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Abstract

We study participants of a targeted skill-training program, which was implemented by a local Non-Government Organization (NGO) to help young members of extreme poor families attaining skills to secure jobs in Ready Made Garment (RMG) industry in Bangladesh. Employing mix method technique – by combining qualitative structured detailed interview and quantitative survey data – we focused on training and migration decisions of individuals, which enabled us to explore deeper insights of the ground reality of factory work and training program in countries like Bangladesh. We observe that the key motivation for poor villagers to participate in this training program was the expectation of higher income in the RMG sector. However, we observed that many participants returned back to their villages, although their income in rural areas are not higher than that of the migrants, which pose a puzzle of why some of the participants returned back after the training and initial migration. Our detailed case study and quantitative evidence suggest that, other than family obligations and challenging working conditions in factories, cost of living is a major obstacle faced by the urban factory workers, which captures a major portion of their earnings and deteriorates potentials for sending remittance back home. Also, the rising wage of seasonal agricultural work and low cost of living in rural areas attract many to return to their respective villages and not to migrate out of the village in the future, even though they have the limited and infrequent seasonal income opportunities.



1.0 Introduction

Since the early 80s, the ready-made garment (RMG) sector has been growing exponentially every year and has been the most important industry in terms of export in Bangladesh. The RMG sector accounts for almost 80% of the total export of the country, with 5400 factories employing around 4 million people (Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association, 2013). A notable feature of the RMG sector is that the factories are concentrated in Dhaka and Chittagong areas and the majority (85 percent) of garment workers are migrants from different parts of the country. However, migrants' distribution by source region is rather unbalanced. In particular, northern Bangladesh has the lowest participation rate for workers in the garment industry in spite of being one of the most poverty-stricken regions of Bangladesh. As of 2010, poverty rates were about 11 percentage points higher in the north than in the rest of the country. A lack of relevant skills and job-related network, inadequate information on RMG industry, and migration costs, which are highly relative to income, have each contributed to the low participation from northern Bangladesh. In this context, a targeted skill development program may come to the rescue of the disadvantaged youth from ultra-poor families in northern Bangladesh.

This paper studies the participants of such a skill-training program, named as SHIREE project, conducted in Gaibandha, a disaster-prone district located at the northern part of Bangladesh. Being dependent mostly on agriculture based activities; people of Gaibandha are more vulnerable to natural disasters. SHIREE project funded by the DFID,¹ was designed to provide a two month-long training on sewing machine operation and another two-month long training of on-the-job internship program in a factory located in the capital city Dhaka, was executed by an northern based NGO named Gana Unnayan Kendra (GUK) from the year 2010 to 2013. It was believed that such a training program will bridge the gap of skill shortage for the target population, will provide them an opportunity to get a regular job at thriving ready-made garment industrial sector, which will eventually help poor families to earn a higher and stable wage, and other indirect economic and social impacts like financial independence and empowerment.

The training program was largely successful in terms of job success and continuation rate of the trainees in the RMG sector (our data also reveals that the success rate of continuing employment in the RMG sector by trainees is 30% compared with 11% of the non-uptake group).² A rigorous econometric evaluation of this training program has been done in the Selim and Shonchoy (2016) study, which also confirms these findings. However, the success story of 30% employment in the RMG sector by the program participants, also tells us that a large proportion (about two-third) of

¹ Under the Stimulating Household Improvements Resulting in Economic Empowerment (SHIREE) funding scheme. See https://issuu.com/eep.shiree/docs/guk_llr/1?e=4460133/10331777

² As the program completion rate was about 80%.



trainees returned back to their originated village after completing the training, migration and initial employment at a factory in Dhaka. Given that these participants were interested in acquiring skills and getting a job at a factory in the RMG sector and are from economically disadvantaged households, it is important to understand what made these participants take different decisions after the training, migration and initial employment success. To shed light on this, we organized all the target participants into five distinct categories and conducted quantitative surveys combined with detailed qualitative case-studies. Using stratified random sampling based on gender and categorization, twenty two individuals (eleven females and eleven males) were picked, from the pool of target participants of the SHIREE project. Although this selection of twenty-two individuals for the case-study is rather ad hoc in nature, but we believed these case-studies gave us deeper insights into the ground reality of the working and living condition of factory workers as well migration decision and obstacles faced by the participants, which will be difficult to explore using only quantitative data.

Our analysis shows that migrants keep strong ties with their families in the village while working in the factory located in urban areas. Hence, migrants make efforts to send remittance regularly. Migrants have mental satisfaction about their current work and living condition that they are in a regular employment and earning stable salary each month. Migrants also reported having a better social status in the village than their earlier condition. On the other hand, female participants, who are successful migrants and currently working at an RMG factory, reported having more economic and social empowerment than before, achieved financial decision-making position and better bargaining power within their families. Female participants mentioned that they could now make their own decision on issues like marriage, dowry, fertility and family planning.

We also found that about two-third of the trainees who initially migrated and got a job, returned back to their respective villages quitting the job, mimicking the findings of Blattman and Dercon (2016) study in Ethiopia.³ One obvious reason for such reverse migration is the rising wage of seasonal agricultural work in rural areas. Bangladesh Economic Review 2013 shows that the wage index for agriculture sector in 2010-11 was 5,326 BDT and manufacturing sector is 6778 BDT (base year 1969-70 =100). Therefore, in a crude sense, shifting from agriculture to manufacturing sector will enable individuals to have 27% rise in income. However, in recent years, this wage gap has diminished substantially, using base year of 2010-11, nominal agricultural wage index is now 132.48 and manufacturing industry sector is 132.02 (Bangladesh Economic Review 2016). Other than this pull factor, many participants returned to Gaibandha due to unfavorable working and living conditions in the industry; lower wage, stricter working environment, higher cost of living, unhealthy accommodation and working environment. Other than health and these abovementioned issues, family related obligations

³ https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/27/opinion/do-sweatshops-lift-workers-out-of-poverty.html?_r=1



like taking care of elderly and young children as well as marriage forced many, especially female, to return back to their villages.

Our qualitative analysis complements these findings, as we observe the cost of living in the urban areas is a major obstacle faced by the factory workers, which occupies a substantial portion of their earning. In addition, the rising wage of seasonal agricultural work and low cost of living in rural areas still attract many return back to their respective villages, even though they have limited, unstable and infrequent seasonal income opportunities in the rural areas. Our simple empirical exercise also affirms that wage potential for RMG sector jobs are higher but the remittance potentials are limited which may not be sufficient to lift people out of poverty.

2.0 Literature review

One of the basic objectives of the SHIREE training program was the migration of participants to Dhaka to earn a living by being employed in a factory, after completion of the training program. The integral part of the training program was the two-month long internship at a factory in Dhaka, which exposed participants with real urban living and factory working conditions. This opportunity - believed by the funding organization - to be a motivational factor for the poor young people of Gaibandha to migrate to Dhaka where job opportunities are better than rural areas. Migration is proven to be one successful coping strategy to tackle poverty and seasonality in various other research settings. One of the studies related to migration by K. Beegle et al. (2011) showed that internal migration has moderate contribution to improve living standards of individuals in Tanzania. A thorough policy-oriented survey of the research carried out on internal migration in developing countries over the past five decades, Lall et al. (2006) showed that remittances from internal migration decrease income inequality in the place of origin. Similarly, other studies have also focused on the behavior of internal migrants at different stages of the migration processes and investigated whether remittances decrease inequality in rural areas. By comparing two villages; one that has internal migration and the other that has more international migration, Stark, Taylor, and Yitzhaki (1986) finds that household who have links with internal migrants; remittances from internal migrants have an equalizing power on the village income distribution. De Haan and Rogally, (2002) found that internal migration mainly concentrated on young adults who have the highest possibility to have a positive net expected return on migration.

However, differences could be established between skilled and unskilled internal migration. Heckman (2000) in his seminal paper, emphasized on the effective human capital investment strategy for the policy makers that is important to contemplate packaged interventions together like training programs, school-based policies, school reform, and early interventions—rather than concentrating on one policy in isolation from the others. Interestingly skill-training program, mostly operated by the public sector



is not always found to be effective. The long-term effect of a subsidizing vocational training program for disadvantaged youth in Colombia, using Randomized Control Trial (RCT), Attanasio *et al.* (2011) find that the program has strong effects especially for women on employment, earnings, formality and the probability of having paid employment. In the long-term, earnings of treated participants were 11.8% higher and they made greater contributions to social security, increases in the possibility of being formal, and increases in productivity. However, this program did not find any substantial effect for men. Similarly, Hirshleifer *et al.* (2016) evaluate the vocational training program for the unemployed youth and adults in Turkey and found modest positive impact of training on employment and the quality of employment. However, they find stronger and statistically significant impacts of vocational training when offered by private providers. The overall results indicate that there is some potential for vocational training to improve the short-term employment prospects of the unemployed. Kugler (2015) uses administrative data to find the long-term direct and spillover effect of the training program in Colombia. The authors found that training has a positive impact on formal earnings in the medium- and long-run. Training lottery winners earn \$915 more than the losers in formal sector earnings 2008-2013 do. Relative to the lottery losers' mean of \$8,225, the estimate represents an 11 percent increase in total formal sector earnings.

On the contrary, the impact evaluation of Juventud y Empleo (JE) program in the Dominican Republic by Card *et al.* (2010)⁴ shows that job-training program is less effective in the short-run. Similarly, Schochet *et al.* (2008) conducted a study by evaluating the impact of Job Corps, the Nation's largest training program focused education and training program for disadvantaged Youths in the USA. This study uses four-year survey data and tax data over nine years on a nationwide sample of 15,400 treatments and controls. The expected effect of training program on earnings was unclear because of the debatable value of a GED in the labor market. Employed treatments earned an average of \$0.22 more per hour than employed controls in their most recent job in the quarter. J. H. Hicks (2016) evaluates the impact of vocational education vouchers on out-of-school youth in Kenya. He finds that voucher awardees had the highest probability to enroll in vocational education and were able to attain an extra 0.55 years of schooling. Although there is a significant increase in hourly wage earnings of earners, there is limited evidence on increased earnings.

In addition to evaluating the impact of training programs on employment and earnings, papers also attempt to evaluate the heterogeneous impacts. Attanasio *et al.* (2011), in their study of Colombia and Hicks *et al.* (2011) on Kenya, found evidence of treatment heterogeneity, more towards the female. Hicks *et al.* (2011) shed further light on the heterogeneous impacts of such training programs by inferring that, because of such training, males generate higher profits from self-employment compared with their female counterparts, who generated higher profits from alternative paid employment. This

⁴ Financed by The Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) for a series of innovative training programs throughout Latin America. This program targets less-educated youth and combining classroom training with a subsequent internship period of on-the-job work experience.



finding is especially important in the backdrop of a poor country such as Bangladesh, where many households are not able to make long-term human capital investments in the form of traditional schooling. As a result, young adults may be pressured to discontinue their education and contribute to the household earnings. In this context, the rapidly growing RMG sector and the potential availability of jobs in this sector, especially for females, makes the program innovation of vocational job training an indispensable study on empirical grounds, with significant policy implications.

All these studies discussed above mainly focus on the overall impact on the employment and earnings. In our current study, we will also shed lights on the barriers to participate in the training program, reasons for return migration, the success of training in the sector of employment, long-term impact on earnings, remittance to the household, changing the household condition, the condition of the social status of the participants. These proposed analyses will be based on mix method technique – by combining qualitative structured detailed interview and quantitative survey data – to understand the impact on various groups; based on the training and migration decisions, which enabled us to explore deeper insights of the ground reality of factory work and training program in countries like Bangladesh.

3.0 Background

The population of Bangladesh is 157 million (World Bank 2013), among which 61 million is economically active. The current labor force participation rate in Bangladesh is 57.1%. Around 87 percent of these workers are employed informally and among the employed workers 21% of are working in the industrial sector.

In terms of employment, production and foreign exchange earnings, Ready Made Garment (RMG) is the leading industrial sector of Bangladesh. RMG alone made about 80% of the yearly foreign exchange earnings. The growth rate of RMG export was over 20% per year over the last two decades. About 4 millions of worker are currently employed at this sector. RMG sector has relieved Bangladesh from the burden of overpopulated unemployment by the largest employment next to agriculture and service sector.

This training program was officially titled “Reducing extreme poor by skills development on garments” (hereafter the GUK garments project), funded by the DFID under the Stimulating Household Improvements Resulting in Economic Empowerment (SHIREE) funding scheme.⁵ The project started in December 2010 and ended in November 2013. The project was implemented in the Gaibandha district, one of the most disaster-prone areas of Bangladesh. People in the area are most vulnerable given its regular flooding and riverbank erosion. Most people depend completely on agriculture-based economic activities, which are affected by natural disasters. Extremely poor people

⁵ <http://www.shiree.org/if/innovation-fund-round-3/guk/#.V6kA1TUuAZw>



in this district face a shortage of employment opportunities during April, July, and September to November each year, and must face a seasonal famine-like situation known as *Monga* in the local language. The goal of the project was to address this problem by creating sustainable job opportunities in the garments sector.

