



Research Paper

## Redress Measures of Workplace Gender-based Violence in Bangladesh's Ready-made Garment Industry

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### ABSTRACT

Workplace Gender-based violence (GBV) is a growing problem in the workplace that spoils a good work environment. The ILO 190 Convention give instructions on ensuring effective enforcement and remedies to prevent violence and harassment. Thus, the study identifies the redress measures of GBV in Bangladesh's RMG industries to address workplace GBV. To that end, the data have been collected through questionnaire surveys, FGDs, case studies, and KIIs. The study findings explore that organizational level redress measures are not satisfactory. There is no written violence prevention policy, and employers are unaware of the issue. There are many complaint mechanisms for complaints in case of violence (complaint box), but these mechanisms are ineffective. Confidentiality is not maintained here, and the victims get no remedy. Various committees exist; however, these committees are only on paper for showing to the buyers. In particular, the AHC is directly involved in the prevention of violence, but the presence of this committee does not have many industries. Even the workers do not know the committee well. Management does not organize awareness-raising training or workshops for workers and factory staff. At the individual level, if workers are victims of continuous violence, especially sexual violence, some workers quit their job. Some workers personally and collectively protest against violence. Many workers accept violence as their destiny. Finally, based on the findings, the study put forward some implications for addressing GBV in the workplace.

**Keywords:** Gender-based Violence, Psychological Violence, Physical Violence, Sexual Violence Redress Measures, Ready-made Garment Industry

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### I. INTRODUCTION

Gender-based violence (GBV) is a global human rights violation issue which transcends cultural and economic boundaries. Globally, one in three women subjected to physical and sexual violence in their lifetime (WHO, 2013). Nowadays, this problem has become more serious in the workplace. About half of the working women experience unwelcome physical contact, sexual provocation, or other forms of sexual violence in their workplace (Care Australia, 2018). GBV exists in the workplace because women are overrepresented in temporary, low-paying and lower-status jobs, with little bargaining power or decision-making over the terms and conditions of their labour (USAID, 2006).

GBV is a constantly increasing problem in Bangladesh's workplace. Over two-thirds of women, no matter where they work, face derogatory comments and sexually coloured abusive languages (Action Aid, 2015). As women's participation in various sectors (agriculture, service, and industry) increases, the level of violence increases. The ready-made garment (RMG) sectors an important driver of Bangladesh's economic growth (Aya Mastuura, 2020). It employed 80% of women of the 4 million workers, and most workers are from economically disadvantaged or impoverished backgrounds (World Bank, 2012). The employment of the workers is overwhelmingly nonstandard, precarious, and poorly protected, which makes women more vulnerable to various forms of Violence— Psychological, physical, verbal, and sexual (Bhattacharjee, 2018). A study report shows that 63% of women workers have experienced verbal harassment, 60% of workers have reported psychological harassment, physical harassment has been mentioned by 23%, and sexual harassment has been noticed by 10% of workers (KarmajibiNari, 2019).

Though unwanted violence of different sorts has become an inescapable reality in the lives of the women garment workers. Workplace GBV creates a hostile and unsafe working environment for workers. It

deprives of worker's dignity, represents a threat to equal opportunities, and is incompatible with decent work and the promotion of sustainable enterprises (Social Development Direct, 2019). Employees are the organization's greatest asset. Retaining the employees, reducing the employee turnover cost, and enhancing performance and productivity are the main priorities across all progressive organizations (Cutifani, M. et al., 2019). In order to get productive employment and decent work for all workers in conditions of equality, freedom, safety, and human dignity, GBV needs to be addressed in the workplace (Cruz & Klinger, 2011).

As for redress measures, Bangladesh has extensive laws, rules, policies, and programmes to prevent violence and harassment in general and in the workplace in particular.<sup>1</sup> The regulatory framework extends to organizations and establishments like RMG industries and State and provides responsibilities for eliminating violence at the workplace. Various workers' organizations and other key stakeholders, such as UN agencies and non-governmental organizations also take initiatives to address GBV and harassment (Yasmin, 2020). However, GBV continues in the workplace, especially in the RMG sector.

