

# Ready Made Garments, Reproductive Behavior and Human Capital among Bangladeshi Women

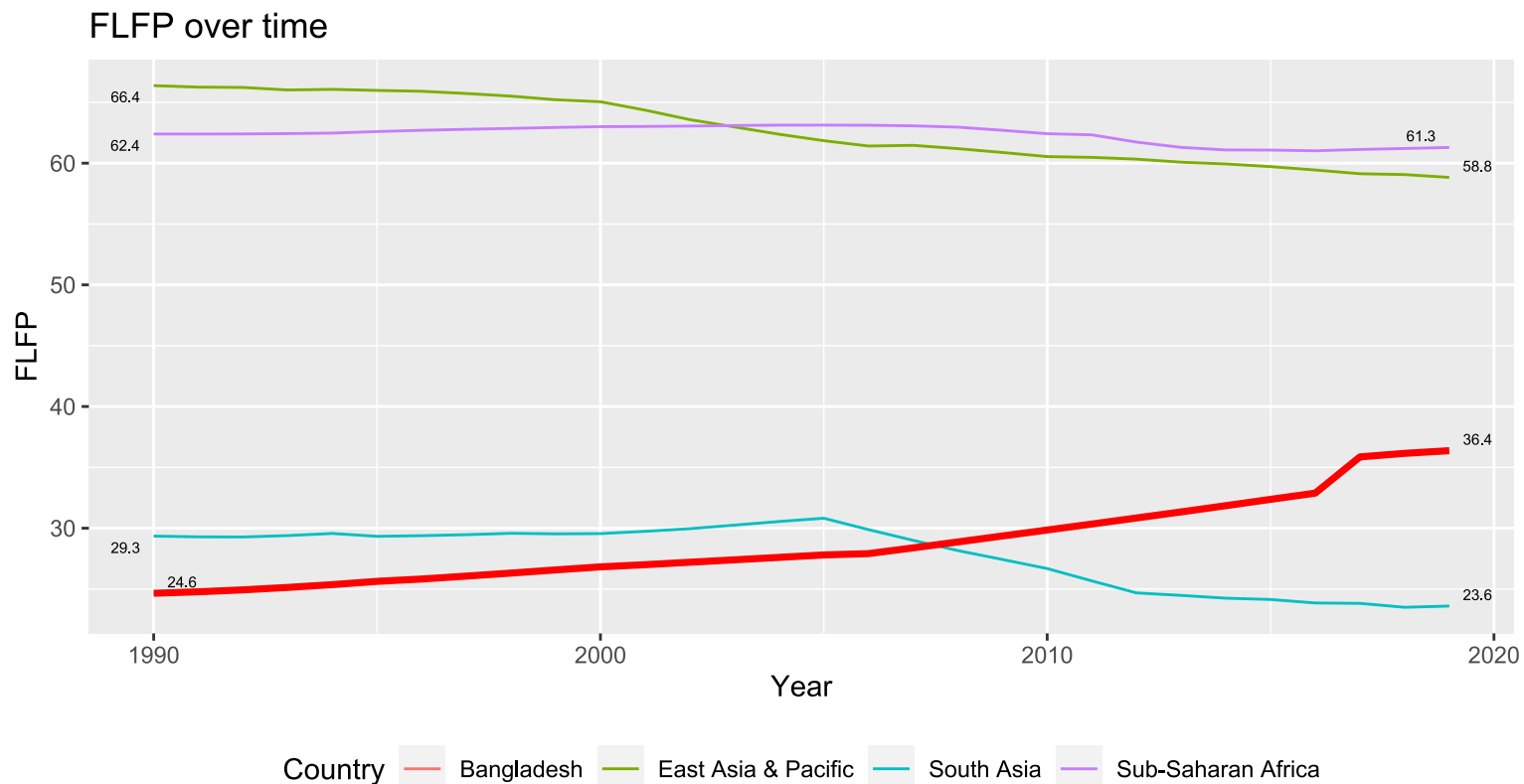
SM Shihab Siddiqui

---

21 October, 2022

# Introduction

# Against the grain: Bangladeshi FLFP



World Bank (2021)