The training program we discussed in this paper was implemented by a local NGO named GUK, which has been working in the Gaibandha district of Bangladesh since 1985. The training program targeted participants from Ghagoa, Kamarjani, Mollarchar, Malibar, Boali, and Gidari unions of Sadar Upazila (subdistrict) of the Gaibandha District. To target and select the bottom 10% of the extremely poor, qualitative information was collected through the Participatory Rural Appraisal method and random household visits by the funding agency using the selection criteria.⁶ After the initial screening, preliminarily identified individuals were briefed about the objectives and design/process of the training program. After the briefing session, those who agreed to participate in the training program were selected as participants. Initially, GUK offered training to 1,752 individuals, out of whom 1,160 took and completed the training program. Our implementing partner followed the same selection and eligibility protocol as designed by the grantee authority (SHIREE and DFID) throughout the lifespan of the program and grantee authority confirmed us that they made regular visits, eligibility verification checks, and yearly audits to make sure that the selection remained unbiased and correctly targeted.

The training started in December 2010 and ended in November 2013. The full training intervention consisted of one month of skills training with a daily stipend for forgone income (equivalent to the local daily wage), followed by a two-month paid internship at a garments factory located in the thriving industrial belt surrounding Dhaka. The duration of the residential training was about 50 working days. The training allowance in the form of a stipend was BDT 150 per day (approximately USD 2).⁷ The residential training program contained lessons on sewing and overlock machine operations and the basics of RMG manufacturing. On a typical training day, the session would commence with a one-hour technical “know-how” lesson, with the rest of the time dedicated to practical sessions. At the end of the training day, one hour would be spent reviewing the lessons.

To accommodate training participants, GUK established a training institute with residential facilities to provide accommodation and food during the training period. Hence, the entire training program was conducted only in one center that is located close to the GUK head-office at Nasratpur,

⁶ Beneficiary selection criteria were as follows:

Essential criteria: no ownership of cultivable land, consumes less than three meals a day during the season, does not borrow from micro-finance institutes, resides in disaster-prone areas, and the value of income-generating productive assets is less than BDT 5,000 (approximately USD 64).

Supplementary criteria: Bad housing conditions, female-headed household with no additional adult male earner, household with disabled members, household with income from child labor (up to 17 years), household with no homestead land, and households in government safety net programs.

⁷ A total of $150 \times 22 =$ BDT 3300 given per month as a stipend (approximately USD 42).



Gaibandha. Instructors hired for this program were experienced trainers in the garments industry (two instructors throughout the program, one male, and one female). After successful completion of the residential training program, each participant was awarded a training certificate issued by GUK. To receive an award certificate, each participant had to complete an evaluation exam and a practical session with a grading system based on performance on the exam. Please note that the program was a standalone program and was not being combined with other program operations of the implementing NGO. The intervention remained the same throughout the lifespan of the program.

GUK signed a memorandum of understanding with four garment factories in Dhaka for internship placement for participants. In the subsequent years of training, different factories showed interest in providing placement for GUK program participants as interns. GUK also facilitated internships by arranging for participants' rental accommodation in Dhaka. For every batch of participants, two GUK staff members and one trainee accompanied them to Dhaka to expedite the initial setup and their adaptation to a new urban environment. The cost associated with this relocation—primarily for transportation and initial setup—was borne by the participants, who used their stipend allowance. Our grantee authority paid the salary for the participants during the internship period; hence, factories did not have to bear additional costs for the interns.⁸ The internship salary paid to the participants was a market wage equivalent to the entrant to this industry and decided by the government of Bangladesh. The internship program started just after the training program with a gap of one week. This one-week gap was given to participants to meet their families and prepare for the internship in Dhaka. It also helped the implementing authority to make adequate arrangements for accommodation for the interns.

The training program is mostly focused on RMG knowledge (like understanding the name of each part of an electronic sewing machine, becoming knowledgeable about sewing and garments basics, etc.). This program has been developed in conjunction with leading export oriented garments factories of Bangladesh. The training program was targeted for an entry position of a sewing operator in RMG factories in Bangladesh that requires the skill of operating electronic sewing machines and having a superior skill of flawless stitching following a design pattern.

In a discussion with industry stakeholders, such as owners of the factories, we understood that such a training program is still not being recognized in the industry, however, industry association and individual owners feel the need for such training program. Knowing the basics of sewing machine operations and technical know-how of the RMG sector basics will certainly help an individual to enter the industry and would help them to quickly progress from “helper” level to “operator” level. Owners mentioned that previously the recruitment process of the RMG sector was more based on referral system, however, now they recruit a worker based on practical exams of understanding their level of expertise in sewing machine operation hence having a training will certainly help to get an entry into

⁸ We have very limited knowledge about these factories where the internship was conducted, as this was not a focus of our research (whether these factories were growing or are different from other factories).



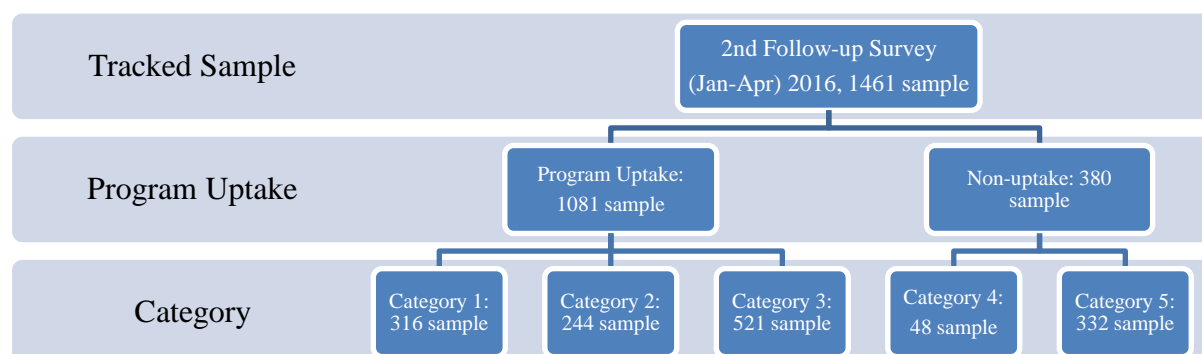
the industry. Our discussion with labor union leaders also reaffirmed what industry stakeholders narrated about the efficacy of such kind training programs.

4.0 Sampling methodology

GUK skill development training was offered to total 1752 people of diverse sub-district of Gaibandha in years from 2010 to 2013. Total training uptake was 1160 individuals (about 66%). In our first follow-up survey in 2014, one year after the last batch of training group, we could track 1487 individuals (of which 1081 individuals are the training participants), which is 85% of the original sample. Based on this tracked 1487 sample, we conducted a second follow-up survey in 2016. We found that those who initially uptake the training and were being tracked in 2014 and 2016, 316 of them (27% of the original trained sample and about 29% of the tracked trained sample) are currently migrant and actively engaged in our targeted employment in the RMG sector. In our second follow-up survey, we see that a large amount of participants, a total of 244 participants (about 21% of the original trained sample and about 22% of the tracked trained sample) returned to Gaibandha after working for sometimes in the industry, while 521 of the sample (about 44% of the original trained sample and 48% of the tracked trained sample) never migrated to look for a job after completing the training program. Interestingly, we also found – during the tracking – that 48 individuals of the non-uptake sample of the training program migrated on their own and currently working in an RMG factory.

To present the entire sample considering training received, migration decision and present status of employment, we classified the tracked sample into five distinct categories. Each group is subdivided into two sub-categories based on gender, which are as follows:

1. Category 1: Successfully trained and migrated
2. Category 2: Trained, migrated and returned
3. Category 3: Trained but never migrated
4. Category 4: Not trained but migrated
5. Category 5: Interested but did not attend training and never migrated.





For our empirical analysis in the next section, we utilized the second follow-up survey to understand the relative difference in the socio-economic status among these groups. The summary statistics of the variables used in the empirical analysis is reported in the Table 1. To know more insights about these groups and their decisions, we took random participants for each group and conducted detailed interviews which are the base of our case studies. Twenty-two persons have been randomly (stratified random sampling) selected for in-depth interviews. Our objective was to interview at least four (two males and two females) participants from each groups.

[Table 1 about here]

As our one of the main objectives is to understand the migration decision and barriers faced and also to see whether the training program was successful or not, six interviews were drawn from category 1 (two male, two female and one family where both participants got married after the training and migrated). This category is the most representative category to understand the question of the efficacy of the training program. To understand the return migration decision of the trained participants, we interviewed four participants from category 2 (Two male and two female). To understand the issue of non-migration, we interviewed four participants in category 3. We additionally interviewed eight participants from training non-uptake sample, equally from category 4 and 5. We additionally hold interviews from stakeholders like employers, and unionists in the labor market, to understand their take on such training program. From Table 1, one can easily see that category 4 and 5 is overly represented by female participants, as female faced many non-economic social barriers which forced them to not to up-take the training program.

Three research associates of the project have taken direct interview from the participants by visiting their home and talking with them privately using a structured guiding questionnaire (see Annex 1). Each interview took around one and half hour to complete, which was initially voice recorded and later transcribed. Each case then matched with our detailed quantitative surveys of the same participants. These quantitative surveys were already been utilized to produce the overall impact of the training program (Raihan and Shonchoy 2016).⁹ Crosschecking the detailed interview with three rounds of quantitative survey potentially minimized the reporting bias from the participants. The focus of the interview was targeted for information on training and migration, working environment, the direct and indirect impact of the training. Annex 1 provides the questionnaire and structured details of the interview responses is reported in Tables 1A-4A, which will help readers to compare the answers among all the categories.

5.0 Empirical Analysis

⁹ http://www.r4d-employment.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/WP_2016_11_Skill_Training_Bangladesh.pdf



We first wanted to run regressions to understand the impact of training, migration and employment decision on socio-economic status of the households. However, the estimating the causal impact of such decision is econometrically challenging in our setting due to the unobserved individual characteristics which can simultaneously have an impact of the decision and outcome of interest. We also do not have any suitable instrumental variable that can satisfy the exclusion restriction, that is, the instrumental variable will have direct influence on the training and migration decision but not on the outcome of the interest. Hence, we ran pure OLS regression to see the correlation of the choice variables (which are the category identifier dummy variables) on the outcome of interest. The findings of this simple empirical exercise than further analyzed with the help of the in-depth case studies. In all our regressions we controlled for sub-district level fixed effects as well as individual and household level characteristics, reported in Table 1. In all regressions, we made category 5 as the default category and compared all other categories related to that.

Formally, let us denote the outcome variable of interest of individual i as Y_i . Let's denote each category as C_j , where j ranges from 1 to 4 (category 5 is the default category). Our estimation equation is the following

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_j C_j + \varepsilon_i, \dots\dots\dots(1)$$

where β_j coefficient of each of the category mentioned in the text. To increase the precession of β_j estimates, we could also run:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_j C_j + \beta_2 X_i + \varepsilon_i \dots\dots (2)$$

Where X_i refers to a vector of individual and household characteristics.

In Table 2, we have reported regressions based on occupation choices of the target participants of the program, employing equation 2 above. It appears that category 1 group has the significant positive correlation with wage-employment (compared with category 5) and similarly strong negative correlation with other occupational classification reported in column (2) to (5) of Table 2. In terms of seasonal unemployment, as reported in column (6), we see Category 1 group has statistically significant correlation with seasonal unemployment compared with the base category sample. Similar to category 1, category 4 group also shows the similar findings, which provide the effectiveness of the RMG sector job on occupational choice and seasonality. For all other categories, we do not see any clear direction of occupational choice compared with the base category. Interestingly, we observed that, both category 2 and 3 groups suffered more with seasonal unemployment compared with the base category.

[Table 2 about here.]



In Table 3, we focused on the rural households' current income, expenditure, consumption and poverty. Interestingly, we observe that target participant's income - reported in column (1) of Table 3 - by working in the RMG sector has weekly improved compared with the base category (significant only at 10% level). We also do see that household consumption for both the category 2 and 3 groups are lower than the base group, which shows a concern for these groups and their decision of not continuing the factory jobs in the urban setting. However, we do not see any correlation with factory job or migration decision on household poverty status reported in column (4) and (5) of the Table 3.

[Table 3 about here.]

In Table 4, we looked into household financial conditions and expenditure patterns. We observe that except for borrowing of category 1 group (reported in column 4 of Table 4), rural households' financial condition and various expenditure patterns are not strongly correlated with training, occupation and migration decision, compared with the base category. To understand more about such findings, we will use in-depth case studies reported in the next section.

[Table 4 about here.]

6.0 Findings from Case studies

6.1 Category 1: Successfully trained and migrated

Interviewees in this category are those who completed the training, migrated to Dhaka and successfully working there. Six participants are interviewed for this category. Three of them are male and the remaining three are female participants. Interviewees age interval is between 22 to 31 years. Most of them migrated in Dhaka immediately after completion of the training. Four of them joined in garments factory as sewing operator and one of them as a helper. The other participant joined as a quality inspector in a garments factory with the help of her relative.

All interviewees heard about the training program from GUK staffs and realized the monetary and long-term benefits of the training program. Participants were also motivated by the monetary benefits of attending the training program. The most important reason for attending the training was the poverty, irregular and unstable income and poor household condition of their families, especially for female participants.

Two males and one female participant of our case studies came from a joint-family. Two (one male and female) participants were married during the time of training. One of them completed his degree course from a nearby college. Other participants could not complete their secondary education due to poverty. Their household income was not sufficient to bear the consumption expenditure, let alone educational expenses.

Issues with training and migration



One of the male participants faced barrier to leave village for training and migration. His parents told him to stay home and work in the field. Similarly, female participants faced challenges from their families and communities. At first, families did not accept their daughter's migration decision to Dhaka. Female participants had to convince their family members by explaining the income potentials and future economic prosperity. They also had to tackle bad rumors from the community about working in the RMG factories closely in a mixed-gender environment.