For addressing GBV in the workplace, ILO 190 convention indicates that at the organizational level, employers should take various initiatives. In order to prevent GBV, employers should adopt and implement a violence prevention policy and effective complaint procedures, maintain confidentiality, establish an anti-harassment committee, and arrange awareness-raising training and workshop. Workers' initiatives are also crucial in eliminating workplace violence. Therefore, it is necessary to know whether and what redress measures have existed in the RMG sector to address violence. To that end, the study explores redress measures through two levels; (a) organizational level and (b) individual level. This study is comprised of five sections. The following section describes the methodology used. The third section explores the organizational redress measures. Section four explains the individual level redress measures; and the conclusion of the article is described in the last section.

## **II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The study takes a qualitative approach predominantly, but a number of quantitative data have supplemented it to meet the objective. Data Sources have included both primary and secondary. Related articles, national and international reports, working papers, newspapers, and websites have been reviewed as secondary data sources. Primary data have been collected through field surveys from the respondents using a Questionnaire survey, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), Case studies, and Key Informant Interviews (KII).

One set of structured questionnaires has been prepared to obtain information on the well-being consequences of GBV. Both open and close-ended questionnaire has been developed for better understanding. As a study area, Dhaka, Gazipur, Narayanganj, and Chattogram districts have been selected purposively, which cover approximately 97% of the listed RMG industries of Bangladesh. Female garments workers are the population of the dissertation. The probability proportion to estimated size (PPS) sampling formula used for a known population, a representative sample for the study is 168.

Six focus group discussions (FGDs) have been conducted to ensure the validity of primary data. Out of six, four have been conducted with female workers and two FGDs with male workers. Out of four FGDs that have been conducted with female members, one FGD in Dhaka, one in Gazipur, one in Narayanganj, and one in Chattogram district. Another two FGDs have been conducted with male workers selected from Dhaka and Gazipur. For case studies, in-depth interviews have been conducted with nine victims of GBV. Out of twelve victims, nine victims have been selected from those who suffer physical, psychological, and sexual violence.

A total of 20 key Informant Interviews (KIIs) have been conducted with a wide range of people, including worker rights researchers (WRR) (2), representatives of worker rights NGOs (WRN) (2), lawyers (1), representatives of Civil Society Organizations (CSO) (2), representative of Trade Union (TU) (4), Employers and Employers' Associations (EEA) (2), Department of Inspection for Factories and Establishment (DIFE) (1), Ministry of Labour and Employment (MOLE) (1), supervisor (3), and production manager (PM) (2)

## **III. REDRESS MEASURES AT THE ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL**

### **3.1 VIOLENCE PREVENTION POLICY**

A good violence prevention policy acts as a deterrent. It explains what violence is, tells all employees that violence will not be tolerated, provides employees with the methods by which they can report violence, and specifies how employers should respond to incidents of violence. The High Court provides guidelines about violence prevention written policy. It indicates that employers must adopt and implement a workplace policy on violence and harassment in consultation with workers and their representatives. In the survey, when asked about the written policy to prevent GBV, A large number (69%) of the respondents mention that their factories have

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<sup>1</sup> Few of those laws include Penal Code, 1860 and Nari O Shishu Nirjaton Daman Ain 2000, and Bangladesh Labour Act, 2006, High Court Guideline, 2009. Telecommunication Act, 2001, the Pornography Act, 2012, and the Digital Security Act, 2018.

no written policy. More than one-fifth (25%) of the respondents do not know about the policy, and only 6% mention that they had heard of it but did not see it.

In contrast, an employer informs that most compliance factories have policies and procedures for addressing GBV. Some codes of conduct have also been established that cover GBV. They communicate these policies and codes of conduct to all workers (KII, EEA 2). In this regard, a workers' rights NGO representative claims that though some factories have a violence prevention written policy, due to workers' illiteracy, most do not understand the written policies and procedures. The authorities do not take any initiative to communicate these policies to workers; these policies are only for showing off in front of buyers (KII, WRN 1). Though the High Court verdict gives importance to the written policy, the sector employers do not give importance to the issues, and many are unaware of the written policy. The non-availability of written policy violates the Bangladesh Supreme Court directive.

