many people said that government tried to do that for their political interest. Two military rulers ruled Bangladesh from 1957 to 1990. That time they imposed various restrictions on labour unions and labour rights. In 1977 General Zia leader of BNP started a mandatory registration system for all labor unions and mandatory labor front. During the period of Ershad, in 1984 Major labor unions in

the country formed Sramik Karmachari Oikko Parishad (SKOP) and started various movements against anti-labor acts. Since 1991, democratic governments have run Bangladesh. From 1991-96, and from 2001-06 the BNP ruled the country from 1996-2001. In 2009, the Awami League again came to power and has got a mandate to rule the country until 2014. The interesting thing is that although both the Awami League and BNP claim democratic norms and practices, neither of the parties has made any remarkable contributions towards the welfare of the workers. When each party was in power, many agreements were signed with the labor unions but most of them were unrealized. Since both parties support an open market economy as their policies towards workers and unions are very similar. (Rahman, 2011).

Whenever any incident took place in Bangladesh RMG area, labors tried to protest but as they were not organized. So the result went in to vain. Even the last incident of Rana Plaza displays the same thing. There was no trade union for the labors of Rana Plaza. So they were disorganized to protest for going into the factor on that day of incident for daily work after knowing the news of crack in to the building. Basically Bangladeshi trade union leader do not allow movements because they know that they would not be able to control any movement, if once it started. And as we always suffer from various political issues so If any movement took place then political parties can take that chances to make the government vulnerable. So there is actually no such movements take place in Bangladesh to pursue workers rights.

**CHEPTER SIX**  
**FINDINGS OF THE STUDY**

Chapter 3, 4 and 5 presented the findings of my research on workers condition, RMG industries History and RMG movement and international labour solidarity movement. Here I will first discuss my finding related with my research questions.

## **6.1 Findings and Research Questions**

I have made seven major research questions. These questions include a number of subsidiary questions.

### **Research Question #1**

**What are the conditions of the workers in the RMG industries in Bangladesh in the era of globalization? Have the socio-economic conditions of the workers improved compared to that of the early phase of the industry?**

The condition of RMG labors in Bangladesh is very vulnerable. They live a very measurable life. It is happening because of globalization process. The main theory of globalization is, there will be no obstacles on the way of capitalism but it creates obstacles in the way of labors. And this is also true for our country. Main relation that lies between globalization and labor imperialism. In the age of globalization labor is not a slave. Labors will give their labor freely and in exchange they will get proper salary and the confirmation of their proper living. Now we know about other countries labor's salary. A salary chart of different countries is given below. This chart shows the comparative salary of various countries.

| Country  | Salary (in BDT) |
|--|-----------------|
| India  | Tk. 8,486.00    |
| Srilanka   | Tk. 7,321.00    |
| Nepal  | Tk. 9,216.00    |
| Pakistan   | Tk. 6,656.00    |
| Cambodia   | Tk. 6,400.00    |
| Indonesia  | Tk. 7,321.00    |
| Vietnam  | Tk. 8,119.00    |
| Bangladesh (Before the declaration of new pay structure) | Tk. 3,000.00    |

Actually to think that globalization will improve our situation is wrong. It is we who can change the whole situation. Globalization has extended our vision, but we have to achieve it by ourselves. RMG labors of Bangladesh are the victim of labor imperialism. Because still the labors do not get any freedom at their workplace, still they cannot say that I will not do overtime. I will work from 8.00am to 5.00pm like developed country. They do not have their own freedom. Labors are not properly conscious about their situation. Most of them do not participate in any labor union activities. They are dominated either formally or informally. After the destruction of Rana Plaza at 24<sup>th</sup> April, 2013 there was no such movement because there was no labor union for the labors of Rana Plaza at Industry level. They continued some movement at the morning but that was not organized. Owner of the garments said that you will not get your salary of this month. As the month is about to end there was lots of pressure on the labors. They have to give house rent, school fees of child etc. In the mean time 23 days already been passed only 7 days left. So they decided to go for work by taking their life at risk. Labors don't understand trade union. They want to fulfill all the demands. On the other hand when our owners appoint a labor they told about the responsibilities of the labor but not about their rights. They give tension & fear to the labors that if they absent for 3 days s/he will be dismissed from his/her job.

