

Human before the Garment: Bangladesh Tragedy Revisited. Ethical Manufacturing or Lack Thereof in Garment Manufacturing Industry

Zeenath Reza Khan* and Gwendolyn Rodrigues**

The clothing apparel industry has evolved at a tremendous speed, keeping with the needs and demands of people, their geographical location, climate, traditions and so on. In the midst of this continued growth, in the April 2013 Rana Plaza building collapse of garment factories in Bangladesh, deemed the second most horrific industrial tragedy after Bhopal, that has left 1000s dead, more wounded, some disabled for life, brand names such as Primark, Loblaw whose brands include Joe Fresh, and others that have denied connections such as Walmart, Carrefour, GAP, and so on, have become the focus of international community's criticism where corporate social responsibility is concerned. Though most apparel brands claim that their products are "ethically sourced", their attempts to seek manufacturing plants in low-wage developing nations to drive down production costs and increase profits inadvertently gives rise to what is commonly termed as 'sweat shops' (Arnold and Hartman, 2005) with forced labour and no regards for their health or safety. Almost a year after the world-shaking collapse, the victims, their families and the garments workers population in general continue to fight for their rights, better standards of living, safer working environments, that seem to be falling on deaf ears. Although this industry seems to be consumer driven, there seems to be glaring gap in the literature and practice that directly involves and uses consumers as a driving force towards ethical manufacturing. This paper revisits the Savar Tragedy using primary and secondary data to highlight the key issues related to the manufacturing industry, particularly the Savar Tragedy in Bangladesh, some solutions that have come in place and proposes future study into possible solutions that involve ethical consumerism for a sustainable future of the industry

Field of Research: Management, Social Responsibility, Ethical Trade, Supply Chain Workers.

1. Introduction

The apparel and textile industry is an ancient one that can be dated back to as far back as 30000 BC when humans used animal skin to fashion garments (Bellis, 2014). Until the industrial revolution, this industry experienced a slow progress. With the industrial revolution, came various technologies that made the processes faster, more efficient and less time consuming, thus increasing profitability (Barker, 2007).

This industry can be divided into two categories: that of production of textiles from raw materials and then the making of clothing apparels from these textiles (Berdine, et al., 2008).

*Zeenath Reza Khan – Instructor, University of Wollongong in Dubai, Dubai, UAE

Email: zeenathkhan@uowdubai.ac.ae

**Dr. Gwendolyn Rodrigues – Associate Professor, University of Wollongong in Dubai, Dubai, UAE Email: gwendolynrodrigues@uowdubai.ac.ae

Khan & Rodrigues

While the textile industry became automated quite early on, the garment industry to-date remains labour intensive, forcing the need to look for cheaper sources of labor in less developed and under developed countries (Keane & te Velde, 2008).

The garment manufacturing industry is almost completely driven by consumer demands (Nordas, 2004). With economic downturns, this demand has arisen for cheaper, affordable ready-made garments (RMG) which has in turn forced companies and brands to cut costs and introduce lower cost clothing lines that offer discounts, making them affordable to consumers (Nordas, 2003). In the process, however, the workers, their working conditions, salaries, their families and their lifestyles are suffering (McCormick & Schmitz, 2001).

The Rana plaza building collapse in Savar, Bangladesh in April of 2013 has brought to light the severe and direct relation highlighted by existing literature of demands for cheaper, quality clothes on working conditions of the workers in the outsourced manufacturing plants. It has also raised serious questions on the corporate social responsibility of the apparel brands and companies that are outsourcing the manufacturing to the less developed or underdeveloped countries.

This paper looks at corporate social responsibility in the garment industry, revisits the Savar tragedy using case study method, highlighting impact of the tragedy at a human level, key reasons behind the tragedy, and the support provided by the international apparel body to the workers, ultimately proposing a significant and valid question for a future study – *besides the existing media, government and non-government agencies and society, can consumers become a viable pressure group to bring about a change in the multinational corporations' corporate social responsibility practices through ethical consumerism?*

The remaining sections of the paper are organized in the following manner: Section two highlights the importance and status of corporate social responsibility in the apparel industry, Section three details the methodology used for this report, Section four highlights the status of garment industry in Bangladesh, Section five revisits the Rana Plaza building collapse tragedy that took place in Bangladesh in 2013, Section six presents the commitments made by various stakeholders, Section seven details the progress in terms of relief, closure, policies and so on a year after the tragedy, and finally Section eight summarizes the key points of the report and possible future direction of the research work.

