

PAGE 3: B. ABOUT YOU

Q1: Resp	ondent	details
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Q2: Country or Customs territory CANADA

Q3: Organization Other (please specify) Think Tank

PAGE 4: C. ABOUT YOUR CASE STORY

Q4: Title of case story

Bangladesh Priorities: Prioritizing Smart Solutions through Benefit-Cost Research

Q5: Case story focus

1. Infrastructure upgrading and the development of related services markets, including through support for investment climate reforms & 2. Trade facilitation

Q6: Case story abstract

Copenhagen Consensus completed the first national-level Bangladesh Priorities research in collaboration with BRAC, the world's largest NGO. Many smart investment priorities were identified through nearly 500 in-person interviews with high-level representatives from the government, international agencies, think-tanks, leading NGOs and media, coupled with a review of the 26 different background studies of the 7th Five Year Plan (7FYP) and the Plan itself. In this case story, we present some of the smart investment climate reforms related solutions and trade facilitation smart interventions. We discuss the research findings and offer some policy insights considering our advocacy and outreach efforts on-the-ground.

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Bangladesh Priorities:

Prioritizing Smart Solutions through Benefit-Cost Research

Making choices is not an easy task. But if we want to get the best possible impact for our limited resources, it is essential to prioritize our options. The cooperation with Copenhagen Consensus Center has been a highly informative and valuable experience, and the results of Bangladesh Priorities will help BRAC specifically and the country in general set our future priorities."

Dr. Muhammad Musa, Executive Director of BRAC

1. Introduction

A key underlying theme of the Sixth Aid for Trade (AfT) Review is a monitoring and evaluation (M&E) exercise. The objective is to examine how AfT support is contributing to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The Copenhagen Consensus Center set out to improve the outcome and implementation of the SDGs, by commissioning sorely-needed economic evidence on the benefits and costs of the proposed solutions. In total, peer-reviewed analyses were produced by 82 of the world's top economists and 44 sector experts.

Now that the SDGs are being implemented, the Copenhagen Consensus research can make a major contribution to the UN and national governments, including Bangladesh, in achieving the most good with the available resources. Bangladesh, which was recently lifted to the low-middle-income country status, has ambitious plans for the next five years. By the time the 50th anniversary of independence arrives, and as part of its Vision 2021 plan, the nation aspires to achieve middle-income status.

The country has made spectacular progress over recent years, halving poverty and growing the economy by about 6 percent each year. But to make Vision 2021 a reality, Bangladesh will also have to ameliorate the problems that continue to frustrate her development efforts. To achieve that, stakeholders - from the government to international donors to everyday citizens - will have to adopt a razor-sharp focus on the solutions that will contribute in the most efficient and effective way to Bangladesh's future prosperity.

1.1. Bangladesh Priorities

Should investment in infrastructure for trade related transportation and economic zones be top priorities? Maybe expanding wireless connectivity and using technology to advance the economy would be most valuable? Or maybe we should assist small-scale farmers, who still struggle to diversify crop production?

There is no shortage of solutions proposed to these difficult problems and that is why Bangladesh Priorities talked to nearly 500 experts from government, international development agencies, think-tanks, and academics and heard more than a thousand proposals. Bangladesh Priorities, a research collaboration between the world's largest NGO, BRAC, and Copenhagen Consensus Center included a process of interviews, two sets of roundtables where sector experts took part in an open, robust debate, an Eminent Panel conference and follow-up outreach.

The topics selected for these roundtables were informed by a review of the background study recommendations that formed the basis of the 7th Five Year Plan (7FYP, 2016-2020), and the Plan itself. This list of topics was reviewed by a Reference Group, including high-level influential national and international representatives from within the development community in Bangladesh. From these engagements across Bangladesh's vibrant policy and civil sector environment, we created a long-list of hundreds of ideas for research. After additional inputs from the Reference Group, a final list was created that comprised 76 short-listed interventions for research.

Copenhagen Consensus is using a tool that provides rigorous academic analysis to help prioritize how to spend limited resources: cost-benefit analysis. This includes economic benefits and costs and considers the social, health, and environmental effects as well. Assumptions are standardized to allow for comparison between different interventions. By calculating the costs of each proposed solution, and also projecting the total benefits for each, we can judge the proposals in a more objective manner than if we simply picked them based on subjective criteria or emotions. We can also use the analyses to compare and contrast a broad range of topics, from concerns about education to air pollution to everything in between.

