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Dhaka, February 2024

Foreword

Dear Reader,

We truly hope that this study provides new facts and ideas for further analysing and discussing the role of line supervisors in the RMG industry in Bangladesh, with a special focus on women's challenges, needs and aspirations.

The rationale for this study emerged from the discussions in the informal Workplace Based Dialogue Network, in which organizations implementing projects in factories reflect jointly. We are very grateful to Prof. Shahidur Rahman and his team for carrying it out in such a profound manner.

Employing supervisors within a production line is a common practice in the Bangladesh RMG industry. As a result, many projects have advocated for more women in supervisory roles to enable a career path within factories. But are such women appointed only for the project – or is there a genuine career path for women from supervisors to other managerial roles or alternative sustainable career paths?

The GEAR (Gender Equality and Return) Programme, for example, has successfully supported the promotion of over 500 female supervisors in over 100 RMG factories in Bangladesh. The impact research showed a productivity improvement of up to 22% when supervisors were trained in soft and technical skills.

If they are not categorised as workers, they will not be entitled to certain employment benefits nor to be unionized. They are also often omitted by buyers from the risk assessment process, which adds to the invisibility of their needs or struggles. If they are not workers, they are not entitled to mandatory maternity leave and access to childcare services, two elements that dramatically affect women's prospects to advance on the factory floor.

Supervisors are sometimes perceived as perpetrators of pressure towards the line workers – and therefore also not very welcome in unions. However, they themselves are also subjects of pressure by line managers or production managers in the hierarchy. Women supervisors, in particular, might face other forms of violence and harassment considering that by moving to supervisory roles they are drastically disrupting social norms and power dynamics in the workplace. Women as supervisors face an additional safety challenge, as they will have to commute back home at a time of the day when most workers have already left.

Is the salary compensating for these additional working hours and risks? Does their role and job description allow for career progression and more responsibility? Is there a transition from supervisor to line or production manager for women or further possibilities for vertical and horizontal advancement that matches their aspirations and needs?

The study shows that supervisors are typically picked by line or production managers from the group of workers. Selecting women supervisors has been done with the intention of reducing workplace harassment. This is an indication that their role is rather far from proper management functions – their reports consisting mostly of adding some numbers to a chart – but rather to fill quotas or address a specific line dynamic. These informal promotion procedures coupled with rooted social norms and gender biases make it very difficult for women to grow in their careers. Women supervisors are portrayed as less capable of managing workers and are labelled with lesser leadership skills than their male counterparts, though in reality, this is not often the case.

Supervisors are sometimes treated as workers (by Labour Courts, for example) and mostly considered staff, because of their alleged managerial role. The ILO had suggested in the past to clarify the workers definition in the labour law.

What is clear from the study is the need for (women) supervisors to be provided with more clarity about their employment identity, and if they are recruited from within the factory, they should be provided with a new appointment/transfer letter or job description. These documents should provide clarity about any eventual loss of benefits - salary ranges should be clarified to avoid depending on negotiation practices and skills, rather than on experience and job responsibilities, and perpetuating the gender wage gap.

Some factories use their regional origin to select workers with the idea to establish a safety net in the home village (usually the home of the owner as well). The intention is excellent, but it perpetuates dependences and lack of agency by the workers. In parallel to such practices, a proper Human Resource development path can visualize skills and competences required for managerial duties that could be acquired by supervisors to further enhance their employability in higher positions.

Supervisors are employed in a particularly high in number in Bangladesh, and their primary role is to monitor the workers. If the workers are efficient and responsible, then the question to the factory managers is, if employing so many supervisors is necessary. Their role is rather uncertain from a legal and managerial perspective as well. If the individual factory management thinks that its key to operate with line supervisors, then due recognition and clarity on supervisor's status is needed (including their freedom of association) and the transparency about their tasks and working conditions needs to be enhanced.

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Asia Foundation; BRAC; RISE BSR; CARE Bangladesh; Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI); Fair Wear Foundation; GIZ; H & M; ILO; Laudes Foundation; Li & Fung; RMG Sustainability Council (RSC); Solidarity Center; Terre des hommes (TDS) Italy.

Preface

This study on the role of supervisors in the ready-made garment (RMG) industry of Bangladesh, based on the data collected between September and October 2023, was conducted by Brac University, funded by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH. The study attempts to explore the role of supervisors within the legal framework, the benefits they gain after working in this position and their effect on women empowerment with a particular focus on the conditions of female supervisors. The findings are based on a survey of 421 supervisors, 16 Key informant interviews (KIIs), and 18 participants in 2 Focus Group Discussions (FGD)s.

Supervisors play a crucial role in the production floor to ensure effective communication, coordination, and control in manufacturing organisations. In response to the role of supervisors, I hope this study will provide an opportunity for policymakers to better understand the legal context of the position of supervisors in the RMG industry, their working conditions in align with the principles of decent work and participation in labour organisations. The findings can be used for further research and provide guidance to overcome the challenges of this group of workforces and contribute to make changes in labour law for a transparent understanding of their status and rights. We know that working at a garment factory has broken down social barriers for women to participate in the labour market in a patriarchal society. To sustain this journey, it is also necessary to address the obstacles of female supervisors in factories. This project directly contributes to Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 8 Decent work and economic growth, SDG 5 Gender equality and vision 2041 of the government of Bangladesh.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

BDT Bangladeshi Taka

BLA Bangladesh Labour Act

BLL Bangladesh Labour Law

DIFE Department of Inspection for Factories and

Establishments

FGD Focus Group Discussion

GIZ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale

Zusammenarbeit

HR Human Resources

IFC International Finance Corporation

ILO International Labour Organization

KII Key Informant Interview

OSH Occupational Safety and Health

PC Participation Committee

RMG Ready-made Garment

SSRN Social Science Research Network

SO Supervising Officer

1 Executive Summary

The ready-made garment (RMG) industry in Bangladesh has been a cornerstone of the nation's economic growth, employing millions and contributing significantly to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Within this sector, supervisors play a pivotal role in maintaining the delicate balance between productivity and worker welfare. However, despite their critical function, there exists a notable research gap in understanding the full extent of supervisors' roles, particularly in the legal framework and their impact on operational dynamics. This study, therefore, seeks to bridge this gap by providing a comprehensive analysis of the roles, challenges, and opportunities of supervisors in the RMG sector of Bangladesh, with a special focus on legal ambiguities and gender dynamics.

This study adopts a mixed-method approach to capture the multifaceted nature of supervisors' roles in the RMG sector. Quantitatively, a survey encompassing 421 supervisors across key industrial regions such as Dhaka, Gazipur and Narayanganj provided a broad understanding of the demographic profiles, career trajectories, and perception of their roles. Qualitatively, the study conducted in-depth focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (KIIs) to delve into the nuanced experiences and challenges supervisors face. This methodology ensures a well-rounded perspective, combining statistical data with personal insights, thereby offering a rich, contextual understanding of the supervisory landscape in the RMG sector.

The survey findings reveal an interesting pattern with regard to the transition from operator to supervisor. A majority of supervisors (about 70%) are promoted internally, emphasizing the value of experience over formal education. The key motivation for such upward mobility includes salary increments (84.6%) and respect (77.9%). The average working duration before becoming a supervisor is around 5.51 years. This highlights the sector's preference for practical experience and internal knowledge over academic qualifications. The major responsibilities of supervisors are managing workers (96.2%), meeting targets (84.3%), ensuring quality (63.7) and ensuring harmony (58.2%).

The study uncovers a significant legal ambiguity in defining supervisors. While supervisors and factory management view them as staff following the definition of supervising officer in Labor Rules 2015, federation leader and government inspector disagree with this justification. To the latter group of stakeholders, supervisors should be considered as worker. This is because, in many cases, supervising power, as outlined in the Labor Rules, is not explicitly detailed in appointment letters and job descriptions, and even when it is, it is often not practiced in the factory. In most of the cases, the labour court has classified them as worker in legal disputes after examining their daily responsibility. This legal ambiguity necessitates a clearer definition to align their job functions with legal recognition.

Regarding income, the average monthly salary of supervisors is around Tk. 20,230, with a minimum of Tk. 12,500 and a maximum of Tk. 30,000. This income level is generally higher than senior operators but varies across factories. While larger factories may have more resources to provide a range of benefits, smaller factories selectively offer certain benefits, to enhance worker satisfaction and productivity within their means. Supervisors, who are considered as staff, do not receive social benefits such as getting basic food during Ramadan. While their roles are well-defined, their benefits are either missing or vary across their appointment letters. Despite their critical role, supervisors often lack access to labour

organizations, with 52.49% indicating no support from unions, underscoring a gap in representation and legal protection. Lack of union support forces supervisors to rely on internal channels, like Floor In-Charge or Line Manager, which may not always be effective. Supervisors are hesitant to speak out because they are few in number, their jobs are insecure and have no grievance platform like Trade Union and PC. Unions deny supervisors participation access, while employed but represent them in court after job loss at a cost, highlighting role ambiguity.

Supervisors confront several challenges, including managing productivity and ensuring quality control under intense work pressure. The FGDs of supervisors revealed that the supervisors have to face verbal abuse from the management staff for productivity losses. They are called in to the offices and are severely verbally abused for not meeting targets. They said that they face the usual verbal abuse from their higher ups and are sometimes to coerce workers into overtime to meet daily production targets, and in cases where they could not manage workers. the responsibility fell on them to complete the tasks. On the other hand, they are also pressured by the workers. When the administration or production management takes any decisions, it is the supervisors' responsibility to tell and negotiate with the workers. When the workers are dissatisfied their first go to is supervisors. This intermediary position places supervisors in a precarious situation, where they have to navigate dissatisfaction from both ends. In absence of any workers, supervisors need to make up the tasks of that worker at any cost, which can be challenging. A comparison between supervisor and operator indicates that supervisors lack a legal platform to raise their voices and at the same time hold the more stressful jobs. Supervisors, however, earn about Tk. 4,000 more per month than a senior operator. These findings highlight the need for a better support and training system for supervisors, particularly in addressing worker grievances and balancing workload.

In the realm of gender dynamics within the RMG sector, the study uncovers significant disparities and challenges predominantly faced by female supervisors. A striking aspect is the limited upward mobility for women in this sector, with only 1% of women garment workers advancing to supervisory roles. This stark statistic is indicative of the broader systemic barriers and societal norms that hinder women's progression into higher positions. The dual burden of managing extensive work hours along with household responsibilities is a common reality for female supervisors, with a considerable 88.8% acknowledging this challenge. Females significantly highlight household responsibilities and childcare as major challenges, while male supervisors focus more on issues like lack of leadership and stress management as challenges for females. Since supervisors are not cover under the labor law then is not mandatory for workplaces to offer childcare facilities to women supervisors, which makes the possibility of advancement even more challenging.

These societal and familial expectations not only affect their work-life balance but also serve as impediments to their professional advancement. Health concerns are notably more pronounced among female supervisors, with increased reports of issues like headaches and back pain. This calls for the implementation of gender-sensitive health policies within the sector. Furthermore, the study highlights that female supervisors tend to work slightly longer hours than their male counterparts, averaging 10.2 hours per day, which underlines the additional pressures and responsibilities they shoulder. The gender pay gap is another critical issue brought to light. Male supervisor gets Tk 593 more on average in a month. The income disparity becomes more evident at higher salary levels, where only 4.14% of female supervisors earn above Tk. 25000, in contrast to 14.29% of male supervisors. This gap not

only reflects the financial inequalities but also suggests underlying structural issues in the industry. Additionally, the study reveals a tendency for female supervisors to rate male supervisors more positively than the reverse, hinting at potential biases in performance evaluations and workplace interactions. Male supervisors are seen as more vocal and controlling, with a large majority agreeing, while female supervisors are viewed as more empathetic. However, a smaller proportion believe that male supervisors are more vocally abusive, and over half think that production supervision is more challenging for female supervisors than for their male counterparts.

Overarching Recommendations:

- 1. **Legal Clarity and Inclusion in Wage Policy:** The ambiguity in the legal status of supervisors needs to be addressed. It is recommended to clearly define supervisors in labour laws and possibly include them in the minimum wage gazette.
- Enhanced Training and Support Systems: To address the challenges faced by supervisors, the establishment of comprehensive training programs and support systems is essential. These should focus on skill development, effective management techniques, and gender-sensitive policies.
- 3. **Gender Equity Initiatives:** In light of the gender disparities revealed in the study, there is a pressing need for initiatives that promote gender equity. This includes designing a clear promotion process, addressing the gender pay gap, ensuring fair performance evaluations, providing quality childcare services and supporting for work-life balance.
- 4. **Policy Revisions for Labor Rights and Benefits**: Supervisors' access to labour organizations and their entitlements, such as overtime and benefits, should be reviewed and revised to ensure fair and equitable treatment.
- 5. **Promotion of Inclusive Workplace Practices:** The RMG sector should strive to create an inclusive work environment where supervisors, irrespective of gender, can thrive and contribute effectively.
- 6. Standardised Appointment Letter and Job Descriptions: Transition procedures should detail the shift from worker to supervisor, highlighting changes in role, responsibilities, and benefits. It is essential to include a brief on new duties, authority levels, and any alterations in working conditions or remuneration. The lack of standardization in terms and conditions, especially concerning termination, probation, and benefits, suggests the need for industry-wide policies to ensure fairness and equity written in appointment letter and job description.
- 7. Adverse Social Norms and Gender Bias: The factory management needs to work with male supervisors to change their perceptions towards female supervisors as the findings showed that according to male, female lacked leadership skills.

This comprehensive study on the role of supervisors in the RMG sector of Bangladesh reveals critical insights into their upward mobility, legal status, income, benefits, and the unique challenges they face, especially in the context of gender dynamics. The findings underscore the significant role supervisors play in the RMG sector, yet highlight the gaps in legal recognition, equitable compensation, and gender parity. The complexities and ambiguities

surrounding their position call for focused attention and action from industry stakeholders, policymakers, and labour organizations. The insights gained from this study are not only crucial for the betterment of the RMG sector in Bangladesh but also have broader implications for labour policies and gender dynamics in similar industries globally. Implementing these recommendations can lead to a more equitable, efficient, and sustainable RMG sector, ultimately contributing to the socio-economic development of Bangladesh.

2 Introduction

2.1 Background

After Bangladesh emerged as an independent nation in 1971, the country was shaped by its high population growth, meagre per-capita income, scarce natural resources, it's agriculture-based economy, widespread poverty, and an extreme form of patriarchy (Arthur and Mcnicholl, 1978). By 2021, Bangladesh's economy achieved a GDP growth of 6.9%, and US\$416.26 billion economy, and a per capita income of US\$2,448.59. The export led liberalisation policy enabled the country to make a rapid structural shift from an economy predominantly centred on agriculture to one based on jobs in the manufacturing and service sectors, leading to diversification of family income sources (Kikkawa and Otsuka, 2020). Most importantly, remarkable social progress has been achieved over time; notably, gender inequality has declined through elimination of disparity in education, a rising proportion of women wage workers, and reduction in maternal mortality rate (Asadullah et al., 2014, Hossain, 2020). Women's labour force participation rate has also increased from 4% in 1974 to 34.54% in 2020.

One of the pillars of the development of Bangladesh is the contribution from the export oriented ready-made garment (RMG) industry. The share of garments in total exports was only 0.42% in 1980 but by the end of 2022, it rose to more than 80% and the RMG's contribution to GDP has increased from almost nothing in 1976-77 to 11.2% in 2020-21; export earnings increased to US\$42613.15 million in 2021-22 (BGMEA 2022). Most importantly, the development of the garment industry has triggered a social change in Bangladesh by generating considerable female employment outside the family unit. This has made women not only visible in the labour market but also empowered them in society. Ever since garment industry emerged as the major employer of the female labour force, women have challenged social restrictions in society. Nowadays, it is common scene to see thousands of women heading to garment factories in the early morning across Bangladesh (Rahman 2014). This is a scene that would have been unimaginable three decades ago. Consequently, the emergence of the garment industry has brought about a noticeable social transformation in the lives of women in Bangladesh.

Despite these achievements, the sustainability of the Bangladesh RMG industry has always been a concern ranging from the issues of social compliance, ran child labour in the 1980s and frequent labour unrest regarding minimum wage to structural safety leading to the Rana Plaza disaster. The proportion of women garment workers has continued to decline from 54.22% in 2015, falling slightly to 53.89% in 2018 and 53.65% in 2021. This is a significant decline compared to 1980s when 80% of the workers in the sector were women (Rahman et al. 2023). The importance of organisation management, women empowerment, and decent work as challenges of business sustainability depends on managing the workforce efficiently, guiding a path to a gender-sensitive environment and establishing the rights of workers. Although there are different actors in an organization who contribute to achieve the goals of these three crucial areas, the role of supervisors is worthy to study as there has been limited research that focus on the supervisory roles in a factory. In this context, this project aims to study the role of supervisors in the Bangladesh RMG industry.

The existing literature on supervisors primarily falls into two categories: i) the relationship between workers and supervisors, and ii) the skills associated with supervisors. The first category concentrates on exploitation by supervisors, misbehaviour, and its organizational effects (Anwary, 2017; ILO, 2020; Rahman et al., 2018). The second emphasizes the required skills for the position and training (Woodruff and Williams, 2019; Hearle, 2016; Babbit, 2016). Another study by Macchiavello et al. (2020) highlights the challenges women face in obtaining supervisory roles, indicating prevalent gender inequality and a lack of leadership opportunities for women in the Bangladesh RMG industry. What is missing in the current projects is the exploration of the role of supervisors in a garment factory, specifically their practical tasks and the alignment of these tasks with the legal aspects of the job title. A certain air of ambiguity surrounds the term 'supervisor,' reflected in their undefined roles and responsibilities within the purview of Bangladesh's written rules. This ambiguity highlights that the definitions of employer, manager, and supervisors are intertwined, with vague and indistinct roles and responsibilities. Another underexplored area is how the lives of women supervisor have been changed after the promotion from worker. This study aims to address these research gaps, focusing on organization management, women empowerment, and decent work. The specific objective is to conduct a data-driven research and assessment of the role of supervisors in the RMG sector in Bangladesh, particularly their legal status, responsibilities, benefits and challenges with a particular focus on female supervisors.

2.2 Research Questions

In alignment with the objective, this study investigates the following research questions:

- 1. How are employer, employee, staff, management, owner/supervisor, and worker defined in the Bangladesh Labour Act?
- 2. What are the actual tasks and required qualifications of supervisors on the RMG factory floor? How do these compare, in terms of financial and time investment, to higher-skilled production floor jobs? Additionally, how do factory management practices and HR systems support effective supervision?
- 3. How is the role of a supervisor interpreted and implemented within the Bangladesh Labour Law, particularly in terms of hiring, firing, and labour dispute resolution?
- 4. What implications arise if supervisors are not classified as 'workers', especially regarding benefits, representation of interests, unionization, and social protection?
- 5. What career trajectories are available for supervisors, and what are the expectations and challenges, especially for women, in these roles?

2.3 Literature Review

Research on Bangladesh's RMG industry often overlooks the pivotal role of supervisors in factory settings. However, supervision plays a critical role in ensuring effective communication, coordination, and control in manufacturing organisations (Senker, 1994). Studying the role of supervisors in Bangladesh's RMG industry is crucial for improving working conditions, ensuring compliance with labour laws and international standards, and promoting better governance in the sector (Hassan, 2021; ILO, 2015; Mahmood et al., 2021). Supervisors play a vital role in ensuring that workers are treated fairly, and their rights are protected. They need to have a combination of technical, administrative, problem-solving, interpersonal, and human relations skills to manage their subordinates effectively and efficiently (Swazan & Das, 2022). Supervisors in the RMG industry in Bangladesh need to possess essential skills that enable them to plan, organise, coordinate, monitor, and evaluate the work of their subordinates. These skills include technical skills such as knowledge of production processes, quality standards, and machinery operation; administrative skills such as budgeting, scheduling, and record-keeping; and problem-solving skills such as identifying and resolving issues related to production, quality, and workers' grievances (Swazan & Das, 2022).

However, possessing technical and administrative skills alone is not enough to ensure a productive and harmonious work environment in the RMG industry. Supervisors also need to have interpersonal skills and human relations skills that enable them to communicate effectively, motivate and inspire their subordinates, manage conflicts and diversity, and foster teamwork and collaboration among workers. These skills are key to the future of the industry. Creating opportunities and jobs that fit women's needs and aspirations is a priority to keep the industry competitive and retain workers. By developing interpersonal skills, supervisors can create a positive organisational climate that enhances workers' satisfaction, loyalty, and performance (Rahman, 2022). Building a culture of Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) is also a major challenge for the RMG sector. Efforts are therefore underway, supported by ILO, to reinforce the capacity of workers, supervisors, and managers in the sector to improve the safety of their workplaces (ILO, 2015).

Overall, studying the role of supervisors in the RMG industry is crucial for improving working conditions, ensuring compliance with labour laws and international standards, and promoting better governance in the sector (Mahmood et al., 2021). Supervisors need to possess a combination of technical, administrative, problem-solving, interpersonal, and human relations skills to manage their subordinates effectively and efficiently. Senker (1994) emphasises the importance of training and development opportunities for supervisors to provide them with the necessary skills and knowledge to effectively manage workers and improve productivity. By developing these skills, supervisors can contribute to the growth and development of the RMG industry and the empowerment of its workers.

From a gender perspective, the role of female supervisors in the Bangladesh RMG industry has been a topic of interest in recent years. Studies have shown that hiring more female supervisors can have several benefits, including a better understanding of women workers and their needs (International Finance Corporation, 2022; Better Work Bangladesh, 2020). Female supervisors have also been found to be effective in teaching, communicating, and rectifying mistakes in the workplace (Macchiavello et al., 2020). However, it is important to balance the importance of male and female supervisors in the cultural context of Bangladesh

(ILO 2017).

The imbalances of power that underscore gender inequalities also intersect with additional hierarchies within the factory setting, particularly between workers and their management, as well as among workers based on factors like seniority or constructed bonds (Dannecker, 2000; Huq, 2019; Kabeer, 2015). Female workers in the garment industry face an underrepresentation in supervisory roles, primarily attributed to the absence of training for relevant skills, support from management, and observable instances of women occupying leadership positions (Afros, 2023; Islam & Jantan, 2017; Naeem & Woodruff, 2015; Woodruff & Williams, 2019). Efforts are being made to address the gender imbalance in supervisory and management positions in the RMG industry, such as the IFC-led Gender Equality in Bangladesh's Garment Sector program, which aims to promote gender equality and enhance access to supervisory training and promotion for women workers (International Finance Corporation, 2022).

An unexplored area is the potential effect of supervisors on women garment workers' empowerment. The study by Macchiavello et al. (2014) found that female trainees in the Bangladeshi garment sector no longer underperformed their male counterparts after receiving managerial training. The study also found that female trainees were more effective in improving productivity and quality of work than male trainees. Additionally, the study found that exposing garment factory workers and supervisors to women co-supervisors increased the likelihood of promoting women to management positions. These findings suggest that promoting women to managerial roles and providing them with training opportunities can have a positive impact on productivity, less cases of gender-based violence and harassment, quality of work, and the lives of female workers in the Bangladeshi garment sector.

