ABSTRACT

There have been multiple calls to examine the issues surrounding exploitation of workers in Ready Made Factories in Bangladesh in their own right. In response to their call this study presents a preliminary exploration into the social compliance system within RMG factories by taking support of the compliance theory established in management literature. In-depth interviews and observations of 50 workers and managers from three large RMG factories are used in the study. An initial guiding framework for social compliance system is developed to assess the capabilities and commitment of RMG workers and managers and suggests managerial implication to RMG firms on ways to socially comply with fair work practices in their factories.

Keywords: Social compliance, Bangladesh, RMG factories, Capabilities building

INTRODUCTION

A foray into management and international trade literature provides a body of work that reports on strengthening social compliances of Ready-Made Garment (RMG) workers especially within emerging economies (Khosla, 2009; Saini, 2011; Wong, Ormiston, & Tetlock, 2011). Social compliance means adherence to certain social standards. It is a voluntary code of practice imposed upon entrepreneurs to assess their ‘willingness to abide by a given set of regulations (whether laws or codes) without statutory compulsion (Mahmud & Kabeer, 2003, p. 23). Although social compliance is non-obligatory by law; noncompliance can be a cause of serious concern. As the primary objective of social compliance is to protect human rights and welfare of workers who face appalling work conditions (Bordignon, 2013).

Recently, the horrific collapse of Rana Plaza garment factory in Bangladesh that killed thousands of garment workers has turned the world’s attention to the murky business of global sweatshops. Bangladeshi RMG industry is an export oriented industry that has over the years experienced phenomenal growth, in term of its contribution to the country’s GDP, foreign exchange earnings and employment (Ahamed, 2013). However, viewing the industry only through its growth and GDP contribution is a fallacy. There has been substantial research that documents the overtly profiteering nature of the business. The lack of morality towards workers underpins the rise of this industry. Workers in Bangladeshi garment factories are often forced to work under strict
regimentation, for long hours, under unsafe, cramped environments and paid pittance for their work (Ahamed, 2011; Jahan, 2012). At the same time, many global retail companies have flooded into Bangladesh to take advantage of lax labour laws and the lowest wages in the world, so as to reduce their production cost and make more profits.

In response to the plight of RMG workers in Bangladesh, this paper develops a preliminary investigation on the workplace social compliance system of RMG factory workers by taking support of the compliance theory established in the management literature (especially the work of Bordignon, 2013; Etzioni, 1975, 1997; Scheffer & Kaeb, 2011). An in-depth interview of 50 workers from three large RMG factories in Dhaka city is presented in the study. The social compliance framework developed from the findings evaluates the capabilities and commitment of RMG workers and managers to implement fair work practices within their industry.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

The compliance theory at its broadest level deals with the question about behavioral motivation; what leads an entrepreneur to comply (or not comply) with certain social rules (March & Olsen, 2006). Some of these behaviors can be automatic or intentional pursuits of an individual to achieve various goals, such as to maximize one’s utility, fulfill a moral obligation or dispose of fear for sanctions (Etienne, 2011). Alternatively, noncompliance with social rules may sometimes be explained as the result of business owners’ incapacity, incompetency, ignorance, or misunderstandings about regulatory prescriptions (Brehm & Hamilton, 1996). Like for example, in case of the present study our extensive literature search on the underpinning issues surrounding non-compliance behavior within RMG industry did provide a perspective that suggests that over the years many methodical approaches, social codes and monitoring systems have been implemented to monitor the social compliance of Bangladeshi RMG factories. In addition, the overseas contractors (buyers) who deal with their RMG factories (suppliers) also draw their independent code of practice on their respective factories. Such proliferation of social codes from different sources and has somewhat sent a confused message across RMG managers who operate these factories on what social compliance actually means and do they have the required capabilities and commitment to implement
fair work practices in best interest of their workers.

Experts claim that for a deeper understanding of compliance behavior it needs to extend beyond theories and focus on the plurality and heterogeneity of business motives such as, material, emotional and normative goals at play that determine (non) compliance behaviour and for which ample models already exist (e.g., see corporate social responsibility compliance model by (Scheffer & Kaeb, 2011); Lindenberg’s goal framing theory and (Becker, 1968) model of corporate non-compliance. However, the defining moment for social compliance system within RMG industry may not relate to automatic or planned behaviour neither it can be completely categorised as the product of regulative and environmental pressure. Compliance behavior could be the result of a collection of issues and behaviours that mutually explain social compliance system. These issues can be critically assessed through RMG factories’ capabilities to practice compliance behavior versus their commitment to display social compliance behaviour.