1.2. Interventions

In this case story, we describe research papers which were written for Copenhagen Consensus Center by teams of Bangladeshi and international experts. We asked them to examine specific development interventions to evaluate which solutions yield the most benefits per taka spent. This case story can help figure out not only which areas to prioritize, but also the most effective strategies to pursue within each area, and the potential of M&E within the existing data sources.

In the following box, we present a snapshot of the solutions discussed in the case story under two broad themes: investment climate and trade facilitation.

Box 1: A Snapshot of Bangladesh Priorities

Smart Investment Climate Solutions

- e-Procurement: 663 takas of good for scaling up e-procurement
- RMG factory compliance: 14 takas of good for every taka invested
- RMG Palli Special Zone: 8 takas of good for every taka spent
- Reform and automate VAT collection: 6 takas of good

Smart Trade Facilitation Solutions

- · Union Digital Center (UDC) Migration Services: 22 takas of good
- Trade liberalization: 10 takas of good for every taka spent on liberalization
- Skilled migration trainings at UDCs: 3 takas of good for every taka spent
- Trade facilitation: 2 takas of good for every taka invested in trade procedures

Source: Copenhagen Consensus Center (2016)

The highest benefit to cost ratio (BCR) can be generated with the scaling up of e-Procurement (BCR 663), which can reduce corruption and promotes good governance in the procurement activities of the government, from both national and international suppliers. Ensuring industry-wide compliance across the ready-made garment (RMG) sector can generate more benefits than the creation of RMG Palli (or Special Economic Zones). For trade facilitation, the highest benefits can be generated if AfT can be targeted to strengthen the Union Digital Centers (UDCs), ubiquitous across rural Bangladesh, and connecting potential migrant workers more effectively with possible destinations. UDCs could be considered for other small business activities too.

"A nation without vision is a nation gone astray," the government's report on Vision 2021 says. Bangladesh Priorities creates a map of strategies and solutions that can help steer the country closer to its vision. Doing so, through evidence based analysis and discussion, could make a huge difference by shifting just one percent of spending, that could generate billions of dollars, or trillions of taka, worth of social, environmental and economic benefits for the country and its citizens.

2. Bangladesh Priorities and Investment Climate Reforms

Box 1: A Snapshot of Bangladesh Priorities Smart Investment Climate Solutions

- e-Procurement: 663 takas of good for scaling up e-procurement across government
- RMG factory compliance: 14 takas of good for every taka invested
- RMG Palli Special Zone: 8 takas of good for every taka spent
- Reform and automate VAT collection: 6 takas of good

2.1. Scaling up e-government procurement (e-GP)

"Each year, Bangladesh spends more than Tk 720 billion (Tk 72,000 crore) on government procurement. That includes paying for anything from Padma Bridge to pencils for government offices and everything in-between. Imagine if this process could be done just 1 percent more efficiently—that would save Tk 7 billion (Tk 720 crore)." Bjorn Lomborg, President, Copenhagen Consensus Center, Daily Star, 13 April, 2016

Procurement traditionally means the application process by companies and contractors which want to provide goods and services to the government, where they need to apply in-person, showing up at a government office to physically file forms. In Bangladesh, the process used to be fraught with political parties rivalry over bids which led to unnecessary delays and suffering by those citizens requiring the goods and services.

New research by Bangladesh Priorities examines the effects of transforming the current procurement system into one that uses online systems. Abdallah's (2016) study shows that electronic government procurement (e-GP) holds enormous potential benefits for the country—each taka spent on such efforts will do a phenomenal 663 takas of good.

An angoing project started in 2009 by the national government in conjunction with the World Rank aims to reform public

procurement. By 2011, four Bangladeshi agencies had implemented electronic procurement, representing about 10 percent of all public procurement. The hope was that having contractors bid through online submissions, rather than physically lodging forms in-person, would cause the number of bids to increase significantly. All bidders could also check to see who ultimately won a bid online, increasing transparency of the process.

