Knowledge gaps, attitudes and practices that limit women's role in the RMG workforce

oporajita

C-CAB

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List of Acronyms

BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
C-CAB	Center for Communication Action Bangladesh
CI	Collective Impact
FGD	Focus group discussion
GDP	Gross domestic product
IDI	In-depth interview
ILO	International Labour Organisation
KII	Key informant interview
RMG	Readymade garments
SMI	Survey of Manufacturing Industries
SBCC	Social and behavior change communication

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Photos

C-CAB, Shutterstock

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About C-CAB

Center for Communication Action Bangladesh (c-cab.org) uses the power of research and strategic communication to help improve development outcomes and support people in understanding their rights. C-CAB's mission is to inform, communicate and empower communities and promote behaviour change in a broad range of sectors.

To learn more, please visit: www.c-cab.org

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The H&M Foundation is an independent non-profit global foundation for public good, headquartered in Stockholm, Sweden. This foundation is privately funded by the Stefan Persson family, founders and main owners of the H&M Group. Founded to accelerate the realisation of the UN Sustainable Development Goals 2030, H&M Foundation uses collaboration and innovation to co-create, fund and share solutions for the world's most urgent challenges. To help safeguard the welfare of humanity, the Foundation is catalysing the fashion industry to become planet-positive and accelerating development for inclusive societies.

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About the Collective Impact initiative for Women Garment Workers in Bangladesh

Oporajita – Collective Impact on Future of Work is a collaborative initiative among 14 organisations to equip women garment workers in Bangladesh for a future defined by automation and digitalisation. Funded by H&M Foundation and Sweden, the initiative follows the Collective Impact model, and aims to holistically address challenges to women's future employment opportunities and livelihoods – and achieve transformative change for the industry and the people working within. The initiative covers multiple aspects within thematic areas that impact the lives of women garment workers, such as providing future-fit skill training, cultivating an enabling environment that supports their future aspirations and fostering collaboration in an RMG sector that is inclusive of their choices.

The Asia Foundation is a non-profit international development organization committed to improving lives and expanding opportunities across Asia and the Pacific. Informed by decades of experience and deep local expertise, our work across the region is focused on good governance, women's empowerment and gender equality, inclusive economic growth, environment and climate action, and regional and international relations. The Asia Foundation operates as the backbone organization for Oporajita, acting as facilitator to guide the collective strategy and coordinate synergies among stakeholders.

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1 Executive Summary

Gender biases in societal norms (e.g., typecasting women as homemakers, passive followers, or suited for low-end jobs) hinder women's leadership opportunities in the garment industry and tech-related roles. As Bangladesh's garment industry becomes automated, many women's livelihoods could be at risk due to their low representation in managerial roles and their struggles to move into tech-intensive roles, often considered 'male domains'.

This study aimed to identify barriers, cultural beliefs, and behaviours that may prevent women from performing on an equal footing with men. It also sought potential ways to influence societal perceptions of women's role in the garment industry.

Using a mixed-method approach, with stratified random sampling, the study collected samples from 3 different groups in Gazipur and Savar – a group of garment workers (sample size = 404), a community group (sample size = 301), and a group of families (sample size =302). To better understand, validate and contextualise the findings, the research team conducted 06 focus group discussions, 10 in-depth interviews (IDIs), and 10 key informant interviews (KIIs). The quantitative data was analysed using SPSS statistical software, and qualitative data was coded and analysed using Nvivo.

The study showed widespread bias and patriarchal views towards working women, especially garment workers. Often, these women internalize these stereotypes, which hinder their confidence in assuming leadership or technical roles. About 75% of garment workers perceived men as more competent managers and technicians. Most respondents, including workers and their families, saw women mainly as homemakers. Nearly half of the workers considered women as followers, not leaders. Domestic responsibilities (55%), gender-based violence (27%), and workplace discrimination (24.3%) were the primary reasons cited by workers for limiting women's roles in the workforce.

Despite recognizing these barriers, 55% of family members still viewed women as responsible for household tasks. Gender stereotypes and lack of technical skills/digital literacy are seen as major barriers, impacting women's confidence in assuming leadership and technical roles. Over 50% of women workers felt training could enable them to take on supervisory roles, but 40% disagreed, suggesting cultural and structural barriers.

The quantitative and qualitative analysis revealed that younger couples living in nuclear family structures tended to have a more balanced distribution of household chores. Conversely, those residing with extended families, such as in-laws, often reported a less supportive environment, citing the challenge of balancing long factory hours with household responsibilities.

The majority of female participants in the FGDs reported that their earnings were typically controlled by male family members, limiting their personal access to and enjoyment of their income. The survey and FGDs also highlighted a perceived lack of representation for women garment workers in mass media. Most respondents felt a media narrative promoting positive gender roles could help change social perceptions towards women in the garment industry.

A significant digital divide also existed, with far fewer women workers (28%) reporting smartphone usage compared to men (65%). Television and friends and family networks appeared to be how most garment workers gathered and consumed information.

The findings offer important pointers regarding behaviour-change and perception-change interventions. They also provide valuable windows into the mindsets and priorities of the garment workers themselves.

2 Background

The ready-made garments (RMG) sector is a key driver of the Bangladesh economy, contributing more than 9% of the national GDP in 2022, with total annual export earnings of more than $42 billion (Bangladesh Bank, 2022). The industry employs more than 4 million workers, most of whom are women. The percentage of women in the RMG workforce has been declining, however, as the industry undergoes significant consolidation and automation. Although most estimates in the 1990s placed the proportion of women at around 90%, a 2012 Survey of Manufacturing Industries (SMI) by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS, 2012) found that women represented 64% of the RMG sector's workforce.

The decline in the percentage of women in the RMG workforce has the potential to have major economic and social consequences, as no other sector in Bangladesh formally employs so many women. Research has shown that women garment workers use their income to invest in their children's education and food and that they save their hard-earned money for family welfare (Al Mamun & Hoque, 2022).

The decreasing percentage of women in the garment industry indicates that jobs that used to be held by women are increasingly held by men. Most of the approximately 60% of women in the RMG workforce are employed in low-paid, low-skilled jobs in the sewing and finishing sections. Men are increasingly hired for positions that require technical skills such as cutting, knitting and dyeing. Just 4% of factory managers are women, and less than 10% of supervisors are women (ILO, 2019).

As the RMG industry undergoes significant consolidation and automation, the livelihoods of millions of women are potentially at risk. The low percentage of women in managerial positions means that women workers are vulnerable as factories shrink their human resources and low-skill jobs disappear. At the same time, women workers struggle to move into positions that involve the extensive use of technology, as these are seen as 'male domains' (Hansez & Babic, 2021).

Women are prevented from competing on equal terms with men due to several barriers, including knowledge, attitudes and practices rooted in stereotypical gender norms. Improving working conditions in the RMG sector in a gender-responsive way has become an important part of the development agenda in this vital industry (Agars, 2004).

The increase in internet penetration in Bangladesh provides a potential window of opportunity to improve the flow of information to working women, as it allows women to overcome traditional barriers to mobility and access to resources. Internet penetration in Bangladesh increased from 24% of the population in 2013 to more than 70% in 2022 (BTRC, 2023). The number of active social media users stood at more than 50 million in 2022, with an annual growth rate of about 10% (Oosga, Social media outlook, 2023). Facebook is the most popular social media platform, with 43 million users in 2022, compared with LinkedIn's 4.7 million users and Instagram's 4.6 million users in the same year (Statista, 2023).

Women in the RMG industry are often at a disadvantage compared with men when it comes to access to information, resources, mobility and physical safety. The lower percentage of women with access to smartphones hints at a digital gender divide (Al Mamun & Hoque, 2022).

Creating a supportive and resilient social and work environment by changing gender norms, attitudes and practices, coupled with context-specific training, will be key to preparing women garment workers for a future defined by automation and digitalisation, allowing them to lead dignified, rewarding and fulfilling lives (Al Mamun & Hoque, 2022).

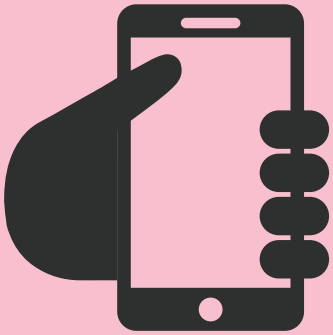
81%
of male workers

71%
of women workers
believe men are better
managers

40%
of male workers

19%
of women say they would not
be comfortable working
under a woman supervisor

57%
of family members
(of workers)
believe women are
homemakers, not
breadwinners

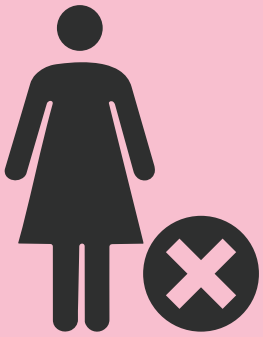


65%
of men vs

28%
of women workers
use smartphones

55%
of garment workers
say family commitments
limit women's ability to
compete with men

Many women
workers have no control
over their income



40%
of women workers
say they could not get a
supervisory
role at the factory even if they
were trained

Most workers
get information from TV
and friends and family
networks

3 Research questions

The main research questions were as follows.

Research Question 1

What are the knowledge gaps, cultural beliefs and behavioural patterns that may act as barriers to women's participation in managerial roles and technology-related roles?

Research Question 2

What are some of the opportunities to positively influence the broader community regarding women's role in the garment industry?

Research Question 3

What are the information consumption patterns in the community, including trusted sources and types of information and platforms?

4 Methodology

This research followed a mixed-methods approach, with the data triangulated using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The survey employed stratified random sampling (Sekaran, 2003), with stratification of garment workers, family members and community members. Data were collected, using a structured questionnaire, from individuals living in various wards in Gazipur and Savar, ensuring geographical dispersion. Within these geographical locations, C-CAB conducted random sampling from every other (alternate) household.

A total of 18 enumerators collected data from selected wards in Gazipur and Savar. Survey team members received four days of comprehensive training on overall processes and study objectives including sessions on questionnaires, sampling process, respondent selection and interview guidelines. Training included role-play to facilitate understanding of study tools and interview techniques. The questionnaire was field tested and based on feedback, adjustments were made to the questions.

We collected samples from three different groups: garment workers (n=404), community members (n=301) and family members of garment workers (n=302). Out of the total sample size of 1007, 575 respondents were in Gazipur and 432 in Savar. To better understand, validate and contextualise the findings, we also conducted 6 focus group discussions (FGDs), 10 in-depth interviews (IDIs) and 10 key informant interviews (KIIs) (Huyler & McGill, 2019). The data collected through these activities was used to identify specific knowledge gaps, cultural beliefs and behavioural patterns that may act as barriers to women's ability to perform at the same level as men in the workplace, using the garment industry in Bangladesh as a case study. Our analysis aimed to provide empirical answers to the research questions outlined above.

The quantitative data was analysed using SPSS statistical software; the qualitative data were coded and analysed using NVivo, a widely used program for the analysis of qualitative data (Sekaran, 2003). A full description of the qualitative approach we used can be found in Appendices A and B.

Before, during and after data collection, the following ethical norms were followed

- Participation was completely voluntary and informed consent was obtained from the survey, FGD, IDI and KII participants
- The 'Do no harm' principle was followed
- The survey was anonymous and personal information from survey participants was kept confidential
- The interviews were conducted in the respondents' homes at a time of theirchoosing
- People under 18 years old were not included in the survey
- Women were interviewed separately from men to allow them to speak freely
- Respondents were not asked to identify their factories to avoid unease

5. Results

5.1 Demographic Profile of Respondents

Demographic analysis of the respondents showed that the majority of garment workers were women (69.8%), while the majority of family and community members were male (50.3% and 75.7%, respectively). Most of the garment workers were in the 18- to 25-years age group, with successively smaller proportions with increasing age. A similar age trend was seen for family and community members, although among community members there was a slight increase in respondents aged 55 years or more. For all three groups of respondents, the majority had received between 6 and 10 years of education. Most garment workers had up to 5 years of work experience. Further details and graphs showing the respondents' demographic details can be found in Appendix C.

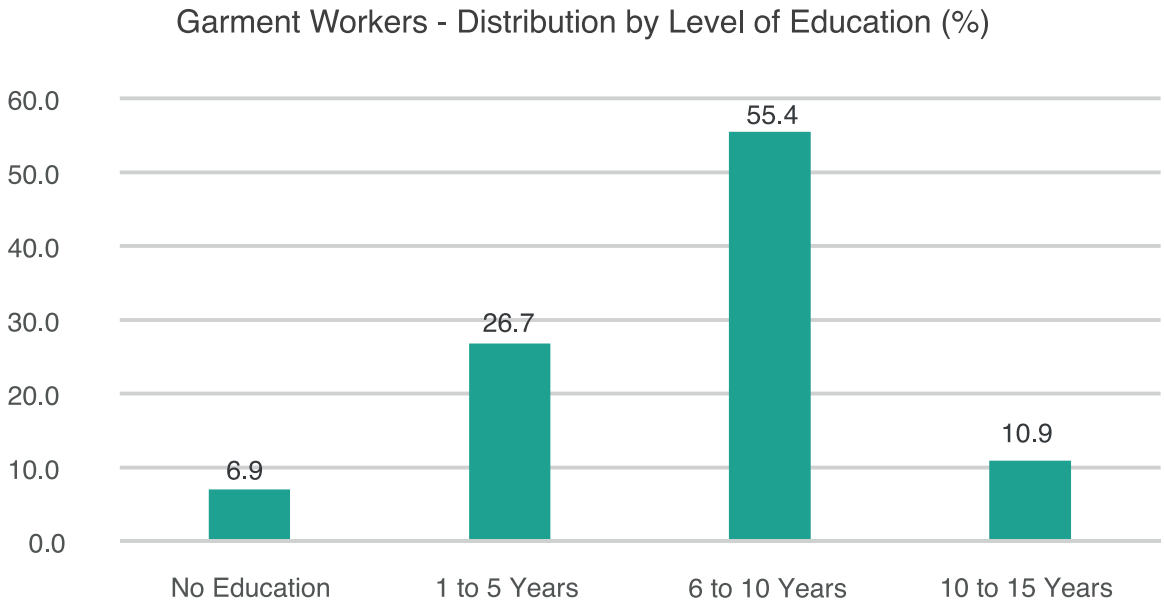


Figure 1 Distribution of garment workers by level of education (years)

5.2 Quantitative and Qualitative Analyses

The data analysis revealed stereotypical gender perceptions, biased behaviour and gender gaps that act as barriers for women garment workers and potentially perpetuate discriminatory practices. Key quantitative findings are presented here, together with contextualisation and insights achieved through our qualitative analysis; further details (tables, graphs etc.) can be found in Appendix D.