2. The Apparel Industry and CSR

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) has been defined as a company's sense of responsibility towards the society and the environment (Carroll, 1999; Maignan, et al., 1999; Shallini, et al., 2011; Bowen, 1953). Since the 1950s, the role of CSR has evolved towards becoming a strategy to improve bottom line performance of corporation (McWilliams & Siegel, 2001), becoming a competitive edge (Porter & Kramer, 2006; Hart, 1997; Kotler & Lee, 2005) and eventually leading to financial rewards for the company (Lee, 2008).

Many guidelines, policies and standards have been developed around the globe in order to adopt and implement CSR, based on International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions. Some of these guidelines include but are not limited to:

Khan & Rodrigues

- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) guidelines
- ILO Tri-partite Declaration of Principles on Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy
- UN Global Guidelines
- Global Reporting Initiatives (GRI)

(Adopted from ISO, n.d)

Most corporations in developed nations quickly adopted CSR guidelines to boost their image and gain rewards. The ready-made garment industry was no different. By the mid-1990s, however, many global apparel retailers were criticized for not fulfilling their social obligations because they engaged in practices such as poor working conditions, poor wages and so on (Mujtaba et al., 2005). Corporate social responsibility began to gain increasing amount of attention (Crane et al, 2008). Apparel retailers started to receive pressure to take CSR policies and issues seriously with regards to workers' wages, living standards, working standards and so on down the supply chain (Cooke & He, 2010).

However, the apparel industry to-date faces a tug-of-war between CSR and profitability. This industry is characterized by its ability to produce designs that capture taste and preferences that are cost effective, or produce mass, low-quality products such as t-shirts, uniforms and so on (Nordas, 2003). So, wages continue to be low, and health and working conditions of workers remain a constant source of concern, particularly where the problem is the nature of the manufacturing work that tends to include hazardous chemicals and fiber dust (Dickson et al, 2009; Allwood et al, 2006), and considered monotonous and repetitive (Martinuzzi, et al., 2011). In addition, the constant concern of low-technology sweatshop-type production plants continue to threaten images of many apparel brands and retailers with the lowest working conditions, wages only a fraction of the minimum requirements, sometimes with non-payment of wages (Martinuzzi, et al., 2011).

Added to these concerns are globalization and market power of multinational apparel companies and retailers that have pushed production process to low income countries that mostly hire female workers who are either unskilled or semi-skilled (Nordas, 2003) particularly due to the constant demand for less costly methods of manufacturing as the apparel industry becomes highly competitive (Frenkel, 2001). Because of this disconnection between the corporation and the production plants, the companies automatically seem to start focusing on profit creation and 'export their environmental and social problems to developing countries' (Welters, 2008). This is further made easier by the disjointed and weak labour legislations in the developing nations that do not have legal or structural means to deal with these growing issues in their countries (Welters, 2008; Allwood et al, 2006), particularly because their laws are 'inadequate, outdated or insufficiently enforced by the local government' (Gap, 2012).

A lot of multinational corporations and brands have tried to shrug off the bad image of not being social corporations through implementation of such programs as Eco-labels, and relevant CSR initiatives such as:

- Worldwide Responsible Apparel Production (WRAP)
- Fair Labour Association
- Fair Wear Foundation, Workers Right Consortium, Clean Clothes Campaign and so on

(Van Yperen, n.d)

Khan & Rodrigues

However, tragedies such as the workplace disasters in manufacturing plants in developing countries^{iv,v,vi} and reports of abuse from many of the developing nations beg to differ from the international brands and multinational apparel corporations claims. Reports suggest non-transparency of how multinational corporations and brands tackle sweatshops, bonded labour, worker conditions, wages and so on (Straaver et al, 2012).

Multinational companies and apparel brands that are perceived to not practice good CSR, face tremendous external pressure from stakeholders such as authorities, business partners, journalists and external influences to engage in CSR practices (Roberts, 2003). Few, if any, studies have researched consumers' ability to work as pressure groups on such corporations. In particular, studies have highlighted that consumers can and do act as catalysts for reducing prices because it is the value of money and price of the apparel that actually determines their purchasing decisions (Bhandarkar & Rivero, 2008).

