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| RESEARCH ARTICLE

Social Movement of English Civil Society in The Collapse of Rana Plaza Garment in Bangladesh

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| ABSTRACT

Globalization is the process of interconnectedness. For example, an event in one part of the world will also affect other parts of the world. Each member of the society will be affected by an event that occurred in another society. This phenomenon can be seen in a civil society movement in England caused by an event outside their country, which was the tragedy of the Rana Plaza collapse in Bangladesh in 2013. The new social movement and transnational advocacy were the theoretical approaches used to analyze behavioural patterns in English civil society. This research used the qualitative method to reveal that civil society could be part of transnational advocacy within the similarity of the issue. They used campaigns and advocacy to fight for Rana Plaza workers' rights.

1. Introduction

Snrith and Baylis defined *globalization* as a process of increasing interconnectedness between people, such that events that occur in one part of the world will also affect other parts of the world. Every community member will be increasingly affected by events that occur in other communities. The events in question are divided into three types: social, economic, and political events. This condition can happen because people become more dependent on other communities in political, economic, cultural, and social fields. Based on that matter, people's views seem to make the world smaller since people no longer feel alienated (Smith, Steve & Baylis, John, 2001).

This phenomenon can be seen in a civil society movement in England formed from an event that occurred outside their country, namely the collapse of Rana Plaza in Bangladesh in 2013. On April 24th, 2013, the Rana Plaza factory building collapsed in Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh. More than 1,100 fatalities befell in the worst industrial accident since the Union Carbide gas plant leaked in Bhopal, India. Most of the victims worked in garment factories, whose main clients were European, US, and Canadian companies. Export contracts to such companies have helped Bangladesh become the second-largest clothing exporter globally. Rana Plaza was not the first tragedy in Bangladesh's garment industry, and without intervention, more could follow. International brand owners, domestic and foreign governments, trade unions, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) discussed their responsibilities to improve conditions for Bangladeshi garment workers (Quelch, John A., and Margaret L. Rodriguez, 2013).

Protesters in London had done action to commemorate the death of 1,138 workers two years after the collapse in Bangladesh. The garment industry in Bangladesh supplies many global brands with their goods. Thousands of workers are employed in factories that are unsafe, dangerous, and, in the case of Rana Plaza, deadly. The demonstrators demanded that the company pay adequate compensation to help victims and their families. Today, the Rana Plaza Compensation Fund is still $6 million from its target of $30 million. Demonstrators occupied stores, including Benetton and Zara, while H&M and Gap were blocked. Campaigners put up blue placards that read, "Rana Plaza, April 24th, 2013, 1,138 workers carried away by corporate greed outside the London stores involved

in using these factories". People planned to commemorate the Rana Plaza accident in Bangladesh by forming a human chain on London's busiest shopping street while calling on retailers to be more transparent about their supply chains.

Besides forming a human chain on Oxford Street, UNISON (trade union) asked members to observe a minute's silence at 11:38 am while ethical fashion industry people supported Fashion Revolution Day. Shoppers are asked to urge stores to be more transparent about the supply chain through social media. This condition is a long-term compensation compressor that has raised just $15 billion (£9 billion), which is expected to cost $40 million, despite the efforts of the United Nations' International Labor Organization. Less than half of the brands associated with making clothing in the building have donated to the fund. Although, there is a call for all retailers linked to Bangladesh to contribute.

Italy's Benetton and UK's Matalan said they preferred to support alternative relief programs for victims, while people like France's Auchandaii argued that they did not have a production permit in the building at the time of its collapse and therefore made no contribution to compensation. Other brands donate tokens to Asda Walmart owners, for example, only bidding around $1 million compared to more than $8 million from UK's Primark. They urged all brands that have worked in Bangladesh to contribute to the fund in a sizeable amount. They should share responsibility. International development minister Alan Duncan has called on British businesses to act as a "force for good" in Bangladesh.

The response to the accident included the development of three factory safety initiatives in Bangladesh, including the Bangladesh Safety and Security Agreement, where more than 150 brands participated. They had inspected more than 200 factories, and at least eight have been closed for repairs due to structural problems. However, The Ethical Trading Initiative, a British institution supported by brands such as Marks & Spencer and Primark, said that more action was necessary, including higher union membership to enable workers to have their fundamental rights in Bangladesh. There is a need for increased momentum. Unsafe factories must be identified and fixed as fast as possible so that people can enjoy safe working conditions.

