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The Gender Imbalances in the Export Oriented Garment Industry in Bangladesh

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Women's employment in the export-oriented garment industry has narrowed the gender gap in many spheres. An evaluation of gender differences in work environments and conditions of employment shows, however, that wage disparities and occupational segregation persist even in this industry.

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The Gender Imbalances in the Export Oriented Garment Industry in Bangladesh

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Abstract

In Bangladesh, women's employment in export-oriented industry has narrowed the gender gap in many spheres including participation in labor force, social prestige, control over income and decision making. At the same time there is widespread occupational segregation and gender discrimination in wage rates.

The study uses survey data from 1990, 1993 and 1997 to evaluate how the employment of women in export-oriented industries exploits the "comparative advantages of their disadvantages." It evaluates gender differences in conditions of employment and the work environment, and looks at differences among export-oriented garment industry, other export industries, and nonexport industries. The authors recommend policy measures for eliminating the gender imbalances arising from women's employment in export-oriented garment industries.

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Since 1988, when the export-oriented ready-made garment sector for the first time overtook the traditionally dominant jute sector in terms of gross export accruals, the garment sector has continued to consolidate its predominant position in Bangladesh (Rahman 1999). The sector's contribution to export earnings has increased steadily, with all other sectors being comparatively static. In financial year 1998-99, earnings in the export-oriented garment sector were 4,020 million dollars, which constituted 75.7 percent of total export earnings.

With the adoption of the strategy of export-oriented industrialization, export processing zones (EPZs) have developed rapidly in almost all Asian countries. But in Bangladesh more than a decade after the adoption of export-oriented industrialization strategy, only about seven percent of the country's garment factories are located in the EPZs of Chittagong and Dhaka. However, the government has an ambitious plan of expanding the area of EPZs in the near future.

Export-based industries, particularly garment industries, have provided unprecedented wage employment opportunities for young women because their labor is comparatively cheap. Women are employed in this industry mainly to exploit the comparative advantages of their disadvantages, like the low price of their labor, their lower bargaining power, and their docility.

However, few studies identify the gender differentiation in the export-oriented development of garment manufacturing in Bangladesh. Mahmood and Paul-Majumder (1996) and Bhattacharya (1997, 1998a, 1998b) identify the gender effects of export-oriented industrialization, but they provide very little information about the extent of gender differences in the conditions of employment and the work environment. The present study addresses these issues and identifies areas that require further research.

Section 1 describes the data and methodology used in the analysis. Section II provides background information on women's employment, workers' characteristics, and monthly earnings. Section III describes the conditions of employment and the work environment. Section IV looks at the impact of gender differences in export manufacturing industries on workers'

economic, social and health status. Section V discusses the causes and effects of women's migration to work in the export-oriented garment industry. Section VI concludes with policy implications and suggestions for future research.

I. Data and Methodology

The analysis draws on a combination of existing surveys, empirical research and documented literature on export and nonexport industries in Bangladesh. Most of the data have been collected from the following surveys:

1. The survey of 1990, of workers in the garment industry conducted by the Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) between October and November 1990. The survey was conducted on 32 randomly selected garment factories. A total of 426 female and 245 male garment employees were interviewed with the help of a structured questionnaire. In addition, employers of all the surveyed factories were intensively interviewed with a structured questionnaire.

2. The survey of 1993, on employment and occupational mobility among women in manufacturing industries in Dhaka. The survey was conducted by BIDS in 1993. It drew on a sample of 50 manufacturing enterprises proportional to the total labor force employed at the three-digit industry level. A total of 376 female and 140 male workers from these enterprises were interviewed with a structured questionnaire. All employers of the surveyed enterprises were also interviewed.

3. The survey of 1997, on the socio-economic and health conditions of garment workers conducted by BIDS in 1997. This survey was conducted on 34 garment enterprises selected randomly from a list of garment enterprises provided by the Members' Directory 1996-97, prepared by the Bangladesh Manufacturers and Exporters Association. In addition to these enterprises five garment enterprises located in the Dhaka Export Processing Zone (DEPZ) were also included in the sample. From these enterprises, a total of 589 female and 219 male workers

were interviewed with the help of a structured questionnaire. A structured questionnaire was also administered among 39 employers.

The analysis discusses the findings of these surveys. In addition, in some cases, the study uses secondary sources of macro-level data. Along with quantitative data, qualitative data were collected from some firm-level, in-depth interviews and in-depth case studies of nine garment workers (For details, see Paul-Majumder and Begum 1999- longer version of this paper).

II. Background Information

Women's employment

Women constitute about 66 percent of the workforce in the export-oriented garment industry in Bangladesh. By contrast, women's share of employment in nonexport industries is negligible, only about 7 percent (Table A-1). The assembly-line nature of garment manufacturing is one of the main reasons for higher employment of women in this industry. The comparatively lower wage of female workers is another important factor encouraging large-scale women's participation in the garment industry. However, some gender-specific concerns are also influential in encouraging garment employers to employ more women than men in their firms. These are as follows: (a) women are more patient and nimble; (b) women are more controllable than men; (c) women are less mobile and less likely to join a trade union; and (d) women can do better in sewing because this job coincides with their traditional jobs. Most of the garment employers interviewed, reported that benefits arising from these qualities amply compensate the cost of employment of women in terms of maternity leave, high absenteeism, and other factors.

Export-oriented garment sector in Bangladesh has been able to show a certain degree of technological development in its manufacturing process. More and more garment factories are undertaking the production of knitwear, which requires advanced technology. The rate of growth of garment factories manufacturing knitwear is much faster than the factories manufacturing

woven wear. At present about 33 percent of all garment factories produce knitwear (Paul-Majumder 1998).

However, there is a negative co-relation between technological development and women's employment. Female workers account for only about 35 percent of the workforce employed in factories manufacturing knitwear, whereas in the factories manufacturing woven wear, they account for 68 percent of the total workforce (Table A-2). Even in the sewing section of the knitwear factories, female workers' share is much less than that of their male counterparts, although it is socially believed that female workers dominate sewing activity. This gender advantage, as a determinant of women's recruitment, is lost when jobs become technologically skilled. The survey of 1997 show that the share of female workers in the sewing sections of the knitwear factories is only 40 percent. In factories manufacturing woven wear, female workers make up as much as 78 percent (Table A-2).

Worker's Characteristics

Available studies indicate that garment workers, particularly female garment workers, generally are young, unmarried, with little education, of rural origin and from poor families. Studies further indicate that most women who work in the garment industry have had no prior wage work experience. However, some characteristics of female workers have changed over time. And some of these characteristics differ between female workers employed in the garment factories located in the DEPZ and those located outside the DEPZ.

