

Child Labor

in Brick Factories
Causes and Consequences

A Research Study for Campaign of Combating the Worst
Forms of Child Labour in Cambodia August 2007



World Vision



By Poch Bunnak, PhD, Director,
Centre for Population Studies at Royal University of Phnom Penh



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Child labour has become one of the social issues in Cambodia after the rectification of the ILO Convention 182 by the government in October 2005. One concern is that work undertaken by children in brick-making factories is by nature heavy and dangerous, coupled with long working hours, school interference, and low payment. Thus, its far-reaching effect on child development, especially on schooling and health, is devastating. Yet, some parents still sent their children to work in brick factories and hiring children to work in brick factories is suspected to continue by many employers.

As part of the campaign against the worst forms of child labour for the wellbeing of Cambodian children, LICADHO and WVC have commissioned the research team, led by Dr. Poch Bunnak, to conduct a study on children working in brick factories. The study was conducted in July 2007 to identify the causes and consequences of child labour in brick factories in Battambang and Sang Ke districts, the surrounding areas of Battambang provincial city. Data were collected using interviewer-completed questionnaires from three main sources (132 child workers, 43 parents, and 15 brick factory owners or managers) from 26 brick factories. It is estimated that between 400 and 500 children work daily in these brick factories during the high labour-demand season.

One hundred and thirty two child workers participated in this study. Among those who do not live in brick factories (96 children), 71.9% were female, 10.4% were under 15 years of age, 62.5% were living in intact families, and 17.7% were the first child in their families. Among those who lived in the brick factory compound (36 children), 44.4% were female, 41.7% were under 15 years of age, 69.4% were living in intact families, and 36.1% were the first child of the family.

The majority of 43 interviewed parents were female from intact families, with the mean age being 40 years. They had large families (the average of 4 children), with many of their children working in brick factories (nearly 70% of their 7-17 years old children) and not attending school (about 50%). Parents had quite experience of working in brick factories (about 50% having at least five years experience) and made slightly above 200,000 Riels monthly, on average. Nearly all parents living in brick factories were migrants.

Schooling Profile of Child Workers

Many child workers in brick-making factories were not in school (74.0% among village children and 55.6% among brick factory children). About three fourths of them quitted school more than two years with several reasons, including family reasons (the family economic hardship, their needed labour by parents, sick parents, and family debt), school-related problems (lack of money for school supplies, lack of transport as school for their grade is far, and school discipline problems), and personal reasons (poor grade, negative attitudes towards schooling, wanting to be with friends who work, wanting money for personal needs, or wanting to stay away from parents who frequently quarrelled).

Work Profile of the Child Interviewees

Some children who worked in current brick factories usually had worked elsewhere before, either in another brick factory (22%) or in another economic sector (20.5%). The

percentage of having previous work experience was lower among those living in the brick factory compound than among those who do not (13.9% versus 25.0%, respectively), suggesting that children who lived in brick factories were likely to start out with a job in their current brick factory (Figure 1).

Child workers who lived in brick factories tend to start to work at a younger age than those who lived in the villages (respectively, 57% versus 21.8% starting work at age below 12 years old) (Figure 2). This suggests a prolonged exposure to work and great vulnerability to hazardous labour among those living in brick factories. Their early involvement in child labour is caused by parents' need for their labour, in addition to the family economic hardship.

Child workers in brick factories usually performed multiple tasks. Common tasks are pulling brick wheelbarrows, loading bricks in and out of the kiln, loadings brick onto and out of brick wheelbarrows, loading bricks onto trucks, and arranging bricks to dry. Some children also worked as brick machine operators or firing kiln workers (Figure 3).

Child workers are involved in three employment statuses: work on a contract, full-time and daily, or part-time or on weekend only (figure 4). Child workers working on contract usually work longer hours than children of the other statuses. However, most children work full-time in brick factories (93 children).

The average wage is 5,000 Riels for 8-hour of work (equivalent to 1.2 U.S. dollar). Children who are engaged in contractual work, such as firing kilns, clay preparation, or cutting raw bricks usually earn a bit higher wage. Even so, some small children (8-10 years old) earn as little as 1,000 Riels a day because they worked part-time and not every day.

Perception about Child Labour in Brick Factories

Heavy work is found for work under contract (Figure 5), while long working hours are complained by most children working under contract (81.3%) or working full-time (83.9%). The study found that contractual work is not good for children because it involves heavy work, long working hours, and school interference.

In contrast, 30.2% of 41 parents said their children's work was not too heavy for them and 44.2% of 41 parents said that the working hours were just about right for their children. The finding helps explain parents' rationale for engaging children in child labour.

Children's Involvement in the Worst Forms of Child Labour

The combination of working hours and school attendance status of child workers was used to create an index of the worst forms of child labour in brick factories (Figure 7). The finding shows that about 85% of child workers are involved in either severe forms (52.3%) or the worst forms of child labour (32.1%).

Reasons for Working in Brick Factories

According to children's responses (Figure 8), top reasons for working are the family economic hardship, personal needs (such as clothes, shoes, snacks, etc.), being forced to

work by their parents or guardians due to family debt (22.2%). The distance to the workplace is the leading reason for children to work in brick factories (Figure 9). Among child workers who live in brick factory compounds, their primary reason is that they worked because their families worked and lived there. Other reasons include getting a job very easily in brick factories (19.0%), being acquaintance to someone in the brick factory (17.9%), no skills or experience required (9.5%), easy money (7.1%), and nice managers (8.3%).

Children's responses are quite consistent with those of their parents. One is the family economic hardship (about 90% of parents). Another is that the family needs child labour. In other words, children are pulled into child labour by their parents because either their families live there, parents need their help to perform their work, parents need replacements when they are sick or old, or jobs in brick factories have become the family tradition (54.8%). This finding confirms the above argument that children living in the brick factory compound will be pulled into brick factory jobs in the long run by their parents, regardless of the economic circumstances of the families (Figure 10).

According to the owners or managers, children came to work in brick factories because of three reasons: easy jobs with no requirements or restrictions, close proximity, and many children quitting school and looking for jobs to earn money.

Three important reasons of hiring children are also reported by the managers or owners of the visited brick factories: family economic hardship, the pity of owners/managers on children, and the parents' demands for their children to work (parents requested that their children be allowed to work too; otherwise, parents would not take the job). However, only 6 of 15 owners/managers reported that they were satisfied with having children coming to work in their factories (Table 5). The owners/managers claimed that children are easy to be managed, come to work on time, can work independently on contract, work fast and work hard, and are good for carrying bricks.

Work Conditions in Brick Factories

The fieldwork observation shows that the working environment in the brick factory is hazardous to child health due to unsanitary environment (unclean, smoke, bad smells of manures, and consuming pond water), unsafe working environment (such as heat, burning ashes, flying ashes, and pieces of broken bricks everywhere), and the hazardous work (prolonged working hours, heavy work, and dangerous jobs).

Seven work condition indexes were created (See inside text). All brick factories were perceived by more than 50% of the child workers as having bad working conditions on three indexes: unbearable heat (100%), flying ashes (100%), and falling bricks on workers (100%). In addition, many brick factories were viewed as having bad working conditions on the other four indexes: lack of sanitation (94%), no first-aid kits (94%), unsafe place for children to live (75%), and health hazardous workplace (75%).

Some parents, however, viewed brick factories as a safe place for children to live and to work (one third of all parents). Even so, many parents did agree that brick factories were not safe for children either to live or to work because of flying ashes, stepping on burning ashes, possibility of bricks falling on, getting cut or injured by brick pieces, getting injured by brick making machine, sanitary problems, or a truck might run over.

Work Safety and Regulations

According to child workers, many brick factories do not have any work regulations or safety measures. For example, 54% of children said that they had not been prohibited from undertaking any task since they worked. The rest reported that some task restrictions had been imposed on them. The tasks include operating a brick machine; cutting raw bricks; extracting, grinding, and mixing clays; carrying clays; firing kilns; and cleaning burning ashes (Figure 12).

The majority of the interviewed parents and brick factory owners/managers also reported there was a ban for children to work as machine operators (28 of 43 parents and 10 of 15 managers). Three managers said that their brick factories had no such restriction.

With regard to work safety orientations, nearly all brick factories had provided such orientations to their child workers before they started to work. However, less than 50% of child workers reported receiving such information (Table 6). There remain many brick factory owners or managers (9 of 15) who did not know about the existence of statements or proclamations about child labour in Cambodia.

Impact of Child Labour

Compared to those with shorter work duration, child workers who worked longer than two years exhibit a much higher rate of school dropouts (37.8% versus 7.7%, respectively), poor grades (52.6% versus 21.4%), school tardiness (47.4% versus 28.6%), and skipping classes (42.1% versus 7.1%). The interviewed parents also confirmed that, since starting to work, their children had developed negative attitudes towards their schooling, irregular school attendance, and poor school grades than before.

