

ISSN 2072-3334

Development Compilation
Vol. 17. Number 01. May 2022**GENDER ISSUES IN LABOR UNION OF BANGLADESH:
FACTORS AND SOLUTIONS****M. M. Ashaduzzaman Nour***
Md. Mujahidul Islam**
Nahin Anzoom Sayed***

Abstract: This research aims to identify why women workers do not usually join the labor union and how feminizing the labor union would challenge the gender structure of the wage labor in Bangladesh. This study follows qualitative research methods and took in-depth interviews of fifteen women workers who had at least five years of working experience in the apparel industry in Gazipur, Savar, and Nabinagar. This study reveals that Crain's hypothesis on why women usually do not join the labor union is still relevant to the Bangladeshi context. The mediating variable- feminizing the labor union would challenge the current gendered structure of wage labor in Bangladesh.

Keywords: Labor Union; Apparel Industry; Gender Discrimination; Wage Structure; Bangladesh

Introduction

A trade union is a group of workers who, with the help of their elders, bargain with employers on behalf of their members and discuss labor contracts (Boris and Fish, 2014; Freeman and Medoff, 1984). Wages, job conditions, complaint processes, laws regulating the hiring, firing, and retention of employees, compensation, occupational safety, and regulations are examples of this (Behrens et al., 2004; Freeman and Medoff, 1984). In Bangladesh, there are a variety of trade unions that also aim to defend and secure the rights and interests of employees. Workers or employers may join a trade union or a coalition of trade unions by registering under Chapter XIII of the Bangladesh Labour Act, 2006 (Imran, 2020; Islam and Asaduzzaman, 2015). The association, as law depicted,

* Assistant Professor, Department of Public Administration Bangladesh University of Professionals (BUP), Bangladesh.

** Assistant Professor, Department of Public Administration, Begum Rokeya University, Rangpur, Bangladesh.

*** Department of Public Administration, Bangladesh University of Professionals (BUP), Bangladesh.

has the authority to partner with any international body, staff, employer's coalition, or labor union. Primary unions at the establishment level, commercial unions at the sectoral level, and national unions are the different categories of labor unions in Bangladesh.

Problem statement

The percentage of women in trade unions has not risen with the country's increased female labor force participation (CLARK et al., 1991; Schultz, 1990). Thus, there remains an apparent underrepresentation of women in labor unions. According to a survey, female labor force participation rose three times faster than male labor force participation between 2000 and 2013 (Rahman and Islam, 2013). Despite the rapid entry of women into the labor force, most women workers are not covered by labor law, and even those who are, such as garment workers and public sector employees, live in deplorable conditions and earn pitiful salaries.

The campaign by woman employers for "fair wages to men and women for equal work" is likely to raise not only the issue of what constitutes "equal work" and "equal pay," but also the question of the unequal responsibilities of family duties borne by men and women wage-earners (Ahmed and Maitra, 2015; Ahmed and McGillivray, 2015). It is now well acknowledged that, in the past, males and females were scarcely paid equally for jobs virtually equivalent to all intents and purposes. As a result, the shortage of women in organized national leadership posts may represent women's numerical underrepresentation of labor, their willingness to stay loyal to workers, and their mistrust of national conscience politics.

On the other hand, because of the negative connotations that mainstream politics and policymakers had for female employees in their fields or workplaces, women union leaders may choose to separate themselves from them (Tariq and Syed, 2017). If this is the case, union tradition and experience simultaneously exclude women from leadership positions while also motivating them to unite at various times and by multiple means and form ties with other women who share their frustration with the labor movement. In this regard, it is worthy to state that women are rarely invited to decision-making meetings, such as working groups, where they could get valuable insight (Ahmed, 2004). Male delegates also dominate National conferences because federations only invite the chairman and secretary-general of their organizations or venue offices.

Women make up a small portion of the workforce (Ferdaush and Rahman, 2011). Women can find it difficult to question gender inequality in labor unions in male-dominated industries (Bridges et al., 2011). Few factory employees make more than the minimum wage, so it seemed that fair pay for equal jobs was guaranteed by statute (Ahmed and Maitra, 2010). Many

scholars, however, readily admitted that women are discriminated against because they do not receive a household pension or family medical care (Razzaque et al., 2010).