2. Literature Reviews

2.1. Social Movement

The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Article 29 (2) states that "the country guarantees the independence of each resident to embrace their religion and worship according to their religion and beliefs". For this reason, all religions that exist in the Republic of Indonesia must be guaranteed and protected. However, in managing population documents such as Identity Cards or Family Cards, there are provisions regarding the inclusion of the religion adopted, which is regulated in Articles 61 and 64 of Law no. 23 of 2006 concerning Population Administration.

The social movement concept gives out a framework that helps understand how individuals can mobilize themselves during community problem-solving. This concept is applied to conclude the causal mechanism which motivates individuals in MENA countries to involve in a revolutionary movement "Arab Spring. Social movement theory also provides further context for social media impact as an instrument in the social movement. Political struggle can take three different forms, as identified by Charles Tilly, namely protest, collective action, and dissension (McAdam. Douglas, and Ronelle. Paulsen, 1999). Protests are generally an expression of society embodied in street politics. Collective action occurs when a population has a common interest and coordinates action on behalf of that interest; contention involves "claim-making" in which one party demands specific actions that will affect the interests of several parties (Tilly. Charles, 2011). The concept of social movement often argues that people with dense network ties are more likely to experience collective action than those with sparser ties. At the individual level, those recruited to participate in social movements tend to have more social relationships with those already in the movement (Tilly. Charles, 2011). Strong social ties (close interpersonal ties such as family) or dense social ties (referring to a high number of ties) in a network often facilitate initial requests to participate in social movements and then pave the way for participation by reducing mobilization uncertainty. A strong predictor of participation in environmental organizations is when a person is in the same area as close friends or relatives, providing solid and dense network ties that encourage and facilitate participation (McAdam. Douglas, 2008).

McAdam and Paulsen postulated that, although the strength of social ties greatly influences recruitment at the individual level, weak social ties can effectively communicate and spread the message of social movements across diffused networks. This description shows that an effective network structure will have a dense network of weak ties to outside entities and intense interpersonal relationships within groups (McAdam. Douglas, 2008). While participants in social movements are often recruited through pre-existing social ties, McAdam and Paulsen argued that additional context is needed to define better individuals' nature of inter-social ridges for the movement. The context fights whether it is the presence of a tie with movement, the number of ties, or the strength of the essential ties (McAdam. Douglas, 2008). The context to consider is affiliation with multiple organizational or family networks simultaneously, as this can prove conflicting between individuals regarding whether to participate in a particular social movement (McAdam. Douglas, 2008).

McAdam and Paulsen emphasized the importance of considering how social ties can lead to an increase and a decrease in activism. They argued that the various kinds of individual relationships are essential elements of the context around why those with social ties to the movement choose to participate and what brands of relationships with parents, peers, and others have made the

decisions (McAdam. Douglas, 2008). In general, pre-existing organizational affiliations are an essential structural factor associated with participation in social movements, as membership in organizations facilitates the formation of increased interpersonal relationships, and thus individuals belonging to certain groups are more frequently targeted for recruitment by movement organizers than unaffiliated individuals (McAdam. Douglas, 2008).

2.2 Transactional Advocacy Network

A transactional Advocacy Network is an organization that possesses characteristics of exchange and voluntary, reciprocal, and equal (horizontal) communication patterns. That network concept can run well because of the emphasis on liquid and transparent relationships between people who work in certain areas and issues. Keck & Sikkink referred to them as advocacy networks because they advocate by supporting each other on a case brought by others. Keck & Sikkink also stated that transnational advocacy networks have their own merits because they are organized to promote issues, ideas, and norms and often involve individuals participating in advocating for policy change. Advocacy fought by people in a transnational advocacy network is based on specific values. Therefore, advocacy networks become essential in discussions of values-based issues such as human rights issues, the environment, women's health, Etc., where people in various worlds come from different backgrounds. Different countries have built a common perspective on the issues mentioned above. Those who advocate for specific issues, ideas, or values do not work alone and do not know national boundaries in fighting for their beliefs. In the last few decades, we have seen an increasing number of organizations that work together and unwittingly build a partnership or form advocacy networks that become a kind of 'bridge' that transcends national boundaries to carry out social change. (Margaret, 1992).