### **3.2 COMPLAINT PROCEDURES**

The presence of adequate and gender-responsive complaints procedures reassures victims and witnesses that proper action will be taken and encourage reporting (Pillinger, 2019). Whether the RMG sector has an effective complaining procedure about various forms of violence, nearly three-quarters (73%) of the respondents answer that their organization has a system to complain. When asked how they complain, more than two-thirds (67%) of the respondents mention the complaint box as a complaint mechanism. Besides the complaint box, 16% of workers share the complaint with welfare officers, while 11% inform the HR officers, and 6% do not know about the complaint mechanism. The field survey shows that the most prevalent complaint process in the RMG sector is dropping complaints into the complaint box. Though the complaint box is the most popular mechanism, it is inactive. One worker shares with frustration,

Three months ago, I complained of sexual abuse in the complaint box. Nevertheless, the complaint has not been taken out of the box yet. It has not been effective in the past and will remain the same (Case Study 4).

Almost all participants of FGDs share that most factories have complaint boxes, but there is no worker involvement in opening the box and resolving the problem; that is why workers have no confidence in the process. Nobody knows whether this mechanism has dealt with complaints to ensure justice. They also add that the complaint box is nothing more than a tool to put in front of buyers (FGDs Dhaka 1 & Gazipur 2, Chattogram 1). The findings indeed differ from the employer's claim. They claim that every factory has a complaint box for handling complaints and taking appropriate action against complaints. Notably, the mechanism for solving the problem in the complaint box is time-consuming; therefore, workers consider authorities are not aware of the problem-solving (KII EEA 1 & EEA 2). One employer in the KII mentions,

Every Thursday, the members of the participation committee open the complaint box and try to remedy the allegations. We have received very few complaints from the workers regarding this issue. Fair Wear Foundation (FWF) organization's number and DIFE's 16357 helpline numbers are given near the complaint box, but the workers do not complain (KII EEA 1).

DIFE inspector supports the employer's claim. He shares that they do not receive any violence complaints from the workers when they visit the factory. Even the helpline number given for workers' complaints does not get any complaints. He also adds that the workers are reluctant to complain about these issues (KII DIFE 1). Workers disagreed with the DIFE inspection. They claim that how can they complain because the inspectors never talked to the workers? They came and spoke to the management and left. Along with, authorities often threaten them, if the visitors want to know about problems, they answer all is good here. That is why they do not complain to the DIFE. A KII participant defends against the worker's claim about DIFE. He says that the number of DIFE inspectors is significantly less. Therefore, it is difficult for them to visit every factory and talk to the workers (KII MOLE 1).