Age

The surveys of 1990 and 1997 indicate that the age structure of garment workers has not changed much over the last few years, although the enactment of the Harkin bill[1] retrenched child

[1] A bill entitled "The Child Labor Deterrence Act of 1993" was placed in the U.S. Senate by Senator Tom Harkin. The stated intention of the bill was to "prohibit the importation of goods (to U.S.A.) produced abroad with child labor."

labor from the garment industry. The percentage of female workers in the youngest age group, 19 years or less was 56 in 1990 and 54 in 1997 (Table A-3) There was a larger decrease in the percentage of young male workers in the same period. Therefore, the gender gap in age remains almost the same. Over the last eight years, the mean age of female workers has increased from 19 years to 20.4 years. During the same period their male counterparts' mean age increased from 24 to 25 years. Thus, a female worker is found to be younger than her male counterpart by about five years. Female workers employed in the garment factories located in the DEPZ are older than their counterparts in the nonDEPZ factories by one and a half years (Table A-4).

In other export industries, female workers belonging to the youngest age group (19 years or less) comprise only about eight percent; in nonexport industries, they comprise 14 percent of total workers (Table A-5). It is noteworthy that older workers comprise a large portion (more than 40 percent) of total workers in both other export industries and nonexport industries. But in the export-oriented garment industry, older workers account for only about 11 percent of total workers. Another noteworthy aspect in the other industries is that the age gap between male and female workers is narrow, whereas it is wide in the garment industry.

Garment workers are youthful because garment employers prefer young women due to their nimble fingers and low price. Moreover, in most cases, female workers leave the workforce at marriage. Garment employers do not try to keep female workers when they marry; instead, the employers recruit new workers at lower starting wages. However, the most important reason behind garment worker's young age is that most female garment workers envisage working in the garment industry only for four years, on average (Paul-Majumder 1998). Due to occupational hazards and workplace stress, most of the female workers do not like to continue their work in the garment industry for a long time.

Marital Status

The surveys reveal difference in marital status between female workers in export and nonexport industries and also between female workers in DEPZ and nonDEPZ garment factories. Thirty-eight percent of female workers in the garment industry are currently married compared with 47 percent in the DEPZ, 51 percent in nonexport industries, and 57 percent in other (nongarment) export industries. (Table A-5). Currently-married women's participation in the garment industry has not changed over time. The surveys of 1990 and 1997 show that currently-married women's share in the total female workforce is 38 percent.

Garment employers prefer unmarried or widowed/separated/abandoned female workers because it is believed that currently-married women go on leave frequently due to childbirth, childcare, or household chores. It is also believed that, due to the burden of childcare and household chores, married women are not able to provide overtime work, which is almost mandatory for export-oriented manufacturing of garments. However, maternity leave and maternity allowances, which the garment employers are reluctant to provide, is the most important reason behind their preference for unmarried women.

Level of Education

In the survey of 1990, more than 65 percent of female garment workers have at least one year of formal schooling. In the survey of 1997, this figure increases to 78 percent, which is high compared with the literacy rate of the general population of Bangladesh. The literacy rate is about 35 percent among the rural female population and about 57 percent among the urban female population of (Table A-6). About 96 percent of male garment workers have at least one year of schooling compared with about 56 percent of the general male population (Table A-6). In the garment industry, men are generally in demand for skilled jobs that require more education. Women are employed mostly in unskilled jobs, where less education is permissible.

However, according to the survey of entrepreneurs, all jobs in the garment industry require some level of education. Women currently employed in the sector realize that without education it is quite impossible for them to receive any promotion. Therefore, in many cases, women try to gain education after being employed in the garment factories. In the garment hostels run by Nari Uddog Kendra, an education program was launched for female garment workers, who could participate in the program at night after finishing their 12-hour jobs. Moreover, Afsar (1998) finds that both urban and rural poor families educate their girl children with the intention of engaging them in the garment industry. Thus, the growth of export-oriented garment manufacturing positively affects the education of women.

The survey of 1993 shows that the literacy rate of garment workers is much higher than that of workers employed in nonexport industries. It is even higher among workers in garment factories located in the DEPZ (survey of 1997). The survey of 1993 reveals that in nonexport industries, 41 percent of female workers do not have any formal schooling, compared with only 22 percent in garment industries. The survey of 1997 did not find any uneducated workers in the DEPZ factories. The average years of schooling attained by female garment workers increased over time, from 4.1 years in 1993 to 6.3 years in 1997 (Paul-Majumder and Begum 1997). The survey of 1997 indicates that in the DEPZ garment factories, on average, a female worker has more than eight years of formal schooling. However, the gender gap in education persists, at 2.5 years.

Migratory Status

The surveys reveal that 83 percent of female workers and 69 percent of male workers employed in the garment industry migrated from rural areas and the environs of Dhaka. Among workers employed in nonexport industries, male and female migrants' shares are 81 and 65 percent respectively (Table A-5). The surveys of 1990 and 1997 show that most of the migrants moved to Dhaka to undertake job in the garment industry.

Background of the Garment Workers

There is a presumption that garment workers, particularly female garment workers, come from very poor families because most of them (about 70 percent) were motivated to search for work in response to a push or crisis. The survey of 1997 shows that only 15 percent of female workers came from families with household heads characterized as very poor in terms of their level of income, education, and type of employment.

The surveys of 1990 and 1997 show that most female garment workers are new entrants in the labor market. The findings show that about 93 percent of female garment workers and 70 percent of their male counterparts do not have any previous work experience. Most of the female workers with past work experience were engaged either in domestic service or in self-employment in tailoring/sewing. The survey of 1993 indicates that about half of the female workers employed in nonexport industries had previous work experience, mostly as industrial workers, self-employed workers, and maids.

Monthly Earnings

Female workers who were previously employed earn a higher wage rate in the garment industry than they did in their previous jobs. The survey of 1997 indicates that the regular monthly pay for female garment workers is about Tk.1,321 (27 dollars), compared with earnings in previous jobs of Tk.473 (about 10 dollars). In the DEPZ garment factories their regular monthly pay is even more, at Tk.1,504 (about 31 dollars; Table A-11)). However, the survey of 1993 shows that the wage rate for female workers employed in export-oriented industries is much less than that of female workers employed in nonexport industries.

Overtime income accounts for about one-quarter of the monthly earnings of garment workers. In 1990-97 income including overtime earnings and bonuses did not decreased much for female workers, but it decreased drastically for male workers. According to the survey of 1990,

other income, comprising mainly overtime income, accounted for 27 percent of the take-home income of both male and female workers. However, according to the survey of 1997, overtime income and bonuses accounted for 16 percent for male workers and 23 percent for female workers (Table A-7). Male workers' overtime income has decreased mainly because more and more male workers are employed as contract workers and the employers have begun to set production targets for the workers. Production beyond the target is remunerated at the rate of overtime work. Most female workers report that the target is too big to achieve within their normal work hours.