Capabilities are valuable resources of a business that provides it with a competitive advantage (Collis, 1994). High-level of business capabilities mostly remain stable and can be met through various business processes, which in turn can incorporate a variety of business roles. These include, to forge new strategies directions (Raymond & Bergeron, 2008); establish new partnership with overseas buyers (Seelos & Mair, 2007) and to take competitive advantage from the market (El Sawy & Pavlou, 2008). Capabilities are defined as the expression or the articulation of the capacity and competency of a business to perform their core functions (Argyres, 2011). For RMG factories, social compliance based capabilities can be described as complex bundle of skills that are required to adhere to a universally acceptable behavior. Given previous research have established the key role of business capabilities in sustaining competitive business environment (for e.g. Sawy & Pavlou, 2008). Our aim in the present study is to explore and understand the key drivers that determine capabilities of RMG firms in Bangladesh and then assess these capabilities with RMG factories commitment to socially comply.

Commitment is not a simple idea that can be quantified easily. It is a complex concept thatembraces a number of elements (Whyatt, Wood, & Callaghan, 2012). These include people’s (employees) beliefs in the goals and values of a business (Blau & Boal, 1989), their willingness to
exert efforts, and their intention to be involved in the business (DeConinck & Bachmann, 2011). Taking support of the established view on commitment mentioned above we explore the key drivers that assesses RMG entrepreneur’s level of commitment to follow social compliance behaviour. Based on this overview we propose two research questions that will be explored in the study:

1) Does RMG firm have the required business capabilities to practice social compliance behaviour within their workplaces and if so what are they?
2) What are the key drivers to entrepreneurial commitment to follow a socially compliance behaviour within RMG factories?

METHODS

Due to the exploratory nature of this study, a qualitative approach is appropriate (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The interview method for data gathering will assist the study to apprehend RMG workers and managers’ feelings, thoughts about behaviours working in RMG factory. Also, this approach will enable the informants to elaborate on their beliefs, priorities, activities and life circumstances that enable them to work with RMG factories (Given, 2008). Besides this, participants’ observations were undertaken to gain an inside perspective on the informants (Kawulich, 2005). It was intended the way informants interact and engage with each other in the RMG factory environment (Kawulich, 2005).

In depth interviews of 50 participants (10 managers and 40 workers) from three large RMG factories in Dhaka city of Bangladesh are used in the study. Large RMG factories were approached for the study because they regularly exported their garments to renowned international brands and interacted with international buyers for work contracts (Rahman, Bhattacharya, & Moazzem, 2007). Hence these factories were more capable of providing us with more insights on how their international buyers treat them, how are international work contracts drawn, do buyers monitor work practices of their contract workers and what social codes and practices they had to put up with in dealings with overseas buyer. Managers were selected because they dealt with workers on daily basis and were familiar with their working conditions and life circumstances. Also, most workers approached their immediate supervisors (manager) as the first point of contact if issues arise from the work place.
Each interview lasted for about 45-60 minutes. In addition, six weeks of participant observation on workers’ behavior within factory premises were also used in the study. Content analysis to identify categories and themes from observation notes and interview data was performed using QSR NVivo 10 software. Following Miles & Huberman (1994) the data was analysed using three-step analysis (see Table 1 for the procedure). Step one, definitions for capabilities and commitment to comply was formed by following the literature. Step two developed interview questions for each category. In step three, the transcripts and observation notes were analyzed together by forming codes under each category. Finally, themes and inferences were cross checked with the help of two other researchers who agreed and confirmed the validity of the interpretation and findings in the qualitative analysis.

Sample Analysis

All managers we interviewed were men and belonged to production and human resource departments and have worked for their respective factory for more than three years. Mid level managers were chosen as participant as they worked closely with their workers on daily bases. Participant managers belonged to the age range of 35 to 45 years old, had bachelor’s degree and received a monthly salary package, ranging from TK. 30,000 to TK. 40,000 per month (which is about $350 – $470 AUD). Conversely, 53% of worker participants in our study were females and 47% were men. They both belonged to the age range of 25-34 years old. Majority of the worker participants had their primary school education and received a monthly wage of in the range of TK. 5,000 to TK. 10,000 per month (which is about $60 – $120 AUD).