The study by Macchiavello et al. (2020) delves into the challenges faced by women seeking supervisory positions, highlighting gender inequality and the lack of leadership roles in the RMG industry. The study found that the training program led to an increase in the number of women promoted to supervisory roles and improved the productivity of the factories. The study also found that female supervisors were more effective in improving productivity and quality of work than male supervisors. The results suggest that promoting women to managerial roles and providing them with training opportunities can have a positive impact on productivity, quality of work, and the lives of female workers in the Bangladeshi garment sector.

Gender equality and women empowerment are crucial aspects that needs to be addressed in the RMG industry. Hiring more female supervisors can lead to a better understanding of women workers' needs and improve communication and rectification of mistakes in the workplace. Promoting women to managerial roles and providing them with training opportunities can have a positive impact on productivity, quality of work, and the lives of female workers. Efforts should be made to reinforcing the need to create supervisory positions that are suitable for women and an overall alternative career path that allows them to grow on the factory floor. If the current supervisory roles lack a lot of protection, they do not fit women's needs and aspirations, as such it is important to promote them, but more important to promote them into roles that are good for them and where they will stay.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

The effective functioning of supervisors in the RMG sector is pivotal for fostering growth of the sector. It is essential to research the supervisory function in Bangladesh's RMG industry in order to enhance working conditions, guarantee adherence to labour laws and international norms, and advance improved sector governance (Mahmood et al.2021). These are the issues that are important for the sustainability of the RMG industry (See Figure 1). This conceptual framework dissects their role through three theoretical lenses: Henri Fayol's (1916) management functions, Naila Kabeer's (1999) women empowerment framework, and the ILO's decent work model. These models provide a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted responsibilities and impacts of functional supervisors.

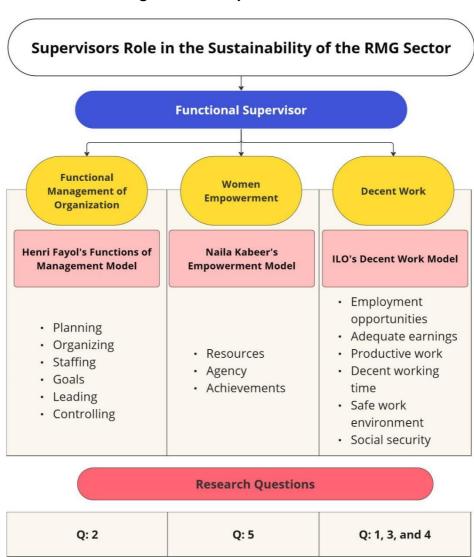


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

Henri Fayol's model of management is foundational in understanding the role of supervisors, encompassing four essential functions: planning, organizing, leading, and controlling. As Bateman and Snell (2013) elaborate, planning involves systematic decision-making about the organization's goals and strategies, considering both internal dynamics and external market

environments. Organizing is about structuring resources and activities efficiently to meet these goals. Leading goes beyond mere management to inspire and engage employees, fostering a high-performance culture. Lastly, controlling ensures that organizational activities are aligned with the set objectives, necessitating ongoing evaluation and adjustment (Lloyd & Aho, 2020). These functions are crucial in the context of the RMG sector, where supervisors navigate complex production demands and workforce dynamics.

Naila Kabeer's empowerment framework is critical in understanding the role of supervisors in promoting gender equity in the workplace. Empowerment, as Kabeer (1999) posits, is the process enabling women to make significant life choices previously inaccessible. It involves three interlinked dimensions: access to resources (material, human, social), agency (the intrinsic capability to define and pursue goals), and achievements (realizing desired outcomes). Supervisors play a key role in facilitating these dimensions by creating an environment where female workers have access to resources, can exercise agency, and achieve their professional and personal goals.

The ILO's decent work model emphasizes the importance of creating jobs that are productive and deliver a fair income, security in the workplace, and social protection for families. This framework, encompassing rights at work, social protection, and social dialogue, is vital in ensuring a sustainable and equitable working environment in the RMG sector. Supervisors, as the linchpin between management and the workforce, are instrumental in implementing these principles. They are responsible for ensuring that labour practices adhere to international standards and local regulations, thereby contributing to the broader goals of sustainability and worker welfare.

2.5 Importance of the Study

This study underscores the significant impact of supervisory behaviour on employee satisfaction and motivation in the Bangladesh RMG industry, as highlighted by various research (Falcione et al., 1977; Teas, 1983; Miles et al., 1996; Griffin et al., 2001; Mathieu et al., 2016; Syed & Mahmud, 2022). The role of supervisors extends beyond tasks of delegation; it encompasses motivating workers and ensuring that production targets are met effectively. This highlights the necessity for targeted and contextual training for supervisors, a gap noted in current research, especially within the RMG sector in Bangladesh.

As already mentioned, gender dynamics also play a crucial role in supervisor-worker interactions. Studies indicate that gender equality in the workplace leads to more effective communication and mutual understanding, thereby contributing to sectoral and economic growth that benefits all employees, regardless of gender (ILO, 2020; UN Women Bangladesh & ILO, 2020). Addressing this aspect is vital for promoting an inclusive and productive work environment.

Additionally, there is a recognized skills gap in management, technical, and fashion skills within the South and South-East Asian garment industry, including Bangladesh (USAID, 2005; Frederick & Staritz, 2012; Lopez-Acevedo & Robertson, 2012; Yusuf, 2013; Chang et al., 2016). Weak capabilities among mid-level managers can result in suboptimal workflow and reduced productivity. Therefore, enhancing the skills of supervisors, who form the backbone of mid-level management, is essential for improving engineering processes, workflow optimization, and overall productivity (Technopak, 2013; Woodruff, 2014).

This literature review illuminates the crucial role of supervisors in the RMG sector in Bangladesh. Positive supervisory behaviour is linked to greater work satisfaction, emphasizing their impact on worker well-being and commitment. Effective training that encompasses technical, administrative, problem-solving, and interpersonal skills is paramount for supervisors. Furthermore, the ambiguity in the legal framework concerning the roles and responsibilities of supervisors necessitates a re-evaluation to clearly define and distinguish their functions from managerial roles.

3 Methodology

This study integrated a mixed-method approach, combining quantitative and qualitative research to holistically assess the role of supervisors in Bangladesh's RMG sector, focusing on their impact on women's empowerment and gender equity. A combination of qualitative and quantitative data produced a more comprehensive analysis and complemented each other (Creswell, Fetters, and Ivankova, 2004). Under the quantitative method, data was collected through a survey. The qualitative method included focus group discussions (FGD) and key informant interviews (KII). The rationale behind the mixed-method approach was that each method complemented the other. Whereas the quantitative method through the survey provided an opportunity for statistical analysis, the qualitative study offered an in-depth analysis and a better understanding of the role and problems. The advantage of the mixed method was to find out whether the survey findings coincided or contrasted with the findings of FGD and KII. Finding similarities between the survey and FGD/KII assured the validity of existing findings, while parallels and disagreements added a new dimension to the study, which was crucial for analysis. These methods are in line with our research objectives: examining organization management, women empowerment, and decent work in the context of RMG sector supervision. A detailed explanation of the research approach provided below reflected how these three areas aligned with the goal of this study.

3.1 Research Approach

The study was divided into three distinct yet interconnected approaches:

Identifying the Supervisor's Role:

Despite the recognized importance of the RMG sector in Bangladesh's economic development, there remains a lack of comprehensive research on the role of supervisors. It is imperative to outline the activities of the group: the legal context, collect, file, and use real-life reflections on supervisors in Bangladesh's RMG sector. Specifically, this study aims to delineate their functions, responsibilities, and challenges within the legal framework of the Bangladesh Labour Law (BLA). Key areas of investigation include:

- Definitions and distinctions among various roles within the RMG sector as per BLA.
- Analysis of the tasks of supervisor.
- Interpretations of the 'supervisor' role in BLA and the extent of their authority and HR responsibilities.
- Evaluation of the required skills, educational qualifications, technical expertise, and interpersonal competencies for supervisors.

Assessing Impact on Women's Empowerment:

The second approach is to explore assessing the effect of the supervisor's work on Women's Empowerment in the RMG factories. In order to ascertain this, the research work included a detailed section on the workplace culture, benefits, challenges and motivation of the supervisory duties. The findings help to highlight the discrimination faced by the women supervisors in the factories and potential strategies to enhance their participation. In line with

the proposed research questions, and following Women Empowerment model of the existing literature, the study has listed the following scope of study under this focus. It explores the challenges and opportunities for women in supervisory roles, examining:

- Obstacles faced by women in becoming supervisors.
- Comparisons in salary structure and benefits between male and female supervisors.
- Observations on adherence to orders and respect for authority among workers towards female supervisors.

Evaluating Decent Work Practices:

The third research approach is to evaluate the practice of decent work in the job of supervising. In line with the proposed research questions, and following Decent Work model, the study has listed the following scope of study under this focus:

- The range of benefits available to supervisors, including childcare, health facilities, and social protection measures.
- Union representation or alternative means of interest representation for supervisors.
- Career trajectories and motivations for becoming a supervisor, including potential challenges for line managers and lower management positions.

Table 1: Mixed method approach

Research Questions	Factors to be examined	Source
Definitions	Employer, Employees, Staff and Management, owner, supervisor, and worker	Secondary Source Bangladesh Labour Law
Tasks of Supervisor	Tasks of Supervisor Key responsibilities according to the law and practice	
Education and Skill Requirements	School level, vocational training and required technical, interpersonal skills	Klls, Survey
Managerial Power of Supervisor HR management authority; dealing with workers; dealing with superiors		Klls, FGD, Survey
Benefits of Supervisor	Benefits of Supervisor Availing and lacking	
Career Prospects	Background story, Expectations, career growth prospect	Klls, Surveys, FGD
Challenges	Faced in the workplace	KIIs, FGD, Survey
Gender Equality	Specific obstacles, and discrimination faced by the women supervisors	KIIs, Surveys, FGD, secondary sources
Country Comparison	Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, and Vietnam	Secondary sources

3.2 Quantitative Study

In the quantitative study, we targeted supervisors in garment factories for our survey. Given that the total population of supervisors was unknown, we aimed for a minimum sample size of 400 respondents. This sample size was chosen to ensure a 5% margin of error and a 95% confidence level, as suggested by Cochran (1997). The survey was conducted across three districts within the Dhaka Division: Dhaka, Gazipur, and Narayanganj. The distribution of respondents across these districts was as follows: Dhaka (164), Gazipur (163), and Narayanganj (94). We defined small factories as less than 500 workers in a factory, medium as between 500 and 2500 workers, and large factories referred having >2500 workers. We used a male-to-female ratio of 60:40 for our target respondents, based on the assumption that there are more male supervisors than female ones. The survey comprised a comprehensive questionnaire, designed to provide an empirical understanding of the research focus.

Our study primarily adopted an exploratory approach. The findings are predominantly presented in a descriptive manner, with correlation reports included in the appendix. However, it is important to clarify that these findings do not imply causation. They merely reflect the observed patterns and trends within the data.

Districts Sample Size Dhaka (37.5%) 164 Gazipur (37.5%) 163 Narayangani (25%) 94 Total 421 Gender (%) 59.86 40.14 0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100% MaleFemale

Table 2: Sample distribution

Prior to the survey, the team conducted a pilot study by reaching out to four supervisors, one factory manager and conversed with them to understand their viewpoints on the above-mentioned issues. This helped the researchers to design a comprehensive questionnaire. The survey was carried out for ten days since 8 September 2023.

3.2.1 Data Collection

For this study, the data was collected using Kobo software installed in the mobiles of the experienced trained enumerators. A team of eleven enumerators was provided rigorous training along with a practical demonstration session of the survey. The team was formed based on their experience of not just collecting data, but also their familiarity in collecting data

from respondents working in the garments factory. Given the time constraint, it was imperative that the enumerators can take responsibility on their own and have prior knowledge working with Kobo Toolkit. A field coordinator was assigned to coordinate the enumerators. Three teams were formed and the task of collecting data was divided across the selected districts. The enumerators identified focal persons in the selected regions and reached out to them; however, the data team faced numerous challenges. Although there is extensive research work on the garment workers, survey conducted concerning supervisors are still scarce. There is also the added challenge of gaining access to the factories. It was difficult for the enumerators to find supervisors. Usually, under each supervisor there are 15-20 workers. Given the sparse number of supervisors coupled with problems related to gaining access to the factories, the enumerators had to conduct surveys outside the factories and either after their work hour (after 7 PM), early in the morning (before 8 am), or on the weekends. Notwithstanding all the challenges, the research team surveyed 421 supervisors in a two-week survey period in total across gender wise, size wise, region wise distribution.

3.3 Qualitative Study

For the qualitative part, two approaches were undertaken: Key Informant Interviews (KII) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). The main objectives were to identify common themes, challenges, and recommendations on supervisors' employment and to apply international policy recommendations relevant to the Bangladesh context. 16 KIIs were conducted for an in-depth understanding, involving stakeholders like supervisors, mid-level managers, unions, workers, government officials, buyers, researchers, trade associations, and labour lawyers.

Table 3: Description of Klls

KIIs	#	Nature of Interview	Information sought
Buyer	2	In-person	Audit experiences and legal framework
Factory Managerial Staff	5	Virtual & in-person	Recruitment process, benefits, and legal issue
Lawyer	1	In-person	Legal framework and labour court experiences
Union Federation Members	2	In-person	Legal framework and labour court experiences
Supervisors	2	In-person	Work experiences
BGMEA	1	In-person	Recruitment process, benefits, and legal issue
Development Partner	1	Virtual	Benefits, audit experiences and legal issue
Labor Inspectors from DIFE	2	In-person	Legal framework and audit experiences
Total	16		

Additionally, two FGDs were arranged in Gazipur, inviting 18 supervisors to discuss key themes pertinent to the study. Gazipur was chosen due to its central location for the majority

of discussants.

Table 4: Profile of FGDs

Schedule	Nature of participants	# of respondents	Location	Information sought	
22 September 2023	Production Supervisors	11 Male 7 Female	Gazipur	Factory experiences	

The qualitative understanding complemented the quantitative analysis, providing a rigorous and comprehensive examination of the roles of supervisors and the challenges faced by female supervisors. The study also assessed whether the empirical findings corroborated the information collected from KIIs and FGDs. Credible secondary sources were consulted to support the research, and a country comparison of supervisors was also included. The data collection plan was executed through this mixed-method approach.

3.4 Socio-economic Characteristics of Respondents

In terms of age distribution, the median age of the surveyed supervisors falls within the 20 to 29 years range. A massive portion, around 40%, is within the 30 to 39 years age group. Notably, a majority of the female supervisors, approximately 89%, are aged between 20 to 39 years.

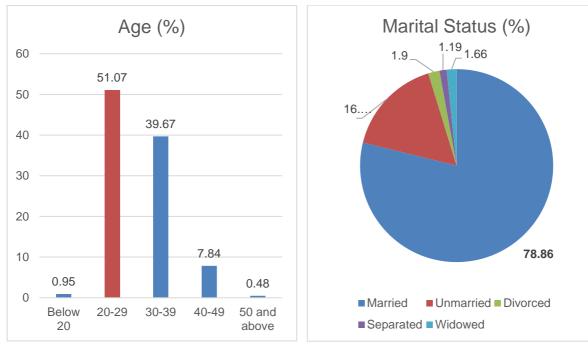


Figure 2: Respondent's Age & Marital Status

Looking at marital status and family, about 79% of the supervisors are married, with the majority having one child. However, it is interesting to note that approximately 34% of the married survey respondents do not have any children.

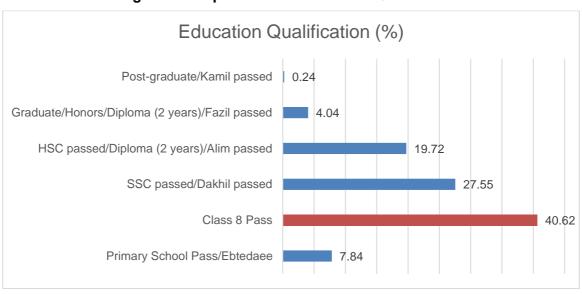


Figure 3: Respondent's Educational Qualification

The educational qualifications, as presented in Figure 3, of the supervisors vary. The largest group, 40.62%, has completed up to Class 8. Following this, 27.55% have passed the SSC/Dakhil exams. A notable 19.72% have completed their HSC/Alim or a 2-year diploma. Only a small fraction, 4.04%, have attained Graduate/Honors degrees, and an even smaller percentage, 0.24%, have post-graduate degrees.

97.86% 2.14%

■ Yes ■ No

Figure 4: Were you a production worker before you became a supervisor?

Almost every respondent (98%) had prior experience in working as production worker in garments factory (Figure 4). This helped us to evaluate the difference of their income level before and after becoming supervisors as well as changes observed in their daily life. Moreover, most of the respondents live with 3-4 members in their households.

Table 5: Who is the household head?

Freq. Percent Cum. Respondent 163 38.72 38.72 106 25.18 63.90 Spouse Father 121 28.74 92.64 Mother 14 3.33 95.96 In-laws 0.71 3 96.67 Brother 10 2.38 99.05 Sister 1 0.24 99.29 Others 3 0.71 100.00 Total 421 100.00

Table 6: Number of children

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	153	36.34	36.34
2	102	24.23	60.57
3	28	6.65	67.22
4	4	0.95	68.17
None	134	31.83	100
Total	421	100.00	

The household dynamics of the supervisors reveal that they predominantly live in households with 3-4 members. In terms of household leadership, 38.72% are the heads of their households. This is followed by those whose spouses, 25.18%, or fathers, 28.74%, are the household heads.

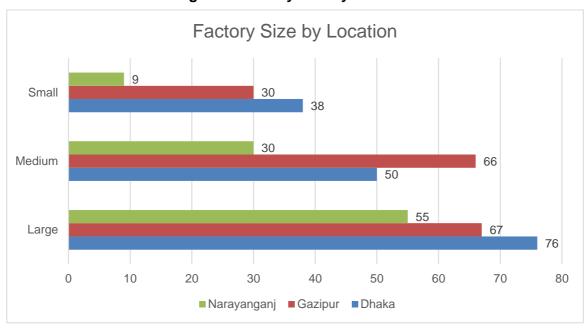


Figure 5: Factory Size by Location

The supervisors are mainly employed in large, 47.03%, and medium-sized, 34.68%, factories illustrated in Figure 6. The study covered supervisors working primarily in Knit, 48.5%, and Woven, 36.10%, types of factories.

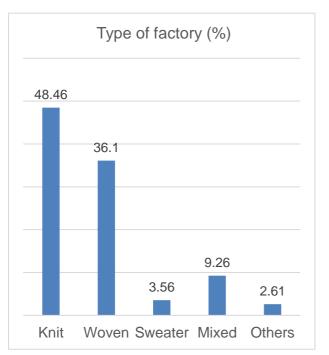
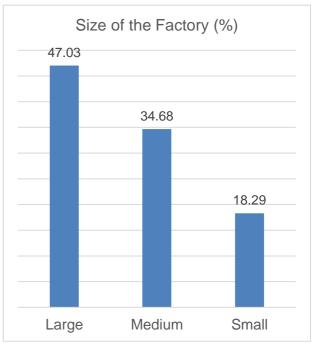


Figure 6: Factory Type & Size



From figure 6, it is evident the enumerators covered supervisors working mainly in Knit (48.5 percent) and Woven (36.10%). However, the study did not focus on any specific type of factories. Hence, it is reasonable to proceed with having observations skewed towards two particular types of factories.

4 Upward Mobility: From Operator to Supervisor

Back in the 80s during the advent of the garments industry in Bangladesh, 130 workers from Desh Garments went to the South Korean company Daewoo to learn about RMG production. There, they learned about the production process. Among these workers were two groups. The worker groups learned about the production process and another group were taught how to manage those workers and how to essentially supervise them. It was from here that it was established that the person who oversees the work of production worker are called supervisors. However, during the nineties, when the first minimum wage gazette was formulated, the official formal wording "Line in-charge" was established. While the RMG industry has evolved over the time, the size of the factory has become larger, and several positions have come into existence. The current organogram presents a variety of positions which were mostly missing in the early days.

Figure 7: RMG Organogram



The organogram of a typical RMG factory's production floor delineates a hierarchical structure that begins with the 'Helper' at the most basic level. Helpers are usually responsible for assisting the 'Operators,' who are skilled workers overseeing specific machinery or tasks. There can be junior and senior operator. Above the Operators are Supervisors,' 'Supervisors' who oversee the production line and managing the workforce. There can be Assistant Supervisors who function as intermediaries, aiding the 'Supervisors' The next tier consists of the 'Line Chief' or"'Line Manager,' who is accountable for the overall operation and productivity of a particular line. Overseeing multiple lines, the 'Floor In-charge,' ' Floor Chief,' or ' Floor Manager,' holds a more macro-level responsibility. Subsequently, the 'Production Manager' is responsible for the entire production process and reports to the 'General Manager,' who holds the highest authority on the production floor.

According to the production organogram, supervisor holds the position to function as a bridge between production worker and management. As the literature explained in literature review, supervisor is a crucial position in the garment industry who directly works with hundreds of workers and oversees ensuring the quantity and quality of product. Such position also creates a space of exercising power for the supervisor. This section describes the process of recruitment of supervisors.

4.1 Work Experience to be a Supervisor

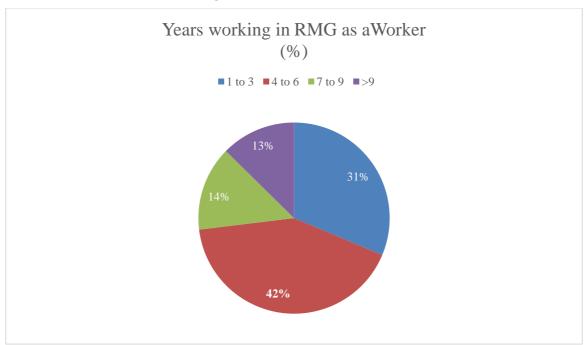
The data reveals that the most common durations of work experience are 4 and 5 years, represented by 16.75% and 15.05% of the sample, respectively. The average working years in positions below supervisor was found to be 5.5 years, however, one of the supervisors participated in the FGDs asserted:

"There are no rules in the factory in terms of minimum experience as a worker."

Table 7: Average tenure of worker

	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Years Working in positions below supervisor	412	5.511	3.801	0	31

Figure 8: Tenure as Worker



The diverse range of experiences, highlighted by the standard deviation of 3.801 years, suggests that factors other than tenure play a significant role in this career progression. This variation could be attributed to differences in individual capabilities, factory-specific policies, or even the urgent need for supervisors in certain situations. Moreover, the data showing a minimum tenure of zero years and a maximum of 31 years further emphasizes that while experience is valuable, there are instances where workers with relatively little experience are promoted, possibly due to their distinct skills or potential. This lack of a standardized minimum experience requirement, as pointed out by a supervisor during the FGDs, underscores the flexibility and subjective nature of promotions within the RMG sector.

4.2 Required Skills of Supervisors

When asked about receiving training, the responses reveal an almost even split among 421 respondents: 49.88% have received some form of vocational and technical training, while 50.12% have not. Following up on this question, 45% of the trained respondents were female supervisors, whereas 35% was female among those who did not receive any training.

Table 8: Have you received any training for the role of supervisor?