About four fifths of child workers who lived in brick factory compounds assessed their own health conditions as either moderate or severe based on the general health index (See text for explanation) for both work duration groups. For child workers who did not live in brick factories, however, the percentage of reporting moderate or severe health problems is much higher among long-term workers than among short-term workers (91.5% versus 74.5%, respectively) (Figure 13).

In terms of specific health problems frequently experienced, both child workers living in or not living in brick factories tend to suffer mostly from eye watery or eye itches because of smoke and flying ashes (Figure 14). Other health problems depend on the living place. The village children were more likely than their factory counterparts to experience backache (40.0% versus 18.2%), chest pain (31.9% versus 15.2%), headache (33.0% versus 21.1%), skin rashes (37.2% versus 24.2%), difficult breathing (25.5% versus 18.2%), and stomach ache (16.0% versus 9.1%). One potential explanation is that village children have not been accustomed to the work environment in brick factories as their factory counterparts who live and work in the same environment.

In addition, nearly one half of the child workers had minor injuries due to work, regardless of residence and work duration (Figure 15). Common reasons are bricks falling on, being cut with bricks while loading/unloading or carrying them, and cutting foot by sharp objects. Minor burn is also common due to unloading bricks while they were hot. Serious

cuts and serious burns do happen frequently to about 10-15% of child workers. The low percentage of reporting injuries is underestimated due to the use of frequent experiences.

The study also reveals that wearing glasses and working hat is not a practice for all child workers, and only few children reported wearing working shoes (12.1% among factory children and 27.7% among village children). One leading reason for not wearing any of these devices is that they did not have them, could not afford to buy them, or not in the habit of wearing safety devices (Figure 16).

Expectations for the Future of Child Workers

The majority of child workers do not want to continue their schooling, contrary to the expectation of parents, especially parents who lived in brick factories. This may be due to the fact many child workers interviewed had already quitted school. Instead, most children wanted to find a job elsewhere (Figure 17).

Suggestions for Improving Working Conditions for Children in Brick Factories

Suggestions for improving working conditions of child labour in brick factories were given by a relatively small number of respondents, indicating lack of knowledge about better working conditions (Figure 18). However, some respondents came up with a few good suggestions, including reducing work loads for children, increasing wages for children, providing protection equipments to children, imposing rules that ban children from undertaking dangerous tasks, establishing rules that ban the employ from forcing children to work beyond their physical capability, providing sick-leave benefits when workers are sick due to work, and providing support for children's schooling.

Recommendations

Recommendations are provided in the concluding chapter of the report.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BF	Brick Factory
CCLS	Cambodia Child Labour Survey
CPS	Center for Population
CWCLP	Combating the Worst Forms of Child Labour Project
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
LICADHO	Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights
NIOSH	National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health
NIS	National Institute of Statistics
RUPP	Royal University of Phnom Penh
UCW	Understanding Children's Work Project
WVC	World Vision Cambodia

I. INTRODUCTION

Child labour has become one of the social issues in Cambodia after the ratification of the ILO Convention 182 by the government in October 2005. One concern about child labour is the work undertaken by children in brick-making factories. The nature of this concern lies in the heavy and dangerous work undertaken by children, long working hours with low payment, and the far-reaching effect of such labour of child health and schooling. For example, there have been several reports of accidents such as children losing their hands or arms because of the brick making machines. Yet, some parents still sent their children to work in brick factories and hiring children to work in brick factories was suspected to continue by many employers.

As jointly part of the commissioned campaign against the worst forms of child labour in Cambodia, LICADHO and WVC has initiated a research study to get a better understanding of the reasons behind children working in brick factories, the working situations of child workers in brick factories, and the impact of child development. Specifically, the study aims at collecting data to describe family and work situations of child workers in brick factories, including reasons for work, reasons for allowing children to work, reasons for hiring children, and the impact of child work on their social, mental, and physical development. The result of the study is expected to contribute to better understanding of child labour in the brick factory and to the campaign to combat the worst forms of child labour in Cambodia.

Objectives

The objectives of the research include:

1. To describe the working and living conditions of children working in brick factories
2. To identify factors that affect the development of children, including education, health, and safety of children in brick factories
3. To analyze reasons why employers hire children
4. To analyze reasons why parents allow their children to work in brick factories
5. To analyze reasons why children accept to work in brick factories
6. To provide recommendations about eliminating the worst forms of child labour in the brick factories

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Child Labour and Its Worst Forms

Child labour refers to all forms of work undertaken by children below 18 years of age. Child labour is an economic and social issue in developing countries because children are perceived to represent an important source of family total income. Available studies suggest that light work can have positive outcomes for child development because it provides work experience, builds confidence in children, and provides some financial support/means.

However, child work is considered acceptable only when it is not hazardous to children's health and psychological development (ILO, 1999)¹. Certain forms of child labour can cause impairment to the physical and mental development of children. Frequently, many children who work usually do not go to school. ILO Convention 182 states that child labour that interferes with children's schooling is considered as the worst forms of child labour (ILO, 1999). ILO Convention 182 calls for the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, child labour that violates rights to development of children.

According to ILO Convention 182, the worst forms of child labour comprise (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children (ILO, 1999).

Reliable data show that a substantial number of child labourers in Cambodia work long hours and do not attend schools. For instance, among child labourers age 5-17 years old, about 14% do not attend school and more than two-thirds of all child workers worked at least 5-8 hours daily (Tables 5.6 and 8.12 in National Institute of Statistics, 2002)². Children who work long hours or work in dangerous and unhealthy conditions are exposed to long-lasting physical and psychological harm, resulting in more susceptibility to disease. Work that involves children being enslaved, forcibly recruited, prostituted, trafficked, forced into illegal activities and exposed to hazardous work are examples of the worst forms of child labour (ILO/IPEC³, 2002; WVC⁴, 2005).

¹ ILO. 1999. *Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour*. Geneva: ILO.

² NIS. 2002. *Cambodia Child Labour Survey 2001*. National Institute of Statistics. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Ministry of Planning.

³ ILO/IPEC, 2002, *Study on the Legal Protection of Child Domestic Workers in the Asia-Pacific*, ILO/Japan/Korea, Asian Meeting on Action to Combat Child Domestic Labour, Chiang Mai, Thailand 2-4 October 2002.

⁴ WVC, 2005, *How and Why We Work: Child Workers in the Informal Economy In Phnom Penh and Battambang*, WVC Report for the Combating the Worst Forms of Child Labour Project, Phnom Penh: Peace and Justice Programme.

The Cambodian Royal Government has ratified the ILO Convention 182 in October 2005 to join the international activity aiming at preventing the most harmful forms of child labour. The Cambodian Labour Law sets the minimum allowable age at 18 years for any kind of work that by its nature could be hazardous to health, safety or morality. However, the law allows children aged 12-14 years to perform light work that is not hazardous to their health and does not interfere with their schooling (UCW, 2006)⁵. According to the Prakas 106 (Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training, 2004)⁶, children under 18 are not allowed to operate machines or to work near kilns in brick factories.

For campaign against the worst forms of child labour, WVC develops a framework of the worst forms of child labour based on whether work undertaken by children violates the rights of children for development (LICADHO⁷, 2001; WVC⁸, 2006). This framework classifies child labour subject to prohibition and elimination into semi-hazardous, hazardous, and worst form. Semi-hazardous child labour includes work that is undertaken by children either part-time or full-time, but it interferes with children's schooling and can cause only minor injuries. Hazardous child labour refers to work that requires children to be out of school and work full-time and work that can cause serious injuries requiring medical attention. The worst forms of child labour include full-time work that may cause fatal or long-term health injuries, and that seriously violates the rights to protection, survival, development and participation, such as forced labour, sexual or illegal activities, or work that involves risk of death. In Cambodia, the worst forms of child labour include also work in brick factories, work in commercial rubber plantations, work in salt production, work in fish processing, portering work, domestic work, prostitution, pornography, begging, and scrap collecting (ILO/IPEC, 2002; WVC, 2005).

Summary of Five Forms of Child Labour

	Category	Hours	Schooling	Health Risks	Child Rights Violations
1	Child Chores	Part-time	Yes	No	No
2	Child Work	Part-time	Yes	No	No
3	Semi-Hazardous Labour	Part-/Full-time	School interferences	Minor Injuries not requiring medical attention	Violates rights to development and participation
4	Hazardous Labour	Full-time	Out of school	Serious injuries requiring medical treatment	Serious violation of rights to protection, survival, development and participation
5	Worst Forms of Child Labour	Forced or bonded labour	Out of school	Risks of death and/or long-term injuries	

Source: LICADHO Education and Advocacy Kit, working document, 2001.