Objectives of the study

Against this backdrop, this study aims to identify why women workers do not usually join the labor union in Bangladesh. This study explores how feminizing the labor union would challenge the gender structure of the wage labor in Bangladesh.

Literature Review

This section of the study delineates different scholarly contributions to the labor movement (Lichtblau, 1954; Armbruster-Sandoval, 2003; Azam and Salmon, 2004; McGuire, 1999) and the underlying intention of this movement. Some studies focused on workplace hazards (Bolle, 2014; Caraway, 2009; Mark, 2009; Berik) which in many cases leads to labor dissatisfaction and unrest. The study of Anner, 2009; Dawkins, 2010; Nuruzzaman, 2006 and Choi, 2003 delineates the character of labor union formation and how it loses its bargaining power.

Labor Union

The study of Anner (2009) faculty of Pennsylvania State University explained different mechanisms of union formation for economic globalization and labor transformation. Pooled time series, regression, controlled meetings, and progression tracing have been used to conclude. They offered compelling support for transnational and progressive flank processes. The study of Dawkins (2010) revealed that economic equality, secured workplace, accountability, and social justice are all aspects of trade union social responsibility. Different works of literature integrated the relationship between corporate social responsibility and labor unions to conceptualize labor union social responsibility. Nuruzzaman's (2006) research work in the 1980s and 1990s examined the labor opposition to pro-market economic changes in Bangladesh. The initiatives to resist privatization and industrial reforms failed for several reasons: worker disunity, a shortage of committed leaders and firm dedication, political parties' dominance over their respective trade unions, the waning role of leftist trade unions in labor politics, and a lack of plan. The paper of Choi (2003) investigated the impact of implicit or explicit threat effects of FDI on labor markets in the U.S.A. The study finds a significant negative impact of FDI on union workers' bargaining outcomes and is negatively associated with a wage premium.

Labor Movement

The study of Lichtblau (1954) focused on the unique role of the South Asian labor movement in improving workers' lives. It found that the trade union movement plays a significant role in western industrial development

for both workers and releasing political and social tensions. Still, in South Asia, the leaders used the movement as their political weapon for their gains rather than protecting the interest of workers. It suggests that group consciousness is essential in the labor movement to protect the interest of workers. The survey of Armbruster-Sandoval (2003) explored the factors behind the success and failure of a global labor organizing campaign named *kimi* that occurred at a maquiladora factory in Honduras. The Boomerang effect model has been used to analyze this case. The positive outcomes of this campaign were strikes for workers' rights (collective bargaining) raising the minimum wage. Capital mobility, strategic conflicts, high unemployment, historical rivalries, fear of mass firing become the main factors of its failure. It concluded that capitalism is one enemy, but there are many enemies. It was recommended that the Union confront these foes on a short, medium, and long-term basis and fight for tangible gains and that progressive change would help these campaigns flourish. In their paper, Azam and Salmon (2004) analyzed the political measurement of the trade union movement. A simple game-theoretic model illustrates the game between trade unions and the government where a third party is an average voter or electorally representative or negotiator. The conclusion is that, in the run-up to the election, the government lacks trust in its pledge not to boost employment-generating public spending to increase its chances of maintaining the status quo. In the study of McGuire (1999) in sixteen countries in East Asia and Latin America, researchers looked at the effect of labor movement intensity on human development. Ordinary least square multiple regression is used to interpret the data. According to the report, labor density had a weak positive impact on productivity, soft adverse effects on income allocation, child mortality, and living conditions, and a substantial negative impact on infant mortality reduction and life expectancy extension. Labor participation hurts human development (wellbeing of the poor).