Because they do not have formal appointments, the export garment workers are not entitled to any fringe benefits, including an accommodation allowance, health care, emergency funds, and transportation. In this sense, workers in the export-oriented garment industry are disadvantaged compared with their counterparts in nonexport industries. Sixty-eight percent of male workers and 54 percent of female workers employed in the nonexport industries receive an accommodation allowance (survey of 1993). More than 59 percent of male workers and 51 percent of female workers receive a transportation allowance. These workers also receive a medical allowance. But not a single garment worker employed in the factories located outside the DEPZ reported having received any of these allowances.

However, the garment workers receive some nonwage benefits in addition to their monthly salary and overtime income. The most widely reported benefit is the Eid (a religious festival) bonus. Almost all workers working for one year or more in the same factory receive the Eid bonus. In addition, garment workers are given an attendance bonus (for perfect attendance), efficiency bonus (for completing the production target on time), and a production bonus. However, there are wide gender differences in all these benefits.

In general, in the garment industry, workers are not dismissed, although employment is temporary. About 70 percent of workers who changed their jobs at least once left their last jobs voluntarily, usually seeking a higher wage. Only 13 percent had to leave due to being laid off or

dismissed (Zohir and Paul-Majumder 1996). As there is no written contract, the dismissed workers are not given severance pay.

III. Gender Differences in Conditions of Employment and the Work Environment

Conditions of Employment

This section looks at the validity of the assumption that the terms and conditions of employment in the export-oriented garment industry are gender differentiated.

Earnings

Based on data from surveys of 1990 and 1993, a female garment worker earns only 58 percent of a male worker's earnings; in nonexport industries, females earn 60 percent of male earnings. The survey data show that female workers employed in DEPZ and nonDEPZ factories earn, respectively, 65 and 55 percent of male earnings (Table A-11).

The surveys reveal gender differences in earnings in every job category in the garment industry. The male-female earnings gap is highest for quality controllers and lowest for folders. The gender gap in earnings widened over time. A female worker could earn about 66 percent of an average male worker's earnings in 1990, and about 59 percent in 1997 (Table A-7). The gender gap widened even in the female-dominated job of operator. A female operator could earn more than 86 percent of a male operator's earnings in 1990, but only 68 percent in 1997. The gender gap in earnings occurs mainly because males are increasingly employed in the skilled jobs. When a garment job becomes technologically skilled and more remunerative, female workers are ousted from that job and concentrated more and more in low-skilled jobs. Because they are employed in technologically skilled jobs, men's earnings rise at much faster rates than women's do.

Over the period 1990-97 the nominal rate of increase in female workers' pay was estimated at only 5 percent. Over the same period an average male worker's pay increased by about eight percent (Table A-7). The rate of increase for males and females was almost at par at the lower-level jobs, but men's pay increased at a much higher rate for higher-level jobs like supervisor and quality controller. Employers often justify gender difference in earnings by saying that female workers get lower income than male workers because they are less efficient than male workers. Female workers are younger, less educated and less experienced than male workers, but the gender gap in the wage rate persists even after controlling for all these factors.

For example, the most distinguishing factor affecting the wage rate turns out to be workers' education. The wage rate rises steadily with level of education. However, the survey of 1997 indicates that female workers with comparable education receive lower wages than their male counterparts, although the male-female wage gap narrows as level of education rises (Table A-8).

Employers justify the male-female difference in wage rates by saying that male and female workers hold different jobs. Documented evidence on occupational structure in the garment industry shows that women are employed mostly in unskilled and temporary occupations, where wages are low. Moreover, these jobs offer slim prospects for occupational mobility. The sewing and finishing sections are over-represented by women, whereas the cutting section, which has the highest monthly pay, is highly under-represented by women. Moreover, there is further sex segregation within the sewing and finishing sections. The surveys of 1990 and 1997 show that within the sewing section, the job of supervisor is highly remunerative and in the finishing section, the job of quality controller is highly remunerative. Women are highly under-represented in these managerial jobs, although they are over-represented in these sections (Table A-9).

Women earn less than men do even when they hold the same job. Even in the operator and helper category jobs, which are dominated by female workers, they earn less than their male counterparts (Table A-9). The gender gap in earnings persists even after controlling for skill. The

survey of 1997 shows that a female operator in the woven wear factories earns 74 percent of a male operator's earnings; in the knitwear factories, where operators use improved technology, a female operator earns only 69 percent of her male counterpart's earnings.

Bivariate analysis indicates that no single factor explains the difference between men's and women's monthly earnings. However, bivariate analysis often fails to capture the total influence. Hence, a rigorous analysis is necessary to measure the gender differential in the wage rate. The regression analysis in Paul-Majumder and Zohir (1993) shows that female workers earn significantly less than their male counterparts having the same education and experience. Controlling for the latter variables, a worker employed in the garment industry receives 41 percent higher pay for being male (Paul-Majumder and Zohir 1993). The study shows that workers in nonexport industries, such as textiles, receive 24 percent higher pay for being male.

In addition, the survey of 1990 shows that wages are below the legal minimum wage for 42 percent of the female workers compared with about 17 percent of the male workers. By 1997, 32 percent female workers and only 6 percent of male workers received wages below the legal minimum for the helper category of workers. Among the female workers, the helper category is the most deprived as far as the minimum wage. Findings show that 73 percent of female helper category workers do not receive the minimum wage compared with 15 percent of their male counterparts. Among the operator category workers, 33 percent of females and only about seven percent of males do not receive the minimum wage.

Other Conditions

In addition to earnings, several other factors affect the conditions of employment, including the mode of recruitment, work hours, leave facilities, prospects for promotion, and training facilities.

Although the garment industry belongs to the formal sector, the recruitment procedure is largely informal because seasonal demand requires a labor market with high flexibility so that

labor can be easily found when needed and easily disposed off when not required. Thus, employers, who do not want to be subject to labor laws requiring that they pay retrenchment benefits to workers, like to recruit workers through informal mechanisms. The survey of 1990 shows that more than 75 percent of female workers and 57 percent of male workers were recruited through neighbors, friends, or relatives working in the garment industry. Garment jobs are never advertised in the newspaper. According to the survey of 1993, about 19 percent of male and about 24 percent of female workers in nonexport industries are recruited through advertisements in the newspaper.

In the export industries, work hour is long in order to meet foreign demand on time. Female and male garment workers work about 12 hours a day. The survey of 1997 shows that in the garment factories located in the DEPZ, where labor laws are strictly followed due to constant monitoring, an average worker works about 10 hours daily (Table A-11). In nonexport industries the average worker works a little more than eight hours a day (Table A-10).