FINDINGS

As a result of the analysis procedure, 18 codes were developed. These codes were then grouped to form six themes that belonged to two major categories of 1) Capability Building and 2) Commitment to Comply.
Capability Building

This category was assessed by understanding how RMG businesses operate and what their key strengths are. Observations were also made on workplace facilities, resources and technological ability to comply with international work standards. An understanding on social issues and challenges they face on daily bases to survive competition was also developed to frame this category. As a result of the assessment three themes were developed in the category. Each of these themes is discussed below:

Theme 1: Good relations with buyers

The RMG factories we interviewed had long-term relations with their overseas buyers. They explained to us how they have limited financial and technological capacity to attract overseas buyers and had to be in good books of their overseas buyers to keep their business going. However, this was not an easy task. The overseas buyers were frequently cited as someone who set high standards of code of practice in their contract which leaves RMG factories with little profits. On the other side, they face competition from other RMG factories who gain overseas contracts through unfair means. These firms charge cheaper cost to their overseas buyers and sub-contract the same work to small RMG firms who exploit their worker and pay them pittance for their work. But if the overseas buyers finds out about their unfair practices they also risk of losing their business forever. Hence, the managers suggested that the only way of maintain good working relations with the overseas buyer was by finishing orders on time, through fair dealings with buyers and by setting example of fair treatment to workers. This view is evidenced from manager A’s account, “The buyer want us to follow all the social compliance rules, but in return they don’t offer us good price for our work. Besides, some of our competitors take orders for cheaper price and subcontract the orders to another noncompliance factory which is unethical”.

Theme 2: Family oriented work culture

The observation notes revealed that managers in our study shared a conservative disposition while dealing with their workers. They want to be respected and looked up to as superiors and were referred to as boro bhai (big brother) instead of their name. They consider it to be their right to punish
workers in case a mistake or misconduct happened. Also managers discretion was most important to get approval or opinion on every work related matters. The rationale for such authoritative approach to workers was suggested to be mostly for controlling workplace misbehaviors, wastage of resources and save cost.

At the same time family like work environment is also maintained where advices from older aged workers are taken while dealing with work related problems. At the same time women workers are protected by reducing their working hours so they can go home during day time. Besides work, managers arrange picnics and celebrate festivals and share prayers room with their workers. This view was captured from managers’ responses to our question on their rapport with workers in the factory. Managers’ B replied, “We have family member like relationship with our workers. We know all our workers personally, their family and their home conditions.”

Theme 3: Workers’ endurance and work-ability

This theme was based on our extensive interviews with RMG workers in the study. The analysis suggested new insights on RMG workers’ skill sets and endurance to keep working for their factory. Most workers claimed that they worked long hours and had no complains. They felt a sense of responsibility towards their factory and were collegial to one another. This was evidenced by workers sharing work spaces adjusting to colleagues work schedules, working overtime on short notices to accommodate big work order. Another perspective to their work dedication established in the interviews was their poor economic conditions and lack of education to find skilled jobs in the city. They considered their employer as their life savior and were ready to endure any working conditions to support their management and keep the business running. As workers B explains “I was a housewife but my husband left me two years ago. As I have three kids and I am not educated, I think I would not get any better option than working in a factory like this.”

Thus, three themes framed the capabilities of RMG businesses. These themes highlight the relationship and endurance of managers and workers to sustain the competitive business environment. The findings also evidenced the family like work culture and people’s skills to keep the business running despite limited financial and technological capability.
Commitment to Comply

This category was developed from three themes. The first theme referred to management’s efforts to implement fair work practices. The second theme is about managers’ awareness about social compliance system and third theme examined workers’ involvement in the factory.

Theme 1: Efforts to implement fair work practices

Managers explained how they take care of their workers in the factory. They make sure workers get regular wage payments, safe workplace where the health and safety regulations are followed. Workers who work overtime are provided with food and given bonuses. This view is captured from manager D excerpt; “Ensuring workers safety at workplace is our first priority. Besides, we pay their salary timely and also provide some extra facilities, such as, food, bonus etc.”

However, the worker participants across three factories presented a different perspective. There were many references in the interview transcripts which highlighted workers’ concern over their safety in the factory. Also our observation notes suggested that the factory layout did not provide adequate evacuation arrangements like wide staircases and spacious room in case a fire or emergency took place. On the issue of receiving regular wages the worker participants expressed a different view. They were unhappy about the long wait time between two consecutive pay dates. Workers were mostly paid wages after 7th or 12th day of each month, which extends their wage period from 30 days as per the law to 35 or 40 days. But then the manager participants in our study argued that workers’ expectation are always quite high and since RMG industry is a competitive they are unable to meet all their demands. Managers were happy as long as they are able to employ unskilled workers, train them for work and give them a decent wage. Thus, a strong discrepancy appear in the analysis on what managers considered to be a fair work practice over their workers.