	Freq.	Percent	Male (%)	Female (%)
Yes	210	49.88	55.24	44.76
No	211	50.12	64.45	35.55
Total	421	100.00	59.86	40.14

Disaggregated by gender, 44 percent respondents who received training were female supervisor. Male supervisors comprised 65% of the respondents who have not received training.

Out of 210 trained supervisors, a considerable proportion have undergone 1 or 3 months of training, represented by 93 and 60 individuals, respectively. Together, these findings indicate a balanced prevalence of training for supervisor roles, with a notable variance in the length of training received.

Number of trainings

2%
5%
44%
10
29%
29%
29%

Figure 9: Number of Supervisor Training

From the FGDs of supervisors it was learned that this training referred to their working time as assistant supervisor. When the management identified a senior operator having the required qualifications for a supervisor, that senior operator started working as assistant supervisor. At that time, line chief trained assistant supervisor on the job and usually offered a salary that was similar to the wage of a senior operator. When the management was completely confident of him/her to play the role of a supervisor, the assistant supervisor started working as a supervisor with a fixed salary of a supervisor.

The participants mentioned that even if they take the offer and start working as a supervisor, they are not given supervisor ID cards. They are still officially designated as workers and are still paid the worker salary for around 6-12 months before they officially get promoted to supervisor and start receiving their higher salaries. This practice is commonplace in most factories and during that pseudo probation period they are called "Assistant Supervisors." They get paid their old operator salaries despite being excluded from overtime and having increased working hours. The management justifies this action by saying that it is the "Cost of Training" during the probationary period. In some cases, they are promoted without even signing the appointment letter.

4.3 Motivations

The most prominent motivation factor behind the job of supervisor is "Salary Increment," cited by 84.6% of the respondents. This is followed by "Respect" and "Career Growth," which represent 77.9% and 60.3% of the sample, respectively. Overall, Table 10 reveals a strong inclination towards monetary and social factors as key motivators. In this context, the majority of supervisors in FGDs pointed out salary as being the biggest motivator. They also feel accomplished with the promotion. Being a supervisor validates their exceptional abilities as a worker. Those who are educated are ambitious about their career progression and want to progress vertically up the chain. Getting the respect from the community meant a lot to them as one of the supervisors in the FGDs said:

"Everyone used to call me by name but now they call me 'Bhai/Apa. It's a great feeling."

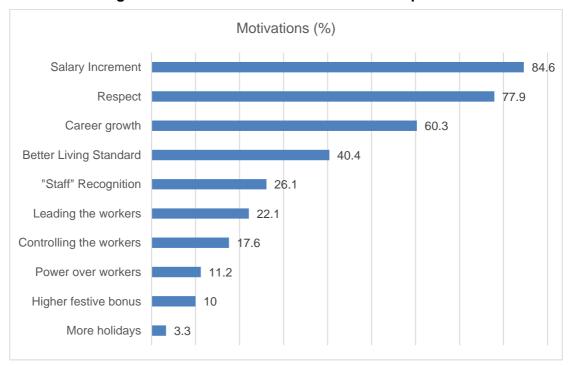


Figure 10: Main Motivations to Become a Supervisor

4.4 Hiring process

From the survey and FGDs, the study found that the first step in the process of hiring is to identify the senior operators who could be supervisors by the production manager, floor-in charge, and line-in charge. In the selection process it is particularly important to understand machines, the relationship with workers, leadership, control over workers etc. Table 9 indicates that internal referrals are quite prevalent in the supervisor hiring process. The most common sources of referral are "Floor In-charge" and "Production Manager," accounting for 33.49% and 30.40% of the sample, respectively. These two categories alone contribute to nearly 64% of all referrals, signifying the importance of departmental hierarchies in the recruitment process. On the other hand, formal channels like the "HR Department" and "General Manager" are less common, each contributing to 6.89% of the referrals.

Table 9: Hiring Referral

Who referred you for the role of supervisor?	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Floor In-charge	141	33.49	33.49
Production Manager	128	30.40	63.90
HR Department	29	6.89	70.78
General Manager	29	6.89	77.67
Line In charge	35	8.31	85.99
Line manager	1	0.24	86.22
Line chief	52	12.35	98.57
Others	6	1.43	100.00
Total	421	100.00	

In essence, the table suggests that the hiring or promotion to the role of a supervisor is often facilitated through internal departmental recommendations rather than their approach to demand for promotion or application for promotion based on meeting the certain criteria set by the upper management. The second step of hiring is to assess them by a written and/or practical test followed by an interview. During the interview the upper management such as the HR, General Manager offer a salary to them along with other facilities. The amount of salary and other benefits vary from one supervisor to another depending on their negotiation skills. In the last stage of hiring process, supervisors receive an appointment letter and job description from the upper management. The appointment letter contains of breakdown of salary and benefits whereas the job description mentions the roles and responsibilities of supervisors. The appointment letter is also used in time of dispute.

All the supervisors in FGDs unanimously replied that they were not interested in being a supervisor and they never told their higher ups that they were interested in the position. The line in-charge chose them for their overall work performance. They mentioned that there is a mental pressure, and they lack the confidence to ask for promotion from senior operator in fears of underperforming. This can be a reason to be kicked out for and therefore, they do not take the risk of taking responsibility.

4.4.1 Educational Requirements

A basic education is required for a supervisor so that he/she can draft reports. The majority of the respondents cited that their minimum qualification is the "SSC" (Secondary School Certificate), accounting for 57.72% of the sample. This is followed by "Class 8 Pass," which makes up 30.88%. Higher educational qualifications like "HSC" (Higher Secondary Certificate) and "Diploma/Degree pass/ graduate" are relatively less common, with 9.26% and 1.19% respectively. Overall, the table suggests that the educational barriers to becoming a supervisor are relatively low, with a significant concentration of respondents citing secondary education levels as sufficient. In support of the survey, the FGDs of supervisors claimed that:

"Secondary level (education) is enough."

Table 10: Minimum Qualifications

	Siz	Size of the Factory Large Medium Small			
	Large				
Do not know	0.51	2.05	0.00	0.95	
Class 8 Pass	32.83	25.34	36.36	30.88	
SSC	52.53	62.33	62.34	57.72	
HSC	12.63	8.90	1.30	9.26	
Diploma/Degree pass/ graduate	1.52	1.37	0.00	1.19	
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	

4.4.2 Assessments

Table 11 provides a comprehensive look into the assessment process for the role of a supervisor. When asked, "Did you give any assessment?", the findings reveal that a sizeable proportion of the sample, 81 %, underwent some form of assessment test for the supervisor role. This highlights the structured nature of the recruitment or promotion process, emphasizing the importance of assessments.

Table 11: Type of assessment

Type of assessments	Freq.	Percent
Practical test	73	21.41
Written	8	2.35
Viva/Interview	34	9.97
Practical and written	24	7.04
Written and Viva	8	2.35
Practical and Viva	169	49.56
All	25	7.33
Total	341	100.00

This table suggests that not only are assessments a common part of the supervisor selection process, but they also tend to be multi-faceted, often combining practical and verbal evaluations to gauge the suitability of candidates. As observed in Table 11, around 50 % reported that they had to take a practical and viva test in order to become a permanent supervisor. They also hint at some gender-specific trends in the types of assessments administered, for instance, out of those who went through assessment 61% females gave both practical and viva as opposed to 41% male supervisors.

In summary, the journey from a worker to a supervisor within the industrial environment appears to be a multifaceted process influenced by a wide range of factors. From the requisite years of work experience and educational qualifications to the motivations driving individuals towards supervisory roles, the pathway is far from linear. The preceding tables analysed demonstrate that while assessments and training are common, they are not across Bangladesh applied. Moreover, the referral system for these roles often relies on internal recommendations, underlining the importance of workplace relationships and departmental dynamics.

It is crucial to note that there are no hard and fast rules governing this transition. Practices can vary significantly from one factory to another, highlighting the absence of a standardized approach across the industry. Additionally, workers often find themselves in a position to negotiate with management for better salaries and benefits, reinforcing the idea that the journey to becoming a supervisor is not just a function of skills and experience but also of negotiation and leverage.

5 Working as a Supervisor: Law and Practice

The primary focus of this project is to explore the legal aspects—law and practice—of being a supervisor in RMG factories in Bangladesh. The following section attempts to unfold broadly the labour laws for the supervisors, perceived knowledge of the supervisors, law awareness and practice.

5.1 Are Supervisors Considered to be Workers or not?

A critical aspect of this study is understanding how supervisors are classified within the factory setting. Table 12 examines the perception of employment status among supervisors within a factory. A near unanimous 99.76% (420 out of 421) of supervisors are recognized as "Staff," signalling a distinct separation from the status of a "Worker." Only a single respondent, accounting for a mere 0.24% of the sample, identifies as a "Worker." This overwhelming skew towards "Staff" designation suggests that the role of a supervisor is almost universally considered to be part of the staff rather than the worker pool, highlighting the elevated status and responsibilities associated with the position.

In the factory, are you Freq. Percent Cum. recognized as staff or worker? Staff 420 99.76 99.76 1 0.24 100.00 Worker **Total** 421 100.00

Table 12: Worker or Staff Recognition

What is the justification behind their recognition as not a worker? The workers responded in the FGDs that the management consider them as production staff not worker. According to the factory management, the Bangladesh Labor Law 2006 and Labor Rules 2015 are the basis for this recognition. According to Section 2(65) BLA:

"worker" means any person including an apprentice employed in any establishment or industry, either directly or through a contractor, [by whatever name he is called,] to do any skilled, unskilled, manual, technical, trade promotional or clerical work for hire or reward, whether the terms of employment are expressed or implied, but does not include a person employed mainly in a managerial, administrative [or supervisory] capacity;

As per Section 2(65) of the BLA 2006, a worker does not include a person employed mainly in a managerial, administrative [or supervisory] capacity. The main problem of BLA 2006 is that there is no definition of these roles. It was not indicated in the BLA 2006 that what are the activities and responsibilities of manager, administrator and supervisor. If a person performs a supervisory role, he or she is not a worker, as mentioned in the BLA 2006. However, different stakeholders from both management and union said that before the introduction of Labor Rules 2015, in practice, supervisors were also regarded as worker, because of the lack of definition of supervisory roles.

The rule 2 (1) (g) of the Labour Rules 2015 describes the "**Supervising Officer**" (তদারকি কর্মকর্তা) as

"such person authorised by the owner or the managing authority in writing...who determines the target of any work and service, controls the extent of the work, the implementation activities, assesses or reviews the work, gives direction or supervises the work of any section of the factory or firm by dint of powers given to him."

"তদারকি কর্মকর্তা" অর্থ মালিক বা ব্যবস্থাপনা কর্তৃপক্ষ কর্তৃক লিখিতভাবে ক্ষমতাপ্রাপ্ত এমন কোন ব্যক্তি যিনি উক্ত ক্ষমতাবলে কারখানা বা প্রতিষ্ঠানের কোন শাখার কোন কাজের বা সেবার লক্ষ্যমাত্রা নির্ধারণ, কাজের পরিধি নিয়ন্ত্রণ, বাস্তবায়ন কার্যক্রম নিয়ন্ত্রণ, কাজের মৃল্যায়ন বা পর্যালোচনা, প্রমিকদের দিক নির্দেশনা প্রদান বা তদারকি করেন.

The factory management use this definition to recognize supervisors not as a worker. If not a worker, then the question is whether he/she is an officer or staff. This study found that supervisor is not accepted as officer. Rather they are known as staff by workers and factory management. Is it right? To find out we talked with a labour court lawyer who shared the following views.

"The Labor Act does not define the term "staff," although it has been referred to in the Labor Act multiple times i.e., nursing staff, ward staff, security staff and fire-fighting staff. In light of these references the term "staff" can be defined as an individual who is employed by an organization, business, institution or company to perform various tasks and responsibilities to support the organization's operations. Staff members typically hold non-managerial roles and are responsible for carrying out the day-to-day functions and duties necessary for the organization. Staff can include a wide range of employees with different job titles and functions, such as administrative assistants, clerk, and other non-managerial positions. In light of the definition of "staff" it is unlikely that a supervisor can be categorized as a "staff", as a supervisor's role is more to supervise the team operating under his control. On the other hand, in practice the role of a staff includes administrative assistants, clerk, technician and other non-managerial positions.

Again, BLA does not define the term "officer," generally it refers to individuals who hold formal positions of authority or responsibility within an organization, government, or institution. They are typically appointed, elected, or designated to perform specific duties within their respective role. In practice the role of an "officer" is wide depending on the nature of the business/organization it may include but not limited to supervisory, administrative, and managerial roles. Thereby, a supervisor can be categorized as an "officer" however an officer could be a worker or employee depending on the nature of his/her role at the respective workplace."

A senior government inspector further added that in schedule B of the minimum wage, there is no category of supervisor in the list of staff for the RMG sector. Since there is no legal definition of staff and officer, we cannot say for certain that supervisor is a staff or officer.

Another crucial point is that a supervisor is not a worker as per section 2(65) when the owner gives power to the supervisor to set target, control the amount of work, inspect quality, implement target, and monitor workers. This power must be given in writing. Such authority could be written in the contract or appointment letter of supervisor. The supervisors are supposed to practise according to the written authoritative provisions. In align with these provisions, in reality, supervisor is accepted as staff by workers and factory management but

not by worker federation leaders and the government inspector. They are not recognised as staff in all situations by different stakeholders for several reasons.

First, in our study as mentioned by leader of labour federation who represent supervisor in labour court, the contract or appointment letter of supervisor does not contain information on power given by the owner to do the activities stated in Labor Rules 2015 - the power to set target, control work etc. (for details see next section on roles of supervisor found in survey). All participants got the appointment letter. In the letter the rules of the factory were mentioned, and they got a salary breakdown. They also received information regarding work hours. When asked if it included roles mentioned in the "Supervising Officer" definition of the labour law, the majority responses were negative. There was no mention of the ability to set targets. There was also no mention of quality inspection or about hiring firing abilities. It did mention that they have to do whatever the management asks of them, which includes taking the place of workers. The appointment letter had no mention of the ability of granting leave as well (For details please see three appointment letters attached in annexe).

Second, some factories, mainly large and leading companies, provide appointment letters with a job description that states the activities of tasks as per Labor Rules. According to a HR staff of a factory, "When we give the appointment letter, all the responsibilities and duties mentioned in the document are in line with the "Supervising Officer" definition." However, the survey findings found that their major responsibilities were not always in align with the tasks written in the labour rules for supervising officer.

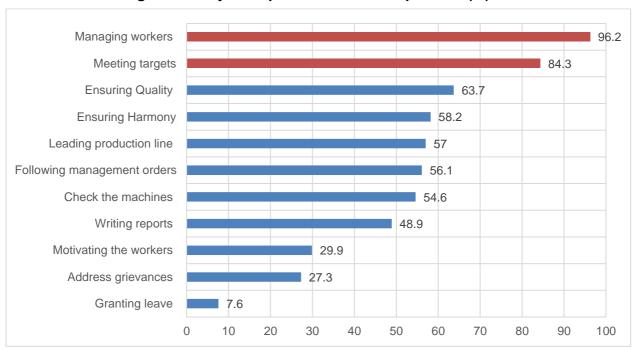


Figure 11: Major Responsibilities of a supervisor (%)

As depicted in Figure 11, the overwhelming majority, 96.2%, indicate that "Managing Workers" is a key responsibility, underscoring the management nature of the role. "Ensuring Daily Production Target" and "Ensuring the Quality of the Product" are also highly cited, at 84.3% and 63.7%, respectively, highlighting the importance of productivity and quality control in the supervisor's scope of work.

Other key responsibilities like "Ensuring Harmony in the Production Line" and "Leading the Production Line" are acknowledged by around 58% of respondents, emphasizing the need for a harmonious workplace and leadership. Less frequent but still significant are tasks like "Writing Reports" (48.9%) and "Motivating the Workers" (29.9%).

Table 13: Can you exercise the power of Hiring/Firing of workers in your line?

	Hiring		Fi	ring
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Yes	96	22.8	12	2.85
No	325	77.2	409	97.15
Total	421	100	421	100

Table 13 provides a comparative overview of the hiring and firing capabilities of supervisors in a factory setting. The first section, "Hiring", reveals that only a minority of supervisors (22.8% out of 421 respondents) have the authority to hire workers. The overwhelming majority, 77.2%, do not have this power, indicating that the hiring process is likely centralized or controlled by another department or higher-level management. The second section, "Firing", shows an even more restricted scope of authority when it comes to termination. A mere 2.85% of supervisors have the authority to fire workers, while a staggering 97.15% do not. This suggests that the power to terminate employment is highly centralized and is rarely delegated to the supervisor's level.

The above findings highlight the limited role supervisors play in staffing decisions. While they may have a wide array of responsibilities, ranging from managing workers to ensuring production targets, their authority in hiring and firing is significantly constrained. This could imply that while supervisors are expected to manage day-to-day operations and personnel, key staffing decisions are typically outside their purview, likely residing with higher management or specialized HR departments. Overall, the findings paint a picture of supervisors as multi-skilled individuals responsible for a wide array of tasks, from workers management and production oversight to quality control and report writing. However, many supervisors do not perform all duties written in the Labor Rules 2015 defined as supervising officer.

Third, furthermore, in practical terms, it is evident that certain tasks of the supervisory roles may be beyond their capabilities. Some factories' HR departments have even acknowledged that the supervisors do not complete the established targets. The widespread practice of setting targets in the Bangladesh RMG industry is, as shared by the upper management of the factory, decided by the planning department and sometimes with consultation of production manager and staff of Industrial Engineer. Then they instruct the supervisor to fulfil the target. A legal expert on labour, representing a business association, also supported this claim saying,

"Does a supervisor fix production targets or do other things? Who is responsible for fixing targets? Supervisors set the line in collaboration with the line chief and the floor in-charge. They make combined decisions on how many workers are needed and who does what. But they all do this in consultation of the Production Manager."

A similar view was also expressed in the FGDs who argued that IE (industrial engineers) sets the targets. They take into account the number of manpower and then determine targets. With more workforce they put higher targets and vice versa. The daily production targets are written on a board of a line. The urgency of shipments is also taken into account while setting targets. The supervisors have no influence on this.

Table 14: Appointment letter

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Received	401	95.25	95.25
Not received	20	4.75	100.00
Total	421	100.00	

Fourth, we find that out of 421 respondents, 401 (95.25%) received an appointment letter. We collected appointment letters from three factories along with job descriptions and we found that only one was in line with the Labor Rules. Furthermore, the appointment letters often lacked comprehensive details about the supervisor's job benefits, particularly regarding service benefits after retirement or termination, which can contribute to disputes.

The service rule consists of the rights and benefits of the workers, leave entitlements, code of conduct. The service rules also contain all the salary benefits and all other policies that will govern a company. Even though it mentioned workers, it is applicable for all including supervisor in garment factory. According to a senior government inspector,

"The article 3 of the labour act talks about the service rules. The first and second clause mentions that the organization has the right to make service rules. While doing this, it needs to be approved by the labour department. While approving, DIFE will look at whether one has ensured the laws and entitlements in the minimum law. You can have more facilities but not less. If you give less facilities, the application will be rejected. For the approval, the company needs to press DIFE and if DIFE finds everything appropriate, then it is approved. This is the benchmark of what kind of rights and benefits the workers will receive."

When a garment factory prepares appointment letters or contractual agreements with supervisors, it is expected to ensure that supervisors receive the minimum facilities outlined in the service rules. The factory may offer more than what is included in the service rules, but it should not provide less than that the minimum specified.

However, the key problem is most of the factories do not get approval of service rule from the Department of Inspection for Factories and Establishments (DIFE). For this both government and factories are responsible. On the one hand, due to lack of manpower, DIFE cannot send inspector to factories to check service rule. On the other hand, not all factories have service rule as there is no monitoring from the government. After the revival of DIFE since the Rana Plaza tragedy, the main responsibility of this inspection department has been to ensure building safety. In this context a senior inspector said, "Majority of the factory do not submit

service rules but just claim that they are just following the labour rules. Hence not much can be done without inspection." Some HR staff of garment factories supported this claim by saying that in terms of approval, the norm is that the service rules need to be approved by DIFE. Despite this the respondents mentioned that they never saw this approval process. They furthermore explained that the local labour inspectors do not come and verify either. Without an approved service rules from DIFE, it creates an opportunity to avoid the rights of supervisor when they are not treated as workers. The supervisors receive appointment letters, which contain the rights written in the service rule of a company.

Fifth, although the factory management treats supervisor as management or production staff, in most of the cases, labour court categorizes them as worker. A lawyer provided an explanation of what holds significance for the Labour Court as follows:

"The judiciary looks at the nature of the appointment, not just the title. Even if you are a CEO, if you don't have the independence and decision-making power in practice, the court will say you are not CEO. It does not matter what title you give in the appointment letter. You might engage someone as a supervisor, but if they do not have any supervisory roles as per the law – which is often the case in Bangladesh – they're not truly supervisors. They might not have any real power. The real test is what they do in practice. You cannot just label someone a supervisor or manager. The court will look at their day-to-day activities and job description."

The key factor is whether the tasks outlined in the appointment letter are actually carried outby the supervisor. A federation leader representing a supervisor in labour court also supported the view of the lawyer and explained,

"I have seen a lot of cases over the years where the owners claim under oath that somebody is a supervising officer, but the owners are unable to provide documents in court that prove that said person falls under the supervising role. So, the court rules as per the provisions for a worker."

If one can prove that the powers are either not documented or are provided in written form but the not practiced, the case is accepted in labour court that of a worker. In this context a court case is provided below. This problem was also noticed by a compliant officer of a buyer who audit workers in factories. According to this auditor,

"Why are they able to go to labour court? It is because they are counted as workers over there as per the definition in the law. Otherwise, they would need to go to civil court. But when the factories appoint them, they appoint them as staff hence the confusion is created."

Sixth, apart from the definition of supervisory role, there are other ways to determine the designation of supervisor, as practiced by different factories. In interviews with factory management, some mentioned that they consider supervisors as staff due to their fixed salary and the absence of overtime pay. These two benefits distinguish workers, as workers' wages fluctuate based on the overtime hours they accumulate each month. Consequently, because factory management provides supervisors with a consistent monthly salary without overtime, they are not classified as workers.

A Supervisor Case in the Labor Court

In 2001, Mr. Hoq embarked on a commendable journey as a cutting supervisor with a garment factory. Over 16 years, he diligently served the company, building a reputable track record. However, 2017 marked a turning point. Due to pressing family issues, Mr. Hoq felt compelled to resign. Given his long-standing service, he was legally entitled to a compensation of Tk 136,000 as per section 27 of the labour law. Yet, when he approached the company for his dues, he encountered resistance.

The garments factory's management, the defendants in this case, presented a counterargument. They classified Mr. Hoq as a "তদারকি কর্মকর্তা" (Supervising Officer). Drawing from section 132 of the 2006 labour law, they posited that Mr. Hoq, with his alleged managerial or administrative privileges, was exempt from such compensation. To bolster their stance, they produced testimonies and two set documents, which showcased Mr. Hoq sanctioning leave for a worker, implying he held managerial powers.

The crux of the legal dispute revolved around the nuanced definitions within the labour law of 2006, specifically the distinction between a worker and a managerial employee as laid out in sections 2(49) and 2(65). The pivotal question was: Does sanctioning leave equate to wielding managerial or administrative power?