The research analyzes data from the Local Government Engineering Department (LGED), one of the four agencies that implemented e-GP in 2011. Government procurement items fall into one of three categories: goods, services, or so-called "works," which lies somewhere in between and often applies to infrastructure projects. Most of LGED procurement is for works, which also represent 73 percent of all government procurement.

LGED first introduced e-GP as a very small pilot in 2012, when less than 1 percent of all the department's items were procured electronically. In 2013, however, this share jumped to 61 percent as more LGED staff were trained and more bidders registered for the online process. Today, about 95 percent of LGED procurement uses e-GP, which is about as high a rate as can be expected for any agency, given donor stipulations that require using traditional procurement for certain projects.

Before any project, LGED engineers make their own cost estimate for every item that will be procured. This provided a clear measure to track the effects of e-GP. Unsurprisingly, as more and more users adopted e-GP, prices went down—the new price was nearly 12 percent lower.

The effects of expanding e-GP across most of the other 90 percent of government procurement would be enormous. The costs are straightforward.

The majority goes towards purchasing computers and software, costing Tk 985.8 million (Tk 98.58 crore). It will also require training staff to handle e-GP nationwide, as well as paying for operations and maintenance. The total value of these costs spread across the indefinite future equals Tk 1.44 billion (Tk 144 crore).

The benefits, however, would dwarf these costs. Expanding e-GP would bring savings of an estimated Tk 52.7 billion (Tk 5,274 crore) per year. Across the entire future, e-GP would give total benefits of Tk 956.8 billion (Tk 95,677 crore). And this is a cautious estimate, because it includes savings on works procurement only, given that the LGED analysis covered works only. So in all, each taka spent to expand e-GP would yield at least 663 takas in benefits.

To give a sense of proportion, total expenditures by the Road Transport and Highways Division were Tk 55.6 billion (Tk 5,560 crore) for the most recent year data are available. So the benefits from e-GP could pay for nearly all government spending on road systems. Electronic procurement promises massive benefits to the national government and savings for taxpayers. It could also lead to increased transparency and accountability in international investments made in the country.

2.2. Ensuring RMG Compliance

Bangladesh's manufacturing sector has grown steadily as the country has industrialized. Manufacturing now accounts for 30 percent of GDP, nearly double the share that agriculture does, and it is driven by the readymade garment (RMG) sector. The RMG sector represents a whopping 85 percent of all export earnings and employs 4 million people, 80 percent of whom are women.

While global demand for RMG products is expected to surge in coming years, Bangladesh's sector must continue to progress and evolve in order to take advantage. Some of the RMG industry's most pressing current issues include poor compliance, inadequate infrastructure, and meager power capacities, all of which hinder overall competitiveness.

Bangladesh Priorities research examined investments aimed at improving Bangladesh's vital RMG sector, ensuring the industry is well placed to compete globally. The strategy aims to expand compliance industry-wide.

Bangladesh has made progress toward eliminating child labor and curtailing long working hours, but the Tazreen Fashion fire of 2012 and the Rana Plaza collapse of 2013 demonstrate that compliance is still lacking in many respects, particularly when it comes to safety. These disasters have focused global attention on Bangladesh's sector, heightening consumer awareness about garment production and making improvements in compliance even more crucial to ensuring sustainable growth of the industry.

Ensuring that companies comply with safety regulations is important not only for worker safety but also to increase opportunities to export. Better compliance across the RMG industry would require initial investments to improve physical infrastructure and fire protection, as well as funding for operations costs to maintain high levels of compliance from year-

to-year. The authors estimate that industry-wide compliance would cost between Tk 164 billion (Tk 16,400 crore) and Tk 234 billion (Tk 23,400 crore).

The RMG industry would benefit in multiple ways. Greater compliance reduces the probability of accidents, increases productivity, lowers employee turnover, and makes the sector more attractive to both existing and new buyers. Based on the research, factory compliance instituted across the sector would boost export earnings by an estimated 10 percent. This would help ensure that the RMG sector reaches its self-defined target for a total export value of Tk 3.9 trillion (Tk 390,000 crore), or USD 50 billion.

Driven mostly by the export increase, the overall benefits from investing in RMG compliance would then be 14 times higher than the costs. The RMG sector is the backbone of Bangladesh's manufacturing sector, and with smart investments, the industry is poised to make even more future progress.