### **3.3 CONFIDENTIALITY AND REMEDY**

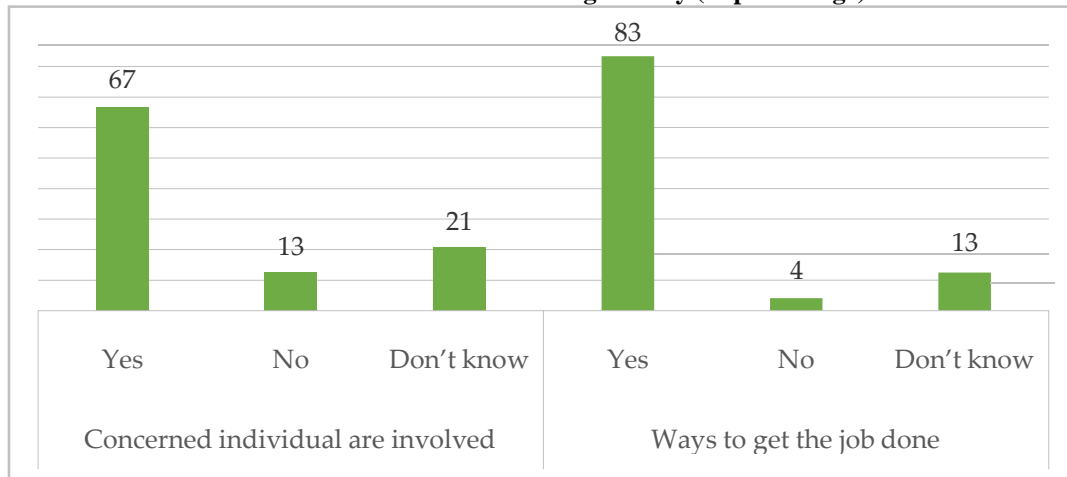
Keeping the violence complaint confidential is essential, especially when workers are victimized by sexual Violence (Loy & Stewart, 1984). If anyone knows about the incidents, it can be an embarrassing and awkward situation for them. In response to whether confidentiality is maintained after complaining, two-thirds (66%) of the respondents report that confidentiality is not maintained here. More than one-tenth (14%) of workers say that sometimes the matter keeps secret. When the same question is asked to the employers, almost all the employers say that if anyone complains about sexual violence, they keep the matter secret. The members of the committee investigate and verify the truth (KII EEA 1 & 2). The FGDs participants' answers are the opposite of the employer's claim. They say there is no such thing as confidentiality in case of violence. If someone complains, the matter is known to all. Even the complainant is subjected to various forms of violence and is often fired (FGDs Dhaka 1, Narayanganj 1 & Chattogram 1).

Along with confidentiality, proper remedies reduce the level of violence in the workplace and create a worker-friendly environment. Nevertheless, the workers in the RMG sectors get no proper remedy against violence and any other issues (BCWS, 2020). The field survey result shows a similar picture. Near three-fourths

(71%) of the workers claim that they get no remedy. There are many reasons for not getting a remedy. The most cited reason is that the concerned individuals are involved. Two-thirds (66%) of the workers agree about the above reason (Chart 1). Participants of FGDs share that most of the GBV are perpetrated by supervisory and some managerial-level staff. It is challenging for employers and the authorities to judge and punish the factory staff. Therefore, they try to blame the workers (FGD Dhaka 1). In this regard, a survivor shares,

The supervisor had been sexually harassing me ever since I joined the job, and at one point, he tempted me to promote an operator; in return, I had to spend a night with him. I felt humiliated and complained against him to the welfare madam, but he denied all allegations. The supervisor did not get any punishment; instead, madam warned me to straighten out my behaviour and think first about why this was happening to me (Case study 11).

**Chart 1: Reasons for not availing remedy (in percentage)**



Source: Field Survey 2020

The other reason is that violence is a way of getting work done. In the field survey, nearly nine-tenths (83%) of the respondents agree with the reason. They share that authorities do not evaluate or give importance to the complainant's complaint (Chart 1). One FGD participant shares,

Swearing has become the rule in this sector. The authorities demonstrate their power by doing these. They consider that the more they put pressure on us, our work will increase (FGD Chattogram 1).

In contrast, employers disagree with workers. All employers in the KII state that these workers are uneducated and come from the lower class. If authorities talk to them nicely, they do not care about them. They are always unwilling to work. Without verbally shouting, it is impossible to control them (KII EEA 1 & EEA 2). A production manager shares his opinion in the KII,

Workers are very indifferent and disobedient to work. They talk whenever they get a chance and waste much time going to the toilet. In this sector, there is pressure on the production target. It is impossible to meet the target at the right time, unnecessarily wasting time. Therefore, we have to use a little bit of swearing to bring the workers under control (KII PM 1).

### 3.4 EXISTENCE AND EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMITTEE

Committees are essential in raising awareness of GBV, helping to change workplace culture and promoting a more positive work environment. They play a role in recommending solutions to GBV issues and allowing workers and employers to see the benefits of constructive social dialogue. RMG sectors have some committees such as trade union, participation committee, anti-harassment committee, safety committee, and the collective bargaining agent.