Theme 2: Awareness about social compliance system

In all the three participating factories we came across at least one or two managers who agreed on knowing about social compliance system. They also expressed concern over how society perceives them as exploitative and unfair industry to work with. When in reality things were different. According to them “a developing country like Bangladesh is never comparable with any developed
country in regards to employee welfare or benefits” (Manager E). Managers also explained how the Bangladeshi government authorities often pressured them to follow social compliance based code of practice but on the other end also took heavy bribes to issue factory licenses and resolve workplace accidental cases. Thus, the corrupt system and competitive work environment deterred managers’ ability to run the factory leave alone following a social compliance regulative pattern. This view is captured in Manger F’s excerpts, “Government people do not help us regarding social compliance matter instead we need to pay them bribe to release different factory licenses or resolve any factory accident. Tell me how we should run the factory”

Theme 3: Workers’ involvement in the factory

This theme appeared when managers suggested that apart from a fixed wage rate, workers also receive an additional production wage rate for making different styles of garments as per different contract requirements. Mostly the overseas buyers demand fair treatments to be given to workers who work on their contract. Hence they insist on managers to fix the production wage rates mutually with their workers before they start work. This practice ensures that the managers do not pay lower rates to workers that what is put up for them in the contract. When we interviewed workers on this issue they almost denied their involvement in fixing production wage rate. Few claimed to get to know their wages after the buyers’ job was done and or were made to accept a fixed price set by the management. However, the managers believed that they pay a fair wage rate to their workers. Also it is not always possible to mutually fix wage rates with workers because the RMG industry is very competitive and most of the time workers’ wage demands are really high compare to the actual price managers gets from their buyers. Furthermore, managers explained to us how such contract codes causes them trouble as workers can misuse their rights and delay work until their wage prices are met.

On the issue of joining trade unions to voice their rights the worker participants explained to us how trade unions are slowly being replaced by worker’s participation committee inside the factory. This committee consisted of equal participation from management and workers. Although our participant workers were not very keen to weigh the benefits of trade union versus participation committee, they were quick to suggest that the participation committee had workers’ elected
representatives who worked with the management to negotiate with their owner. Some workers even commented, “we don’t like trade union, they are outsiders....we prefer the participation committee”. When asked if matters related to their health and safety was regularly discussed in the workers’ participation committee. To this the explanation was that they are confident about their job. Their long service period has given them enough practice to work safely. Workers also mentioned how they strictly used earplug, hand gloves, goggles, gumboot, masks as precaution and protection from accidents. As participant workers F said, “We know we have to take care of ourselves and our health to continue our work, so we do that very carefully. Managers also provide us necessary training to avoid any unpleasant situation.”

DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to develop a framework that assesses the capabilities and commitment of RMG factories to engage in social compliance behavior. The social compliance framework developed in the study breaks the traditionally held perception that RMG factory owners in emerging economies do not comply or simply fails to comply with international social compliance standards. Instead, it suggests understanding the key drivers that forms the capabilities of RMG factories and then assessing their efforts or commitment to socially comply with fair work practices. Figure 1 presents a conceptual model developed from the analysis.

A key understanding from the analysis was that engaging in fair work practices underpins the capabilities of RMG factories. It enables them to keep getting more business and maintain good relations with their buyers. Nemati and Dyke, (2009) claims that fair work practices are crucial to every business. It generates a sense of trust and reduces the risk of dealing with a partner (firm). However, fair work practices are not just legal terms enforceable by law or a code of practice established against ineffectual legal system. This term implies an effective mechanism that governs behaviour in the marketplace by creating a level playing field for all businesses (Black & Lynch, 2001). According to Masterson, Lewis, Goldman and Taylor (2000) fair work practices are established through cooperation and engagement of employees and management within the workplace. Employee involvement in decision-making regularly leads to benefits such as increased
productivity and greater collaboration (Kuye & Sulaimon, 2011). Nevertheless, in case of RMG factories workers’ involvement is embedded into a family oriented work culture system where authority and collegiality runs parallel within the workplace. Studies have claimed benefits of collegial work culture in reducing job stress (for e.g. Chand & Koul, 2012; Park, Min, Chang, Kim, & Min, 2009). While, Chirico and Nordqvist (2010) have presented four qualitative case studies that suggest a negative effect of paternalism and family oriented work culture leading to work inertia. However, in context of RMG factories authority and collegiality is rightly balanced by developing a management practice that is acceptable to all. In this work culture superiors (managers and older aged workers) are considered as authority figure and addressed as big brother. Their advices are frequently sort. While women workers are encouraged to join the RMG factory by creating a protective work environment for them to work. Such balanced approach to managing a factory is rare and epitomizes the skills and capabilities of RMG managers in practicing and maintaining an effective work culture.