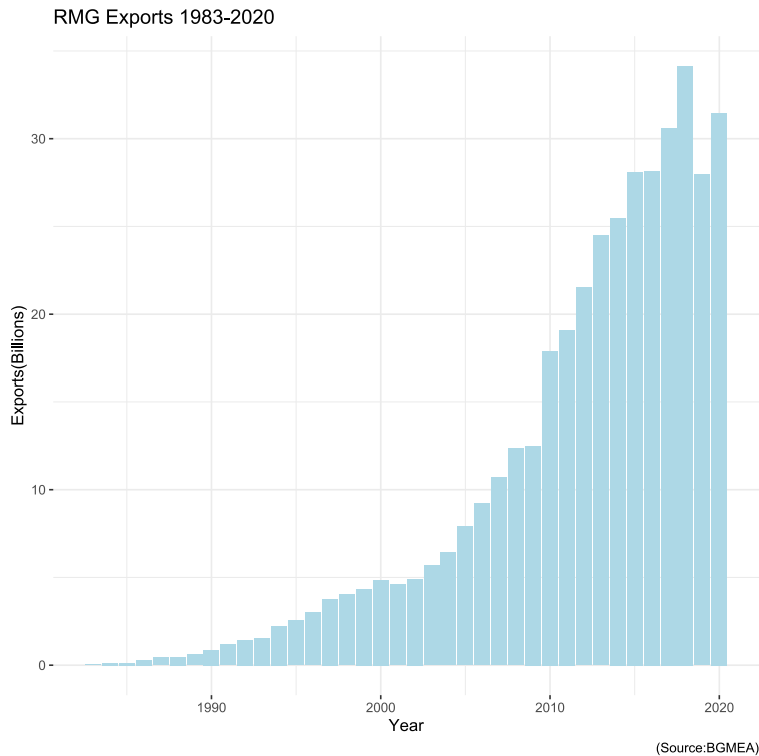
- **Female labor force participation (FLFP)** among 20-24 year olds stood at about 49% in 2015 (ADB 2016).

# Expansion of the garments industry

- Bangladeshi **Ready Made Garments (RMG)** grew at about 11% a year since 1991.

# Expansion of the garments industry

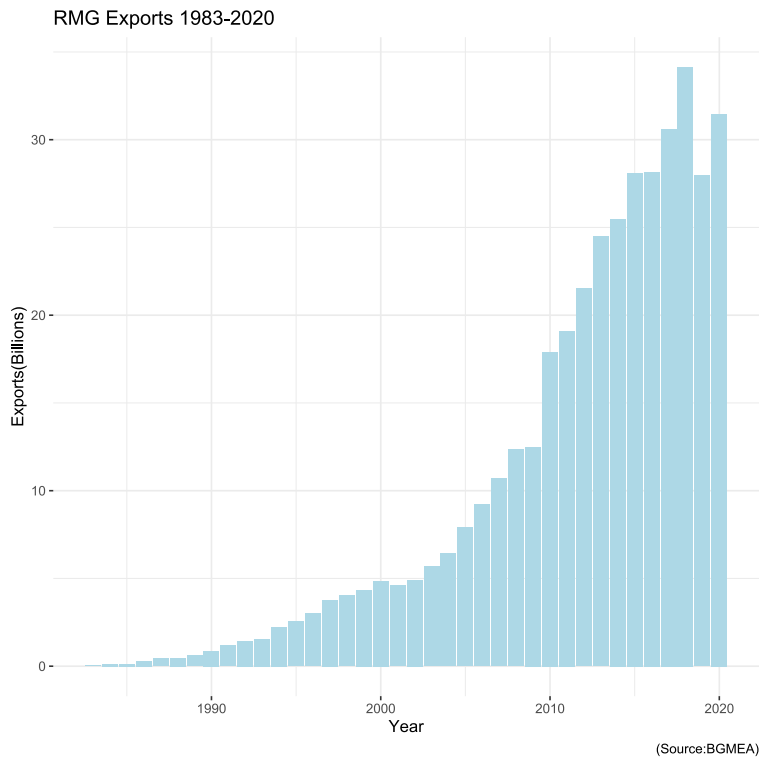
- Bangladeshi **Ready Made Garments (RMG)** grew at about 11% a year since 1991.



- Accounts for 75-85% of Bangladesh's exports in recent decades.

# Expansion of the garments industry

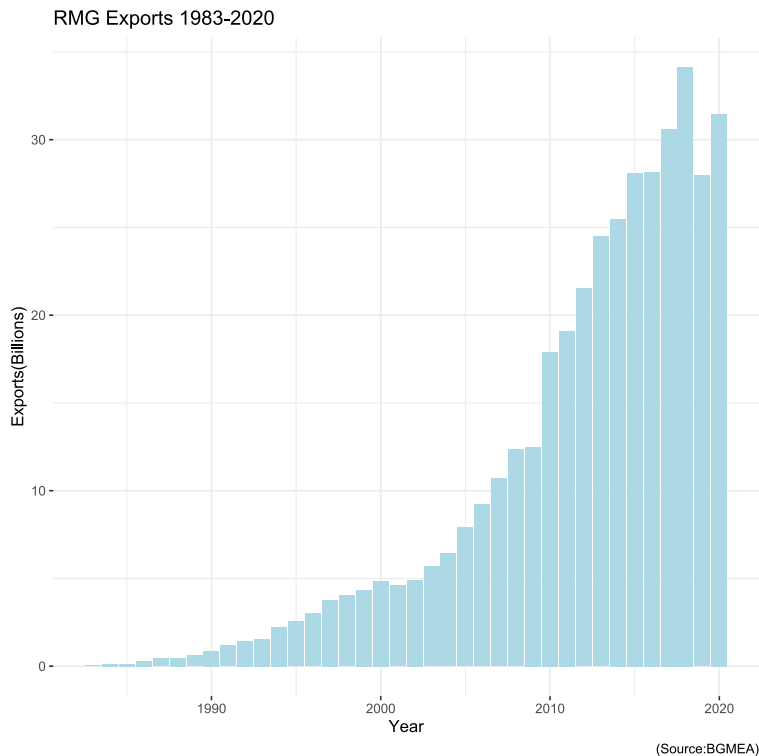
- Bangladeshi **Ready Made Garments (RMG)** grew at about 11% a year since 1991.