2.3. Reform and automate VAT for increased infrastructure investments

Bangladesh's public sector faces serious challenges and most recently, the Finance Minister stated that investment is a major challenge facing Bangladesh. This results in shortage of funds to invest in infrastructure, which is one of the main factors restraining economic growth potential of the country.

Government tax revenue is equal to 11 percent of the size of the entire economy. So despite the fact that Bangladesh has great potential to boost revenue earnings, much of it goes untapped. Over the next five years, the government aims to increase this tax-to-GDP share to 14 percent. Bangladesh Priorities research found that modifying the VAT and its collection can be one of the most promising strategies to mobilize more resources for government in health and other social sectors.

Currently, the National Board of Revenue (NBR) sets tariff values for all goods and services, and these values consequently determine VAT revenues. Because the NBR undervalues many goods and services, the effect would be great—the change would more than double VAT revenue, adding Tk 76.4 billion in extra tax revenue.

The second part of the strategy relates to automating the system by which the government collects the VAT. The research proposes streamlining this process to make it much easier to comply with tax regulations and to file returns.

Instead of having to navigate paperwork, vendors would be able to use an electronic submission and return process. This would lower the costs of complying with the tax code, encouraging more compliance. The researchers estimate that the number of registered online VAT payers would increase from 35,000 to 85,000—fully 50,000 more companies would voluntarily pay their taxes.

Automating the system would raise tax revenue by Tk 24.2 billion. And vendors would also benefit, because they save money on expensive auditors and other accounting services needed to comply with the currently convoluted tax code.

The two-part solution—abolishing the tariff-setting process and automating VAT collection—would raise the nation's tax-to-GDP ratio by nearly 1 percentage point. That's still short of the government's 5-year goal of 14 percent, but it's progress equivalent to Tk 100.4 billion of additional tax revenues per year.

The true benefits of mobilizing more government resources, however, would depend entirely upon what the extra tax revenue accomplishes. If the money is not spent wisely, then the efforts to raise revenues could be for naught. But wise spending can yield great results.

Bangladesh Priorities analysis assumes that the additional funds are most likely to be spent on infrastructure projects that Bangladesh greatly needs—road and rail transportation, the electrical grid, and water supply systems. But implementing the tax reforms will cost money. And while raising revenue may benefit the government, it raises prices for consumers, so it has to be counted as a cost for citizens.

It turns out, however, that when you calculate the net effects of the tax reforms, plus the benefits from infrastructure spending, the strategy has respectable results—every taka spent toward making the VAT system more efficient and effective in this way would do almost 6 takas of good, assuming the revenues are spent on infrastructure projects.

Mobilizing more resources for government could help improve many public services and goods, including the massive infrastructure needs of the country.

3. Bangladesh Priorities and Trade Facilitation Measures

Box 2: Bangladesh Priorities Smart Trade Facilitation Solutions

- Union Digital Center Migration Services: 22 takas of good for every taka invested
- Skilled migration trainings at UDCs: 3 takes of good for every take spent
- Trade liberalization: 10 takas of good for every taka spent on liberalization
- Trade facilitation: 2 takas of good for every taka invested in better infrastructure, transport procedures

3.1. Migration through Union Digital Centers (UDCs)

"How can low-skilled migrant workers, the major contributor of remittance inflows to Bangladesh, boost their earnings and access better opportunities overseas?" Bjorn Lomborg, President, Copenhagen Consensus Center

Chowdhury and Zaman (2013) discussed the role of Union Digital Centers (UDCs) in streamlining the process of temporary migration. The latter is dominated by exploitative and rent-seeking middlemen in the temporary migration process, but it remains attractive for those excluded to participate in income-earning activities.

Bangladesh Priorities research suggests strategies that can make migration cheaper through formalizing the migration process with existing UDCs. As a result of multiple layers of middlemen, the average cost to migrate ranges from about Tk 168,900-216,600—equal to three years of income for many Bangladeshis. It often takes two years of working abroad for migrants to recover these costs.

Using UDCs to formalize the process, however, could yield tremendous benefits. There is already much interest in formal migration—in 2013, after the national government signed an agreement with Malaysia to formalize the process through a government-to-government (G2G) arrangement, nearly 1.4 million people registered online through UDCs (Chowdhury and Zaman, 2013). The G2G process has been extended to G2G plus, engaging the private sectors of both countries, and the present research examined the role that UDCs could play in connecting millions of less-skilled migrant workers with the formal migration process.