After migrating to Dhaka, they immediately faced many challenges. As a person who was never been exposed to urban lifestyle, coping in such a condition was really challenging. The biggest challenge they faced was finding suitable accommodation. Working environment in the factory was also very challenging: they faced issues like working in a narrow place, rebuffing of supervisors, working on an average eleven hours on foot, work related pressure for daily target, salary cut for late arrival and sometimes threat of job loss. After several months, eventually, they got accustomed with these challenges.

Interviewees suggest that this training program could have been longer. They also suggested that monetary benefits for attending training program should motivate younger participants. Other than RMG sector, diversified skill training should have been implemented (like livestock, farming, agro-processing etc.) as many of the young participants do not want to leave their families in the village.

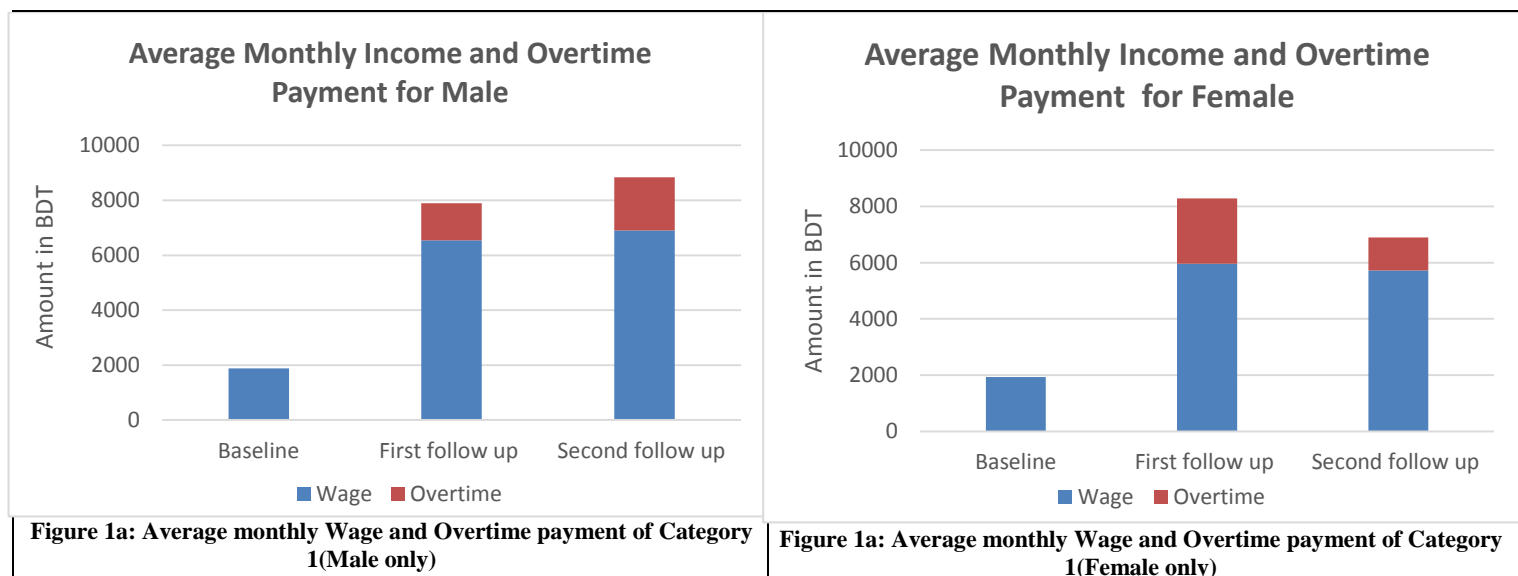


Figure 1: Average monthly Wage and Overtime payment of Category 1

Direct Impact of the training

Figure 1 above shows the monthly wage and overtime income flow for male and female participants of Category 1. Sub-figures in Figure 1 show three periods information, which is based on the baseline, first and second follow-up quantitative surveys. For a graphical representation of their income flow, the average of preceding twelve months' data are taken from the quantitative survey. It is clear from



the diagrams that male participants are earning significantly more than female participants. In the baseline before the training program, these participants reported that their monthly household income was around or below BDT 2000 (\$27), which is one of the criteria used for eligibility for training participation. After training and migration, their reported average income is around BDT 8000(\$107), which has increased for male and decreased for female for the second follow-up survey. We observed that one of the participants of the case-study (male) reported of having no income for consecutive last two months. During interview, this participant told us that he was unemployed for those two months, as he was in a search for a suitable factory with higher income potentials. Another noticeable feature of Figure 1 is the overtime income, which is more pronounced during the second follow-up survey period for all our interviewees. All participants complained about low wage of RMG sector and high living cost in urban areas, as they struggle each month to earn enough to cover the entire expenditure and remittance obligation.

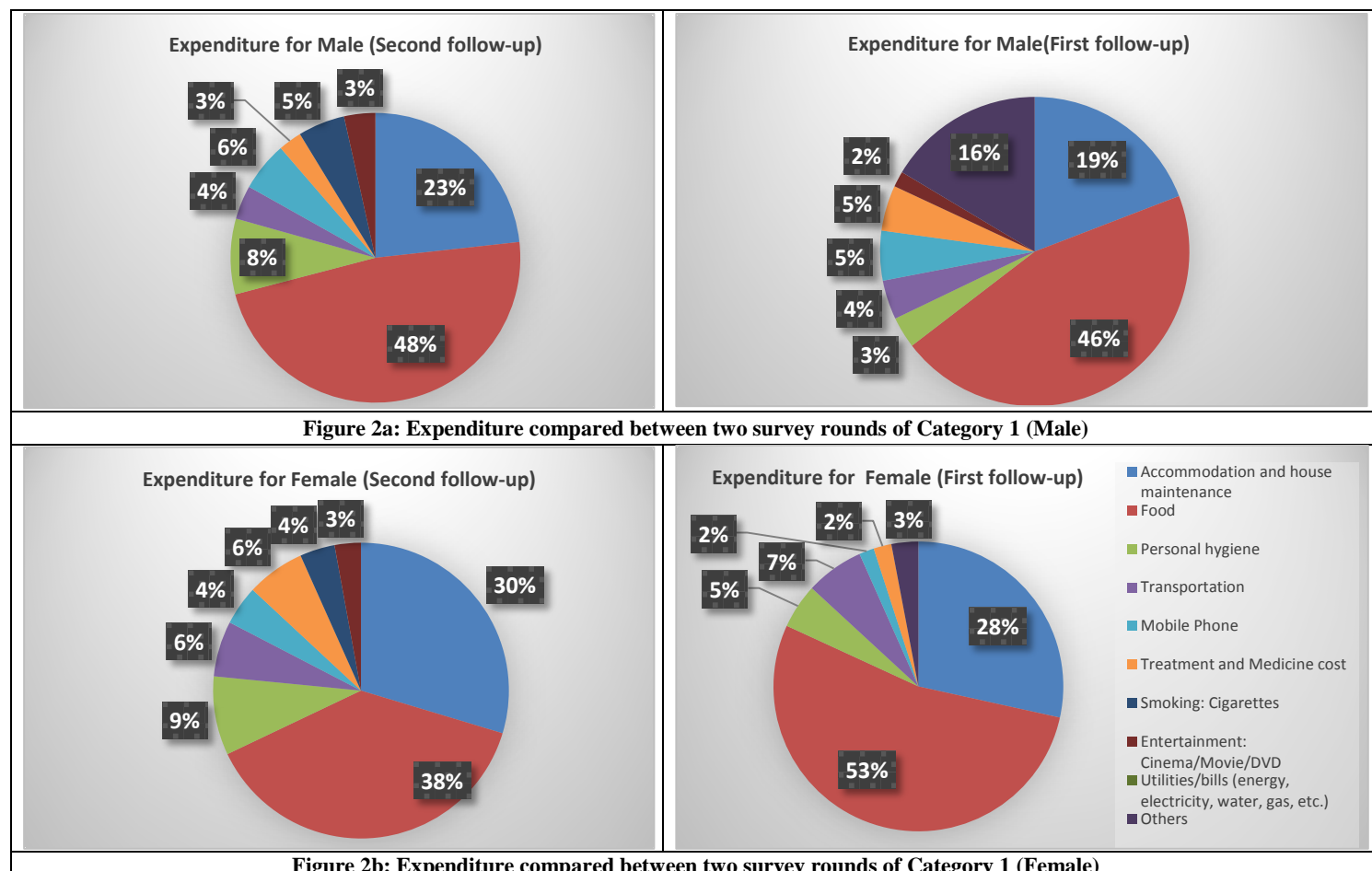
Figure 2 shows monthly expenditure distribution of the interviewees of the category 1, in the place where they are living now. This expenditure pattern excludes remittance sent to their families back to village. In the baseline period, which is not presented in the figure, monthly family expenditure was on an average around BDT 2400(\$32). However, in last two survey periods, reported personal living expenditure in an urban location has increased to a new level of average BDT 5000 (\$67). The lion share of this expenditure is used for food (about 45%) and accommodation (about 25%), that captures about 70% of total expenditure. Other costs categorization include items like personal hygiene, transportation, treatment, medical costs, cell phone bill and entertainment cost. We see an increasing trend of all expenditure items from first to the second follow-up survey.

All participants reported having strong ties with their origin family back in the village in Gaibandha. Almost every day they communicate with their family members over cell phone to know their day-to-day conditions. Our interviewees visit their families in the village to celebrate religious festivals regularly. All of our interviewees in Category 1 reported sending remittance to their family members routinely. Although the amount is limited, this additional financial support helps the receiving households with living expenses. However, as we see in Table 2, this remittance flow is not sufficient to substantially improve household conditions. Figures 3 shows monthly remittance flow of each of the participants. Remittance information is taken for the previous six months retrospective data from the time of the survey. Interviewees sent around BDT 1000 (\$13) to a maximum of BDT 5000(\$67) per month, with an average of 2400 BDT (\$30). This amount varies from month to month depending on the overtime payment and demand from families. In comparison with the first and second follow-up surveys, their average amount of remittance has largely been consistent.

Participants reported that they have only small residential entitlement land in a government property as their only asset. However, this amount of land is around two or three decimals in size, where their household reside and they do not need to pay for any rental cost for occupying this land. Interviewees



mentioned having a strong motivation for savings. Despite their keen interest in savings, it is usually very difficult for them to save, with little income and higher living costs in urban areas. Their families back in the village have some livestock assets, mostly in the form of chickens and ducks.



Participants noticed that the economic condition of their household is improving, but the progress is rather slow. None of their families mentioned suffering during the time of seasonal deprivation or *Monga* (a Bengali term referring to the yearly cyclical phenomenon of poverty and seasonal hunger especially in northern part of Bangladesh).

Indirect effect

Interviewees felt that their own social status in village has improved over the years, after their job in the RMG sector. Villagers now respect them as they earn their own livelihood and currently supporting their family members through remittances. Especially, female participants who faced some challenges from community during migration are now praised due to their financial independence and livelihood. Female interviewees also reported having financial decision-making power in the family and economic empowerment. They (female) can now make their own decision on marriage and fertility choices. Two of the female participants are not married yet. Nevertheless, in the case of dowry, they thought that their RMG job would have an impact on dowry, because an increased amount of dowry will be demanded from the groom side, as they are earning.



Interviewees stated that had they not receive the training and migrated, their social and economic status would have been much lower than what is now. They would have to do either agricultural or tailoring work (mostly for male participants) or household chores (mostly for female participants).

Working and living Condition

Interviewees reported that the factory working condition is very challenging, both physically and psychologically, as one has to work for long hours under harsh conditions. There is only limited hours of resting and relaxation allowed during the operational hours to get recovered. There exists immense work pressure on everyone to fulfill the target, on top of that, participants face the fear of salary cut and job loss. Some participants reported that sometimes it is impossible to work under such conditions. However, they are continuing the job, due to their poverty and remittance-sending obligation back to the village.

Female participants indicated that they did not faced any harassment from the men inside and outside the factory. However, they face the fear of walking alone at night, although they can move freely in city within a group at any time. No participants reported having any residential problem currently in the city. They live near their workplace and go to workplace by walking with other co-workers.