- Accounts for 75-85% of Bangladesh's exports in recent decades.
- Contributed about 5-6% to GDP in 2019.

# Expansion of the garments industry

- Bangladeshi **Ready Made Garments (RMG)** grew at about 11% a year since 1991.



- Accounts for 75-85% of Bangladesh's exports in recent decades.
- Contributed about 5-6% to GDP in 2019.
- **About 60% of workers in export oriented RMG industry are women.**

# Could there be a connection?

## FLFP

- Textile and affiliated industry always employed relatively more women across different time and place.



# Could there be a connection?

## FLFP

- Textile and affiliated industry always employed relatively more women across different time and place.
  - Mid 1800s England (Burnette, n.d), USA (Field-Hendrey, 1998); developed and developing countries 1981-2008 (Kucera and Tejani, 2014).

# Could there be a connection?

## FLFP

- Textile and affiliated industry always employed relatively more women across different time and place.
  - Mid 1800s England (Burnette, n.d), USA (Field-Hendrey, 1998); developed and developing countries 1981-2008 (Kucera and Tejani, 2014).
  - Women engaged in more spinning and knitting for centuries (*Virginia Postrel, Textiles and the Fabric of Civilization*)

# Could there be a connection?

## FLFP

- Textile and affiliated industry always employed relatively more women across different time and place.
  - Mid 1800s England (Burnette, n.d), USA (Field-Hendrey, 1998); developed and developing countries 1981-2008 (Kucera and Tejani, 2014).
  - Women engaged in more spinning and knitting for centuries (*Virginia Postrel, Textiles and the Fabric of Civilization*)
  - Did this "kick" off an overall FLFP transition in lines of Fogli and Veldkamp (2011)?

# Could there be a connection?

## Reproductive behavior

- Labor market opportunities changes net benefits of marriage and children (*e.g. Aaronson et al 2014; Greenwood et al 2017*).

# Could there be a connection?

## Reproductive behavior

- Labor market opportunities changes net benefits of marriage and children (*e.g. Aaronson et al 2014; Greenwood et al 2017*).
- But fertility transition was already on the way and may have already ushered in a low-fertility environment? What about timing?

# Could there be a connection?

## Reproductive behavior

- Labor market opportunities changes net benefits of marriage and children (*e.g. Aaronson et al 2014; Greenwood et al 2017*).
- But fertility transition was already on the way and may have already ushered in a low-fertility environment? What about timing?

## Human capital accumulation

- More schooling if returns to schooling in RMG industry is adequate. Less if potential students are better off working.
  - Maybe less schooling but more human capital accumulation through increased effort?

# Could there be a connection?

## Reproductive behavior

- Labor market opportunities changes net benefits of marriage and children (*e.g. Aaronson et al 2014; Greenwood et al 2017*).
- But fertility transition was already on the way and may have already ushered in a low-fertility environment? What about timing?

## Human capital accumulation

- More schooling if returns to schooling in RMG industry is adequate. Less if potential students are better off working.
  - Maybe less schooling but more human capital accumulation through increased effort? **All these are empirical questions!**

# Research questions

1. To what extent did the emergence of the RMG industry contribute to the increase in FLFP in Bangladesh?
  - A question about magnitude.



# Research questions

1. To what extent did the emergence of the RMG industry contribute to the increase in FLFP in Bangladesh?
  - A question about magnitude.
2. What is the effect of the RMG industry on reproductive behavior of women (marriage and fertility)?
  - A question about sign and magnitude.

# Research questions

1. To what extent did the emergence of the RMG industry contribute to the increase in FLFP in Bangladesh?
  - A question about magnitude.
2. What is the effect of the RMG industry on reproductive behavior of women (marriage and fertility)?
  - A question about sign and magnitude.
3. What is the effect of the RMG industry on human capital accumulation of Bangladeshi women?
  - A question about sign and magnitude.

# Why do we care?

1. Adds to the literature on manufacturing- and export-led growth.  
Especially relevant since:

# Why do we care?

1. Adds to the literature on manufacturing- and export-led growth.

Especially relevant since:

- General concerns with pre-mature industrialization (Rodrik, 2015)
- Reductions in prevalence of women in RMG industry in Bangladesh A [Along the lines of what happens as technology improves in a manufacturing sector (Tejani and Kucera, 2021).