More than 4,500 UDCs currently operate across the country, providing public and private services to millions of Bangladeshis. Adding migration services would be inexpensive and straightforward given the experience UDCs have in providing such services.

At a UDC migration desk, which could be funded either by government subsidy or revenue earnings of UDC entrepreneurs, aspiring overseas workers would get services that range from basic forms and photo identification to employment information and visa processing to printing and internet services. And conveniently, UDCs can collect fees on behalf of the government.

It is estimated that it would require Tk 172,800 of initial investment to set up a migration department in each UDC, and annual operating costs would be Tk 44,500. The total cost across Bangladesh's 4,500 UDCs would be Tk 785 million upfront, plus Tk 203 million per year in operating costs.

But the benefits would be substantial.

Services offered by UDCs would allow a conservative estimate of 50,000 people—about 11 people per UDC—to migrate to Malaysia in the first year of operations, with 5,000-10,000 additional workers in subsequent years. As a result, the cost for one person to migrate would fall to Tk 36,500 — a savings of up to 83 percent. More than three quarters of the remaining migration cost would be for airfare. Thanks to the elimination of middlemen and their exorbitant fees, visa costs would fall from over Tk 117,000 to just Tk 1,092 —the actual cost of the visa.

With the most optimistic aspirations, each taka spent toward formalizing international migration through UDCs could produce 40 takas worth of benefits. It is also clear, however, that the current process with Malaysia has delivered less than originally hoped. Currently, it looks likely that each taka has done much less good. That is why the researchers expect that realistically, improving the process to streamline international migration through the UDCs could generate 22 takas of good for every taka spent.

Using UDCs could help get more people to migrate, but you could also focus on increasing the skill levels of the people who migrate. Migrants from Bangladesh predominantly work in positions such as laborers, cooks, or security guards. From 2005-2012, for example, about three-quarters of migrant workers to Saudi Arabia were "less-skilled," and only 4 percent were in the so-called "semi-skilled" category (Zaman and Akbar, 2013). Lower-skilled workers not only earn less but also have less bargaining power with employers.

Helping migrants move up the skill ladder would equip them with knowledge and qualifications to gain access to better jobs. Training could allow them to work as painters or carpenters, for example, or perhaps even become supervisors or nurses with enough education. Spending on training programs for migrant workers would do an estimated 3 benefits per taka spent.

3.2. Trade liberalization and facilitation

Like many places around the globe, Bangladesh has made great strides in liberalizing trade over recent decades. Twenty-five years ago, the protection rate, which takes into account tariffs and other trade barriers, was 74 percent. Today, that rate is just 27 percent.

Bangladesh Priorities research highlights particular trade policy reforms that can benefit Bangladesh to bolster the country's most successful industries even more. The research examined the economic impact of a 50-percent reduction in current tariff levels. This is done in the state-of-the-art computer model of Bangladesh's economy, the so-called Computable General Equilibrium (CGE) model.

The model shows that the textile and clothing sectors—industries where Bangladesh has comparative advantages—would benefit most, with an estimated growth of 5-6 percent. Liberalization would also bring an associated gain in income for everyone in the country of about 1-2 percent—this is the large overall benefit that would be spread widely across the entire population.

While not all would gain initially, the overall impact of liberalization would bring a significant and permanent boost in Bangladeshi GDP. Each taka spent toward liberalizing trade would do 10 takas of good.

The analysis also explored a second strategy: broad investment in better infrastructure and transport procedures to facilitate trade. High transactions costs from transit and customs procedures still slow formal trade in many areas. These inefficiencies weaken links to the global economy and can diminish export competitiveness and foreign investment.

Bangladesh's international standing in various measures that are related to ease of trade reflect these weaknesses—the country ranks 148th in the U.N.'s International Supply Chain Connectivity index, lagging far behind regional competitors like Sri Lanka and India. When it comes to the World Bank's index that measures ease of cross-border trade, Bangladesh ranks 174th out of 189 economies.

The authors examined ways to simplify trade processes, which would increase transparency and efficiency while minimizing transactions costs. Specific measures would include improving coordination of exit and entry posts at border crossings, as well as spending to improve road and rail transport and connectivity. In all, each taka spent on trade facilitation would yield double benefits.

