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Recommended Citation

Pereira, Vijay; Vaz, Daicy; and Varma, Arup. Worker's Rights. Fashion and Environmental Sustainability: Entrepreneurship, Innovation and Technology, ,: 327-342, 2024. Retrieved from Loyola eCommons, School of Business: Faculty Publications and Other Works, http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/9783110795431-025

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25 Workers' Rights

Abstract: This chapter discusses the rights of workers. It focuses on Bangladesh, China, India, and Vietnam.

Keywords: workers, employees, fashion, sustainability

Overview of the Fashion Industry

The fashion industry is fast growing, vibrant and thriving. Indeed, fashions brands have been competing with each other to top the chart of best fashion brand globally. As per The Vou (Meyer, August 26, 2022), Nike with a brand value of \$33.1bn is ranked first, followed by Gucci (\$18.1bn) and Louis Vuitton (\$15.1bn). Other brands in this list of the top 100 are Zara, Prada, Burberry, Adidas, H&M and Michael Kors, to name a few. The fashion industry has evolved to modern day fashion where importance is given to style, fabric, comfort and uniqueness and is influenced by gender, geographical locations, climatic conditions, occasions, cultural preferences, financial and economic considerations, personal and occupational attributes (Hasan, May 19, 2022). As one might imagine, these aspects demand diversity in clothing, but sustainability and innovation (Hasan, May 19, 2022) are now the key for survival of fashion brands. Although the industry did take a huge hit during the pandemic due to multiple lockdowns, it quickly revived and regained business by 2021 (Forrest, April 8, 2022). One outcome of the Covid-19 pandemic is that people have become more health conscious and have begun fitness routines due to which brands related to sportswear are predicted to see 25% more sales between 2021 and 2025 (Forrest, April 8, 2022). Also, as per a report by Deloitte (June 10, 2020), e-commerce is expected to increase up to 68% in India and 64% in China for garments, footwear and accessories.

Typically, a brand gains its fame from its product quality and design. This responsibility solely lies in the hands of production teams located in different parts of the world. In this chapter, we look at the working conditions at the manufacturing sites which are mostly located in emerging countries. We further highlight the rights of workers employed in the textile manufacturing industry. We also reflect upon past incidents that have led to revision of labour laws. Having analysed the current scenario in terms of worker rights at the manufacturing industry, we provide implica-

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tions for the governments, NGOs, local authorities, policymakers, supra-national organizations, and employers in textile industry so that the workplace can become more inclusive and liberal for employees.

Outsourced Locations in Emerging Markets

An important feature of the industry is that most of the international brands import textile and readymade garments from emerging countries, specifically Bangladesh, India, Vietnam, China, Pakistan, Nepal, Turkey, Indonesia, Cambodia, Morocco, Brazil, Malaysia and Thailand. Among these emerging markets, China is the largest exporter of clothing employing more than eight million people and earning an export revenue of USD 150 billion (Asia Garment Hub, 2020). Bangladesh stands second in exports, contributing to 80% of Bangladesh's export income and employing close to four million people (Majumdar & Sinha, 2019). Vietnam stands third (Majumdar, Shaw & Sinha, 2020) employing 2.5 million people (Majumdar et al., 2020). Relatedly, the Indian textiles and clothing sector is expected to grow from at present 200 billion USD to 350 billion USD by 2024 which currently employs approximately 45 million people (Baseline Study, 2020). One of the main reasons for brands to outsource production to emerging countries is cheap labour, where low skilled labour is abundant and needs employment. Further, the textile manufacturing sector is one of the largest employers. Owing to the lower labour cost and abundant workforce in countries such as Bangladesh and India, most readymade garments are manufactured here.

Most successful businesses follow a business model which encompasses lower manufacturing costs thus yielding a higher return on sales. Relatedly, the textile supply chain includes the process of fibre, yarn and fabric production whereas the clothing supply chain includes wet processing and clothing manufacturing (Majumdar et al., 2020). In this connection, research by López et al. (2021) highlights the transformation in manufacturing, logistics and distribution sections through digital integration in the supply chain of two major brands i.e., Zara and H&M. It is learnt that the manufacturing units in Bangladesh and India use computer aided design, automated fabric spreading, laser cutting machinery, digital marker making software and semi-automated sewing machines (López et al., 2021). These technological changes have been incorporated due to pressure from the retail side demanding an end-to-end digital supply chain. However, skilled and semi-skilled operators are required for operating these machines. Complex and higher value-added garments are mostly manufactured in India and need workers to upskill whereas this requirement is limited in Bangladesh as they mostly deal with mass-scale production (López et al., 2021). Furthermore, Bangladesh now has now diversified in manufacturing complex garments made from synthetic fibres, however, the country needs further diversification (Berg, 2021). The textile manufacturing sector in Bangladesh also contributes towards sustainability by recycling production waste through the Circular Fashion Partnership. Here, it should be noted that more than 1,500 companies have been certified by the Global Organic Textile Standard (Berg, 2021).