⁵ UCW, 2006, *Children's Work in Cambodia: A Challenge for Growth and Poverty Reduction*, Inter-Agency Report to the Government of Cambodia, ILO/IPEC, UNICEF, and World Bank. Accessed online at www.ucw-project.org/ucw/cambodia_rpt.pdf

⁶ Proclamation of the Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training about prohibiting children to work in dangerous places, 28 April 2004.

⁷ LICADHO Education and Advocacy Kit, working document, 2001.

⁸ WVC. 2006. *Assessment of Public Health Risks and Positive Health Practices for Working Children*. A Report prepared by Dr. Poch Bunnak, CPS at RUPP, for the Combating the Worst Forms of Child Labour, July 2006, World Vision Cambodia.

2. Reasons for Engaging in Child Labour in Brick Factories

Children are engaged in child labour for a variety of reasons, although the majority of child workers are engaged in the agricultural sector. One reason is poverty. Children who engage in child labour are likely to come from families affected by poverty, with inadequate sanitation and nutritious food (Woolf⁹, 2002; WVC, 2006). Recent findings show that engaging children in child labour is a household decision to fight against poverty (UCW, 2006; WVC, 2006). According to data from the Cambodia Child Labour Survey 2001 (CCLS), about three-fourths of the households had involved their children in some sort of child labour because of family economic hardship and about 50% of the households believed that their living standards would decline if their children stopped working (UCW, 2006).

Poverty has a strong, direct, and bilateral link to children's schooling. First, lack of money to pay school costs and school-related expenses can be a factor for engaging in child labour among children, with an attempt to earn some money for continuing their schooling. In a study of child labour conducted for WVC by the Center for Population Studies at RUPP, 31.6% of scavengers visiting the WVC drop-in centre, 31% of child workers at the fish centres, and about 10% of brick workers entered the labour force for this reason (WVC, 2006). Second, children who work are more likely to quit school in the long run. They quit school, voluntarily or involuntarily, in order to either work to earn money for the family or help do their family work. Recent studies on child workers in Phnom Penh and Battambang found that 66% of child workers aged 5 to 17 years old did not attend school, and the majority of them reported being withdrawn from school to enter the labour force by their parents. The proportion of school dropouts is found to be higher among child workers in brick factories than among children working other jobs (WVC, 2006). Expecting the positive contribution of child labour to the family well being, some parents force their children to work in order for them to help with the family's daily work, to help the family earn money to pay debts, or to have a place to stay (WVC, 2005; WVC 2006).

In addition, family environment can also be a factor that encourages or discourages children to work outside their home. Some families may be violent and thus unable to provide a safe and protective environment for children. Other families may be addicted to gambling and alcohol. In such cases, children can be forced to work either voluntarily just to avoid the unpleasant home environment or involuntarily to earn money for the family. This reason is well documented by NGOs that work closely with working children, such as WVC and HomeLand (WVC, 2006).

Another reason is the cheap labour of children. Cheap child labour in the labour market contributes to the growing number of child workers and child exploitation in various sectors of the economy. According to the CCLS 2001, the top three reasons for establishments to employ children under the age of 18 are children's suitability for the work (44% of all reasons for employing children), lack of other workers (17.6%) and absence of trade unions (15.6%) (Table 8.2 in National Institute of Statistics, 2002). These reasons point to a situation where employers look for low skills, cheap labour and unprotected child workers.

⁹ Woolf, A., 2002, "Health Hazards for Children at Work", *Journal of Toxicology and Clinical Toxicology*, 40(4): 477-482.

3. Impact of Child Labour in Brick Factories on Child Development

Children start work at very young age. According to a study on child labour in Battambang (WVC, 2006), the median age at the start of work is 14 years for child workers in brick factories. However, many of them had worked elsewhere prior to undertaking a paid job in the brick factory.

The age children start to work is associated with the impact of hazardous child labour on child development. The earlier a child starts work, the longer he or she is exposed to cumulative work hazards and the more he or she is likely to be susceptible and adversely affected by specific work hazards. First, compared with adults, are different in their physiological and psychological make-up and maturity. Second, they are not yet matured enough to be aware of the potential risks involved in the workplace. Third, they become exploited and abused much easier. Working in hidden and unregulated industries, like brick factories, makes them more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse, including working prolonged hours and undertaking risky jobs.

Due to their distinctive physical and mental appearance, their little experience about work, and their little awareness of potential risks associated with jobs they perform, children are more prone to a variety of work-related health problems, including injuries and illnesses, than adults who perform the same work (Ashagrie, 1998)¹⁰.

Hazardous conditions of child labour, coupled with the immaturity of children, increase the risk of work injuries and illnesses among child workers. Two forms of health hazards include work-related accidents and illness/disease. Common injuries are cuts, wounds and punctures. Other serious but less frequent injuries include burns, fractures or sprains, loss of body parts, contusions, bruises, haemorrhoids and abrasions. A study by Pinder (2000)¹¹ on work injuries among child brick factory workers reveals that the levels of musculoskeletal trouble found in the wrists or hands and the lower back of brick packers were far greater than the levels reported by other groups of working children.

Based on a study in Battambang (WVC, 2006), child workers in brick factories were found to suffer from the health impact of labour the most, compared with child scavengers, children working at fish centres, and car washing children. For instance, 65% of child interviewees reported sickness and injury at least nine times during their work careers, compared with less than 50% of child workers working other job categories. Furthermore, 85% of the interviewed child workers in brick factories experienced frequent fatigue and cuts and wounds due to overwork, carrying bricks, and bricks falling onto feet that cause minor cuts, wounds, or bruises. Other health problems, most frequently complained by these children, are body ache, backaches, skin diseases, eye problems, headache, diarrhoea, and respiratory problems (likely caused by undertaking heavy work and working in unsanitary work conditions).

Additionally, some tasks in brick factories, such as arranging raw bricks to dry, unloading bricks from hot kilns, and brick-firing operations, are undertaken in a hot environment.

¹⁰ Ashagrie, Kebebew, 1998, *Statistics on Working Children and Hazardous Child Labour in Brief*, Geneva: ILO.

¹¹ Pinder, Andrew D.J., 2000, *Manual Handling in the Brick Production Industry: Results of a Study of the Ergonomics of Brick Packing*, Health & Society Laboratory: Human Factors Group, UK. Accessed on July 2006: http://www.hse.gov.uk/research/hsl_pdf/2000/hsl00-20.pdf.

Excessive exposure to a hot working environment can result in heat-induced health problems, such as heat stroke, heat exhaustion, heat fainting, heat rash, or transient heat fatigue.

Furthermore, the negative impact of child labour on child health can have worrisome consequences on the mental development of children. Negative psychological aspects include decreased school performance, decreased participation in extracurricular and social activities, increased use of alcohol, and a consistent pattern of inadequate sleep (NIOSH, 1997)¹². As aforementioned, quitting school is one pervasive consequence of early participation of children in child labour.

It is noteworthy that studies on the impact of child labour on child development are difficult and the findings are mostly inconclusive because of the dynamic of the child health and the absence of the comparison groups and the complexity of the relationship among these phenomena (O'Donnell, Van Doorslaer, and Rosati, 2002)¹³. Some children are more vulnerable than others even without working. In addition, studies, such as that of WVC (2006), are based on a relatively small sample size that may yield results with varying reliability.

The above review shows that children are engaged in child labour for a variety of reasons, ranging from the need to work for survival to the exploitation and abuse of children, and the impact of early child labour can be devastating on all aspects of child development. Thus, attempts to eliminate the worst forms of child labour have to be in line with the elimination of the etiological roots of child involvement in child labour. In other words, understanding the causes of child labour can help develop workable strategies for campaign and activities against the worst forms of child labour.

¹² NIOSH, 1997, *Child Labour Research Needs: Recommendations from the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health*, US Department of Health and Human Services and CDC. Accessed online at <http://www.cdc.gov/niosh/97-143a.html>.

¹³ O'Donnell, Owen, Eddy Van Doorslaer, and Furio C. Rosati, 2002. "Child Labour and Health: Evidence and Research Issues." *Understanding Children's Work: An Inter-Agency Research Cooperation Project*. ILO, UNICEF, and the World Bank.

III. METHODOLOGY

The study was based on a survey, developed to collect descriptive data on the background characteristics of child workers who work in brick factories, reasons for engaging in brick factory work, types of jobs children perform, exposure to hazardous work conditions, and child workers' knowledge and awareness about hazardous jobs, their workplace, and work safety measures in their work place.

The research site for the study consists of Battambang and Sang Ke districts, the surrounding areas of Battambang provincial city. These areas are known for brick making industry, where many children living in neighbouring villages come to work. There are 32 brick factories identified in the research site¹⁴.

1. Sampling and Samples

Data for this study were collected from three main sources: child workers, parents, and brick factory owners or managers.