Professional Hazards for the labor

Bolle (2014), a specialist in international trade and finance, gave an overview of the tragedy of Rana Plaza, Bangladesh, and the government's response after the disaster. The factory collapse raised the concerns that the R.M.G. sector may not meet basic safety and health standards. It concluded that governments with international organizations take some initiatives on the working condition of workers to bring some positive changes. In the study of Caraway (2009) analyzed the impact of modified laws In East Asia, De Jure and De Facto Employment Security is used to safeguard cooperative and human labor equality. It found a gap between rules and practices, which ultimately became ineffective in protecting labor rights. Individual labor was revised to provide more excellent protection, but Collective labor laws need to be improved with international labor

standards. In the study of Mark (2009), the importance of workers' active involvement in improving working conditions in the global business sector was stressed. Activists, consumers, writers, and branded firms have brought a new local layer to labor interactions to draw attention to employees' working conditions. This study (Berik, n.d.) explored the prevailing labor standards in Cambodia and Bangladesh. To cut the labor costs and improve the price competitiveness. Cambodia is better than Bangladesh for its effective monitoring and independent domestic policies. It also mentioned that Bangladesh's working condition is poor due to the downward pressure on labor costs. It indicates that trade-linked schemes will raise working standards while stifling economic development or creating jobs.

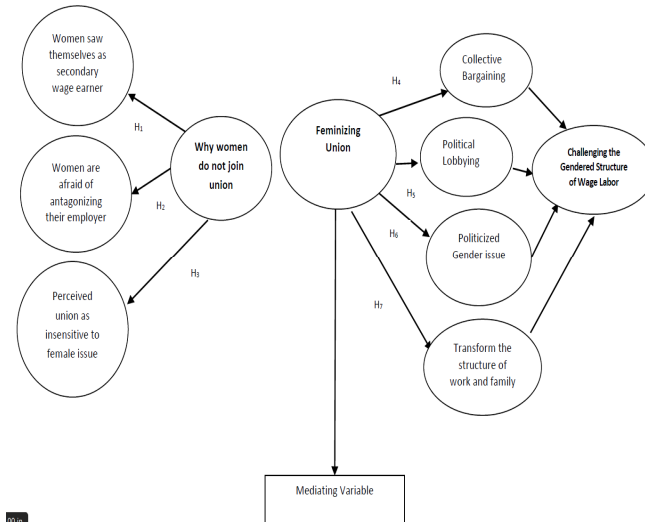
Research Gap

However, the literature above focuses on various issues related to labor unrest, labor management, and the impact of a labor union on the smooth operation of the industry. After careful consideration of the literature reviewed in this segment, it is quite understandable that there remains a dearth of research studies in the Bangladeshi context portraying the analysis of low wages from a gender lance. Thus, there remains a research gap in this particular field of research, and this research would contribute to reducing the gap by looking through these issues from the structured framework of Crain (1990).

Conceptual Framework

This conceptual framework was a revised version of Crain's work in 1990. The central question for this study is finding a solution to wage discrimination for women laborers in Bangladesh. Previous literature in this regard depicts that the lack of women's representation in labor unions is one of the most staggering factors behind the gendered wage structure in Bangladesh. Thus, two questions arise: why do women not join in Labour Union? And how does the proportionate representation of women in labor challenge the gendered structure of wage labor in Bangladesh? Thus, this framework tries to answer these questions by adopting the idea of Crain (1990). This study demonstrates three hypotheses on low representation of women in labor union h1: women saw themselves as a secondary wage earner, h2: women are afraid of antagonizing their employer; and h3: Women Labour perceived labor union as insensitive female issues. In this regard, this study proposes feminizing Union as a mediating variable that could solve the problem earlier in four ways. Thus, this study explains how feminizing the labor union could challenge the gendered structure of wage labor in Bangladesh. The possible outcomes are mentioned as hypotheses which include; h4: feminizing the labor union may empower the women for collective bargaining, h5: feminizing the labor union may assign the women for political lobbying, h6: feminizing

the labor union may empower the women to be politicized their issues, h7: feminizing the labor union may transform work and family life of women labor.



Source: (Crain, 1990)

Methodology

This study follows a qualitative research methodology to generate more significant insights into this issue. Open-ended, in-depth interviews were conducted with triads of women (interviewed individually), including young women, married women, and widowed working women. In all, 15 people were interviewed. Both women with at least five years of experience working in the fashion industry were included in our original universe for choosing the triads. Another requirement for inclusion was that the other senior women in the trio (the young married woman) have a basic understanding of labor unions. Based on indicators in the research system, we randomly selected 20-woman laborers from the list of women laborers in the three areas (Gazipur, Savar, and Nabinagar) who met the above requirements. We used only the ten relevant respondents to avoid uncertainty in analyzing the feminization of the labor union in cross-generational processes.