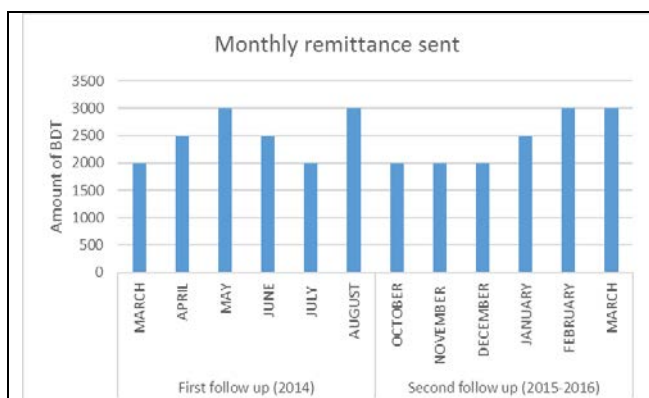


Figure 3a: Remittances-out information of Case 1 (Male)

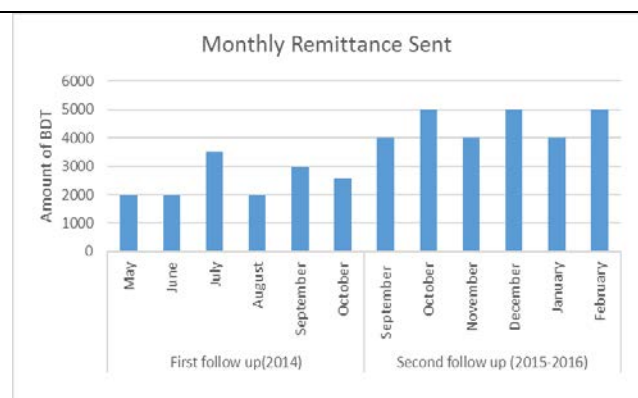


Figure 3b: Remittances-out information of Case 2 (Male)

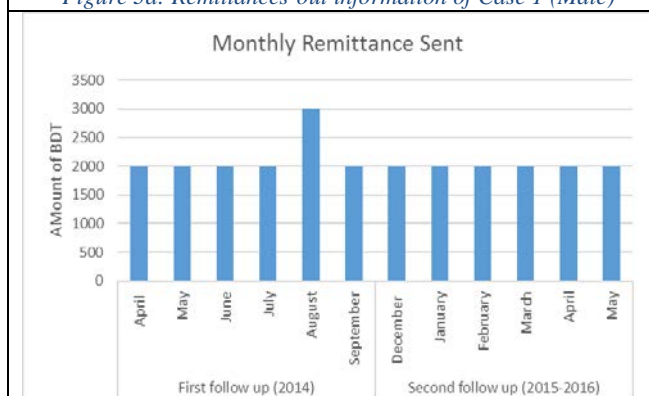


Figure 3c: Remittances-out information of Case 3 (male)

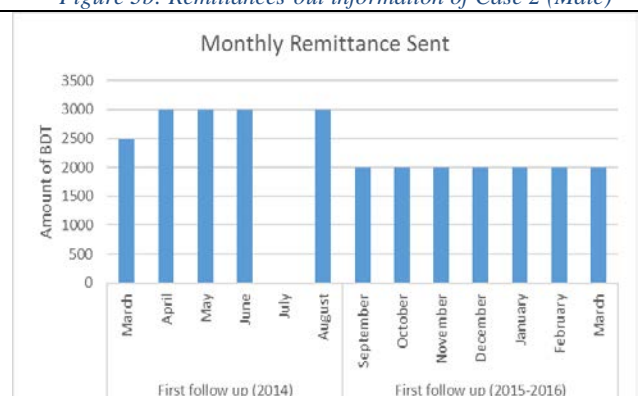


Figure 3d: Remittances-out information of Case 4 (Female)

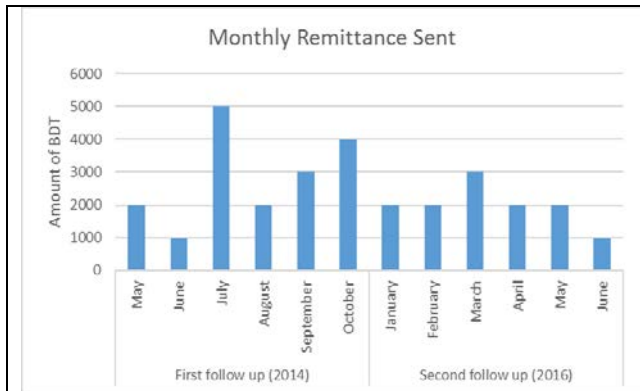


Figure 3e: Remittances-out information of Case 5 (Female)

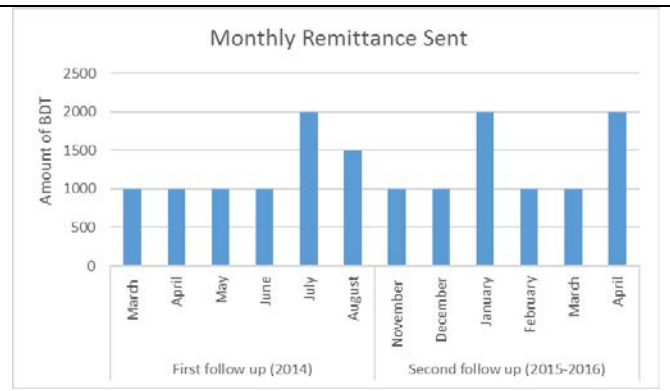


Figure 3f: Remittances-out information of Case 6 (Female)

Figure 3: Remittance compared between two survey rounds of case-study subjects of category 1

6.2 Category 2: Trained, migrated and returned

Interviewees in this category are those who successfully completed the training program, then migrated to Dhaka, however, returned to Gaibandha after a while. Four participants are interviewed from this category, representing an equal number from each gender. All are currently living and working in their home village with various seasonal income generating activities. Their age interval is between 22 to 28 years. Two of the participants came from a joint family. Two of them are married and currently living with their spouses and parents. One of the male participants completed bachelor degree, another one completed secondary. One of the female participants did not complete primary education and another one never enrolled in school. Poverty was the main reason for discontinuing schooling for them.

Training and migration

These interviewees came to know about the training program from the GUK staffs. They had the expectation of higher income, intention to work in Dhaka and attracted by the monetary benefits of the training program.

All of them migrated to Dhaka immediately after completion of the training. After a few months of working experience, all of them returned to their origin villages. One of the participants confronted restriction from family member while migrating to Dhaka. During the internship period, two of them joined textile factories and another one joined spinning mills. Only one participants joined in RMG factories with help of training certificate. Excluding this participant, they faced difficulties after the internship program to secure a job at a garments factory and the certificate provide by GUK was not recognized in some the factories where they were interviewed. They tried hard to find a garment job with their training certificate and with references from GUK staffs and finally managed to get employment.

They come across some difficulties to find a residential place near to their workplace. After joining, they encountered some challenges like the rude behavior of supervisor, long hours of working on foot, the pressure of daily work target, salary cut for late arrival and fear of losing the job.



Return migration

The reported that their salary was quite low to bear the living cost in Dhaka and the demanding working conditions, low income and higher living costs made them to return back to their village. One male interviewee had to return to the village due to some family obligations and since then he never returned to the factory. Another interviewee reported illness as the main cause of return migration. Both of the female interviewee reported to got married when they visit their families in the village during holidays and discontinue the factor work. Their husbands made them not to continue their jobs at RMG sector after marriage. None of them shown any intention to migrate now, even if there is an opportunity.

Income and expenditure

Interviewees agreed that those who are working in Dhaka are earning more regularly. However, interviewees emphasized that living with their families in an known environment in the village is quite satisfactory for them. They think that migration has made some positive impact on their livelihood. Figure 4a shows on an average monthly income of three consecutive surveys for male and Figure 4b average monthly household income of three consecutive surveys for a female in category 2. Before training, male participants' total monthly family income was around BDT 2000(\$27). After migration, their income increased. However, coming back to Gaibandha, income has increased substantially for male participants. Now their income is more than BDT 10000(\$133) thanks to the rising wage for seasonal rural agricultural work. These figures have substantiated the statement that the higher living cost in Dhaka and better seasonal agricultural income opportunity in Gaibandha were the important reasons for the return migration. However, non-economic reasons, mostly marital obligation and husband's decision mostly forced female participants to discontinue RMG work. On the other hand, household income for female participants has fallen in the second follow up as they are doing unemployed and engaged in household work.

Average Monthly Income at Three periods for Male

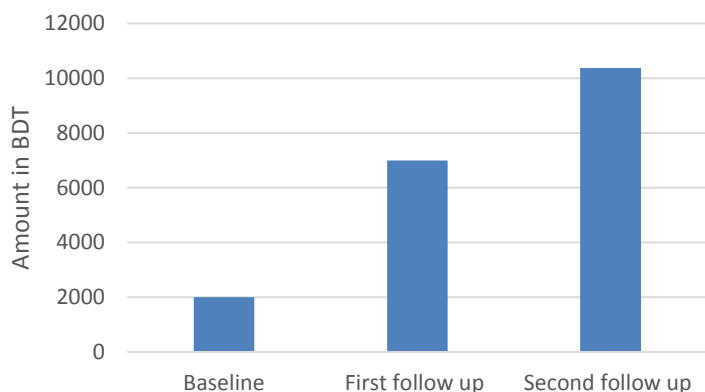


Figure 4a: Average Monthly Income at three Periods of Category 2(Male)

Average Monthly Household Income at Three periods for Female

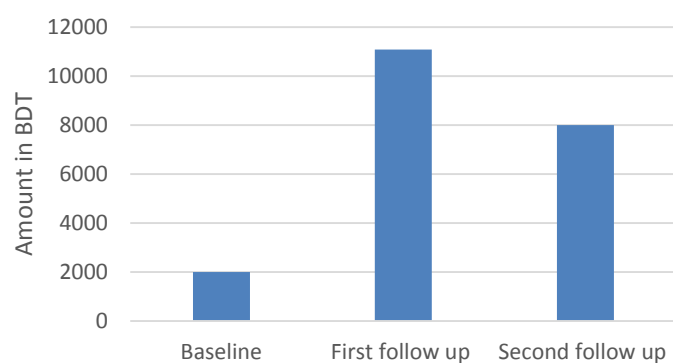


Figure 4b: Average Monthly Household Income at three Periods of Category 2(Female)

Figure 4: Average Monthly Income at three Periods for category 2

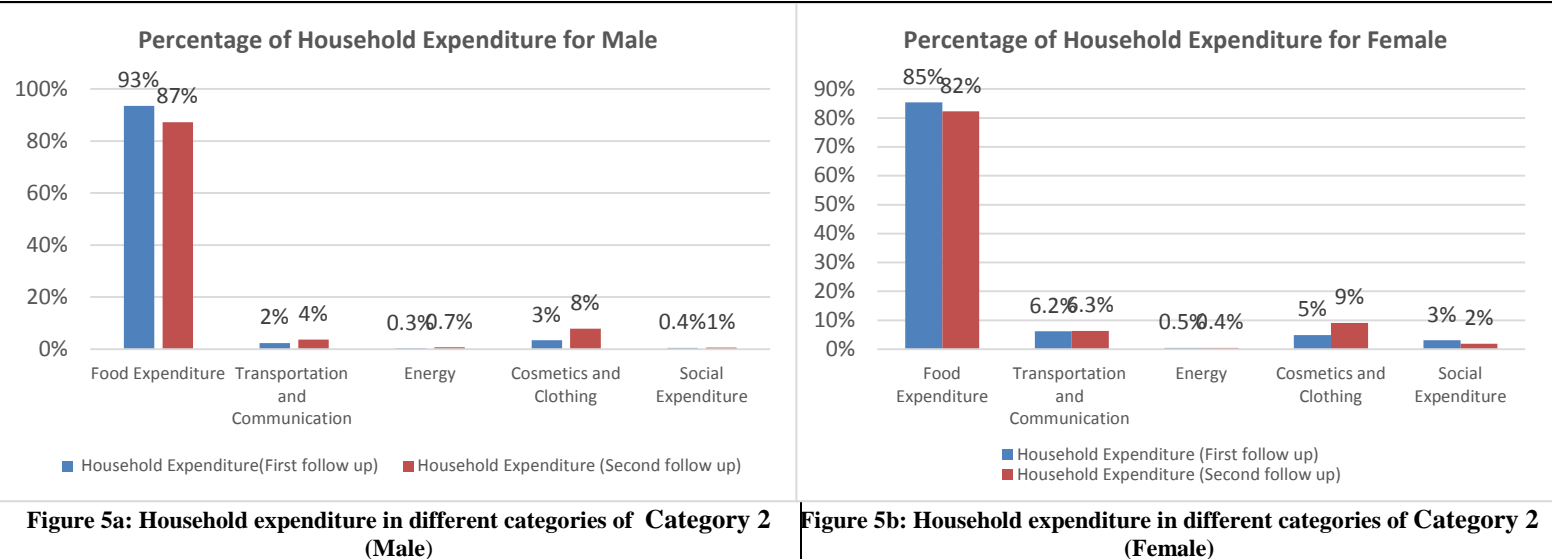


Figure 5: Household expenditure in different categories of Category 2

Figure 5 shows the percentage of monthly household expenditure for category 2 group by gender. One advantage in residing in a rural area is the zero-cost accommodation. Compared with urban living, where accommodation takes about 25% of the earning, lower income in the rural area with lower living cost can equate the real income in both locations.

A major portion of the interviewees' expenditure goes for food consumption in the rural area. Almost 87% of total household expenditures is dedicated for food expenditure in the first follow-up survey; however, it has declined to some percentage points during the second follow-up survey. Interviewee's expenditure on cosmetics and clothing is the second major items. It takes around 5% to 10% of their total expenditure. Rest of the amount goes for transportation, energy, and social expenditure.

Other comments

Interviewees indicated that if had they not receive training and migrated, their personal status in the village would have been lower than what it is now. As living cost in a rural area is low, they can now save a little amount of money from their income. Occasionally, they have to take loans from local NGOs and repay that in regular monthly installments. The economic condition of their household is slowly improving. They have already got out from the seasonal deprivation like *Monga*. They can afford three stomach full meals throughout the year. After all, they are happy with their present status and live happily with their family members in the village.

6.3 Category 3: Trained but never migrated

Interviewees in this category are those who successfully completed the training but never migrated to Dhaka. Four participants are interviewed from this category with equal gender distribution. All participants are married. One of the male participants works as a day laborer in a brick kiln factory and another male runs a small roadside grocery shop. Both of the females are doing household work. Their age interval is between 24 to 28 years. One of female participant had never enrolled in school



and other studied up to class five. One of the males studied up to class three and other dropped out from pre-primary school.