The study also highlights the people’s strength possessed by RMG factories. This strength enhances the factory’s capabilities to face competitive markets despite limited financial and technological capabilities. The resource based view considers entrepreneurs’ access to human capital as essential in development of their dynamic capabilities (for e.g. Alvarez & Busenitz, 2001; McKelvie & Davidsson, 2009). Employees are also referred to as source for competitive advantage by service firms (Lado & Wilson, 1994). However, what makes RMG firms different to others is the fact that their workers (including managers) are willing to continue working for the factory despite challenging work conditions such as, small work spaces, unethical competition and limited medical and safety facilities. Alternate perspective was also established in the analyses that since RMG workers are unskilled and can’t find decent work outside the factory they continue to work for the factory. This finding is well-accepted within management literature. In fact, experts have drawn comparison between skilled and unskilled workers and have cautioned managers about the problems associated with hiring skilled workers such as, demand for high wage rate and high turnover (Corominas, Pastor, & Plans, 2008; Mollick, 2009). We do not make any such comparisons or recommendation. But based on our experiences interviewing unskilled workers (RMG workers) in the study suggest that if unskilled workers are trained to do their job well and provided with good
working environment they can become a constant source of capability for their business.

The second category of commitment to comply was formed by assessing manager’s efforts to implement fair work practices, their awareness about social compliance system and workers’ involvement in the factory. Managers in our study confirmed to be aware of social compliance code of practice and did perceive strength in their worker resource capabilities. Hence, they claimed to provide regular wages, establish a workers’ participation committee and safe working environment for their staff. However, the discrepancy in opinions between managers and worker participants in our study on issues surrounding wait time for wages and health and safety related issues disqualifies our claim that RMG factories are committed to social compliance system. Also, further analyses through observation notes in this category do not provide substantive base to assert that RMG factories are committed to social compliance practices. Thus, our findings confirm the extensive literature on Bangladeshi RMG factories and further highlight the plight of workers working in such factories (Ahamed, 2011; Ahmed & Hossain, 2009; Das, 2009; Khondker, Razzaque, & Ahmed, 2005).

At this juncture we would like to present the factors that hinder RMG factories commitment to comply and highlight the crucial role of RMG managers in managing on the edge. The RMG industry operates in a competitive industry and is mostly described as a buyer-driven market (Natsuda, Goto, & Thoburn, 2009). As a result of which many factories have to compromise on their worker’s welfare in order to be able to charge cheaper prices to their buyers and obtain more work contracts. The overseas buyers although in a stronger position rarely exert pressure beyond a code of practice to monitor the welfare of workers working on their contract(s). Hence, strengthening the role of overseas buyers in foreseeing the management of RMG business or setting up a system that disqualifies firms who do not follow a fair work practice can set examples for others. In addition, the corrupt government authorities burden managers to run the RMG business through unfair means. As a result the RMG businesses are left with very little profits to uplift the standards of the workers. Thus, viewing the capabilities and commitment categories we suggest managers the following strategies to assess their willingness to socially comply.

First, capitalise on their workers’ capabilities by ensuring a safe and secured working environment. This includes reducing their wait time for wage payments and or paying them their
production wages as they complete orders. Second, conducting healthy and safety workshops where workers are educated about occupational diseases they could face as a result of their job. Also, managers can take advantage of the family oriented work culture and ensure that colleagues discuss and assist one another on the importance of workplace safety and take precautions while at work.

Finally, establish a holistic management system where workers communicate with overseas buyers, know about social compliance systems and discuss issues related to their work freely with their overseas buyers. However, the current study was limited by only 50 managers and workers from 3 large RMG factories of Bangladesh. Future study can be undertaken to further explore this framework developed in our study.