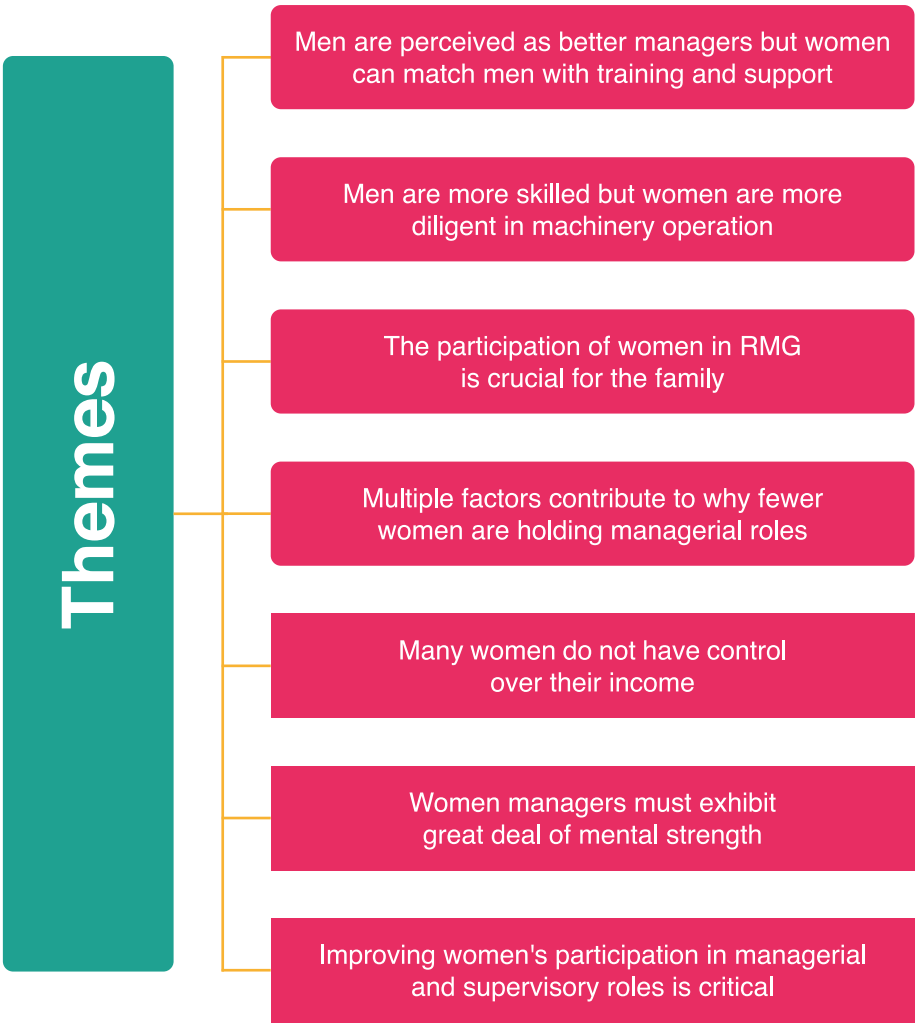


Figure 2 Themes that emerged from qualitative analysis

5.2.1 Are men more capable than women as managers or in technical positions?

When asked whether men are more capable than women as managers in a garment factory, almost 75% of garment factory workers believed that men are more capable managers in a garment factory, while 23.5% did not agree that this was the case.

Manager and supervisor positions included mid-level managers, line chiefs and factory-floor supervisors. Technical positions were described as those involving the operation of digital machines and software.

When asked whether men are more capable than women of performing well in a technical position in a garment factory, 73.5% of garment factory workers believed that men are more capable of performing in a technical position, while 24% disagreed with this.

Most women garment workers appeared to subscribe to the same gender stereotypes that undermine their confidence in undertaking leadership and technical positions. Nearly 81% of male workers surveyed said men were better managers, while 72% of women workers held the same belief.

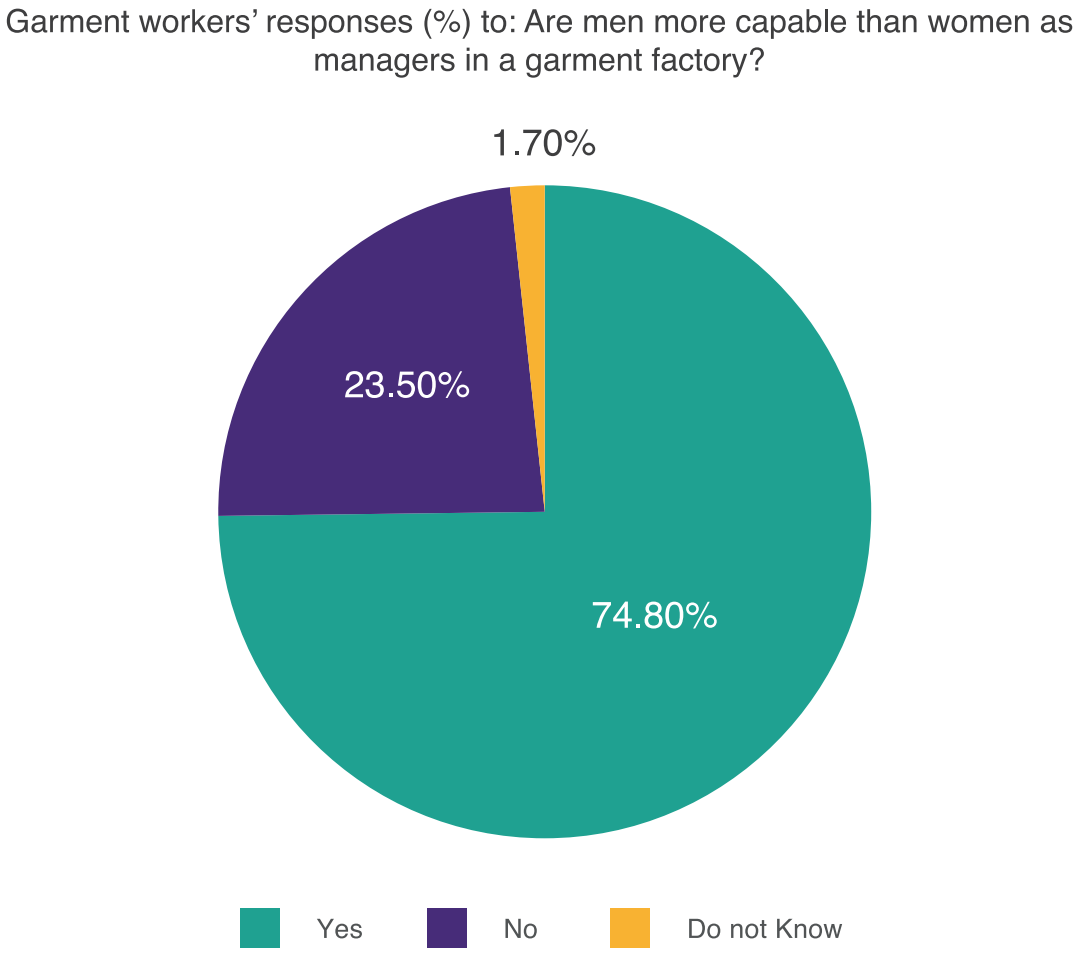


Figure 3 Are men more capable than women in managerial positions?

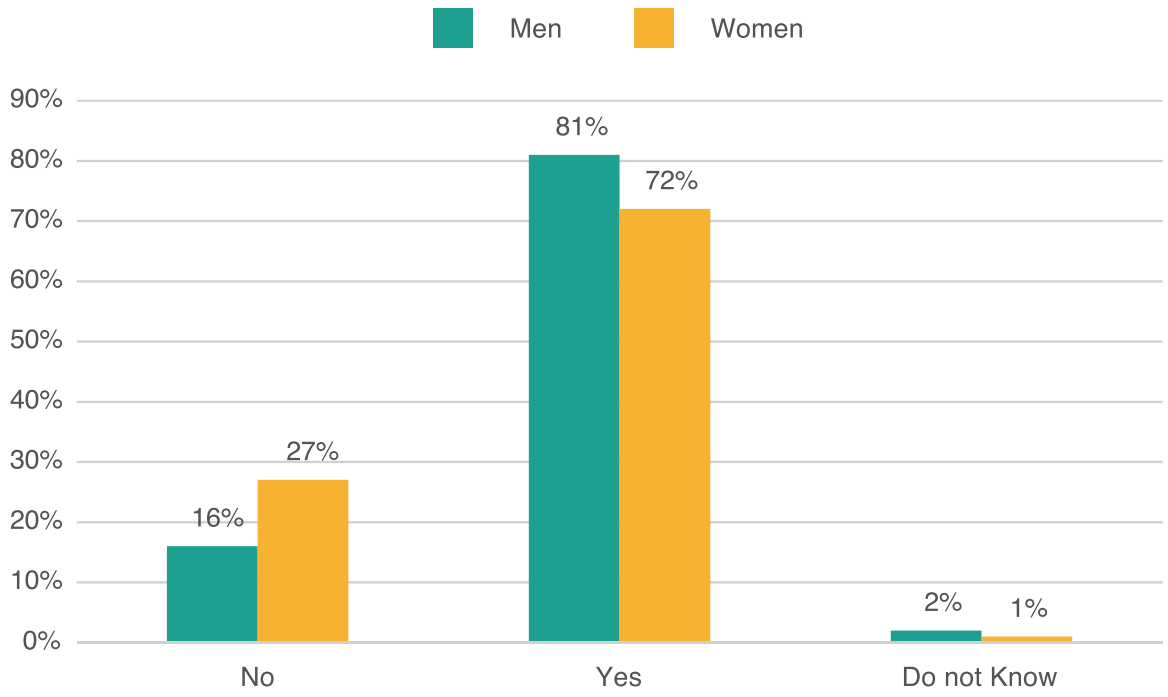


Figure 4 Gender disaggregation: Are men more capable as managers? (Responses from men and women)

The qualitative data provided a more nuanced picture and insights into the mindset of garment workers, especially women.

Qualitative insight 1:

> With training and support, women can match men as managers in the garment industry

While a significant majority of workers, both male and female, believe men to be more capable in managerial and technical roles, the interviews showed a more complex picture. Despite the prevalent belief in men's superior technical skills, the FGDs IDIs revealed a consensus that women are more diligent and productive when operating machinery. Participants expressed a strong belief that women could match or surpass male colleagues as managers if given proper training and job opportunities. This suggests that while men may be perceived as more capable, women's contributions are recognized while still being based on gender stereotypes.

The participants acknowledged the family and societal limitations faced by women managers (this will be discussed further in subsequent themes). This recognition hints at an understanding of the systemic barriers that may contribute to the gender disparities observed in the industry.

Qualitative insight 2:

Men may have more technical training, but women are more diligent

The analysis of FGDs and IDIs revealed that most participants believed men to be more skilled in operating machinery, especially the operation of new, digital equipment, a finding that is not surprising in light of the quantitative data. This perception is influenced by several factors.

Firstly, men often receive more technical training, equipping them with the necessary skills to handle complex machinery. Secondly, the industry tends to provide men with more opportunities to engage with and operate such machinery, further enhancing their proficiency. Lastly, there's a prevailing belief that the physical demands of operating heavy machinery are better suited to men, reinforcing the perception of their superior adeptness in these roles.

However, this perceived technical superiority of men does not translate into higher productivity, according to the majority of FGD and IDI participants. Despite men's higher skillset, it was widely believed that women's productivity when operating machinery surpasses that of their male counterparts. This counterintuitive finding was attributed to several key characteristics observed in women workers.

Participants noted that women tend to be more meticulous and patient, traits that are highly beneficial when operating machinery that requires precision and consistency. Furthermore, women were perceived as less likely to be distracted by non-work-related issues, avoiding office politics, and maintaining a laser-like focus on their assigned tasks. This ability to concentrate and their dedication to the task at hand were seen as contributing factors to their higher productivity levels.

> *"Girls work fast. Girls do better when they operate machines. They always try to give the best production."*

-Woman worker, 25, FGD

Qualitative insight 3:

The participation of women in the garment industry is crucial to the family

The strong belief in men's superior capabilities as managers in a garment factory compared to women did not translate into a lack of acknowledgement of women's role in providing financial support. The active participation of women in the garment industry plays a key role in the economic stability and growth of their families, something of which many participants were aware. This role extends beyond the immediate financial benefits and has far-reaching implications, particularly for the welfare of their children.

More instance, participants highlighted that the income generated by women in the industry forms a significant part of the family budget. This income is judiciously allocated to various essential needs, including their children's education, providing a safe and comfortable shelter for their families, and ensuring the availability of food and clothing. In other words, the earnings of women in the garment industry serve as a lifeline, maintaining the family's financial solvency and enabling them to meet their basic needs.

Moreover, the participants emphasized the role of women's income in shaping the future of the next generation. The funds allocated to children's education are seen as an investment in their future, equipping them with the knowledge and skills necessary for their personal growth and societal contribution. This investment underscores the crucial role of women in not only supporting their families in the present but also in nurturing the future generation.

Challenging beliefs about women's role in the industry is not about making either men or women acknowledge women's contribution but in challenging prevailing gender stereotypes about the roles that women can fulfil in the industry.

> *"Women need to work in garments, so they can educate their children and give some money to their parents. The country will develop through our labour."*
>
> -Woman worker, 23, IDI

5.2.2 Is there adequate knowledge about paid maternity leave for women?

The vast majority of questionnaire respondents knew that women RMG workers are entitled to paid maternity leave, although knowledge about the length of the leave they were entitled to varies somewhat.

> In total, 36.6% of garment workers said women workers were entitled to maternity leave of 3 to 4 months, while 35.9% said maternity leave entitlement was 2 to 3 months. Just 7% of the garment workers said they would receive maternity leave of 4 to 6 months, while 16% of the garment workers were not aware of the maternity leave allowance in their factory.

> Among garment workers' family members, 20% of them believed that the maternity leave in a factory was 3 to 4 months, 45% believed that it was 2 to 3 months, and 7% believed that it was 4 to 6 months. However, 21.5% of the family members were unaware of the maternity leave allowance in factories.

5.2.3 What factors limit women's role in the workforce?

When asked about the factors that might limit women's role in the RMG workforce, 55% of garment workers surveyed said taking more family responsibility, including cooking and bringing up children, was the main reason that limits women's role in the garment factory. Around 27% of garment workers named gender-based violence as another reason that might hold women back from competing on equal terms with men. Gender-based discrimination at work was viewed as a reason for limiting women's role in the workforce by 24.3% of garment workers.