Training and migration

They were initially informed about the training program by some GUK staffs. They had the expectation of higher income, intention to work in Dhaka from the training. After completion of training, they were not in a position to migrate. One of the participants became sick and other's son became ill suddenly. Both of males were obligated with family liabilities and were are not in a position to migrate. One of female interviewee still cherishes the hope to migrate and work in Dhaka in her heart. However, currently, her husband is not in a good health and her family is under shortage of financial resources. Sometimes she had to find financial help from her relatives. She still believes that she can bring positive changes to her financial condition by working in an RMG factory in Dhaka and earning more money.

All of them found the training program to be very beneficial and satisfactory. The facilities given in training are beyond their expectations and reported no need for any modification. They share that the training has made some positive changes in their life.

Income and expenditure

Both females reported that their spouses are the only earning members of the family. One's spouse work in a brick kiln factory as a day laborer and the other's spouse works as an agricultural day laborer. One of the male participant works in brick kiln factory and another one runs roadside stall. Figure 6 show their average monthly household income of three consecutive surveys. Before training period, their monthly family income was around BDT 2000(\$27). In the first follow-up survey, female's income increased significantly whereas in the second follow-up survey their income has declined. On the other hand, male's income has increased significantly from baseline to second follow up. They confronted difficulties to fulfill their day-to-day household demands with this income. We also observed similar pattern in Table 3, where category 3 group reported low income, consumption and expenditure.

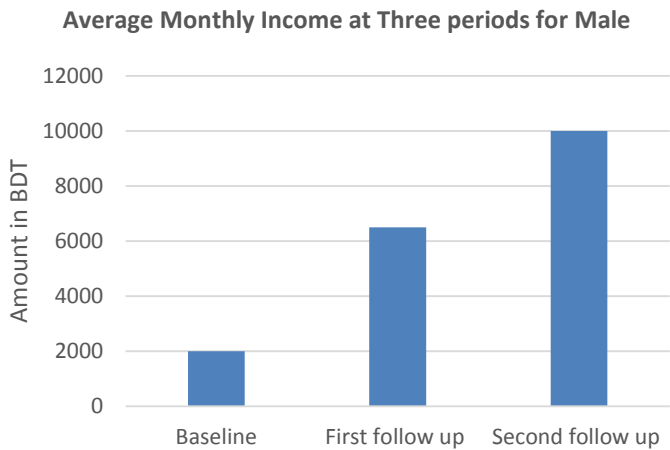


Figure 6a: Average Monthly Income at three Survey Periods of category 3 (Male)

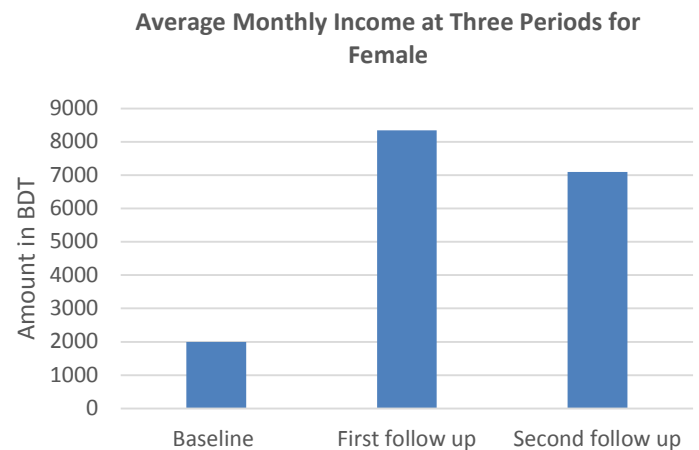


Figure 6b: Average Monthly Income at three Survey Periods of category 3 (Female)

Figure 6: Average Monthly Income at three Survey Periods of category 3

Figure 7 shows the percentage of monthly household expenditure in five different categories for male and female participants. A large portion of their expenditure is used for food, which is dropped to some percentage point in the second follow-up survey. A small amount of their income is used for transportation cost, energy, and social expenditure.

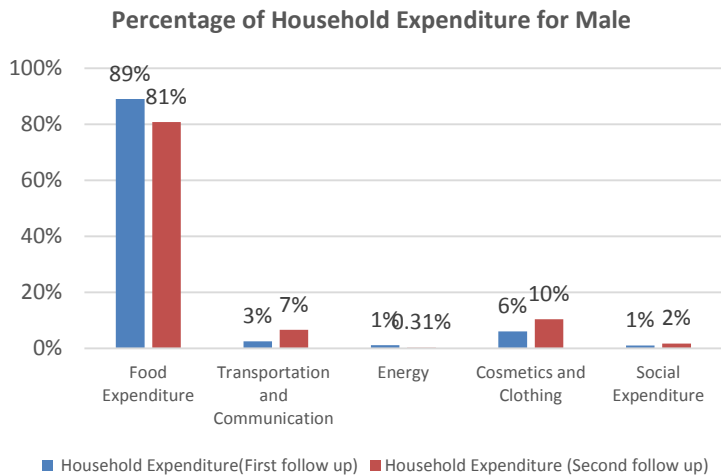


Figure 7a: Household expenditure in five different categories of category 3 (Male)

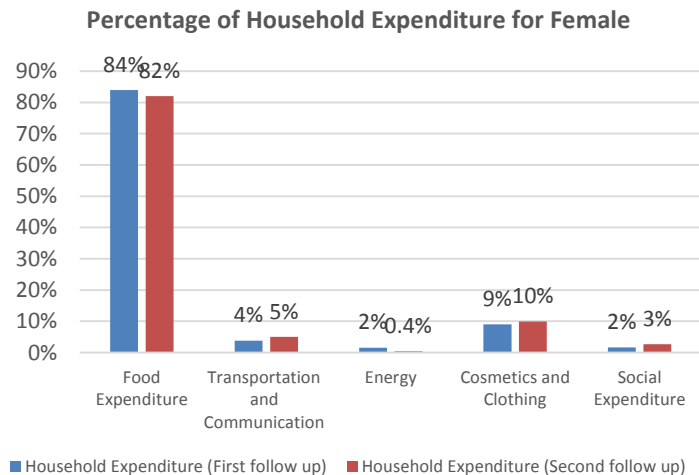


Figure 7b: Household expenditure in five different categories of category 3 (Female)

Figure 7: Household expenditure in five different categories of category 3 (Female)



Current condition

Both of female regret their unemployed life while female from their village are earning money by working in Dhaka and sending regular remittance. However, male participants do not regret their decision of not migrating. They are happy to be with their family with their little income. All of the interviewees reported that migrant send regular remittances to their own families in Gaibandha that enable these families to afford a good living and a better lifestyle. Both female participants reported that they struggle to manage their day-to-day expenses. Moreover, their poverty-ridden state does not permit them to have any mental peace. One of them wishes that she could put the training to a good use. She wanted to become self-employed so that she could earn money by doing tailoring work if she had a sewing machine. However, she was unable to buy a sewing machine owing to poverty and lack of resources.

Other comments

Most of the interviewee admitted that their life would have been better, had they migrated in Dhaka and working in an RMG factory. One of them stated that she could afford proper medical treatment for her husband if she could migrate now. In addition, they could send their children to schools. They reported that migrated people have pulled their families out of poverty. This could have been them, had they migrated after training.

6.4 Category 4: Not trained but migrated

Interviewees in this category are those who did not attend the training but migrated to Dhaka by themselves and continued working there. Four participants are interviewed from this category with gender equality. All of them are currently working in the RMG sector. Their age interval is between 24 to 30 years. All of them migrated to Dhaka after the training program selection was completed but not started. They joined the RMG sector as helper without having any previous experience and later promoted as sewing operator. A male and a female participant are currently living with their spouse in Dhaka.

Two (one male and female) participants are married. None of them completed their primary education. They could not complete their education due to poverty. Their household income was not enough to bear their educational expenses at that time, which caused them to discontinue schooling.

Issues with migration and lack of training

One of the participants confronted difficulties to leave the village for migration from his parents. Others did not have to face problems as they already had family members and relatives in the urban destinations who provided the initial financial support, security and job referral to RMG sector. After migrating to Dhaka, they faced many challenges, most notably to find a garments factory job, as they had no prior experience. After trying for a job in several factories, they managed a job in a factory as a helper. They had to move alone as they have no friends at Dhaka initially. Category 4 group



admitted that the lack of training was a barrier for them; however, they could not wait for the GUK training, as they were desperate to get a job to help their family. However, they noticed that having a basic training would have helped them to adapt with the job demands and could help them to reach the required skill-set to become a sewing machine operator. However, with their determination and hard work they have managed to reach that level while working in the factory for some years, although they faced similar obstacles and challenges as faced by the category 1 group respondents.

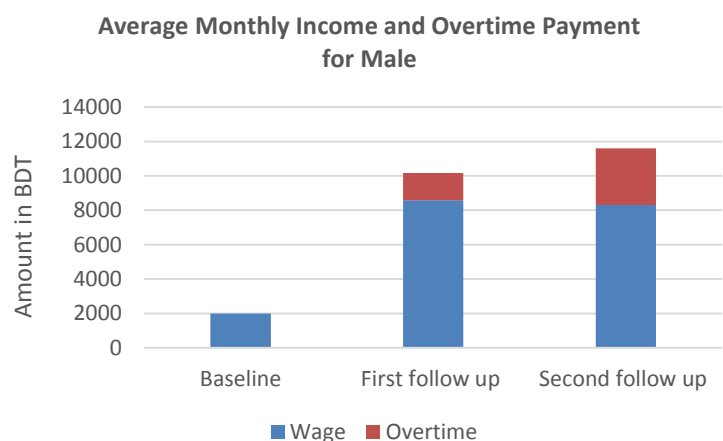


Figure 8a: Average monthly Wage and Overtime payment of Category 4 (Male)

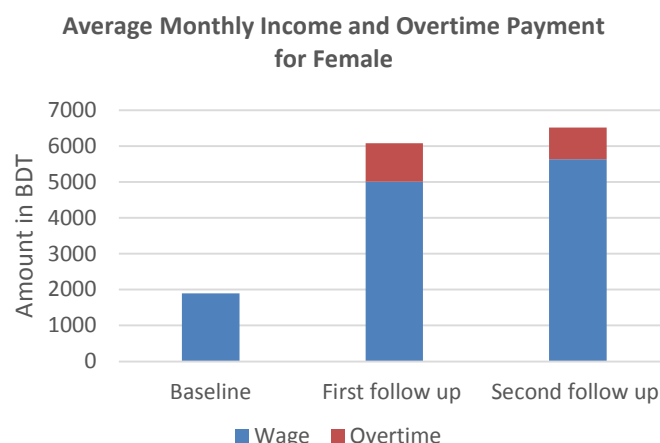


Figure 8a: Average monthly Wage and Overtime payment of Category 4 (Female)

Figure 8: Average monthly Wage and Overtime payment of Category 4

Current condition

Figure 8 above shows the monthly wage and overtime income flow for male and female participants of Category 4. Sub-figures in Figure 8 show three periods information. For a graphical representation of their income flow, the average of preceding twelve months' data are taken from the quantitative survey. Similar to category 1 respondents, in category 4 we also see that male participants are earning more than female participants are. During the baseline, before the training program initiated, these participants reported that their monthly household income was around BDT 2000 (\$27). After migration and while working at a RMG factory, their reported average income has moved to BDT 8000 (\$107).

Figure 9 shows monthly expenditure of the interviewees of the category 4 group in the place where they are living now. Their expenditure excludes the remittance sent to their family back to the village while two of interviewees do not send remittance as their family members are also migrated and currently living with them. The expenditure pattern on category 4 group is similar like what was reported for category 1. Two of our interviewees reported sending remittance to their family member regularly. The additional financial support from them helps their households to cope better with living expenses. Figures 10 shows monthly remittance flow for these two participants (one male and one female). Remittance information is taken for the previous six months retrospective data from the time



of the survey. Female participants' average remittance is around 2000 (\$28) while male participants' average remittance amount is around BDT 4500 (\$60).