Interviews explored how the labor union is gendered in Bangladesh how and why women labor was largely excluded from the labor union. The data was collected by three field researchers (one woman and two men). The investigators were well-known in the study cultures, and they had a great rapport with locals and a knack for establishing connections with

newcomers. After each discussion, the field researchers made notes describing the environment, "body language," and other findings, which were then inserted into the transcribed interviews, which would then be translated into English.

Result and Discussion

Women saw themselves as secondary wage earner

Since women continue to make up the bulk of nonstandard jobs in Bangladesh, the new middle-class, married female population saw themselves as secondary wage earners (Alamgir and Alakavuklar, 2020; Elder, 2014). Many women, like men, want careers that have opportunities for promotion and pay enough to supplement the family income. There are now enough women sweeping into senior positions in the labor market rather than uniquely individual cases. Therefore, despite essential changes in women's attitudes to employment, since the recent development, the work is still less central to women's lives than to men. Most women were still primary domestic workers and secondary wage earners while husbands were primary earners; most women regarded home and children as women's prime aim and main job. So that children took priority over a career and that there was little evidence that women saw themselves becoming equal or joint earners on the terms as their husbands (Cain et al., 1979; Kabeer, 2011).

All these conclusions remain valid today in the 2020s. Even though the garment sector's polarization has created a sharp divide between these home-centered women and the minority of career-oriented women for whom work is just as important as it is for men. The polarization process has created a sharp divide between these home-centered women and the minority of career-oriented women for whom employment is just as meaningful as it is for men. Who does not see a home or children as their main goals in life, and who, whether or not they marry, see themselves as self-sufficient wage earners? As a result, there will still be data to affirm both the pessimistic and optimistic perspectives on women's employment prospects.

Women's interests have emerged as a significant new social force, potentially superseding the conventional demographic, social, fiscal, and structural details. Women's desires have become a decisive new social factor, theoretically overcoming the structural, social, economic, and institutional factors that have traditionally been so critical. Modern industrial society has the conditions for women to make simple choices between two polarised lifestyles. So, their preferences have become an essential new social factor, possibly overriding the structural, social, economic, and institutional factors that have historically been so important. With the likelihood of polarization between work-focused and home-focused women in previous decades, diversity and distinction are now central aspects of the female community (Schuler and Rottach, 2010).

The women who talked of a home did not see themselves as wage earners or individuals who could financially support a family. Despite their painful experiences as dependent females, some women cannot break

away from dependence on a male breadwinner. The first wish of the men was for a career, the second was for wellbeing, and the third was for money to get out of kidnapping lines. The women, by contrast, wanted a home first, their children second, and their mental health third. These wishes reflect very different cultural values, for the men see work as the means to an end while the women see the future and do not identify the means. For some of the women interviewed, a man would provide the home, thus enabling the women to achieve the other two goals. However, there was no man in their lives (D. A. Dia, personal communication, November 13, 2020).

The patriarchal family system seems appealing to some women because men are expected to fix their problems. A few women saw themselves as the determiners of their futures. The women mentioned work first, such as independence due to their jobs (M. B. Masuma, personal communication, November 25, 2020). While interviewing, the desire to "stay at home with the kids" was a common theme from the women's accounts of their lives. Since having children, few have had a stable relationship with the wage labor force (A. R. Rashmi, November 17, 2020). Women balance individual career development, contributions to the household income, and child-rearing responsibilities. They included themselves in part-time employment and frequently involved short-term or interrupted involvement in paid labor—for example, contract-based home servants, household, and domestic workers in Bangladesh.

Women are afraid of antagonizing their employer

Women who spend most of their time at work face their most significant employer concerns. What would my boss say for me? Will my pay be reduced? Is it possible for me to simultaneously have a job and be a mother? Women, for example, are frequently apprehensive about taking a career break, and this is true not only for taking a career break to raise children but also for working, volunteering, or caring for elderly family members (L. A. Lily, personal communication, November 23, 2020). Even if they are afraid of losing their job if they antagonize their employers, they can willingly work overtime to demonstrate good performance (A. R. Paul, personal interview, November 28, 2020).