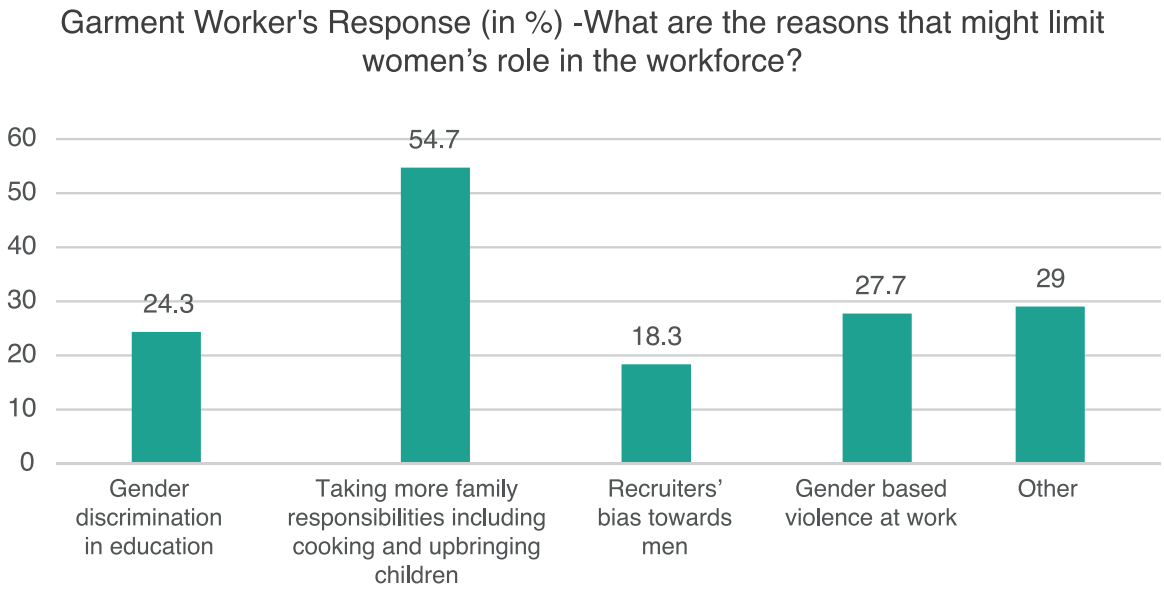


Figure 5 What are the reasons that might limit women's role in the RMG workforce?

5.2.4 Are women homemakers or breadwinners?

The prevailing social attitude in the community is that women are primarily homemakers rather than breadwinners. This patriarchal stereotype limits the scope of women's ambition. It also perpetuates the belief that a woman worker's income is auxiliary to a man's – leading men to demand control over the income of women in the family.

- Most of the garment workers, family members and community members saw women as primarily homemakers rather than breadwinners.
- Among garment workers, 53.5% of them believed that women are homemakers rather than breadwinners, although 26% of them disagreed with this statement.
- Responses from men and women were not far apart in all of these groups.
- Among family members, 56.7% of them believed that women are homemakers rather than breadwinners, while 27% of them disagreed with this statement. The results showed that 49.5% of the community members believed that women were homemakers rather than breadwinners, while 32% of them believed otherwise.

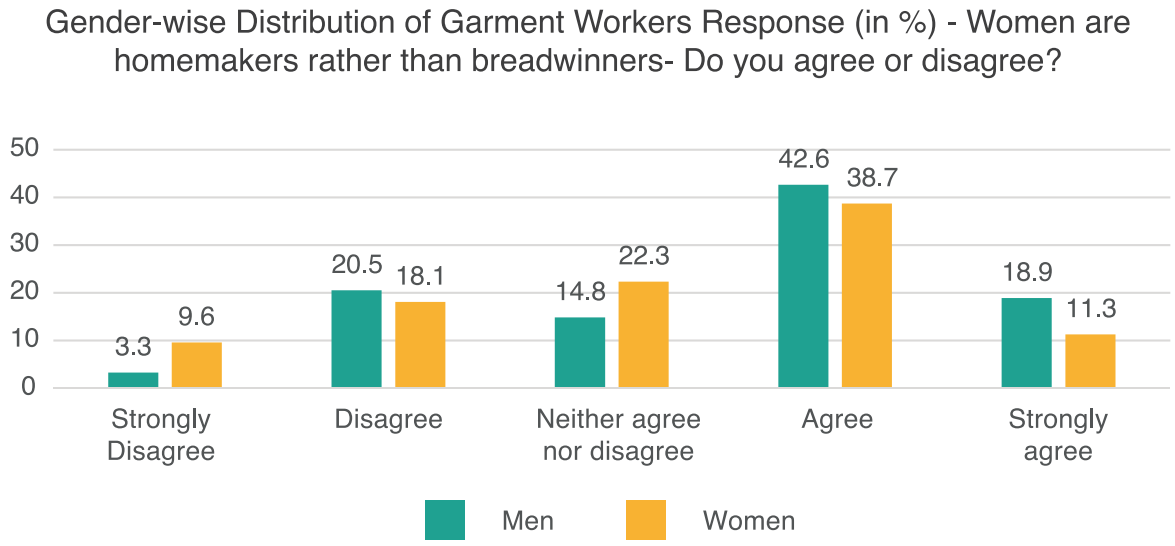


Figure 6 Gender disaggregation: Are women homemakers or breadwinners?

Qualitative insight 4:

Many believe that women are ‘not entitled to their own income’

Qualitative data revealed that a significant proportion of women are struggling to be financially independent despite earning monthly wages in the garment industry. Our analysis showed that women workers often cannot exercise control over their income due to the actions of the male members of the family. Many women participants in the FGDs and IDIs said that men sometimes take their money under the guise of using it to improve the family. Some participants said women who resist this type of pressure are often condemned by society because of the belief that a ’good woman’ should hand over control of the money to male members.

Societal pressure and gendered expectations compound this issue. Participants revealed that women who resist such financial control are often stigmatized and condemned by society. The prevailing belief that a 'good woman' should relinquish control of her income to male family members further entrenches this financial disempowerment.

These findings are not surprising in light of the earlier-mentioned quantitative data, as the high proportion of garment workers who perceive increased family responsibilities as a primary factor limiting women's roles in the garment industry resonates with the reported societal expectations and gender roles often result in men controlling women's income.

Secondly, the data shows that gender-based violence and discrimination at work are seen as significant factors limiting women's roles in the workforce. This could create an environment where women are less likely to assert control over their income for fear of reprisals, further undermining their financial independence. This finding provides a broader context for the qualitative data, explaining why women might struggle to maintain control over their income.

> *“When we come across such cases, we usually advise in counselling that you should not disclose your salary to your spouse. Just tell them that you earn this much, and they don’t need to worry about it.”*

-Woman social worker, 32, KII

Thirdly, the data on maternity leave entitlements shows some variation in understanding among garment workers and their family members. This lack of clarity could create uncertainty for women about their income during periods of maternity leave, potentially impacting their financial independence and control over their income.

Finally, the prevailing social attitude that women are primarily homemakers rather than breadwinners supports the finding that men often demand control over women's income. This belief perpetuates the notion that women's income is secondary to men's, which could lead to men appropriating women's earnings under the guise of family betterment.

The participants also came out with potential solutions to these issues, emphasizing the importance of dialogue and education. They suggested that extensive discussions within the extended family, coupled with counselling, could help challenge and change these entrenched norms. Peaceful dialogue between couples was also highlighted as a crucial step towards fostering mutual respect and understanding about financial independence.

Additionally, some participants advocated for a degree of discretion on the part of women regarding their earnings and career advancements. By being less transparent about their income and promotions, women could potentially mitigate some of the pressures they face.

A significant number of women also expressed the importance of secure and private financial systems. They voiced a desire to keep their earnings in mobile financial systems or banking systems inaccessible to their husbands or fathers. This would provide them with a level of financial security and independence, further empowering them in their personal and professional lives.

> *“My husband comes to the factory gate to meet me on payday. He takes the money as soon as I come out. What can I do? He may leave me if I don’t hand over the money.”*

-Woman, 24, FGD

5.2.5 Are women followers and not leaders?

Questionnaire respondents were asked if they thought women are followers rather than leaders.

- For community members, 40% perceived women as followers rather than leaders, while 42% disagreed with this statement.
- The results showed that 46% of the garment workers believed that women are followers rather than leaders, while 38.6% disagreed with this statement.
- Among family members, 48% believed that women are followers rather than leaders, while 37% disagreed with this statement.
- The proportion of respondents who believed that women should follow rather than lead dropped with higher levels of education. Disaggregation revealed that 52% of workers who had 10 to 15 years of schooling disagreed with the statement, compared to just 27% of those with 5 years of school or less.

5.2.6 Are women responsible for household activities?

Despite broad agreement that family responsibilities often prevent women from progressing in the workforce, the majority of family and community members continued to assert that women are more responsible for household activities than men.

The following question was only posed to family and community members and not to garment workers: Women, not men, are supposed to be mainly responsible for household activities - do you agree or disagree?

Most of the family and community members believed that women rather than men are mainly responsible for household activities.

- Among family members, 55% of them perceived that women (and not men) were responsible for household activities. Just 28% disagreed with the statement, while 17% remained neutral (neither agreeing nor disagreeing) with the statement.
- Of the community members, 51% perceived that women (and not men) were responsible for household activities. On the other hand, 32% disagreed with the statement.

5.2.7 Training for a leadership role in the workplace – responses from women

A question that was posed exclusively to women garment workers was: If you are trained, you will be able to take a leadership role in your workplace - do you agree or disagree?

The results showed that 52% of the women garment workers agreed that they would be able to take a leadership role in their workplace if they were provided with appropriate training. However, 40% of the women did not agree that they could take a leadership role after receiving training, suggesting cultural and structural reasons might hold them back.

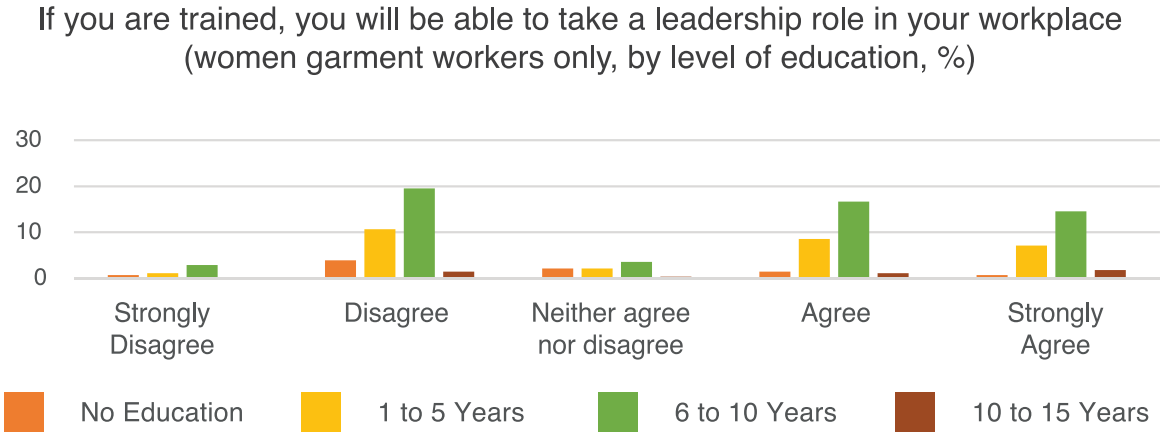


Figure 7 Women can take a leadership role in the workplace if they receive appropriate training, by level of education

The results also showed that 58% of women garment workers aged 18 to 25 years agreed that they would be able to take a leadership position after receiving appropriate training. Similarly, 50% of garment workers aged 26 to 30 years agreed with the statement. Of garment workers aged 30 years or more, 50% of them disagreed with the statement or were undecided. These results highlight the fact that younger women were more confident about taking a leadership position after receiving training.

Women garment workers with a greater number of years of education considered that they could take a leadership position after receiving appropriate training. The results showed that 56% of garment workers with 6 to 10 years of education agreed with the statement that they could take a leadership position after receiving appropriate training. Similarly, 60% of the women garment workers with 10 to 15 years of education and 44% of garment workers with 1 to 5 years of education agreed with this statement. On the other hand, just 22% of the garment workers who had no education were confident that they could take a leadership role after receiving appropriate training.

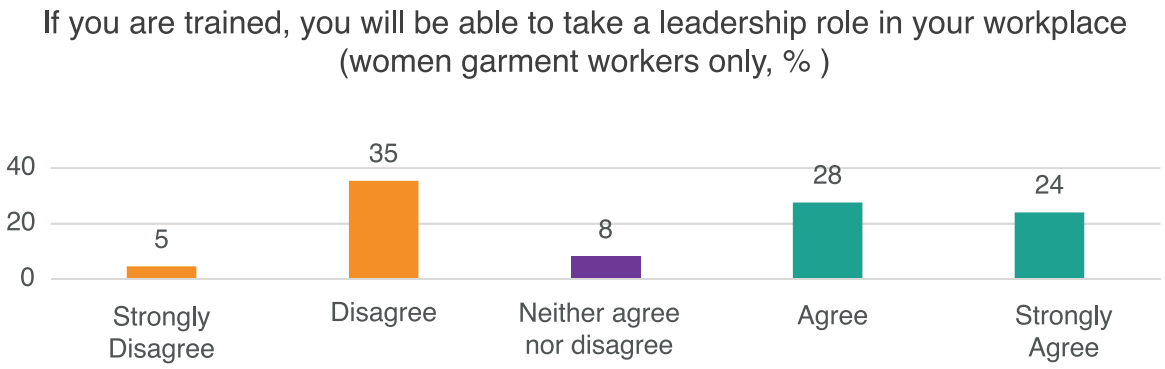


Figure 8 Women can take a leadership role in the workplace if they receive appropriate training

5.2.8 Training to take up a leadership role in a factory – responses from men

The following question was only posed to male garment workers: If a woman is trained, she will be able to take a leadership role in the factory - do you agree or disagree?