1.1. Sample of Child Workers

In this study, child workers refer to those who are under 18 years of age and work in brick factories, with the experience of working a brick factory job being at least 3 months. A cluster sampling technique was initially designed to use to select a number of brick factories (primary sampling unit), from which 150 child respondents would be selected based on a systematic random selection. Due to the actual number of children was much lower than what previously informed and expected, the design was unpractical and changed to a purposive technique during the data collection workshop.

The purposive technique allowed for a visit to every brick factory and each factory became included in the primary sampling unit if at least one child worker is found working in the factory. This technique resulted in the collection of data from 26 factories, as the other 6 factories were neither found to have child workers during the visit nor allowing the research team to visit the place.

The selection of child workers depended on the actual number of children found to be working in each factory, with a criterion that no more than 8 children were select from the same factory. A systematic selection of child respondents was used if there were more than 8 child workers found during the visit. As a result, 134 children were interviewed in 26 factories, with the average of 5 child workers interviewed per selected brick factory; and 132 questionnaires were considered complete and valid.

1.2. Sample of Parents

Two groups of parents/adults were targeted. The first group consisted of parents or adults who were working in the brick factories. They were not necessary the parents of the interviewed child workers; and the selections of these parents and adults were independent

¹⁴ There were 26 brick factories in Battambang as of 1999 (Roze Muller, 1999). Since then, some factories were closed out, while other were new factories. According to the data from the Ministry of Industry, Mine, and Energy, there are 34 brick factories registered in Battambang province, most of them are in Battambang and Sanke districts (<http://www.mime.gov.kh/khmer/businessdirectory.asp>).

of the child sample selection. The second group were the parents of child workers interviewed. They were the parents who did not work in brick factories. They were identified based on the information of child workers' residence. A total of 50 parents were planned to interview, but only 43 parents were actually interviewed for the study because village parents were gone to work in the rice field.

1.3. Sample of Brick Factory Owners or Managers

All owners or managers of the factories visited were asked to participate in the interview. Of all 26 factories, only 18 owners/managers agreed to participate; but only 15 of them completed the interview because they were busy with their work.

2. Research Tools

Data were collected using three questionnaires developed for this study: one is for child workers, another is for parents/adults, and the other is for brick factory owners/managers (Appendixes 1-3). Each questionnaire is designed for the interviewer-completed interview. The average time took to complete the child worker questionnaire was 40 minutes, while the average time for the parent and owner/manager questionnaires was about 25 minutes and 20 minutes, respectively.

3. Data Collection

Data were collected in July 2007. Two teams of data collectors were formed. Each team was led by one CWCLP¹⁵ project staff because they knew the location of each factory very well. All data collectors received a one-day training on questionnaires and data collection technique at the LICADHO office in Battambang (See Appendix 4 for the data collection team and the field notes).

4. Ethical Issues

The survey was conducted upon receiving an authorization from the Battambang Provincial Office. Each respondent was also asked for voluntary participation in the survey. The informed consent was read to each selected participant; and confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed for all respondents¹⁶. For example, the name of each participant was neither asked nor recorded. The names of the brick factories visited are kept confidential without being revealed to anyone besides the consultant who uses such information for the purpose of data management only. Upon the completion of the report, the data will be handed over to LICADHO for record keeping.

¹⁵ WVC's Combating Worst Form of Child Labour Project.

¹⁶ See the first part of each questionnaire in Appendixes 1-3.

IV. PROFILES OF RESPONDENTS

1. Background of Child Respondents

The profile of child workers in brick-making factories is summarized separately for those living in a brick factory compound (36 children) and for those who live in villages (96 children), but come to work in brick factories (Table 1). There were more female than male child workers among those who did not live in brick factories (72.9% of them were female); but there were more male than female child workers who lived in brick factory compound (44.4% of them were female). The gender difference between the two groups indicates that it is more common for girls than for boys to come from nearby villages to work in brick factories. With regard to their age, 89.6% of those coming from villages were between 15-17 years of age, compared to 58.3% among those who lived in the brick factory compound. This indicates that there are young children living and working in the factory (41.7% of them are under 15 years old).

Table 1. Profile of Child Interviewees

	<u>Where Do You Live?</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Not Living in BF</u>	<u>Living in BF</u>	
Child Interviewees			
Number of interviewees	96	36	132
Percent	72.7%	27.3%	100.0%
Sex			
% Male	27.1%	55.6%	34.8%
% Female	72.9%	44.4%	65.2%
Age Groups			
Under 12	0.0%	13.9%	3.8%
12-14	10.4%	27.8%	15.2%
15-17	89.6%	58.3%	81.0%
Living Arrangement			
With 2 biological parents	62.5%	69.4%	64.4%
With biological mother only	17.7%	11.1%	15.9%
With biological father only	4.2%	2.8%	3.8%
With biological and step patents	5.2%	0.0%	3.8%
With other relatives	10.4%	16.7%	12.1%
Number of Siblings			
1-3	13.7%	11.1%	13.0%
4-5	43.2%	41.7%	42.7%
More than 5	43.2%	47.2%	44.3%
% of Being the First Child	17.7%	36.1%	22.7%

Furthermore, a sizeable number of child workers lived in non-intact families, with only 62.5% being among those from villages and 69.4% being among those living in the brick factory compound. These child workers were likely to come from large families (more than 40% of them had more than 5 siblings); and about one third of those living in the brick factory compound were the first child in their families (Table 1).

2. Background of Parent Interviewees

Forty-parents were interviewed, with 33 parents or adults being those living and working in the brick factory compound. Most of the interviewees were female from intact families, with the mean age of 41 years for those living in the BF compound and 37 years for those living outside the BF compound.

Additionally, they had large families, with the average of 5 children for those living in BF and 3 for those living outside BF. Many children of these interviewed parents worked in brick factories and about half of them did not attend school. About two fifths of children of the parents living in BF and about one third of those of parents not living in BF had at least two full years experience of working in brick factories. As for the parent respondents, about fifty percent of them had worked in the current brick factories for at least five years and made slightly above 200,000 Riels monthly, on average.

Another important note based on the result in Table 2 is that the majority of those who lived and worked in brick factories were migrants either from within the areas of Battambang province or from another province, either from Svay Rieng, Prey Veng, Pousat, Takeo, Kg Thom, or Kg Speu. A few families were from Kampuchea Krom or refugee camps along the Thai border.

Table 2. Profile of Parent Interviewees

	Parents/Adults Living		
	<u>in BF</u>	<u>Outside BF</u>	<u>All</u>
Total Number of Parents Interviewed	33	10	43
Gender (% Female)	87.9%	80.0%	88.4%
Age (Mean)	41	37	40
Marital Status (% Intact families)	81.8%	80.0%	81.4%
Reported Children			
Total Living Children	150	29	179
Total Children Age 7-17	70	23	93
Total Children Age 7-17 Working in BF	51	13	64
% Children Age 7-17 Working in BF	72.9%	56.5%	68.8%
% Children Age 7-17 Working > 2 Yrs	42.9%	30.8%	40.3%
% Children Age 7-17 Not Attending School	50.0%	43.5%	48.4%
Migration Status			
Non-migrants	3.0%	40.0%	11.6%
Migrants from within Battambang	51.5%	20.0%	44.2%
Migrants from other provinces	45.5%	40.0%	44.2%
Income (Mean, in thousand Riels)	212	261	223
Years of Work in BF			
< 5 years	36.4%	10.0%	30.2%
5-9 years	27.3%	30.0%	27.9%
10 years or more	24.2%	20.0%	23.3%
Not reported/Not working in BF	12.1%	40.0%	18.6%

V. FINDINGS

1. Number of Child Workers in Brick Factories



It is undeniable that there are children living and working in brick factories. However, estimating the number of child workers in brick factories is one of the most challenging tasks for two main reasons. First, child labour has become a very sensitive issue recently in Cambodia after the government ratified the ILO Convention 182 in October 2005 that called for the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour. The sensitivity of the issue lies in the conflict of interest between employers of working children and advocates of the ILO Convention 182. Thus, any attempt to visit or to ask directly about the number of child workers is likely to face negative reactions from those employers who favoured child labour. The number of children actually seen is likely

to underestimate the reality because child workers may be warned in advance not to come. The same is true for the reported number of child workers.

The first situation is not an exception for this study. Out of 15 factory owners/managers interviewed, only six provided the answer to the number question¹⁷. In addition, some of their answers were below those given by some adult workers¹⁸. For instance, according to 6 brick factory owners/managers, there were 12 children on average working in each factory during the loading and unloading phases, with the minimum being 5 child workers and the maximum being 45 child workers. According to the responses obtained from informal chats with adults in 12 brick factories, the average number of child workers should be 16, with the minimum being 5 and the maximum being 50 child workers.

¹⁷ Out of 15 owners/managers, only 6 six responded to the questions of how many children under 18 years are working during the loading and unloading phases of the production cycle.

