**TEACHING NOTE:**

**AFTER RANA PLAZA[[1]](#footnote-1)**

This case illustrates the following themes and concepts discussed in the chapters listed:

**Theme/Concept Chapter**

Corporate social responsibility and citizenship 3

Globalization, “race to the bottom” 4

Government regulation of labor conditions 7

Employees, occupational safety and health 15

Suppliers and supply chain codes of conduct 17

Corporate reputation, brand image 19

**Case Synopsis:**

Around nine in the morning on April 24, 2013, Rana Plaza, an 8-story building in Savar, Bangladesh, collapsed catastrophically in a hail of twisted concrete, steel, and sewing machinery. At the time, more than three thousand garment workers were on duty in five separate factories, located on the building’s third to eighth floors. 1,134 workers, most of them young women, were killed, and more than 2,500 others were injured, many seriously. It was the worst industrial disaster in the history of the garment industry. Several dozen U.S. and European retailers and brands—including Walmart, Benetton, H&M, the Gap, Inditex, and Loblaw—were at the time or had recently sourced products from one of the Rana Plaza garment factories. In the wake of the collapse, these companies and others that had contracted production to suppliers in the low-wage, fast-growing, and notoriously unsafe Bangladeshi garment industry faced an urgent challenge: What should they do now, after Rana Plaza? This case enables students to explore the causes of and responsibility for the collapse of Rana Plaza and to evaluate various courses of action for Western apparel companies doing business in Bangladesh.

This teaching note will present two options for the instructor:

* a case discussion designed for a single class session, working through the five questions provided with the case;
* a module involving a set of student activities designed for three to four class sessions.

TEACHING TIP: WHERE TO USE THE CASE IN THE COURSE

This case may be used in conjunction with Chapter 17, Business and Its Suppliers, or as an integrative case towards the end of the semester. If it is used as an integrative assignment, the instructor may wish to consider using the expanded module.

**TEACHING TIP: MAKING THE CASE RELEVANT**

One way to engage student interest immediately is to link the case to their experiences. The instructor may open the case discussion with a slide show showing images of retail clothing stores that students may be familiar with, such as H&M, Gap, Zara, Old Navy, JC Penney, and Walmart (all of these source from Bangladesh). Students may be asked to indicate, through a simple show of hands, who has shopped for garments at these various stores; most will have shopped at some of these establishments. Students may then be asked to examine the tags in their clothing—if they are able to do so without embarrassment—and see where they were made. Through a show of hands, the class can then calculate a rough distribution of country of origin. Most garments will probably be made in China, but generally some students will be wearing garments made in Bangladesh, as well as other countries including Vietnam, Cambodia, Indonesia, and Honduras. If the instructor has access to clickers, these can also be used to total the number of students who have shopped at various retailers and who are wearing clothing manufactured in various countries of origin. It is often particularly interesting to students to see where their university-branded apparel, such as logo hoodies, T-shirts, and caps, are manufactured.

# **TEACHING TIP: VIDEOS**

After exploring where students’ own clothing comes from, the instructor may shift the focus to the conditions under which these items are manufactured by showing a video. CBS News produced a two-part segment of “Reporter’s Notebook” in which reporter Holly Williams posed as a buyer to tour Monde Apparels, a Bangladesh factory, with a hidden camera. She later interviewed a mother and her underage daughter who both worked at the factory. The segments, which were first aired on May 22 and 23, 2013, clearly show the use of child labor, blocked emergency exits, and missing fire extinguishers.

The segments may be streamed from:

[*www.cbsnews.com/8301-18563\_162-57585804/cbs-news-goes-undercover-in-a-bangladesh-clothing-factory/*](http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-18563_162-57585804/cbs-news-goes-undercover-in-a-bangladesh-clothing-factory/)(4:40)

[*www.cbsnews.com/8301-202\_162-57585986/reporters-notebook-going-undercover-inside-a-bangladesh-garment-factory/*](http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-202_162-57585986/reporters-notebook-going-undercover-inside-a-bangladesh-garment-factory/)(4:28)

These may be followed with a short news segment from the PBS News Hour (the set-up piece, not the discussion that follows) that shows the immediate aftermath of the collapse of Rana Plaza. It runs for 1:36 and may be streamed from:

[*www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/daily\_videos/garment-industry-under-scrutiny-after-factory-collapse-in-bangladesh/*](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/daily_videos/garment-industry-under-scrutiny-after-factory-collapse-in-bangladesh/)

Teaching Option 1:

Case Discussion Questions and Answers

1. **Who was responsible for the collapse of Rana Plaza, and why do you think so? In your answer, please address the responsibility, if any, of the building owner, factory owners, Bangladeshi government, U.S. and European governments, Bangladeshi workers and their advocates, clothing customers, and apparel retailers and brands in the United States, Canada, and Europe.**
2. **What could be taken now to reduce the chances of a similar tragedy occurring in the future? In your answer, please consider what actions, if any, the various individuals and groups mentioned in Question 1 could take.**
3. **Of the various options you mentioned in response to Question 2, which do you think is most likely to be effective, and why?**

In response to Questions 1 through 3, the instructor may wish to construct a board grid and work through it with students, using a question and answer format, to fill in the relevant cells. (If the board is horizontal, the grid shown below in vertical format may be arrayed horizontally.) The first column lists various responsible parties, and should be filled out in response to Question 1. The instructor can prompt the students to identify these parties, or can start out by simply listing them. The second column addresses the responsibility of each of these parties stakeholder (Question 2) and should be filled out next. The third column lists steps that could be taken to address the problems identified in column 2; this should be filled out last. Once column three is complete, the instructor can go back through and ask students to evaluate the probability that these actions are likely to be effective, using a simple HIGH/MED/LOW classification. This will set up the discussion of the final two questions. A sample board grid follows.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **COLUMN/ROW 1** | **COLUMN/ROW 2** | **COLUMN/ROW 3** |
| **POSSIBLE RESPONSIBLE PARTIES** | **WHY RESPONSIBLE?** | **POSSIBLE ACTIONS TO REDUCE CHANGES OF FUTURE OCCURRENCE**  **(PROBABILITY OF EFFECTIVENESS)** |
| **Building owner, i.e., Sohel Rana** | * Illegally obtained construction permit * Used poor quality construction materials * Built on unstable soils * Used architectural design not intended to for an industrial building. * Illegally added additional floors * Ignored inspector’s warning | * Rana could be criminally prosecuted to deter others (HIGH) * Government could combat corruption in the construction industry (LOW) * Government could establish stronger building safety and construction regulations and inspection processes (LOW) |
| **Factory owners/managers, e.g. New Wave Style, and their representatives, i.e., BGMEA** | * Factory owners aware of the cracks in the building and the inspector’s warning * Ordered their workers to go to work, under threat of wage loss despite the danger * Did not provide a safe workplace * BGMEA failed to establish or enforce industry-wide safety standards | * Government could establish stronger building safety and construction regulations and inspection processes (LOW) * BGMEA could establish and enforce industry-wide safety standards (LOW) |
| **Bangladeshi government, i.e., Parliament, regulatory bodies, police and intelligence services** | * Failed to enforce existing building codes and laws protecting worker health and safety; fines low and inspectorates understaffed * Colluded with employers to deny worker rights and repress worker organization | * Government could strengthen labor rights and raise the minimum wage (MED) * Government could establish stronger building safety and construction regulations and inspection processes (LOW) |
| **U.S./European governments and their agencies, e.g., U.S. Department of State** | * Encouraged brands and retailers to source from Bangladesh by adopting trade rules that gave preference to garment exports from least-developed nations | * U.S. and Europe could suspend trade privileges, or threaten to do so, to put pressure on the Bangladesh government to strengthen worker rights and building safety (MED) |
| **Bangladeshi workers/advocates, e.g., BGWIF, BWSC** | * Workers entered building despite knowledge of danger * Unions failed to organize and bargain collectively in the garment industry | * Workers and their unions and NGO advocates could organize to put pressure on employers and their government for stronger safety and worker rights (LOW/MED) |
| **Clothing buyers in the U.S. and Europe** | * Unaware of labor conditions under which their garments were made * Failed to pressure brands for ethical sourcing * Exerted strong demand for fast fashion | * Customers could demand ethically-sourced garments (LOW) * Customers could demonstrate willingness to pay more for ethically-sourced garments (LOW) * Third-parties could provide rating systems for customers to use in evaluating product CSR (MED) |
| **Apparel retailers and brands in the U.S. and Europe, e.g., Walmart, H&M, Loblaw, Inditex** | * Imposed heavy pressure on suppliers for low costs and fast turnaround * Did not maintain stable relationships with suppliers * Did not have complete knowledge of where their products were manufactured * Did not address building fire and safety in their codes of conduct/audits | * Could adopt codes explicitly addressing building fire and structural safety (HIGH) * Could hire their own building inspectors (HIGH) * Could build more stable relationships with favored suppliers (MED) * Could pay for the cost of worker safety, either directly or through higher prices for finished goods (MED) |