For the proposed question:

besides the existing media, government and non-government agencies and society, can consumers become a viable pressure group to bring about a change in the multinational corporations' corporate social responsibility practices through ethical consumerism?,

This research paper uses qualitative methodology in the form of constructing a field case study in order to construct a possible solution to the question proposed. The process, rationale and results are discussed in the next sections.

3. Methodology

Case study research method is an empirical inquiry that 'investigates a contemporary phenomenon with its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used' (Yin, 1994). As the paper tries to study the current CSR situation in the outsourced manufacturing plants and the impact of these practices, it was necessary to use case study method to establish research findings due to the following reasons:

- Although literature exists that highlights CSR issues that multinational apparel brands face, or manufacturing plant working conditions, or even the international joint efforts to try and protect the workers, there is little or no previous research on the need for a study into ethical consumerism
- Due to non-transparency from multinational brands, there is a lack of statistical or primary information that can be collected
- The study has to be investigative and exploratory in nature due to 'lack of association, worker rights' (US Department of State, 1994) being upheld
- Individual experiences of the stakeholders interviewed during the source of research at least partly product of individual interpretations, that often get lost in statistical, quantitative approaches

(Khan, 2007)

Savar Tragedy that took place in Bangladesh in April 2013 was chosen as the focal event of this case study as this is considered to be the worst disaster of the readymade garment

Khan & Rodrigues

industry, and involved five export-quality manufacturing factories that were completing orders from multinational corporations at the time of collapse.

The case study was constructed through a series of face-to-face interviews with the stakeholders of the tragedy and through review of secondary sources. The stakeholders were chosen based on their experience, roles in the industry in Bangladesh and their involvement with the disaster and its aftermath.

4. Bangladesh and its Garment Industry

Bangladesh is a developing country with an estimated population of 163 million. As of 2012, Bangladesh' per capita GDP was estimated at \$2100. Although majority of the nation depends on agriculture, in the last 30-40 years, the readymade garments (RMG) industry of Bangladesh has also flourished to now home over 3000 factories, employing approximately two million workers, and increasing the country's exports by 16% to \$2.7 billion in 2013 alone (CPD Report, 2013).

The phenomenal growth of the RMG industry in Bangladesh has been attributed to Europe's exemption of Bangladesh from 'Multi-Fibre Arrangement (MFA)ⁱ bilateral quota system that is imposed by developed countries' (Bhuiyan, 2012) and cheap, reliable, hard-working, easily trainable worker source, among others (Professor Muhammad Yunus *in interview with Khan*, 2013).

From pre-independence era, Bangladesh has been dwelling on garments export through small tailoring shops that moved to become manufacturing companies, raising the number of garment manufacturing and exporting facilities throughout the years to thousands.

Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Quader, Minister of Commerce, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, stated *in an interview with Khan* (2013) that

"The growth of the industry currently supports 80%-90% of the country's total exports mainly because our workers are considered easily trainable and the wages/cost is considered highly competitive in the world market. The minimum wages in our industry at the moment is Tk. 3000 per month which is about US\$38.72."

However, Nobel Laureate, Professor Muhammad Yunus stated that the growth of the industry had two very significant impacts on the country (Professor Muhammad Yunus *in interview with Khan*, 2013):

- The Obvious Economic Impact, With The Rise In Exports And Creation Of A New Class Of Entrepreneurs Who Were Educated And Became Leaders Of The Market Through Experience
- The Empowerment Of Women Who Came Out Of Villages, Disassociating From Social Norms, Religions Customs And Family Inhibitions To Join Factories As Workers, Learning And Becoming Skilled At A Job In An Industry That Now Stands On Their Shoulders.

Khan & Rodrigues

As the industry developed at a lightning speed, the young government struggled to keep up with its needs, often becoming lenient in matters of infrastructure, zone requirements and so on. Particularly, stated Minister Quader *in his interview with Khan (2013)*:

“When the garments industry started, as it was labour intensive and not necessarily heavily reliant on massive machinery or even capital-intensive, many small-scale factories sprang up across cities, sometimes leasing space inside shopping centers or residential areas. When the factories did grow in size, they moved away from the cities and built custom-manufacturing plants. But there still remain many small factories that are housed in residential and commercial areas, retail areas. Because the garments industry has been contributing significantly and essentially to the economy of the country, the government did not necessarily restrict the progress by being very strict on such matter, in order to help the industry grow further.”