**IMPLICATION OF THE STUDY**

The findings in this study have practical implication for RMG factory managers. The framework developed in the study (See Fig 1) suggests that engaging RMG factories with social compliance practice requires a balancing act between their commitment and capabilities to comply. Although the findings in our study suggested that the RMG managers’ efforts fall short to provide safe and secured working environment due to their weak financial and technological capabilities, they do instead of their strong commitment for complying. Further, managers within RMG factories can use our framework as a guide to understand how to work within limited capabilities and continue training the workers regarding their work, and health and safety issues at work place and how this can ensure a safe and secured work place environment for them. Also, the findings, suggest ensuring good relations with buyers as capability to managers. The managers can share more information about the business constraints with buyers because buyers also share the risk of being identified as using “sweatshops” such as loss of reputation in the buyers’ country of being associated with a RMG firm that exploits workers in emerging countries.

Along with practical implication the findings in our study contributes to theoretical literature on social compliance and RMG workers including body of work on working conditions, and health and safety issues. It firstly brings to light the work related issues faced by RMG workers and also suggest future researchers to explore RMG workers in their study and suggest how their social compliance related issues be met by way of providing better workplace security, strengthening their
role while negotiating with buyers and developed social compliance system framework involving
buyers-supplier relationship within RMG factories.
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Figure 1: Initial Framework for Social Compliance System in RMG factories

Key drivers for capability building:
- Good relations with buyers
- Family oriented work culture
- Workers endurance and work ability

Capabilities of RMG factories

Key drivers for commitment to comply:
- Efforts to implement fair work practices
- Awareness about social compliance system
- Workers’ involvement in the factory

Willingness to socially comply

Key drivers for willingness to comply:
- Capitalize on workers’ capabilities
- Education on health and safety
- Holistic management system
### Table 1: Three-Step Procedure for Data Analysis and Interpretation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEP 1: Definition of category</th>
<th>STEP 2: In depth interview question development</th>
<th>STEP 3: Themes (theme strength %) codes</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Capabilities Building:</strong> Capabilities are defined as the expression or the articulation of the capacity and competency of a business to perform their core functions (Argyres, 2011).</td>
<td>What are your key strength compare to your competitors? (Question asked to managers)&lt;br&gt;How emotional are you about your workers? Can you give us an example on how you take care of them? (Question asked to managers)&lt;br&gt;How do you deal with employee misconduct? (Question asked to managers)&lt;br&gt;How do you feel working at ready-made garments factory? (Question asked to workers)&lt;br&gt;What motivated you to choose this factory for work? (Question asked to workers)</td>
<td>Theme 1: Good relations with buyers&lt;br&gt;<strong>Codes:</strong> strong competition, financial and technological capacity, price from buyer&lt;br&gt;Theme 2: Family oriented work culture&lt;br&gt;<strong>Codes:</strong> emotional attachment, work place fun, personal relationship, helpful supervisor, tolerance to mistake&lt;br&gt;Theme 3: Workers’ endurance and work-ability&lt;br&gt;<strong>Codes:</strong> positive work environment, self satisfaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commitment to comply:</strong> Commitment encapsulates feelings, belief and desire to participate in a cause and or make available resources to engage in a cause (Becker, 1960).</td>
<td>Can you elaborate on your work related routines that your workers follow on every day basis? (Question asked to managers)&lt;br&gt;How do you ensure your workers work place safety? (Question asked to managers)&lt;br&gt;Can you elaborate on the health and safety regulation in your work place? How do you feel about it? (Question asked to managers)&lt;br&gt;How do you feel working at ready-made garments factory? (Question asked to managers)&lt;br&gt;Can you elaborate on your workers’ involvement within factory’s decision-making process? (Question asked to managers)</td>
<td>Theme 1: Efforts to implement fair work practices&lt;br&gt;<strong>Codes:</strong> Salary payment, fire safety, other facilities&lt;br&gt;Theme 2: Awareness about social compliance system&lt;br&gt;<strong>Codes:</strong> social image, government role&lt;br&gt;Theme 3: Workers’ involvement in the factory&lt;br&gt;<strong>Codes:</strong> decision making process, workers right, trade union</td>
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MANAGING ON THE EDGE: A RESEARCH DRIVEN MODEL ON THE SOCIAL COMPLIANCE SYSTEM WITHIN READY MADE GARMENT INDUSTRY IN BANGLADESH

Fahema Pretty Talukder
Dr Kanika Meshram
Faculty of Business and Economics, Macquarie University
Email: fahema.talukder@students.mq.edu.au
kanika.meshram@mq.edu.au