A review of column 3 will show that most options have a low or at best medium probability of success. Further classroom discussion may highlight the following points:

* Sohel Rana will likely face criminal prosecution, but in the context of Bangladesh’s highly corrupt political and commercial climate, incentives for others to make money by building and renting slipshod factories will remain high.
* Factory owners and managers (the suppliers) would most likely prefer to provide safer workplaces, but are under tremendous pressure from their Western customers for very fast turnaround and operate under very thin margins. Unstable relationships with buyers do not reward investment in infrastructure. And, in any event, factory managers often rent, rather than own, their production facilities. They are therefore unlikely to take unilateral action to improve safety. The BGMEA has shown no evidence of supporting industry-wide building safety standards.
* U.S. and European governments might put pressure on the Bangladeshi government to wage the minimum wage and do a better job of supporting labor rights. It is not in these nation’s interests, however, to shut down all garment imports from Bangladesh, as this would directly hurt their own companies.
* Bangladeshi workers and their advocates are likely to continue to organize and advocate for their rights, but face an extremely repressive environment that makes success unlikely.
* Customers have shown very little interest in ethical sourcing and are unlikely to do so unless provided with better information at the point of purchase. This might occur if mobile phone apps become more widely available.
* Western retailers and apparel companies are the only parties in the case with the financial resources and motivation (risk to their reputations and brands) to make significant improvements in worker safety in Bangladesh.

TAKEAWAY: Any improvement in the safety of working conditions in Bangladesh is likely to result from actions of Western apparel retailers and brands, working in concert with worker advocates and NGOs.

1. **Develop a typology of corporate strategies to prevent worker abuse by contractors in complex supply chains (e.g., put political pressure on local governments to develop stronger regulations; develop codes of conduct).**

The instructor may prompt students to develop a typology of strategic responses. The following grid shows possible student responses.

|  |
| --- |
| **TYPOLOGY OF STRATEGIC RESPONSES BY APPAREL RETAILERS/BRANDS** |
| Do nothing; no change; accept risk |
| Withdraw from the situation; move production out of Bangladesh |
| Buy/build own factories and manage own production directly |
| Develop own code of conduct/building safety |
| use own auditors |
| subcontract audit function to third party |
| Crowdsource intelligence (e.g., LaborVoices) |
| Join other companies in common code/collective action |
| Voluntary participation |
| Compulsory, with legally enforceable obligations |
| Limits on cost obligations |
| Loans to suppliers |
| Grants to suppliers |
| Political action to pressure government to raise minimum wage, strength worker safety rules |
| Undertake social welfare projects, e.g., worker training, housing, health care |

The instructor should point out that these options are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

1. **Under what conditions are different corporate strategies appropriate? Can you predict why different companies might respond in different ways?**

This question is speculative, as the case does not present direct evidence to enable students to answer it. One way to prompt students to think about it is to ask: If you were a manager of an apparel retailer, what information would you need before deciding how best to respond to the collapse of Rana Plaza?

Factors that may influence which of the strategic responses listed in the typology that a company might select include:

* Percent of production carried out in Bangladesh; dependence on suppliers there
* Labor cost sensitivity
* Brand image sensitivity (e.g., Disney)
* Stakeholder pressure (e.g., Loblaw)
* Management ideology/values/citizenship/responsibility
* High/low end fashions; fast vs. slow fashion

Students may then be asked how they would operationalize and collect data on these variables.

TEACHING TIP: EVALUATING THE TYPOLOGY

In summarizing the epilogue to the case (see below), the instructor may wish to describe how various companies responded to the events at Rana Plaza, and to map these responses against the typology proposed in class by students. The major response by companies has been to form coalitions and to develop and enforce codes governing the structural safety of manufacturing facilities in Bangladesh.

Teaching Option 2: Multi-Day Module

Day 1: Introduction to the Case

Assign the case as homework reading.