The results showed that 65% of male garment workers agreed that if a woman is trained, she will be able to take a leadership role in a factory, while 32% disagreed. The highest proportion of respondents who disagreed that if a woman is trained, she will be able to take a leadership role in a factory were in the 18- to 25-years age group (17%)

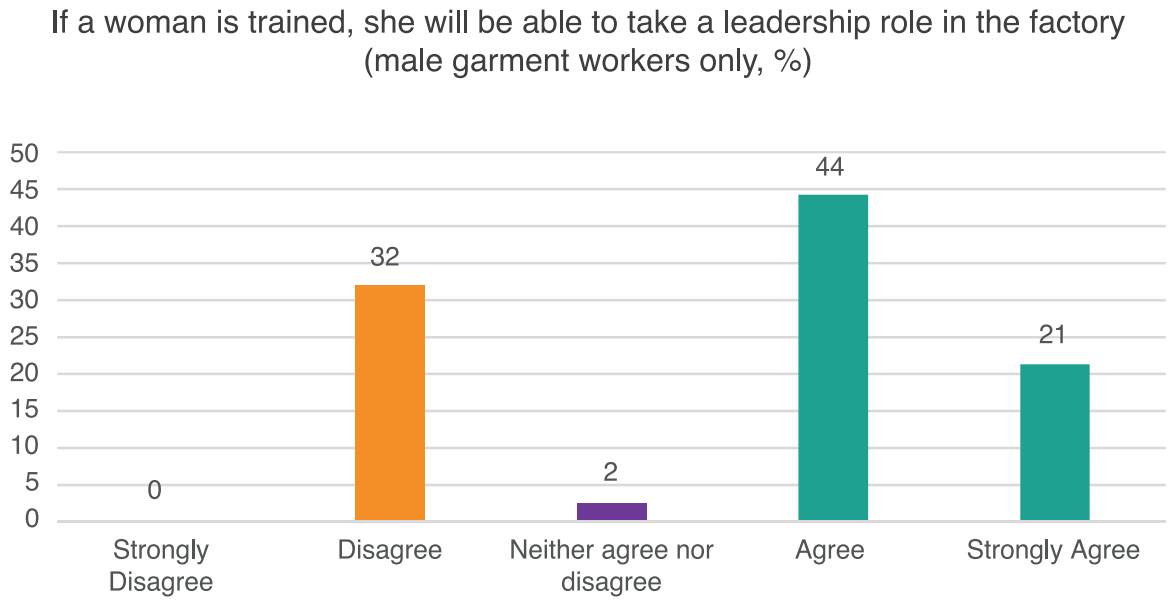


Figure 9 Women can take a leadership role in the workplace if they receive appropriate training

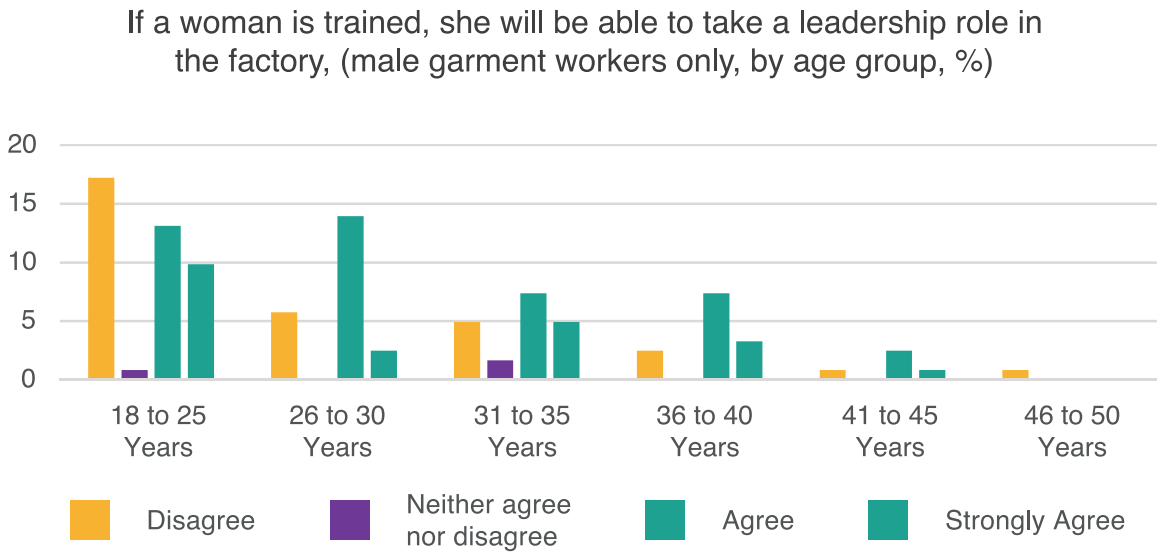


Figure 10 Women can take a leadership role in the workplace if they receive appropriate training, by age

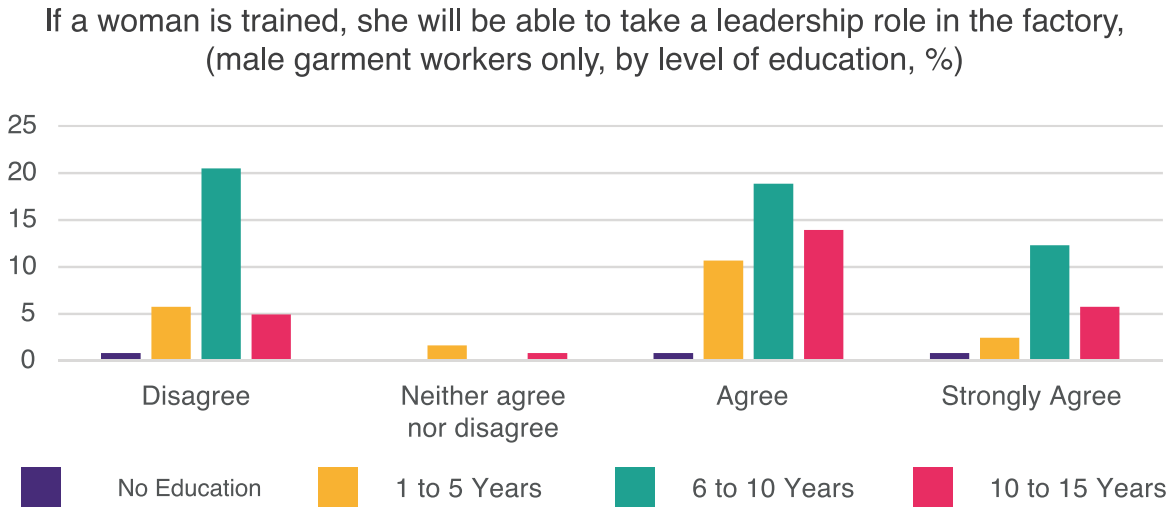


Figure 11 Women can take a leadership role in the workplace if they receive appropriate training, by the level of education

5.2.9 Training to take up a technical/ technological role in the workplace – responses from women

The following question was only posed to women garment workers: If you are trained, you will be able to take a technical/technological role in your workplace - do you agree or disagree?

The majority of women garment workers (63%) agreed that if they were trained, they would be able to take up a technical/technological role in their workplace. This was an especially common attitude in the 18- to 25-years age group.

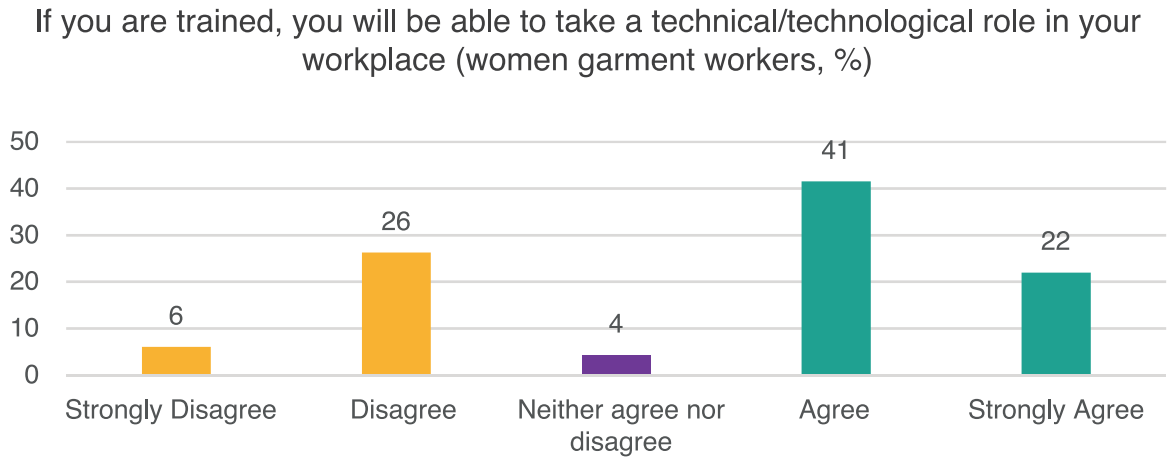


Figure 12 Women can take a technical/technological role in the workplace if they receive appropriate training

If you are trained, you will be able to take a technical/technological role in your workplace (women garment workers, by age group, %)

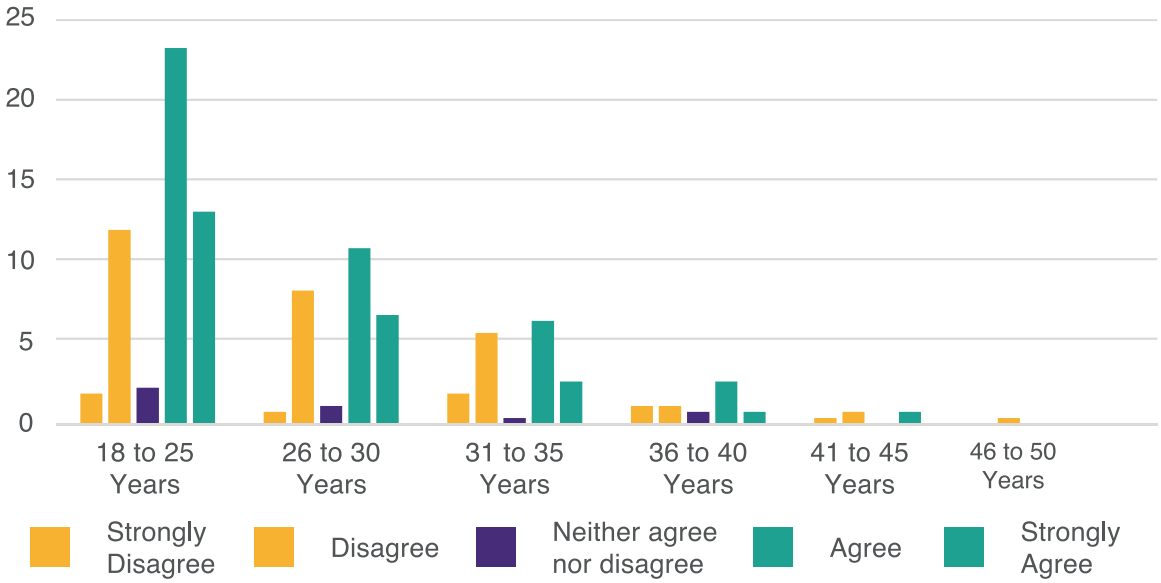


Figure 13 Women can take a technical/technological role in the workplace if they receive appropriate training, by age group

If you are trained, you will be able to take a technical/technological role in your workplace (women garment workers, by level of education, %)

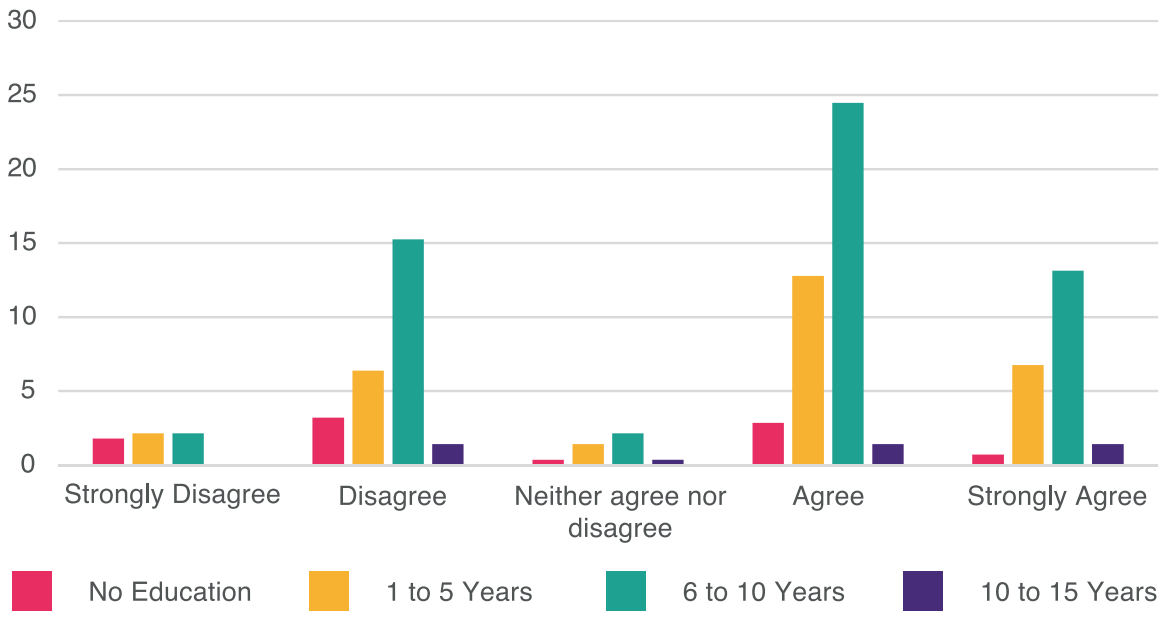


Figure 14 Women can take a technical/technological role in the workplace if they receive appropriate training, by the level of education

5.2.10 Training to take up a technical/ technological role in the factory – responses from men

The following question was only posed to male garment workers: If a woman is trained, she will be able to take a technical/technological role in the factory - do you agree or disagree?

As was seen in the women's responses, the majority of male garment workers (68%) agreed that if women were trained, they would be able to take up a technical/technological role in their workplace. In fact, slightly more men than women considered that this would be the case. This was again an especially common attitude in the 18- to 25-years age group.

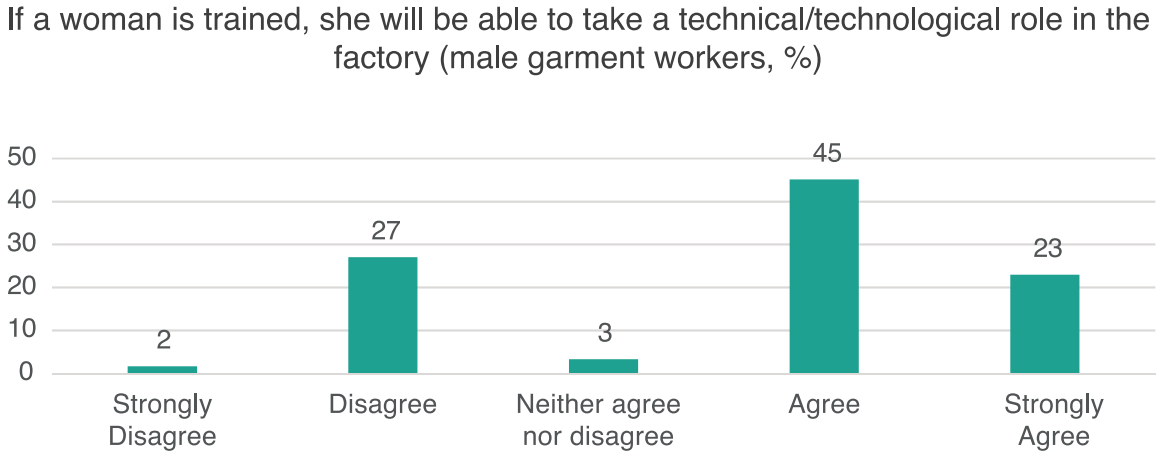


Figure 15 Women can take a technical/technological role in a factory if they receive appropriate training