But the owner never gives them any appointment letter or health facility or benefit. They even don't introduce their labors with that facility.

## **Research Question #2**

### **How did AFL-CIO involve in the labor movements in Bangladesh? What are their main activities in Bangladesh? How do their activities work?**

From 1970 Bangladesh is a part of RMG industries because of globalization process. Although being an important part of economy RMG is suffering from many kinds of problem and the sector is at vulnerable position. It was estimated that in 2012, 5,400 RMG factories were there in BD where around 4 million workers are working there. For many reason the situation is vulnerable. For the past two decades AFL-CIO is working for the labors of RMG industry .AFL-CIO was active during early 1960s in East Pakistan. Even now AFL-CIO's sister organization, solidarity center has an office in Bangladesh. It finances Bangladesh garment and industrial workers federation (BGIWF) to establish. And also supported the national garment workers federation (NGWF). AFL-CIO are working for labors on various issues, such as Improving labor condition by giving them education, proper job training. They also see the minimum wage side of the labors. They try to establish labors private pension and also their social security with health care facility.

They participated in various program with the 'Bangladesh center for workers solidarity' (BCWS). Many union leaders said they can't provide any meetings because after coming from work place they become tired. Solidarity center provide many training to the workers and also provide expenses of the doctors, lawyers and office assistants. SC sponsored leadership training program is more systematic compared then the norm of Bangladeshi unions. By their professional and highly qualified staff members they also provide training to BIGUF, which focused on labor laws of our country, international convention, proficiency in English language, computer and internet skill etc .This is a formal course which they must have to pass. SC sponsored organizations avoid militancy, processions, meeting and street protests. BIGUF and BGIWF took part in international



solidarity campaigns and communicate with international buyers. SC believes that buyers who buy low cost products from Bangladesh RMG sectors can show some responsibility for maintaining labor standards. They can give pressure on RMG owners to improve labor situation and keep minimum standard. In November, 2012 after the incident of Tazrin Fashion, international buyers were gathered for a purpose that they wanted to make a safe work place in Bangladesh. After the collapse of Rana plaza at Savar, major retailers were gathered to make a safe work place for Bangladesh garment proletariat. 80 European and Japanese retailers had signed the legally-binding Bangladesh fire and Building safety agreement (BFBSA) in September 2013.

AFL-CIO conducts solidarity movement because they want to help workers to improve their wage, hours and working condition. They want to assist collective bargaining. They want to build up expert trade unions so that they can help labor properly. AFL-CIO wants to ensure that there is no differentiation of race, gender, religion, age and color. They want that labor should and can enjoy their rights and facilities and can live a healthy life. They want to create peace and freedom in the world. They try to increase the dignity of labor to enhance and to preserve. They want to encourage laborers that they are not alone, all the laborers of the world and experts are beside them. They also want to protect labor movement from all kinds of political corruption. Although critics say that AFL-CIO has personal interest to do such work. Owners of garments said this is just a trick by America. Through this kind of movement they actually play with us to pursue their own interest. They want to know the internal information of our country and want to keep us vulnerable so they conduct this kind of NGOs in the name of help.

Everywhere if the bargaining process wouldn't have existed then many problems can be created. Other laborers can become weak. Laborers have many problems. Injury to one is injury to all. As RMG is not a local business it is a part of global business. So a global pressure and the solidarity actions of the laborers have an important role for the development of our industries. Globalization has made the business international. Product is being produced by Bangladesh and selling in to America. One group is producing another group is buying and buyers are selling it somewhere else.