Run exercises: Where do you shop? Where were your clothes made? (See notes above.)

Show the video or videos. (See notes above.)

Introduce the case assignments.

Break students into teams of 3-5 students (or use existing teams) and assign each team to one stakeholder and one company. Distribute instructions (provided in Appendix A) and allow the teams to caucus and begin their research.

Day 2: Stakeholder Reports

On Day 2, student teams are each given 7 to 10 minutes to present 3 to 5 PowerPoint slides responding to the following questions:

1. **Briefly introduce your assigned stakeholder to the class.**
2. **In what way, if at all, did your assigned stakeholder contribute to, or bear responsibility for, the collapse of Rana Plaza?**
3. **What could your stakeholder do now, after the Rana Plaza collapse, to reduce the chances of a similar tragedy occurring in the future?**
4. **What are the constraints on your stakeholder that might make it difficult to take these recommended actions?**

The stakeholders assigned will depend on the number of students in the class. They may include the following (note that companies are not included; they are covered the following class session):

Bangladesh government (e.g., legislature, regulatory agencies) (may be broken into two groups)

U.S. and European governments/European Union (may be broken into two groups)

Bangladeshi supplier factory owners and managers

Trade associations (e.g., BGMEA, BKMEA)

Bangladeshi garment workers and their unions and advocates (e.g., BGWIF, BWCS) (may be broken into two groups)

NGOs in developed countries (e.g., Clean Clothes Campaign, SOMO, International Labor Rights Forum)

Clothing buyers in the United States and Europe

U.S. and European labor unions and labor federations (e.g., AFL-CIO, IndustriAll)

International Labour Organization

**TEACHING TIP: TIMING**

The timing will need to be adjusted, depending on the number of students in the class. For example, a class of 35 students might be organized into 7 teams of 5, with each team given up to 10 minutes each for presentations in a 75-minute class. A class of 40 students might be organized into 10 teams of 4 students each, with each team given up to 7 minutes each.

**TEACHING TIP: HELPING WITH THE RESEARCH**

The student exercises described here will require research above and beyond reading the case. That is, the written case is intended to provide a conceptual overview of the issue, but contains insufficient detail for student teams to do a satisfactory job of preparing their stakeholder and company reports for Days 2 and 3. Students may be referred to the website for their assignment stakeholder and company. Other materials may be posted to the course website. In addition, students may find it helpful to consult with a university reference librarian.

**TEACHING TIP: PRE-LOADING THE SLIDES**

It is much more efficient if students send their slides to the instructor in advance, so they can be loaded on to a master computer and accessed sequentially on the day of the presentations.

Day 3: Company Reports

On Day 3, student teams are each be given 7 to 10 minutes to present 3 to 5 PowerPoint slides responding to the following prompt:

You are a member of a cross-functional team, with representatives of purchasing, social responsibility, compliance, finance, and supply chain management, established by your company in response to the tragedy at Rana Plaza. Your CEO has expressed personal shock over the events at Rana Plaza and has asked your team to prepare a presentation addressing the following questions:

1. **What is our involvement in Bangladesh? To what extent do we source our products there, and from what suppliers? Did we have any exposure at Rana Plaza?**
2. **What actions do you recommend that the company take now, to assure that our products are not produced in facilities in Bangladesh where workers are at risk for death or injury in factory fires or structural failures?**
3. **What are the constraints on putting these recommendations into effect?**

In your presentation, please briefly introduce your company to the class and then respond to the CEO’s three questions.

The companies assigned will depend on the number of students in the class. They may include the following:

Walmart Stores

Loblaw Industries

Carrefour SA

Hennes & Mauritz (H&M)

Inditex

Marks & Spencer

Disney

The Gap

MNG Holding SL (Mango)

Inditex

Abercrombie & Fitch

## **TEACHING TIP: WRITTEN ASSIGNMENT**

As a follow-up written assignment or take-home final exam, students may be asked to write an essay on labor conditions in the Bangladesh garment industry. They should be asked to draw on everything they have learned, from their own research and the findings of other teams, to answer the following questions:

Who bears **responsibility** for working conditions in Bangladesh’s garment industry? Please consider the responsibility of the following groups: U.S. and European retailers and brands; clothing buyers; the owners and managers of supplier factories; the governments of Bangladesh, the United States, and European nations; Bangladeshi workers and their organizations; and activist non-governmental organizations. What do you think **should be done** to improve working conditions and prevent more tragedies in the future? Please present various options, and say what you think would be the best way to improve working conditions in the Bangladesh garment industry. Possible solutions might include changes in the law (in Bangladesh or other countries); changes in enforcement; worker organization and mobilization; voluntary private regulation (agreements among companies); or actions by consumers. Please be specific. For example, if you recommend voluntary private regulation, which of the agreements that have been negotiated do you support, and why? If you recommend changes in the law, what changes do you recommend?