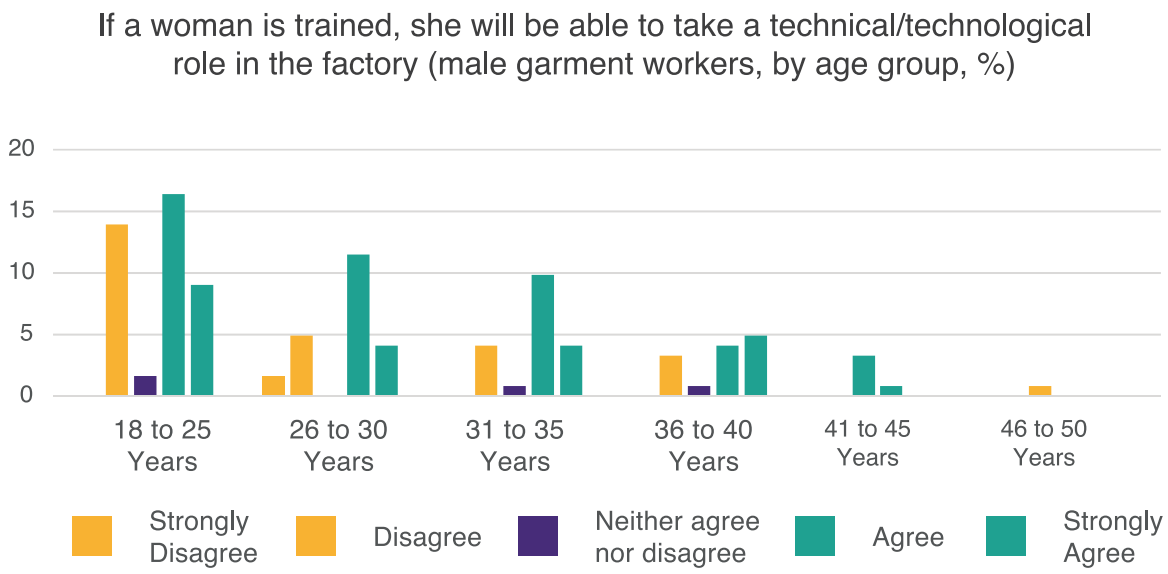


Figure 16 Women can take a technical/technological role in a factory if they receive appropriate training, by age group

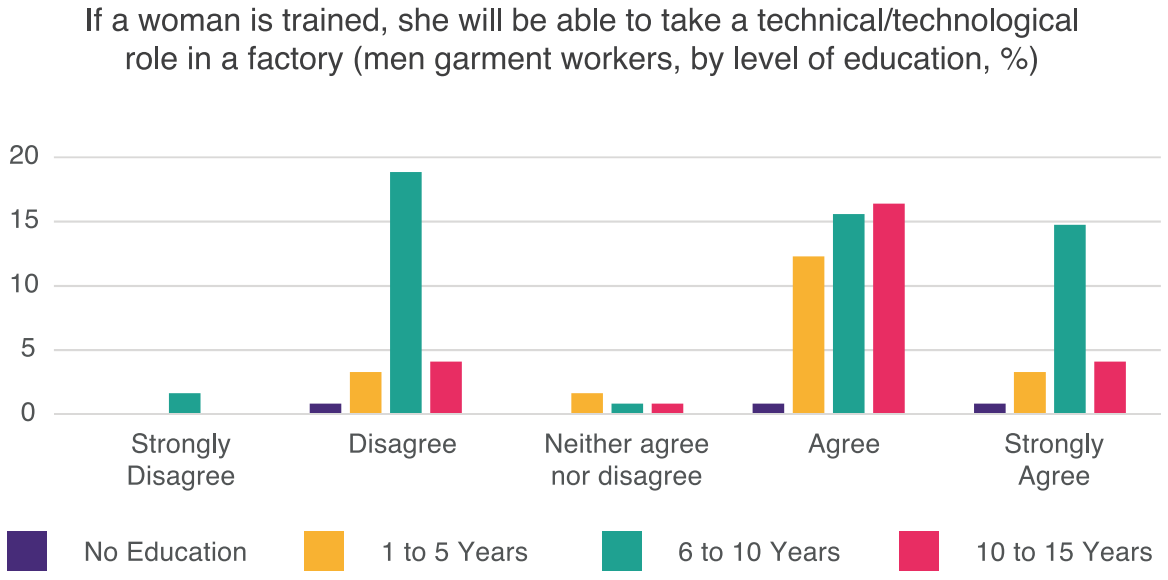


Figure 17 Women can take a technical/technological role in a factory if they receive appropriate training, by the level of education

Qualitative insight 5:

Women managers must exhibit a great deal of mental strength

The qualitative data from FGDs and IDIs revealed the perception that women managers and supervisors have a hard time maintaining order on the factory floor. This may come from the belief that women are not 'tough'. The fact that 40% of women garment workers do not believe they could take on a leadership role with appropriate training aligns with the finding that societal beliefs about women's 'toughness' can impact their ability to assert authority and maintain order in managerial roles.

Participants in the FGDs and IDIs highlighted the considerable mental fortitude required for women to balance their professional and personal lives effectively. Women in management positions are often subjected to immense pressure from various fronts. They are expected to handle high workloads, navigate potential hostility or disrespect from male colleagues, and ensure their work output remains error-free, all while managing their domestic responsibilities.

The ability to compartmentalize their personal and professional lives is a critical skill for these women. They must be adept at keeping home-related issues at bay while at work, ensuring that their professional performance is not compromised. This requirement extends beyond the typical demands of their roles, necessitating an extraordinary degree of mental strength.

> *"Mental strength is most important. If there are any problems with children at home or with the husband, she must also look into that. And because of that tension, often there are mistakes at work."*

-Woman worker, 23, IDI

Moreover, women managers are often expected to perform at a higher standard than their male counterparts. The societal stereotype that women are not 'tough' enough can lead to heightened scrutiny of their performance and decision-making, adding another layer of pressure. This finding might partly explain why women with more years of education are more confident about taking on a leadership role with appropriate training.

In addition to these challenges, women managers must also navigate the gender dynamics inherent in the industry. They often have to assert their authority in a predominantly male environment, which can be a daunting task given the entrenched gender stereotypes.

> *"I have two jobs – one at home and one at the factory. My husband has just one job."*

-Woman worker, 23, IDI

5.2.11 Information consumption and access to resources

Nearly half of the workers said they used a feature phone (49.25%), while approximately 40% said they had a smartphone. However, disaggregation revealed a big gender divide – 65% of men said they used a smartphone while 32% used a feature phone. By contrast, only 28% of women workers reported regularly using a smartphone while 57% said they used a feature phone. In the FGDs and KIIs, a large proportion of women said they had access to smartphones owned by male family members. However, this also indicated a digital divide, with many respondents saying their smartphone access was controlled by male family members.

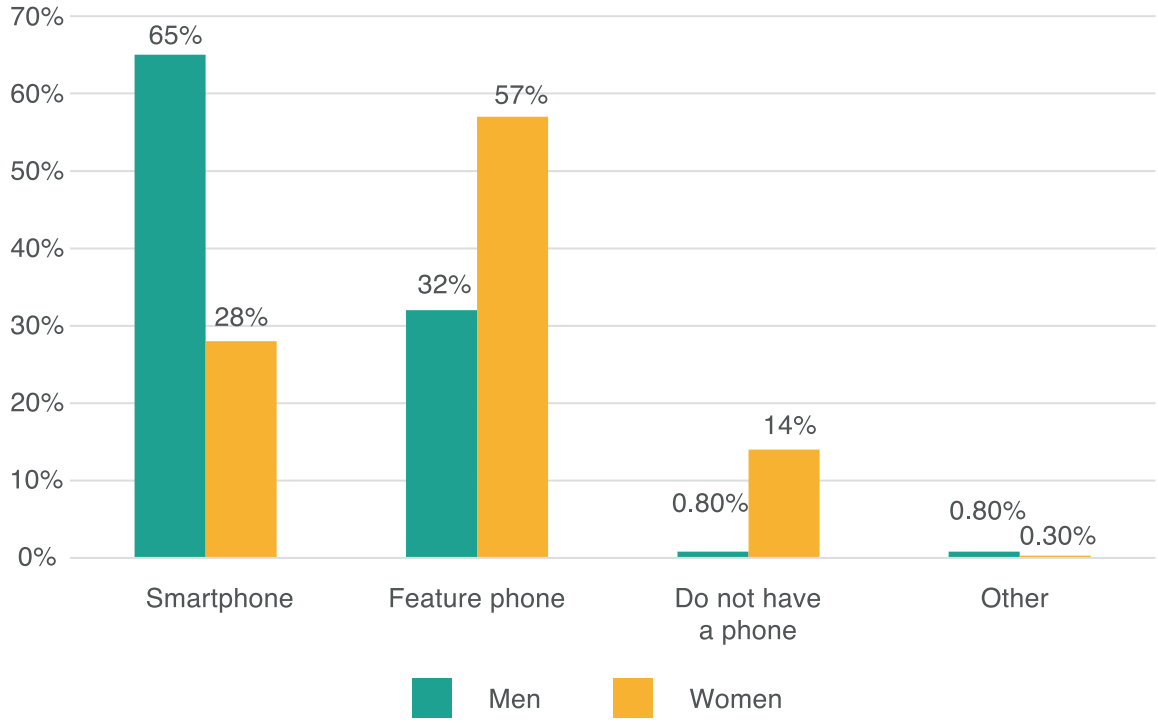


Figure 18 Smartphone usage, men vs women

In the FGDs and IDIs, some respondents said men had better access to resources and could buy smartphones when they wanted. But women had less control over their income and could not buy things for themselves as easily.

Smartphone usage appeared to be directly proportionate to education levels, indicating that digital literacy may also be a major factor. Around 56% of workers with 10 – 15 years of education reported having a smartphone, compared to just 14% of those with no education.

Among those who used smartphones, YouTube (33%) and Facebook (33%) were the most used platforms, with TikTok third (20%).

Most garment workers gathered and consumed information from the television and from friends and family networks.

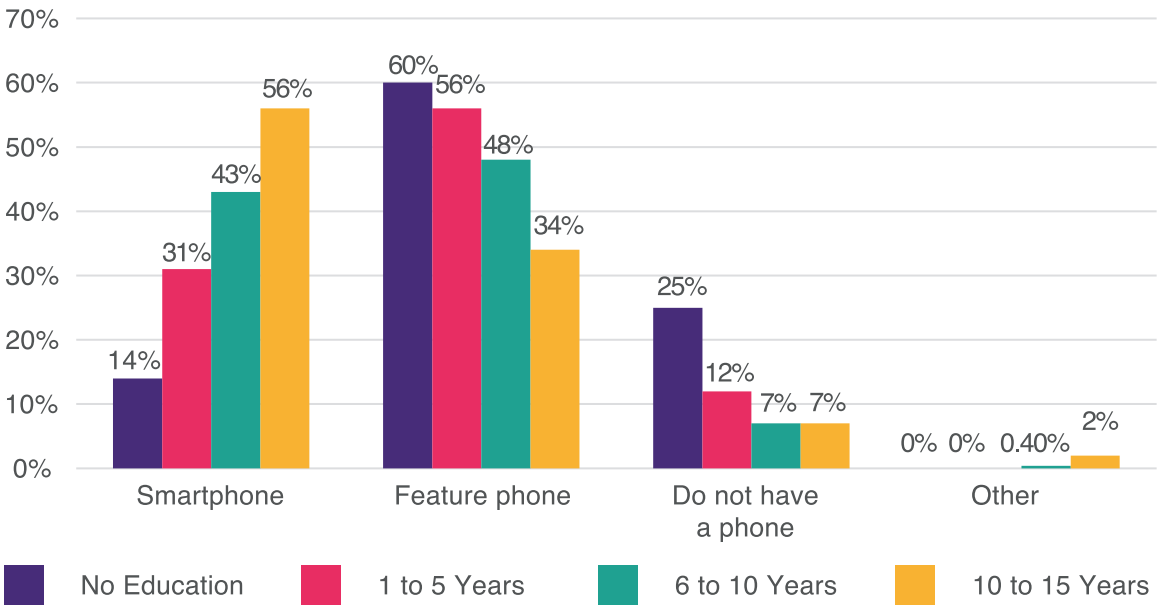


Figure 19 Smartphone usage, by education level

The data revealed a correlation between education levels and the sources of information among garment workers. Workers with less education predominantly rely on television for information, with 85% of those with no education citing TV as their primary source. In contrast, only 54% of workers with 10-15 years of education reported TV as their main information source, suggesting that they also utilize other platforms, such as the Internet, for information consumption.