The problems of the workers of all over the world are same. If one is hurt, it affects all. So they all come together to solve it. Now-a-day's businesses remain no more local. It becomes global or international. Things produced by Bangladesh are selling at Brazil. Products of Brazil are going to China. So businesses always have an international area. So at all the demand of the workers remain same all over the world. So if a worker fails to stand against their problem then it makes other workers weak. The area of readymade garment industry was in another country, and then it came to Bangladesh to another country also. Because in those country the salary of the labor goes in to such a level that businessmen suffers from losses. So they were shifting business from that country to Bangladesh. Now the labor of those countries support & help to establish the rights of Bangladeshi labors. This is also a personal interest of the labors of those countries. Their main objective is the way they manage to came out from their situation through protest movement, in the same way may the labors of Bangladesh may came out. For example- if the students of a university think that they will stay at home after the completion of their universities according to their husband wish then according to their husband wish then according to their husband wish then. It may hamper other female student's freedom who wants to make their own identity & career. This is also same for the labors.

### **Research Question #3**

**Can the AFL-CIO sponsored movements in Bangladesh be treated as international solidarity movement? Do the AFL-CIO sponsored movements have positive impacts on the lives of workers? Does the AFL-CIO have any hidden agenda under the guise of international labor solidarity movement?**

International labor solidarity is a part of globalization and solidarity is fundamental in trade union. The labors of International solidarity movement will have three basis motives in common. Those areas-

- i. Solidarity
- ii. Objective
- iii. Purpose

And the biggest side of International labor solidarity movement is, it will be a non-violent movement. International labor movement support solidarity movement. It has some good side also-

- It will be open movement.
- It will have a definite purpose/interest under ILO/UN and it will be protected by ILO/UN.

Because it must have an overall acceptance. These movements never serve various purposes. It always has some definite purpose. And they try to achieve them within a certain time. Labor law of our country is very weak. The role of labor imperialism is at a very weaken situation because of the poor labor management. Although national and international NGO'S are trying to help labor. But minimum wage that we want, the owner is not agreed to give us and also giving thread that they will shut down the garments. But in reality they will never do that. Because to stop industries means to stop their golden egg (Money). They will never do that. In these ways they are exploiting our labors .There are few NGO'S those are really working on this issue. Also there are some NGO'S who just spent 70% of their money in administrative cost. Good & bad both kind of NGO'S are there. No real leadership is found among the Labors. At 'first may'

(Labour Day), all the rallies are conducted under the banner of different unions. 30-40 rallies came out separately. No combined parties took place like political parties.

Many systems can be applied to gather these labor for movements and for taking action as well as to create solidarity among them.

1. Check of system such as a certain portion of money will be cut down from their salary and will save into the bank account.
2. Labour can directly give money also.

Sometimes law and order situation goes against of the labor. If they go for union they face difficulty. Government does not help them. So resignation process hampered. In our parliament 35 to 36 garment owners are there for these labors could not exercise their movement. Mainly the national & international NGO'S are working on awakening consciousness. They are also giving training and improving skill of the labors and also co-coordinating them. Also such as unions are not being able to dependent because of the interference of NGO'S. Basically there should be a development into plant level.

Various national and international NGOs are working on RMG labor Issues. They are helping RMG labors to make aware about solidarity movements. They are teaching the labors how solidarity can help them to come out from labor imperialism. Movement does not say that, it should be violent always. In fact in violent way achievement always remains too low, because violent movement always becomes disorganized. More over in the history of Bangladesh it has been seen that political influence is connected with violent movement. So the labors interest remains unfulfilled. Because political parties take chances of there movement to harass the government. Also the garments owners always want cheap labor; otherwise RMG market will go from their hand. They just want money and money. And with their money income they will not compromise anything. So they always want cheap labor. Because they know if they could satisfy international buyer they will get more order and more order means more money. On the other hand international buyers also gives some terms and condition for workers life betterment but our owners said that they are maintaining those condition ,but in reality they never fulfill those condition. In fact they don't keep any information about their life. A labour whether

