

Examining Productivity within Bangladeshi RMG Sector: Dispersion, Determinants, and Gender Advancements

A B C D ANNUAL 2 BIDS 2 **FERENCE ON** DEVELOPMENT 3 EVELOPMENT, JUSTICE AND FREEDOM

Atonu Rabbani

Department of Economics, University of Dhaka

7 December 2023

7-9 December 2023

La Vita Hall, Lakeshore Hotel Gulshan-2, Dhaka

Version 1



Broad structure of this talk

- ~25 minutes (may be less)
- Topic 1: Measuring line-level productivity in RMG sector in Bangladesh
- Topic 2: Roles of supervisors and promoting gender advancement
- Thanks to my collaborators:
 - Chris Woodruff (Oxford)
 - Anik Ashraf (LMU)
 - Rocco Macchiavello (LSE)
 - Robbie Akerlof (Warwick)
 - Hannah Uckut (World Bank)
 - Mahreen Khan (Oxford)
 - Amal Chowdhury (BRAC JPGSPH)



Our World in Data

Why productivity?



Productivity is measured as gross domestic product (GDP) per hour of work. This data is adjusted for inflation and differences in the cost of living between countries.



Data source: Data compiled from multiple sources by World Bank; Feenstra et al. (2015), Penn World Table (2021) Note: This data is expressed in international-\$¹ at 2017 prices, using multiple benchmark years to adjust for differences in the cost of living between countries over time.

OurWorldInData.org/economic-growth | CC BY

1. International dollars: International dollars are a hypothetical currency that is used to make meaningful comparisons of monetary indicators of living standards. Figures expressed in international dollars are adjusted for inflation within countries over time, and for differences in the cost of living between countries. The goal of such adjustments is to provide a unit whose purchasing power is held fixed over time and across countries, such that one international dollar can buy the same quantity and quality of goods and services no matter where or when it is spent. Read more in our article: What are Purchasing Power Parity adjustments and why do we need them?

Productivity and Happiness!



Our World in Data

satisfaction. GDP per capita is adjusted for inflation and differences in the cost of living between countries. Africa Asia Netherlands Israel Europe 7 North America Oceania Life satisfaction (country average; 0-10) Singapore South America 1:4B 6 Kyrgyzstan 600M Russia Hong Kong Nep Circles sized by Population Mozambique• 5 (historical Turkey estimates) Uganda Somalia Benir Pakistan Egypt Ethiopia Chad Sudan India 4 Burundi Malawi Tanzania Botswana Democratic Republic of Congo Lebanon 3 Afghanistan \$1,000 \$2,000 \$5,000 \$10,000 \$20,000 \$50,000 \$100,000

Data source: World Happiness Report (2023); Data compiled from multiple sources by World Bank Note: GDP per capita is expressed in international-\$¹ at 2017 prices. OurWorldInData.org/happiness-and-life-satisfaction | CC BY

1. International dollars: International dollars are a hypothetical currency that is used to make meaningful comparisons of monetary indicators of living standards. Figures expressed in international dollars are adjusted for inflation within countries over time, and for differences in the cost of living between countries. The goal of such adjustments is to provide a unit whose purchasing power is held fixed over time and across countries, such that one international dollar can buy the same quantity and quality of goods and services no matter where or when it is spent. Read more in our article: What are Purchasing Power Parity adjustments and why do we need them?

GDP per capita

Self-reported life satisfaction vs. GDP per capita, 2022

Self-reported life satisfaction is measured on a scale ranging from 0-10, where 10 is the highest possible life



Doesn't necessarily mean that's all we should care about!



Data source: World Happiness Report (2023); Global Carbon Budget (2022); Population based on various sources (2023) OurWorldInData.org/happiness-and-life-satisfaction | CC BY



Productivity differentials

- Surprisingly, even for seemingly same products and processes, there is a wide variation in productvity
- Recent(?) important work: Syverson (2004)
 - Productivity ratio for 90th-10th plants within 4-digit SIC: 1.91
 - Also persistent with 0.6-0.8 autoregressive coefficients [Abrahám and White (2007); Foster, Haltiwanger, and Syverson (2008)]
 - Larger for developing countries: 5:1 for China and India [Hsieh and Klenow (2009)]
 - Summarized in Syverson (JEL, 2011)
- Less explored: Productivity within firm, between lines (also workers)
- RMG sector may allow an appropriate lab for that

Cross-country (worker) productivity for RMG sector has been demonstrated already

Probably not wrong, and possibly quite useful

Just this is not what economists typically imply when they talk about productiviy