Women often complain to relatives or social media but usually do not report the wrongdoing to their employers. Workers who have been sexually harassed refer to someone at work informally about it, such as a colleague or a union official, while far fewer file formal charges; those who file formal complaints risk backlash (S. Islam, personal communication, November 18, 2020). Apart from the fear of reprisal, there are a variety of additional reasons why employees may be hesitant to speak out, such as worry that they will not be believed or a lack of clarity in the company's instruction manual about how to spot and address any potential conflict of interest (R. Dash, personal communication, November 26, 2020).

Unfortunately, certain employer practices only comply with the law while encouraging employee complaints. Furthermore, a lack of adequate

instruction in how to complain induces a mistrust of harmful outcomes such as alienation or firing and being blamed on them. As a result, they have no faith in H.R., and H.R. does not work for them; instead, it works for management and frequently reports to the offender. They stand to risk a lot of money. They feel that entering the Union would discourage them from pursuing their professional objectives and that they cannot afford to sacrifice their employment or money. The issue stems from the company's culture. Victims believe or are advised that inappropriate conduct by several founders and C.E.O.s are ordinary. H.R. is the problem. Many who report accidents to H.R. are dismissed or announced as overreacting, meaning they will not report any further incidents (A. Bishwas, personal communication, November 7, 2020).

Perceived Union as insensitive to the female issue

Generally, women should have positive images of unions and see unions as instrumental to resolving work-related problems because Union egalitarian and protective policies can inhibit employer discrimination against them and improve their working conditions (Hayden, 2005). This study reveals that the women have negative union images and lower perceived union instrumentalists due to past gender discrimination by unions and contemporary unions' insensitivity toward women's issues. Historically, some unions have discriminated against women. Women have been portrayed as difficult to organize and unreliable in union loyalty because of their domestic responsibilities, intermittent employment, and subordination of class and workplace interests to family concerns (Rock, 2001). Some unions have adopted the "home and mother- argument to restrict women's labor force participation and encouraged women to see their interests apart from men's.

Despite some improvements in the situations of women in the labor movement under the influence of a large influx of female members into many labor organizations, there are still barriers to accomplishing women's goals, primarily due to weak female leadership in unions (Milkman, 1984). Both unions and their feminist affiliates have used several tactics to discuss women's problems. Any trade unions largely neglect women's concerns, assuming that women are still a minority in the workforce and their challenges are similar to men's. Others formed women's divisions or councils to provide services to women and promote their participation as members of a discriminated-against gender. Also, in previous seasons, unions have discriminated against women regarding their membership and control on policy decisions (Wertheimer, 1984; Daniels, 1984).

Accordingly, the history of discrimination against women and weak female leadership in unions might negatively affect their union images and perception of union instrumentality. From a women's perspective, associations may be considered male-dominant worker organizations to protect unionized men at the expense of women, which might cause female workers to have more negative union images. Female workers

have strong feelings that unions are helpful to a certain degree to prevent employment discrimination against them in the workplace; however, because of insufficient responses to women's needs and lack of representation in leadership. Women are less likely than men to find union membership valuable are. Women's Participation Challenges and Strategies include the double workload and family role; women face societal obstacles and time pressures due to their household role. They are hampered by their family's lack of experience with union jobs. Because of the (perceived) obligation to prioritize their families and household responsibilities, union women leave their jobs after getting married.

Men also use women's childbearing and child-rearing responsibilities as a justification for keeping them out of union leadership positions. This is attributed to social pressures for women to become wives and Union women's inability to pay for domestic help. Unions would be reluctant to change the dates and places of their sessions to include women (though some women complain that employers do not permit the Union to meet during working hours or for women to join such meetings). Many women are put off from entering trade unions by their unflattering look, which conflicts with women's traditional positions in the home and peaceful life. Labor unions are often linked with trouble, crime, and chaos in the media and policymakers. Some people equate trade unions with strikes, but many claim that protests are just for factory workers. Since seeing on television, women have been afraid of being beaten by police at a demonstration, and some of their husbands have stopped them from attending.