sock or not He or she has to work and has to come regularly to the factory. Otherwise she or he will be fired from his job. Even after the destruction of Tazrin fashion and Rana plaza owners were threatened by international buyers to take necessary steps for improving the internal and external condition of the factories and give proper compensation to the victims, otherwise they will leave the RMG field of Bangladesh .our owners promised them to keep the condition but still they do not keep their promise. Various national and international NGOs are working for the RMG labors. Among them who is really good one working a lot for the labors. The problem is they are helping RMG labors but it is not sufficient. Because they are working on education issues, health issues etc but the main problem lies at the core area where they can not help. They can just make the labors aware but can't improve the core problems. They conducted various day and night schools For the RMG labors and for their children to make them educated. They give various knowledge to the RMG workers for living healthy life by remaining neat and clean. They also provide various health treatments such as Eye sight problem, maternity problem, fever etc. But these are assistance only. It cannot improve workers life. So from that side they are not actually successful. Basically three types of groups are found.

1. Those who take part spontaneously in the movement. Although they are very small in number.
2. Another group is trying to do something through bargaining.
3. Another group is trying to gather them by raising their class consciousness through their political consciousness incensement. Beside these all they are taking other steps. Also such as – Banner, Festoons etc on labour right. But still we could not take them into a definite framework. For these international donors are also responsible beside national unions. They are not giving any support to trade unions. They are much interested towards welfare rather than access. They do not understand the importance of trade unions they make understand the labours. Trade union is not our enemy. Without two hands man cannot work totally with one hand they can work but not comfortably. The work will not do properly. There is just like the wheels of a cycle. Actually cannot more properly without the two cycles. As the same NGO'S & trade union both have to work together as the wheel of a cycle. Then the situation will started to upgrade smoothly & properly.

Some International NGOS are there who works particularly for Labour solidarity movement. They teach labors about unity. They show how unity can help them to get proper facility. Recently they become more conscious about labors solidarity. Because without Solidarity no movement can operate properly. If we see from international context we will find that now a day because of media national and international connection has become Stronger. Only our government and union leader5s can play a major role to help the labors. If we want to remove labor imperialism then we have to organize the whole sector at first. We have to start from the starting. At first a proper labor law has to make and it have to implement. So there needs a lot of assistance.

Recently AFL-CIO is concern about two issues in Bangladesh.

1. Fundamental Right protections deficit
2. The Failures in standards/benefits.

In 2007 AFL-CIO wanted to remove Bangladesh from the list of possible developing countries under the (GSP) system. In 2009 AFL-CIO reported that Government had taken some steps but it needs continue observation. Activities of AFL-CIO are being successful but it would have been more successful if government helps them properly. Not only government but also expert's of national and international NGOs, Trade union leaders have to help them. With the joint collaboration of them it is possible for AFLCIO to improve the condition of RMG labor in Bangladesh.

Now a day's various kind of movement is seen at present. Such as –

- Minimum wage movement.
- Safe workplace movement
- Minimum wage movement
- To live healthy movement.

- Women safety movement.

The role of Globalization will be negative always it cannot be said. But as we could not control it positively so it is negative from that side. Other business sector such as steel, jute, those can have negative impact of Globalization. But RMG has come as a part of Globalization so we cannot say it has negative side. But from the very beginning RMG Sector should have a legal framework. The labours should have empowered and owner should have aware but we did not do that. We just let a business grow as it requires. But this was wrong. One rose tree need nurturing when it is growing. Otherwise it will never properly. It needs water, should have proper maintenance. Otherwise it will be a forest. Same in the RMG sector. Because of poor controlling it is now in an absolute controller's situation. Trade union movements are of two types In RMG sector. In the EPZ area there is no trade union because trade union is not allowed to establish there. They operate there own rules and regulation. Outside of EPZ trade union has been established for labors in our country. Their movements are not collective. They raise their voice for individual problem. For example if a Labour is fired from his/her job without any previous notice then he /she will get help from the trade union for compensation or to get back job. He/she will get help from unions for all kind of rights. In this way a union helps its member for particular reason. But other than no such initiative is taken in unions for the establishment of their rights.