¹⁸ The field supervisor spent his time chatting with adult workers to get additional information needed for the survey. Note that the number obtained was just the best guess of the respondents.

Second, the number of children working in brick factories varies to a great extent by the different phases of brick production cycle (loading, firing, cooling, and unloading periods), where child labour is needed the most during the loading and unloading phases of brick production. Based on the result of the interview with brick factory owners/managers, one brick production cycle of a medium-size kiln takes about 40-45 days on average to complete (7-10 days to load 50-60 thousand of raw bricks with 10 workers, 2 weeks to fire, 5-7 days to cool off, and 10 days to unload the bricks)¹⁹. The result of the interview with the owners/managers also reveals that more girls than boys are working in brick factories (66% of child workers were girls).

The average numbers of child workers obtained above can be used to estimate the number of child workers in brick factories. Multiplying the average number of 12 child workers as reported by some owners or managers with 32 factories would result in nearly 400 child workers on average working in brick factories in the area around the city of Battambang²⁰. Multiplying the average number of 16 child workers as reported by some adult workers with 32 factories would result in 512 child workers on average working in brick factories in the area. Thus, it is estimated that between 400 and 500 children work daily in brick factories during the high labour-demand season.

2. Schooling Profile of Child Workers

2.1. Schooling Status

Many child workers in brick-making factories were not in school (Table 3). For example, 74.0% of those coming from villages to work daily in brick factories had quitted school. Among them, 85.9% had quitted school for at least a full year, while 14.1% had recently quitted school. Furthermore, more than three thirds of child workers living in the brick factory compound either stopped going to school (55.6%) or never attended school (22.2%). The majority of those who quitted school had abandoned their schooling since two years ago (75.0%).

Table 3. Schooling Status by Residence

Schooling Status	Where Do You Live?		Total
	<u>Not Living in BF</u>	<u>Living in BF</u>	
Currently in School	26.0%	22.2%	25.0%
Currently Not in School	74.0%	55.6%	68.9%
Never Attended School	0.0%	22.2%	6.1%
Number of child workers	96	36	132
When Quitted School?			
1-11 months ago	14.1%	0.0%	10.1%
12-23 months ago	16.9%	10.7%	15.2%
24-35 months ago	19.7%	14.3%	18.2%
36+ months ago	49.3%	75.0%	56.6%
Number of quitting school	71	28	99

¹⁹ This finding is consistent with a previous study documenting that the total length of brick process was about 44-45 days for a small kiln and 50-60 days for a large kiln (Rozemuller, 1999).

²⁰ The figure is subject to the reliability question due to many owners or managers refuse to answer this question.

2.2. Why Quitting School?

When asked why they stopped attending school, child workers provided with a variety of family, school, and personal reasons (Table 4). Among the family reasons, the family economic hardship is the primary reason among child workers who do not live in brick factory compounds (42.0%); while helping parents with their work is the top reason among child workers living in brick factory compound (31.6%). Other family-related reasons include sick parents who need money to buy medicine, mothers who did not let children to go to school so that they could help them work, and the family debt. However, these reasons were given by few child workers only. Below is the situation of a child who quitted school:

“A 16-year old girl living with her biological mother and step-father had to quit school because she had to work for the family survival. “My mother was unemployed and forced me to leave school, saying that I had to work and earn some money for the family.” Her step-father was a motor-taxi driver, but he could not make enough money to feed 7 people in the family. She was the oldest child in the family. Her 14-year old brother was also working in a brick factory. She was in Grade 6 when she quitted school to work full-time in the brick factory three year ago.”

Table 4. Reasons for Quitting School (Multiple-Response Question)

	<u>Current Residence</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Not Living in BF</u>	<u>Living in BF</u>	
Family-Related Reasons			
Family not have enough money to buy food	42.0%	26.3%	38.6%
Help the family with work to make money	18.8%	31.6%	21.6%
Parent is sick, need money for medicine	5.8%	5.3%	5.7%
Mother did not let me and forced me to work	2.9%	5.3%	3.4%
Family travelled a lot for work	1.4%	5.3%	2.3%
Family is in debt	1.4%	0.0%	1.1%
School-Related Reasons			
No money for school	13.0%	10.5%	12.5%
School is far, no transport	11.6%	10.5%	11.4%
Teacher spans, teacher takes money	2.9%	5.3%	3.4%
Personal Reasons			
Poor grades	11.6%	5.3%	10.2%
Lazy, don't want to go to school	4.3%	0.0%	3.4%
Want to make money	1.4%	5.3%	2.3%
Quarrel with parent	1.4%	0.0%	1.1%
Be with friends	1.4%	0.0%	1.1%
Number of respondents	69	19	88

School-related problems represent another set of reasons for children to quit school. These reasons include lack of money for school supplies, lack of transport as school for their

grade is far, and school punishments. For instance, slightly above 12% of all child workers who quit school said that their families were too poor to afford their schooling, while about 10% of child workers reported that they did not have transport to school that was far away from their house. Only three children said they quit school because teacher spanked them a lot. There is a substantial difference between child workers' current residence with regard to the reported school-related reasons (Table 4).

Several personal reasons are worth mentioning, as well. Poor grade is a well-known factor for early school dropout. However, only nine child workers (one living in the brick factory and the other eight do not) reported that they quit school because of the poor grade. In addition, only several child workers said that they just did not want to go to school, wanted to make money, wanted to be with friends, or wanted to stay away from parents due to frequent quarrels.

The above finding shows that the family economic hardship stands out to be the leading reason for children to work, at the expense of education of children.

3. Work Profile of the Child Interviewees

3.1. Previous Work Experience

Child workers who were found working in brick factories during the survey were asked if they worked for money elsewhere before. They were then classified into three broad and exclusive categories of previous work experience: used to work in a brick factory, used to work other jobs (such as daily labourer, waiter, house servant, construction worker, etc.), and no previous experience (with working on the farm or taking care of cattle being considered as no previous experience).

Figure 1. Previous Work Experience of Child Workers

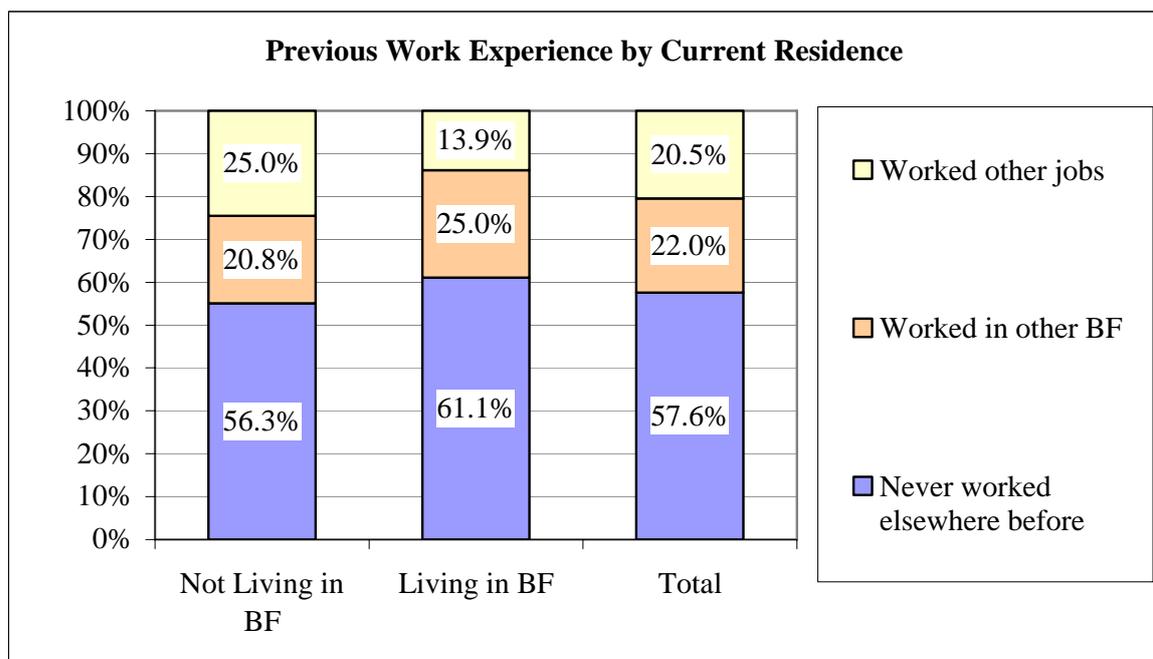


Figure 1 above shows that 22% of all child workers had work experience in brick factories, 20.5% had worked other jobs, and 57.6% never worked for money before. When