# Why do we care?

1. Adds to the literature on manufacturing- and export-led growth.  
Especially relevant since:
  - General concerns with pre-mature industrialization (Rodrik, 2015)
  - Reductions in prevalence of women in RMG industry in Bangladesh A [Along the lines of what happens as technology improves in a manufacturing sector (Tejani and Kucera, 2021).
2. Adds to the literature focusing on trade and lives of workers (Autor et al (2013), Li (2018) and Autor et al (2019)).

# Preview of the paper

## Methods

- Estimates the long run impact of female labor demand shock on FLFP, fertility and human capital accumulation by:
  - Bartik shift-share method to identify labor demand shocks following a methodology similar to **Autor et al (2013)**.
  - Specifically, I exploit product specialization in the RMG industry along the knit versus woven line across sub-districts (Bangladesh administrative level-3) for identification.

# Preview of the paper

## Results

- FLFP, particularly industrial FLFP changes a lot.

# Preview of the paper

## Results

- FLFP, particularly industrial FLFP changes a lot.
  - Not much of an impact on reproductive behavior and fertility overall.
- Results can be rationalized with previous literature under plausible assumptions.



# RMG industry in Bangladesh

# Knit versus Woven products

## Knit



- Single yarn looped repeatedly.
- HS code 61.
- Product examples: Most sweaters, cotton T-shirts.

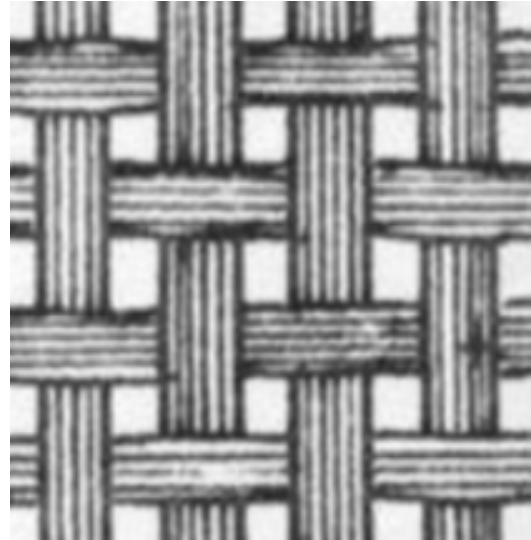
# Knit versus Woven products

## Knit



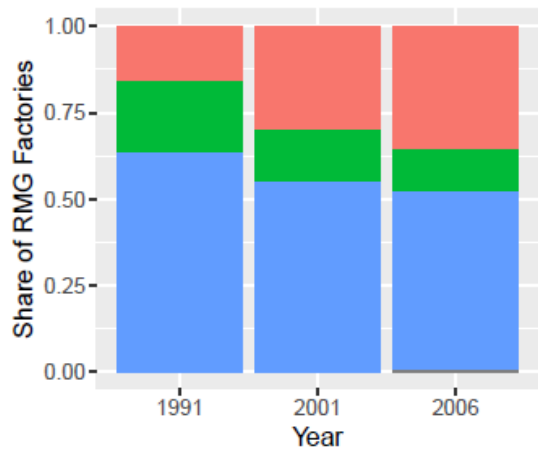
- Single yarn looped repeatedly.
- HS code 61.
- Product examples: Most sweaters, cotton T-shirts.

## Woven

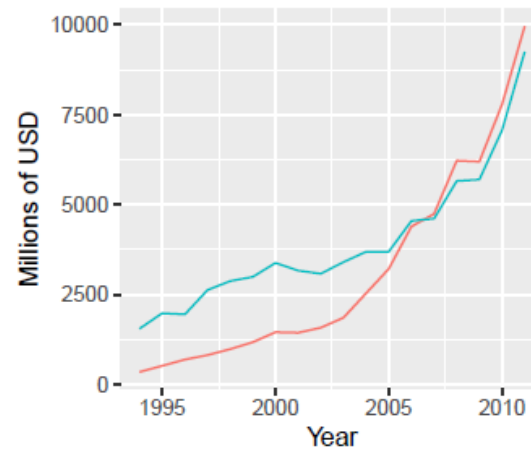


- Multiple yarn criss-crossed over and under each other.
- HS code 62.
- Product examples: Shirts, jackets, pants.