The court, after meticulous examination, ruled in favour of Mr. Hoq. They discerned no substantial evidence indicating Mr. Hoq's involvement in financial or administrative decision-making. The mere act of recommending leave was not deemed a manifestation of managerial power.

This verdict not only ensured Mr. Hoq's rightful compensation but also set a significant precedent. For businesses like the garments factory, the ruling underscored the importance of clear role definitions and fair compensation. On a broader scale, the case illuminated the intricacies of worker rights, emphasizing the need for transparency and equity in the workplace.

The research data suggested that before the introduction of the Labour Rules in 2015 supervisors were treated as workers because a definition of the supervising role was missing. According to a federation leader who represent supervisors in labour court said, "Previously there was no differentiation between supervisor and workers and even supervisors were aware of that. It was only after 2015 when the tasks of "Todoroki kormorota" were added that they started believing that they were part of the managerial staff. As a result, on average thirty cases were lodged from 2021 to 2023 whereas before 2015 about 100 cases were received Labor Court in two to three years."

Seventh, in the new minimum wage gazette published in November 2023, we find the existence of the position of senior line leader in grade 1 and line leader in grade 2. These positions were also found in the previous minimum wage gazette. The government inspector questioned the role of line leaders in the RMG industry. In his view, line leaders in a small factory could be a supervisor and in medium and large factories line leader could be line chiefs.

Eighth, according to the definition of the supervising officer, as stated in the Labor Rules, it is not clear whether one person or more than one person receive the authority from the owner to perform the roles. According to the interpretation of a government inspector, only one person in the establishment (factory) receives the written power of supervising officer.

However, in practice, more than one person gets such authority in factory. This is another grey area of the role of supervisor.

Ninth, the key argument on supervisor is a worker is not based on the definition of supervising officer stated in Labor Rules. It is of the opinion of labour expert that since it is not defined in the original Labor Act 2006, the basis of argument does not stand as a strong way to decide on the designation of supervisor. So many amendments have been added to the BLA 2006 that the original act has become less used to verify any situation.

Additional points to be noted:

- 1. It is also not clear in the definition of supervisory role whether or not a supervisor needs to perform all the activities mentioned in rules or not. A supervisor may not set targets but monitor the job of workers. In this case, will a supervisor be treated as staff, if he/she only does one task such as monitor production? It's not clear in the rules.
- 2. After doing a supervisory role as per the law, the designation of that person might not be supervisor, but we assume his/her post as supervisor. According to a senior government inspector, in the early days of the RMG industry there were many small factories that had 10-20 machines in one line. Such type of factories still exists though in small in numbers. In these small factories, line-in-charge was/is supervising the workers of 10-20 machines where there was/is no need of a person holding the position of supervisor. In these factories line-in-charge was/is known as supervisor. When the size of the factories became larger it was not possible for line-in-charge to monitor the works of all workers under one line. Then a supervisor position was created who directly work with workers and report to line-in-charge. According to a factory management, "In a lot of small factories, you will see this case where there are no other supervisors just only a line chief. For supervisors and line-chief their work is 90% similar. Their existence just depends on the number of people on the line. Line chiefs are above supervisors and in the absence of supervisors there will only be line chief. Their main job is to get the workers ready, supervise their work, follow up on quality inspections and then communicate news from the upper management to the workers." This is another area of confusion of labour law applying supervising role.
- 3. Does a RMG supervisor fall under the Employee or Employer? As per Section 2(49) of Bangladesh Labour Act, 2006 (BLA) for the purpose of workers, "**Employer**", of an establishment means any person who employs workers therein, and also includes the following persons, namely:
 - (a) An heir, guardian, or successor in assignment or legal representative of such person;
 - (b) Manager or chief executive or any person given written responsibility for the management or control of the establishment;
 - (c) In the case of an establishment run by or under the authority of the Government, an authority appointed in this behalf or where no such authority exists, the head of the Ministry or Division concerned;
 - (d) In the case of an establishment run by or on behalf of a local authority, an officer appointed in this behalf or where no such officer exists, the Chief Executive Officer of that authority;

- (e) In the case of any other establishment, the owner of such establishment and every Director, Manager, Secretary, agent or any officer or person concerned with the management of the affairs such establishment;
- (f) In the case of an establishment under the possession of any person other than the owner, the person in possession of that establishment or the person who is in ultimate control over the affairs of the establishment or the manager or any competent officer who is connected with the management of such activities.

The term 'Employee' is not defined. Following the definition of worker in BLA 2006, workers could refer to 'blue collar' employees. It is important to note here that the term employee in practice covers both blue collar and white collar, including managers and administrators. In essence, anyone except the employer as defined under sec. 2(49) shall be an employee. DIFE could approve, in the service rule, the inclusion of blue-collar employee as those who do clerical work and while collar for doing desk work.

According to a labour court lawyer, in the RMG sector a supervisor may be categorized as an employer if he/she has given any written confirmation of his responsibility for the management or control of the establishment as per the recent amendment of section 2(49) (b) of the BLA and in essence a written confirmation of his responsibilities in the JD (job description) may be sufficient. It worth noting that the control of the establishment typically encompasses the entire organization, which is unlikely for a supervisor in the RMG sector. However, it might be possible in a small factory where supervisor usually manages and controls the factory.

It should be noted that, BLA does not define the term "supervisor" however in the absence of any written confirmation unlike section 2(49)(b) above, a supervisor either could be a worker or employee depending on his/her role. Employees are those who are not workers under section 2(65) of the BLA and mainly work in a managerial, administrative, or supervisory capacity. In addition, a supervisor simply cannot be categorized as an employee just because he/she has supervisory authority, he must have administrative and/or managerial role to be categorized as an employee.

In conclusion, echoing the lawyer,

"The interpretation of the law would be according to my interest."

This situation was created due to the lack of clarification of law. It is unfortunate that the BLA 2006 has now so many amendments that the actual law has become ineffective. Blaming the government for such situation a senior member of a trade association said,

"Against the labour law, there are more than 350 amendments, among which there are hardly any amendment related to the law. And, about 200 amendments are from the government due to the conflict between two internal groups. And all to take over the power. They desire to take over the control of inspection because from there they could earn some illegal benefits, but when we asked them about their due work, they gave excuses about not having enough manpower. Now, my question is, if you do not have enough manpower, how are you willing to take care of the effectiveness of law?"

5.2 Legal Status of Supervisors in other Countries

The Ready-Made Garment (RMG) sector in Bangladesh confronts unique challenges when it comes to the legal status and rights of supervisors. This issue is particularly pronounced when compared to countries like India, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Pakistan. To delve into these complexities, this analysis synthesizes expert opinions and corroborates them with secondary legal sources.

In Bangladesh, supervisors find themselves in a legal swamp. While labour courts categorize them as workers, factories often treat them as staff. This dual classification creates a complex landscape for supervisors, clouding their entitlements to service benefits, overtime pay, and other legal protections.

Contrast this with other countries, where the legal standing of supervisors seems to be more straightforward. An expert noted that in countries like Cambodia and Vietnam, supervisors are generally categorized as staff and are thus entitled to similar legal benefits as workers. This clarity in legal classification minimizes the challenges supervisors face in Bangladesh.

Another expert mentioned the situation in India and Sri Lanka, where the term 'supervisor' is almost non-existent in the RMG sector.

No, in India and Sri Lanka there are practically no supervisor positions in garment factory. They basically classified workers in two groups- skill worker and unskilled worker. There is minimum salary threshold for unskilled workers, however skill workers get their salaries based on level of experience and competences. In general, a highly skill workers take the responsibility for managing the line and there is a position called Production Manager who is responsible for the total production of the factory.

Instead, these countries operate with a workforce bifurcated into skilled and unskilled workers. According to the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act, 1946 of India, the classification leans heavily towards treating everyone involved in production as workers, thereby ensuring uniform labour rights.

There is practically no position called Supervisor in the factory, however everyone involved in production are considered as Workers. As per Human Resources Policythere are two types of work force in the factory- Blue Colar (Production Employee) and White Colar (Management Employee). All employees working involved in production process are Blue Colar Employees

However, it is essential to note that this classification does come with its own set of implications. For instance, being classified as staff in India disqualifies one from receiving overtime premiums, a benefit that is available to workers.

The legal status and rights of supervisors in the RMG sector vary substantially when Bangladesh is compared to countries like India, Vietnam, and Cambodia. While Bangladesh grapples with a classification ambiguity that complicates supervisors' entitlements, other countries either offer a clearer framework or eliminate the need for such a designation altogether.

Whatever employee types is legally everyone except who can make investment decisions (Director, Chairperson) are entitled to get labour rights and they are treated as labour as per Labor Law of India and Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Turkey. So, they can go to labour court, they have the right to file case against any type of discrimination, harassment, form association, bargain collectively.

This clarity or lack of ambiguity could serve as a valuable lesson for Bangladesh, indicating the need for more precise legal definitions and entitlements. Such reform could alleviate the current state of confusion and ensure a more equitable distribution of benefits and protections for supervisors.

The analysis provides valuable insights for academics and policymakers concerned with labour rights in the RMG sector. It highlights the need for further study into why particular benefits and protections are more accessible to supervisors in some countries based on their legal classification, thus offering a direction for potential policy reforms in Bangladesh.

5.3 Law Awareness and Overall Satisfaction

As already outlined, this study found a gap between the reality and perception in terms of knowledge pertaining to the legal aspects of the supervisory roles according the BLA. Given this asymmetry of information, we wanted to discern how perceived knowledge affects the overall satisfaction level of the supervisors. Here, we are not evaluating whether their perception is true or not and how it influences their work satisfaction. We are specifically looking at how their perceived awareness level lead to determining their satisfaction level regardless of the gap of their knowledge (Appendix 1B). For this analysis, we are looking at the ordinal data of overall satisfaction—Likert scale and categorical data of self-reported law awareness. We used the "Heteroskedastic ordered probit model" for our regression analysis to investigate any possible relationship between these two variables. Here, the rationale behind using this model specifically stems from the possibility of increased variation (heteroskedasticity) due to income level: reasonable to assume that overall satisfaction varies more as one's income increases, which does happen here as they are comparing themselves with their previous socio-economic status when they were working as workers in the factory.

From the regression analysis, it is evident that self-reported law awareness—perceived knowledge—tends to affect the overall satisfaction of the supervisors. Looking at the marginal effects, the change in the probability of satisfaction level from satisfied to very satisfied increases by approximately 12 % as one reports being well-informed about his or her rights.

The qualitative data gathered through FGDs and KIIs reveals several factors impacting RMG supervisors' understanding of legal rights and their overall job satisfaction. A primary concern, noted by an International Development partner, is the lack of social protection for supervisors, contrasting sharply with the benefits typically available to workers. This absence of welfare measures contributes to a sense of inequity and diminished job satisfaction among supervisors.

Moreover, as expressed by a Federation leader, supervisors face significant limitations in voicing grievances, lacking access to unions or formal complaint platforms. Formally they report complain to the production manager or upper management but do not have a grievance mechanism. Their only option is to approach higher management, which can be ineffective

and intimidating. This situation leaves supervisors in a vulnerable position, unable to address workplace issues effectively, further impacting their job satisfaction.

From the FGDs and KIIs, it is evident that supervisors, regardless of gender, are not fully aware of their legal rights. This gap in legal knowledge is especially pronounced post-retirement, when issues related to service benefits emerge due to their classification as staff. While financial motivation remains a significant driver for supervisors, the lack of comprehensive understanding of their legal entitlements suggests a need for integrated training and awareness programs.

These collective insights imply a complex relationship between law awareness and job satisfaction. The lack of social protection, limited platforms for grievance redressal, and inadequate legal awareness together contribute to a nuanced understanding of supervisors' job satisfaction in the RMG sector. Addressing these gaps through policy changes and educational initiatives could lead to more informed and satisfied supervisory staff.

6 Income and Benefits

The findings of this study shed light on the multifaceted challenges and experiences of supervisors in the Ready-Made Garments (RMG) sector, uncovering insights from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives.

The following section delves into the income distribution among RMG sector supervisors, revealing the range and disparities in their earnings and highlighting the complexities surrounding their compensation.

6.1 Income

The income distribution among supervisors in the RMG sector reveals a predominant concentration in the mid-range. Nearly 50% of the respondents reported incomes between Tk. 19,000 and Tk. 22,000, as indicated in Table 18. The next significant bracket, 16K-19K BDT, encompasses about 27% of supervisors. Notably, a smaller proportion falls into the lower income brackets, with only 0.71% earning between 10K and 13K BDT. On the higher end of the spectrum, 4.28% have incomes exceeding 25K BDT. This data suggests a central tendency in supervisor incomes around the 19K-22K BDT range, tapering off towards both lower and higher ends.

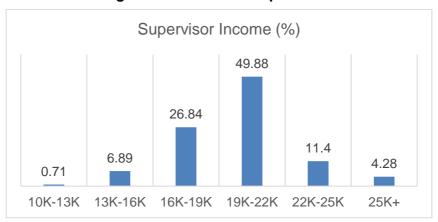


Figure 12: Income of Supervisors

Table 15 provides a summary of the average income of supervisors, which is observed to be Tk. 20,230, which notably surpasses the total compensation of the highest-paid factory workers falling under Grade 1. Grade 1 workers, encompassing roles such as Pattern Master and Chief Quality Controller, are entitled to receive a minimum total salary of 17,510 BDT (as per the old gazette), inclusive of basic pay and additional allowances. This finding is in line with the labour inspector comments on how supervisor salaries should be higher than grade 1 workers without overtime. This disparity highlights the wage gradient within the RMG industry, reflecting the additional responsibilities and managerial oversight attributed to supervisory positions. Moreover, the standard deviation in supervisors' income suggests a range of earning potential that could be linked to factors such as experience, specific duties, and individual factory policies.

Table 15: Average income of Supervisors

	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Income of Supervisors	421	Tk. 20,230.69	Tk. 2,849.30	Tk. 12,500	Tk. 30,000

It is important to note that the mean income is higher by Tk. 3,000 than the average monthly wages of supervisors found in the study of UN Women and ILO in 2017(ILO, 2017, 2020). This increment, although significant, aligns with expectations when considering annual raises and inflation adjustments over a six-year span.

From a legal standpoint, the salary structure for supervisors in the RMG sector raises several questions. The minimum wage gazette is divided into two schedules: Schedule A, detailing minimum wages for workers from Grade 1 to Grade 7, and Schedule B, which specifies the minimum wages for support staff like drivers. Legally, wages offered to positions listed in these schedules cannot fall below the specified amounts. However, supervisors are notably absent from both schedules, presenting a loophole that allows factory owners to set their salaries without legal constraints. This lack of legal protection leaves supervisors' salaries to be determined through negotiations with upper management prior to their appointment.

Focus group discussions (FGDs) with supervisors revealed that during their job interviews, typically with the Production Manager (PM), General Manager (GM), or Industrial Engineer (IE), they were required to negotiate their salaries. However, they often lacked the skills to negotiate effectively, particularly concerning their benefits. In most cases, they were presented with a take-it-or-leave-it offer, which left little room for negotiating higher salaries. Despite this, many accepted these offers as they still provided a higher income than that of a senior operator. This acceptance often occurred without a clear understanding of whether the offered salary was fair or legally compliant. Intriguingly, many supervisors were not even aware that there is no legally mandated minimum wage for their position.

The study also reveals that the minimum salaries as prescribed in the wage grades are sometimes considered impractical by factory management. For instance, the management often finds it unfeasible to offer a Pattern Master a salary of Tk. 17,510, the minimum wage as per the guidelines, as this is often lower than the market rate (Appendix 2). Additionally, the study highlights ambiguity surrounding the position of the Line Leader, classified as Grade 4. The question arises: does this refer to a Line Chief? If so, the minimum salary for this position, as evidenced by our study, is around Tk. 35,000, significantly higher than the prescribed grade pay. Such inconsistencies in grade pay lead to confusion and disputes within the industry.

Regarding the setting of supervisors' salaries, factory management approaches vary across different factories. Interviews with HR staff revealed that base salaries for supervisors are not set based on market rates but are influenced by the need to offer competitive wages to attract supervisors. For example, starting salaries for supervisors generally begin around Tk. 18,000, though this can differ depending on the level of the position; assistant supervisors, for instance, typically earn around Tk. 14,000. Current legislation does not hold management accountable for offering low salaries as long as they are higher than those of workers, but it does not specify how much greater the minimum should be.

Variations in supervisor salaries in the RMG sector are influenced by several factors. As previously noted, junior or assistant supervisors typically receive lower salaries compared to their fully-fledged counterparts, despite the absence of a formal 'senior supervisor' designation. Another significant factor contributing to salary variation is the mode of recruitment. Insights from focus group discussions (FGDs) indicate that supervisors who were promoted internally, having previously worked on the factory floor, generally earn less – typically between Tk. 18,000 and Tk. 19,000. In contrast, those recruited externally, bringing supervisory experience from other factories, command higher salaries, often ranging from Tk. 21,000 to Tk. 22,000. This disparity is attributed to the perceived greater experience of externally hired supervisors.

Regarding overtime compensation, supervisors in the RMG sector are not entitled to it, aligning with their non-worker status. Discussions during FGDs revealed that not receiving overtime pay was not a major concern among supervisors, as they were aware that such benefits were exclusive to workers. According to a member of the legal department of a business association, "Supervisor themselves are not interested in getting overtime because they also want to be treated as part of the managerial staff." This perspective is supported by the earlier mentioned salary calculations.

Factory HR staff further explained that offering low base salaries with the possibility of overtime would deter potential candidates from accepting supervisory roles due to being associated with workers. Moreover, a fixed salary model is generally preferred over a variable overtime-based model. This preference is justified by the fluctuating nature of work pressure throughout the year, which would lead to inconsistent income levels for supervisors. Furthermore, it was noted that if supervisors were eligible for overtime, this might inadvertently encourage them to impose additional overtime on workers, given the interlinked nature of their responsibilities.

When the respondents were asked whether they received some form of training when they were selected for supervisory roles, almost half said "no." Previously, there were studies emphasizing the importance of training targeting the garment workers on their productivity and performance (cite Macchiavello, Monowara). The surveyed responses allowed us to analyse the possible effect of training on the supervisor's income. The average treatment effect was determined assuming training as the supervisor's treatment. We considered two groups-one received treatment and the other did not. It is noteworthy there is not much difference in terms of the demographic profile as reflected earlier. However, one might argue that the form of training not necessarily would be the same. For our analysis we have a caveat as we based our hypothesis: the training could positively affect the income level to an extent irrespective of the nature of the training. Controlling for several relevant variables, such as factory size, perceived satisfaction as worker and supervisor, gender, age, average working hours, years of experience, and increased wages, the possible effect was examined. First, we looked at the effect of training on the supervisors' earnings. The results reflect a positive effect of training on the income level of the supervisor: on average, supervisors would earn 730 Tk more if they had received training than the average earnings of 19,801 taka if everyone had not received the training. (Appendix 1A)

The findings depict how the average income level is affected by supervisors' access to training. We may instead be interested in knowing the average amount by which the average income level increased by those who took the training. The Average Treatment Effect on the

Treated (ATET) provides us insight on this: the average income of the trained supervisors increased by 865TK from TK19,854 if they had not received the training.

According to the Gender Equality and Returns (GEAR) initiative by IFC & ILO, training provided to female operators for supervisory roles led to a notable increase in their wages. Post-training, female workers who were promoted to supervisory positions saw an average wage increase of 39%. This substantial rise in income not only demonstrates the direct financial benefits of such training programs but also underscores the broader impact of empowering women through skill development and career advancement opportunities in the RMG sector.

6.2 Benefits

The following discussion focuses on the range of benefits provided to supervisors in the RMG industry, illustrating variations across factory sizes and the impact of these differences on supervisors' overall welfare.

The provision of benefits to supervisors in Ready-Made Garments (RMG) factories significantly varies depending on the size of the factory. This variation is highlighted in the table 16 comparing benefits across large, medium, and small factories.

Table 16: Benefits Comparison across factory sizes (%)

Benefits offered	Large	Medium	Small
Bonus	99	98	98.7
At least yearly increment at 5 %	83.3	86.3	81.8
Holidays	74.2	86.3	84.4
Sick leave	67.2	66.4	57.1
Earn leave encashment yearly	60.6	45.9	35.1
Maternity leave	51	32.9	18.2
Casual leave	42.9	32.9	19.5
Earn leave	41.9	45.9	36.4
Holiday allowance	40.9	35.6	33.8
Attendance allowance	32.3	39	44.2
Overtime pay	19.2	13.7	11.7
Medical insurance (mandatory)	16.7	15.1	13
Health insurance	16.2	10.3	13
Accommodation facilities	15.7	13	6.5
Incentive to achieve target	14.7	15.8	26
Paternity leave	11.6	13.7	16.9
Welfare fund	11.1	8.9	10.4
Night allowance	10.6	13.7	13
Provident fund	9.6	2.7	5.2
Education for offspring	6.1	2	0
Central fund	0	1.4	0

Accommodation and Yearly Salary Increments: In larger factories, a wider array of benefits, including accommodation facilities, is more prevalent compared to their medium and small counterparts. Interestingly, medium-sized factories exhibit a slight lead in offering yearly

increments in salary, possibly indicating an effort to maintain competitive compensation to retain and attract skilled supervisors.

Attendance Allowances and Bonuses: Smaller factories seem to prioritize attendance allowances, potentially as a strategy to ensure consistent workforce presence, crucial in smaller operations. Bonuses, however, are a common benefit across all factory sizes, emphasizing their universal importance in the RMG sector.

Medical Benefits and Target Incentives: Larger factories more frequently offer benefits like maternity leave and health insurance, reflecting their resource capabilities and possibly adherence to more stringent regulations. On the other hand, smaller factories focus on performance-based rewards, such as incentives for target achievements, underlining their approach to enhancing productivity.

Sick Leave: The provision of sick leave is high across all factory sizes, with a slight decrease in smaller factories. This pattern may be indicative of the resource limitations in smaller entities, impacting their ability to offer comprehensive health-related benefits.

Overall, the evidence across factory size regarding the provision of benefits suggests that while larger factories may have more resources to provide a range of benefits, smaller factories selectively offer certain benefits, possibly to enhance worker satisfaction and productivity within their means.

Social Benefits: A critical aspect of benefits, social benefits, appears to be significantly lacking for supervisors in the RMG sector. In the context of this study, "social benefits" refers to benefits traditionally provided to workers in the RMG sector, which can include donations or distributions from management such as rice, lentils, donation money, winter clothes, etc. These are often extended as a form of support or welfare measure by the management to the workers.

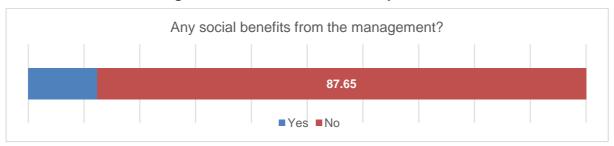


Figure 13: Social Benefits for Supervisors

This data reveals that only a small fraction (12.35%) of supervisor's report receiving social benefits from the management. This figure is indicative of a considerable gap in the provision of social security measures for supervisors. Unlike workers, who commonly receive these benefits, supervisors, often categorized as part of the staff, are largely excluded from such welfare measures. This exclusion underscores a critical area for improvement, highlighting the need for more inclusive social protection policies that extend these important welfare benefits to supervisors as well.

