Policy solutions to improve working conditions in export manufacturing

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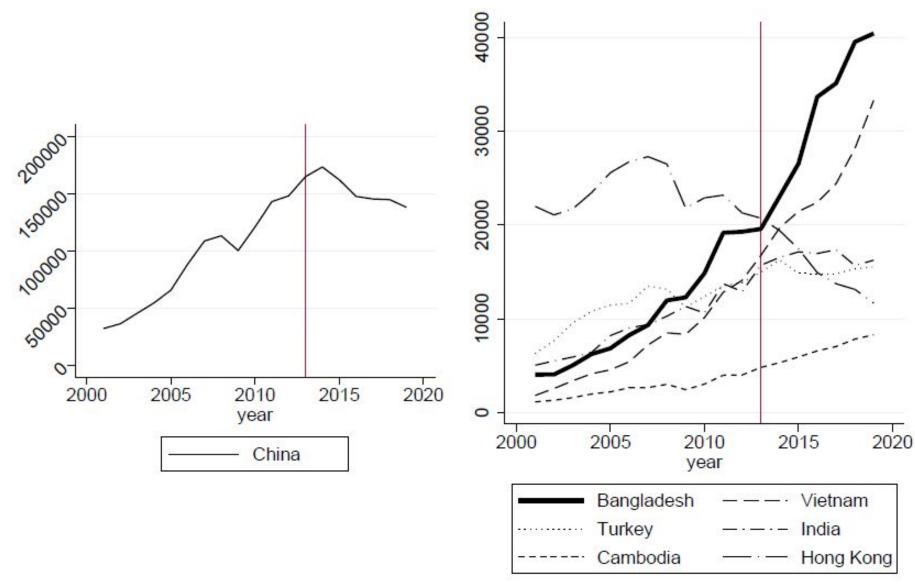


Case study: the garment industry in Bangladesh

Yearly apparel exports

In millions of USD

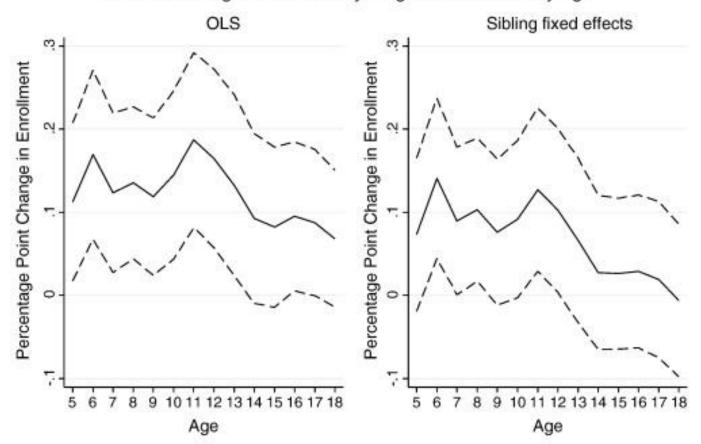
And yet ...



Source: UN COMTRADE and ITC statistics.

Heath and Mobarak (2015): Garment industry increased girls' education; delayed marriage and childbearing

Effects of the garment industry on girls' enrollment By age



Note: Plots the marginal effect based on the regression results found in the second column of Table 7

For instance, an 8-year-old girl is 13 percentage points more likely to be in school, after women in her village have begun working in the garment industry, relative to a comparable girl in a non-garment proximate village.