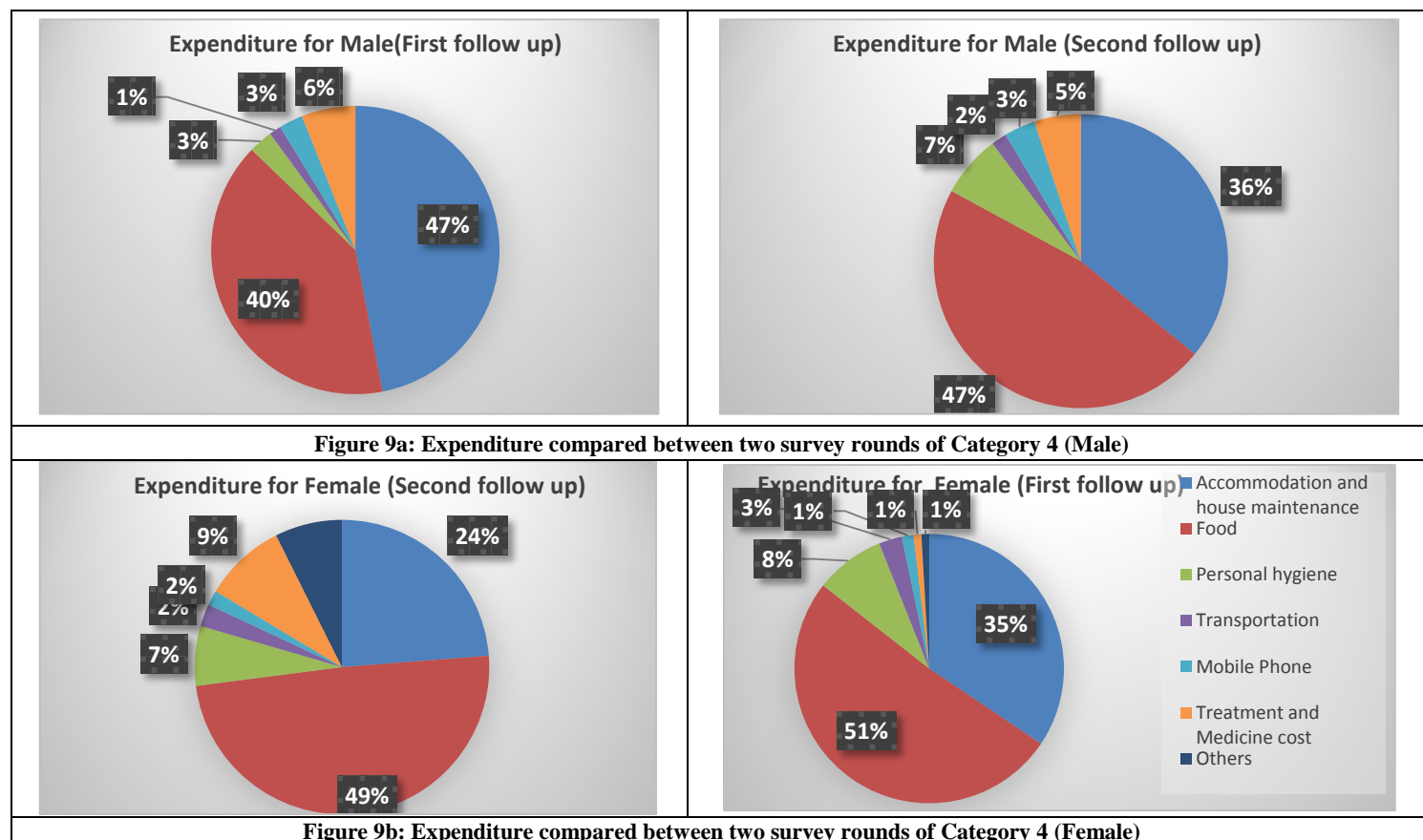


Figure 9: Expenditure compared between two survey rounds of case-study subjects of category 4

Interviewees feel that their own personal social status in the village has improved over the years after migration. Community people now respect them as they earn their own livelihood and supporting their family members. Female interviewees also reported having financial decision-making power in the family. They (female) can now make their own decision on marriage (who are unmarried) and fertility choices, as similar as Category 1 respondents.

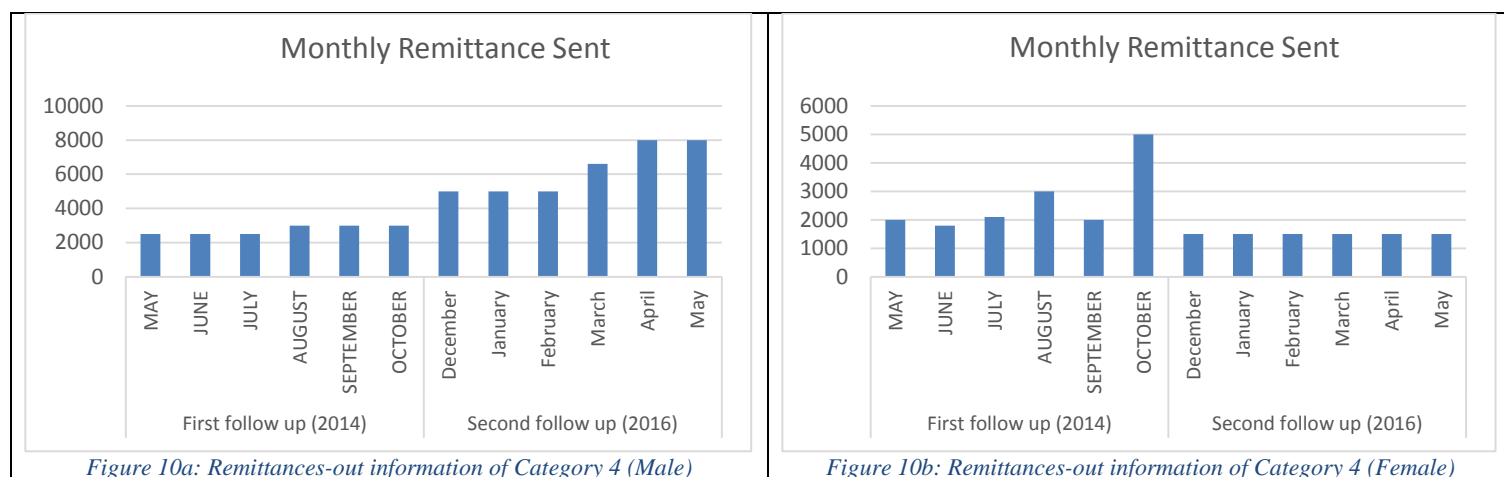


Figure 10: Remittance compared between two survey rounds of case-study subjects of category 4



6.5 Category 5: Interested but didn't attend training

Interviewees in this category are those who initially had shown interest to join the training but when offered training they refused due to various reasons. Four participants were interviewed for this category, having equal gender distribution. All are currently working now in their own villages and engaged in different type of income generating activities. One male is currently running a small fish trading business and the other one is a wage worker. One of the females is doing tailoring work inside her house. The other one is a homemaker. All of them got married and currently living with their families. Their age interval is between 22 to 30 years. Two of them finished secondary education and the other two never attended school.

Training program and rejection

They were briefed about the training program by GUK staffs. However, one of them reported not to have a clear information about the monetary benefits of the training program. One of the male's families was in extreme poverty-stricken condition and had to engage his efforts to fulfill family's financial demands by working. The other male one was engaged in a fish trading business and figured out that it was the worst time to leave the business for migration. One of the female participants gave birth to a new baby and the other one had some family obligations that hindered them from participating in the training program.

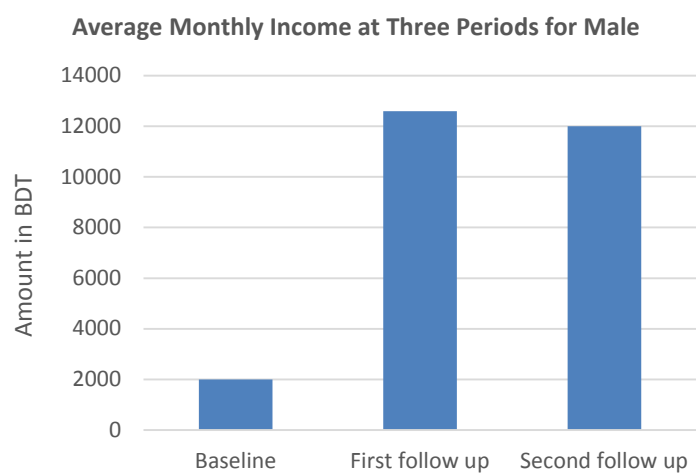


Figure 11a: Average Monthly Income at three Survey Periods of category 5 (Male)

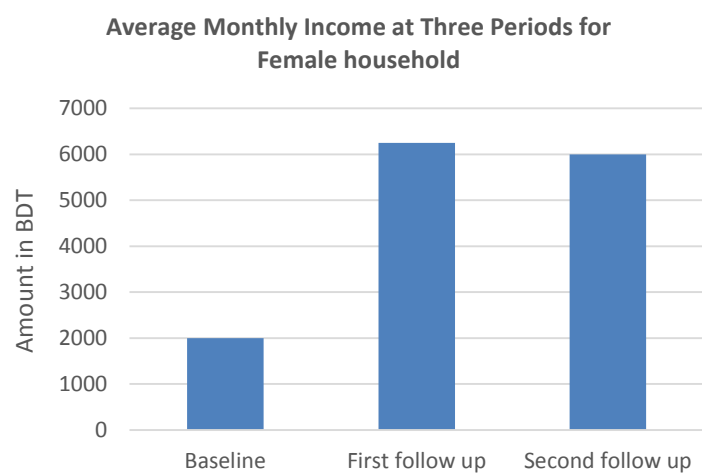


Figure 11b: Average Monthly Income at three Survey Periods of category 5 (Female)



Figure 11: Average Monthly Income at three Survey Periods of category 5

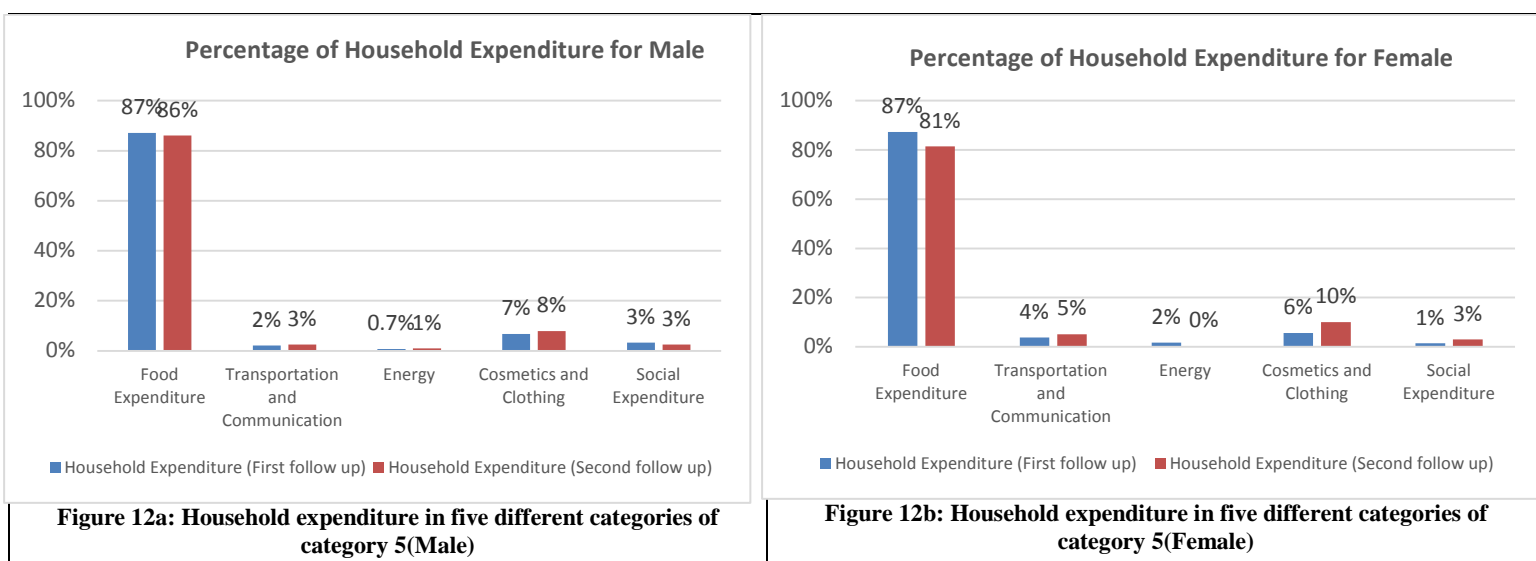


Figure 12: Household expenditure in five different categories of category 5

Current condition

The person who is running a fish business is currently earning around BDT 700(\$10) per day. The one who is doing tailoring work is earning regular income. She reported that her elder son currently lives with his grandparents and they take care of his educational expenses and wish to support his education as long as possible. Her husband is a diabetic patient and cannot do much work now. They get some income from cultivating a few decimals of lands they have. Sub-figures of figure 11 shows the average monthly income follows of both male and female participants. Male's income is higher than that of female household. The female participants are confronting difficulties to make their living on the little money that her husband currently earns by doing mechanical works. Although they do not have to borrow money now, they had to do it before. If she could also earn a living, it would have increased their total family income. Agricultural work is not an option for her since she has no land. She is trying to get a loan from an NGO to start her own chicken farm. Sometimes she need to take financial help from her relatives and neighbors. Figure 12 shows the distribution of total household expenditure.

These interviewees reported saving as much as they can. All they currently possess is just the residential land and some non-land asset like cattle, chicken, goat and ducks. They have some borrowing from their neighbors and NGOs. In *Monga* time, they reported no shortage of food supplies for their family members. One of the female participants reported having severe financial difficulties due to her husband's recent illness and resulted medical expenses.

Except for one male participant, they are not satisfied with their current life and living conditions. Many from this area are now working at garment factories in Dhaka. These migrants are earning



much more than the villagers. Three of the interviewees mentioned a desire to migrate for work, but family obligation and circumstances did not allow them to do so.

7.0 Conclusion

This study reveals some important findings on the issues of the training program, migration and employment decision on the lives of the people featured in this mix-method study. The study found that all of the participants who migrated to Dhaka after the training obtained some sort of factory jobs in the RMG sector, earning more stable gross income than what they were making back in Gaibandha. Other than non-economic factors like family obligation, health issues and social barriers, training participants were found to have returned to Gaibandha after working in Dhaka for a while due to unfavorable working condition, higher cost of living and rising rural agricultural wage. In terms on social economic conditions, we see those who remained engaged in factory jobs in urban location are less affected by seasonal unemployment or earning higher than the rural counterparts do; however, RMG jobs are not substantially correlated with overall poverty status. We also observe that those who attended the training but could not migrate due to personal constraints and family obligations, are currently having lower economic conditions in-terms of lower household consumption.