The absence of leave facilities is another important factor that makes the terms and conditions of garment employment very stringent. Both male and female garment workers have to work on weekly holidays. Although they were paid for overtime work on weekly holidays, no alternate holidays are given. By contrast, workers in other export and nonexport industries, enjoy almost all weekly holidays (Table A-10).

There is a big gender difference regarding the granting of paid leave. Only about 35 percent of female workers who asked for leave were granted paid leave, compared with about 60 percent for the male workers (Paul-Majumder and Begum 1999 -longer version of this paper).

There is no provision of medical leave, although the Factory Act of 1965 provides for it. Of the 32 factories surveyed in 1990, 13 claimed that maternity leave was given to the workers during the last year. Of these, only three factories, gave leave with pay and none of the factories gave 12 weeks as provided by the Maternity Benefit Act of 1950.

Prospects for promotion in the garment industry are slim. In most cases garment workers remain in the same job throughout their working life. Among female workers generally, helper category workers get promoted to the post of operator, but few female operators are promoted to the higher category jobs of supervisor or production manager. However, the findings show that prospects for promotion are better in the garment industry than in either nonexport industries or other export industries. In addition, gender difference in promotion granting is lower in the garment industry than that in nonexport and other export industries (Table A-10). As far as income increments, most of the workers working for more than one year in the same garment factory receive at least one increment in their income.

The export-oriented garment industry is characterized by high inter-factory mobility. About 48 percent of female workers and 42 percent of male workers have changed their jobs at least once (Zohir and Paul-Majumder 1996). In nonexport industries only 17 percent of female workers and 26 percent of male workers have changed their jobs at least once (survey of 1993). By changing jobs, female workers can increase their income by about 15 percent.

On-the-job training is the only training facility in the export-oriented garment industry. In 1995, the Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association undertook a training program sponsored by UNDP/ILO. Only 20 percent of the trainees were females, although women make up the majority of workers in the garment industry (Paul-Majumder and Begum 1997).

Work Environment

Export-oriented industry is supposed to maintain working conditions that are comparable to international standard because the industry produces for the international market. Therefore, export-oriented industrialization is supposed to have a positive impact on working conditions. However, in most cases, export-oriented industry is based on sub-standard working conditions.

Sub-standard working conditions in the garment industry affect men and women differently because they hold different jobs. Women suffer the worst from adverse working conditions because they hold low-skilled jobs where occupational hazards are greater.

Most of the garment factory buildings are overcrowded, congested and poorly ventilated. As a result garment workers are exposed to toxic substance and dust. Raw materials contain dust and fiber particles that hang in the air. Dye, a toxic substance emitted from colored cloth, spreads in the workroom. The workers, particularly the operators and sewing helpers, who are mostly women, continuously inhale these substances. Most factories do not have adequate ventilation and exhaust fans and few workers use masks.

Another problem is that most garment factories do not have adequate fire prevention measures. The survey of 1997 shows that in addition to other fire code violations, most of the garment factories do not have fire exits or fire alarms. According to the Bangladesh Fire Brigade, up to November 1997, 58 fire accidents took place in the garment industry; 118 workers were killed, of which 90 percent were female workers.

The export-oriented garment industry has grossly violated the Factory Act of 1965 and the Factory Rules of 1979, which specify that every factory must have adequate staff amenities. In all garment factories surveyed, except the ones in the DEPZ, staff amenities are grossly insufficient. On average, there is only one latrine per 61 female workers, compared with one for every 31 male workers. Male workers are not required to seek permission for break because most of them are employed in the cutting and finishing sections, where works are not assembly oriented. But female workers, who are mostly employed in assembly oriented works, have to seek permission for breaks, which the supervisors often deny.

Garment workers suffer from the absence of a lunchroom, lack of pure drinking water, and lack of canteen facilities. However, in terms of cleanliness, working conditions in the garment factories situated in the DEPZ and suburban areas are far better than those in the

factories situated in Dhaka and Narayangonj (Paul-Majumder and Begum 1999 – longer version of this paper).

IV. Impact on Economic, Social and Health Status

Economic Status

In spite of discrimination and irregularity in wages and earning below the minimum wage, female workers employed in the export-oriented garment industry contribute about 46 percent of their family income. Survey of 1997 shows that about 23 percent of the unmarried garment workers are the main earners of their family. Without female workers' earning, 80 percent of their families would slide below the poverty level (Paul-Majumder and Zohir 1995).

The nutritional food intake of garment workers is much higher than that of the poor people of Bangladesh. Paul-Majumder et al. (1996) find that only 29 percent of slum families have fish, meat or egg in their daily diet. The survey of 1997 shows that 72 percent of female workers eat these quality foods in their lunch. However, although the quality of female workers' food intake has improved, it is not enough to meet their requirements. Female workers suffer from chronic energy deficiency and occupational hazards that adversely affect their health.

Female garment workers can spend some of their income on medical care, whereas 80 percent of poor women cannot afford any treatment for illness (Paul-Majumder et al.1996). Female garment workers spend about 13 percent of their income on clothing and cosmetics. They save about six percent of their monthly income, whereas an average male worker saves only four percent of their income. About nine percent of female workers invest their savings in business, land, or housing.

Social Status

Women's employment in the export-oriented garment industry has affected self-esteem and self-confidence, conjugal life, matrimonial relationship, fertility, age at marriage, sharing of domestic chores, and decisionmaking (Paul-Majumder and Zohir 1995). By contrast, garment work has very little influence on the social status of male workers. However, garment workers suffer from social insecurity associated with their employment. Female garment workers face an uncongenial work environment, unsafe transportation, and housing. These factors do not affect male workers.

Positive Social Changes

More than 90 percent of female garment workers have expressed that they have a high opinion about themselves, compared with about 57 percent of female workers in nonexport industries (survey of 1993). About 37 percent of female workers in the garment industry have undertaken employment against the wishes of their family members (Paul-Majumder and Zohir 1996).

Zohir and Paul-Majumder (1996), BUP (1990), Naved et al. (1997), and Afsar (1995) document that working women delay marriage. The survey of 1997 indicates that female workers, who got married before joining garment work marry at about age 16, compared with female workers, who got married after joining the garment work, who marry at age 20. Women's age at first childbirth is also significantly affected by employment in the garment industry. It is 21 for garment workers who gave birth to their first child after joining garment work, compared with age 17 for workers who gave birth to their first child before joining garment work. Amin (1997) claims that garment sector creates a period of transition from childhood to adulthood, as contrasted with the abrupt assumption of roles at very young ages that marriage and child bearing mandate. Women employed in nonexport industries do not experience this period of transition.

For centuries, socially and culturally, domestic chores were the sole responsibility of women. The survey of 1997 indicates that about 52 percent married female workers in the garment industry have husbands, who help them in domestic work. On average husbands spend 1.9 hours daily in household work. Female workers in nonexport industries could not shift their household responsibilities to their husbands to such a large extent. Female garment workers work about four hours more daily than their counterparts in nonexport industries, and husband's participation in household work increased with the increasing participation of women in the garment industry[2].