Many people who live far away from their parents and immediate families hide their union activism or limit how much and what detail they share with them when they return home. Women have less formal and informal leadership training than men, resulting in a shortage of experienced female union leaders. Women are elected to fewer leadership posts in unions than men, which is unsurprising, even in fields where women make up the bulk of the workforce. Men disproportionately head global trade union federations in these sectors. Even though both men and women have difficulties receiving dispensation from their employer or manager, there are several gender-specific explanations for women's underrepresentation of leadership roles.

This may be due to a pervasive misinterpretation of religious views about women's leadership, as well as the perpetuation of stereotypes that women are somehow incapable of leading. Women's skills are valued differently from men's. Women are considered less capable of taking on leadership positions than men due to their supposedly more emotional temperament and lack of experience. Women union officials have been judged by their appearance rather than their abilities, which may not be the case for men in leadership positions. Many men are reluctant to allow women the respect and independence to participate in important events or make crucial decisions. Several others cited cases in which male union leaders forbade them from joining in such internal union activities,

presumably due to female union leaders' risks. Women have little access to educational opportunities, essential for aspiring to leadership positions.

Feminizing the Union: Way to break the shackle of gender-biased wage Collective bargaining challenges the Rendered structure of wage labor

The value of collective bargaining for the pursuit of equity is argued in this report, which discusses some of the emerging problems. While both employers and labor unions are involved in collective bargaining, this report focuses on the issues faced by trade unions. The authors of this study conclude that they have a personal interest in using collective bargaining to promote inclusion. Doing so would necessitate a more ambitious reform of unions than merely including women on current bargaining agendas and as union representatives. This may be because women have historically been left out of unions' historical reach and thus removed from collective bargaining. Trade unions exist to serve the needs and desires of all its members, and they bargain for fair working conditions and a safe and stable workplace men and women. As a result, gender considerations must be explicitly considered in collective bargaining; such issues may be of greater significance to women due to their reproductive status, their ascribed role in the family and household treatment, or the consequences of historical segregation.

Political lobbying challenges the gendered structure of wage labor

Political lobbying aims to build up pressure to include pay increases for the laborers. The trade union, in this regard, as the process of "decision from below," works towards recognizing and enforcing women's employment rights. Without the active participation of feminist leadership through labor unions, the women workers would not have established their equal pay for equal work. The call for equal pay for women helped the emergence of a "new gender politics" within labor movements. Since the pay equality process necessitated rigorous and "scientific" studies measuring the perceived importance of jobs done by women versus men, unions became more aware of the gender dominance gap that women regularly face at work. It will also mark a watershed moment in transforming the gender power structure within labor movements. It would continue to be a robust political tool for equality mobilization. While many women have no problem bargaining on their behalf, many more are certainly. The reduction in unionization is particularly detrimental to these women because they have no one to fight for them. They would be unable to receive the pay and benefits they would otherwise obtain. As a result, those who think for women's advancement in the workplace (including gender equality) should raise the number of women in unions.

Politicized gender issues challenge the gendered structure of wage labor

Suppose R.M.G. female employees took an active role in contract negotiations, both observers and negotiators. Women will advance their position as family breadwinners by articulating their central demands for a minimum wage for family survival. Women would also be political players whether they formed "formal" labor unions, formed partnerships with male

coworkers and federation officials, or used their bodies to oppose the state police force. As a result, women will be influential in questioning oppressive Bangladeshi society's traditional perceptions of timid womanly roles and behavior. On the other hand, R.M.G. women employees could be able to improve their battle against wage inequality by using the traditional womanly trait of tolerance. They mainly participate in peaceful marches, as would be expected of a feminist. This position obscures their constructive posts and unwavering commitment to secure pay justice to some degree.