The migrant workers found to have close bonding with their families back in the village. They send remittances regularly to their families, which helped these families to cover some of living costs in the village. In addition, factory-working women reported to have achieved more decision-making power in their respective family. Most importantly, having a job made them feel more independent and has enhanced their self-confidence.

Interestingly, our study finds that participants of the training program initially struggled to find a work at RMG sector after the training program, mostly due to the lack of any formal recognition of such training program. Moreover, one of the implicit targets of providing such training was to help the potential workers of RMG sector to acquire skills required to be recruited as ‘sewing operator’, skipping the usual three to twelve months waiting period. However, the case studies reveal that the garments factories recruited most of the trainees as ‘helpers’, instead of ‘operators’, which undermines the training impact.

We also observe that not all the participants of the training program are currently working in RMG sector although the focus of the training was to gain the skill to be employed in the garments industry. Some participants returned to Gaibandha due to unfavorable working conditions such lower wage, higher cost of living, unhealthy living and working environment, rude behavior of the supervisor and strict working environment. Other than these issues, family related issues like marriage, family kinship, and health issues are the major barriers for migrants to return to their villages. It appeared that migration is not always an option for many and the training program should not only be focused



on one particular skill like sewing operations skills of the RMG sector, which requires migration. The training program needs to be diversified in many areas of skill shortage in Bangladesh, such as hospitality management, construction as well as modern farming process, fisheries and livestock, which will be useful for those who cannot migrate and would like to earn a living by staying in the village.



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Table 1: Summary Statistics

	Category 1		Category 2		Category 3		Category 4		Category 5		Total	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Male(d)	0.525	0.500	0.564	0.497	0.537	0.499	0.085	0.282	0.006	0.079	0.405	0.491
Age	27.424	6.396	26.094	5.439	26.076	5.770	26.957	5.718	26.350	5.587	26.470	5.839
Muslim(d)	0.940	0.238	0.936	0.245	0.928	0.258	0.915	0.282	0.877	0.329	0.920	0.271
Married(d)	0.411	0.493	0.624	0.485	0.547	0.498	0.383	0.491	0.571	0.496	0.529	0.499
Education: Primary(d)	0.070	0.255	0.132	0.340	0.161	0.368	0.043	0.204	0.167	0.374	0.133	0.340
Education: Secondary(d)	0.092	0.289	0.171	0.377	0.113	0.317	0.128	0.337	0.104	0.306	0.116	0.321
Education: Tertiary(d)	0.215	0.412	0.009	0.092	0.022	0.146	0.277	0.452	0.025	0.157	0.072	0.259
Participant is head of the HH(d)	0.123	0.329	0.184	0.388	0.179	0.384	0.170	0.380	0.199	0.400	0.171	0.377
HH head is male(d)	0.854	0.353	0.906	0.292	0.879	0.327	0.872	0.337	0.871	0.336	0.876	0.330
HH head Age	48.791	13.221	44.248	13.215	44.268	13.222	47.362	13.602	43.174	12.337	45.131	13.190
HH head Age Squared	0.041	0.199	0.038	0.193	0.068	0.251	0.021	0.146	0.054	0.226	0.052	0.223
HH Head Education: primary(d)	0.082	0.275	0.107	0.310	0.064	0.244	0.043	0.204	0.050	0.219	0.071	0.257
HH Head Education: secondary	0.003	0.056	0.004	0.065	0.002	0.045	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.056	0.003	0.053
HH Head Education: Tertiary(d)	0.861	0.347	0.923	0.267	0.891	0.312	0.851	0.360	0.868	0.340	0.883	0.322
HH Head married(d)	0.193	0.411	0.359	0.540	0.302	0.489	0.319	0.556	0.334	0.541	0.295	0.499
No. of infants in the HH	2.386	1.094	2.278	1.102	2.109	1.025	2.021	0.967	2.123	0.978	2.199	1.047
No. of females in the HH	3.497	1.243	3.342	1.337	3.231	1.194	2.957	0.833	3.161	1.208	3.284	1.229
No. of members in the HH	4.158	1.551	4.009	1.678	3.779	1.617	3.702	1.178	3.899	1.556	3.926	1.592
No. of adults in the HH	7.655	12.830	7.252	11.878	6.279	10.552	5.915	8.767	6.525	14.573	6.790	12.229
Observation	316		244		521		48		358		1487	

Note: "HH" stands for household. (d) stands for dummy variable. SD stands for Standard deviation

Table 2: Regression Table for Occupation

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
VARIABLES	Wage Employment	Business	Trading	Self Employed	Farming	Seasonal Unemployment
Category_1	0.398*** (0.039)	-0.042*** (0.011)	-0.044*** (0.011)	-0.194*** (0.022)	-0.012* (0.006)	-0.168*** (0.037)
Category_2	0.050 (0.036)	0.008 (0.018)	0.007 (0.018)	-0.023 (0.029)	-0.004 (0.006)	0.072** (0.037)
Category_3	0.056* (0.031)	-0.017 (0.013)	-0.021* (0.012)	-0.050** (0.023)	-0.003 (0.005)	0.072** (0.033)
Category_4	0.312*** (0.066)	-0.042*** (0.013)	-0.042*** (0.013)	-0.128*** (0.024)	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.210*** (0.073)
Observations	1,417	1,417	1,417	1,417	1,417	1,417
R-squared	0.252	0.091	0.094	0.152	0.080	0.427

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. All the regression controls for all the variables reported in Table 1.

Significance Code: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$



Table 3: Regression Table for Rural Household Poverty and Socio-Economic Condition

VARIABLES	(1) Target Participant's monthly Income	(2) Rural Household Consumption	(3) Rural Household Expenditure	(4) Below Food Poverty Line	(5) Below Low Regional Poverty Line
Category_1	7,826.480* (4,155.684)	-2,890.005 (1,992.784)	-1,635.231 (1,661.573)	0.026 (0.036)	0.066 (0.040)
Category_2	2,843.272 (6,204.925)	-4,603.846* (2,699.611)	-765.599 (1,585.413)	-0.021 (0.037)	0.047 (0.042)
Category_3	-4,818.283 (3,193.736)	-3,997.240** (1,690.750)	-1,895.364 (1,306.288)	0.014 (0.032)	0.034 (0.035)
Category_4	12,404.322 (7,554.738)	-2,657.996 (2,365.452)	-840.817 (2,159.815)	0.038 (0.059)	-0.014 (0.069)
Observations	1,417	1,417	1,417	1,417	1,417
R-squared	0.155	0.321	0.405	0.299	0.270

*Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. All the regression controls for all the variables reported in Table 1. Significance Code: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$*

Table 4: Regression Table for Household Expenditure, savings and borrowing

VARIABLES	(1) HH yearly expense in education	(2) HH yearly expense in Health	(3) Household Total Asset holding	(4) HH's total borrowing in last 1 year	(5) HH's total savings
Category_1	206.060 (359.681)	-83.466 (90.461)	-6,142.723 (18,246.393)	-1,398.565* (728.442)	171.090 (336.266)
Category_2	260.950 (262.984)	-62.425 (92.605)	-5,338.802 (19,146.531)	437.997 (778.585)	32.027 (268.657)
Category_3	-191.666 (239.008)	93.233 (93.414)	14,179.080 (17,273.682)	-123.458 (699.323)	-83.485 (262.885)
Category_4	-488.737 (392.329)	-130.473 (83.743)	38,528.411 (71,486.577)	1,242.560 (1,302.101)	393.099 (512.882)
Observations	665	1,416	1,417	1,417	1,417
R-squared	0.090	0.022	0.492	0.048	0.033

*Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. All the regression controls for all the variables reported in Table 1. Significance Code: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$*

Annex I

Guiding/open questions for Interview (record entire discussion):

Category 1(Male): Successfully trained and migrated

1. Why did you come for training facilitated by GUK?



2. Was the training helpful to get a job easily?
3. What are the problems you faced from family and the community when you left Gaibandha?
4. What kind of problem did you face after coming to Dhaka?
5. What are the challenges to work in RMG or another sector (in case the person does not work for RMG)?

Indicators:

- Workspace
 - Salary
 - Working condition
 - Working environment
 - Threat to fire
 - Target filling up
 - Residential place
 - Social/family ties in Gaibandha
6. How do you describe your present life?

Indicators:

- Income satisfaction
 - Health
 - Mental Satisfaction
 - Living environment
 - Satisfaction with family
 - Housing condition (self and family)
 - Educational support to siblings and children
 - Remittance to family
 - Social status
 - General awareness (politics, economy, disease and environment)
7. What are your suggestions to improve this program even better?
 8. What kind of job would you be involved in if you did not have participated in the training?
 9. In your perception what would be your status in your society if you did not involve in this program?
 10. What are the changes do you observe (compared to your previous status, mental, physical, social and economic) compared with your conditions before the training?

Category 1(Female): Successfully trained and migrated

1. Why did you come for training facilitated by GUK?
2. Was the training helpful to get a job easily?
3. What are the problems you faced from family and the community when you left Gaibandha?
4. What kind of problem did you face after coming to Dhaka?
5. What are the challenges to work in RMG sector?

Indicators:



- Workspace
 - Salary
 - Working condition
 - Working environment
 - Threat to fire
 - Target filling up
 - Residential place
 - Social/family ties in Gaibandha
6. Did you face any harassment (physical/mental/verbal)? (Yes/No) if yes, ask Q.7
7. What type of harassment are you a victim in workplace and outside of the workplace?

Indicators:

- Verbal abuse
 - sexual harassment (touching, shoving)
 - Physical/mental torture (from family members/supervisor)
8. What are your perceptions about security in the free movement of female workers?
9. Do you think that this training program has a contribution to late marriage for female garments workers?
10. What are the impact on dowry (increase/decrease) and marriage and family-size related decision making (when to marry, how many children to have, etc.)?
11. What is the impact of your employment on financial decision making, taking care of own money and resources, bargaining power in the household and overall empowerment?
12. How do you describe your present life?

Indicators:

- Income satisfaction
 - Health
 - Mental Satisfaction
 - living environment
 - Satisfaction with family
 - Housing condition (self and family)
 - Educational support to siblings and children
 - Remittance to family
 - Social status
 - General awareness (politics, economy, disease and environment)
13. What are your suggestions to improve this program even better?
14. What kind of job would you be involved in if you did not have participated in the training?
15. In your perception what would be your status in your society if you did not involve in this program?
16. What are the changes do you observe (compared to your previous status, mental, physical, social and economic) compared with your conditions before the training?



Category 2(Male): Trained, migrated and returned

1. Why did you come for training facilitated by GUK?
2. Was the training helpful to get a job easily?
3. What are the problems you faced from family and the community when you left Gaibandha?
4. What kind of problem did you face after coming to Dhaka?
5. What are the challenges to work in RMG sector?

Indicators:

- Workspace
 - Salary
 - Working condition
 - Working environment
 - Threat to fire
 - Target filling up
6. Why did you return to Gaibandha?
 7. In your perception what is the difference between you and who are working in Dhaka?
 8. How do you describe your present life?

Indicators:

- Income satisfaction
 - Health
 - Mental Satisfaction
 - living environment
 - Satisfaction with family
 - Housing condition (self and family)
 - Educational support to siblings and children
 - Remittance to family
 - Social status
 - General awareness (politics, economy, disease and environment)
9. What are your suggestions to improve this program even better?
 10. What kind of job would you be involved in if you did not have participated in the training?
 11. In your perception what would be your status in your society if you did not involve in this program?

Category 2(Female): Trained, migrated and returned

1. Why did you come for training facilitated by GUK?
2. Was the training helpful to get a job easily?
3. What are the problems did you face from family and the community when you left Gaibandha?
4. What kind of problem did you face after coming to Dhaka?
5. What are the challenges to work in RMG sector?

Indicators:



- Workspace
 - Salary
 - Working condition
 - Working environment
 - Threat to fire
 - Target filling up
6. Why did you return to Gaibandha?
 7. What type of harassment are you a victim to in workplace and outside of the workplace?

Indicators:

- Verbal abuse in workplace and outside the workplace
 - sexual harassment in the workplace and outside the workplace(touching, shoving)
 - Physical/mental torture (from family members)
8. What are your perceptions about security in the free movement of female workers?
 9. Do you think that this training program has a contribution to late marriage for female garments workers?
 10. In your perception what is the difference between you and who are working in Dhaka?
 11. How do you describe your present life?

Indicators:

- Income satisfaction
 - Health
 - Mental Satisfaction
 - living environment
 - Satisfaction with family
 - Housing condition (self and family)
 - Educational support to siblings and children
 - Remittance to family
 - Social status
 - General awareness (politics, economy, disease and environment)
11. What are your suggestions to improve this program even better?
 12. What kind of job would you be involved in if you did not have participated in the training?
 12. In your perception what would be your status in your society if you did not involve in this program?

Category 3(Male): Trained but never migrated

1. Why did you come for training facilitated by GUK?
2. Why did not you go to Dhaka?
3. Was this training helpful for you in anyways?
4. Is there any intention to migrate to Dhaka in future?
5. In your perception what is the difference between you and who are working in Dhaka?
6. How do you describe your present life?