Negative Social Changes

The most adverse social impact of women's employment in the export-oriented garment industry of Bangladesh is violence against women. Not a single incidence of violence against female workers in nonexport industries was reported in the newspaper during the last five years. However, female garment workers constitute a high risk group because they tend to be young, unmarried, rural migrants (see Table A-5), and work late hours[3].

In 1998, 161 rape cases were registered with the Department of Metropolitan Police, Dhaka. Among these in 17 cases (about 11 percent of total rape cases), the victims were garment workers and only in five cases (three percent of total rape cases), the victims were nongarment workers. Female garment workers account for only two to three percent of the total population of women in the metropolitan area of Dhaka, whereas they account for 11 percent of rape cases.

The surveys of 1990 and 1997 collected information from the workers regarding sexual harassment ranging from insults directed at a person's gender, suggestive comments, and demeaning remarks, to unwelcome touching and grabbing and other physical assaults, including raping. But

[2] See Paul-Majumder and Begum 1999 for more on differences between female workers in the garment industry and in nonexport industries and for more information on women's control of their earnings, status of living alone, and transportation issues.

[3] See Paul-Majumder and Begum 1999 for more on violence against women in the garment industry.:

these types of sexual harassment are highly under reported because female workers are reluctant to disclose information on this subject. Therefore, the workers were asked about the types of sexual harassment and mishaps faced by their colleagues. The survey of 1997 shows that at the workplace only five percent of female workers encountered sexual harassment. But more than nine percent reported that their colleagues faced these kinds of harassment in the workplace.4

The survey of 1997 shows that 20 percent of the surveyed female workers lived in slums and squatter settlements. For female garment workers, the possibility of being raped by the local rent collector is high because in slums and squatter settlements there is no law imposing authority. More than seven percent of the female workers report that they live in relatives' houses. Most workers living in relatives' houses report that they are afraid of their male relatives who try to have affairs with them.

Violence against women is not limited to the workplace or residence—the streets are even more risky. Paul-Majumder and Khatun, (1997) find that about 70 percent of female garment workers, who commute by bus experienced bad behavior from the conductor and driver.

Health Status

Many female workers suffer from various illnesses after starting work in the garment industry. This is mainly due to overwork, uncongenial working conditions, and wide-ranging labor law violations. Findings show that women's employment in nonexport industries does not affect women's health so badly. From the survey of 1993, about 31 percent of all female workers employed in nonexport industries, as opposed to only 10 percent of their counterparts in the garment industry, have good health even after undertaking jobs (Paul-Majumder and Begum 1999 – longer version of this paper).

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[4] For details see Paul-Majumder and Begum 1999 – longer version of this paper.

Many diseases and illnesses are more prevalent among the female workers than among their male counterparts (Paul-Majumder and Begum 1999 – Longer version of this paper). Within the garment factories women work in the low-skilled jobs of operator and helper, where health hazards are high. In these jobs they have to continuously inhale toxic substances emitted from dye used in colored fabric as well as dust and small particles of fiber. Sewing helpers, who are mostly women, have to either keep standing or moving from one operator to another for 10-12 hours. About 70 percent of total female workers, as opposed to only 25 percent of total male workers, hold these two types of arduous jobs. Long working hour also affects women's health more adversely than that of male workers. Due to long working hours, female workers are obliged to shorten their time for leisure and sleep because traditionally they are required to take care of all domestic chores.

Besides, occupational hazards, the absence of adequate treatment facilities adversely affects the health of female garment workers. Few garment factories have a regular doctor. As a result garment workers, particularly female garment workers, whose physical mobility is restricted, have minimal access to treatment. About 40 percent of women's illnesses and diseases' as opposed to 33 percent for male workers do not receive any treatment (Paul-Majumder 1998)

Workers' job aspiration reflects their psychological well being (Stein, 1997). High ambition reflects good mental health. The survey of 1997 shows that only 20 percent of the female garment workers as opposed to about 33 percent of males have high aspirations about their jobs (Table A-12). More than 34 percent of garment workers have very low aspirations about their jobs.

V. Export-Oriented Manufacturing and Women's Migration

The ready-made garment sector has created a niche for absorbing the relatively unskilled, semi-literate, youthful female labor from rural Bangladesh. Historically, distance has been

projected as an important determinant of the number of migrants to a city (Bogue and Thompson 1949; Claeson 1968; Olsson 1965; Stewart 1960; Zipf 1946; Premi and Tom 1985). Now information and contact factors act as a surrogate for communication and tend to counter the effects of distance (Begum 1995). Thus, within the garment industry, geographic distance is of minor significance compared with information and contacts, income, living standards in area of origin, and asset ownership.

Poverty in the Areas of Origin of Migrant Workers

The magnitude of migration to jobs in the export-oriented garment industry is directly related to impoverishment of workers' families in rural areas. Four main aspects make up the poverty nexus in the workers' areas of origin: income, ownership of land or other assets, living environment, and access to institutional support.

Kibria (1996) finds that women commonly enter the export garment sector for reasons of survival. Women's entry into wage employment is closely related to male unemployment, male desertion, and family separation and the syndrome of extreme poverty that inevitably occurs. By contrast, Zohir and Paul-Majumder (1996) find that garment sector requires women from relatively more solvent and enlightened families, that is, women who have above-average education. According to Johir and Paul-Majumder, since 1980, employment in the sector has been less related to impoverishment among the garment job seekers. As the industry has gained prominence, a more skilled, enterprising, and youthful section of rural society has been willing to participate. Increasingly, age, gender, and education affect the propensity to migrate to garment factories (Table A-13 and Zohir and Paul-Majumder 1996).

Three of the five respondents in the case studies, hail from households that are functionally landless (see Paul-Majumder and Begum 1999 – Longer version of this paper). Afsar (1998) finds that four out of every five female workers in the garment industry and two out of every three female workers from other manufacturing industries are functionally landless in the

rural areas. Comparatively fewer male workers, that is, about half, irrespective of type of industry, are functionally landless.

Unfortunately, lack of data restricts analysis of living standard in rural areas. In-depth case studies indicate that garment workers have a nutritious diet, superior to the average of the urban poor (Paul-Majumder and Zohir 1995, and Paul-Majumder and Begum 1999 – Longer version of this paper).). Most have enough to eat after coming to the city, with only eight percent revealing a scarcity of food.

Besides the nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), formal banking systems have yet to be established in the rural areas on a comprehensive scale. After undertaking employment in the garment industry, rural women tend to become more conscious and diligent about saving. According to Paul-Majumder (1998), the tendency to save increased over the years and, although female workers in general are less educated than male workers, the women open bank accounts in disproportionate numbers (Paul-Majumder and Johir 1995). Garment work and wages have ensured a secure present and hopeful future for the majority of women workers. About 19 percent have used their discretion to open bank accounts without the knowledge of their husbands and families.