Conclusion

This paper explores that the startling under-representation of women in trade unions for not being covered by the labor law or the plight of the covered few, such as not receiving a family allowance, could not be tackled despite their speedy addition to the labor force. Diminutive confirmation of women becoming joint earners as their husbands is assimilated even though they strive for employment with opportunities for progress and wages to uprise themselves and their families. Difference and diversity are vital characteristics of women in the garments sector whose polarization is outlined for being home-centered or career-oriented, for whom occupation is just as fundamental to their lives as it is for men. Several women prefer the patriarchal family structure as they assume that it ensures a man for taking care of all difficulties. In contrast, others beheld themselves as the architects of their fortunes. The women who allocate most of their time to work are horrified by their employer and become anxious about taking career breaks. The workers who underwent sexual harassment nonchalantly share with the company while much fewer formally complain and face retaliation. Employer policies meet the bare legal requirements while doing the minimum to encourage complaints. The women have morbid impressions of unions due to their discrimination based on sex and their callousness toward women's issues. Some associations toss in the "home and mother" argument to hamper women's labor force involvement and trigger them to pursue interests different from men. Thus this study suggests that through feminizing the Union, the low wage of women apparel industry workers would be mediated. This would be a way to break the shackle of gender-biased salaries. It would enhance the collective bargaining challenges and thus remove the gendered structure of wage labor in Bangladesh. Feminizing the Union, on the other hand, initiate political lobbying, which will also challenge the gendered system of wage labor. And finally, feminizing the Union would further politicize the gender issues and challenges the gendered structure of wage labor in Bangladesh.

References

- Ahmed, F.E., 2004. The Rise of the Bangladesh Garment Industry: Globalization, Women Workers, and Voice. *NWSA J.* 16, 34–45.
- Ahmed, S., Maitra, P., 2015. A Distributional Analysis of the Gender Wage Gap in Bangladesh. *J. Dev. Stud.* 51, 1444–1458.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2015.1046444>

- Ahmed, S., Maitra, P., 2010. Gender Wage Discrimination in Rural and Urban Labour Markets of Bangladesh. *Oxf. Dev. Stud.* 38, 83–112. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13600810903551611>
- Ahmed, S., McGillivray, M., 2015. Human Capital, Discrimination, and the Gender Wage Gap in Bangladesh. *World Dev.* 67, 506–524. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2014.10.017>
- Alamgir, F., Alakavuklar, O.N., 2020. Compliance Codes and Women Workers' (Mis)representation and (Non)recognition in the Apparel Industry of Bangladesh. *J. Bus. Ethics* 165, 295–310. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-018-4080-2>
- Anner, M., 2009. Two Logics of Labor Organizing in the Global Apparel Industry: Two Logics of Labor Organizing. *Int. Stud. Q.* 53, 545–570. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2009.00546.x>
- Armbruster-Sandoval, R., 2003. Globalization and Transnational Labor Organizing: The Honduran Maquiladora Industry and the Kimi Campaign. *Soc. Sci. Hist.* 27, 551–576. <https://doi.org/10.1215/01455532-27-4-551>
- Azam, J.-P., Salmon, C., 2004. Strikes and Political Activism of Trade Unions: Theory and Application to Bangladesh. *Public Choice* 119, 311–334. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:PUCH.0000033323.54694.90>
- Azmeh, S., Nadvi, K., 2014. Asian firms and the restructuring of global value chains. *Int. Bus. Rev.* 23, 708–717. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ibusrev.2014.03.007>
- Behrens, M., Hamann, K., Hurd, R.W., 2004. Conceptualizing Labour Union Revitalization.
- Berik, G., n.d. The Debate on Labor Standards and International Trade: Lessons from Cambodia and Bangladesh 44.
- Bolle, M.J., n.d. Bangladesh Apparel Factory Collapse: Background in Brief 19.
- Boris, E., Fish, J.N., 2014. "Slaves No More": Making Global Labor Standards for Domestic Workers. *Fem. Stud.* 40, 411–443.
- Bridges, S., Lawson, D., Begum, S., 2011. Labour Market Outcomes in Bangladesh: The Role of Poverty and Gender Norms. *Eur. J. Dev. Res.* 23, 459–487. <https://doi.org/10.1057/ejdr.2011.14>
- Cain, M., Khanam, S.R., Nahar, S., 1979. Class, Patriarchy, and Women's Work in Bangladesh. *Popul. Dev. Rev.* 5, 405–438. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1972079>
- Caraway, T.L., 2009. Labor Rights in East Asia: Progress or Regress? *J. East Asian Stud.* 9, 153–186. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1598240800002976>
- Choi, M., 2003. Threat Effect of Foreign Direct Investment on Labor Union Wage Premium. *SSRN Electron. J.* <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.335480>
- CLARK, R., RAMSBEY, T.W., STIER-ADLER, E., 1991. Culture, Gender, and Labor Force Participation: A Cross-National Study. *Cult. Gen. Labor Force Particip. Cross-Natl. Study* 5, 47–66.
- Crain, M., 1990. Feminizing Unions: Challenging the Gendered Structure of Wage Labor. *Mich. Law Rev.* 89, 1155.
- Dawkins, C., 2010. Beyond Wages and Working Conditions: A Conceptualization of Labor Union Social Responsibility. *J. Bus. Ethics* 95, 129–143. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-009-0342-3>
- Elder, S., 2014. Labour Market Transitions of Young Women and Men in Asia and the Pacific.
- Ferdaush, J., Rahman, K.M.M., 2011. Gender inequality in Bangladesh.