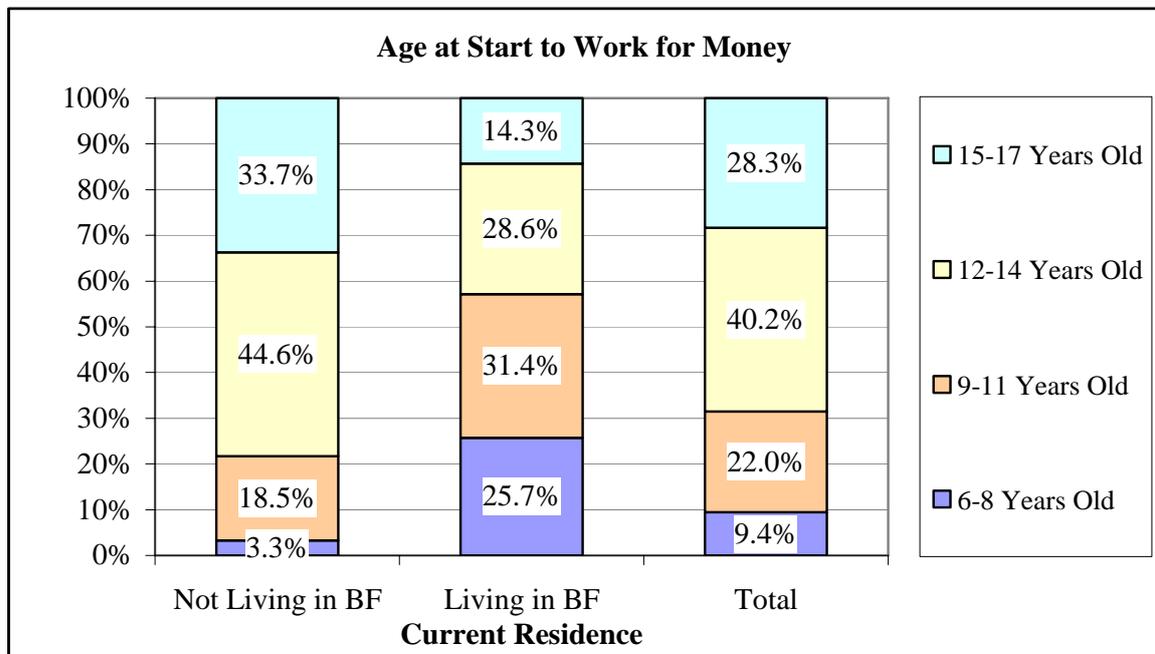
comparing across their current residence, the percentage of working other jobs is lower among those living in the brick factory compound than among those who do not (13.9% versus 25.0%, respectively). This indicates that children who live in brick factory compounds are more likely to start out their work as brick factory workers than their counterparts who do not live in brick factory compounds, possibly to help their brick factory worker parents (See Section Why Working in Brick Factory below).

3.2. Age at Start of Work for Money

In addition, child workers in brick factories who live in the compound tend to start to work at a very early age. About 57% of them started to work at age below 12 years old, with 25.7% starting to work as young as between 6-8 years old (Figure 2). In contrast, child workers who do not live in brick factories started their paid jobs at older ages. For instance, only 21.8% started to work under 12 years of age, while 44.6% started to work at 12-14 years of age, and 33.7% started to work as early as 15 years old.

This finding indicates that children living with parents in brick factories are more vulnerable to hazardous labour than those who do not live in brick factories. Child workers living in the brick factory compound started to work at the early stage of life because they were pulled into the child labour by their parents. Save for the family economic hardship reason, living in brick factories with brick factory worker parents creates an opportunity for parents to use their children’s labour, likely to be a kind of unplanned or casual “giving a hand” at the beginning, such as passing bricks or helping push brick wheelbarrows. This kind of helping, plus children’s prolonged exposure to all kinds of the work in brick factories, may instil in both parents and children about children’s work potential in brick factories and the economic utility of children.

Figure 2. Age at Start of Work for Money



3.3. Tasks Performed by Child Workers

These pictures are examples of the most common tasks undertaken by children in brick factories, namely loading and unloading bricks. When the firing process completes and the kilns are cool enough to unpack the bricks, children, mostly girls from the nearby villages, come to unload bricks from the kilns and load them onto the trucks for distribution.



Child workers in brick factories usually performed multiple tasks, with 4 tasks being for the majority of children living in brick factories and 3 tasks being for children not living in brick factories. The most common tasks undertaken by both child workers who live in and who do not live in the brick factory compound are pulling brick wheelbarrows, loading bricks in and out of the kiln, loadings brick onto and out of brick wheelbarrows, loading bricks onto the truck, and arranging bricks to dry (Figure 3).

Other tasks include operating brick making machines, working with clay (from extracting to mixing and carrying it to the brick making machine), and firing brick kilns. It is important to note that a substantial number of child worker interviewees (29 out of 132 interviewed working children) have experience in working with brick-making machines (putting clay into the machine). This figure shows how child workers are exposed to one of the most severe forms of child labour in brick factories, even though these children may work either with their parents who are also brick-making machine operators or under the subcontracts of another adult brick-making machine operator. In addition, children living in a brick factory compound are more likely than their counterparts to undertake this task. For example, ten out of 36 child workers who live in the factory compound (27.8%) reported having operated brick machines, compared to one in five child workers (19.8%) who do not live in brick factory compound.

Another set of heavy tasks for children involves the preparation of clay, starting from extracting, crushing/grinding, mixing, and carrying clay to brick-making machines. These tasks are mostly undertaken by boys because they involve using more physical strength than any other tasks. The finding shows that at least about 22% of the interviewed child workers performed clay crushing or grinding (Figure 3).

Another heavy and dangerous work performed by several child workers is firing brick kilns, which lasts about 3 weeks, day and night per kiln. In one brick factory, one family had their grand-children grew up in the factory compound and three of these grand-children (12, 13 and 15 years old boys) were firing brick kilns. This can be an example for

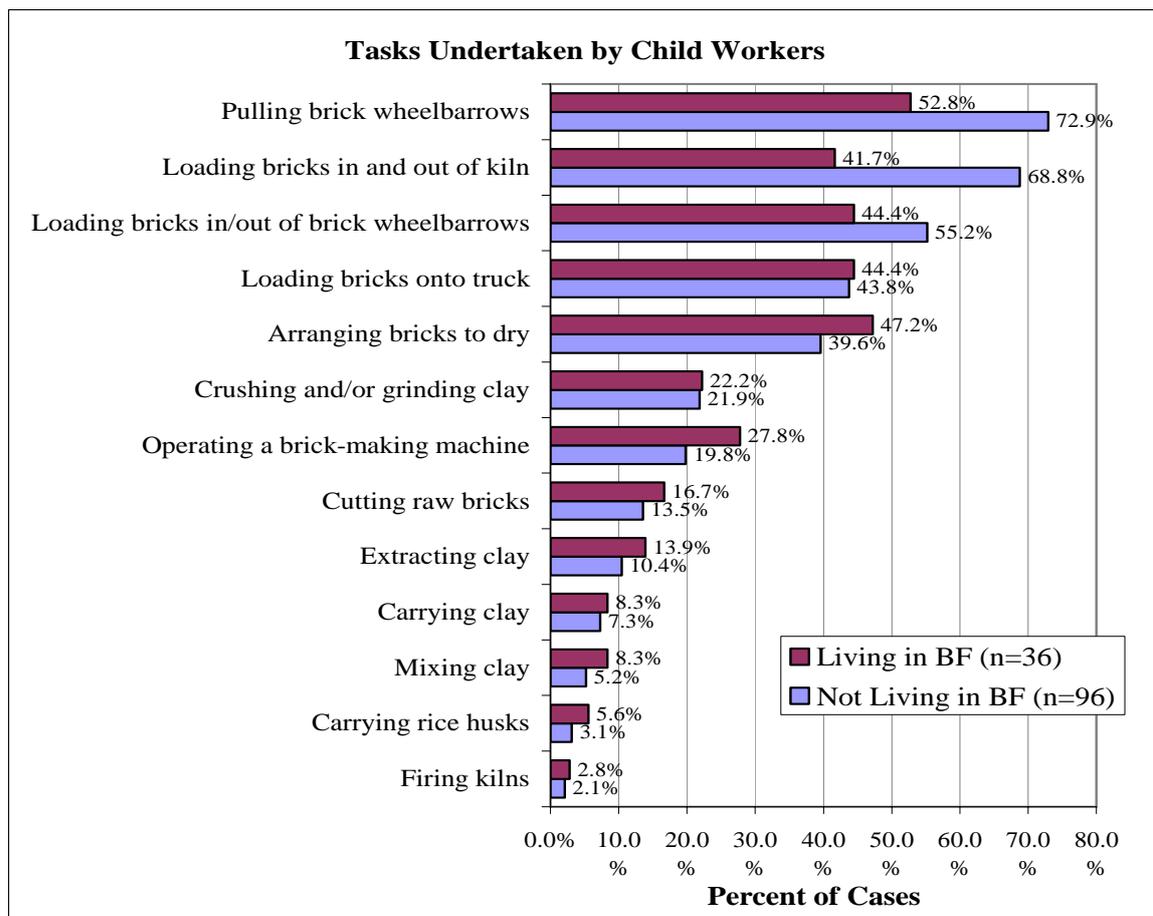
the family job in brick factories that, in some cases, is passed on from older to younger generations²¹.