5. Need over Want: The Savar Story Revisited

While the world reeled from yet another Iraqi insurgency's raids from the day-before on the Hawija city of Iraq that left dozens dead (Griffs, 2013), the lapse in rules and regulations and weak implementation of safety standards in Dhaka, Bangladesh led to a building collapse began to make headlines. Within minutes, Rana Plaza Complex located in an industrial city outside Dhaka city, Bangladesh, a residential building housing five export-quality garments factories, crashed down on its inhabitants, killing hundreds and trapping. As the minutes turned to hours, the world stood by, watching in horror as the full extent of the devastation came to light.

Savar is a sub-district of the capital city Dhaka in Bangladesh, about 20 kilometers from the capital. It is an industrial zone housing hundreds of factories and manufacturing plants such as the Rana Plaza.

Rana Plaza was originally developed as a shopping complex whose foundation stood on a pond. It was first a four-storied building with permission and foundation for only four stories (CPD Report, 2013). However, the owner of the building developed four more stories without permit in order to house more garment factories. With shaky grounds to stand on and added load of four extra stories and heavy machinery, the building was an accident waiting to happen, especially when cracks appeared and workers still were forced into the building on the morning of the incident.

A day prior to the collapse, workers complained of cracks that appeared across the length of the building. The local non-government agency, Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BGMEA) demanded the building closed till investigations could declare the building safe for workers to return. This warning was not heeded (Reaz-bin-Mahmoud *in interview with Khan, 2013*).

As the industrial district woke up to early morning sunshine, people catching breakfast at roadsides and worker milling into different factories to start work, workers from Rana Plaza were being threatened with salary cuts and no-pays if they did not enter the building. The owner of the building boldly declared the building would continue to stand another 100 years.

Khan & Rodrigues

But as history has proved such glam-claims false in the past, as the proverbial saying goes, history was indeed about to repeat itself.

Around 9am people around the building heard a loud boom and rumbling that seemed to begin from the depths of the ground and end in the deafening collapse of the eight-story complex leaving behind smog of dust, debris, smoke, ear-piercing screams and total chaos. The Rana Plaza complex in Savar had just collapsed like a pan-cake, killing hundreds instantly and trapping thousands in its steel grip (Ghulam Murtaja *in interview with Khan*, 2013).

Within the hour, at least 39 bodies had been dragged out and sent to the nearby hospital. The numbers began to rise alarmingly, almost doubling every hour. As the day dragged on, news began to pour out of the wreckage, shedding light into the true plight of the trapped workers, their families and friends and the people of Bangladesh (Anwar Hossain *in interview with Khan*, 2013). The chilling photos and videos by brave men, women, and journalists began to make rounds on Twitter, Facebook, online news sites, television channels and so on.

Besides firefighters, police, army and rescue workers, even common men and women from around the building vicinity jumped in, with no heed to their own safety, to help those who were still trapped inside, screaming to be dragged out, begging for another chance at living. These volunteers began to pull unbelievable feats, going in through trap holes where doctors or fire fighters wouldn't go fearing too high a risk on their own lives (Major Rahman *in interview with Khan*, 2013). One such volunteer, Mohammad Ejajuddin Ahmed Kaykobad made headlines, when he lost his life trying to save a garment worker, Shahina who was trapped for over 100 hours and could not be saved as a fire broke out at the last minute killing her and her rescuer. These volunteers cried 'Allah have mercy' when finally, after 96 hours of non-stop manual rescue efforts, the government brought in heavy machinery to move boulders, a clear sign that all hopes had just diminished of ever finding anyone else alive (Anwar Hossain *in interview with Khan*, 2013). Thousands were still missing.

With no proper record of number of workers, identifications on bodies became a near-impossible task. Volunteers, fire fighters and rescue workers began using any means to try and help families find closer. Dialing mobile numbers given by family members, looking through handbags and pockets of dead bodies led to some identification and too many heart-wrenching realizations of loss (Muhammad Lutful Haq *in interview with Khan*, 2013).

All volunteers, workers and viewers at home screamed with joy and shouted 'Allahu Akbar' when after 17 days of the collapse, Reshma Begum, a garment worker trapped in was rescued alive, once again restoring on-lookers' and family members' hopes and beliefs in miracles (Reaz-bin-Mahmoud *in interview with Khan*, 2013). Alas, there would be no more.

Rana Plaza collapse claimed a total of 1132 lives; 2438 workers were rescued alive and about 330 workers are still missing.