The Impact of Migration on Women's Social Status

Migration to work in the export-oriented industries is a physical severance of the individual from the familiar support of family, on one hand, and emancipation from the traditional shackles of society, on the other. In many cases, women who migrate to work in the garment sector are affected by societal condemnation of export-oriented wage work for women. The effects of migration are inextricably linked to the constant pressure, on the individual, of balancing the economic gains against the modified social environment and altered civic ranking in the rural and urban areas.

Almost all the workers in the export-oriented industries have had delayed marriages if they have joined the jobs while still single. According to the Bangladesh Demographic and Health Surveys (1993-94), more than 70 percent of the girls in the 15-19 age group were married, while among the migrant garment workers only a quarter were married in this age group (survey of 1997).

Many studies have documented that women "get spoiled" in the export-oriented industries as they have to work late at night (Paul-Majumder and Mahmud 1994; Paul-Majumder and Zohir 1994; Zohir and Paul-Majumder, (1996). In the case studies in Paul-Majumder and Begum 1999 – Longer version of this paper, only one women says that her status in the village has increased because of her garment job. The respondents unanimously concede that they have benefited immensely from employment in the export-oriented garment industry.

Workers' Remittances

The majority of unmarried migrant female workers in the export-oriented garment industry remit their earnings and sacrifice for their families in the rural areas. According to at least two studies parents often depend on their daughter's income and are reluctant to permit marriage until the family has become more secure (Paul-Majumder and Zohir 1994 and Naved et al., 1997).

VI. Policy Recommendations and Issues for Further Research

The study has shown that in Bangladesh, women's employment in export-oriented industry has narrowed the gender gap in employment, income, social prestige, control over income, and decision making. At the same time, it has widened the gap in health care and socio-economic security. Tension and ambivalence are more prevalent among female workers than among male workers. There is occupational segregation and gender discrimination in wage rates. In fact, women are employed in the export-oriented industries to exploit the comparative advantages of their disadvantages. Hence, it can be deduced that women's employment in export industry will result in gender imbalances if precautionary measures are not undertaken simultaneously. Therefore, most of the policy recommendations in this study aim at eliminating the gender imbalances arising from women's employment in export-oriented garment industry.

Policy Recommendations

Labor Laws

The Government of Bangladesh should devote resources to enforce existing labor laws, particularly regarding occupational safety. It should increase the number of labor inspectors and random inspections and develop incentives for inspectors and employers. In addition, it should enforce punishment for noncompliance with labor laws.

Resources should also be devoted to modifying existing laws and formulating new laws where necessary. Many female garment workers are excluded from the application of existing labor laws, because their jobs are temporary or seasonal. Moreover, many existing labor laws do not comply with the dynamic needs of export-oriented industrialization. For example, because the laws limits women to working in a factory from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m., many garment employers are

reluctant to employ women. Such laws need to be reformulated to accommodate equal participation of men and women.

Labor Rights

Less-educated and new workers do not know much about labor laws. For example, the survey of 1990 shows that most employers do not give maternity leave because workers do not ask for it. The Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association, together with trade unions and NGOs, should conduct educational programs for workers so that laws can be enforced through popular demand.

Export Processing Zones

The study has shown that both terms and conditions of employment and working conditions in the factories established in the Dhaka Export Processing Zone (DEPZ) are better than those established outside the DEPZ. Gender relations in DEPZ factories are better than those in nonDEPZ factories. Hence, expansion of export-processing zones should help to balance the gender impact of export-oriented industrialization.

In setting up its export processing zones, Bangladesh should impose precautionary labor and environmental provisions to combat the adverse effects of growth of EPZs.

Training and Education

To successfully compete in the global apparel market, Bangladesh has to translate its comparative advantage of women's cheap labor into sustainable competitive advantage. This will require technological development in the garment industry. However, the findings show that female workers are ousted from the garment industry when there is technological improvement. This problem can be effectively solved by training female workers.

Education plays a dominant role in balancing the gender impact of export-oriented garment manufacturing. However, more-educated women are reluctant to undertake jobs in the garment industry because they have to join as helpers, the lowest-paying jobs. Higher-category jobs require skills that, at present, must be acquired through on-the-job training as a helper. Establishing training facilities outside the firm would effectively raise female garment workers' educational base.

Support Services

The provision of safe, secure, and inexpensive services would alleviate the gender imbalance against women. First, provision of separate bus services would relieve much of the female workers' stress. Paul-Majumder and Khatun (1997) show that female garment workers are willing to pay more for safe and secure transport. Second, supplying cheap, secure, and hygienic housing facilities for female garment workers would help eliminate the gender imbalance arising from the growth of export-oriented garment manufacturing. Third, the government should establish health centers at the locations where the garment factories are clustered. Health centers in these locations would help the garment workers to gain access to medical facilities without spending much time.

Additional services that would greatly help eliminate the detrimental effects of export-oriented industrialization on women include health insurance services, financial services for savings and credit, day-care services, and legal services that meet the specific needs of women as workers. Empirical evidence suggests that investment in support services brings profits to employers by raising the productivity of female workers (Paul-Majumder 1998).

The Two-shift Working System

The survey findings showed that one of the most dominant factors affecting the health status of the garment workers is long working hours that drastically curtail the female garment

workers' time for leisure and sleep. Hence, a policy recommendation follows that steps should be taken to eliminate overtime work from the garment industry by establishing a two-shift working system.

Issues for further Research

Researches should be undertaken on the following issues in order to enhance our understanding of the relationships among gender, export-oriented industrialization and change in Bangladesh[5].

1. Long-run employment prospects for women in the export-oriented industries.
2. Long-term impact of garment workers' poor health.
3. Export-oriented industrialization and violence against female workers.
4. The role of support service in eliminating gender imbalances.
5. The impact of return migration on poverty.

[5] See Paul-Majumder and Begum 1999-longer version of this paper, for more details on each topic.