3. Research Methodology

The type of qualitative research used in this research is a case study that will allow researchers to explore a single phenomenon in the form of a case understudy limited by time and activity (program, event, process, institution, or social group). In collecting this data, the writer used a literature study. The data and information needed to answer research questions were collected from two main sources, namely primary and secondary sources. Primary data was obtained from in-depth interviews from discussions, while secondary data was collected from the processed data of other people in the form of documents, reports, publications, Etc. Data analysis was carried out simultaneously with the data collection process (ongoing analysis) using data analysis techniques that are commonly used in qualitative research. Qualitative data were analyzed using inductive and logical analysis methods (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). This qualitative data analysis procedure contains two main elements, data reduction, and interpretation. The process of data analysis in qualitative research included testing (examining), selecting, categorizing, evaluating, comparing, synthesizing, and reflecting on the data (completing the coded data), which was carried out cyclically to build inferences, retest inferences, and then draw back-conclusion (Neuman, 1997).

4. Results and Discussion

A. Background of the Movement

After becoming an independent country in 1971, Bangladesh adopted industrialization, which was oriented toward exporting the textile and garment industry, particularly the ready-made garment (RMG) sector ('Bangladesh Textile Industry', 2016). From the 1980s onwards, the RMG sector had been growing exponentially. It was becoming a $19 billion a year industry, accounting for more than 80% of the country's export earnings and employing about 4 million workers, an estimated 55-60% of whom are women" (ILO, 2016). Overall, "the global clothing market is worth $3 trillion, 3,000 billion, and accounts for 2% of the world's Gross Domestic Product" ('Global Fashion Industry Statistics -International Apparel' 2016).

In 2014, 57.8 million people worldwide were employed in textiles and ready-made garments/apparel, 24.8 million of which were exclusively employed in the manufacture of apparel. Bangladesh, second to China, is the world's largest exporter of RMG and is Europe's largest trading partner (EU 2015b) for clothing, receiving 60% of its apparel production (Watts, 2013). Benetton, Bonmarche, Children's Place, El Corte Ingles, Joe Fresh from Loblaw, Monsoon Accessorize, Mango, Matalan, Primark, Walmart, Zara (Inditex) ('The building blocks of Savar 2013') are brands those modern consumers are familiar. However, consumers are now well aware of where these brands manufacture their clothes and the working conditions. On April 24th, 2013, the transparency and separation of the workforce from the consumer were noticeably reduced. On this pivotal day, consumers were getting to know Rana Plaza in the wake of a catastrophic industrial accident, its relationship with well-known brands, and after an international outcry that exposed labour inequities in the global supply chain of the garment industry.

On April 24th, 2013, Rana Plaza collapsed and left 1,127 people dead and around 2,500 injured (Rubya, 2014). The dead and injured workers made clothes for sale in England, Denmark, France, Germany, Spain, Ireland, Canada, and the United States. Rana Plaza was built six years before its collapse, and three additional floors were illegally added after its initial construction. Occupying the ground and the first floor are banks, shops, and BRAC. The remaining floors housed five garment factories that supply well-known brands and nursery facilities for workers. The garment makers in the building were Phantom Apparels, Phantom Tac, and Ether Tex. They produce several million T-shirts, trousers, and other clothing each year, added illegally.

The collapse of the Rana Plaza building attracted international attention. "Unlike natural disasters, which can be described as acts of God, industrial accidents or disasters are dramatic events that can be caused in the interests of large corporations, which may result in anti-industrial mobilization" (Birkland, 1998). Initial reactions included riots, protests, petitions, boycotts, investigations, arrests, extensive media attention, and mobilization of interest groups. "Mass protests and pressure through the media are just two other ways in which interest groups influence the course of policymaking (Birkland, 1998). Actors find fault while others deny responsibility. Uncertainty is addressed to building owners, inspectors, and governments.