A Glance at the Workplace Conditions

A survey conducted in 2018 in the RMG sector of Bangladesh by ILO (2020) highlighted that 92% of the surveyed firms had upgraded technology for sewing, knitting, cutting and finishing units as compared to 2010. Further, 86.9% of the female workers and 84.5% of the male workers expressed job satisfaction responding to factors like timely salary and overtime payment, festival bonus, regular weekly leave, etc. Also, benefits of being employed in the RMG sector included decrease in family's financial crises, improvement in standard of living (food & clothing), affordability in terms of education and healthcare etc. As per ILO (2015), in India, child labour was not evidenced in Bangalore and NCR region. The majority of the workforce were women in the southern region (Bangalore) and men in the northern NCR. Employees were flexible to quit their jobs with one month notice period but were unable to, due to low skills and job opportunities available to them outside this sector. Workers are provided with ESI (Employees' State Insurance) and provident funds.

Generally, the labour force employed in textile manufacturing units are uneducated or less qualified with minimal knowledge and are therefore unable to secure employment in any other industry. This is a key reason behind most youngsters joining the textile industry at an early age and continuing to work in the same industry under all circumstances. The survey by ILO (2020) further highlighted the following:

- 1) Women constituted 60.5% and men 39.5% of the workforce in different sections of manufacturing i.e., sewing, knitting, cutting, finishing, dying, packaging and printing, washing and embroidery
- 2) 29.1% of female workers were uneducated
- 3) Both male and female workers had an average age between 15 and 29 years
- 4) This was the first employment for 95% of the female employees
- 5) Women employed in low pay scale jobs account for 83.8% compared to men (67.7%)
- 6) 95% of the line supervisors were male
- 7) Societal barriers are higher for women, preventing their entry into the RMG sector, and they are usually employed through community or family networks
- 8) 20% of women employees quit their job in the RMG sector owing to management issues such as low salary and poor working conditions
- 9) 61.7% (men and women) are subjected to workplace harassment leading to resignations.

Furthermore, one must note that male workers are trained to operate new machinery owing to digital and technological transformation and are encouraged to move on to automated manufacturing processes whereas women are left behind to work in the sewing process which has a lower level skill level requirement (López et al., 2021). These facts raise concerns regarding the work environment and unfair treatment of employees. It is quite evident that workers are deprived of fair pay and are also traumatised with excess work hours and stress. The textile manufacturing industry exploits workers by paying meagre wages, forcing employees into long work hours (sometimes physically locked in factories), not providing them with legitimate work contracts, depriving them of social and health benefits, leave, pensions and denial of worker rights (Unseen, February 8, 2022).

The management of these firms claim to be paying minimum wages but these minimum wages are often between one half to one fifth of the required living wage (Charpail, 2017). When it comes to working hours, employees are required to work around the clock (up to sixteen hours a day) and the entire week (Choudhury & Rahman, 2017). Moreover, the workers are at the risk of losing their jobs if they refused to work as demanded by their employer (Leech, January 26, 2022). These are a few reasons why the European Parliament termed the work environment at the textile manufacturing industry in Asia as "slave labour" (Charpail, 2017). Most workers are not happily employed in this industry due to high production targets, lower wages and unfavourable working conditions and verbal abuse by supervisors.