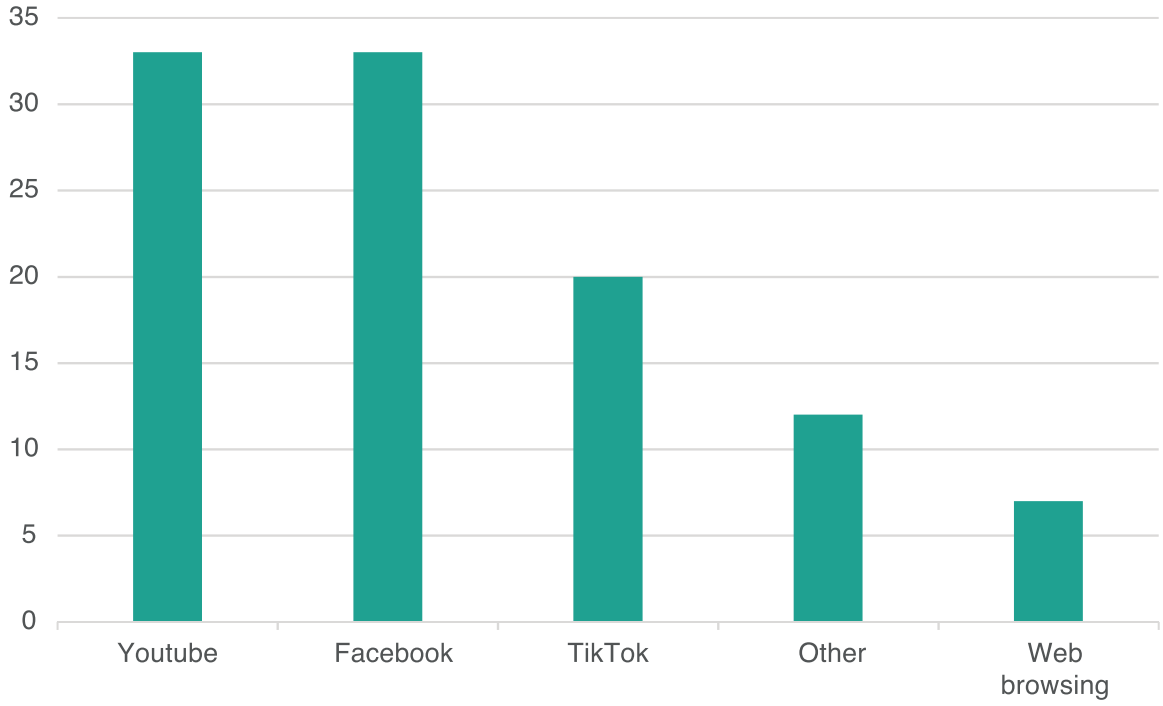


Figure 20 Online platforms used by those with access to smartphones

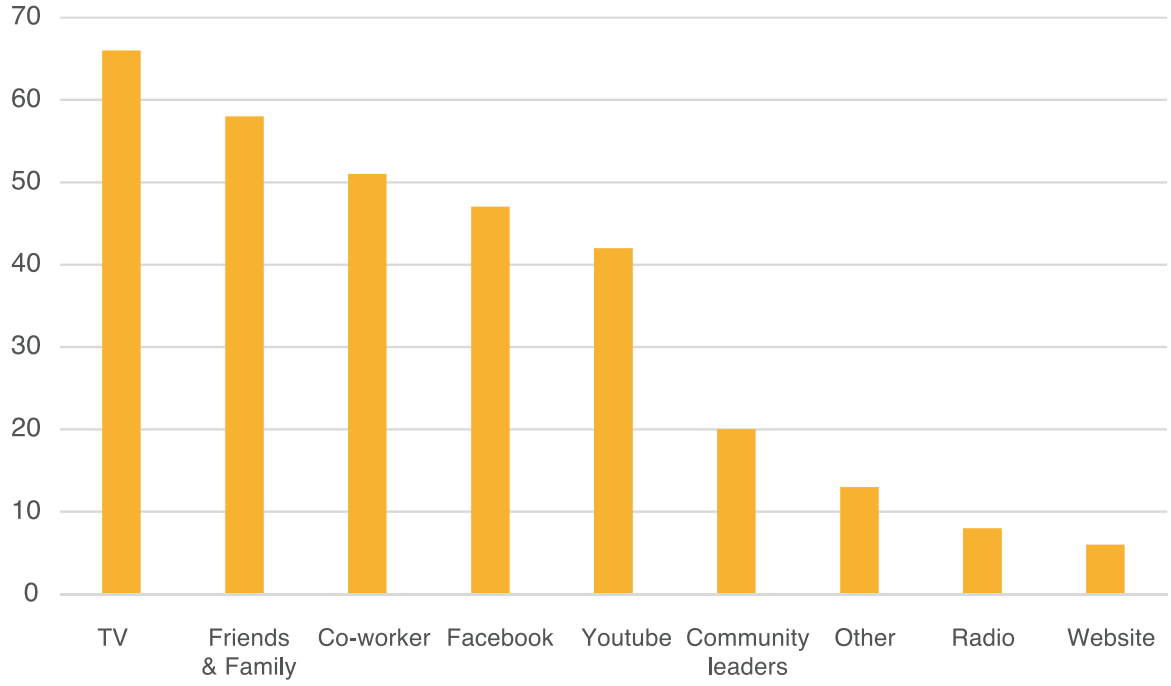


Figure 21 Information consumption and access to resources

Despite the popularity of television, YouTube, and Facebook as information platforms, there was a consensus in the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and In-Depth Interviews (IDIs) that these media outlets often fail to accurately represent or portray the lives of garment workers. The majority of FGD participants reported that they had never encountered a television drama that depicted the life and struggles of a Ready-Made Garment (RMG) worker. However, they expressed a strong interest in such content, indicating they would definitely watch it if available on TV or online platforms.

The data also highlighted a connection between women's access to digital devices and their control over financial resources. As previously discussed, many women in the garment industry reported having limited control over their earnings, with male family members often appropriating their wages. This lack of financial control extends to digital resources, with many women being compelled to surrender their login details for mobile money services like bKash to their husbands or other male family members.

Moreover, societal attitudes and stigmas further limit women's access to digital devices. The act of a woman purchasing items such as a smartphone for personal use is often viewed as a luxury and frowned upon. The prevailing belief that a 'good girl' should use her father's or husband's smartphone or email address serves as a significant barrier to women's empowerment and self-sufficiency. This finding reinforces the challenges faced by married women in the garment industry striving for financial independence, as discussed in Qualitative Insight 4.

5.3 Implications

The qualitative analysis was meant to provide nuanced insights to help answer the 'hows' and 'whys' relared to the three research questions. The following paragraphs provide a summary of how each research question has been answered by the analysis.

Research Question 1

> What are the knowledge gaps, cultural beliefs, and behavioural patterns that may act as barriers to women's participation in managerial roles and technology-related roles?

The analysis found several barriers to women's participation in managerial and technology-related roles in the garment industry:

Employer bias/discrimination: Employers, influenced by patriarchal norms, tend to give more opportunities to men, assuming that men are more skilled than women.

Family and work dynamics for women: Women often face challenges in balancing family responsibilities and managerial roles, with many choosing or being compelled to prioritise family duties.

Inability to exert dominance and control: Workers, especially male employees, are often less obedient towards women managers, making it difficult for women to exert control.

Limited education and skill: Women often lack the necessary education and training for managerial positions due to lesser opportunities compared to men.

Societal discrimination: Working women, particularly those in managerial roles and who work late, face negative societal attitudes and often struggle to get respect.

The challenge of security: The requirement to work late hours as part of managerial roles makes many women feel unsafe, thus they tend to avoid these positions.

Research Question 2

> What are some of the opportunities to positively influence the broader community regarding women's role in the garment industry?

Opportunities to influence the broader community regarding women's role in the garment industry include:

Community Sensitization: Educating and sensitizing the community about the role and struggles of women in the garment industry could help address societal discrimination.

Equal opportunities for women: Employers should provide equal opportunities for women, especially in leadership roles.

Family Sensitization: Families need to be exposed to ideas highlighting the benefits of sharing household chores and supporting women in their careers.

Access to education and training: Offering equal opportunities for education and skill acquisition to women can make them as competent as men in management.

Research Question 3

> What are the information consumption patterns in the community including trusted sources and types of information and platforms?

The use of social media, especially Facebook and YouTube, would be effective in reaching more people for community sensitization campaigns. Furthermore, cultural mediums such as dramas, street plays, and short plays seem to be accepted and trusted sources of information in the community.

The research shows that friends and family networks, as well as community leaders, are influential. Therefore, activities such as community dialogue are likely to be effective in getting community buy-in and catalysing behavior change.

6 Conclusion

The data from this study contributes to our understanding of the pervasive barriers that limit the ability of women in Bangladesh's garment industry to rise into leadership and technical roles. The exploration of societal norms, cultural beliefs, behaviours, and information consumption patterns reveal extensive, deeply entrenched gender biases that challenge the professional growth and personal autonomy of women in the industry.

A significant finding of the study was the strong influence of traditional gender norms. The majority of garment workers, community members, and families perpetuated the stereotype of women as homemakers and men as breadwinners, reinforcing the assumption that women are followers rather than leaders. This gendered perspective appears to curtail women's opportunities in leadership and tech-related roles.

In addition, the study revealed an arguably expected undercurrent of patriarchal attitudes even among women garment workers, with many internalising these harmful gender norms. The pervasive belief that men are better suited to managerial roles and technical positions erodes women’s confidence in their ability to undertake such roles.

Compounding these structural barriers is the burden of familial responsibilities, disproportionately shouldered by women. These additional obligations were identified as a key factor limiting women's workforce participation, highlighting a lack of societal support for shared domestic duties.

The findings also elucidated a significant digital divide and issues related to income control. Women's access to smartphones was typically controlled by male family members, hampering their access to digital literacy and technical skills. Additionally, the majority of women's earnings were managed by their male relatives, which further limited their autonomy and contributed to the overall challenges that these women face.

On the other hand, the study also found signs of social change when interviewing the younger generation in the industry. Workers aged 18 to 25 exhibited a higher level of confidence in their potential to assume leadership roles after training, suggesting either an age-dependent difference or a generational change that reflects a gradual shift in attitudes that may be explained by increased globalization and exposure to new ideas on gender roles.

Moreover, couples living in nuclear family structures showed a more balanced distribution of household chores, signifying the possibility of a paradigm shift in domestic responsibilities. The environment within nuclear families is therefore potentially more supportive of women’s career advancement.

The study’s participants expressed the belief that a media narrative promoting positive gender roles could foster understanding and acceptance among family and community members, indicating the power of mass media in effecting societal change.

The findings of this study offer important pointers regarding behaviour-change and perception-change interventions. The information consumption patterns, including smartphone ownership numbers, the popularity of television-based entertainment and news, as well as the importance of friends and family networks provide key pathways to influence the community.

We sought to identify ways to improve the enabling environment for women's participation in managerial and supervisory roles. Our exploration of the data revealed that the proportion of women in managerial and supervisory roles in the industry can be increased significantly. This could in part be achieved by addressing the causal factors identified in the survey. We further identified four subthemes linked to increasing women's participation in managerial and supervisory roles (Figure 22).

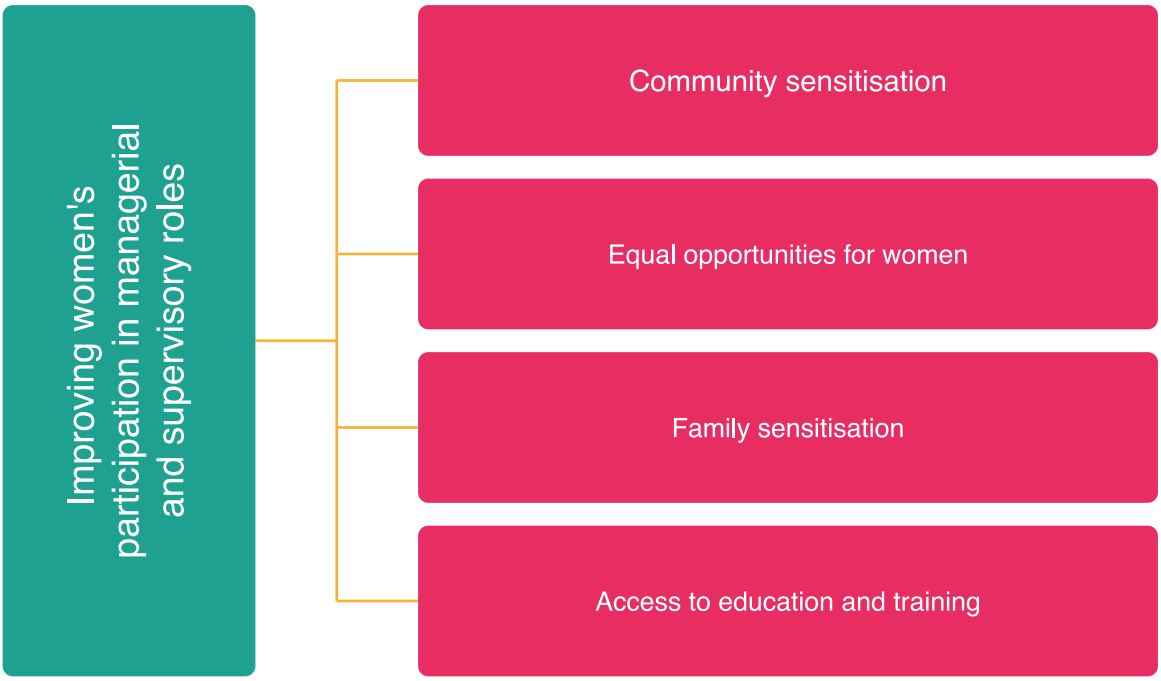


Figure 22 Ways to improve the enabling environment for Women RMG workers

Subtheme 1: Community sensitisation

The participants highlighted that educating and sensitising the community about the role women play in the garment industry and their struggles as women will help correct societal discrimination. The participants suggested ways that this could be achieved, such as through the use of media such as TV drama, street plays and short plays. The sensitisation campaign should employ the use of social media, especially Facebook and YouTube, to reach the maximum number of people.

Subtheme 2: Equal opportunities for women

Employers should offer equal opportunities for women, especially in terms of considering them for leadership roles and training them to be leaders. Women should be encouraged to aspire to management positions and all women with the necessary expertise and education should be considered for such roles.

Subtheme 3: Family sensitisation

Household chores should not be the responsibility of women alone, and other family members should be sensitised to the importance of assisting women with household chores. Husbands and other members of the family should support and encourage women by assisting them with some of the duties around the home.

The qualitative analysis revealed that many women reject managerial positions, mainly because of family pressure and the bias against women managers in factories. Some families and husbands prohibit women from taking up management roles, and they are unwilling to offer women any form of encouragement or assistance with household chores. This leaves women at a disadvantage when it comes to seeking a managerial position.

Subtheme 4: Access to education and training

The participants believed that women can be as productive as men if they are appropriately educated and trained. Access to the same education and training as men will lead to women being as competent as men in management. Equal opportunities for education and skill acquisition should be created for women however, there is a need for family support and a change in societal attitudes to achieve this feat.

> *"Whatever the level of education, professional training is fruitful. If they are given training, women can learn how to do any job. If I know how, I can do the work quickly."*

-Woman worker, 26, FGD

7 References

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7.1 Appendix A: Details of the qualitative methodology employed for this study

The qualitative analysis was conducted in three phases, as shown in Figure 23

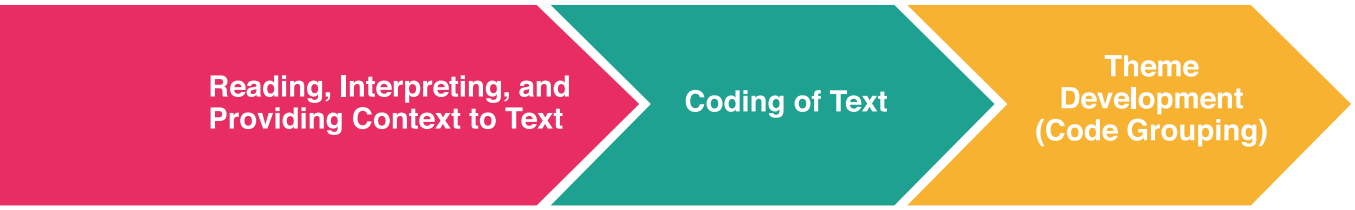

Figure 23 Phases of qualitative analysis

Phase 1: Reading, Interpreting and Providing Context to Text

Throughout this phase, the obtained material was reviewed and watched multiple times to obtain a thorough understanding of what it contained. The most frequent terms in the data were represented using a word cloud graphic. This was carried out before reading and coding the data, to rapidly gain an overview of what it contained. Data may be analysed if the most frequent terms match those in the research keywords since these show that the data are explicitly addressing the study's emphasis.

Figure 24 Word cloud diagram of the most frequently used words

Phase 2: Coding of Text

The data was carefully read in this phase, and meanings were ascribed to sentences and phrases in the form of codes using NVivo. The coding process revealed a total of more than 150 codes, as shown in Appendix B. All 26 transcripts were analysed and coded. Figure 25 shows how the 26 transcripts were coded, represented by rectangles.