**Trade Union (TU):**BLA has provided the right of every worker to form and join a TU of their own choice (BLA, 2006).Effective forms of worker associations and trade unions are mandatory to protect workers' fundamental freedoms and dignity (Nur, 2019). However, the associations and trade unions are least available inthe RMG sector. The field survey shows that more than one-quarter (25%) of the workers report having TU in their factory (Chart 2). A member of the TU federation in the KII informs that the number of registered TU inthe countries has increased, but most unions are non-functional (KII 14). From 2013 to August 2020, 773 trade unions were formed (Hossain & Akter, 2021). TU plays a vital role in eliminating GBV. Significantly, unions canhelp to design and support internal complaint procedures. When union representatives show seriousness and support towards complainants and witnesses, this builds confidence among workers (Pillinger, 2019). In this

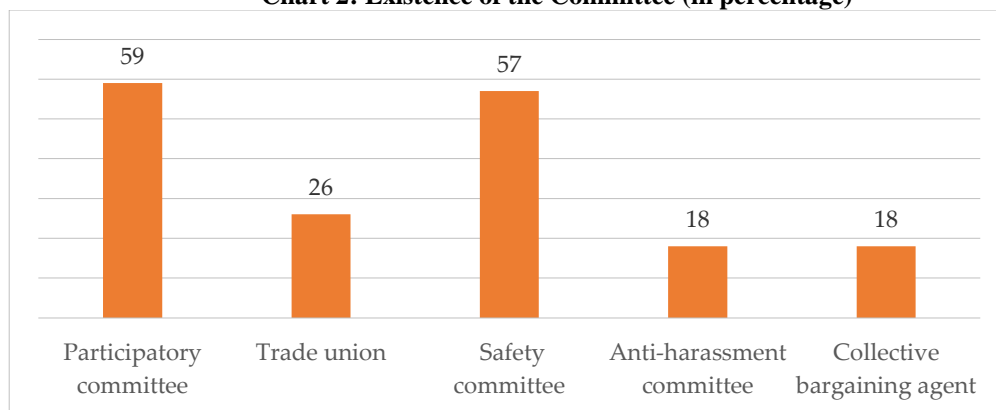
study, most FGD participants show negativity about the responsibility of TU members. They inform that complaining to TU members about GBV or anything else, and they do not co-operate (FGD Dhaka 2). In this regard, a key informant highlights,

It is not easy for workers to raise their voices against GBV. TU is an essential means of understanding the worker's problems. Nonetheless, it is a pity that the effectiveness of TU in the RMG sector is always in question: they only work for the owners (KII WRR 2).

**Participation committee (PC):** Formation of the PC in every garment sector is mandatory as per the BLA. In the absence of unions, the committees provide workers and employers a platform for dialogue. When asked about having a committee in the factory, most workers mention the PC. Near three-fifths (59%) of the workers report the existence of a PC (Chart 2). According to BLA, PC needs to include 50% workers and 50% employer representatives. A worker's representative claims that the legal requirement to elect at least 50% of committee members by secret voting is rarely followed. The PC functions are entitled to promote mutual trust, understanding, and cooperation between workers and employers, ensure the application of labour laws, and improve and maintain occupational health and working conditions (BLA, 2006).

When asked to FGDs participants about the activities of the PC committee, most of the participants claim that the committee is in most cases, employer-driven, inactive, and serves employer purposes (FGDs Dhaka 1, Gazipur 1, Narayanganj 1). In response to a question about how the PC committee helps workers with the issue related to violence, almost all participants answer that they get no remedy. A victim of sexual violence shares about the committee member's behaviour that she complained to the members of the PC seeking justice for her sexual violence. Hearing her complaint, they hurled insults at her and forced her to quit her job (Case Study 9).

**Chart 2: Existence of the Committee (in percentage)**



Source: Field Survey 2020

**Anti-Harassment Committee (AHC):** Establishing an AHC is a way to ensure a confidential procedure for complaints and handling. It can play essential role in raising awareness of GBV, helping to change workplace culture, and promoting a more positive work environment. The High Court (HC) Division of the Supreme Court instructs employers to set up AHC at every workplace to investigate allegations of harassment of women (High Court Guideline, 2009). However, the formation of such committees in Bangladesh's RMG sector is minimal. The survey reveals that only 18% of the respondents claim that they have AHCs in their factories (Chart 2).