Additionally, in Bangladesh, 90% of the labour force is made up of women living in rural areas (Islam et al., 2016). Child labour is mostly practiced in this country, e.g., the "Sumangali scheme" (Charpail, 2017) is offered to unmarried young girls wherein the amount is collected for "dowry". Within the organisation, workers are not allowed to form employee unions and are threatened of being fired or physically attacked (Charpail, 2017). Recently, in 2020, Uzbekistan eliminated forced and child labour in cotton hand picking (Charpail, 2017). In India, instances have been reported wherein workers were suspended and harassed (forced to resign or fired) if absent at work or if found talking to any member from the labour union and protesting in favour of their rights (Nagaraj, 2018, Feb 03). Though there are labour laws in the Indian constitution, these laws are not totally implemented in the textile industry (Reuters, June 24, 2016). Gopinath Parakuni (General Secretary of Cividep) has noted that the industry is now moving towards a "piece rate" (wages based on per piece completion) which is mounting higher pressure on textile workers (Reuters, June 24, 2016).

For most employees, their job helps in repaying loans, gaining access to education and basic necessities such as food and shelter. But when the Covid-19 pandemic struck worldwide, leading brands withdrew their orders from manufacturing firms and delayed their payments (Donaldson, 2020). Many of these brands failed to pay fabric costs (72.1%) and production costs (91.3%) to suppliers from Bangladesh (Anner, 2020). Additionally, since the lockdown was announced by the government, millions of workers faced unemployment across the South Asian countries (Wazir Advisors, 2020; Economic Times, 2020; Wright & Saeed, 2020).

How Safe are the Manufacturing Sites?

Though the fashion industry is lucrative and creative, it is not a pleasant space for employees in manufacturing units. In terms of safety, huge risks have been identified by auditors. The work environment is extremely harsh. Most of them work in enclosed spaces with limited ventilation and in hazardous atmospheres. Massive deaths have been recorded in incidents related to the collapse of Rana Plaza, fire eruption in Tazreen Fashions in Bangladesh and sand inhalation in Turkey's denim factory (Charpail, 2017). Table 25.1 below lists out major accidents that have led to a huge number of deaths in the textile manufacturing units. These accidents have mostly been due to negligence from management.

Table 25.1: Major accidents in textile manufacturing work sites since 2000.

Year	Location	Description	Loss	Source
September 2016	Tampaco Foils	Boiler blast	22 dead, 16 injured	Schumacher, 2016
October 2014	Mega Yarn Dyeing Mills Limited	Fire	1 dead, 5 injured	Donaldson, 2014
October 8, 2013	Palmal Group,	Fire	10 dead	Asif, 2017
May 9, 2013	Tung Hai		9 dead	Asif, 2017
April 24, 2013	Rana Plaza, Bangladesh	Building collapse	1,129 dead, 2,515 injured	Asif, 2017
February 2013	Smart Garments	Factory fire	9 dead	Asif, 2017
November 24, 2012	Tazreen factory, Bangladesh	Factory fire	122 dead, 200 injured	Asif, 2017
September 11, 2012	Ali Enterprises, Pakistan	Factory fire	Approximately 300 dead, over 60 injured	Theuws et al., 2013
December 3, 2011	Eurotex	Factory fire	2 dead, 64 injured	Asif, 2017
December 14, 2010	Sportswear (Hameem Group)	Factory fire	29 dead, 11 injured	Asif, 2017
February 25, 2010	Garib and Garib	Factory fire	21 dead, 50 injured	Asif, 2017

Table 25.1 (continued)

Year	Location	Description	Loss	Source
March 2, 2006	KTS Textile Factory, Bangladesh	Factory fire	63 dead, 150 injured	Hasan, Mahmud & Islam (2017)
March 6, 2006	Saiem Fashions, Bangladesh	Factory fire	3 dead, 50 injured	Asif, 2017; Muhammad, A. (2011).
February 25, 2006	Phoenix Building	Building collapse	22 dead, 50 injured	Asif, 2017
2005	Spectrum factory, Bangladesh	Building collapse	64 dead, 80 injured	Ansary & Barua, 2015
2005	Shan Knitting and Processing	Fire	28 dead, 100 injured	Hasan, Mahmud & Islam (2017)
November 26, 2000	Chowdhury Knitwear and Garments Factory, Bangladesh	Factory fire	45 dead, more than 100 injured	Hasan, Mahmud & Islam (2017)
2000	Globe Knitting, Bangladesh		12 dead	Muhammad, 2011
2000	Macro sweater, Bangladesh		23 dead	Muhammad, 2011

Note: Here we have listed the incidents that were caused due to internal fires or building collapses only. In no way do we consider this to be an exhaustive list of incidents that have occurred. In some cases, false fire alarms have resulted in deaths due to stampede and we have not considered such incidents. Please refer to "Fire and Other Safety Incidents in the Bangladesh Garment Sector" that lists all incidents (with description of causes) between November 24, 2012 and November 19, 2019 in the garment sector of Bangladesh.