6.2.1 Comparison of Benefits by Appointment Letters

The appointment letters of supervisors that we collected outline the terms of employment, roles, and responsibilities for supervisors within the Ready-Made Garments (RMG) sector, with notable variations in the details for each factory. Here's summary of the comparative analysis:

Salary and Compensation:

- The documents vary in how they present compensation details. While some appointment letters provide a structured breakdown, others are less specific, indicating variability in transparency and possibly in the compensation itself.
- Bonus and increment structures differ, with some specifying the percentage of the basic salary for bonuses and annual increments, while others simply mention their existence.

Probation and Confirmation:

 A six-month probation period is common across the letters, suggesting a standard industry practice. However, the criteria for confirmation post-probation and the consequences of unsatisfactory performance during this period vary.

Job Responsibilities:

- Core supervisory responsibilities are consistent, focusing on managing subordinate workers, overseeing production, and ensuring quality. However, the degree of detail provided for these responsibilities differs.
- Some job descriptions include specific targets and reporting requirements, while others are more generalized.

Terms of Employment:

- Terms related to confidentiality, adherence to company policy, and possible job transfer are common. However, the specifics regarding enforcement and repercussions for breaches are not uniformly detailed.
- Conditions for termination and resignation are present but differ in notice period lengths and severance conditions.

Additional Benefits and Leaves:

- Leave policies are mentioned in all letters but differ in terms of the number of days for casual, sick, and festival leaves, as well as the conditions for availing of maternity leave.
- Some letters mention additional benefits like group insurance, which are not detailed in others.

Working Conditions and Hours:

- Working hours are generally in line with labour laws but our study showed they work more than 8 hours.
- Some descriptions offer more detail about the work environment and expectations regarding efficiency and compliance with safety standards.

Overall, this analysis suggests that the RMG sector could benefit from more standardized employment practices to ensure that supervisors are clear about their roles, responsibilities, and benefits, which could help in maintaining a more satisfied and efficient workforce. The comparative analysis underscores the hypothesis that there is indeed a lack of standardization across the RMG sector for the roles and benefits of factory floor supervisors.

6.2.2 Rights to Freedom of Association

When enquired about the right to join labour union association, 36.58% of respondents mentioned affirmatively as opposed to a significant 59.86% stated they are not allowed to join such associations. Additionally, 3.56% of respondents are unaware of their eligibility, which might point to a lack of information or transparency around this issue.

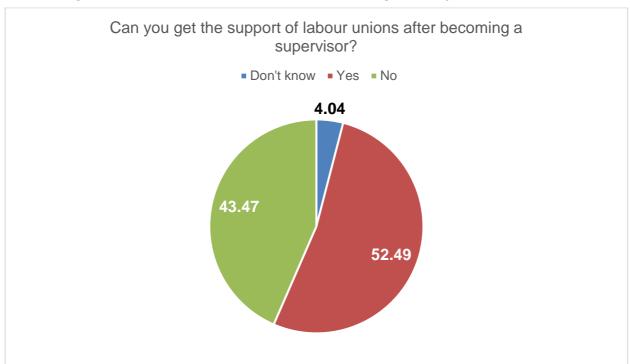


Figure 14: Supervisors' Perception about being able to join Unions/PC

The above figure (Figure 14) offers a more optimistic view but with caveats. A majority (52.49%) believe they can get the support of labour unions, but a considerable 43.47% think they cannot. The "Don't know" category is again present, albeit small (4.04%), suggesting some level of uncertainty or lack of awareness.

The study reveals that supervisors often do not contest abuses due to the absence of a platform for reporting grievances. Not being classified as 'workers', they are unable to join trade unions or report grievances to Participation Committees (PC). This exclusion effectively silences a significant voice within the workforce. From a decent work perspective, they are deprived from freedom of association as stated by a labour expertise from a global organization. Although survey findings showed some were members of union or went to PC for complaints, they cannot go there due their designation. It means that supervisors are not aware of their rights. This lack of awareness about their rights was evident in the survey

findings, where supervisors expressed a focus on the social status associated with their title rather than other rights further complicating their ability to seek redress.

Another key factor for them is salary. Being a supervisor meant higher income than a senior operator. Other rights did not seem important to them. The only way to report grievance is the admin officers. In FGDs they mentioned that they needed established networks in the upper management to be able to speak to the people in charge. According to a supervisor,

"If you do not know anybody you won't be able to go to upper management with complaints."

The lack of avenues for grievance redressal, as indicated in FGDs, points to an ingrained hierarchy within the industry where access to upper management is critical yet challenging. This dynamic perpetuates a culture of silence and compliance among supervisors, wary of jeopardizing their positions. A labour Federation leader said,

"Supervisors rarely reach out for support as they are scared of losing their current job and future job prospects due to case related scandals. The supervisors themselves are supportive of the owner and all the decisions since they are under the impression that they are part of the managerial staff. It is only after they lose their jobs that they realize that their benefits are not being compensated. They are let go of very badly. Making supervisors/PMs/GMs feel part of the managerial group is a tactic used by the owners to pacify them and to make them complacent."

The insights from Labour Federation leaders reveal that supervisors' hesitancy to seek support is linked to their previous actions and alignment with management. This hesitancy reflects a broader issue of power dynamics and fear of retribution within the RMG sector. Post-job loss, supervisors' realization of their lack of benefits underscores the need for more transparent and equitable employment practices. The supervisors, however, reported in the survey that if they have any grievances, about 48% reach out to the Floor In-charge and 24% to the Line Manager for assistance.

In Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), supervisors expressed their frustration at the lack of avenues for addressing grievances, a contrast to their time as workers. A Federation leader provided insight into this dilemma:

"They are hesitant to come to us because during their tenure they abuse their power to oppress the workers in order to maximize productivity. While they are in power, they abuse those under them hence we don't accept supervisor cases who are still working in a factory since they work for the owner. There is a conflict of interest. It is after they leave the factory that we can work with them. Most are regretful of their actions in the factory. Workers get free representation; however, we charge supervisors a small amount for our services."

This quote highlights a complex dynamic where supervisors, while in their roles, face a conflict of interest that prevents them from seeking union support. It is only upon losing their jobs, often without service compensation, that they turn to union federation leaders for representation in labour court. This is the widespread practice of asking for help from union as we found in this research. This delay in seeking help underlines a systemic issue where supervisors, often unaware of their rights, find themselves in a vulnerable position only after their employment ends.

According to a buyer auditor,

"For workers working for more than 10 years, they will get salaries for 45 days for each year worked. That adds up to about 10 months' worth of salary at the end of 10 years. But supervisors are not entitled to it. However, sometimes in some factories they do provide this by mentioning it in the appointment letter. But this is not mandated by the law for staff. Earned leave encashment s also not given to the supervisor."

This statement underscores the lack of legal mandates for supervisors' compensation compared to workers. A federation leader expanded on the rarity of supervisor cases in labour court, explaining the usual process and the burden of proof on owners:

"Supervisor cases are rare in general. Most of the cases are related to section 27(4) of the labour law which deals with compensation after working for 5-10 years. The owners usually fire the people unfairly which denies them said benefits. When they come to us for support, we first send a written notice to the owner in order to settle this. If the owner does not cooperate within 30 days, we then file a case in the labour court. Then the rest is up to the court. The court asks the proof from the owner that the plaintiff is part of the staff. Hence the burden of proof falls on the owner. All documents mentioning the powers of supervising officer has to be in written form."

Recounting a particular case, he further added that.

"I had PMs filling cases for this as well. The PM worked for 14 years. But the owner was unable to prove that he was part of the administration/management hence the PM was entitled to the compensation of around 700,000 Tk. The same goes for supervisors. They are entitled to compensation but are not usually paid by owners claiming them to be part of the management staff."

This case exemplifies the criticality of employment documentation and the often-overlooked rights of supervisors. Since supervisors were not aware of their rights, they did not notice the inclusion of compensation after working for a while in their appointment letters. The majority of supervisors in FGDs were unable to produce their appointment letters, unaware of their importance in legal disputes. This lack of awareness about key employment documents highlights a significant gap in knowledge and preparedness among supervisors regarding their legal rights and avenues for recourse.

Interestingly, although unions typically do not represent supervisors while they are employed, they do offer support in labour court post-employment. A senior government inspector noted,

"The Union's leaders don't acknowledge them as part of the workers as their agenda with production workers conflicts with this. But at the same time, they are representing the supervisors in the labour court as part of the workers."

This situation reveals the nuanced and often contradictory nature of labour representation in the RMG sector, further complicating the understanding of supervisors' rights. However, there were cases when a few fought back which was rare. A fight back story is presented below.

Supervisor Fighting Back

One supervisor was summoned in the PMs office and was severely verbally abused for an hour for not meeting production targets. After leaving the PMs office he was again subjected to verbal abuse by the line chief in front of his line. While he was getting admonished in the offices of the management, his production line was left unsupervised and was unable to meet production targets again due to his absence. However, instead of understanding the situation the management again blamed him for the fault and restarted the verbal abuse. Having lost all patience, the supervisor physically assaulted the line-chief.

Instances of supervisors resisting abuses, though rare, are emblematic of the extreme pressures they face. These instances not only underscore the supervisors' challenging work environment but also hint at the potential for more assertive actions in response to injustices.

When interpreted together, these findings paint a mixed picture of the social protections and labour union support available to supervisors. While the majority do not receive social protection from management, a considerable proportion believe they can get support from labour unions. However, less than half are actually allowed to be part of these unions, raising questions about the actual support network available to supervisors. This layered landscape suggests that while some avenues for social protection and support exist, they are neither universally accessible nor clearly understood by all supervisors.

7 Challenges

In this part, the study explores the array of challenges, listed in Figure 15, faced by supervisors, ranging from managing productivity and adhering to quality standards to navigating workplace dynamics and job security issues.

7.1 Managing Productivity and Unrealistic Production Targets

The most frequently cited challenge is "Managing Productivity and Meeting Production Targets," with an overwhelming 99.5% of supervisors identifying this as a significant concern. This emphasizes the pressure supervisors face to maintain high levels of productivity and meet organizational goals. This quantitative data aligns closely with the qualitative findings where supervisors reveal they are under constant pressure to meet often unrealistic targets set by upper management. The supervisors' struggle is not just about meeting these targets but also about dealing with the unrealistic expectations imposed upon them.

7.2 Verbal Abuse and Pressure from Senior Management

Interestingly, "Misbehaviour of the Seniors" is cited by 6.7% of the supervisors, a finding that is deeply elaborated in the qualitative data. This abuse represents a significant yet often overlooked aspect of their work environment. Supervisors in the focus groups described their vulnerability to verbal abuse by senior management, particularly when production targets are not met. Most of the existing studies have explored the experiences of abuse by workers and in most cases, they were done by supervisors. In this project, the FGDs of supervisors revealed their experiences of abuse. The supervisors have to face verbal abuse from the management staff for productivity losses. They are called in to the offices and are severely verbally abused for not meeting targets. They said that they face the usual verbal abuse from their higher ups and are sometimes to coerce workers into overtime to meet daily production targets, and in cases where they could not manage workers, the responsibility fell on them to complete the tasks. These goes for all supervisors on the floor.

The primary cause of verbal abuse among supervisors was the failure to meet targets set by upper management, often deemed unrealistic. Supervisors explained that while the workforce might efficiently produce 65 units per hour, production staff would set targets at 80 units. This target-setting practice, driven by a desire to keep workers pressured for maximum output, often leads to compromised work quality. The rationale provided by production staff is that a line operating at 100% efficiency, producing 65 units per hour, would still manage about 60 units with a 10% productivity drop. By setting a target of an ambitious 80 units, even with the same 10% productivity loss, the output exceeds 70 units. This approach, prioritizing quantity over quality, sometimes results in units being sent back for alterations due to errors. Additionally, some factories have started counting 50 minutes as an hour. This method involves recalculating an 8-hour workday into 10 hours to set "reasonable" production targets, effectively requiring workers to produce 60 units in 50 minutes instead of an hour, thereby yielding an extra 10 units for the factory's benefit.

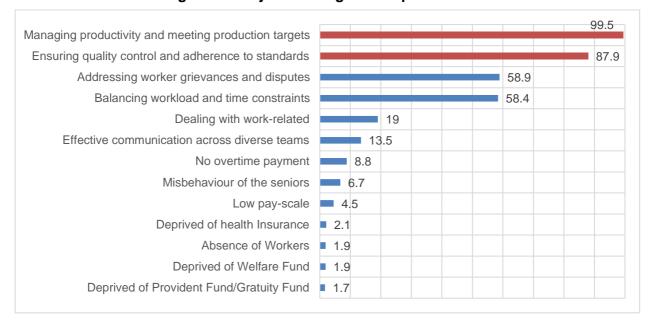


Figure 15: Major Challenges of Supervisors

Verbal abuse is prevalent but physical violence is not as much. However, a staff from a global labour organization said,

"When targets are not met, supervisors get reprimanded."

7.3 The Quality-Quantity Trade-Off, Worker Grievances, and Workload Balance

"Ensuring Quality Control and Adherence to Standards" is the second most common challenge, cited by 87.9% of supervisors. This points to the critical role supervisors play in quality assurance and compliance, but also to the stress associated with these responsibilities. This corroborates with the qualitative insight that supervisors are held accountable for the quality of work, often having to balance the upper management's push for quantity over quality. Supervisors are responsible if a worker underperforms. They have to answer to their PMs GMs and other higher ups. This quality-quantity trade-off is exacerbated by the fact that production targets are sometimes calculated based on a convoluted conversion of an 8-hour workday into 10 hours, effectively squeezing more output at the expense of quality.

"Addressing Worker Grievances and Disputes" (58.9%) and "Balancing Workload and Time Constraints" (58.4%) are also frequently mentioned. These indicate the human resource challenges in managing a diverse workforce and the stress associated with time management and workload balancing.

7.4 The 'Sandwiched' Position of Supervisors

On the other hand, when the administration or production management takes any decisions, it is the supervisors' responsibility to tell and negotiate with the workers. When the workers are dissatisfied their first go to is supervisors. This intermediary position places supervisors in a precarious situation, where they have to navigate dissatisfaction from both ends. According to Supervisors

"We are sandwiched between workers and upper management and usually have to take the brunt from both sides."

7.5 Job Security and Reporting Challenges

They also highlighted the lack of avenues for reporting such behaviour due to fears of jeopardizing their already precarious job security. It was shared in the FGDs that if a supervisor by any chance has an altercation or argument with an operator, there is a risk that other operators might band together against the supervisor. Again, if an operator is absent, it is up to the supervisor to find replacements. In the case that they cannot find replacements, they have to step up themselves and work as a machine operator while conducting their supervisory duties. This dual burden often leads to them being blamed for worker absences and subjected to verbal abuse. A common practice, as participants mentioned, involves supervisors being ordered to personally visit workers' homes to persuade them to return to the factory.

One of the supervisors in FGDs said that they do not go into conflict with their bosses as the job of supervisors are not that secure. Workers cannot be readily replaced and can move to any factory they want. Supervisors have a much challenging time finding work outside a single factory as supervisor positions are rarely vacant and are recruiting. Hence, they rarely report against their higher ups in fears of ruining relationships. This ruined relationship also have other implications for future career prospects.

7.6 Financial and Lack of Rights Awareness Related Challenges

While the table shows that challenges like "No Overtime Payment" (8.8%) and "Low Pay-Scale" (4.5%) are less common, they are far from negligible. Qualitatively, the lack of job security and absence of any auditing or oversight for supervisors makes these financial and well-being related challenges more pressing than the numbers might initially suggest.

The participants mentioned that even if they take the offer and start working as a supervisor, they are not given Supervisor ID cards. They are still officially designated as workers and are still paid the worker salary for around 6-12 months before they officially get promoted to supervisor and start receiving their higher salaries. This practice is commonplace in most factories and during that pseudo probation period they are called "Assistant Supervisors." They get paid their old operator salaries despite being excluded from overtime and having increased working hours. The management justifies this action by saying that it is the "Cost of Training" during the probationary period. In some cases, they are promoted without even signing the appointment letter. This type of abuse was also supported by a respondent from global labour organisation who claimed that.

"All the workers who are interested in becoming supervisors are allowed to carry out supervision activities while holding the ID card of an operator and being paid an operator salary. Now assistant supervisors are performing the role of a full supervisor while being paid an operator salary."

This practice, prevalent in most factories, reflects a systematic issue where supervisors are denied their rightful compensation and benefits during this pseudo probation period.

7.7 Exclusion from Audits and Lack of Agency

The table also reveals challenges that are also noteworthy, such as "Deprived of Health Insurance" (2.1%) and "Deprived of Welfare Fund" (1.9%). Qualitatively, this was substantiated by the lack of oversight and auditing for supervisors, leaving them without any agency to ensure their rights, sometimes even without awareness of these rights.

Even the supervisors are out of auditing scope from buyers. Whereas suppliers cannot ensure any order from buyers without the satisfactory outcome from an audit conducted by buyers or third party, supervisors are excluded from this assessment. Only workers are under this inspection. In this context a social compliance auditor from a buyer in Bangladesh said,

"We do not have the jurisdiction to intervene on this. We have to work within the bounds of the labour law. If we were to go outside of it, then we need to develop a project out of it. Otherwise, we receive some pushback from the factory management. But we can tackle that by claiming our work as a capacity building project that focuses on ensuring mid-level worker benefits. But I cannot say that I want to ensure their legal rights. We only audit the designations mentioned in the minimum wage gazette. We look at mostly schedule A."

A representative from a global labour organization agreed with the buyer saying,

"Audits are mostly worker focused and don't usually cover supervisors as they are not covered by the gazette."

The DIFE could potentially inspect the service rules and contracts of supervisors, but their primary focus remains on minimum wage and building safety for workers.

In this environment, supervisors in the RMG sector find themselves in a vulnerable position, often lacking agency and awareness to assert their rights and ensure fair treatment.

Supervisor struggles in the factory

Hasan was a supervisor in a garment factory. One day, during Ramadan, his boss the production manager told him that they had to work overtime. Hasan was shocked. He knew that his workers were fasting and needed to go home for iftar. He tried to convince his boss to change his mind, but he refused. Hasan had no choice but to obey.

He told his workers the unwelcome news. They were angry and upset. They said they would not work overtime. Hasan tried to negotiate but failed. They left the factory and went home for iftar. Hasan was left alone with 17 other supervisors to keep a production line active. They had to do the work of the workers. They also missed their iftar and prayers.

The least frequently mentioned challenges like "Absence of Workers" and "Deprived of Provident Fund/Gratuity Fund" each make up less than 2% of the responses, indicating that these are relatively minor concerns for the majority of supervisors.

Supervisor being wrongfully kicked out of a factory.

One of the female participants used to be a productive worker on the line. The GMs liked my work and promoted me to supervisor. Work as a supervisor was incredibly stressful for her and she fell sick one day. She went for a medical checkup, and they recommended days leave but her line chief did not grant her that leave. She then verbally argued with her line chief and then decided to be absent since her leave request was not being granted. She was absent for a couple of days and was suspended for 10 days and her line chief complained about her performance and absence. After 10 days when she returned, she was questioned on her absence by the upper management, and she replied that she had medical clearance for leave but her line chief did not grant her leave despite her medical condition. She was then questioned on her substandard performance which she defended was a lie since her line was always first in terms out output productivity. Despite all her efforts she was wrongly fired for being absent for 10 days. There was no official record of her being put on suspension and she was forcefully terminated without any severance as being absent for 10 days counts as retiring. It was then revealed that the line chief in question had a grudge against the supervisor for turning down an indecent proposal. When asked if she had any avenues to file a complaint, she mentioned that the only place to complain was the higher administrative officers, but she had no access to those people from the factory floor.

In summary, supervisors face a wide range of challenges, from meeting production targets and quality standards to managing workers and maintaining their own well-being. These challenges are compounded by systemic issues like the lack of job security, unrealistic expectations from upper management, and the absence of an effective oversight mechanism. These multi-faceted challenges are experienced universally to varying degrees, influenced by organizational cultures, managerial practices, and individual coping mechanisms.

8 Worker vs. Supervisor

Since supervisors hold a staff position, as stated by the factory management, they are supposed to be in a better position than production workers such as operators. However, supervisors do not get extra special benefits from workers as expressed by the legal staff of employer's association. The factory management found no special benefit for supervisors except a fixed salary. When supervisors in FGDs asked about benefits, all participants mentioned receiving no extra benefits compared to workers. At best, according to them, they received a special ID card and a unique supervisor shirt. The participants also mentioned being entitled to service benefits after a specific time. Since, generally, supervisors in the production line have been production workers, by and large, it would be insightful to assess their change in livelihood after becoming a supervisor compared to when they were workers.

8.1 Income Aspect

In assessing the shift from production worker to supervisor within the RMG sector, it is crucial to evaluate the changes in livelihood, particularly focusing on the income aspect. This comparison sheds light on whether the supervisory role, as a staff position, offers a tangible improvement over the conditions experienced as a production worker.

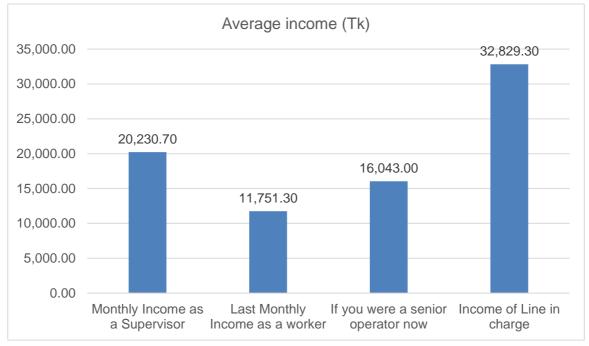


Figure 16: Average Income in Various Positions

The graph suggests that a wage differential prevails when one is promoted to a supervisory role from being a production worker. On average, the monthly income difference was found to be around 8,000 BDT. However, one might argue that supervisors, if not promoted, might have received significant increments, given their expertise. Hence, the respondents were asked to state an estimated income if they were now 'senior operators,' not supervisors. The average

monthly income of senior operators was around 16 thousand BDT. This reflects a more precise income disparity that would have been raised had they not been promoted: 4 thousand BDT higher income on average is the monetary incentive for the supervisors to put effort. The wage differential is also observed in the baseline study of ILO (2017), which incentivises the workers to perform better in pursuit of a promotion to supervisory role for monetary gains. Further up the ladder, the "Line in charge" role offers a substantial average income of 32,829.3 BDT, indicating significant financial gains with career advancement.

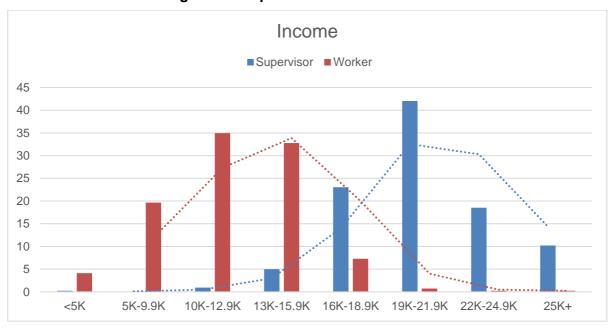


Figure 17: Supervisor Vs Worker Income

Figure 17 comparing, income brackets for supervisors and workers illuminates striking disparities between the two groups. The wage gap widens in the 5 thousand BDT to 9.9 thousand BDT range where no supervisors are represented, but nearly 20% of workers fall into this category. The disparities become even more pronounced in the 10,000-12,900 BDT and 13,000-15,900 BDT brackets. While less than 1% of supervisors earn between 10,000-12,900 BDT, a staggering 34.95% of workers do. Similarly, although nearly 5% of supervisors are in the 13,000-15,900 BDT bracket, this accounts for nearly 33% of the workers.