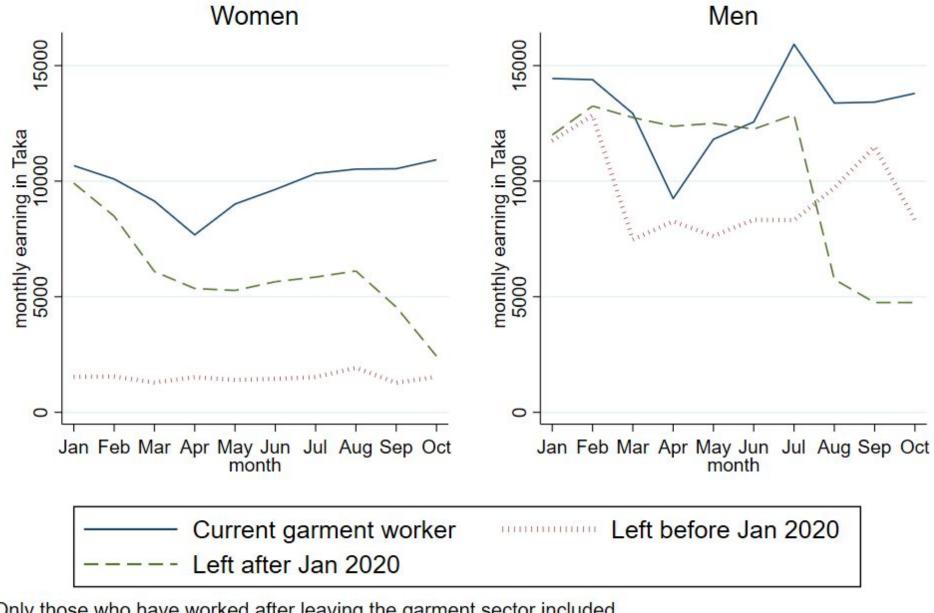
Back-of-the-envelope calculation: garment sector caused 2.8 percentage points of the national increase in girls' enrollment

And garment work provides valuable income.

Of a sample of garment workers active in 2017 resurveyed in November 2020..

(Source: Boudreau, Heath and Rahman, ongoing)

2020 Earnings



Only those who have worked after leaving the garment sector included.

How can policy make working conditions better?

i ne kana Plaza reforms raised both wages and working condition

(Source: Bossavie, Cho, and Heath, 2023)

Dependent Variable	Log(wage)	Working Conditions	Hours last week	1(Contract)
Garm × Post × TreatedD	0.100**	0.803***	-0.777	-0.002
	(0.0494)	(0.205)	(1.047)	(0.058)
Garment	-0.0294	0.000	4.205***	0.544***
	(0.0510)	(0.090)	(0.992)	(0.0365)
TreatedD	0.142***	0.104	4.295***	0.0938
	(0.0447)	(0.093)	(1.157)	(0.057)
TreatedD × Garment	-0.108**	-0.160	-0.691	-0.104**
	(0.0460)	(0.153)	(0.881)	(0.046)
R^2	0.421	0.277	0.178	0.157
N	46638	46638	46638	42439

Notes: Working conditions index sums standardized measures of working conditions and then renormalized to have standard deviation = 1. All regressions include controls for time fixed effects interacted with Garmentijt and TreatedDistrictj (and each variable's interaction with gender); TreatedDistrictj interacted with Garmentijt and a triple interactions with gender; worker's age and level of schooling, interacted with year dummies and gender dummies, and a triple interaction with year and gender. Sampling weights included. Standard errors clustered at the PSU.

Empowering workers with information

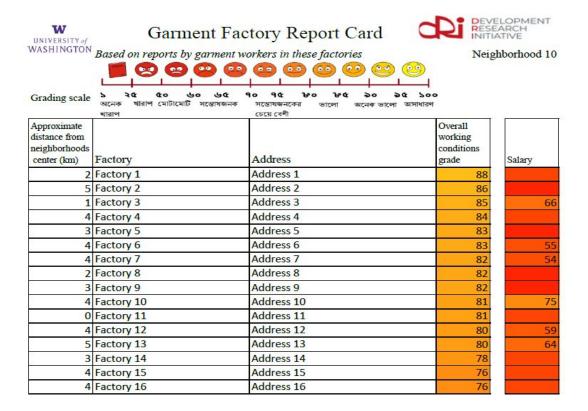
Boudreau, Heath, and McCormick (2024)

- Internal migrants in Bangladeshi garment factories are in factories with worse working conditions but higher wages
- But move towards better factories as they gain experience

An experiment assessing information provision

Ahmed, Boudreau, and Heath (ongoing)

Treatment 1: A "Report Card" for garment factories



Address 80	64
Address 81	
Address 82	
Address 83	
Address 84	72
Address 85	59
Address 86	63
3	Address 81 Address 82 Address 83 Address 84 Address 85