# Knit versus Woven Specialization

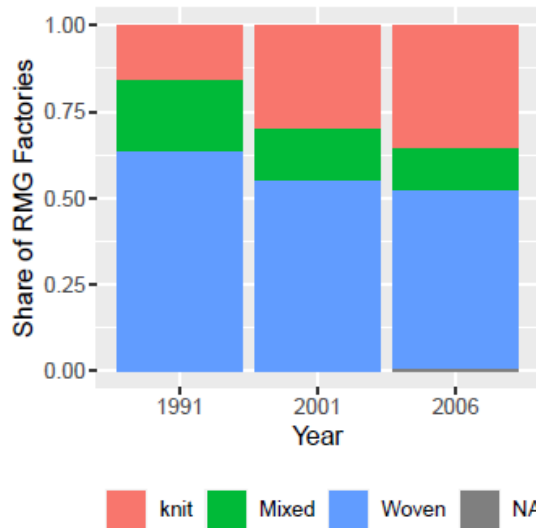


Data Source: BGMEA Directory 2000-01 & 2009-110

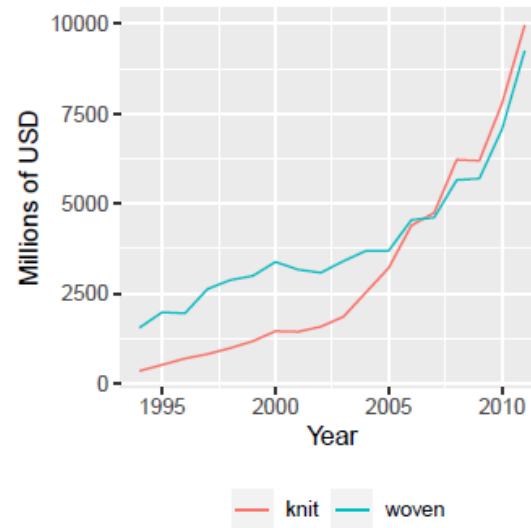


Data Source: BGMEA (2022)

# Knit versus Woven Specialization



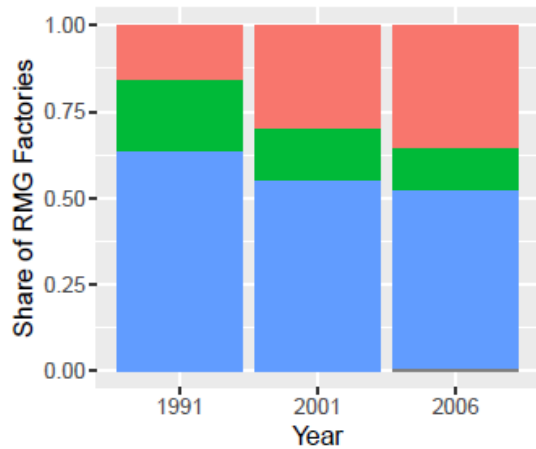
Data Source: BGMEA Directory 2000-01 & 2009-110



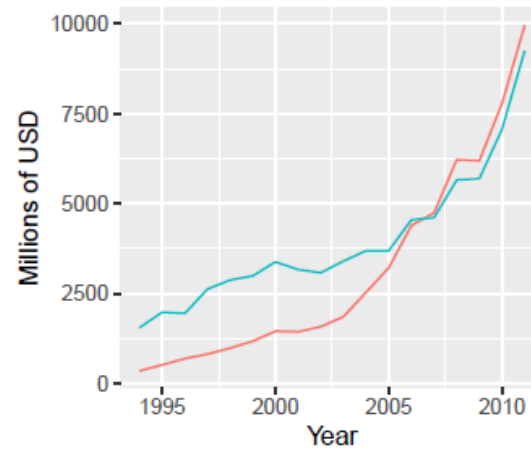
Data Source: BGMEA (2022)

- Producing woven is more energy and capital intensive, and commands about 10% higher per unit price (Sytsma, 2022).

# Knit versus Woven Specialization



Data Source: BGMEA Directory 2000-01 & 2009-110

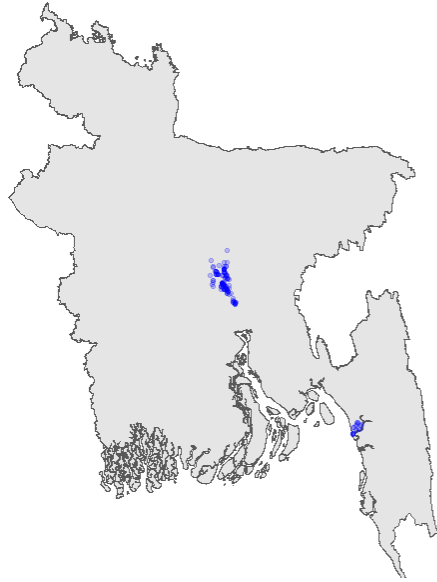


Data Source: BGMEA (2022)

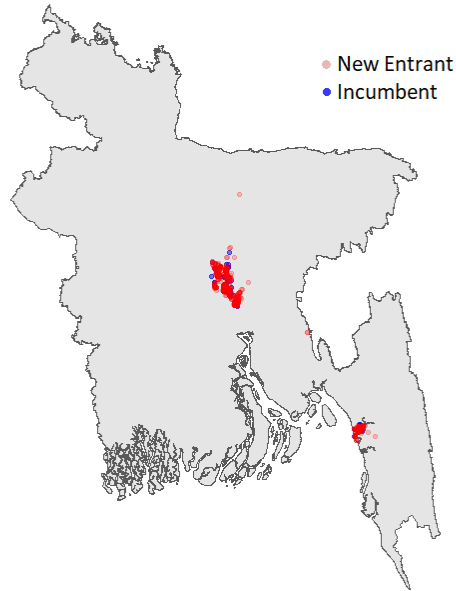
- Producing woven is more energy and capital intensive, and commands about 10% higher per unit price (Sytsma, 2022).
- Woven factories are larger, and employs more women.