B. Advocacy Strategy of English Civil Society in the Collapse of Rana Plaza Case
Transnational Advocacy Network is an organizational form that has the characteristics of exchange and communication patterns that are voluntary, reciprocal, and equal. The network concept works well because it emphasizes fluid and open relationships between people working on specific issues and areas. Keck & Sikkink referred to them as advocacy networks because they advocate by supporting each other on a case brought by others. Keck & Sikkink also stated that transnational advocacy networks are unique because they are organized to promote a case, ideas, and norms and often involve individuals to participate in advocating for policy change. In the case of Rana Plaza, transnational advocacy was built voluntarily, starting with a protest movement by civilians in London. Protesters in London have taken action to commemorate the deaths of 1,138 workers two years after the Rana Plaza factory collapsed in Bangladesh. The garment industry in Bangladesh supplies many global brands with their goods, but thousands of workers are employed in factories that are unsafe, dangerous, and, in the case of Rana Plaza, deadly. The demonstrators demanded that the company pay adequate compensation to help victims and their families. Today, the Rana Plaza Compensation Fund is still only $6 million off its target of $30 million.

Demonstrators occupied stores, including Benetton and Zara, while H&M and Gap were blockaded. Campaigners put up blue placards that read, "Rana Plaza, April 24th, 2013, 1,138 workers were killed by corporate greed outside London stores involved in the use of these factories". They planned to commemorate the Rana Plaza accident in Bangladesh by forming a human chain on London's busiest shopping street while calling on retailers to be more transparent about their supply chains. In addition to forming a human chain on Oxford Street, UNISON asked members to observe one minute of clarity at 11.38 while ethical fashion industry players supported Fashion Revolution Day. Shoppers are being asked to urge stores to be more transparent about the supply chain by using social media.

Italy's Benetton and UK's Matalan said they preferred to support alternative assistance programs for victims, while people like Auchan of France argued that they did not have a production permit in the building at the time of its collapse and did not contribute to compensation. Other brands have donated large amounts of tokens to owners of Asda Walmart, for example, offering only around $1 million compared to more than $8 million from UK's Primark. They urge all brands who have worked in Bangladesh to contribute to the fund in sizeable amounts.

They should share responsibility. International development minister Alan Duncan has called on British business to act as a "force for good" in Bangladesh. The response to the accident included the development of three factory safety initiatives in Bangladesh, including the Bangladesh Safety and Security Agreement, supported by more than 150 brands.

5. Conclusion
Advocacy administered by civil society in England towards Rana Plaza was not running in proper condition since they were against several big companies. However, their advocacy was also being helped by transnational advocacy, which formed a more prominent force to urge more considerable pressure both onto companies and the Bangladeshi government to compensate the victims and families and workers' policy. The people in the transnational advocacy are trying to find a way similar to that done by political groups and other social movements. They do not have power, so they have to use the information, ideas, and strategies. The process that goes through is generally persuasion or socialization, and sometimes it is accompanied by pressure. The typology of tactics usually used by non-state actors in persuasion and socialization efforts includes four things:

1. The first is information politics, or the ability to quickly and credibly produce politically helpful information and direct where it will have the most significant impact.

2. The second is symbolic politics, or the ability to call for symbols, actions, or stories that can explain certain situations for audiences who are at a distance.

3. The third is leverage politics, or the ability to call on powerful actors to influence certain situations when one network member does not seem to have the opportunity to exert influence.

Fourth is accountability politics, or efforts to maintain these powerful actors to maintain the policies or principles that have been set. The typology of tactics used by this movement uses contemporary themes related to fashion to suppress international fashion companies associated with the collapse of Rana Plaza. Their persuasion efforts on Oxford Street have seen companies like Primark's profits plummet. This condition also sparked another movement to threaten the fashion business of other well-known brands.

They also conduct advocacy coalitions with several NGOs and international organizations to pressure policymakers both in Bangladesh and investors in Rana Plaza. This pressure concerns the provision of compensation and policy changes for workers. Actions carried out by civil society have a significant impact. This condition is because the fashion consumers of these famous brands are also part of civil society. As consumers, they can determine what they will consume and fashion. Therefore, if the garment manufacturers do not handle the Rana Plaza incident wisely, this will affect their production and profits.

What is more, this movement is aimed at these companies and the Bangladesh government, which will affect the company's capital. However, if this advocacy is successful, they will get many benefits. A guaranteed workforce will make the production process will also be more stable.

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.
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