A worker's rights NGO representative reports that according to the HC Verdict, AHC members should be predominantly female, with at least two members from outside the organization and prominent individuals with a deep understanding of gender issues and sexual abuse. Nonetheless, this rule is not obeyed in the factories; only members within the factory are appointed to this Committee (KII WRN 1). Another key informant informs that many workers do not know about the existence of AHC and its function or even know the committee members (KII WRR 2). The same picture can be seen in the field survey. More than half (56%) of the workers report that their factories have no AHC, and more than one-quarter (26%) do not know about the existence of the committee (Chart 2). In some cases, committee members themselves are unaware of the committee activities.

**Safety Committee:** The law also has a provision for the safety committee. According to BLA, forming a safety committee in every factory/establishment where fifty or more workers are employed is mandatory. Although workplace safety committees are required, many workplaces have found law violations. Near one-thirds (32%) of workers say employers do not form safety committees in their workplaces. Lack of awareness among workers about safety committees exists at workplaces. More than one-tenth (11%) of the workers are unaware of a

workplace safety committee. In contrast, nearly two-thirds (57%) of the workers inform that they have a safety committee in their factory (Chart 2).

The committee is responsible for advising management on OSH, and assisting management in implementing statutes, rules, and other regulations related to OSH. The committee also supervises the implementation of OSH regulations, arranging training for various groups in the factory and liaising with management, workers, and labour inspectors to implement legislation (Hossain & Akter, 2021). When asked about the functions of safety committees in cases of GBV, almost all workers claim that safety committee members are more concerned with infrastructural safety, not GBV and OSH (FGD Chattogram 1).

**Collective Bargaining Agent (CBA):** Collective bargaining is a bipartite dispute settlement system at the plant level. BLA provides provision to form a CBA in every factory to bargain with the term of employment in areas such as wages, training, working time OSH, and equal treatment between women and men (BLA, 2006). The field survey result shows that 18% of the respondents report the existence of CBA in their factory. Although GBV is a relatively new issue in collective bargaining, it plays an essential role in addressing GBV. In the FGDs, most participants share that their factories have less opportunity to discuss and negotiate violence-related issues (FGD Narayanganj 1). On the contrary, the federation of trade union leaders shares that many factories have CBA that negotiate with employers on behalf of workers on other issues. Nevertheless, employers do not want to discuss the issues in case of violence. One of the most important reasons is that they do not acknowledge that violence occurs in their factories (KII TU 3).

From the previous analysis, it can be said that there are many committees in the RMG; the committees are only on paper. Committee members do not work for the welfare of the workers, and many workers do not know the function of the committee.

### **3.5 VIOLENCE PREVENTION OR AWARENESS-RAISING TRAINING/ WORKSHOPS/CAMPAIGNS**

Formal training, workshops, and campaigns are necessary for addressing GBV in the workplace. It creates awareness among the employees. Employers must adapt, perform, and communicate it to their employees to address GBV (ILO, 2018). The HC guidelines set out several preventive measures for addressing harassment in the workplace, such as providing regular training on gender equality issues and publishing brochures (High Court Guidelines, 2009). However, when asked about the factories' initiative to raise awareness, 72% of respondents report that there is no initiative. Some FGDs participants claim that managerial staff do not distribute any awareness-raising materials, especially about what to do in case of sexual violence, and do not conduct any training. They also add that there is no counselling arrangement for sexually harassed victims (FGD Gazipur 2). Employers disagree with the workers. In the KII, a compliance factory employer claims that

In our factory FWF and Better work, the two worker rights organizations deliver periodic mandatory training on GBV to all workers and factory staff, how to report an incident, what support services are available, and how to access them (KII EEA 1).

Another employer informs that they are aware of workers generally through arranging training, holding meetings, and serving notice about sexual violence. However, they do not have any specialized training officers. Usually, welfare officers are responsible for organizing training, conducting awareness-raising programmes, and counselling (KII EEA 2). Welfare officers are indeed responsible for looking after the maternity leave, health, and awareness issues in every factory. They are busy with regular tasks and not skilled enough to provide counselling and other awareness-raising initiatives.