# Location of RMG factories

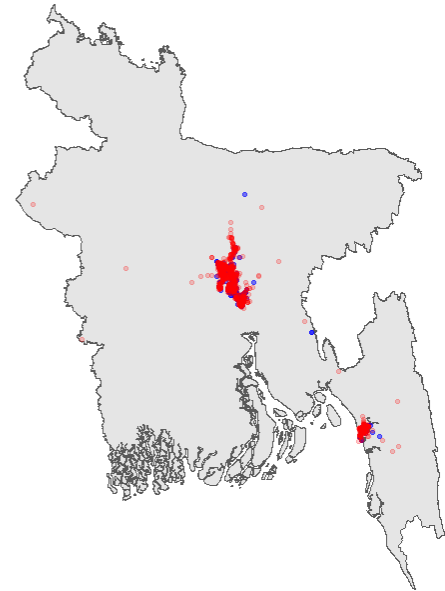
1990



2000

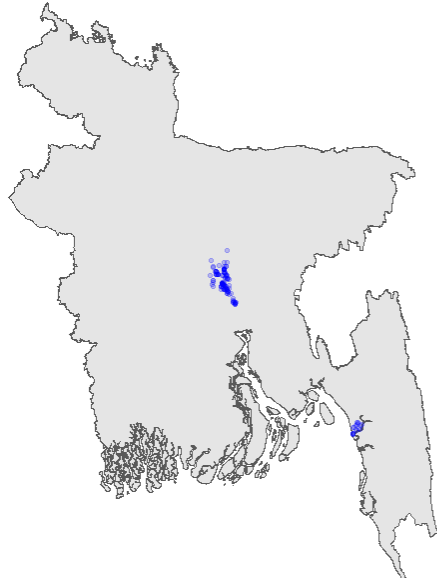


2010

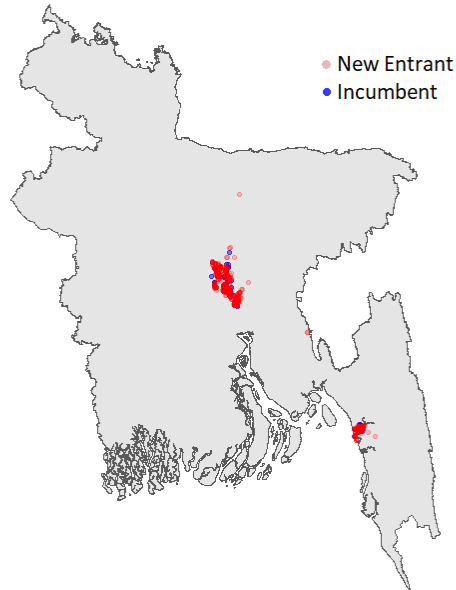


# Location of RMG factories

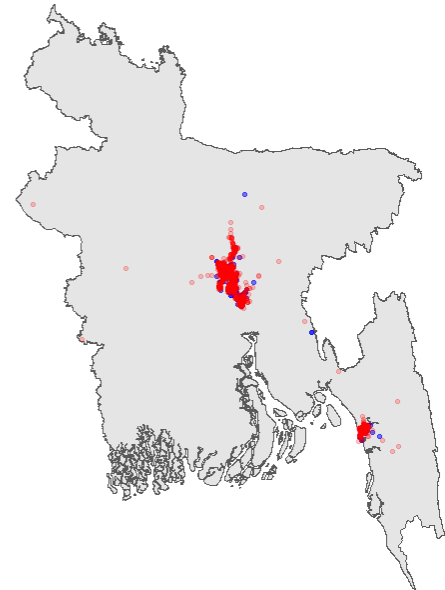
1990



2000



2010



- RMG factory location choice is mostly dependent on infrastructure quality (kagy, 2014).



# Identification strategy and data

# Overview of the identification strategy

- Sub-districts with and without factories are likely to have different infrastructure quality, which maybe correlated with outcome variables.  
So, **I restrict the analysis only to sub-districts that had a factory by 2006.**

# Overview of the identification strategy

- Sub-districts with and without factories are likely to have different infrastructure quality, which maybe correlated with outcome variables. So, **I restrict the analysis only to sub-districts that had a factory by 2006.**
- Different sub-districts have different intensity of knit versus woven specialization **within** the RMG industry.