However, the table flips dramatically in the higher income brackets. For example, in the 16,000 -18,900 BDT range, 23.04% of supervisors are represented, compared to just 7.28% of workers. This disparity grows significantly in the 19,000-21,900 BDT range, where 42.04% of supervisors fall, compared to a mere 0.73% of workers. Similarly, the 22,000-24,900 BDT bracket holds 18.53% of supervisors but only 0.24% of workers. Finally, in the highest bracket of 25,000 BDT and above, 10.21% of supervisors earn within this range, while it is a rare occurrence for workers, at just 0.24%.

This income comparison suggests a clear upward mobility in income brackets as individuals transition from worker roles to supervisory roles, underlining the financial benefits of such career progression.

8.2 Time Allotment: Work and Home

The table below (Table 17) presents a side-by-side comparison of how supervisors and workers allocate their time on an average day. Supervisors, on average, work longer regular hours (10 hours) compared to workers (8.1 hours). Leisure time and time spent on household work are nearly identical for both groups, hovering around 2.1 and 2 hours, respectively. Both also allocate approximately the same amount of time for sleep, around 7 hours. One notable difference is in time spent on children's education, where supervisors allocate more time (0.51 hours) than workers (0.29 hours), possibly reflecting different priorities or responsibilities between the roles. For instance, supervisors while being a worker might not have been a parent or did not have more than one child. In the 'Others' category, supervisors spend slightly more time (1.7 hours) compared to workers (1.4 hours), though the activities encompassed in this category are unspecified. Overall, the table reveals that while supervisors and workers have similar allocations for leisure, household work, and sleep, they differ in terms of work commitments and possibly in roles outside of work.

Table 17: Time allotment Comparison (Hours), Woker vs Supervisors

Average time Spent	Supervisor	Worker
Average working hours per day	11	9.3
Leisure Time	2.1	2.2
Household work	2.1	2
Sleeping	7	7.1
Children Education	0.51	0.29
Others	1.7	1.4

It should be noted that workers have a tendency to understate their average hours of work as can be seen from comparing the reported average hours of work and the estimated hours of work. Therefore, the actual scenario might be much worse than the aforementioned statistics. For instance, the overtime work per day for a worker is considered outside 8/9 hours work, however, the daily average working hours for supervisors are deemed to be as 10 hours. Now, it is important to highlight that, the workers do not work overtime daily. Usually, they are asked to do overtime on an ad hoc basis, but the supervisors normally work around ten hours daily. This reflects that the supervisors, who spend more time in the factories compared to workers, do not get more free time for other chores.

8.3 Work Environment Perception

The following table offers a picture on how the same individuals perceive their working conditions differently when they transition from workers to supervisors. One of the standout differences is in "Long working hours," where more people agree as supervisors (229) than as workers (273) that they work long hours, despite supervisors generally having a longer average workday. This could suggest a relative perception of time or differences in job demands. Conversely, the respondents did not face any problems regarding receiving their

salaries on time, both now and when they were workers. The opinions on "Salary is Low" and "Production target is manageable" remain relatively consistent before and after the transition, suggesting the change in role might have less influence.

Table 18: Working Condition Comparison, Supervisor vs Workers

	Supervisor			1	Norker	
	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree
Long working hours	176	16	229	126	13	273
Receive salary on time	10	3	408	17	3	391
Salary is Low	212	8	201	181	19	212
Production target is manageable	45	30	346	40	13	359
Misbehaviour of higher management	305	21	95	279	21	111
Experience of harassment	297	19	105	282	12	118
Intense work pressure or stress	160	43	217	145	28	238
Good health care services	25	19	376	27	14	371
Safe working environment	6	6	409	19	9	384
Need to work at weekends	369	18	34	322	30	60
Not being promoted	299	4	117	282	5	125

Figures indicate Frequencies.

The perception of "Misbehaviour of higher management" and "Experience of harassment" is lower among supervisors, which could point to a shift in workplace dynamics or possibly the hierarchical advantages associated with becoming a supervisor. "Intense work pressure or stress" was agreed upon more as workers (238) than as supervisors (217), perhaps indicating that stress levels are perceived to be less intense in a supervisory role. Both roles largely agree on the availability of "Good health care services" and a "Safe working environment." Still, it is noteworthy that fewer people felt the need to "work at weekends" as supervisors (34) compared to when they were workers (60). Similarly, fewer people felt "Not being promoted" was an issue as supervisors, possibly because the promotion to a supervisory role mitigates this concern. The generally more optimistic nature of supervisors' responses could be attributed to their alignment with management, reflecting a perspective more akin to 'office staff' than to that of workers. This alignment might influence how supervisors perceive and report their work environment, painting a different picture compared to their time as workers.

8.4 Tenancy

When we asked about the type of tenancy, it was found that many people (about 18%) moved to their own 'rented' house from a shared/Mess room. This indicates a higher standard of living in terms of housing.

Table 19: Type of Tenancy

	Supervisor	Worker
Own home	7.84	7.04
Rent	76.25	59.95
Mess/ shared	15.68	33.01
Others	0.24	-

Figures indicate % responses

However, considering renting houses incur more expenses, we looked at their overall increased expenditures from their income before and after becoming supervisors. The average increase in expenditures was found to be close to seven thousand takas.

8.5 Health Comparison

The table below provides a nuanced look at how the same individuals' health conditions have changed as they transitioned from workers to supervisors. For "headaches," while the prevalence of "occasional" headaches remains almost consistent between the two roles (269 as supervisors vs. 274 as workers), the number of respondents who "never" experience headaches has increased from 111 as workers to 138 as supervisors. However, there is a slight decrease in the number of reporting headaches "often" as supervisors (14) compared to when they were workers (27), perhaps suggesting improved working conditions or less physical strain in the supervisory role.

Table 20: Health Condition Comparison, Supervisor vs Workers

	Supervisor				Worker	
	Never	Occasionally	Often	Never	Occasionally	Often
Prevalence of headache	138	269	14	111	274	27
Prevalence of fatigue	39	336	46	38	330	44
Prevalence of back pain	271	129	21	194	188	30

Figures indicate frequencies.

In terms of "fatigue," the numbers are remarkably similar across both roles, with a marginal increase in "occasional" fatigue reported as supervisors (336) compared to workers (330). The numbers reporting "often" and "never" is also closely matched, suggesting that fatigue might be a persistent issue regardless of the role.

For "back pain," there is a noticeable shift. A substantial number of respondents reported "never" experiencing back pain as supervisors (271) compared to when they were workers (194). Conversely, those reporting back pain "often" has decreased from 30 as workers to 21 as supervisors.

A key point to note is we did not compare sitting arrangements of both positions, but we asked this to a labour expert in KII. According to a representative from a global labour organization, "Supervisors do not have any sitting arrangements and have to stand for long hours. You will see all supervisors are standing in the production floor. The men can manage but the female's struggle."

Overall, the transition from worker to supervisor appears to have mixed effects on health conditions. While headaches seem to lessen in frequency, fatigue remains a constant issue, and back pain appears to become less frequent but does not entirely dissipate.

8.6 Overall Satisfaction

The following figure compares the overall satisfaction levels of individuals as supervisors and as workers, consolidating the five original levels into three for clarity. The data reveals a striking difference in satisfaction levels when comparing roles. As supervisors, a substantial 91.45% of respondents feel satisfied (including both 'Satisfied' and 'Very satisfied'), whereas, in their capacity as workers, this figure drops to 75.53%. On the other hand, the dissatisfaction rate is significantly higher when individuals reflect on their time as workers (12.83%) compared to when they are in supervisory roles (2.85%).

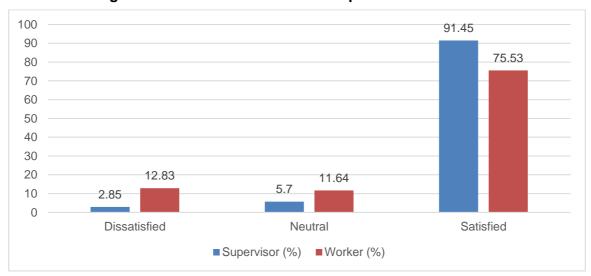


Figure 18: Overall Satisfaction of Supervisors vs Workers

This marked difference in satisfaction levels between the two roles underscores the impact that career progression and increased responsibility can have on an individual's job satisfaction. The role of a supervisor appears to be more fulfilling for the majority, indicating that the transition to a supervisory position may bring about a more positive work experience.

8.7 Summary

In essence, there seems to be a positive shift in the transition from worker to supervisor. However, the increased work hours, expenditures, and the prevalence of health concerns put forward the question of whether the cost, monetary and social, associated with being a supervisor outweighs the increased salary, given there are no significant additional benefits specifically for supervisors.

Table 21: Summary Worker vs Supervisor

	Worker (Operator)	Supervisor
Average Monthly Income	16,000 Tk	20,000 TK
Motivation	Wage	More income and social respect
Working Hours/Day	9.3 Hours	11 Hours
Minimum Wage (previous)	8,000 Tk	Not Mandated by law
Social Position	Less Respect	More Social Respect
Abused by	Supervisor	Worker, line-chief, PM, QC
Audited by	Buyer	No Audit
Target fulfil	Stressed	More Stressed
Protected by	Labor Law	No Legal protection
Grievance Reported to	Trade Union/PC	Nobody
Salary	Varies due to Overtime	Fixed
Benefits	As per Labor Law	Same as worker and written in appointment letter

The above table presents a comparative overview of the economic and social conditions between operator and supervisors within a given context, likely within the Ready-Made Garment (RMG) sector in Bangladesh. Workers earn a monthly income of 16,000 Tk, whereas supervisors earn a higher income of 20,000 Tk. Despite the higher income, supervisors work longer hours, typically 11 hours a day compared to the 9.3-hour workday for workers. This reflects a higher demand for their time and possibly a greater level of responsibility. The minimum wage is set at 8,000 Tk for workers; however, there is no mandated minimum wage for supervisors by law. This indicates that supervisors' wages are negotiated on an individual basis and are subject to contractual agreements rather than standardized rates. In terms of social standing, workers are perceived to have less respect compared to supervisors, who command more social respect. This distinction reflects hierarchical and societal norms, in which supervisory roles are associated with a higher status. Abuse reported by workers typically comes from their supervisors, highlighting a top-down power dynamic. Conversely, supervisors face abuse from multiple levels, including workers, line chiefs, production

managers (PMs), and quality controllers (QCs), suggesting a more complex set of interactions and pressures from both subordinates and superiors. Audits are conducted by buyers for workers, ensuring compliance with labour standards, whereas supervisors do not fall under such audits. This lack of oversight might lead to disparities in the treatment of supervisors and a lack of accountability for their working conditions. Both workers and supervisors experience hourly stress due to targets, indicating a high-pressure work environment across the board. When it comes to legal protection, workers are protected by labour law, which may include a variety of rights and protections. Supervisors, on the other hand, rely on contractual agreements, which may not afford the same level of protection as labour laws do for workers. Grievance mechanisms differ significantly; workers have the option to seek assistance from trade unions or participate in Worker Participation Committees (PC), whereas supervisors do not have a formal channel to address grievances. Salary structures also vary; workers' salaries exclude overtime pay, suggesting they are paid a base rate regardless of additional hours worked. In contrast, supervisors have a fixed salary, which could include expected overtime as part of the overall compensation package, reflecting their salaried, managerial status. Lastly, in terms of benefits, both workers and supervisors receive the same benefits, which may include health insurance, leave, and other standard employment benefits. This indicates that, at least in terms of additional benefits, there is an alignment between the two categories. In summary, the table illustrates the disparities and commonalities in compensation, working conditions, legal protections, and social status between workers and supervisors, highlighting the nuanced and layered nature of employment within the sector.

9 Gender Dynamics

A recent survey of former RMG workers indicated that there has been extremely limited upward mobility for the women garment workers. About 86% of workers joined the factory as helpers, 66% left as operator and only 1% as supervisor (Rahman et al. 2023). Usually, they started off their career as helper and ended up as operator and no progression from the position of operator. Since the role of helping had been reduced immensely as a result of automation, those who began as operators remained in the same position in their career. A handful of women supervisors is evident in the industry which may discourage the workers to continue their jobs. But the concern here is not only why there are fewer women in leading positions such as supervisors and quality inspectors but also women labour's real desire for career upgradation because not a single former worker mentioned 'less scope of upward mobility' as a reason for leaving the sector. It seems they have accepted the norms that they will only work as helpers or operators under male labourers' leadership. To investigate the reasons for less women supervisors the survey examined the FGDs of workers and KIIS of buyer, owner, and union leader. Rahman et al. (2023) identified four factors, and these were:

- (1) Men cannot accept the fact that a women would be their supervisor,
- (2) The line chief cannot make peace working with a women supervisor as they cannot reprimand the women supervisor,
- (3) Women workers need to go back home as their family and husbands are not quite in favour of letting women work out of the home for such long hours,
- (4) Women workers do not want to work under women supervisors,
- (5) Supervisor's salary is fixed, and operators can work overtime and earn more.

Though these factories found that women supervisors had a productivity level of 1.8% higher to male supervisors, the factors mentioned above work as obstacles to becoming a women supervisor. Union leaders and other stakeholders agreed with some of these reasons in particular household responsibility, less assertiveness in nature and less earning as supervisor compared to operator. Different buyers and suppliers have introduced various initiatives to attract women labour to be supervisors such as GEAR by IFC and ILO.

9.1 Gender Balance

The number of female supervisors varies across different size of factories. In most cases, there are fewer than 50 female supervisors in these factories, with a more substantial presence of male supervisors. This corroborates the previous literatures which identified the lack of female supervisors.

Table 22: Gender Distribution of Supervisors across different factory Sizes

Number of			Fema	ale			Mal	е	
Supervisors		Large	Medium	Small	Total	Large	Medium	Small	Total
Do not know		76	43	15	134	78	30	6	114
0		11	21	24	56	0	0	0	0
1-49		89	80	38	207	56	90	61	207
50-99		7	1	0	8	30	21	10	61
100-149		1	0	0	1	8	3	0	11
150-199		3	0	0	3	11	0	0	11
200-249		3	1	0	4	7	1	0	8
250-299		2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
300-349		2	0	0	2	3	0	0	3
400-449		4	0	0	4	1	0	0	1
500 and above		0	0	0	0	3	1	0	4
7	Total	198	146	77	421	197	146	77	420

Figures indicate Frequencies

The table and its gender-disaggregated counterpart provide a detailed breakdown of the types of assessments taken by those who said 'Yes' to having been assessed. Interestingly, "Practical and Viva" assessments were the most prevalent, constituting nearly half (49.56%) of the total. When examined by gender, both male and female respondents appeared to predominantly undergo "Practical and Viva" tests, with 89 male and 80 female respondents reporting this combination.

Sole "Practical tests" were the second most common at 21.41%, with more males (48) than females (25) undergoing this type of assessment. Notably, purely "Written" assessments were the least common overall and were equally distributed among males and females. There were specific types of assessments where gender disparities were evident; for example, "Practical and Written" tests were only reported by males (24), while no females reported undergoing this combination.

The mean of work experience as workers prior to becoming supervisors was found to be 6.46 years for female compared to 4.84 years for men. In other words, female supervisors worked more years as operators than male supervisor.

Table 23: Type of assessment by Gender

If Voc what two of accomment?	Resi	ondent's Gender	r
If Yes, what type of assessment?	Male	Female	Total
Practical test	22.33% (48)	19.84% (25)	73
Written	1.86% (4)	3.17% (4)	8
Viva	8.37% (18)	12.70% (16)	34
Practical and written	11.16% (24)	0.00% (0)	24
Written and Viva	3.26% (7)	0.79% (1)	8
Practical and Viva	41.40% (89)	63.49% (80)	169
All	11.63% (25)	0.00% (0)	25
Total	100% (215)	100% (126)	341

Figures in parentheses indicate frequencies

This table presents a comparative analysis of motivational factors by gender among supervisors in the Bangladeshi RMG sector. The data reveals notable differences between male and female supervisors across various motivational factors.

Table 24: Motivations by Gender

Motivation Factors by Gender	Male	Female	Total	chi²/p*	p-value
Respect	73.41	84.62	77.91	7.377	0.066
Salary Increment	78.17	94.08	84.56	19.609	0
Career growth	51.59	73.37	60.33	20.061	0
Power/Authority over workers	11.9	10.06	11.16	0.347	1
Leading the workers	18.65	27.22	22.09	4.315	0.378
Becoming a part of the office staff	16.67	40.24	26.13	29.116	0
Controlling the workers	12.7	24.85	17.58	10.314	0.013
Provides better standard of living	32.54	52.07	40.38	16.029	0.001
More holidays	1.59	5.92	3.33	5.899	0.151
Higher festive bonus	5.56	16.57	9.98	13.66	0.002
Total	302.78	428.99	353.44		

Figures indicate % responses

*Pearson ch²(1) / Bonferroni-adjusted p-values

Valid cases: 421

For instance, a significantly higher percentage of female supervisors (94.08%) are motivated by salary increments compared to their male counterparts (78.17%), a difference substantiated with statistical significance. Similarly, career growth is a more substantial motivating factor for females (73.37%) than for males (51.59%), also reflected in a statistically significant chi-square value. In contrast, aspects like power/authority over workers show negligible differences between genders, as evidenced by a chi-square value of 0.347 and a p-value of 1, suggesting no statistical significance in this regard. The data also highlights the

importance of 'Becoming a part of the office staff' and 'Controlling the workers' as motivational factors, more so for female supervisors, with significant chi-square values suggesting these differences are not due to chance. Overall, the table underscores gender-specific motivational disparities, emphasizing the need for gender-sensitive approaches in management and policymaking in the RMG sector.

9.2 Working Condition Comparisons

The following table provides a gender-specific breakdown of perceptions about various aspects of the working environment. Notably, a significant proportion of supervisors, regardless of gender, acknowledge the prevalence of long working hours, with females (66.27%) reporting a higher agreement rate than males (46.43%). This divergence may reflect a heightened awareness among female supervisors or potentially signal a compounded workload, possibly inclusive of unpaid domestic duties.

Table 25: Working Condition Comparison, Male vs Female Supervisors

Deventions	% of	total Ma	le	% of total Female			
Perceptions	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	
Long working hours	49.60	3.97	46.43	30.18	3.55	66.27	
Receive salary on time	2.78	0.40	96.83	1.78	1.18	97.04	
Salary is Low	68.25	1.98	29.76	23.67	1.78	74.56	
Production target is manageable	10.32	3.17	86.51	11.24	13.02	75.74	
Misbehaviour of higher management	71.43	3.97	24.60	73.96	6.51	19.53	
Experience of Harassment	63.49	4.37	32.14	81.07	4.73	14.20	
Intense work pressure or stress	39.29	11.90	48.81	36.31	7.74	55.95	
Good health care services	7.54	5.56	86.90	3.57	2.98	93.45	
Safe working environment	2.38	1.59	96.03	0.00	1.18	98.82	
Need to work at weekends	88.49	3.57	7.94	86.39	5.33	8.28	
Not being promoted	71.43	1.59	26.98	0.59	70.41	28.99	

The perception of inadequate salaries is strikingly more pronounced among female supervisors, where 74.56% find their salary low, as opposed to 29.76% of male supervisors. This stark contrast underscores the dissimilar expectations regarding fair compensation. To the female supervisors, a lot of sacrifices they need to make to perform the roles of supervisors. On the one hand, they have to manage household responsibilities and take care of children and senior family members. After doing these tasks, as a supervisor they are supposed to spend more time in factory. It might not be worthy to receive a salary in exchange of such sacrifices. It is also true, female supervisors have to work hard to continue this position. Considering these conditions both at home and factory, current salary seems too low to more female supervisors.

Salary punctuality emerges as a non-gendered concern, with both male (96.83%) and female supervisors (97.04%) nearly unanimously confirming timely remuneration. This aspect suggests that while salary adequacy is contentious, its timely disbursement is well-regulated across the sector.

Contrasts persist in the experience of workplace conduct and harassment; more male supervisors (24.60%) report misbehaviour from higher management compared to their female counterparts (19.53%), and a higher number of males (32.14%) also report harassment compared to females (14.20%). This may indicate a difference in exposure to, or willingness to report, such incidents among male supervisors.

Regarding production targets, both genders find them largely attainable, with males expressing slightly higher agreement (86.51%) than females (75.74%). This could suggest that male supervisors may perceive themselves as more capable of meeting targets or are more confident in their roles.

In terms of workplace welfare, both genders express high satisfaction with healthcare services and the safety of the working environment, with females reporting even higher satisfaction rates, which is an encouraging sign of the sector's commitment to employee well-being.

The need for weekend work is similarly low across genders, suggesting that work-life balance is maintained. The data on career progression reveals an intriguing uncertainty among female supervisors, with a considerable number neither agreeing nor disagreeing about promotion opportunities (70.41%), possibly indicating ambiguous career trajectories or disparate expectations from the organizational hierarchy.

This analysis elucidates gender-specific perspectives on working conditions within the RMG sector, indicating areas where targeted improvements could enhance equity and satisfaction among supervisors, particularly concerning compensation and professional advancement.

9.3 Benefits

The table "Benefits" provides a comprehensive view of diverse benefits available to supervisors, broken down by gender. With a total of 421 cases (252 male and 169 female), the table captures multiple response frequencies for each benefit type.

The most frequently cited benefit for both genders remains the "Bonus," constituting 15.14% of the total benefits reported by males and 13.14% by females. "Holidays" and "At least yearly increment at 5%" are also highly represented, constituting around 12% of the benefits for both genders, with a slightly higher incidence among males.

Benefits such as "Earn Leave Encashment Yearly" and "Sick Leave" show a balanced distribution, constituting roughly 6-8% of the benefits for all genders. This suggests that these benefits are less gender-specific and more universally applicable.

Certain categories like "Health Insurance" and "Welfare Fund" are less common overall but show slight gender variances. For example, "Health Insurance" makes up 2.67% of the male benefits and 1.03% of female benefits, whereas "Welfare Fund" constitutes 2.25% for males and just 0.48% for females.

It is noteworthy that some benefits, such as "Community Fund" and "Transportation Service," are entirely absent, represented by 0% for all genders. This may indicate that these benefits are either not offered or are so rare that they did not appear in the survey.

The p-values for 'Overtime pay', 'Welfare fund', 'Earn leave encashment yearly', 'Incentive to achieve target', 'Sick leave', are all below 0.05, suggesting significant gender differences in the distribution of these benefits.