## **IV. REDRESS MEASURES AT INDIVIDUAL LEVEL**

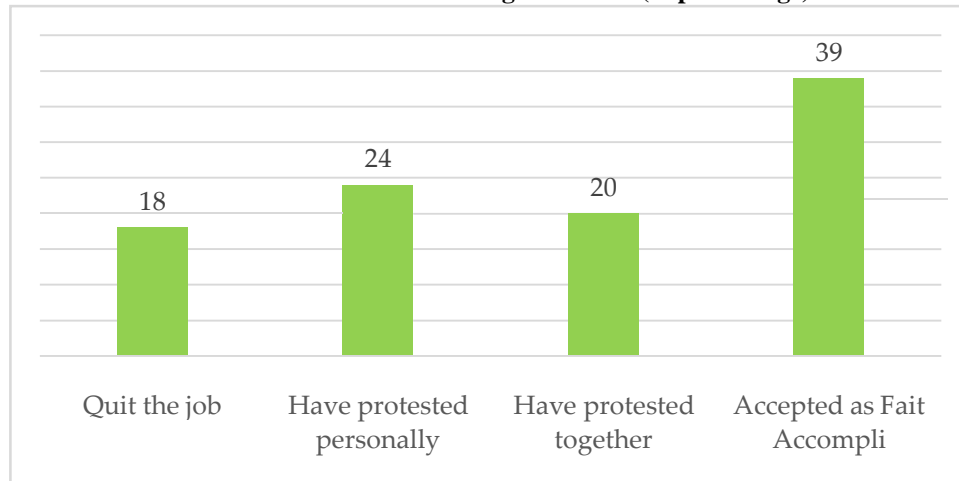
### **4.1 QUIT THE JOB**

GBV at the workplace forces workers to leave their jobs. It creates an unhealthy and hostile work environment that highly affects workers' physical and mental health. Women who experience GBV often go through prolonged periods of low work productivity and lower job satisfaction as a result, they feel about leaving their job (Yuen-C, 2021). In the field survey, when asked to know the reaction of the workers if they are victims of violence, about one-fifth (18%) of the respondents report that they quit their jobs (Chart 3). They express that repetitive violence, especially sexual violence, loss of their self-esteem and continuously suffer from an inferiority complex and insecurity. Concentrating on their work becomes challenging and creates problems in their personal life; therefore, they prefer to quit their job. In this regard, a victim of sexual violence shares her experience,

During the night shift supervisor tried to touch me on different parts of my body. The next day, I complained to the welfare madam. He constantly threatened and harassed me because of complaints. I was scared whenever I saw him. Unable to cope, I quit my job without getting my due wages (Case Study 10).

A similar finding states that victims of sexual violence feel humiliated or embarrassed and constantly worry that they will be labelled as slutty women. Therefore, instead of seeking redress, they try to avoid the harasser and leave their job (Pillinger, 2019).

**Chart 3: Workers' reaction against GBV (in percentage)**



Source: Field Survey 2020

#### **4.2 PERSONAL PROTEST**

Workers' protest is one of the important initiatives against workplace GBV, which plays a significant role in violence prevention. Some RMG workers personally resist violence. In the field survey, 24% of the workers report individual protests (Chart 3). They share that they protest through voice raises and accusations. Sometimes they protest with the help of workers' representative unions. More than one-fifth (27%) of the workers report the same. A key informant informs that when workers come to them, they give various suggestions and try to resolve the issue by talking to the factory staff. However, their situation worsens for opposing (KII PM 2). Almost all workers in the FGDs claim that there is no benefit in protesting against the factory staff. Protests lead to more violence against workers, such as increasing work pressure, biting for little reason, deliberately assigned to separate sections, and sometimes forcibly firing (FGDs Gazipur 2, Dhaka 1, 2, Narayanganj 1&Chattogram 1). The victim says about her protest against sexual violence,

One day, PM put his hand on my body with a threatening gesture; I had a cutter in my hand and hit him with that. I was tortured for six months for protesting like this, as I was deprived of the opportunities I was supposed to get. Unable to bear it, I was forced to quit my job (Case Study 12).