Q10: Lessons learnt

4. Conclusion: From Research to Policy Advocacy

"Bangladesh Priorities is making a real difference to Bangladeshi policy... It is clear that the research is having a real impact on guiding decisions on Bangladeshi priorities and promises to help even more into the future."

- Editorial, Prothom Alo, September 27, 2016

Bjorn Lomborg often begins his presentations of BCR analysis by indicating that without real evidence about what works, deciding between all the options is like being handed a menu at a restaurant, that has mouth-watering descriptions listed beside every meal, but no information about the price you have to pay for each, or the amount of food that would actually come on the plate.

With the results from Bangladesh Priorities, Copenhagen Consensus has put prices on the menu of smart development solutions, and we can see exactly how much we pay for each option, and exactly what we get in return. Bangladesh Priorities has put into the public domain new research papers that are available for free to anybody with an interest in Bangladesh's future.

But research is only the beginning of a long smart policy advocacy and outreach journey. We hope that we have kick-started a much longer conversation about Bangladesh's top priorities within the political realm. We have organized "Rural Forums" and "Youth Forums" sections, to seek a broader range of perspective about the top priorities for Bangladesh.

The Copenhagen Consensus Center signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with Access to Information (a2i) of the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) of Bangladesh to undertake smart policy advocacy efforts. Until 2019, this MoU creates an avenue for advocating the best solutions from Bangladesh Priorities, which closely runs with the implementation of the 7FYP. This MoU was signed at an event at which many high-level government representatives were present alongside Nobel Laureate Professor Finn Kydland and the Eminent Panel members, including Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Abul Kalam Azad, Energy Advisor to the Prime Minister, Dr. Towfique-e-Elahi Chowdhury, AMA Muhith, Minister of Finance, Shahriar Alam, State Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kabir Bin Anwar, Director General of PMO, and Anir Chowdhury, Policy Advisor, a2i, PMO.

In addition to collaborating with a2i, we are also working with other partners to a take more in-depth look at specific policy areas where there is potential for Bangladesh to make real strides. The first of these has been nutrition champion seminar, organized with Centre for Research and Information (CRI). We were able to provide inputs to the upcoming National Plan of Action on Nutrition. The second seminar was on education (organized in January, 2017) which was organized with BRAC Education Programme in January this year. In the same month, we organized a third policy seminar with BRAC Institute of Governance and Development (BIGD) on smart interventions of 7FYP where several interventions were discussed, and it created an avenue for policymakers to commit to some of the smartest ideas.

In near future, we hope to engage in a new Bangladesh Priorities 2.0 exercise, and work closely with the government, business associations and international agencies to give tailwind to the smart solutions, which will help Bangladesh to achieve its dream of middle-income country status by 2021. The new exercise will not include a new set of BCRs but it will comprise of compiling different 'policy practice' practices, identifying the costs, constraints and opportunities for implementing the Bangladesh Priorities interventions.

Finally, prioritizing smart AfT investments in Bangladesh and across beneficiary countries using BCR analysis is an additional powerful tool for the WTO and UN when making investment decisions, helping to ensure that all the evidence and data are considered in the most meaningful way. Focusing on the costs and benefits can help at a national level for Bangladesh, but it can also help globally, especially when working within the SDG framework. Poverty, hunger, disease, education and the environment are all far too important for us to simply say that good intentions are good enough. We should focus on achieving the most that we can with every dollar or taka that we spend. Having identified the BCRs, it will allow us to engage a more evidence-informed debate and discussion aimed at make the best use of our limited resources.

Bangladesh Priorities: Prioritizing Smart Solutions through Benefit-Cost Research

Pictures

Opening Ceremony at Prime Minister's Office – Nobel Night https://flic.kr/s/aHskxEqqLr

Eminent Panel conference https://flic.kr/s/aHskxQK9fH

Bangladesh Priorities Closing Event https://flic.kr/s/aHskxWWrJc

Nutrition policy seminar https://flic.kr/s/aHskAVmSbr

Government dissemination https://flic.kr/s/aHskpUXQMG

Education policy seminar http://flic.kr/s/aHskLkH9io

Bangladesh Priorities Book Launch http://flic.kr/s/aHskSBVaPU