Children undertaking this task are involved in digging burning ashes out of the kiln and dumping ashes. Common injuries are burning because child workers do not have protecting working shoes other than flip-flops. Furthermore, children not only work long hours as brick kilns have to be fired day and night, but also face extreme heat coming from the firing kilns. Heat stroke can be

the consequence, although its incidence has not been reported.

Figure 3. Tasks Undertaken by Child Workers



²¹ It is important to note that all brick factories in Battambang use rice husk as the main fuel for firing the kilns.

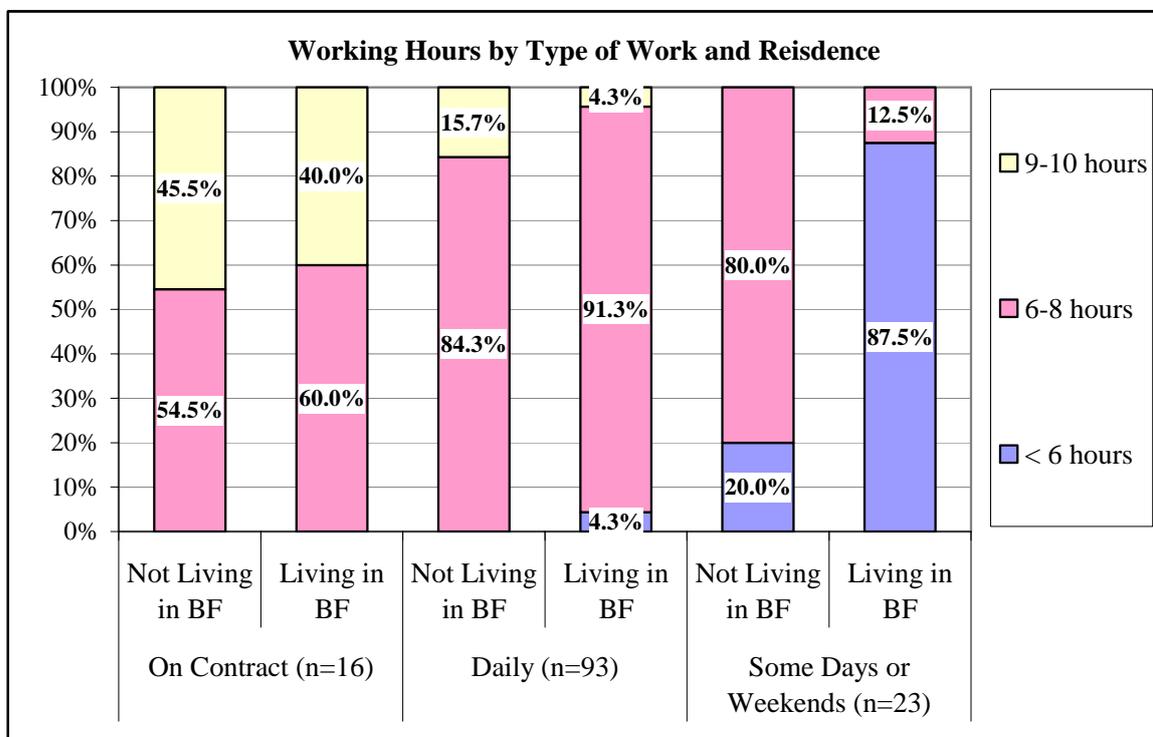
3.4. Working Days and Working Hours

Child workers in brick-making factories can work on a contract (usually based on the amount of work to be done), daily, on weekend, or anytime they are free to come to work (likely to be in the morning or in the afternoon when school day is over). Their usual working hours range from a minimum of 3 hours to 10 hours daily. Figure 4 summarizes the percentage distribution of working hours by types of work involved and residence of child workers in brick factories.

Child workers who are involved in contractual work are more likely to work longer hours than those working on a daily basis and than those who come to work occasionally. Between 40% and 45% of those who work under the contract work more than 8 hours a day, while between 4.3% and 15.7% of those who work daily work such longer hours every day. However, children who work less than 6 hours a day are likely to be those who come to work occasionally, either on the weekend or when they have free time.

For children who work occasionally, the proportion of those working less than 6 hours a day is larger among those living in the brick factory than among those not living in the brick factory compound (87.5% versus 20.0%, respectively). One explanation is plausible. Given that both groups are likely to be in school, children living in the brick factory compound work part-time any time when they are not in school, either for extra money or for helping their parents, while living at the workplace daily. In contrast, those in the villages are likely to come to work full day on weekends, rather than coming to work a few hours a day.

Figure 4. Percent of Working 6-9 Hours per Day



3.5. Earnings

According to the interview with brick factory owners/managers, child workers in brick factories who did not engage in contractual work earned 5,000 Riels for 8-hour of work²². This is an increase by 1,000 Riels, compared with the average wage in 2005 (WVC, 2006). According to some managers, this wage was already high for children. Children who work permanently were allowed to stay home on national holidays and would still get paid 150,000 Riels a month without deduction. One brick factory manager said that the wage in his factory was 6,000 Riels for children who lived in the factory.

While the wage of 5,000 Riels is true on average, not every child is paid with this wage. The result of the interview with child workers reveals that one third of child workers received not more than 4,000 Riels daily, with a few children receiving as low as 1,000 Riels for a part-time job and as low as 2,000 Riels for more than 6 hours of work per day.

The earning of those engaging in contractual work varies by types of work. For firing kiln, a child worker earns an average of about 8,000 Riels a day. For preparing clays or working with the machine or cutting raw bricks, the average earning is between 6,000 and 7,000 Riels. It is important to note that all workers in one brick factory work on contractual work and have neither salary nor daily wage.

4. Perception about Child Labour in Brick Factories

Nevertheless, the above finding indicates that child workers in brick factories are involved in heavy and dangerous child labour with long working hours and low wage. It is noteworthy that the result of children's perception about their work is more consistent with this argument than that of parents' perception. The section below presents the perception of children and parents about the tasks undertaken by child workers in brick factories.

4.1. Child Workers' Perception

Assessed by the percentage of child workers reporting that their work was too heavy for them, heavy work is found to be associated with types of work, with work under contracts being heaviest for children, followed by daily work and casual work (Figure 5). For example, nearly all children working under work contracts complained that their work was too heavy for them (90.9% among children not living in BF and 100% for those living in BF), while about 70% of those working on a daily basis complained so (87% among children living in BF and 62.9% among children not living in BF).

In addition, most children perceived that their working hours were too long for them, regardless of types of work (81.3% for work under contracts and 83.9% for daily work). However, Figure 6 shows that the proportion of children complaining about long working hours of contractual work was higher among those living in a brick factory compound than among those who did not live in brick factories (100% versus 72.7%, respectively).

These findings also suggest that involving children in contractual work is not good for children because it is a type of work that is heavy and long-hour.

²² This is equivalent to an earning of 1.2 U.S. dollar a day, based on the exchange rate of 4090 Riels for 1 U.S. dollar, as of July 2007.