Notes: The highest grade possible for a factory we surveyed in Savar and Gazipur is 100 and the lowest is 0. Yellow colors represent higher grades and red colors represent lower grades; orange grades are in the middle. We surveyed workers in Savar and Gazipur in July and August and combined their responses to make overall grades for working conditions and wages for the factory. We surveyed at least 5 workers for each factory shown here. We include factories within 5 kilometers of your neighborhood, but some factories may not be shown if we could not find sufficient workers, if they have opened since 2021, if they are very small, or if they are located in the Export Processing Zone. Page 2 shows the questions we asked workers to calculate these scores. Page 3 shows grades for specific aspects of working conditions: physical safety and comfort, opportunities for advancement, treatment by management, employment practices, and maternity/childcare.

Specific types of working conditions

This page (translated into Bangla) appeared as page 2 of the scorecard

Specific types of working conditions







(no difficulty accessing and payment always made)



appointment letter upon beginning work



Overtime is a choice, and always



fired without cause









workers who unintentionally make mistakes to improve production



to make suggestions



management



Lack of physical



Lack of sexual harassment



Lack of verbal abuse, threats, or actions that make workers feel humiliated



Treatment by

Opportunities for advancement



Opportunities for job training and skill development



Opportunities for job promotions



Physical comfort and safety



Handwashing facilities and soap available



Adequate lighting



Adequate ventilation



Toilets clean and in good working order



Maternity and childcare



Days of paid maternity leave



injuries

Daycare facility



Amount of Baby bonus

Garment Factory Report Card

Based on reports by garment workers in these factories



চেয়ে বেশী





Scores for specific types of working conditions

This page (translated into

the scorecard

Bangla) appeared as page 3 of

Factory name Factory 1 Factory 2 Factory 3 Factory 4 Factory 5 Factory 6 Factory 7 Factory 8 Factory 9 Factory 10 Factory 11 Factory 12 Factory 13 Factory 14 Factory 15

Factory 16

খারাপ

Employment practices	Opportunities for advancement	Treatment by management	Physical safety and comfort	Maternity and childcare
76	97	73	93	82
82	100		87	64
71	95	83	91	71
77	81	85	88	67
74	83	82	94	68
73	82	89	94	59
67	87	87	92	75
72	88	79	89	69
68	75	80	91	100
78	80	77	93	58
76	89	77		58
72	80	78	88	73
75	87	80	89	
68	81	79	90	64
75	76	78		
75		75		59

Specific types of working conditions

Treatment 2: Job vacancy pamphlet



আপনার এলাকায় ৫ কিলোমিটার এর মধ্যে অবস্থিত গার্মেন্টস ফ্যাক্টরিতে নিয়োগ বিজ্ঞপ্তি

माञ: जून, २०२७

ফ্যাক্টরি ম্যানেজমেন্ট কর্তৃক প্রকাশিত নিয়োগ বিজ্ঞপ্তি

নিয়োগ বিজ্ঞপ্তির তালিকা

কোযালিটি ফ্যাক্রবির নাম হেলপার অপারেটর কাটার কাটার-ফোল্ডার নিটার লিঙ্কার অ-দূরত্ব উৎপাদন (কি.মি) মান্তার কন্টল –ম্যান ইন্সপেক্র Factory A 30 20 0 0 Factory B Factory C 6.0 0 0 Factory D 0 2.5 0 0 Factory E 0 0.6 0 0 Factory F 0 0 0 Factory F 0 0 0 0.9 Factory G 0 C 0 Factory H 0 0 0 Factory I 0 0 3.6 0 0

Front page(s) (shown): number of openings at different factories. References a page number for detailed listing for each vacancy

Detailed listings include salary, job requirements, bonus eligibility

Summing up: how to improve working conditions?

Roles for both...

- "Top down": role of international buyers
- "Bottom up": provide workers information

And a plug for a "hybrid" approach! E.g. Unions (Corradini et al., 2023), worker safety committees (Boudreau, 2023), others...