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Table A-1. Number of surveyed factory and Share of male and female workers in Employment, 1993

Type of industry	No. of surveyed factory	Share of male employment in the total employment (in percent)	Share of female employment in the total employment (in percent)
Garment Industry	12	33.8	66.2
Other export industries	7	85.3	14.7
Nonexport industries	31	93.3	6.7
All	50	83.7	16.3

Source: Survey of 1993

Table A-2. Distribution of woven and knit Garment Workers by Gender, 1997

	Types of Product					
	Woven			Knit		
Section	Total workers	Male (percent)	Female (percent)	Total workers	Male (percent)	Female (percent)
Management	119	89.9	10.1	35	97.1	2.9
Support staffs	1923	54.0	46.0	589	79.5	20.5
Sewing section & embroidery	14948	21.6	78.4	5320	60.1	39.9
Cutting section	1945	72.9	27.1	511	88.5	11.5
Finishing section	2943	41.4	58.6	1087	69.7	30.3
Total Number of Workers	21878	32.0	68.0	7542	65.1	34.9

Note: The survey includes 26 woven factories and 13 knit factories.
Source: Survey of 1997

Table A-3. Characteristics of garment workers by Gender, 1990 and 1997 (Percentage of total workers)

	Survey of 1990 /a		Survey of 1997 /b	
Worker Characteristic	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age (year)				
Up to-19 years	25.2	56.1	19.7	54.0
20-29 ,,	55.5	34.3	63.5	38.0
30 years and above	18.4	9.6	16.9	8.0
Mean age (in years)	24.0	19.0	25.0	20.4
Education				
No education	9.8	38.3	3.2	22.4
Primary	14.3	34.5	16.4	37.9
Secondary	39.6	27.2	61.2	36.8
Higher secondary and above	36.3	8.5	19.1	2.8
Mean Education (in years)	8.7 /c	4.1 /c	8.8	6.3
Marital status				
Unmarried	65.7	54.2	58.9	52.1
Currently married	33.5	38.3	41.1	38.4
Widow/divorced/abandoned	0.8	7.5	0.0	9.5
Migratory status				
Migrant	82.9	69.4	76.3	73.0
Non-migrant	17.1	30.6	23.7	27.0
Occupation of the household. head				
Service	n.a	13.8	16.3	26.4
Business	n.a	13.8	19.0	6.8
Tailor/garment worker/ labourer	n.a	38.8	21.6	37.0
Other labourer	n.a	25.0	23.9	13.7
Domestic servant	n.a	1.9	4.1	1.4
Others	n.a	6.8	15.1	10.0
Total Number of workers	245	426	219	589

Note: n.a = not available

Sources: a. Adapt from Zohir and Paul-Majumder (1996, Table 3.1).
b. Adapted from Paul-Majumder, (1998, Table 5.1).
c. Paul-Majumder and Begum (1997, Table 3.7).

Table A-4. Distribution of DEPZ and NonDEPZ Workers by Characteristics and Gender, 1997 (percentage of total workers)

	DEPZ		NonDEPZ	
Worker characteristic	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age (year)				
Up to-19	7.4	41.5	21.4	56.4
20-29	77.7	43.2	61.5	35.2
30 years and above	14.8	3.3	17.2	8.5
Mean age (in years)	25.0	21.0	23.5	19.5
Education				
No education	0.0	0.0	3.6	26.7
Primary	0.0	18.1	18.8	41.6
Secondary	63.0	73.4	60.9	29.9
Higher secondary and above	37.0	8.5	16.7	1.8
Mean Education (in years)	10.7	8.2	8.5	4.3
Marital status				
Unmarried	59.3	48.9	40.1	57.2
Currently married	40.7	46.8	59.9	36.8
Widow/divorced/abandoned	0.0	4.3	0.0	10.5
Migratory status				
Migrant (1990-1997)	70.3	52.1	77.1	75.2
Non-migrant	29.7	47.8	22.9	24.8
Total number of workers	27	94	192	495

Source: Survey of 1997.

Table A-5. Characteristics of Workers in Garment and Other Industries by Gender, 1990 and 1993 (percentage of total workers)

	Garment industry /a		Other Industries/b			
			Other export industries		Nonexport industries	
Characteristic	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age (year)						
Up to 19 years	25.2	56.1	7.7	7.8	7.2	14.3
20-29	55.5	34.3	46.1	49.0	46.4	45.5
30 years above	18.4	9.6	46.2	43.2	46.4	40.2
Mean age (in years)	24.0	19.0	29.0	30.0	30.3	29.6
Education						
No education	9.8	38.3	23.1	15.6	22.9	41.3
Primary education	14.3	34.5	19.1	10.4	11.4	14.8
Secondary education	39.6	27.2	31.7	15.6	21.4	31.1
Higher education	36.3	8.5	31.7	15.6	44.3	12.8
Marital status						
Unmarried	65.7	52.1	50.0	13.0	44.0	18.8
Currently married	33.5	38.4	50.0	57.1	55.0	50.5
Widow/divorced/abandoned	0.8	9.5	-	39.9	-	30.7
Migratory status						
Migrant	82.9	69.4	23.1	35.5	81.4	64.8
Non- migrant	17.1	30.6	76.9	64.5	18.6	35.2
Number of worker	245	426	26	77	70	202

Sources: a. Based on the survey of 1990
b. Based on the survey of 1993

Table A-6. Literacy Rate (Age 15+) by Locality, and for DEPZ and NonDEPZ Garment Workers, 1997

	Sex		
Characteristic	Male	Female	Total
*Locality/*a			
Rural	52.6	34.6	43.8
Urban	72.0	56.8	64.4
Total	55.6	56.8	64.4
DEPZ and NonDEPZ Garment Workers */b*			
EPZ	100.0	100.0	100.0
Non-EPZ	96.4	73.3	82.8
Total	96.8	78.1	86.1
Other industries /c	76.9	52.5	69.1

Sources: a. From BANBEIS (1998).
b. From Paul- Majumder (1998).
c. From Paul-Majumder and Zohir (1993

Table A-7. Monthly Take-home Income of Male and Female Garment Workers, 1990 and 1997 (In Tk.)

Occupation	1990						1997			
	Regular pay		Other monthly earnings including overtime earnings and bonuses		Total		Regular pay		Other monthl earnings includ overtime earni and bonuses	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Fema
Cutting master	2602	2000	660	200	3262	2200	3935	-	330	-
Supervisor	2316	2426	845	968	3161	3394	4234	3082	297	584
Quality controller	2196	1075	1053	650	3249	1725	4038	1724	551	553
Operator	1237	1069	495	419	1732	1488	2254	1536	382	447
Cutting helper	890	780	392	511	1282	1291	1512	837	465	503
Sewing helper	597	438	210	178	807	616	1200	762	565	256
Finishing helper	764	558	550	197	1214	755	1209	1023	397	353
Ironer	971	540	336	178	1307	718	1894	1106	531	176
Folder	997	804	495	278	1492	1082	1528	1157	542	444
All workers	1344	886	494	324	1838	1210	2258	1321	429	396
Percent-ages of income	73.1	73.2	26.9	26.8	(100.0)	(100.0)	(84.0)	(76.0)	16.0	23.

Source: Surveys of 1990 and 1997.