Day 4: Theory-building Exercise

This segment is designed for more advanced students, e.g., honors upper-division undergraduates or graduate students. Instructions: ask students to work in teams to answer the following questions, and then to turn in a written response OR write their responses on the board or butcher paper affixed to the classroom walls.

1. Develop a typology of strategies to respond to worker abuse by contractors in complex supply chains.
2. Under what conditions are different strategies appropriate? Can we explain why different companies responded in different ways?
3. What kinds of data would we need to test these hypotheses?

**Epilogue:**

The collapse of Rana Plaza intensified scrutiny of the Bangladesh garment industry and mobilized many retailers and brands, as well as governments and stakeholders, to take action to assure the safety of its workers.

In the weeks after Rana Plaza, several distinct approaches emerged, including both collective and unilateral action by companies and governments.

*Accord on Fire and Building Safety in Bangladesh:* Soon after the collapse, a group of mostly European retailers began intensive discussions with labor unions and representatives of global NGOs active in the anti-sweatshop movement to craft a collective response to the tragedy.

In July 2013, a group of international federations of trade unions, Bangladesh unions, international NGOs, and international brands and retailers reached agreement on what became known as the Accord on Fire and Building Safety in Bangladesh.[[2]](#footnote-2) The purpose of the agreement was to ensure “a safe and sustainable” Bangladeshi ready-made garment industry. The International Labour Organization was to act as an independent chair of a steering committee that included European and Bangladeshi unions and companies.

Signatory companies agreed to hire an international team of fire and building safety inspectors to carry out inspections of major suppliers. If factories were found to be unsafe, corrective actions would be required. If inspectors found an imminent threat, they were to tell the factory to stop operations during investigation and repairs. The pact required companies to “negotiate commercial terms” which would “ensure that it is financially feasible for the factories to maintain safe workplaces and to comply with upgrade and remediation requirements instituted by the safety inspector.” In other words, they would have to pay more for the product to cover the cost of the mandated improvements. In a somewhat controversial provision, the pact allowed third-party arbitrators to determine the price of garments produced in a facility, if the factory claimed the price paid by the retailer would need to be higher to comply with mandated corrective actions. The companies also committed to maintaining their employment relationship with the supplier for at least six months after requiring modifications. Workers would be able to refuse to work under unsafe conditions. The pact also required worker training, mandated worker health and safety committees, and committed to issuing public reports.

Seventy retailers and apparel brands signed the accord, including Loblaw, H&M, Carrefour, Inditex, Marks & Spencer, PVH, Abercrombie & Fitch, Esprit, El Corte Ingles, Benetton, and Mango. Most participating companies were European (Loblaw, Abercrombie & Fitch, and PVH were notable exceptions.) The accord had broad-based multi-stakeholder support; it was also endorsed by the Bangladesh Garment and Industrial Workers’ Federation and European unions, as well as the Clean Clothes Campaign and other NGOs.

*Alliance for Bangladesh Worker Safety.* As momentum grew behind the initiative that resulted in the accord, a number of U.S. companies balked, expressing concern in particular with the clause requiring third-party arbitration of prices and with possible litigation risk. Walmart, Gap, Target and several other U.S. firms backed an alternative agreement, negotiated with the assistance of former U.S. Senators George J. Mitchell and Olympia J. Snowe. Known as the Alliance on Fire and Building Safety in Bangladesh, the agreement was signed by Gap Inc., Walmart, Sears J.C. Penney, L.L. Bean, Target, Macy’s, Nordstrom, Kohl’s, and the Children’s Place. The alliance committed to a program of factory inspections, safety training, and affordable loans to factory owners to upgrade their facilities. Membership was voluntary, and companies could opt out at any time (although they would have to pay a “termination fee” to do so).