# Overview of the identification strategy

- Sub-districts with and without factories are likely to have different infrastructure quality, which maybe correlated with outcome variables. So, **I restrict the analysis only to sub-districts that had a factory by 2006.**
- Different sub-districts have different intensity of knit versus woven specialization **within** the RMG industry.
  - Adopting Goldsmith-Pinkham et al (2020), the key assumption is that these differences in specialization do not change outcomes through confounders.

# Regression Model

$$\Delta Y_{s,t} = \beta \Delta \text{Export Exposure}_{s,t} + \delta_t + Z_{s,t-1}\beta_z + X_{s,t-1}\beta_x + \epsilon_{s,t}$$

- $\Delta Y_{s,t}$  is the decadal change in outcome variables in sub-district  $s$  over decade ending at year  $t$ .

# Regression Model

$$\Delta Y_{s,t} = \beta \Delta \text{Export Exposure}_{s,t} + \delta_t + Z_{s,t-1}\beta_z + X_{s,t-1}\beta_x + \epsilon_{s,t}$$

- $\Delta Y_{s,t}$  is the decadal change in outcome variables in sub-district  $s$  over decade ending at year  $t$ .
- $\text{Export Exposure}_{s,t}$  measures export exposure in sub-district over decade ending at year  $t$ .

# Regression Model

$$\Delta Y_{s,t} = \beta \Delta \text{Export Exposure}_{s,t} + \delta_t + Z_{s,t-1}\beta_z + X_{s,t-1}\beta_x + \epsilon_{s,t}$$

- $\Delta Y_{s,t}$  is the decadal change in outcome variables in sub-district  $s$  over decade ending at year  $t$ .
- $\text{Export Exposure}_{s,t}$  measures export exposure in sub-district over decade ending at year  $t$ .
- $\delta_t$  are period fixed-effects and  $Z_{s,t-1}$  is a vector of controls across all outcomes including start of period electrification rate, urbanization, density, share of 15-64 year old in population and years of education for adults (15-64).

# Regression Model

$$\Delta Y_{s,t} = \beta \Delta \text{Export Exposure}_{s,t} + \delta_t + Z_{s,t-1}\beta_z + X_{s,t-1}\beta_x + \epsilon_{s,t}$$

- $\Delta Y_{s,t}$  is the decadal change in outcome variables in sub-district  $s$  over decade ending at year  $t$ .
- $\text{Export Exposure}_{s,t}$  measures export exposure in sub-district over decade ending at year  $t$ .
- $\delta_t$  are period fixed-effects and  $Z_{s,t-1}$  is a vector of controls across all outcomes including start of period electrification rate, urbanization, density, share of 15-64 year old in population and years of education for adults (15-64).
- $X_{s,t-1}$  are start of the period comparable outcomes for males other than in the cases of regressions corresponding to marriage and fertility rates.



# Export exposure

One candidate measure of export exposure per potential worker (Population 15-64) is:

$$\sum_{i=0}^9 \alpha_{s,t-i}^K * \frac{\text{Export}_{BD,t-i}^K}{L_{s,t-i}} + \sum_{i=1}^9 \alpha_{s,t-i}^W * \frac{\text{Export}_{BD,t-i}^W}{L_{s,t-i}}$$
$$\alpha_{s,t-i}^K = \frac{\text{Machines}_{s,t-i}^K}{\text{Machines}_{BD,t-i}^K}, \alpha_{s,t-i}^W = \frac{\text{Machines}_{s,t-i}^W}{\text{Machines}_{BD,t-i}^W}$$

# Export exposure

One candidate measure of export exposure per potential worker (Population 15-64) is:

$$\sum_{i=0}^9 \alpha_{s,t-i}^K * \frac{\text{Export}_{BD,t-i}^K}{L_{s,t-i}} + \sum_{i=1}^9 \alpha_{s,t-i}^W * \frac{\text{Export}_{BD,t-i}^W}{L_{s,t-i}}$$
$$\alpha_{s,t-i}^K = \frac{\text{Machines}_{s,t-i}^K}{\text{Machines}_{BD,t-i}^K}, \alpha_{s,t-i}^W = \frac{\text{Machines}_{s,t-i}^W}{\text{Machines}_{BD,t-i}^W}$$

- Apportions total knit (woven) exports originating in Bangladesh to a sub-districts based on what share of national knit (woven) production is in the sub-district.

# Export exposure

One candidate measure of export exposure per potential worker (Population 15-64) is:

$$\sum_{i=0}^9 \alpha_{s,t-i}^K * \frac{\text{Export}_{BD,t-i}^K}{L_{s,t-i}} + \sum_{i=1}^9 \alpha_{s,t-i}^W * \frac{\text{Export}_{BD,t-i}^W}{L_{s,t-i}}$$
$$\alpha_{s,t-i}^K = \frac{\text{Machines}_{s,t-i}^K}{\text{Machines}_{BD,t-i}^K}, \alpha_{s,t-i}^W = \frac{\text{Machines}_{s,t-i}^W}{\text{Machines}_{BD,t-i}^W}$$

- Apportions total knit (woven) exports originating in Bangladesh to a sub-districts based on what share of national knit (woven) production is in the sub-district.
  - Export exposure in sub-district  $s$  in at time period  $t$  depends on the intensity of knit (woven) specialization and is scaled by total exports and population.