One of the accidents which drew immediate and wide attention globally was the collapse of Rana Plaza, which was a nine storeyed building. Upon investigation, it was found to have a license of only up to five floors (Ansary & Barua, 2015). A day prior to the collapse, officials had warned of cracks in the building and ordered closure until further notice. Despite opposition from factory workers, owners demanded presence on the day (Ansary & Barua, 2015), showing the helplessness of workers. The incident with Ali Enterprises in Pakistan was similar, where the three storeyed building was constructed employing over 1,500 workers whereas legal permission was only for a ground floor with a maximum of 250 workers only. From the incident investigation of Ali Enterprises, it was learnt that SA8000, "A social certification standard for socially responsible employment practices, based on the auditing of workplaces" (Theuws et al., 2013, p. 24) was awarded to Ali Enterprises three weeks before the incident but the claims on the report were false, such as availability of clear fire exits, fire extinguisher training imparted to workers etc. (Theuws et al., 2013). From the incident investigation of the fire at Tazreen Fashions Limited, it was found that automated fire systems were not available. Also, the ground floor was used for storage, gates were locked, staircases were narrow and workers were not trained to use fire extinguishers and much more (Theuws et al., 2013). All of this points to non-compliance in terms of safety training, building construction and working conditions, resulting in too many workers cramped up in too little space. Sadly, it seems that audits are conducted and complied just for records and not in practice.

An increasing number of incidents especially in Bangladesh sent shock waves across the world and brought these safety issues to the attention of management of brands who are located internationally. Furthermore, beyond this, there is a health risk to workers engaged in the denim dyeing process due to nitric-per-oxide and nitrous fumes which can harm the respiratory system (Asif, 2017).

Responsibility of Various Stakeholders

Governments

In 1978, Bangladesh had only nine garment factories (Asif, 2017). Later, Bangladesh entered into the Multi Fiber Agreement (MFA) with the World Trade Organization from 1974 to 2004 (Elahi et al., 2019). However, Bangladesh was exempted from the cap of 6% yearly export tariffs and quotas on exports from developing countries to developed countries (Ansary & Barua, 2015). During this time, Bangladesh opened opportunities for foreign investors and the number of garment factories increased from 50 to 4,200 (1980s to 2004). From 2005 onwards, Bangladesh's garment sector saw tremendous growth and 90% of total imports in EU are clothes exported from Bangladesh (Elahi et al., 2019), but at the cost of poor working conditions, labour exploitation and backlash from labour unions (Elahi et al., 2019).

Currently, the Department of Inspection for Factories and Establishments (DIFE) in Bangladesh is responsible for monitoring the safety of the RMG sector but Barua, Wiersma and Ansary (2018), Rahman (2019) and Bair, Anner and Blasi (2020) claim that this responsibility has not been carried out well due to a limited skilled workforce and resources. During the Covid-19 pandemic, vaccinations for these workers was also as important as any other basic necessity but remained largely unavailable. Neither the government of Bangladesh nor the Western and European countries took the lead to provide vaccinations as a matter of urgency (Ullah, 2021). In December 2013, after the Rana Plaza incident, the government of Bangladesh increased the minimum wages of the garment workers to 5,300 Taka (US\$66.49) from the previous 3,000 Taka introduced in 2010 (US\$39/month) (Elahi et al., 2019). Though the wages were increased, they are still less compared to China (ranging between USD 154 and USD 230 per month) and Cambodia (USD 80.27) (Elahi et al., 2019). A study by Park-Poaps,

Bari and Sarker (2020) showed that export orientation and global competition in pricing had a negative impact on technology adoption in Bangladesh. Furthermore, the depreciating currency of Bangladesh is another major challenge to the factory owners who need to spend huge amounts of money in raw materials, machinery repair or replacement. Moreover, the electricity crisis has worsened working conditions and operation productivity with frequent power shutdowns (Asif, 2017).