Walmart also took unilateral action, announcing it would hire an external auditor, Bureau Veritas, to inspect some 279 supplier factories in Bangladesh. A spokesperson said that Walmart “expect[ed] the cost of safety improvements to be reflected in the cost of goods we buy.”[[3]](#footnote-3) Walmart also set up a call center and hired the U.S.-based startup LaborVoices to crowdsource safety information directly from workers.

In other developments:

* On April 28, 2013, Sohel Rana was arrested as he was trying to flee across the border to India. In May 2015, Rana was charged with murder. Forty-one others were also charged in connection with the case. As of November 2015, their trial had not yet commenced.
* In May 2013, the Disney Company instructed all its licensees and vendors to halt production in Bangladesh.
* In June 2013, the Obama administration suspended trade privileges with Bangladesh, citing labor rights violations and safety problems in the garment industry. This action was largely symbolic, since the rules affected did not cover garments.[[4]](#footnote-4) The European Union threatened to take similar action.
* In July 2013, the Bangladeshi government amended its labor law, dropping the requirement that the government give factory owners a list of the workers who wanted to form a union.[[5]](#footnote-5) In November of that year, it announced an increase in the minimum wage from $38 a month to $68 a month.

**Appendix A:**

# **SPECIAL TOPIC:**

# **LABOR CONDITIONS IN THE BANGLADESH GARMENT INDUSTRY**

# **TEAM PROJECT ASSIGNMENT INSTRUCTIONS**

This semester, you will be asked to complete a team project in conjunction with a special project on a current public issue: labor conditions in the Bangladesh garment industry. We will examine the horrendous safety conditions in this industry and consider how these conditions can be improved and risks to workers reduced. We will first look at the problem from the perspectives of governments, workers and labor organizations, nongovernmental organizations, suppliers, trade associations, and clothing retailers. In a final session, we will consider various solutions that have been proposed and seek to evaluate them and draw conclusions for action.

You will be assigned to a team of 4-5 people. Each team will be assigned to one stakeholder/government and one company/trade association.

Calendar

[Date]: Instructions for team project and team assignments will be distributed in class. Teams will have an opportunity to meet during class time to begin planning for the assignment.

[Date]: Teams will be provided with class time to meet and work on your presentations.

[Date]: Each team will have 6 minutes to present on your assigned stakeholder or government (see further instructions below).

[Date]: Each team will have 6 minutes to present on your assigned company or trade association (see further instructions below).

[Date]: In class, we will discuss possible solutions and theoretical implications.

Instructions for your Class Presentations

Each team will make two presentations. You will have exactly 6 minutes for your presentation; you will be timed and stopped after 6 minutes.

[Date]: Stakeholders/governments:

In a 6 minute presentation, using 3 to 6 slides, please answer the following questions:

1. What is your stakeholder/government? Please tell us who you are.
2. Why is this stakeholder/government interested in labor conditions in the Bangladeshi garment industry?
3. What is this stakeholder/government’s position on what should be done (if anything) to improve labor conditions in the Bangladeshi garment industry?

If possible, enliven your slides with images, logos, or graphics. Tip: Speak from the *point of view* of your stakeholder or government.

[Date]: Companies/trade associations:

In your 6 minute presentation, using 3 to 6 slides, please answer the following questions:

1. What is your company/trade association? Please tell us who you are.
2. What is this company/trade association’s involvement in/connection to the issue of labor conditions in the Bangladeshi garment industry? If a company, what is your involvement in Bangladesh? To what extent do you source your products there, and from what suppliers? Did your company have exposure to Rana Plaza?
3. What is this company/trade association’s position on what should be done (if anything) to improve labor conditions in the Bangladeshi garment industry? What are the constraints on doing this?

If possible, enliven your slides with images, logos, or graphics. Tip: Speak from the *point of view* of your company or trade association.

1. Teaching note by Anne T. Lawrence. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. “Clothiers Act to Inspect Bangladeshi Factories,” *New York Times,* July 7, 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. “Wal-Mart Lays Out Own Bangladesh Safety Plan,” *Wall Street Journal,* May 14, 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. “Obama to Suspend Trade Privileges with Bangladesh,” *New York Times,* June 27, 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. “Under Pressure, Bangladesh Adopts New Labor Law,” *New York Times,* July 16, 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)