6. Commitments and Stakeholders

Majority of the victims of Rana Plaza tragedy were the sole bread-earners of the family. 25% of the workers who died had children who are now orphaned with no concrete plans for financial and educational stability in the future.

BGMEA's Reaz bin-Mahmoud, vice-president and CPD's Dr. Moazzem both have confirmed that Government, banks, factory owners have come forward to pledge 140,000,000 while the hospitals have reduced costs, especially Apollo Hospital Dhaka. Dr. Moazzem said *in an interview with Khan* (2013):

“Although in the beginning many stakeholders expressed their interests to help the workers and their families, in reality, as time passes, the situation seems to be different, especially for injured workers who need long-term rehabilitation, may be even alternate sources of income.

We need to take lessons on how to support the workers on short, medium and long-term basis. Government and international buyers need to commit themselves to helping the industry become safer structurally, environmentally, socially. But we haven't seen such changes or mindsets yet.”

That was August 2013.

7. A Year on... any Conclusion in Sight?

Immediately after the collapse of Rana Plaza, many international brands refused any dealings with any of the five factories housed in the complex, though tender receipts of such brands were later found in the ruins. Many others announced that they would leave the market altogether as the Pope labeled the Bangladeshi garment workers 'slave labour' and Walt Disney rated it the 'highest risk country'.

Professor Yunus stated *in interview with Khan* (2013):

“Business houses need to understand that while the garment workers are physically working in Bangladesh, they are actually contributing their labour for their business. Buying houses leaving Bangladesh is not a solution. It will only add to the existing problem”

Almost a year after the tragedy, only a handful of international brands such as Primark has made short-term donations towards compensating their supply chain worker victims and their families. But is it enough?

A Rana Plaza Trust Fundⁱⁱ has been set up with the help and under the supervision of ILO in January 2014 after talks failed between owners of clothing brands and pressure groups. Under the ILO Convention 121 and the Bangladesh law, some victims made claims to the Trust Fund and receive a minimum payment of BTK 50,000 by the first anniversary of the tragedy, money that is desperately needed in order to pay for treatments, lost salaries, and to move forward

Khan & Rodrigues

with their lives (Butler, 2014). The claims will be processed from a single point of the Trust Fund to make it easily accessible and transparent for the beneficiaries and all involved (RanaPlazaArrangement, 2014). So far, about \$19.4 million has been donated by:

- Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice
- Auchan (US \$ 1,500,000)
- Bonmarché
- BRAC USA (US \$ 2,205,000), including donations from:
 - Asda
 - Gap Foundation
 - The Children's Place
 - VF Foundation
 - Walmart
 - Walmart Foundation
- C&A Foundation (US \$ 690,000)
- Camaïeu
- Debenhams
- El Corte Inglés
- Everlane
- G. Güldenpfennig GmbH (US \$ 500,000)
- H&M Conscious Foundation
- Inditex
- Kik (US \$ 1,000,000)
- Loblaw (US \$ 3,370,620)
- LPP S.A.
- Mango
- Mascot
- Matalan
- N Brown Group
- Premier Clothing
- Primark (US \$ 1,000,000)
- Trade Union Congress/TUC (€ 20,000)
- University College Student Association of University College Utrecht (€ 1,277.32)
- Zebra Fashion

However, estimated required fund to cover all beneficiaries is US \$ 40 million.

Of the 28 US retailers who were linked to the building collapse directly, only 16 have confirmed their donation to the Trust Fund (RanaPlazaArrangement, 2014). The apparel industry is estimated to be a \$48 billion industry; having collected only US\$19 million seems a drop in that bucket (Butler, 2014). Brands such as Gap and Walmart have been heavily criticized for their contribution of \$2.2 million by the IndustriALL, international trade union's general Secretary, Jykri Raina (Butler, 2014). Benetton has yet to confirm any pledges of contribution.

Another initiative, the Accord for Fire and Building Safety in Bangladeshⁱⁱⁱ was signed by the government, non-government organizations such as BGMEA and 150 international brands and retailers in May of 2013 after the Savar Tragedy. The Accord was signed with IndustriALL and

Khan & Rodrigues

UNI Global Union after they challenged brands to sign such an agreement in wake of such a disaster.