In Vietnam, during the pandemic, when 84.8% companies reported financial issues, the Vietnamese government released financial support packages for tax relief, credit extension and improved social security (2.64 bn USD) (Boquen, August 23, 2022), and similar relief packages were also announced in Pakistan (Asghar et al., 2020) and Cambodia (Zulkarnaen et al., 2020). A special move towards reducing these labour issues was taken by the UK government on October 29, 2015, demonstrating responsibility on behalf of businesses (PwC, 2019). The UK Modern Slavery Act (Section 54) requires UK businesses recording more than £36 million annual turnover to show proof of slave free goods and services (Unseen, February 8, 2022). Such initiatives encourage brands and employers on the manufacturing side to promote employee welfare.

Multinational Companies (MNC)

After the collapse of the Rana Plaza building, two agencies, Accord and Alliance, were hired collectively by many major brands in the European and western countries to monitor occupational health and safety (OHS) of these workers in 2013 (Shiina, 2015). These two agencies helped immensely in identifying and resolving safety concerns in many textile factories across Bangladesh. The RMG sustainability council also played a major role in preventing unsafe workplaces (Berg et al., 2021).

In relation to MNCs, from a business point of view, research conducted by Majumdar et al. (2020), showed that:

- (i) Any disaster in China will impact the textile and clothing industry in other manufacturing countries: for this reason, manufacturing units must not be reliant on raw material from one country alone. They need to have multiple sources for incoming raw material or develop them in-house. This is also be applicable to machinery or spare parts for which countries are heavily dependent on China. The Covid-19 pandemic was an eye-opener in this regard.
- (ii) Brands have the upper hand when it comes to price, payments and bargaining power and the manufacturers bear the blow of cost cutting and low margin profits: brands and manufacturing units must come to an agreement of sharing profit and loss. Considering that the production workforce is already employed on low wages, brands must be share costs towards order cancellations. Management of production companies must levy heavy cancellation charges and secure advance payments so that they are able to pay their workers despite any undue circumstances. These conditions must be specified in the contract/ agreements. Majumdar et al.

(2020) also call for strict regulations where the brands are held accountable and liable for costs of clothing under manufacturing in case of order cancellations.

UN, ILO and WTO

The role of United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) is primarily to promote inclusive and sustainable development. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) is involved in promoting labour rights and strengthening policies. The World Trade Organisation (WTO) intervenes in resolving trade issues and monitoring trade policies. It is of the utmost importance then that these internationally accepted organisations, of which emerging countries are members, must intervene in ensuring that the governments have minimum wages capped to the standard of living. They must also ensure that the manufacturing companies adhere to policies of inclusive workplaces.

Clearly, it is extremely important to have correct policies and strict regulations with respect to employing workers since child labour exists in cotton picking in China and India (Chen, June 29, 2019; Stewart, January 25, 2021) and G20 countries import garments worth 127.7 billion USD which are produced by forced labour, with the highest amount imported by the US (Global Slavery Index, 2018). "BetterWork", a collaborative programme between the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the International Finance Corporation (IFC), engages 1,700 factories across nine countries reaching out to 2.4 million employees. This programme is aligned towards securing contracts, compensation, health and safety as per ILO labour law and has recorded significant improvement in terms of profitability and better working conditions in industries. The program coordinators work closely with the workers' unions, governments and brands (BetterWork, 2022).

Regional Players

Many NGOs offer major support to workers and the worker unions, as they fight for the rights of employees. One such organisation is the Fair Wear Foundation (FWF) which has collaborated with governments, brands, unions and NGOs and is working towards improving working conditions for workers in the clothing industry (Charpail, 2017). Ali, Rahman and Frederico (2021) through their study in one of the factories in Bangladesh have argued that the government and NGOs are requiring the manufacturers to implement stable HR policies, compliance certificates and employee training programs. Also, during the pandemic, the government had announced a financial package and clarified that financial packages will be not applicable to organisations who lay off workers. Of course, as we noted above, the NGOs also strongly supported labourers.

Consumers

A study by Stringer, Mortimer and Payne (2020) showed that ethical practices in the fashion industry have a positive impact on consumers who are concerned about the environment, and animal and worker welfare. Relatedly, Rousselot (April 25, 2019) has called for the re-use and re-sale of clothes and poses the thought-provoking question "who made my clothes?" because manufacturing of clothes involves modern slavery and is ranked second after gadgets according to the Global Slavery Index (2018). As responsible consumers, it is our duty to only engage with brands that do not involve child labour and work abuse in any section of the supply chain. Consumers must globally adopt "Reduce, Rewear, Recycle, Repair, Resell" (Hill, August 22, 2022) to reduce the impact on the planet and animals, thereby promoting sustainability.