#### **4.3 COLLECTIVE PROTEST**

Collective protest is an instrument for workers to protect against violence. It occurs when the level of violence increases. Near one-fifths (19%) of the workers claim collective protest (Chart 3). They report that sometimes they oppose stopping work, collectively voice raising, and collective complaints to the employers. A worker's rights researcher report that workers sometimes get redressed for violence and other issues by collective protest. A worker shares an incident in the FGDs,

The supervisor knocked one of my colleagues down the stairs. When she went to ask for justice from welfare officers, even after two days, they did not take any action. Thinking of our safety, we collectively complaint against the incident to the employer. As a result, the supervisor was fired (FGDs Dhaka 1).

In contrast, Some FGDs participants claim they again become victims due to protest. They share that rarely do they get a good result by protest. Authorities never admit these things, and they always blame the victims. Therefore, everyone has to be punished (FGDs Dhaka 1, Gazipur 1).

#### **4.4 ACCEPTED AS FAIT ACCOMPLI**

'Accepted as fait accompli' is a common reaction among RMG workers. Near two-fifths (39%) of the respondents in the field, the survey mentions the same thing (Chart 3). They share that workers do not report violence for fear of losing their job, fear of stigma, and other forms of retaliation. A worker's representative shares that many workers complain more only to get their wages and other benefits. They still do not feel

comfortable talking about sexual violence because of shame and fear. They believe that they will not get any remedy. Therefore, they accepted this violence as fate. A victim shares, I have been the victim of sexual abuse many times by GM and Supervisor, but I could not protest. If it is known, everyone will think of me as wrong. Even if my husband finds out, he may blame me. I have remained silent to protect my dignity and accept the harassment as my fate (Case Study 10).

Some FGDs participants reveal that authorities do not take their complaints seriously if workers complain about violence. Workers have to face various punishments for complaining. Furthermore, filing a complaint is stressful and leads to re-traumatization, especially if the burden of proof falls on the complainant. Hence it is better to remain silent (FGD Gazipur 1).

## V. CONCLUSION

Finding out the redress measure that addresses violence in the workplace, the study describes the redress measures through two-level, e.g. organizational and individual. RMG sectors have some initiatives to address violence, but these are unsatisfactory. Most factories do not have a written policy for violence prevention. Very few factories have a policy; however, due to worker illiteracy, they do not understand this, and management does not even take any initiative to inform workers. There are various ways for workers to complain in case of different manifestations of violence, such as complaints to HR officers, welfare officers, and dropping complaints into the complaint box. Among the ways, a complaint box is a well-known means to lodge complaints. Although there are appropriate means of complaint, these are inactive. There is no confidentiality, and they face various threats when workers complain. Therefore, workers are reluctant to complain. They also do not get proper remedies. Two reasons for not getting a remedy have been revealed. One is that the factory authorities are involved, which is difficult to judge. The other is that violence is considered a process of getting work done. There are various committees for the welfare of the workers in most factories, such as TU, PC committee, safety committee, and CBA.

Nonetheless, these committees do not deal with the issues related to GBV. These committees are remained only on paper and for show to the buyer. According to the HC verdict, it has been instructed to have AHC in every factory. Nonetheless, there are very few factories that have the committee. The committee members and workers do not know about the committee's functions. Most factories do not organize awareness-raising training, campaigns, or workshops to raise awareness about violence, and no counselling is provided for psychological support for the victims. In addition to the organizational level, initiatives are also taken to promote violence from the individual level. Workers are forced to quit their jobs due to continuous violence. Many protested individually and collectively against the violence. As a result of the protests, the workers have again resorted to violence rather than redress. Therefore, most of them agree that violence is their destiny.

The redress measure of GBV at the organizational and individual levels is unsatisfactory. To address workplace violence, workers should raise their voices and awareness. Employers should develop a violence prevention policy, establish AHC, and arrange periodic training and awareness-raising program.

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