RMG worker productivity in Asian countries

Name of the country	Per hour productivity in value	
Sri Lanka	\$15.9	
Indonesia	\$12.3	
China	\$11.1	
Philippines	\$8.7	
India	\$7.5	
Vietnam	\$4.7	
Myanmar	\$4.1	
Bangladesh	\$3.4	

Source: Asian Productivity Organization (APO) Data

https://www.tbsnews.net/economy/rmg/rmg-labour-productivity-yet-behind-rivals-140554



Production process within RMG factories



- "Simple" products, t-shirt, trousers, dress shirt etc.
- Each item is a sum of simple operations
- Operators perform them on material inputs in a linear fashion (no pun intended)
- The finished products go for quality checking, finishing and packaging for shipment



What is line level productivity?

Each operation is assigned a Standard Minute Value (SMV, also known as Standard Allowed Minutes (SAM))

Let's say, a line produces n_{lst} which has a SMV of v_s with x_{lt} working for h_{lt} minutes on date t

So,

$$\operatorname{Output}_{lt} = n_{lst} \times v_s$$

$$\text{Input}_{lt} = x_{lt} \times h_{lt}$$

Hence,

$$e_{lt} = \frac{n_{lst} \times v_s}{x_{lt} \times h_{lt}}$$

OPE. NO.	DESCRIPTION OF OPERATION	OPE. TIME(Min)	SOP01 SOP04 SOP SOP01 SOP05 SOP	02 03
SOP01	Sew shoulder	0.33		SOP07
SOP02	Join neck rib & attach neck rib to body	0.5	SOP06	1
SOP03	Covering neck seam	0.38		
SOP04	Baste brand label to neck	0.13	N 1	1
SOP05	Attach tape to shoulder & neck line	0.42		
SOP06	Hem sleeve mouth	0.42		
SOP07	Attach sleeve	0.58	SOP09	
SOP08	Sew side & under sleeve	0.56		SOP08
SOP09	Tack sleeve mouth	0.21		
SOP10	Hem bottom	0.42		
SOP11	Sew laundry label to bottom	0.13	SOP10)
SOP12	Turn body	0.17	SOP11	
	Total Sewing Operation Time	4.25		



Data

- Number of factories: 142
- Number of lines: 4,057 (28.6 lines/factory; these are large factories)
- Missing values: 621,427 (37.1%, ⊗)
- Weird outliers (= efficiency > 1): 10,213 (0.6%)
- Dropped another 385 observations for too few overservations per line (< 30 days)
- Final data set: 1,045,417 line-days
 - Number of factories: 102
 - Number of lines: 3,262 (32 lines/factory, even larger)



Raw distribution, N = 1,045,417 line-days





Line efficiency, N = 3,262





Extent of producivity differential

- Average line efficiency = 50.3%
- Without factory effects 90-10 ratio is 1.73
- With factory fixed effects 90-10 ratio is 1.35
- Suggesting an average 90th percentile line is 35% more productive than the 10th percentile line





So what? Answer #1

- How bad are disruptions for productivity?
- Or, do workplace "friends" matter?
- Yes and yes
- They are persistent even after six months
- The more connection a worker loses, the larger is the producvity loss





So what? Answer #2

So why so few female SVs?

- Perhaps, the marginal female supervisor is worse than the male supervisors
- OR, NOT, suggesting managerial talent is misallocated at least in the long run
- Worse or not, women are perceived as being worse in supervisory roles
- Not trying them as supervisors can contribute to persistence in such perceptions



Around 75 percent of supervisors are hired from outside the factory.

Factories are taking risks by hiring from outside and are encouraging ambitious workers to leave.



Perceived Ability by Gender in Supervisory Roles







Initial gaps disappear after trial period





Research Impact?

- We shared our findings with the participant factories: a couple of them established all female lines (not unprecendented)
- IFC and ILO followed up with similar training interventions → increased female SVs from ~10% to ~18% in the participating factories
- Also, such interventions are effective for more experienced SV candidates

Changes in % of female SV before and after GEAR As reported by factories





Takeaways and Future work

- Organization and management practices matter
- "Insider econometrics" can be very useful to understand the determinants of (within firm) productivity [Ichniowski and Shaw (2003)]
- Correcting misperceptions and beliefs can promote gender equality in leadership positions [Bursztyn, González and Yanagizawa-Drott (2020)]
- Currently, working on renewable energy technology adoption within the garment sector
 - Perhaps I can share some findings in the next ABCD!
- Thank you.