Indicators:

- Income satisfaction
 - Health
 - Mental Satisfaction
 - living environment
 - Satisfaction with family
 - Housing condition (self and family)
 - Educational support to siblings and children
 - Remittance to family
 - Social status
 - General awareness (politics, economy, disease and environment)
7. What are your suggestions to improve this program even better?
 8. In your perception what would be your status in your society if you went to Dhaka?

Category 3(Female): Trained but never migrated

1. Why did you come for training facilitated by GUK?
2. Why did not you go to Dhaka?
3. Is there any family or social restrictions for not migrating to Dhaka?
4. Is there any intention to migrate to Dhaka in future?
5. Was this training helpful for you in anyways?
6. In your perception what is the difference between you and who are working in Dhaka?
7. How do you describe your present life?

Indicators:

- Income satisfaction
 - Health
 - Mental Satisfaction
 - living environment
 - Satisfaction with family
 - Housing condition (self and family)
 - Educational support to siblings and children
 - Remittance to family
 - Social status
 - General awareness (politics, economy, disease and environment)
8. What are your suggestions to improve this program even better?
 9. In your perception what would be your status in your society if you went to Dhaka?



Category 4(Male): Not trained but migrated

1. Why did not you come for training facilitated by GUK?
2. What could things motivate you to attend in this program?
3. What are the problems you faced from family and the community when you left Gaibandha?
4. What kind of problem did you face after coming to Dhaka?
5. What are the challenges to work in RMG or another sector (in case the person does not work for RMG)?

Indicators:

- Workspace
 - Salary
 - Working condition
 - Working environment
 - Threat to fire
 - Target filling up
 - Residential place
 - Social/family ties in Gaibandha
6. How do you describe your present life?

Indicators:

- Income satisfaction
 - Health
 - Mental Satisfaction
 - Living environment
 - Satisfaction with family
 - Housing condition (self and family)
 - Educational support to siblings and children
 - Remittance to family
 - Social status
 - General awareness (politics, economy, disease and environment)
7. In your perception what is the difference considering your present status between you and who are trained?
 8. What kind of job would you be involved in if you did not have migrated?
 9. In your perception what would be your status in your society if you did not migrate?
 10. What are the changes do you observe (compared to your previous status, mental, physical, social and economic) compared with your conditions before migration?

Category 4(Female): Not trained but migrated

1. Why did not you come for training facilitated by GUK?



2. What could things motivate you to attend in this program?
3. What are the problems you faced from family and the community when you left Gaibandha?
4. What kind of problem did you face after coming to Dhaka?
5. What are the challenges to work in RMG sector or another sector (in case the person does not work for RMG)?

Indicators:

- Workspace
 - Salary
 - Working condition
 - Working environment
 - Threat to fire
 - Target filling up
 - Residential place
 - Social/family ties in Gaibandha
6. Did you face any harassment (physical/mental/verbal)? (Yes/No) if yes, ask Q.7
 7. What type of harassment are you a victim in workplace and outside of the workplace?

Indicators:

- Verbal abuse
 - sexual harassment (touching, shoving)
 - Physical/mental torture (from family members/supervisor)
8. What are your perceptions about security in the free movement of female workers?
 9. What are the impact on dowry (increase/decrease) and marriage and family-size related decision making (when to marry, how many children to have, etc.)?
 10. What is the impact of your employment on financial decision making, taking care of own money and resources, bargaining power in the household and overall empowerment?
 11. How do you describe your present life?

Indicators:

- Income satisfaction
 - Health
 - Mental Satisfaction
 - living environment
 - Satisfaction with family
 - Housing condition (self and family)
 - Educational support to siblings and children
 - Remittance to family
 - Social status
 - General awareness (politics, economy, disease and environment)
12. What kind of job would you be involved in if you did not have migrated?
 13. In your perception what is the difference considering your present status between you and who are trained?



14. In your perception what would be your status in your society if you did not migrate?
15. What are the changes do you observe (compared to your previous status, mental, physical, social and economic) compared with your conditions before migration?

Category 5(Male): Interested but did not attend training

1. Why did not you come for training facilitated by GUK?
2. What could things motivate you to attend in this program?
3. In your perception what is the difference between you and who are trained?
4. Is there any intention to migrate to Dhaka in future?
5. How do you describe your present life?

Indicators:

- Income satisfaction
 - Health
 - Mental Satisfaction
 - living environment
 - Satisfaction with family
 - Housing condition (self and family)
 - Educational support to siblings and children
 - Remittance to family
 - Social status
 - General awareness (politics, economy, disease and environment)
6. What are your suggestions to improve this program even better?
 7. In your perception what would be your status in your society if you involved in this program?

Category 5(Female): Interested but did not attend training

1. Why did not you come for training facilitated by GUK?
2. Do you think that you cannot attend in training for being female?
3. Is there any family or social restrictions for not attending the training?
4. What things could motivate you to attend in this program?
5. In your perception what is the difference between you and who are trained?
6. Is there any intention to migrate to Dhaka in future?
7. How do you describe your present life?

Indicators:

- Income satisfaction
- Health
- Mental Satisfaction
- living environment
- Satisfaction with family



- Housing condition (self and family)
 - Educational support to siblings and children
 - Remittance to family
 - Social status
 - General awareness (politics, economy, disease and environment)
8. What are your suggestions to improve this program even better?
9. In your perception what would be your status in your society if you involved in this program?



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	Category 1: Successfully trained and migrated						Category 2: Trained, migrated and returned				Category 3: Trained but never migrated				Category 4 : Not trained but migrated				Category 5: didn't attend training			
	Male			Female			Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
Cases Indicators	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	11	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1. Reasons for training received	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*
A. Extreme poverty	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	*	*	*		*	*	*	*
B. Expectation of higher income	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	*	*	*		*	*	*	*
C. Intention to work in capital city	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	*	*	*		*	*	*	*
D. Monetary benefit from Training	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	*	*	*		*	*	*	*
2. Reason for not attending training	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Already migrated	Got a job	Already migrated	Wrong information	Got a job	Running Business	Newly born baby	Family bindings
3. Contribution of training to get a job	Yes	Yes	Yes	No, treated as fake	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
4. Restrictions from family and the community to leave Gaibandha (only for female)	No	Yes	No	No problem	No problem	Restriction from parents and community	No	Yes	No	No	*	*	*	*	Yes	No	No	No	*	*	*	*
5. Problems after migration	No problem	Residence, Condition	Residence	No problem as husband there	No problem	Residence, worst dress	Residence	No Problem	No problem	Victim to theft, rude behavior	*	*	*	*	Residence, food	Residence	No	No	*	*	*	*
6. Reason for staying Gaibandha	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Family obligation	Family obligation	Sickness of child	Sickness	*	*	*	*				
7. Reason for returning to Gaibandha	*	*	*	*	*	*	Low salary	Sickness	Family bindings	Family bindings	Family bindings	Low salary	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
8. Difference between interviewee and who are still working in Dhaka	*	*	*	*	*	*	Migrants have better income	Migrants have better income	Migrants have better income	Migrants have better income	Income is lower	Migrants have better income	Migrants have better income, respected	Migrants have better income, respected	*	*	*	*	Migrants have better income, respected	Migrants have better income, respected	Migrants have better income, respected	Migrants have better income, respected
9. Intention to migrate to Dhaka in future	*	*	*	*	*	*	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	*	*	*	*	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
10. Suggestions to improve this program better	Training length increase	Training length increase	Training length increase	Training length increase	Diversified training	Training length increase	No Reforms Need	No Reforms Need	No reforms need	No reforms need	No suggestion	No suggestions	No suggestions	No reforms need	*	*	*	*	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know	Don't know
11. Job involvement before participation	Agricultural work	Agricultural work	Agricultural work	Household works, tailoring work	Domestic help	Tailoring work	Agriculture	Agriculture	Day laborer	Household Work	Shop owner	Day laborer	No change	No change	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Table 1A: Training and Migration related information



Table 2A: Working Environment related information

	Category 1: Successfully trained and migrated						Category 2: Trained, migrated and returned				Category 4: Not trained but migrated			
	Male			Female			Male		Female		Male		Female	
Cases Indicators	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	15	16	17	18
1. Workspace	Narrow	Narrow	Narrow	Enough space	Enough space	Enough space	Enough space	Enough space	Enough space	Enough space	Narrow	Narrow	Enough space	Enough space
2. Salary	Satisfied	Low salary	Low salary, deducted for late	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied		
3. Working condition	Hard condition	Hard condition	Hard condition	Good condition	Good condition	Not satisfied	Good condition	Not satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied	Hard condition	Hard condition	Hard condition	Hard condition
4. Working environment	Working on feet, high heat	Working on feet, high heat	Working on feet, high heat	Working on feet, high heat	Good condition	Good condition	Good	Satisfied	Not good	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied
5. Threat to fire	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
6. Target filling up	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
7. Residential place	Not good	Not good	Not good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Not good	Not good	Not good	Good	Not good
8. Social/family ties in Gaibandha	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
9. Harassment (physical/mental/verbal) for female	*	*	*	Yes	No	No	*	*	No	No	*	*	No	No
10. Verbal abuse	*	*	*	Yes	No	No	*	*	No	No	*	*	No	No
11. Sexual harassment (touching, shoving)	*	*	*	Yes	No	No	*	*	No	No	*	*	No	No
12. Physical/mental torture (from family members/supervisor)	*	*	*	Yes	No	No	*	*	No	No	*	*	No	No



Table 3A: Direct Impacts of the training Program

	Category 1: Successfully trained and migrated						Category 2: trained, migrated and returned				Category 3: Trained but never migrated				Category 4: Not trained but migrated)(Category 5: Didn't attend training			
	Male			Female			Male		Female			Male		Female			Male		Female			
Cases Indicators	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1. Income satisfaction	Less satisfied	Less satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Yes	No	Not Satisfied	Not Satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied
2. Health	Good	Getting sick for long time work	Good	Sick	Good	Weak	Good	Not good	Good	Good	Good	Sick	Sick	Sick	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Sick	Sick
3. Mental Satisfaction	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Sometime depressed	Satisfied	Yes	Somewhat Satisfied	Not Satisfied	Not Satisfied	Good	Not satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied
4. Living environment	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied
5. Satisfaction with family	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied
6. Housing condition (self and family)	Less Satisfied, intention to improve	Less Satisfied, intention to improve	Satisfied	Less Satisfied, intention to improve	Not good, intention to improve	Improved	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Less Satisfied	Satisfied	Less Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied
7. Educational support to siblings and children	Supporting	Supporting	Supporting	Not supporting	Supporting	Supporting	Don't have Such cost	Don't have Such cost	Supporting	Not supporting	Supporting	Supporting	Not supporting	Supporting	Yes	No	Yes	No	Not supporting	Supporting	Supporting	Supporting
8. Remittance to family	Regularly	Regularly	Regularly	Not regularly	Regularly	Regularly	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Yes	No	Yes	no	*	*	*	*



9. Social status	Improving	Improved	Improved	Improving	Improved	Improved	Improved	Improving	Not improved	Improved	Improving	Improving	Degrading	Improving	Improved	Improved	Improved	Improved	Improving	Improved	Degrading	Degrading
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Table 4A: Indirect Impacts (perception and attitude)

	Category 1: Successfully trained and migrated						Category 2: trained, migrated and returned				Category 3: Trained but never migrated				Category 4: Not trained but migrated				Category 5: didn't attend training			
	Male			Female			Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
<div>Cases</div> <div>Indicators</div>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1. Perceptions about security in free movement for female workers	*	*	*	Not allowed, outside was risky	No problem	Problems, afraid	*	*	No problem	No problem	*	*	*	*	*	*	No problem	No problem	*	*	*	*
2. Contribution of training program to delay marriage for female	*	*	*	Yes	Yes	Yes	*	*	No	Yes	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
3. Impact on dowry for female	*	*	*	Yes, negative impact, increase dowry	Yes, negative impact , increase dowry	Yes , positive	*	*	No impact	Yes, negative impact , increase dowry	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
4. Impact on financial decision making, for female	*	*	*	Yes	Yes	Yes	*	*	Yes	No	*	*	*	*	*	*	Yes	Yes	*	*	*	*
5. General awareness (politics, economy, disease and environment)	Trying to be updated	Trying to be updated	Trying to be updated	Trying to be updated	Trying to be updated	Trying to be updated	Trying to be updated	Trying to be updated	Trying to be updated	Trying to be updated	Trying to be updated	Trying to be updated	Trying to be updated	Not updated	Trying to be updated	Trying to be updated	Not updated	Not updated	Trying to be updated	Trying to be updated	trying to be updated	Not updated
6. Status in society if not participated in this program	Not good, devalued by others	Not good, devalued by others	Devalued by others, lower status	Not good	Devalued by others, lower status	Devalued by others, lower status	Not good	Not good	Same as before	No comment	Same as before	Same as before	No change	No change	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
7. Observed changes (compared to previous status, mental, physical, social and economic) compared with conditions before the training	Increased income, well dressed, valued by others, and improved economic condition.	Increased income, well dressed, some valuation by others, improved economic condition.	Familiarity increased, speaking good language, savings increased, enlightened mind, expected to educate younger brother and children	Some income satisfaction, savings, valued by others	Independent, income increased, brave to alone movement, take care of own self, good communication power	Brave, taking own decision, valued by others	Satisfied with Income	A little bit of change	A little respect from the community	Learn to sewing, sent some money to the family, people respect her	Improving slowly in all aspects	A little bit of change	Learn to sewing work, if she had a sewing machine, she would work on it	Learn to sewing work, if she had a sewing machine, she would work on it	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*



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