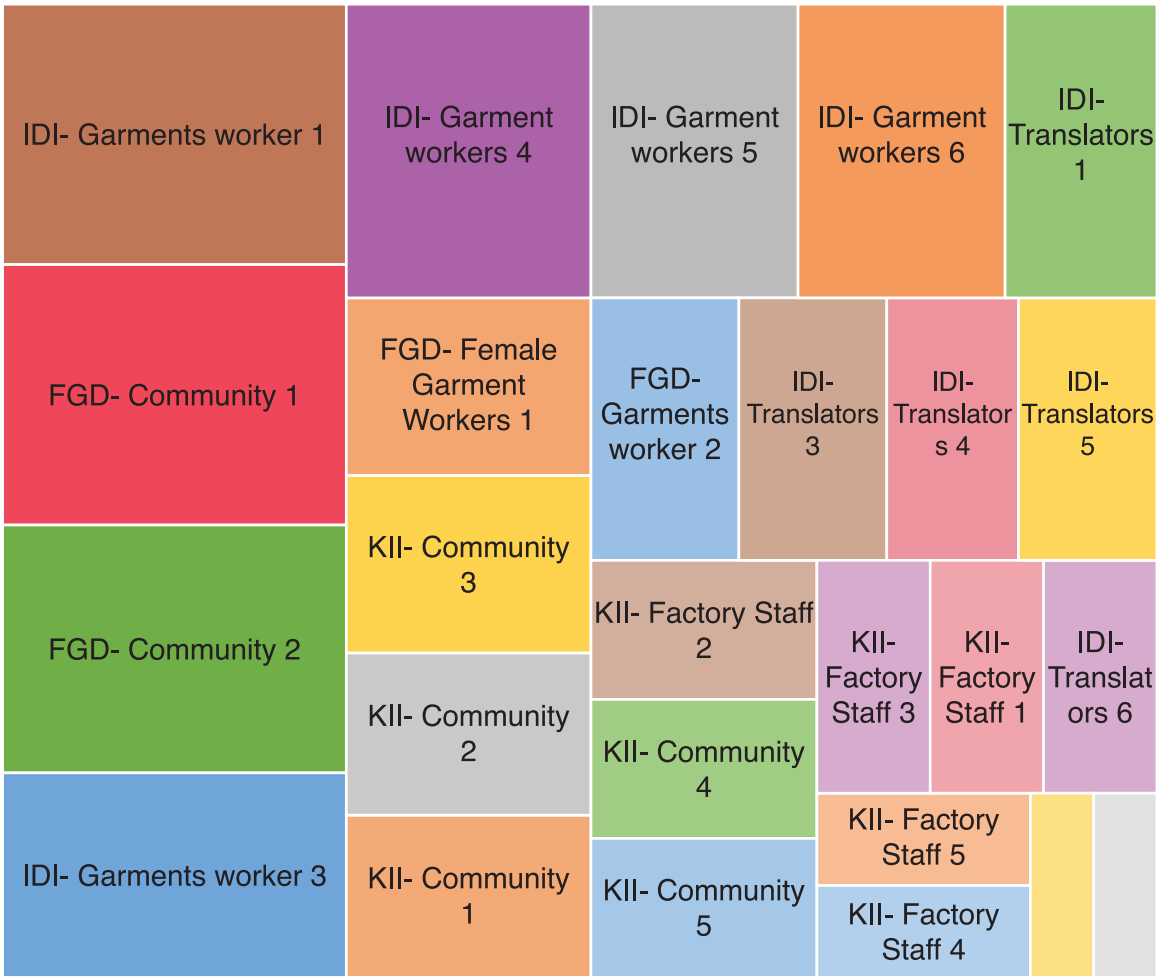

Figure 25 Coding by document

Phase 3: Theme Development

The established codes were grouped to form themes, with the grouping based on the relationship between the codes. Codes with identical properties were grouped and categorised as a single theme.

Phase 4: Presentation of Results

The results were presented as graphs and tables, as shown in the Results section and relevant appendices.

7.2 Appendix B: Codebook

Name	Files	References
Improving women's participation in managerial and supervisory roles	0	0
Community sensitisation	0	0
Dramas	1	1
More publicity on the positives	2	2
National TVs	3	3
People will participate in the sensitisation	2	2
Sensitisation is essential	1	1
Social media	2	2
Street plays	2	2
Women's rights sensitisation	1	1
Equal opportunities for women	0	0
Equal opportunity for men and women in this dispensation	4	4
Training of potential leaders	3	4
Women are not given equal opportunity	3	12
Women should reach higher positions	1	1
Women with expertise and education become managers	2	2
Family sensitisation	1	1
Women's rights sensitisation	1	1
Equal opportunities for women	0	0
Equal opportunity for men and women in this dispensation	4	4
Training of potential leaders	3	4
Women are not given equal opportunity	3	12
Women should reach higher positions	1	1
Women with expertise and education become managers	2	2
Family sensitisation	1	1

Name	Files	References
Inaccurate movie representation	2	2
Inadequate representation in movies	4	4
Including the role of women in movies encourages women's participation	7	7
Including the role of women in movies will reveal the struggles of women	6	7
Little or no respect from men	1	1
Little or no respect in society	2	3
More independent women	1	1
Multiple dramas showcasing the abuse of women	2	2
Roles are recognised in movies	3	5
Social media is a useful tool to promote dramas	1	1
Societal condemnation	1	1
The level of respect keeps improving	1	1
Women are respected socially	8	8
The perspective of religious leaders	0	0
The use of veils	2	2
Women can be leaders	0	0
Education	10	21
Experience	3	4
Expertise	7	11
Promotion is based on merit	5	8
Media activities	0	0
Radio	1	1
Websites	1	1
Most women do not use a smartphone	1	1
Family member shares news	4	4

Name	Files	References
Newspapers	3	3
TVs	4	4
TikTok	4	5
YouTube	5	8
Facebook	7	9
Men are skilled but women are more competent in machinery operation	0	0
Night shifts are inconvenient for women	2	2
Training and seminars for women operators	2	3
Women operators have higher productivity	4	10
Women are more suited as helpers due to their patience	1	1
Lack of inspiration for women	2	2
Women are more technically competent	6	10
Men are more skilled	4	5
Trained women can operate machines	6	9
Physically weak women cannot operate machines	4	54
Women lack the skill for digital machine operation	1	1
Lack of equal opportunity in digital machine operation	4	25
Men are more involved with digital machines	1	1
Less education	4	25
Less skill due to family demands	4	8
Heavy machinery requires to be operated by a man	6	8
Less skill in dyeing machine operation	1	1
Less skill in knitting machine operation	1	1
Women are more skilled in sewing operations	2	2
Skill is not gender-based	3	7

Name	Files	References
Men are not better managers than women in the garment industry	0	0
Women are better managers	1	1
More women managers	1	1
Women cannot meet the time demands of a management role	4	25
Women are lower risk-takers	1	2
Men are offered more motivation	5	8
Educated women can be managers	4	33
People disobey women managers/limited respect	1	2
Men are more educated	5	12
Women disobey women managers	1	1
Men have higher productivity	4	4
Combining home life and work life is demanding for women	1	1
Leaders are selected based on skills and competence	1	1
Women can efficiently hold a supervisory role	8	11
Men outnumber women in management positions	4	27
Women are more educated	1	1
Men and women can operate efficiently in management	11	19
More women are in management than men	1	1
Men are physically stronger	3	12
Multiple factors contribute to why fewer women hold managerial roles	0	0
Employer discrimination	3	13
Bias towards male employees as being more skilled	4	14
Biased garment employers	1	2
Little or no valuing of women	3	7
More opportunities are given to men	3	8

Name	Files	References
Nepotism	1	1
Unequal employment opportunities in the past	5	25
Women are not granted training	3	10
Women must ensure so much to attain a managerial post	3	6
Women need encouragement	3	21
Family and work dynamics for women	1	1
Anxiety and worry	1	1
Family dynamics	4	4
Family pressure	4	5
Household chores are not the responsibility of women alone	3	3
Inability to acquire more education due to family demands	1	2
Inability to meet deadlines due to family demands	3	11
Lack of support from family	3	35
Limited family demands on men	3	35
Low motivation due to family demands	8	32
Prevention by husband	8	20
Reduced time for work due to family demands (+)	13	48
Time unavailability	4	5
Women who earn have a more stable family	1	1
Inability to exert dominance and control	0	0
All employees must respect and comply with leadership instructions	6	7
Company support	1	1
Control during conflicts	1	1
Women workers should be encouraged	4	13
Women workers accord women managers more respect	1	1

Name	Files	References
Male supervisors are more respected	1	1
Sabotage by workers	2	2
Support from male colleagues	2	2
Unfavourable work environment	1	1
Women cannot control employees	6	26
Workers do not obey women supervisors	10	21
Demoting women supervisors	3	9
Workers obey women managers	1	1
Zero tolerance for harassment by the firm	2	2
Leaders are selected on merit	2	2
Limited education and skill	0	0
Less education (+)	8	35
Limited skill	4	11
Societal discrimination	0	0
Women work better under a women supervisor	1	1
Family immorality assumption/insecurity/lack of confidence	5	7
Inadequate respect	2	2
Men are given more privileges	2	2
Non-existent	1	1
Reduced discrimination in the city	1	1
Societal condemnation	5	5
Societal discrimination	1	2
Inability to get married	5	22
Societal pressure	1	2
Supervisory roles should be assigned on merit	6	6

Name	Files	References
Women cannot get home late	3	24
The challenge of security	0	0
Inadequate security	5	20
Challenge of married women and financial independence in the garment	0	0
Being discreet about promotion	1	1
Being discreet about wages	1	1
Potential women leaders are trained	1	1
Financial independence is essential for financial security	1	1
Financial independence is important for family solvency	2	3
Demanding money from a working wife is bad (+)	4	5
Gamblers	1	1
Society condemns women who resist their husband	4	5
Dialogue between couples can address the anomaly	4	4
Women use their salaries to help their family	0	0
Poverty	4	4
Family support is needed	9	9
Alcoholic men	4	4
Lazy men	5	5
Mental and physical abuse	1	1
Giving salary to husband	3	3
Financial independence is important	1	1
Family sometimes demands a woman's salary	2	2
The participation of women is economically significant	0	0
Self-sufficiency for women	1	1
A significant contribution to economic growth	3	3

Name	Files	References
The industry is dominated by women	1	1
Women make their family solvent	5	5
Women managers must exhibit a great deal of mental strength	0	0
It is impossible to balance family life and a management role	1	1
Excess delivery pressure	1	1
High workload	2	3
High level of mental strength	9	11
Bad-mouthing from men	1	1
Balancing family life and work life	5	5
Errors due to issues in the family	2	3
Mental strength is boosted through family support	1	1
Women are mentally stronger than men	2	2