Table 26: Supervisor Benefits Gendered Comparison

List of Benefits	Frequency			Perce	Chi²/p*	
List of Belletits	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Cili /p
Bonus	249	166	415	15.14%	13.14%	0.246
Overtime pays	24	43	67	1.46%	3.40%	19.159
Holidays	210	128	338	12.77%	10.13%	3.685
Health Insurance	44	13	57	2.67%	1.03%	8.245
Welfare fund	37	6	43	2.25%	0.48%	13.67
Earn leave encashment yearly	106	108	214	6.44%	8.55%	19.309
Night allowance	36	15	51	2.19%	1.19%	2.781
Holiday allowance	86	73	159	5.23%	5.78%	3.539
Attendance allowance	100	55	155	6.08%	4.35%	2.216
Incentive to achieve target	56	16	72	3.40%	1.27%	11.608
Medical insurance (mandatory)	47	18	65	2.86%	1.43%	4.959
At least yearly increment at 5%.	207	147	354	12.58%	11.64%	1.77
Earn leave	105	73	178	6.38%	5.78%	0.097
Sick leave	136	138	274	8.27%	10.93%	34.127
Casual leave	88	60	148	5.35%	4.75%	0.015
Paternity leave	45	11	56	2.74%	0.87%	16.551
Maternity leave	19	144	163	1.16%	11.40%	257.182
Provident fund	19	8	27	1.16%	0.63%	1.327
Education for offspring	4	11	15	0.24%	0.87%	7.131
Accommodation facilities	25	30	55	1.52%	2.38%	5.462
Total	1645	1263	2908	100.00%	100.00%	
Cases	252	169	421			

Overall, the table reveals subtle yet significant gender disparities in the distribution of benefits among supervisors. These percentages provide a more detailed view of how different benefits are prioritized or neglected for male and female supervisors, thereby highlighting areas that may warrant further investigation.

9.4 Gender Perceptions

The following tables provide insights into how male and female supervisors rate each other's performance. When female supervisors rate male supervisors, the evaluations are overwhelmingly positive: 84.02% consider them "Good" and an additional 11.83% rate them as "Very Good." Only a small fraction (4.14%) finds them merely "Satisfactory."

In contrast, the evaluations by male supervisors of female counterparts are more varied. While a substantial 46.83% rate female supervisors as "Good," and 9.92% as "Very Good," a notable

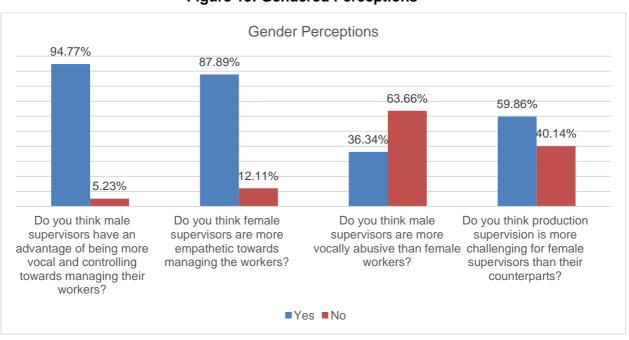
11.90% find them only "Satisfactory," and 2.38% even rate them as "Poor." Furthermore, 28.97% chose "Not Applicable," which could indicate a lack of interaction with or observation of female supervisors, or perhaps even an unwillingness to evaluate them.

Table 27: Gendered Rating of Performance

Rating	rated	supervisor by Male rvisors	Male supervisor rated by Female supervisors		
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	
Poor	6	2.38	-	-	
Satisfactory	30	11.9	7	4.14	
Good	118	46.83	142	84.02	
Very good	25	9.92	20	11.83	
Not applicable	73	28.97	-	-	
Total	252	100	169	100	

This discrepancy in ratings could point to differing expectations or biases between male and female supervisors regarding what constitutes effective supervision. The higher rate of positive evaluations from females toward males may imply a more harmonious working relationship in that direction. On the other hand, the more varied and less overwhelmingly positive ratings from males toward females could suggest room for improvement in how female supervisors are perceived or interact in predominantly male settings. In line with the previous findings, Macchiavello et al. (2020) show that managers and workers of both sexes believe that women are less capable supervisors in the factories, even though objective measures do not support these beliefs, the survey results show male supervisors are better in performing their roles compared to their counterparts.

Figure 19: Gendered Perceptions



Vocal and Controlling Advantage for Male Supervisors: The overwhelming majority across both genders (399 out of 421) believe that male supervisors have the advantage of being more vocal and controlling. Only a small fraction (22 out of 421) disagrees. This could point to a cultural or organizational perception that vocal and controlling behaviour is more acceptable or effective when coming from male supervisors.

Empathy in Female Supervisors: A large majority (370 out of 421, or 87.89%) think that female supervisors are more empathetic toward managing workers. This suggests that empathy is viewed as a characteristic strength of female supervisors. The above stated responses are consistent with Woodroff (2019), where they highlighted workers are more likely to share their grievances with female-led lines indicating they are more empathetic and compassionate compared to male supervisors.

Vocal Abusiveness in Male Supervisors: The responses are more divided when it comes to the perception of vocal abusiveness. Only 153 out of 421 respondents (36.34%) believe male supervisors are more vocally abusive than female supervisors, while a majority (63.66%) disagree. This might indicate that vocal assertiveness in male supervisors is not necessarily equated with abusiveness. A significant majority (252 out of 421, or 59.86%) think that production supervision is more challenging for female supervisors compared to their male counterparts. This could be influenced by the other perceptions of female supervisors being more empathetic but less vocal and controlling, traits that might be considered less advantageous in a production environment.

9.5 Gender Pay Gap

The table concerning the pay parity perception between male and female supervisors reveals a largely positive picture. A substantial majority of respondents (388 out of 421, or 92.16%) believe that female supervisors are paid the same as their male counterparts.



Figure 20: Gendered Comparison of Avg Monthly Income as a Supervisor

However, it is important to note that a small but not insignificant minority (33 out of 421, or 7.84%) perceive that female supervisors are paid less. The graph presents a comparison of salary distribution between male and female supervisors.

25K+ 14.29% 4.14% 22K-24.9K 18.25% 18.93% 37.70% 48.52% 19K-21.9K 20.71% 24.60% 16K-18.9K 5.16% 4.73% 13K-15.9K 2.37% 10K-12.9K ■ Male ■ Female

Figure 21: Income Bracket Comparison

Figures indicate % responses.

From the survey data, it is evident that there is a noticeable gender pay gap in the higher salary brackets. Specifically, 14.29% of male supervisors earn more than Tk. 25,000, compared to only 4.14% of female supervisors. This indicates that a higher proportion of male supervisors are in the top salary brackets. Overall, while there is a fair representation of all genders in the middle salary brackets, the data suggests a gender pay gap at the higher end of the salary spectrum in the RMG sector of Bangladesh. On average Male supervisor gets Tk 593 more.

As per the factory management, the observed gender pay gap among supervisors in the RMG sector is influenced primarily by the practices of internal promotion and external hiring. According to a supervisor in our study, women supervisors are predominantly promoted from within the factory, a path that, while advantageous for internal career progression, often results in lower salary increments compared to externally hired counterparts. In contrast, external hires tend to command higher starting salaries, and males constitute a larger share of this group. Additionally, male supervisors are generally more inclined to switch factories, pursuing opportunities for higher pay, thereby contributing to the existing pay disparities between genders.

In the examination of gender pay disparities within the RMG sector, regression analyses (Appendix 1C) yield insightful distinctions across factory sizes. For large factories, female supervisors earn statistically less than their male counterparts by 5 percent, found to be statistically significant at the 10% level. The experience as a supervisor significantly contributes to income, as evidenced by a positive coefficient of 0.011 (p<0.05). In medium-sized factories, longer working hours positively correlate with income, suggesting a reward for extended hours, though gender does not emerge as a significant determinant of pay. Small factories mirror this trend, with overtime pay showing a strong positive relationship with income (p<0.01), yet female gender again does not significantly affect earnings.

Across all factory sizes, the data does not support a statistically significant gender pay gap; however, the responses affirm the perception of equal pay. The lack of heteroskedasticity in the regressions bolsters the robustness of these findings. Notably, in large factories, where females are more prevalent, the impact of these results is particularly significant, indicating

that while disparities exist, they do not appear to be systematically gendered when considering the entire spectrum of factory sizes.

9.6 Female Specific Challenges

Figure 22 collectively addresses the concept of "Perceptions of Unique Challenges Faced by Female Supervisors" and offers an intriguing, gendered perspective on these challenges. The overall table indicates that "Household responsibilities" (61.2%), "Childcare" (40.0%), and "Family issues" (28.3%) are perceived as the most significant challenges for female supervisors. This perspective is more pronounced when you look at the table for female supervisors alone, where "Household responsibilities" and "Childcare" jump to 88.8% and 61.0%, respectively.

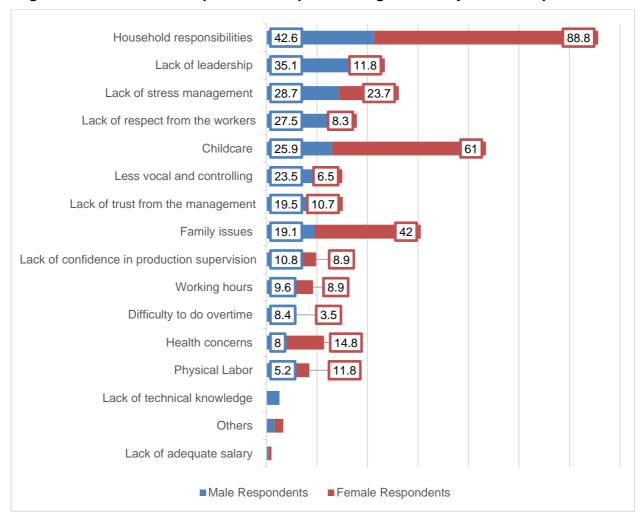


Figure 22: Gendered Perceptions of Unique Challenges faced by Female Supervisors

Figures indicate % responses.

In contrast, male supervisors perceive "Lack of leadership" (35.1%) and "Lack of stress management" (28.7%) as more prevalent challenges for female supervisors than do the female supervisors themselves (11.8% and 23.7% respectively). Also noteworthy is the divergence in perceptions about "Lack of respect from the workers"; while it ranks relatively high in male supervisors' perceptions at 27.5%, it falls to 8.3% among female supervisors.

The gender-disaggregated data also reveal nuanced differences in perceived challenges related to work environment and personal capacities. For instance, "Health concerns" and "Physical Labor" are mentioned more frequently by female supervisors (14.8% and 11.8%, respectively) than by their male counterparts (8.0% and 5.2%, respectively).

In summary, while both male and female supervisors recognize the unique challenges faced by female supervisors, their perceptions diverge significantly, particularly in areas related to household responsibilities, leadership qualities, and work-related stress. This divergence may point to underlying gender biases or different lived experiences that shape these perceptions.

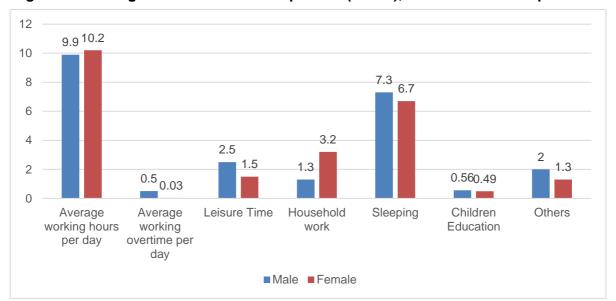


Figure 23: Average Time allotment Comparison (Hours), Male vs Female Supervisors

The above figure (23) offers a gender-based breakdown of time allocation for supervisors. Females work slightly longer regular hours at 10.2 per day, compared to males at 9.9 hours. Leisure time is also disparate, with males enjoying more leisure time at 2.5 hours, as opposed to 1.5 hours for females. In terms of household work, unsurprisingly, male supervisors spending less time on household chores than female supervisors. Time allocated to children's education is similar for both genders, but females spend marginally less time compared to males, might be because they are already invested in other tasks.

Figure 24 provides a comparison between female supervisors and workers in terms of how they allocate their time on an average day.

The most striking difference is in the "Average Working Hours per Day," where female supervisors clock in an average of 10.166 hours compared to the workers, who work approximately 8.006 hours. This indicates that female supervisors have a more demanding work schedule than their worker counterparts.

In contrast, when it comes to "Average Working Paid Overtime per Day," female workers appear to engage in substantially more overtime, with an average of 2.333 hours compared to a negligible 0.036 hours for supervisors. This suggests that while supervisors have longer standard working hours, workers are more likely to extend their workday through overtime.

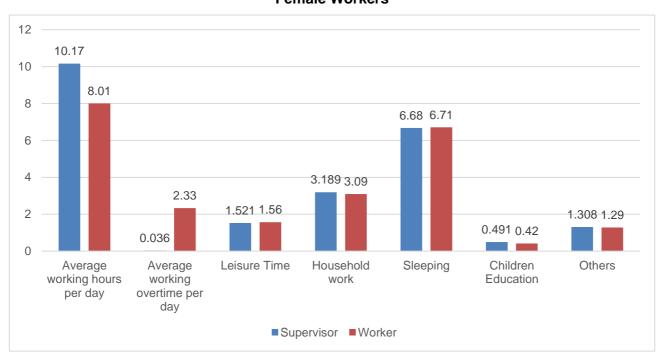


Figure 24: Average Time allotment Comparison (Hours), Female Supervisors Vs Female Workers

The table also reveals that both groups allocate nearly the same amount of time for "Leisure," with supervisors spending 1.521 hours and workers 1.564 hours. Similarly, both groups spend about three hours on "Household Work," indicating that domestic responsibilities are consistent across roles.

Sleeping time is nearly identical for both groups, hovering around 6.7 hours, suggesting that neither group gets the recommended 7-9 hours of sleep per night.

When it comes to "Children Education," both groups allocate approximately half an hour, though supervisors (0.491 hours) spend slightly more time than workers (0.418 hours). Finally, under the "Others" category, both supervisors and workers spend roughly 1.3 hours, pointing to a balanced allocation of time for miscellaneous activities.

Overall, the table paints a complex picture of the daily time commitments of female supervisors and workers. While supervisors have longer standard working hours, they engage in almost no paid overtime, and their leisure and household responsibilities remain largely similar to those of workers. In addition, the average working hours found to be consistent with the previous literature. The data also raises questions about work-life balance, particularly in the context of sleep and overtime commitments.

Table 28 "Health Condition Comparison, Male vs Female Supervisors" offers intriguing insights into the health conditions experienced by supervisors based on gender. For male supervisors, occasional headaches are reported by a significant majority (67.06%), with only a small fraction (1.59%) often experiencing this issue. Female supervisors show a similar trend, albeit with a slightly lower percentage reporting occasional headaches (59.17%) but a higher percentage experiencing them often (5.92%). This data could imply that while headaches are a common complaint, they tend to be a more persistent issue for female supervisors.

Table 28: Health Condition Comparison, Male vs Female Supervisors

	% of total Male			% of total Female			
	Never	Occasionally	Often	Never	Occasionally	Often	
Prevalence of headache	31.35%	67.06%	1.59%	34.91%	59.17%	5.92%	
Prevalence of fatigue	10.71%	75.79%	13.49%	7.10%	85.80%	7.10%	
Prevalence of back pain	73.41%	23.81%	2.78%	50.89%	40.83%	8.28%	

When examining fatigue, both genders report high occurrence rates, with 75.79% of male supervisors and an even higher 85.80% of female supervisors feeling fatigued occasionally. However, the incidence of often feeling fatigued is somewhat similar across genders, with 13.49% for males and 7.10% for females. These figures suggest that fatigue is a prevalent issue in the sector, with a notable part of the workforce experiencing it regularly, especially among female supervisors.

Back pain presents a distinct contrast between the genders. A considerable majority of male supervisors (73.41%) report never experiencing back pain, while less than half of the female supervisors (50.89%) report the same. Furthermore, back pain is often experienced by 8.28% of female supervisors, which is higher than the 2.78% of their male counterparts. This disparity could indicate differences in physical demands of the job or differential reporting thresholds.

In summary, the data suggests that health issues such as headaches, fatigue, and back pain are common among supervisors, with certain conditions being reported more frequently by female supervisors. These findings highlight the need for gender-sensitive health interventions and workplace ergonomics considerations in the RMG sector.

The respondents in FGDs mentioned that as a male supervisor it is not that hard to manage the female workers, but they did mention seeing their female counterparts struggling to manage male workers. Male workers do not like to listen to a woman giving them orders. The male supervisor participants mentioned that they can negotiate with female workers most of the time and they are better workers compared to male workers.

The male supervisors also said that factories are reluctant to hire female supervisors due to their belief that women are unable to control workers. They think that females cannot put pressure on workers as men do. Also, male workers are disobedient under female supervisors. They also mentioned that men have certain physical advantages as well such as moving inventory and input materials.

Majority of the female responders raised concerns in this regard. They mentioned that they are able to give less time to their families on average compared to before. They are worried about the wellbeing of their children and regret not being able to spend more time in their upbringing. They said that after work they have to take care of cooking and other household responsibilities. They also mentioned having a supportive mother-in-law or a daughter in law can be really helpful during this time. Females are hesitant to become supervisors because of the late working hours as stated by the HR of factory. However, it is also true as a factory management said,

"Women feel in power when they are represented as part of the management staff."

9.7 Overall Satisfaction Comparison

The figure below illustrates a comparison of satisfaction levels between male and female supervisors. Interestingly, despite the challenges faced by female supervisors, such as complaints about pay and stress, they exhibit a slightly higher satisfaction level (92.31%) compared to male supervisors (90.87%). This higher satisfaction among female supervisors can be attributed to the social respect they gain from ascending to upper levels of the workforce, which are typically less populated by females. The upward mobility into supervisory roles seems to offset some of the negative aspects of their job, underscoring the importance of career advancement in enhancing job satisfaction, particularly for women in the workforce.

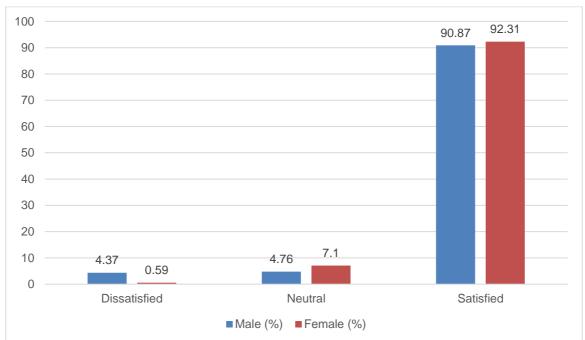


Figure 25: Satisfaction Level Comparison Male vs Female Supervisors (%)

The significantly lower dissatisfaction rate among female supervisors (0.59%) compared to male supervisors (4.37%) further supports this observation. Despite the fact that females may face more challenges in these roles, the increased social respect and recognition they receive as supervisors seem to contribute to a more positive overall job experience. This reflects the complex dynamics of job satisfaction, where factors beyond pay and work stress, such as social standing and career progression, play a crucial role, especially in gendered contexts.

10 Recommendations

The RMG sector in Bangladesh is experiencing a growing need for clarity on the legal standing and entitlements of supervisors. This section synthesizes proposals from various stakeholders, aiming to address the complexities and challenges associated with the role and rights of supervisors.

10.1 Legal Classification and Wage Determination

Stakeholders unanimously pointed out the vagueness surrounding the legal classification of supervisors. In the existing setup, labour courts often classify supervisors as workers, while factories categorize them as staff. This incongruence leads to complexities concerning their entitlements, such as overtime pay and other benefits. One proposal suggests the inclusion of supervisors in the minimum wage gazette under "Schedule B," though some caution that this might lead to a feeling of dishonour among supervisors who do not want to be grouped with workers and the fact that they would rather like to negotiate with the owners for their salary.

In line with this, stakeholders urged the need for a more comprehensive definition of roles in the minimum wage gazette. The government should consider amending the nationwide minimum wage scale in a way that recognizes specialized positions like embroidery, printing, and washing, which are currently not well-defined alongside production floor supervisors.

10.2 Policy Recommendations

The overarching recommendation calls for a thorough revision of existing labour laws to clearly define the role of supervisors. Some have proposed adding the term "supervisor" in parenthesis with "line in-charge" in the minimum wage board schedules to circumvent future complications. Others have suggested the need to clearly define roles in the labour laws and make separate provisions for officer-level personnel like supervisors.

In a noteworthy development, a proposal from government stakeholders has suggested a comprehensive redefinition of the term "worker" to address the complexities around supervisors. The new proposed definition is as follows:

"Worker" means any person who, in an establishment or industry directly or by any contractor, by whatever name called, engages for wages in return for wages, including apprentices, skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, manual, technical, business development, clerical, supervisory, be employed to perform managerial or administrative or other functions; By whatever name he may be called an officer or employee and whatever the terms of his employment may be express or implied, he shall include; However, the person responsible in writing mentioned in subsection 49 (b) of section 2 shall not be included in it."

The justification for this new definition aims to address multiple issues. Firstly, it seeks to simplify and clarify what characterizes a worker. Secondly, it acknowledges that while administrative or supervisory officers, or those in managerial work like line-in-charge, floor-in-

charge, and managers are not traditionally considered workers, they often have no policy-determining power and are frequently victims of deprivation. This is evident from the increasing number of complaints filed by this category of employee officers in the Labour Court. Thirdly, the proposal aims to reduce complications associated with end-of-employment payments and labour dissatisfaction. Finally, it aligns with Higher Court rulings stating that the definition of a worker in the Labour Act cannot be separated from the employed person and cites the Indian OSHWC Code of 2020 as a comparable framework.

This comprehensive redefinition, if adopted, would significantly reduce the legal ambiguities currently faced by supervisors and other similar roles, offering a more coherent policy framework for labour rights and entitlements.

Stakeholders also brought to light the absence of a national minimum wage below which wages cannot be paid, arguing that unemployment benefits in other countries often exceed the wages of those employed in Bangladesh.

10.3 Standardized Appointment Letter:

- Transition management: Transition Procedures should detail the shift from worker to supervisor, highlighting changes in role, responsibilities, and benefits. It is essential to include a brief on new duties, authority levels, and any alterations in working conditions or remunerations. This ensures a smooth and informed transition, fostering effective adaptation to supervisory roles. When workers transition to supervisors, they should be clearly informed about the implications for service benefits. The policy must address the potential loss of worker service benefits, ensuring that they understand changes in their entitlements. Unionized workers, upon promotion, often lose their union membership, severing their contributions and participation in collective bargaining, which necessitates clear communication about their altered role in labour representation.
- Variability in Transparency: There is a noticeable difference in how transparent each factory is with its compensation details and job responsibilities. This could have implications for employee satisfaction and retention. Offer appointment letter that includes everything in written as per service rules and labour law which could be a basis of legal action.
- **Standardization Needs**: The lack of standardization in terms and conditions, especially concerning termination, probation, and benefits, suggests the need for industry-wide policies to ensure fairness and equity.
- Worker Protection and Welfare: Differences in leave policies, particularly maternity leave, indicate potential areas where worker protection could be improved through standardized policies.
- **Job Role Clarity**: The varying levels of detail in job descriptions might reflect differences in role expectations and performance evaluation criteria, which could affect job clarity and employee performance.

10.4 Workplace Practices and Benefits

• The issue of overdue payments was highlighted, with calls for the timely payment of staff salaries, which are often delayed by several months.