Even in the unions the participation of labors is very poor. Because the union is not well organized. There is no recreation facility for the labors. Union can organize picnic cultural program, Sports to entertain them. in these way labors will attract more for unions and more labour will register in that union. So the costing of running that union will be reduced. Because it is also impossible for a union leader to lead a union by his own money. And now a day's life expense is too much. More over it will help the labors and union leaders to get to gather and take necessary action collectively.

If we try we can make globalization process positive for our country. But for these we all have to work together. Government has to implement proper labour law for RMG labour and has to ensure that it in working. Trade union have to give better understanding to the

labor that how they can make solidarity among themselves and term into solidarity movement. Experts have to collaborated international solidarity movement with national solidarity movements. NGOs had to find out through their research about 1 RMG labors problem and also with solution. Over all have to work together to get a good result, only then it will be possible to get a good result.

Globalization has been created by developed counties to exploit developing countries in the name of free market. But on the other hand it gives us opportunity to get business order. Every new system has both good side and bad side. Like that globalization also has good side and bad side. It is our duty which side we want to take. And of course we know we want to take good side. For this a balance situation has to create. Owners have to pay more to RMG labor and also have to provide proper facilities to the RMG labor and AFL-CIO is mostly concern on this issue.



**CHAPTER SEVEN**  
**SUMMERY AND CONCLUSION**

### **7.1 Limitations and Suggestions for future research**

1. Political situation was very bad on that time. More interviews were needed to take. But I could not do that. So in future this type of research should not carried out in this situation. Any incident can took place with the researcher, as he or she has to move frequently.
2. Because of continuous hartal various union office were closed. So it become difficult to take their interviews, also they give less time as they were busy on office day.
3. Many respondents do not want to give detail information.
4. Workers were busy even in the holydays and annual leaves, so it creates difficulties to get them. Also owners do not like that worker is talking while they are working.

## **7.2 Concluding remarks**

Now it is our duty to improve our situation. We need to create more solidarity among our labors. We need to make them aware about their right. We have to link international solidarity movement with national RMG movements. Because international labour knows the way of movement. They know how a movement can lead and can be successful. The problems of labors all around the world are same. So any single destruction such as rana plaza will affect all the labors of the world. They are not individuals. They are combined. One's problem is all problems. To connect with international solidarity movement we first have to do some work. We first have to gather all the labors of our country under one banner. All around in Bangladesh the condition and problem of labor are same. So their demands will be same. A proper labor law should be prepared. Next comes the implementation process. In the history of Bangladesh it has been seen that so many searching committee have been established after occurring any incident. But no result comes out from it. MP; Ministers visit the place, give Assurance and promise that they will definitely take some steps. But after some days they all forget every thing. The problems of the workers remain same as before. We have to keep our promise. Without proper implementation of laws no improvement can be brought in RMG sectors. Union leaders and national and international NGOS can work for solidarity movement. Because of media international area can easily know what is happening to the labors of our country. If union leaders and national and international NGOs try to connect with all over the world to seek justice for our labors then international labor forum will help them by conducting movements. It will also enhance our solidarity with international labors. In the globalize area now it is so tough to protest alone against justice. It also requires proper knowledge for movement. So if all the labors around the world come together and conduct pavements for their rights and union leaders and national and international NGOS

help them with proper guiding then the RMG labors can survive properly and established their rights perfectly.

This research has been conducted to get a picture of RMG labors and their activities. And I hope it will be very much beneficiary for the RMG labour of Bangladesh. Also it will help the Experts to create solidarity among labors and to take positive scopes in the globalization process. Finally I think that RMG labors of Bangladesh are at a very vulnerable situation. So it is high time we gather them, motivate them for solidarity movement and work for them.

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(Google-new salary chart for garments worker in Bangladesh –Images for new salary chart in Bangladesh, Daily Star archive).