7.3 Appendix C: Demographic details of respondents

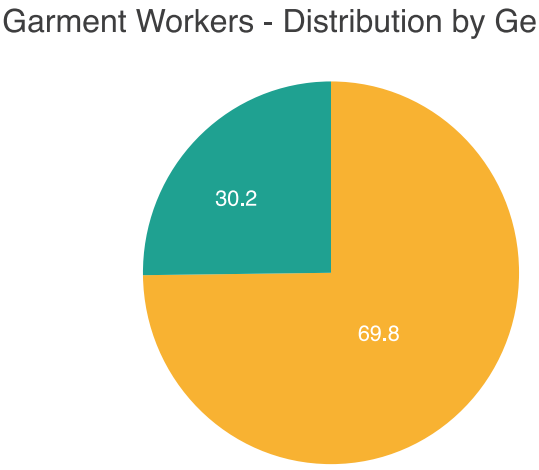

Figure 26 Distribution of garment workers by gender

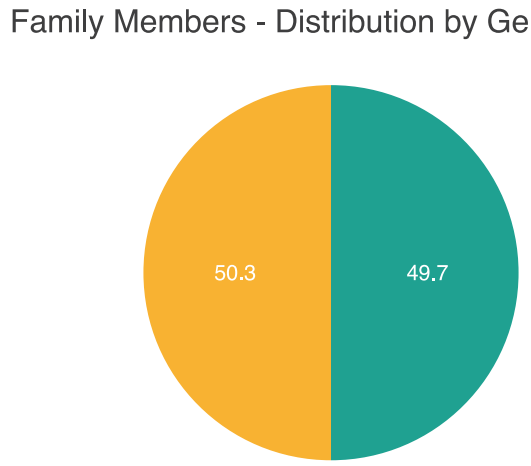

Figure 27 Distribution of family members by gender

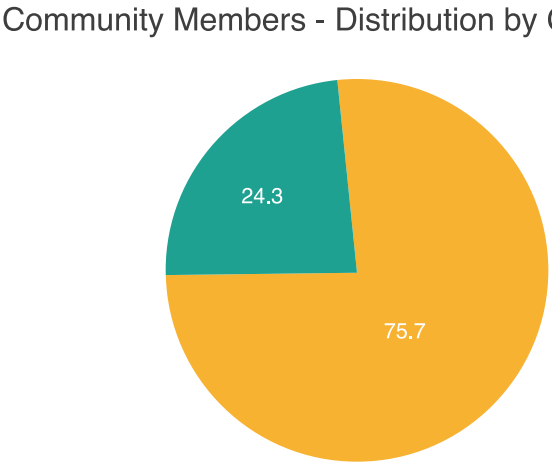

Figure 28 Distribution of community members by gender

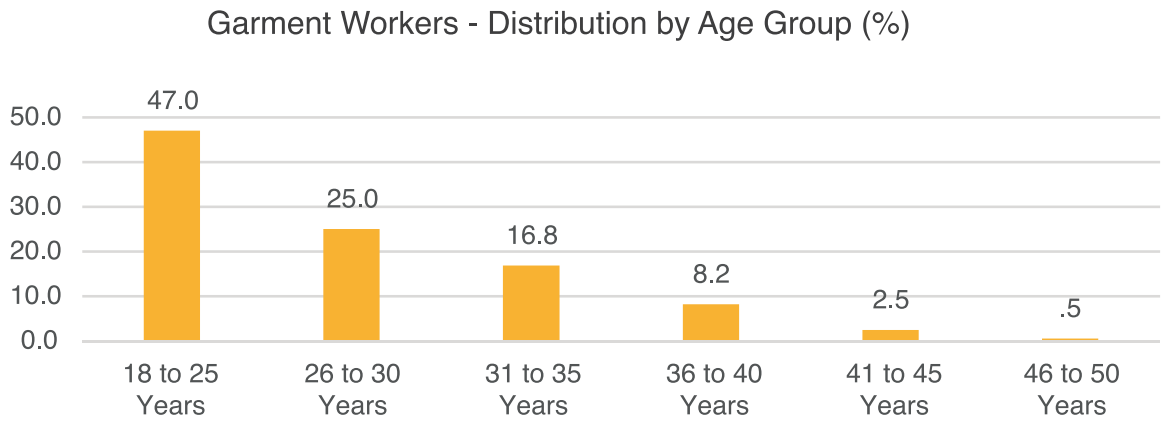

Figure 29 Distribution of garment workers by age

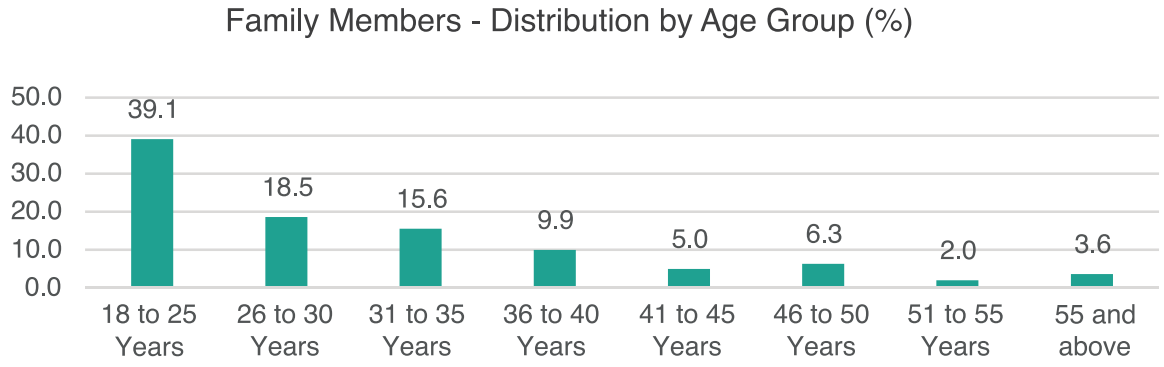

Figure 30 Distribution of family members by age group

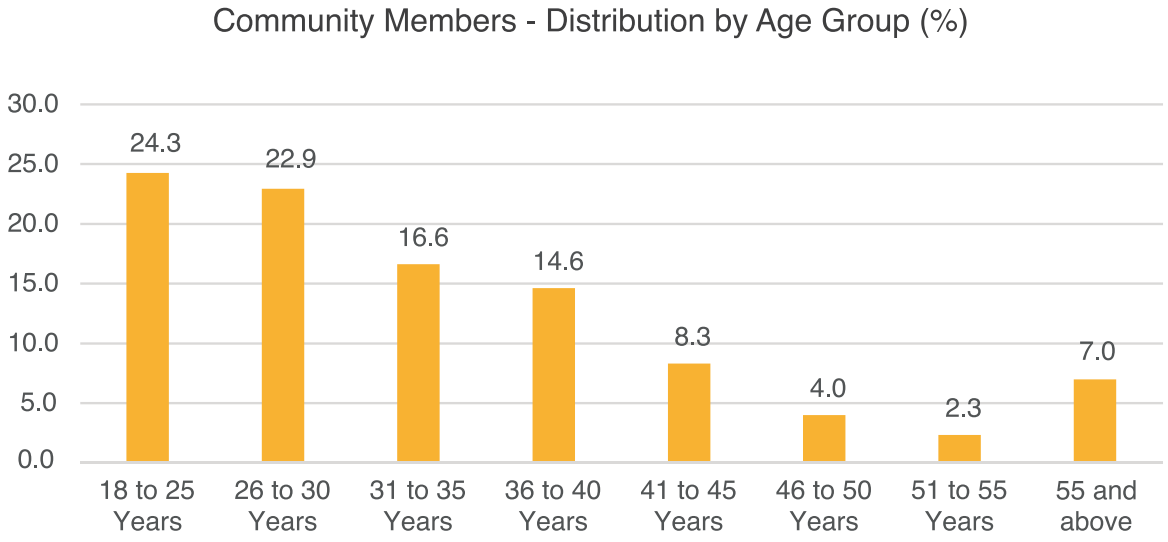

Figure 31 Distribution of community members by age group

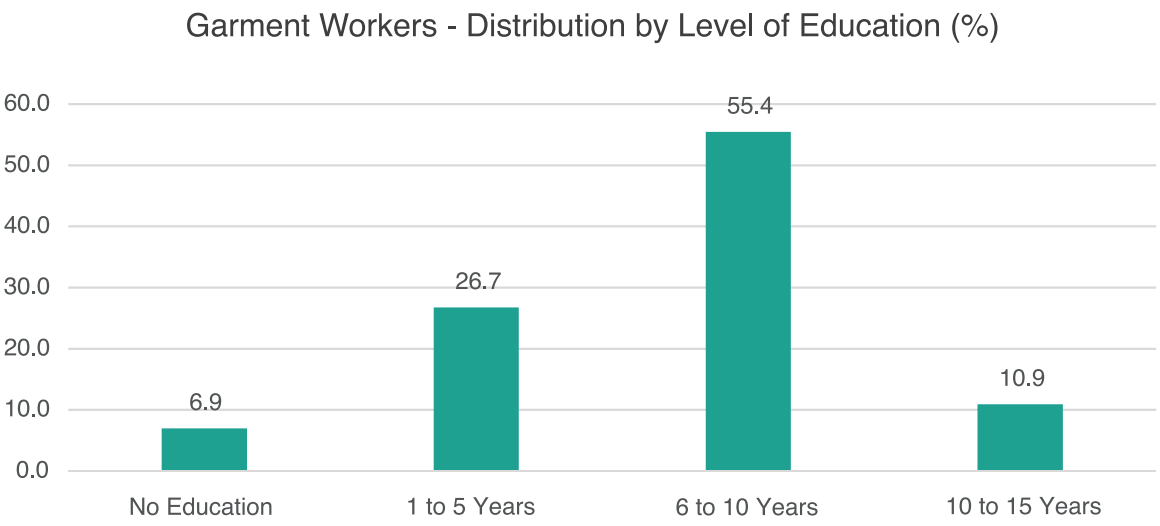

Figure 32 Distribution of garment workers by level of education

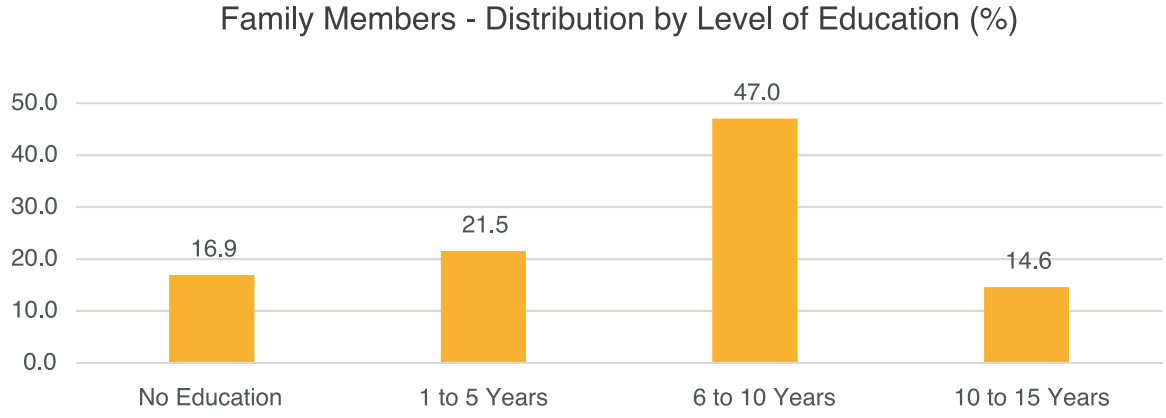

Figure 33 Distribution of family members by level of education

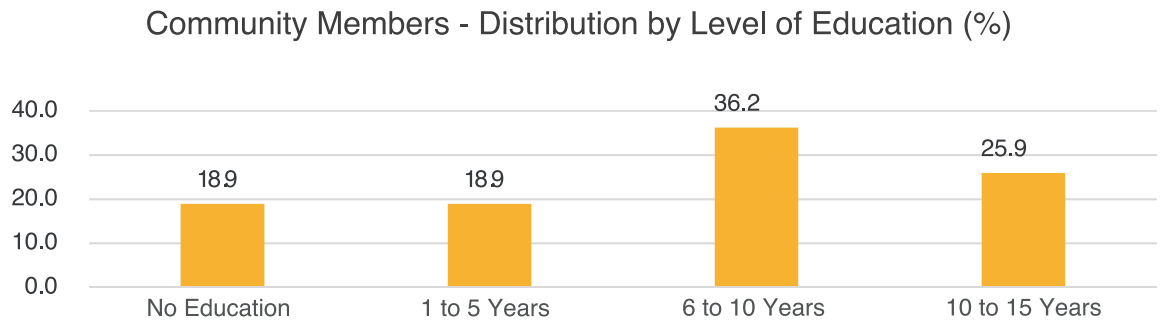

Figure 34 Distribution of community members by level of education

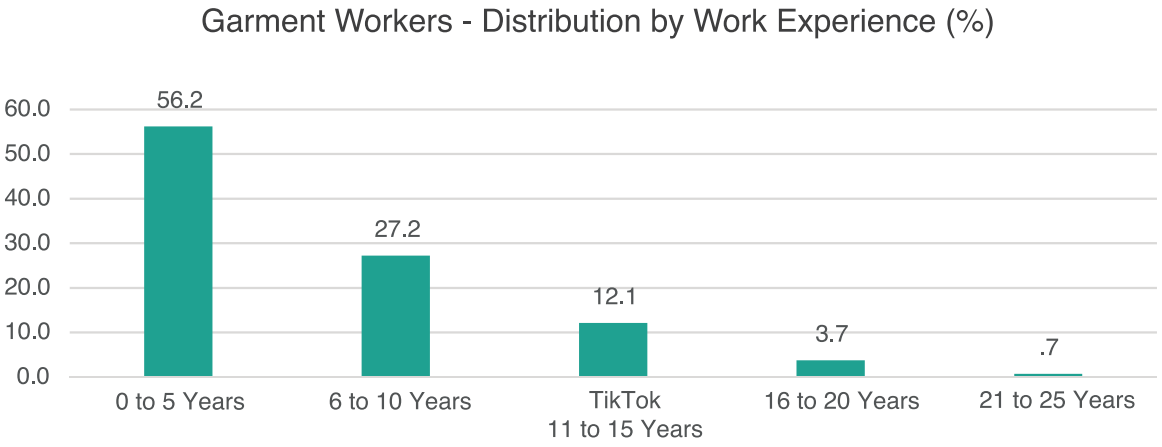

Figure 35 Distribution of garment workers by work experience

7.4 Appendix D: Tables showing the results of the quantitative analysis

Table 1 Distribution of garment workers by gender

Distribution of garment workers by gender	Frequency	Frequency
Male	122	30.2
Women	282	69.8
Total	404	100.0

Table 2 Distribution of family members by gender

Distribution of family members by gender	Frequency	Frequency
Male	152	50.3
Women	150	49.7
Total	302	100.0

Table 3 Distribution of community members by gender

Distribution of community members by gender	Frequency	Frequency
Male	152	50.3
Women	150	49.7
Total	302	100.0

Table 4 Distribution of garment workers by age group

Distribution of garment workers by age group	Frequency	Per cent
18 to 25 years	190	47.0
26 to 30 years	101	25.0
31 to 35 years	68	16.8
36 to 40 years	33	8.2
41 to 45 years	10	2.5
46 to 50 years	2	0.5
Total	404	100.0

Table 5 Distribution of family members by age group

Distribution of family members by age group	Frequency	Per cent
18 to 25 years	118	39.1
26 to 30 years	56	18.5
31 to 35 years	47	15.6
36 to 40 years	30	9.9
41 to 45 years	15	5.0
46 to 50 years	19	6.3
51 to 55 years	6	2.0
55 and above	11	3.6
Total	302	100.0

Table 6 Distribution of community members by age group

Distribution of community members by age group	Frequency	Per cent
18 to 25 years	73	24.3
26 to 30 years	69	22.9
31 to 35 years	50	16.6
36 to 40 years	44	14.6
41 to 45 years	25	8.3
46 to 50 years	12	4.0
51 to 55 years	7	2.3
55 and above	21	7.0
Total	301	100.0

Table 7 Distribution of garment workers by level of education

Distribution of garment workers by level of education	Frequency	Per cent
No education	28	6.9
1 to 5 years	108	26.7
6 to 10 years	224	55.4
10 to 15 years	44	10.9
Total	404	100.0

Table 8 Distribution of family members by level of education

Distribution of family members by level of education	Frequency	Per cent
No education	51	16.9
1 to 5 years	65	21.5
6 to 10 years	142	47.0
10 to 15 years	44	14.6
Total	302	100.0

Table 9 Distribution of community members by level of education

Distribution of community members by level of education	Frequency	Per cent
No education	57	18.9
1 to 5 years	57	18.9
6 to 10 years	109	36.2
10 to 15 years	78	25.9
Total	301	100.0

Table 10 Distribution of garment workers by work experience

Distribution of garment workers by work experience	Frequency	Per cent
0 to 5 years	227	56.2
6 to 10 years	110	27.2
11 to 15 years	49	12.1
16 to 20 years	15	3.7
21 to 25 years	3	.7
Total	404	100.0

Table 11 Perception: Men are more capable in technical positions

Garment worker's response	Frequency	Per cent
No	95	23.5
Yes	302	74.8
Do not know	7	1.7
Total	404	100.0

Table 12 Women can train for a leadership role in the workplace, by gender

Gender (women)	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Women %	5	35	8	28	24

Table 13 Women can train for a leadership role in the workplace, by age group

Age group	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
18 to 25 years	17	1	13	10	41
26 to 30 years	6	0	14	2	22
31 to 35 years	5	2	7	5	19
36 to 40 years	2	0	7	3	13
41 to 45 years	1	0	2	1	4
46 to 50 years	1	0	0	0	1
Total	32	2	44	21	100

Table 14 Women can train for a leadership role in the workplace, by level of education

Education (years)	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
No education	1	4	2	1	1	9
1 to 5 years	1	11	2	9	7	29
6 to 10 years	3	20	4	17	15	57
10 to 15 years	0	1	0	1	2	5
Total %	5	35	8	28	24	100

Table 15 Women can train to take a leadership role in a factory

Gender (male)	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Male%	0	32	2	44	21

Table 16 Women can train to take a leadership role in a factory, by age group

Age group	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
18 to 25 years	17	1	13	10	41
26 to 30 years	6	0	14	2	22
31 to 35 years	5	2	7	5	19
36 to 40 years	2	0	7	3	13
41 to 45 years	1	0	2	1	4
46 to 50 years	1	0	0	0	1
Total	32	2	44	21	100

Table 17 Women can train to take a leadership role in a factory, by level of education

Education (years)	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
No education	1	0	1	1	2
1 to 5 years	6	2	11	2	20
6 to 10 years	20	0	19	12	52
10 to 15 years	5	1	14	6	25
Total %	32	2	44	21	100

Table 18 Women can train to take a technical/technological role in the workplace, by gender

Gender (women)	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Women %	6	26	4	41	22

Table 19 Women can train to take a technical/technological role in the workplace, by age group

Age group	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
18 to 25 years	2	11	2	22	12	50
26 to 30 years	1	8	1	10	6	26
31 to 35 years	2	5	0	6	2	16
36 to 40 years	1	1	1	2	1	6
41 to 45 years	0	1	0	1	0	2
46 to 50 years	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total %	6	26	4	41	22	100

Table 20 Women can train to take a technical/technological role in the workplace, by level of education

Education (years)	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
No education	2	3	0	3	1	9
1 to 5 years	2	6	1	13	7	29
6 to 10 years	2	15	2	24	13	57
10 to 15 years	0	1	0	1	1	5
Total %	6	26	4	41	22	100

Table 21 Women can train to take a technical/technological role in a factory, by gender

Gender (male)	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Male %	2	27	3	45	23

Table 22 Women can train to take a technical/technological role in a factory, by age group

Age group	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
18 to 25 years	0	14	2	16	9	41
26 to 30 years	2	5	0	11	4	22
31 to 35 years	0	4	1	10	4	19
36 to 40 years	0	3	1	4	5	13
41 to 45 years	0	0	0	3	1	4
46 to 50 years	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total %	2	27	3	45	23	100

Table 23 Women can train to take a technical/technological role in a factory, by level of education

Education (years)	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
No education	0	1	0	1	1	2
1 to 5 years	0	3	2	12	3	20
6 to 10 years	2	19	1	16	15	52
10 to 15 years	0	4	1	16	4	25
Total %	2	27	3	45	23	100