What are Worker's Rights? Are the Workers **Protected under Labour Rights?**

India

According to Human Resource (July 19, 2021), private employees are entitled to employment agreement, fair pay and bonuses (8.33% to 20% of wage), paid maternity leave (up to 26 weeks for first two children, 12 weeks for third child), rights against discrimination and sexual harassment (up to three years of imprisonment if found guilty), right to leave (minimum of 12 days a year for 240 working days), right to provident fund and gratuity, and appropriate work hours (nine hours per day, 48 hours per week) and overtime. The labour market in Tirrupur and Coimbatore has transformed and is focused towards recruitment of unmarried women through labor agencies, providing them with valid work contracts and accommodation (Arnold, 2021).

Bangladesh

Employees in Bangladesh's industries are protected by the Bangladesh Labour Act (2006) and the labour rules were revised in 2015. As per the Labour Act (2006), work periods are regulated to eight hours per day and 48 hours per week. Workers are allowed to work for extra periods of 10 hours per day and 60 hours per week; however, the employee must be given 24 hours of rest between two shifts. Further, the labour law clearly states that an inspection officer can serve an order to the employer in cases of dangerous equipment or buildings demanding rectification. Child labour is strictly not permitted whereas an adolescent is only allowed to work with a certificate of fitness. However, the adolescent is not allowed to work between 7 p.m. and 7 a.m. Also, women employees are not allowed to work (without her consent) between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. Maternity benefits are provided to women employees such as eight weeks of leave after giving birth. Employee safety is considered the primary responsibility of the employer. Workplaces have to be safe and free from non-hazardous and combustible material. Casual, sick and annual leave are included in the work contracts along with the right to public holidays and are considered as paid leave. The employer is bound to terminate an employee's work contract in case of disobedience or unacceptable behavior.

China

As per the Labour Law of the People's Republic of China, wages cannot be less than the minimum wages defined by the state, with the wages readjusted as per the minimum wages required to support the employee and his/ her dependents. The state is obliged to provide workers with social insurance. Employers are obliged to pay employees 150% of the wages in case of extra working hours, 200% on off-days and 300% if asked to work on public holidays. Labourers also have the right to refrain from work and report the employer in case of unsafe working conditions. Juveniles (between the age of 16 and 18 years) are also protected against working in mines and hazardous environments. Female employees are entitled to a minimum of 90 days of maternity leave and are also prohibited from engaging in physical work, extended work and night shifts while breastfeeding.

Vietnam

As per Civil code 2015, Boquen (2022, Aug 23) states that minimum wages in Vietnam vary across different regions i.e., 191 USD in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh cities, 167 USD in Can Tho, Da Nang and Haiphong, 146 USD in rural areas such as Bac Ninh, Bac Giang and Hai Duong, and elsewhere it is 131 USD. As per law, workers are allowed to work for a maximum of eight hours per day and forty-eight hours per week. Overtime is restricted to 12 hours per day, forty hours per month and two hundred hours per year. Payment for extra work hours is similar to that in China and maternity leave is granted up to six months.

Implications

 Garment factories must be inspected on a regular basis to check for compliance on safety and health. Fire and emergency exits must be clear and workers must be educated/ trained on use of fire extinguishers (Asif, 2017; Kan, 2012)

- Governments must intervene in increasing garment worker wages to standard living wages. These wages must be in line with the international standards and cover living expenses of the worker and their families.
- Garment workers must be insured during the work period and every employee must be given a work contract duly signed by the employee and employer. In the case of uneducated workers, a legal team must ensure legal contract terms stated in the contract.
- Governments must introduce a cap on overtime hours to protect the health of employees. This will prevent employers from engaging workers more than 14 hours a dav.
- 5. Labour and trade unions must work towards ensuring worker rights and justice to every worker irrespective of gender and age.
- Child labour must not be allowed in any circumstance. Special audits must be conducted to ensure the same.
- Though labour laws are well defined in all countries, they are often not followed. 7. Governments and related organisations must ensure that workers are not exploited, especially women and children.
- 8. Brands must be held responsible for violation of labour laws even in the manufacturing sites. This way, brands will be obliged to only work with legitimate manufacturing partners.

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