Table A-8. Monthly Regular Pay of Garment Workers by their Characteristics and Gender, 1997

	Pay (in Tk.)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Characteristic	Male	Female	Female share in men's pay (1)/(2)×100
Age (year)			
Up to 19 years	1224	1129	92.24
20-24 "	1809	1433	79.21
25-29 "	2375	1592	67.03
30+ "	4122	2024	49.10
Education			
No education/ can sign only	1856	1113	59.97
Primary	1926	1217	63.18
Secondary	2864	1500	52.37
Higher secondary	3498	1999	57.14
More than higher secondary	4235	3950	93.27
Length of service			
Up to 12 months	1448	923	63.74
13-36 months	1567	1152	73.51
37-60 months	2228	1396	61.44
61-84 months	2767	1622	58.62
85 months and above	3353	1989	59.30
Total	2258	1321	58.50

Source: survey of 1997.

Table A-9. Gender Segregation in the Work Place, 1990 and 1997

	1990 /a				1997 /b		
	Percentage of total workers		Female share in total employment	Under/over	Percentage of total workers		Female share total employm
Job category	Male	Female	(percent)	representation/c	Male	Female	(percent)
Cutting section	24.1	1.6	10.6	0.16	9.3	1.0	14.5
Cutting Master/Cutter	10.2	0.2	3.8	0.06	2.6	0.0	0.0
Cutting helper	13.7	1.4	15.8	0.25	7.2	1.0	18.8
Sewing section	37.5	82.0	78.8	1.24	62.0	83.9	68.7
Supervisor	11.8	5.9	36.4	0.73	6.6	0.6	15.5
Operator	15.9	44.4	82.9	1.31	44.2	57.3	67.7
Sewing helper	10.6	31.7	83.3	1.32	11.2	25.9	78.9
Finishing section	38.9	16.6	42.0	0.67	28.7	15.1	48.0
Quality controller	4.9	1.9	40.0	0.63	12.3	3.3	29.5
Ironer	12.7	1.2	13.9	0.22	7.2	1.0	19.2
Folder	13.9	4.9	38.9	0.60	2.7	5.1	25.0
Finishing helper	6.9	8.5	67.9	1.07	5.8	5.6	60.9
All Workers	100	100	63.5	1.00	100.0	100.0	61.8

Sources: a. Adapted from Zohir and Paul-Majumder (1996, Table 4.6, P 4).

b. From the survey of 1997.

c. See R. Anker and C. Hein (1985) for definition of under/over representation. A ratio of male/ female above 1.00 indicates over re workers in the particular occupation and below 1.00 indicates under representation.

Table A-10. Working Conditions in Export-Oriented Garments, Other Exports, and Nonexport Industries, 1990 and 1993

	Export-oriented Garment industry /a		Other export industry /b		Nonexport industry /b	
Working Conditions	1990	1993	1990	1993	1990	1993
Mean working hour	12.9	11.8	9.3	8.7	8.7	8.4
No. of days worked last month	28.9	28.1	25.5	25.5	24.5	23.2
Percentage of total workers received appointment letter	-	-	42.7	9.3	62.1	49.3
Percentage of workers received training outside the firm	3.0	-	19.2	20.8	17.1	18.3
Percentage of workers have promotion in the present job	30.2	25.1	29.7	13.7	42.7	14.7
Percentage of workers having trade union membership	-	-	31.2	11.7	39.8	28.1
Percentage of workers (who asked for leave last month) enjoying paid leave	58.7	40.1	59.5	38.7	78.6	67.5
Percentage of workers satisfied with the present job	57.6	60.3	53.8	68.8	64.3	72.3
Percentage of workers changed job at least once	42.0	50.0	46.2	14.3	25.7	16.8
Length of service in the present job (in month)	34	37	75	52	102	66
Distance between workplace and residence (in Km)	402	3.9	2.8	2.3	2.9	2.6
Female share in male earnings (percent)		58.0		51.9		60.0
No. of worker	245	426	26	77	70	202

Source: a. From the survey of 1990.
b. From the survey of 1993.

Table A-11.Conditions of Employment of the Workers Employed in and outside the Dhaka Export Processing Z

	Factories located outside the DEPZ		Factories located in the DEPZ	
Condition	Male	Female	Male	Female
Average daily hours of work	12.4	12.0	9.1	9.9
Wage rate (TK./month)	2252	1284	2299	1504
Female share in male earnings		55.4		65.4
No. of weekly holidays per factory/month	1	1	3	3
Share of paid leave in total leave (percent)	36.0	27.0	59.2	58.0
Percentages of workers having Transport facilities provided by factory	0.0	0.0	25.0	93.0
Percentage of workers having Lunch in the lunch room	28.8	37.0	70.0	94.0
Percentage of workers having rest room	20.0	42.2	100.0	100.0
Lunch time (in minute)	46	42	50	50
Percentage of sick workers Having access to doctor	7.8	20.4	89.0	90.0
Percentages of workers having identity card	95.0	91.0	100.0	100.0
Percentage of workers having appointment letter	2.6	2.4	22.2	21.3
No. of worker	192	495	27	94

Source: Survey of 1997.

Table A-12. Job Aspiration of Workers Employed in Export-Oriented Garments, Other Exports, and Nonexport Industries (percentage of workers)

	Export oriented Garment industry /a		Other export industry /b		Nonexport industry /b	
Future plan in present job	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Try to get promotion	32.5	20.2	34.6	42.9	56.4	45.0
Try to get another job	40.6	45.8	53.8	41.6	38.6	40.1
Leave job	-	10.0	-	-	1.4	1.0
Have no plan	26.9	24.1	11.6	15.5	3.6	13.9
Total Number of worker	245	426	26	77	70	202

Source: a/ Survey of 1990.
b/ Survey of 1993.

Table A-13. Characteristics of Garment Workers Who Migrated during 1975-1990 (percentage of workers)

	Migrant			Non-migrant		
Characteristics	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Age (year)						
10-19	24.1	55.6	42.8	35.7	57.3	52.0
20-29	57.2	34.9	44.0	47.6	32.8	36.4
30-65	18.7	9.5	13.2	16.7	9.9	11.6
Education						
Can sign at least	10.3	31.5	22.9	7.2	24.5	20.3
Up to class v	12.3	32.2	24.1	23.8	39.7	35.8
Class vi to class x	37.9	26.4	31.1	47.6	29.0	33.5
Above class x	39.5	9.1	21.5	21.4	6.9	10.4
No information	-	0.8	0.4	-	-	-
Marital status						
Currently Married	34.5	37.3	36.1	28.6	40.5	37.6
Unmarried	64.5	54.9	58.8	71.4	52.7	57.2
Widow	0.0	1.7	1.0	0.0	3.1	2.3
Divorce/separated	1.0	6.1	4.1	0.0	3.7	2.9
Total Number of workers	203	295	498	42	131	173

Source: Adapted from Zohir and Paul-Majumder (1996).