- Proposals also included the need for equal pay for internally promoted and externally hired supervisors.
- Ensure that supervisors are paid their due salary even during probation periods.
- Female participants emphasized the need for equal pay irrespective of gender, as they
 are often paid less for physically intensive tasks.
- There were also calls for setting more reasonable output targets and not forcing supervisors to work on mandated holidays.
- Fulfil female appropriate needs for female supervisor and arrange a gender sensitive workplace.
- Ensure quality childcare services for female supervisors.

10.5 Trade Unions and Collective Bargaining

A nuanced proposal suggested a legal realignment, specifying that supervisors could be considered workers for financial benefits but not for the formation of trade unions. This would ensure their financial entitlements while keeping a distinction from worker-level employees. At least supervisors need to get the access to PC to share their grievances. The inspection team of DIFE could monitor the working conditions of supervisors, check service rules, appointment letter and job descriptions.

The myriad proposals from stakeholders underscore the immediate need for policy intervention to bring clarity in the legal and workplace standing of supervisors in the RMG sector. While some issues are straightforward, like the need for timely payments, others require complex legal and policy adjustments. As all participants agreed, more clarity is essential for the sector to progress and for supervisors to perform their roles effectively and fairly.

10.6 Adverse Social Norms and Gender Bias

The factory management needs to work with male supervisors to change their perceptions towards female supervisors as the findings showed that, according to male supervisors, their female counterparts were struggling more with leadership skills. In addition to making efforts to change such gender perceptions, factory management could also work in providing trainings to all supervisors to develop their leadership skills. We should focus on the importance of working on changing social norms at the household and community level as women face backlash from family when performing supervisory roles.

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12 Appendices

Appendix 1. Regression Tables

1A. Effect of Training on Income

Treatment-effects estimation

Income of Supervisors	Coef.	p-value	Control Variables
Training (YES)	730.812***	0.003	
No	19801.74	0	
Overall Satisfaction, Worker			Yes
Satisfaction, Supervisor			Yes
Gender			Yes
Factory Size			Yes
Average Overtime, worker			Yes
Age			Yes
Work experience, RMG			Yes
Work Experience, Superivsor			Yes
Expenditures, Supervisor			Yes
Income Difference (Sup-Work)			Yes
Constant Mean dependent var	20193.054		

Treatment-effects estimation (Average Treatment on the Treated)

Coef.	p-value	Control Variables
864.45***	0.0031	
19854.74	0	
		Yes
	864.45***	864.45*** 0.0031

Constant 20193.054 Mean dependent var

1B. Law Awareness and Satisfaction

VARIABLES	Overall Satisfaction, Supervisor
Law Awareness	0.415**
Law Awareness	0.185
Income of Supervisors	2.33e-05*
income of Supervisors	1.34E-05
Income of Workers	8 93F-06

	1.08E-05
Overall Satisfaction, Worker	0.426***
Overall Satisfaction, Worker	0.143
labour court	5.45E-06
labour_court	8.15E-05
labour_court_desig	-0.000240**
	0.000115
LR test of Insigma=0	chi2(1) = 3.93
	Prob > chi2 = 0.0475
Observations	412

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

1C. Gender Pay Gap

For large factories

Inincome_sup	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
: base male	0			•			
female	051	.03	-1.70	.091	109	.008	*
avg_hr_wrk_sup	.009	.009	1.04	.302	008	.027	
avg_hr_ot_ sup	.022	.014	1.56	.12	006	.05	
hh_t_wrk_ sup	.01	.011	0.94	.347	011	.031	
leis_t_s	.015	.011	1.43	.154	006	.036	
child_educ_ sup	.026	.016	1.62	.107	006	.057	
0	0						
work_year_rmg	004	.003	-1.26	.208	011	.002	
sup_work_year	.011	.005	2.14	.034	.001	.02	**
age_year	.004	.002	1.63	.106	001	.008	
Constant	9.678	.123	78.68	0	9.435	9.92	***
Mean dependent	var	9.9		dependent v	var 0.	.145	
R-squared		0.	149 N un	nber of obs		198	
F-test		3.0	645 Prol	o > F	0.	.000	
Akaike crit. (AIC)		-214.	771 Bay	esian crit. (E	3IC) -181.	.888	

^{***} p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

For medium factories

Inincome_sup	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
: base male	0	·		•	•	•	
female	.031	.031	0.98	.329	031	.092	
avg_hr_wrk_sup	.015	.009	1.70	.092	002	.032	*
avg_hr_ot_sup	.035	.013	2.70	.008	.009	.061	***
hh_t_wrk_sup	.003	.01	0.34	.731	016	.023	
leis_t_sup	008	.011	-0.69	.49	029	.014	
child_educ_sup	012	.018	-0.65	.515	048	.024	
0	0	•					
work_year_rmg	0	.003	-0.09	.928	006	.005	
sup_work_year	.008	.004	1.83	.069	001	.017	*
age_year	.002	.002	1.25	.212	001	.006	
Constant	9.618	.121	79.55	0	9.378	9.857	***

Mean dependent var9.875SD dependent var0.118R-squared0.131Number of obs146

F-test	2.275	Prob > F	0.021
Akaike crit. (AIC)	-212.075	Bayesian crit. (BIC)	-182.239

^{***} p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

For small factories

Inincome_sup	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
: base male	0						_
female	.029	.065	0.45	.651	1	.158	
avg_hr_wrk_sup	.015	.016	0.90	.369	018	.047	
avg_hr_ot_sup	.092	.023	4.09	0	.047	.137	***
hh_t_wrk_sup	.001	.022	0.04	.966	043	.045	
leis_t_sup	.006	.025	0.26	.797	043	.056	
child_educ_sup	.01	.022	0.44	.663	034	.053	
0	0						
work_year_rmg	.002	.006	0.26	.794	01	.013	
sup_work_year	.015	.008	1.80	.077	002	.031	*
age_year	.001	.004	0.16	.875	007	.008	
Constant	9.586	.228	41.98	0	9.13	10.042	***
Mean dependent	var	9.	906 SD	dependent v	var 0.	.160	
R-squared		0.3	351 Nun	nber of obs		77	
F-test		4.	035 Prol	b > F	0.	.000	
Akaike crit. (AIC)		-78.	159 Bay	esian crit. (I	BIC) -54.	.721	
*** n . 01 ** n . 01	= * n . 1						

^{***} p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

For all factories

i di ali lactorica							
Inincome_sup	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
: base male	0			•	•	•	
female	004	.02	-0.22	.829	044	.036	
: base 0	0			•	•	•	
Medium	059	.015	-4.02	0	088	03	***
Small	046	.019	-2.41	.016	083	009	**
avg_hr_wrk_s	.014	.006	2.43	.015	.003	.025	**
avg_hr_ot_s	.045	.009	5.20	0	.028	.063	***
hh_t_wrk_s	.004	.007	0.56	.575	01	.018	
leis_t_s	.004	.007	0.52	.6	011	.018	
child_educ_s	.012	.01	1.22	.225	008	.032	
0	0			•	•	•	
work_year_rmg	001	.002	-0.46	.645	005	.003	
sup_work_year	.011	.003	3.53	0	.005	.017	***
age_year	.002	.001	1.49	.138	001	.005	
Constant	9.663	.081	119.38	0	9.504	9.822	***
Mean dependent	var	9.	905 SD	dependent	var 0.	.141	
R-squared		0.	154 Nun	nber of obs		421	
F-test		6.	785 Prol	o > F	0.	.000	
Akaike crit. (AIC)		-503.	102 Bay	esian crit. (BIC) -454.	.590	

^{***} p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

Appendix 2. RMG Minimum wages (Old and new)

	Schedule A						
Grades	Scope	Basic Pay	House Rent	Medical	Transport	Food	Total
Grade 1	Pattern Master, Chief Quality Controller	10,440	5,220	600	350	900	17,510
Grade 2	Mechanic, Electrician, Cutting Master	8,520	4,260	600	350	900	14,630
Grade 3	Mechanic, Electrician, Cutting Master	5,160	2,580	600	350	900	9,590
Grade 4	Sewing Machine Operator, Quality Inspector, Cutter, Packer, Line Leader	4,930	2,465	600	350	900	9,245
Grade 5	Jr Machine Operator, Jr Cutter, Jr Marker	4,670	2,335	600	350	900	8,855
Grade 6	Operator of General Sewing/Button Machines	4,370	2,185	600	350	900	8,405
Grade 7	Assistant Sewing Machine Operator, Assistant Dry Washing Man, Line Iron Man	4,100	2,050	600	350	900	8,000
Trainee	,						5,975
		Sched	ule B				
Grades	Scope	Basic Pay	House Rent	Medical	Transport	Food	Total
Grade 1	Storekeeper, Sr. Assistant, Sr. Fireman	8,150	4075	600	350	900	14,075
Grade 2	Nurse, Sr Computer/Lift/AC/Broiler/UTP Operator, Driver, Fireman	6,300	3,150	600	350	900	11,300
Grade 3	Office Clark, Timekeeper, Caretaker, Production Reporter	5,950	2,975	600	350	900	10,775
Grade 4	Peon, Cook, Security Guard, Cleaner, Maid	4,350	2,175	600	350	900	8,375

New Minimum Wage Gazette (2023)						
Grades	Basic Pay	House Rent	Medical	Transport	Food	Total
Grade 1	8,200	4,100	750	450	1,250	14,750
Grade 2	7,800	3,900	750	450	1,250	14,150
Grade 3	7,400	3,700	750	450	1,250	13,550
Grade 4	7,050	3,525	750	450	1,250	13,025
Grade 5	6,700	3,350	750	450	1,250	12,500
Apprentice	4,950	2,475	750	450	1,250	9,875

Ministry of Labour and Employment (2023)

Appendix 3. Sampling Methodology

Context and Approach

For the study of supervisors in Bangladesh's RMG sector, where the total population size is unknown, Cochran's formula for sample size determination in unknown populations is utilized (Cochran, 1997). This approach is particularly suitable for obtaining a representative sample in situations where the total population is not clearly defined.

Cochran's Formula

The formula applied is:

$$n_0 = \frac{Z_2 \times p \times (1-p)}{e^2}$$

Where:

 n_0 = Sample size

Z = Z-score (for a 95% confidence level, Z = 1.96)

p = Estimated proportion of the attribute present in the population (0.5 used for maximum variability)

 e^2 = Desired level of precision (margin of error, typically 5%)

Example Calculation

Assuming a 95% confidence level and a 5% margin of error, the calculation would be as follows:

For maximum variability, p=0.5

Desired level of precision (margin of error), e=0.05

Z-score for a 95% confidence level, Z=1.96

Plugging these values into Cochran's formula:

$$n_0 = \frac{1.962 \times 0.5 \times (1 - 0.5)}{0.052} \approx 385$$

Therefore, a minimum sample size of approximately 385 supervisors would need to be targeted for the survey to achieve a representative sample with a 95% confidence level and a 5% margin of error.

Appendix 4. Supervisor Appointment Letters & Job Descriptions

4A. Sample Appointment Letter I:

CONFIDENTIAL Candidate's terms and conditions of employment 1. Salary and allowances House Medical OT rate Basic Food Total Commute Misc allowance wages rent allowance wages /hour

2. Other financial benefits payable:

a) Festival Allowance: All employees working in this company are given two festival allowances on two Eids in a year.

100% of basic wages if continuous employment is 6 (six) months 50% of basic wages if 3 (three) months less than six months of basic wages will be paid as festival allowance if less than three months.

- b) Annual Increment (Annual Increment): Minimum 5% of the basic salary will be incremented/guaranteed annually.
- 3. General Holidays: a) Weekend Holidays: 1 (one) day in a week. b) Festival leave: 11 (eleven) days in a year. c) Casual leave: 10 (ten) days in a year. d) Pain leave: 14 (fourteen) days in a year. Annual leave: 1 (one) day against every 18 (eighteen) working days from the date of joining the service which can be accumulated up to a maximum of 40 (forty) days. f) Maternity leave: 112 (one hundred times days) full on salary
- 4) Working hours and overtime: Shall be governed by labor laws and rules and company's own service rules and necessary policies.

5. Conditions:

- a) The next 3 (three) months for workers and 6 (six) months for employees will be considered as apprenticeship period from the date of joining your service. After completing the apprenticeship with credit you will be considered as a regular worker/employee. No letter will be issued for this. During the apprenticeship, the authority may terminate your employment at any time without notice or you may also be furloughed from employment. In that case all dues will be paid according to your attendance. No other benefits will be provided.
- b) In case of removal (termination) of a permanent worker from employment by the company, a written notice of 120 days or an amount equal to the wages for the notice period shall be paid to the worker. Similarly, if the worker wishes, he can resign from the job by giving a written notice of 60 days or by paying an amount equal to the wages for the notice period to the company.
- c) Your employment will be governed by the rules and regulations issued by the company and the prevailing labor laws in Bangladesh. All rules and regulations of the Company are subject to change and you are obliged to comply with the changed rules at all times. If you are ever found guilty of any misconduct, the authorities may punish you according to law, including dismissal.
- d) Your job may be transferred to any other factory/institution under the company's jurisdiction as required by the company.
- e) You cannot accept any employment anywhere else directly or indirectly while working in this

nstitution. Upon termination of your employment, you shall return all the company's papers, document any other material in your custody and you shall not retain copies or parts of any documents relat to the company's business. Keep business strategies confidential. All terms and conditions of employment shall be governed by existing labor laws and rules. If the above terms are acceptable to you can join the work before (month/day/year)				
Signature of the worker				
Date:				
Employer's signature				
Date:				

4B. Sample Appointment Letter II:

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject: Letter of Appointment

Dear [Redacted],

We are pleased to offer you employment in [Redacted] as a " **Supervisor (Sewing)** " on the following terms and conditions with effect from [Redacted].

1) Effective from the date of your joining, the following salary and allowances will be paid to you in arrears.

Basic wages	House rent	Medical allowance	Conveyance	Food allowance	Gross Salary

(In words. ____ Only)

In addition, you will be entitled to Festival and Annual Bonuses which will depend on the Bonus Scheme in existence.

- 2) You will join in the Production Department of [Redacted] and report to the Manager Production in [Redacted]
- 3) You will be on probation for a period of 06 (six) months from the date of your Joining. Upon satisfactory completion of the probation period, you will be confirmed in permanent employment.
- 4) Unsatisfactory progress during the probation period may be terminated during the period of probation without assigning any reason or prior notice.
- 5) After confirmation of service, two months' notice or payment of two months' basic salary in lieu of notice will be required on either side for termination of employment.
- 6) After confirmation of your services, you may resign from the services of the Company by giving 60 (sixty) days prior notice in writing.
- 7) That, you may be required to extend your assistance in any legal work for this company in addition to your prime responsibilities.
- 8) It is an expressed condition of this contract that you will not pass on, disclose to or discuss with any unauthorized person either during your employment with the Company or after cessation of employment any information, incident or document concerning the Company's business, agreements, finances, planning, manuals etc or staff salaries. Failure to observe this condition will be construed as breach of trust and can warrant your dismissal and or make you liable to such action as deemed appropriate under law.
- 9) You should understand that confirmation of your employment is subject to verification of the information contained in your employment application.
- 10) Other benefits, facilities and welfare, obligations and regulations will be as per Policies and Service Regulations of the Company This policies and service regulations with amendments from time to time will be applicable to you and binding on you.
- 11) You are also responsible for attached job description where your rules and responsibilities described for supervisory category under BLL-2006, Rule 2015 (2-Chh).

Should you agree to accept this offer on the terms and conditions set out in this letter, you are requested to return the duplicate copy of this letter duly signed by you.

We congratulate you on your selection and welcome you in [Redacted].

Yours faithfully,
Executive Director
I, the undersigned confirm that I accept the employment with [Redacted] on the terms and conditions as specified in clause 1 to 10 of this appointment letter.
Signature:

4C. Sample Appointment Letter III:

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject: Appointment Letter

Dear Sir/Madam,

Following your application for employment dated ______, and subsequent interview and evaluation, the authority has decided to appoint you as a "Supervisor" in the Swing department/section, subject to the following terms, effective from _____, upon your consent.

Terms and Conditions

- 1) The first six (6) months following your joining will be considered as probationary period. During this period, if your behaviour, obedience, performance, and duty-consciousness are found satisfactory, your employment will be made permanent, and no separate letter will be issued regarding this.
- 2) During the probationary period, the authority may terminate your employment at any time without any compensation.
- 3) Your responsibilities and duties during the employment will be as follows:
 - a) The primary and foremost responsibility will be to oversee the work of your subordinate workers.
 - b) To provide work direction to subordinate workers.
 - c) To set targets for the work of the subordinate line/branch.
 - d) To control the scope of work of the subordinate line/branch.
 - e) To control the implementation of the work of the subordinate line/branch.
 - f) To evaluate and review the work of subordinate workers.
 - g) To recommend wage determination for newly hired skilled workers in your line/branch.
 - h) To recommend/approve leave for subordinate workers.
 - i) To ensure timely input in the subordinate line.
 - j) To fill up the Daily Target of the subordinate line.
 - k) To maintain efficiency in the subordinate line as per the plan/directions of superiors.
 - To ensure the production of quality garments in the subordinate line.
- 4) You will be provided with a total salary of BDT 20,000.00.
- After the probationary period, your salary structure will be rearranged according to the company's prevailing rules.
- 6) Your monthly salary will be paid within the first seven (7) working days of the subsequent month.
- 7) You will be provided with an identification card and must wear it at all times at the workplace.
- 8) Once permanent, if you wish to resign from your position, you must provide one (1) month's advance notice. Without such notice, compensation is equivalent to one month's salary.
- 9) Leave is granted as per the following rules:
 - a) Weekend leave: 01 (one) day weekend for working 06 (six) days in a week.
 - b) Casual leave: 10 (ten) days in a year on full wages. This leave cannot be carried over to the next year.
 - c) Sick leave: 14 (fourteen) days in a year on full wages. This leave cannot be used in the next year.
 - d) Festival Leave: 13 (thirteen) days in a year (fixed by authority) on full wages.
 - e) **Maternity Leave:** Maternity leave for women is 16 (sixteen) weeks on full wages. However, those whose employment period has not completed 6 (six) months or who currently have 02 (two) children alive will not get this maternity benefit.
 - f) **Annual Leave**: Annual leave if 12 (times) consecutive months of service is completed, 1 (one) day for every 18 (eighteen) working days of previous year which can be availed at any time thereafter. However, this leave will not accumulate more than 40 (forty) days.
- 10) Upon your employment, you will be included in a group insurance scheme as determined by the government.
- 11) You will be granted a festival bonus according to the company's prevailing rules.
- 12) Every working day, one (1) hour will be provided for lunch, prayer, and rest.
- 13) Disobedience of logical orders from superiors, either individually or collectively, theft, embezzlement, fraud, and dishonesty regarding the owner's business or property, accepting bribes related to employment of any worker, habitual absence/delay, habitual negligence in work, providing false information during employment, and disorderly conduct, rioting, fighting, arson, vandalism, or any similar misconduct will result in disciplinary action in accordance with the company's prevailing rules.
- 14) If necessary for the institution, you may be transferred at any time to any other branch or department of the company at the same level of work.
- 15) Any change in the permanent or current address provided in your CV must be immediately notified to the authority.
- 16) Other terms and conditions related to your appointment not described in this letter will be governed by the company's prevailing rules.

If you agree to join the mentioned position according to the above terms, please indicate your consent by signing on a copy of this appointment letter.				
Signature (Understood the above matters, signed, and accepted voluntarily and knowingly)				
Deputy Manager/Manager/Senior Manager Worker/Employee				

4D. Sample Job Description I:

Job Description

Will report to: Line Chief / Job Title: Supervisor Section: Garments Sewing

Executive

Required Educational Qualification: Must pass S.Sc. But educational qualification is relaxable in case of experience. Physically fit should have 3-5 years of experience in operating swing machines and as garment inputman/operator/supervisor in a garment factory. Age-20 50 years from

Necessary responsibilities and duties:

- 1. Reaching the factory before 8 am and ensuring machines are clean before starting production on the line. In case of absence of operator, taking necessary measures to fill the vacancies of absent operators.
- 2. Support of maintenance department should be taken if necessary, in case of technical problems. All support including accessories is guaranteed before the arrival of the new style line Karan
- Ensuring correctness of eye guard, needle guard, pulley cover etc. and their use. Collection of new needles by collecting broken needles. Ensuring supply of cutters, scissors, bobbin cases and other necessary materials to the operators.
- 4. Monitoring the progress of production work hourly. Calculating defective (alter) goods every hour and clearing them every hour.
- 5. Motivating the operators/helpers regarding (a) punctuality, (b) improvement of work efficiency, (c) cleanliness of machines and workplace, (d) sense of orderliness, (e) personal safety etc.
- 6. Meeting the line chief after the workday and explaining the day's work to him. Attending any meeting with the Line Chief and leaving the workplace with their permission.
- 7. Taking input from cutting section according to style and checking whether the output body is error free. Be careful not to waste time in line. Follow line chief's instructions to ensure that products are not rejected.
- 8. Ensuring compliance and adherence to buyer compliance and company rules and regulations as per their scope of work. Ensure cleaning of machine after work. Perform any other duties as assigned by superior authority.
- 9. Understanding from hourly target operators

Documents/Records: Ensuring preparation and preservation of all applicable/company prescribed reports/records related to line production.

Internal relationship: To maintain social responsibility and create a better life by keeping the work environment in order, to maintain teamwork and to seek information from other members of the team and to work by maintaining better relations.

Required Critical: Must have the mindset to adapt to any complex environment.

Behavioural Competencies/Requesewing machines and supervising listance of Works: Daily f	ines.	nical): Should have experience in operating
	Signatures	
Employee	Dept Head	Compliance
Employee	Dept Head	Compliance

4E. Sample Job Description II:

Job Description/ Responsibility

Name	
Designation	Supervisor
ID No.	
Department	Production
Section	Sewing
Report to	Line Chief
Follow up	Production follow up of respective sewing
Team	line

- 1. Responsibilities and Duties of the Supervisor (Sewing):
 - a) The primary and most important responsibility is to supervise the work of your subordinate workers.
 - b) To provide work direction to subordinate workers.
 - c) To set targets for the work of the subordinate line/branch.
 - d) To control the scope of work of the subordinate line/branch.
 - e) To control the implementation of the work of the subordinate line/branch.
 - f) To evaluate and review the work of subordinate workers.
 - g) To recommend the determination of wages for newly hired skilled workers in your line/branch.
 - a) To recommend/approve leave for subordinate workers.
 - h) To ensure the timely input in the subordinate line.
 - i) To fill up the Daily Target of the subordinate line.
 - j) To maintain efficiency in the subordinate line as per the plan/directions of superiors.
 - k) To ensure the production of quality garments in the subordinate line.
- 2. Documents to be Maintained include:
 - a) Scissor/Cutter Issue Report
 - b) Input Report
 - c) Hourly Report
 - d) Production Report
 - e) 5's Follow Up report.

Job Nature	Full-time		
Educational Requirements	S.S.C (In-house promotion education qualification may be relaxed)		
Experience Requirements	Minimum Two Years		
Job Requirements	Minimum 18 years, good communication skill, excellent in speaking & writing skill.		
Job Location	Gazipur		

Signatures

Head of Department	Human Resource Department	Signatory employee/officer	



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