This Accord has published its first round of independent and transparent inspection report of factories in Bangladesh. The report identifies a number of serious issues that need to be addressed immediately (UNI Global Union, 2014). Some of these include:

- Weight distribution inside factories
- Better support for electrical cables
- Improve maintenance

However, be it the Rana Plaza Arrangement or the Bangladesh Accord, these initiatives are still one-sided attempts to help the garment workers and victims. Bangladesh depends heavily on this industry for its exports and finding solutions to problems after-the-effect cannot always be the answer. Said Professor Yunus *in interview with Khan* (2013):

“We need to find solutions, not escape routes. The 3.6 million garment workers in Bangladesh depend on the buyers’ business as sources of livelihood and Bangladesh still offers the most competitive pricing. So, the focus should be on ethical trading and manufacturing.”

Bangladesh is not alone in its plight.

The Shree Arihant Complex and Bhiwindi^{iv} collapse in Mumbai India in 2013, the fires in factories in Karachi and Lahore, Pakistan^v, the fire in a Chinese factory in Prato^{vi}, or the constant plights of garment workers in Sri Lanka, China, Pakistan, Cambodia seem to be increasingly hitting the headlines with alarming regularity, screaming out against multinational corporations and their lack of social responsibilities.

Though most apparel brands claim their products are “ethically sourced”, their attempts to seek manufacturing plants in low-wage developing nations to drive down production costs and increase profits inadvertently gives rise to what is commonly termed as ‘sweat shops’ (Arnold and Hartman, 2005).

8. Future Study

Time and again, there have been a few studies that have shown that consumers’ expectations of corporate social responsibility have also increased world-wide due to mass movement across the globe against human-rights violations in well-known apparel plants including child labour, etc. along with concerns over production conditions (Adams, 2002). They are not only concerned about what the retailer sells or at what price, also under what conditions those apparels were produced (Adams, 2002).

However, very little research has been carried out to actually understand consumers’ attitudes and motivations towards ethical manufacturing. Can consumers’ buying behaviour towards ethically manufactured apparels force brands to adhere to their corporate social responsibility and extend it to their offshore manufacturing plants?

Khan & Rodrigues

Alongside inspections and minimum wages, it is becoming necessary to increase consumer awareness to ethical manufacturing through programs such as:

- designer-labels that clearly announce ethical manufacturing, or
- increase in retail prices that clearly explain where the extra money is going

Initiatives such as the above can make consumers pressure-groups to ensure the international brands and retailers are treating their supply chain workers ethically and fairly.

As it is out of the scope of this paper, it is recommended that a follow up study be conducted that studies the consumers' perceptions of apparel manufacturing, its supply chain, workers' conditions and the extent of their awareness.

If the world wants to ensure another Rana Plaza tragedy does not occur somewhere else in the underdeveloped, abused worker-market, the time is now to act for indeed it is their needs over consumers' wants that should matter if this industry wants to become sustainable.

Endnotes

ⁱ MultiFibre Arrangement (MFA) provides bilateral quotas against textile and clothing exports from developing nations so developed countries can manufacture. It is administered under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), it is neither nondiscriminatory nor avoids restrictions based on quantity (Goto, 1989)

ⁱⁱ In September 2013 representatives came together to form the Rana Plaza Coordination Committee. With International Labour Organisation (ILO) acting as a neutral chair, its purpose is to develop a comprehensive and independent process to deliver support to the victims in a predictable manner consistent with ILO (Source: RanaPlazaArrangement, 2014)

ⁱⁱⁱ "The Accord is an independent agreement designed to make all garment factories in Bangladesh safe workplaces. It includes independent safety inspections at factories and public reporting of the results of these inspections and expects all stakeholders to commit" (Source: Bangladesh Accord, 2014).

^{iv} A two-story building in the Shree Arihant complex collapsed in Bhiwandi, in the western state of Maharashtra. (Source: Wall Street Journal, 2013, Available URL: <http://blogs.wsj.com/indiarealtime/2013/07/04/garment-factory-collapse-in-mumbai/>)

^v Almost 300 people were killed in two separate blazes in Karachi and Lahore. (Source: The Economist, 2012, Available URL: <http://www.economist.com/blogs/banyan/2012/12/garment-factory-fires>)

^{vi} Due to a fire in a Chinese textile factory in Prato, seven people were killed a few days ago. (Source: Rupp, J. 2013, Rupp Report: Chinese "Made in Italy". Textile World. Available URI: http://www.textileworld.com/Categories/The_Rupp_Report?page=2)

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Khan & Rodrigues

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