## **Appendix A**

### **Methodology**

My research on “Globalization and International labour Solidarity Movement: a Study on Readymade Garment Industries of Bangladesh” involved a variety of complementary Qualitative methods united together in a case study research design.

I have undertaken a longitudinal study of a single case. For my research I relied on a large number of primary and secondary documents, published in both Bengali and English. I have investigated seven research question and my data sources were the semi structured interviews of Union leaders, experts, employers, national and international civil society members, labour experts and policy makers, go officials, RMG owners and experts of labour studies. Besides I also take help from a variety of primary documents including newspaper stories, publication by labour unions. I also conduct observation of the Working and environmental conditions in the RMG factories and housing conditions of the workers. I have tried to analyze various secondary studies and reports regarding the socio-economic conditions of the workers. I also take help from internet as the source of my thesis.

#### **Data Generation Methods**

##### *1. Data generation#1.In-depth, Semi structured Interviewing.*

In-depth, semi-structured interviews were used in generating data from the labour leaders, employers, policymakers, experts and civil society members, a total of 15 interviews were conducted. The interviewees consisted of :3 labour leaders,4 owners including three buying house agents,1 BGMEA official and policymaker,2 labour experts and academics, and 5 civil society members including 2 members working on international organization.

These interviews were conducted with individuals who had specialized and unique knowledge of the RMG industry in Bangladesh and the historical development of labour unions in that industry. The in-depth, semi-structured nature of the interview format allowed me to explore the extent of an individual's knowledge and to encourage them to be as candid as possible about what they knew.

I was cautious about some technical matters during each interview session as accentuated by punch (1998) Mason (2000)-

1. Be a good listener.
2. Pose appropriate questions.
3. Be careful about what to ask and what not to ask.
4. Maintain a balance listening and talking.
5. Observe all non-verbal language other than formal conversation.

I was very active during my interview session and I tried to make my respondent active too. Some of the interviews were recorded. And some of the interviews were not recorded only documented in paper as respondent was not agreed for recording.

These are the people interviewed for this study who were willing to be identified by name.

**(a) Labour Leaders**

1. Mr. Towhidur Rahman, President, Bangladesh Apparels Workers Federation (BAWF)
2. Ms. Kaleda, Vice president, Bangladesh Apparels Workers Federation (BAWF)
3. Ms. Tahmina Rahman, Secretary, Bangladesh Apparels Workers Federation (BAWF)

**(b) BGMEA Official And policy Maker**

1. Sardar Mohammad Mannan (Kochi), Vice President, BGMEA



**(c) Buying House Agents**

1. Mohammad Iqbal Masud, Fashion.com
2. Ms. Rehana parveen Runu, Fashion.com
3. Mr. Sunny, Fashion.com

**(d) Labors Experts and Academics)**

1. Sultan Uddin Ahmed, Assistant executive chief, Bangladesh institute of Labour Studies (BILS).
2. Dr. Lily Gomes, Solidarity centre.

**(e) Civil Society Members (national)**

1. Fayeza Orpita, Icddrb.
2. Md Shamsuzzaman, Owner Shahara Advertising.
3. Shahed Ahmed, Major, Bangladesh Army.

**(f) Civil Society Members (International)**

1. Marufa Haque, HR Head, Shiree, UK AIDS.
2. Saveena Anam, Officer, Shiree, UK AIDS.

***(2)Data Generation # 2: Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)***

Focus Group Discussion was conducted to generate data to find out the actual condition of the labour, which helps me, to give answer to my question .The duration of my FGD was 1 hour. Among them female members were most.

The sample question of my FGD is given below.