- Freeman, R.B., Medoff, J.L., 1984. What Do Unions Do. *Ind. Labor Relat. Rev.* 38, 244.
- Hapke, H.M., 2013. Theorizing Patriarchy: Development Paradoxes and the Geography of Gender in South Asia. *Gen. Technol. Dev.* 17, 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0971852412472121>
- Hayden, G.M., 2005. Working Together: How Workplace Bonds Strengthen a Diverse Democracy 4.
- Horowitz, D., 1996. Rethinking Betty Friedan and The Feminine Mystique: Labor Union Radicalism and Feminism in Cold War America. *Am. Q.* 48, 1–42. <https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.1996.0010>
- Imran, H.F.A., 2020. Definition of Workers and Application of the Bangladesh Labour Act 2006: An Appraisal. *E-J. Int. Comp. Labour Stud.* 9.
- Islam, F., Asaduzzaman, M., 2015. Legal Framework for Trade Unionism in Bangladesh. *IOSR J. Humanit. Soc. Sci.* 20, 13–19. <https://doi.org/10.9790/0837-201131319>
- Kabeer, N., 2011. Between Affiliation and Autonomy: Navigating Pathways of Women's Empowerment and Gender Justice in Rural Bangladesh. *Dev. Change* 42, 499–528. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2011.01703.x>
- Lichtblau, G.E., 1954. The Politics of Trade Union Leadership in Southern Asia. *World Polit.* 7, 84–101. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2009170>
- McGuire, J.W., 1999. Labor union strength and human development in East Asia and Latin America. *Stud. Comp. Int. Dev.* 33, 3–34. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02687522>
- Merk, J., 2009. Jumping Scale and Bridging Space in the Era of Corporate Social Responsibility: cross-border labour struggles in the global garment industry. *Third World Q.* 30, 599–615. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590902742354>
- O'Rourke, D., 2006. Multi-stakeholder regulation: privatizing or socializing global labor standards? *World Dev.* 34, 899–918. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2005.04.020>
- Rahman, R.I., Islam, R., 2013. Female labour force participation in Bangladesh: trends, drivers and barriers (No. 994834893402676), I.L.O. Working Papers, I.L.O. Working Papers. International Labour Organization.
- Razzaque, A., Nahar, L., Khanam, M.A., Streatfield, P.K., 2010. Socio-demographic differentials of adult health indicators in Matlab, Bangladesh: self-rated health, health state, quality of life and disability level. *Glob. Health Action* 3, 4618. <https://doi.org/10.3402/gha.v3i0.4618>
- Rock, M., 2001. The rise of the Bangladesh Independent Garment-Workers' Union (BIGU). *Organising Labour Glob. Asia* 28.
- Schuler, S.R., Rottach, E., 2010. Women's Empowerment across Generations in Bangladesh. *J. Dev. Stud.* 46, 379–396. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220380903318095>
- Schultz, T.P., 1990. Women's Changing Participation in the Labor Force: A World Perspective. *Econ. Dev. Cult. Change* 38, 457–488. <https://doi.org/10.1086/451811>
- Tariq, M., Syed, J., 2017. Intersectionality at Work: South Asian Muslim Women's Experiences of Employment and Leadership in the United Kingdom. *Sex Roles* 77, 510–522. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0741-3>