# Export exposure

- But clearly the previous measure can be endogenous since over decades, infrastructure changes and that in itself could change both the shares and change the outcomes differentially. So, I fix share to the values at the start of decade. Thus export exposure per potential worker is as follows:

$$\Delta \text{ Export Exposure}_{s,t} = \alpha_{s,t-1}^K * \frac{\Delta \text{ Export}_{BD,t}^K}{L_{t-1}} + \alpha_{s,t-1}^W * \frac{\Delta \text{ Export}_{BD,t}^W}{L_{t-1}}$$

# Identifying Assumptions

Adopting from Goldsmith-Pinkham et al (2020), the key assumption is that the differences in knit versus woven specialization do not *change* outcomes through confounders. That is:

- **Identifying assumption 1:** Extent of knit versus woven specialization in a sub-district is uncorrelated with the errors conditional on controls in the first difference equations.

# Identifying Assumptions

Adopting from Goldsmith-Pinkham et al (2020), the key assumption is that the differences in knit versus woven specialization do not *change* outcomes through confounders. That is:

- **Identifying assumption 1:** Extent of knit versus woven specialization in a sub-district is uncorrelated with the errors conditional on controls in the first difference equations.
- **Identifying assumption 2:** FLFP responds similarly to woven and knit shocks.

# Identifying Assumptions

Adopting from Goldsmith-Pinkham et al (2020), the key assumption is that the differences in knit versus woven specialization do not *change* outcomes through confounders. That is:

- **Identifying assumption 1:** Extent of knit versus woven specialization in a sub-district is uncorrelated with the errors conditional on controls in the first difference equations.
- **Identifying assumption 2:** FLFP responds similarly to woven and knit shocks.
- **Example of a violation:** Woven employs more women, so areas with more woven factories has increased presence of fertility control programs because there are more women.

# Data Sources

- **Outcome data** is obtained by aggregating individual-level data from the Bangladesh Census 1991 (10% sub-sample), 2001 (10% sub-sample) and 2011 (5% sub-sample).



# Data Sources

- **Outcome data** is obtained by aggregating individual-level data from the Bangladesh Census 1991 (10% sub-sample), 2001 (10% sub-sample) and 2011 (5% sub-sample).
- **Factory data** are primarily from multiple BGMEA datasets from members directory (2001, 2010), BGMEA (2015) and scraping of BGMEA website in 2013.

# Results

## Overall

Influence on overall (left) and industrial (right)  
FLFP

<b>Age</b>	<b>coeff</b>	<b>std_error</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>coeff</b>	<b>std_error</b>
15-64	0.004	6e-04	15-64	0.007	8e-04
15-29	0.005	8e-04	15-29	0.006	6e-04
15-20	0.006	9e-04	15-20	0.007	7e-04

- Modest impact on FLFP that is stronger on industrial FLFP and among younger women.

## Overall

Influence on overall (left) and industrial (right)  
FLFP

<b>Age</b>	<b>coeff</b>	<b>std_error</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>coeff</b>	<b>std_error</b>
15-64	0.004	6e-04	15-64	0.007	8e-04
15-29	0.005	8e-04	15-29	0.006	6e-04
15-20	0.006	9e-04	15-20	0.007	7e-04

- Modest impact on FLFP that is stronger on industrial FLFP and among younger women.
- At mean export exposure for a sub-district over two decades:

# Reproductive behavior

Influence on marriage rates (left) and fertility (right)

Age	coeff	std_error
15-20	-4e-04	5e-04
21-30	1e-04	4e-04

Age	coeff	std_error
15-20	0.0001	0.0004
21-30	0.0000	0.0015
15-20	0.0036	0.0023

- Signs as I expected, but not statistically significant.

# Human capital accumulation

Influence on schooling  
rates of women

Age	coeff	std_error
05-09	0.0009	0.0008
10-13	-0.0002	0.0008
14-19	-0.0013	0.0011

- Signs as I expected, but not statistically significant.

# Conclusions

- Results indicate that the RMG industry provided opportunities for some of the women to join manufacturing labor force.

# Conclusions

- Results indicate that the RMG industry provided opportunities for some of the women to join manufacturing labor force.
- However, most changes in reproductive and human capital likely driven by other factors.



# Conclusions

- Results indicate that the RMG industry provided opportunities for some of the women to join manufacturing labor force.
- However, most changes in reproductive and human capital likely driven by other factors.

**Thank you. Suggestions and comments are very appreciated!**