**Sample Questions**

For the workers (FGDs)

1. Can you please tell me about your education background experience of work?
2. What is your original home district?
3. What is the reason plays behind you that you join RMG?
4. What is the condition of your factories?
5. Have you ever face any problem while working there?
6. How is your salary?
7. What kind of facilities do you get from your factories?
8. Do you get your monthly salary on time?
9. Do you get holydays and annual leave?
10. What kind of problems you are facing there?
11. Are you a member of any labour union?
12. What kind of help do you get from your union?
13. Are you interested to go in the union regularly?
14. Do you participate in labour movement? if yes, which kind of movement.
15. Does anybody have any idea of labour law?
16. Is your present condition better in RMG then when you do not work here?

17. Do you found any solidarity among the workers of your factory?
18. Have you ever get any help from abroad or any training that helps you to be conscious about your rights?
19. Have you heard about the destruction of Rana plaza?
20. What was your feeling about that incident?

ii. For the labour leaders (in-depth semi structured interviewing)

1. How do you convince labour to join in your union?
2. Would you please explain me about labour imperialism in the globalization process?
3. Will you please tell me about international labour solidarity movement?
4. Can you please explain me what is the relation between labour imperialism and international labor solidarity movement?
5. Can you please tell me, what is the role of AFL-CIO in Bangladesh? What are their main activities? is their movement can be considered as international solidarity movement? Does it have any positive impact on workers?
6. Please let me know about your educational and other socio-economic background.
7. Would you please tell me recently what kind of problem are you facing?
8. Have you found any changes in the situation of labors and unions?
9. Do you follow any strategy to develop labor's political consciousness?
10. How is your relation with your RMG owners?
11. How is the present working condition of labors recently?
12. Please tell me about your union.
13. What are the strengths and weakness of labour unions in the RMG industries in Bangladesh?
14. Have you developed any international allies in terms of developing the solidarity movements?
15. Have you participated in any labour movement? Please describe if you have.
16. How can the present condition of the labors of RMG be improved?

iii. For the owners and BGMEA officials(in-depth semi-structured interviewing)

1. How do you come in to this business?
2. Do you follow any labour law for the labors?
3. Do you have any idea of Bangladesh labour law?
4. Does the condition of your factories is favorable for the workers?
5. Is there any labour union in your factory?
6. What kind of problem do you face there?
7. Do you know what labour solidarity movement is?
8. Do you know what international labor solidarity movement is?

iv. For civil society members (in-depth semi-structured interviewing).

1. What is the present scenario of Bangladeshi RMG workers?
2. Do you know what globalization process is?
3. Do you think RMG labors are being exploited in our country?
4. For the labors what kind of services do the NGOs provide?
5. Do they find any constraints to work?
6. How can this situation be improved?

***(3)Data Generation # 3. Document Research***

Various labour union leaflets, posters, press releases help me to answer other research question. I gathered various newspaper stories. Besides, websites Organizational reports help me to find out answers.

#### ***(4) Data generation #4, Field Observations***

I visited two factories. Both are in mirpur, purobi area. Where I get the actual picture of the workers and work place. For my FGD I went to Duaripara slum situated in mirpur near eastern housing. My interviews with union leaders were held at their office. I went to the unions to understand the real situation's also found some labors in the union who came here to solve their problem what they are facing in the garment's they are the members of that interview.

#### **Data Analysis**

I collected some of my interviews through recorder. Although some of my interviewers were not agreed to record their voice so I documented their voice in my note book. After completing my field work I make a transcript for each inter view and then I analyze it from the perspective of my research question.

#### **Validity and Reliability**

In my research the respondents were very expert on labour issues. As they are working on this issue for many years. So they have expert knowledge. From that side there is a validity of my research. Also I visit the workplace and in workers daily life so it helps me to know the present condition of them.

RMG sectors are now in developing country Such as Bangladesh, Vietnam, and Cambodia. All is third world countries. So over their entire situation is all most same. So my research findings will mostly be same for these third world countries from that perspective my findings are reliable.

### **Ethical Questions**

I have maintained proper confidentiality during my research. Respondent those who do not want to record their voice I obey their wish. Those who don't want to mention their name I Hide their name. Every where I keep my commitment properly.

**Appendix B**



Picture-1



Picture-2



Picture-3