Figure 5. Percents of Children Reporting That Their Work Was Too Heavy For Them

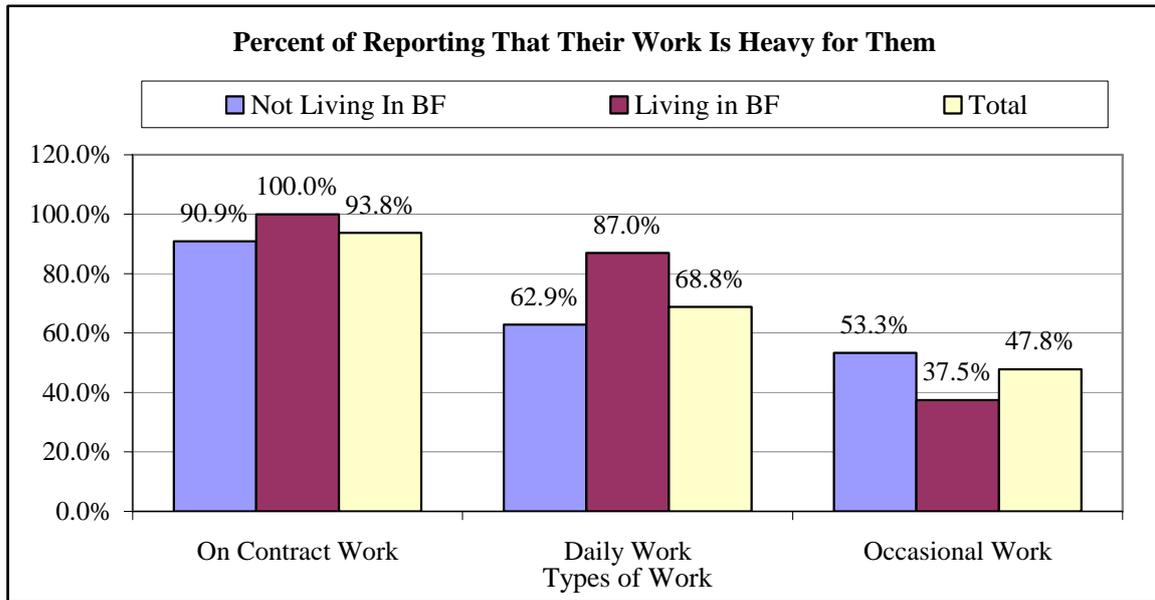
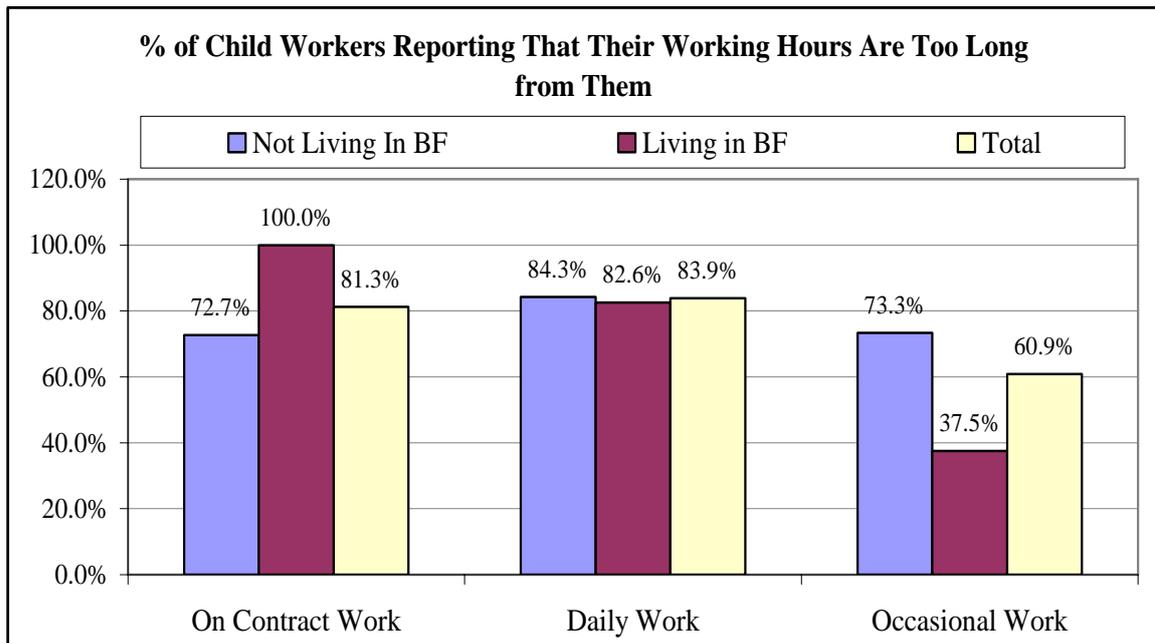


Figure 6. Percents of Children Reporting That Their Work Was Too Long for Them



4.2. Parental Perception

Parents of children working in brick factories were also asked to express their perception of jobs undertaken by their children in terms of heaviness and length of working hours. The finding shows that the proportion of parents reporting that their children's jobs were too heavy for them or working hours were too long for them was much lower than that reported by child workers themselves. For example, 30.2% of 41 parents said their children's work was not too heavy for them and 44.2% of 41 parents said that the working

hours were just about right for their children. This suggests that a substantial number of parents might believe that the work undertaken by their children in brick factories is right for them.

The finding that there are many parents who perceived that the jobs undertaken by their children were just about right for them may explain their rationale for engaging children in child labour. While there are jobs that are not heavy in terms of using physical strength and are not long in terms of time disposals, the severity of child labour can be examined in combination with children's schooling, as indicated in the ILO Convention 182 about the worst forms of child labour.

5. Children's Involvement in the Worst Forms of Child Labour



Many tasks undertaken by children working brick factories are injury-inducing. One task is operating brick making machines that is well-known for causing severe injuries to children. Brick making machines in all brick factories visited are without safety devices attached. Machine operators can have direct contact with all dangerous parts of the machine, such as when putting clay into the machine to touching the belt. The reported accidents associated with operating brick making machines are commonly caused by the operator's sleeve getting pulled into the machine when putting and pushing clay into the machine. As a result, some children have had arm or palm injuries. Some children even lost their arms due to such accidents.



To understand the scope of child involvement in the worst forms of labour in brick factories, an index of child labour was created in this study based on the above tri-dimensional classification of child labour. These dimensions include working hours, school attendance, and injury severity. The worst forms of child labour are jobs that interfere with children’s regular schooling and impose threats to child health and child development. Based in this index, child workers in brick factories were classified into three categories: children who are not involved in severe work (if children attend school and work part-time, 5 hours or less a day or on weekends only), children who are involved in severe work (if children work full-time without attending school), and children who are involved in the worst form of labour (if children operate brick making machines and not attending school). Inconsistent or missing cases on any dimension used in this classification were excluded, resulting in a total of 107 cases remaining (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Involvement of Children in the Worst Forms of Child Labour

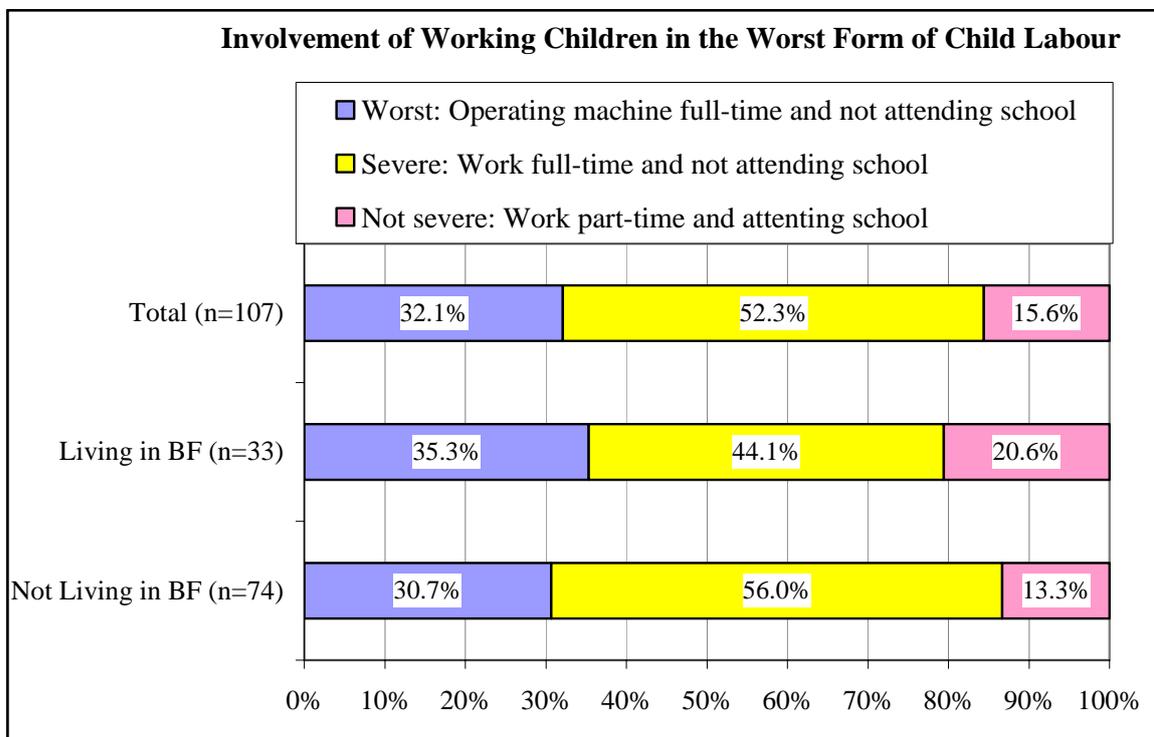


Figure 7 shows a disturbing result that nearly 85% of children working in brick factories are involved in either severe or worst forms of child labour (32.1% for the worst form and 52.3% for the severe form). Some variation between those living and those not living in brick factories is observed, with the former being more involved in the worst form of labour and less involved in the severe form of labour than the latter. Regardless of such variation, the finding does show that work in brick factories exhibits its link with schooling of children; mostly the work requires children to work full-time and causes children to drop out of school.

6. Reasons for Working in Brick Factories

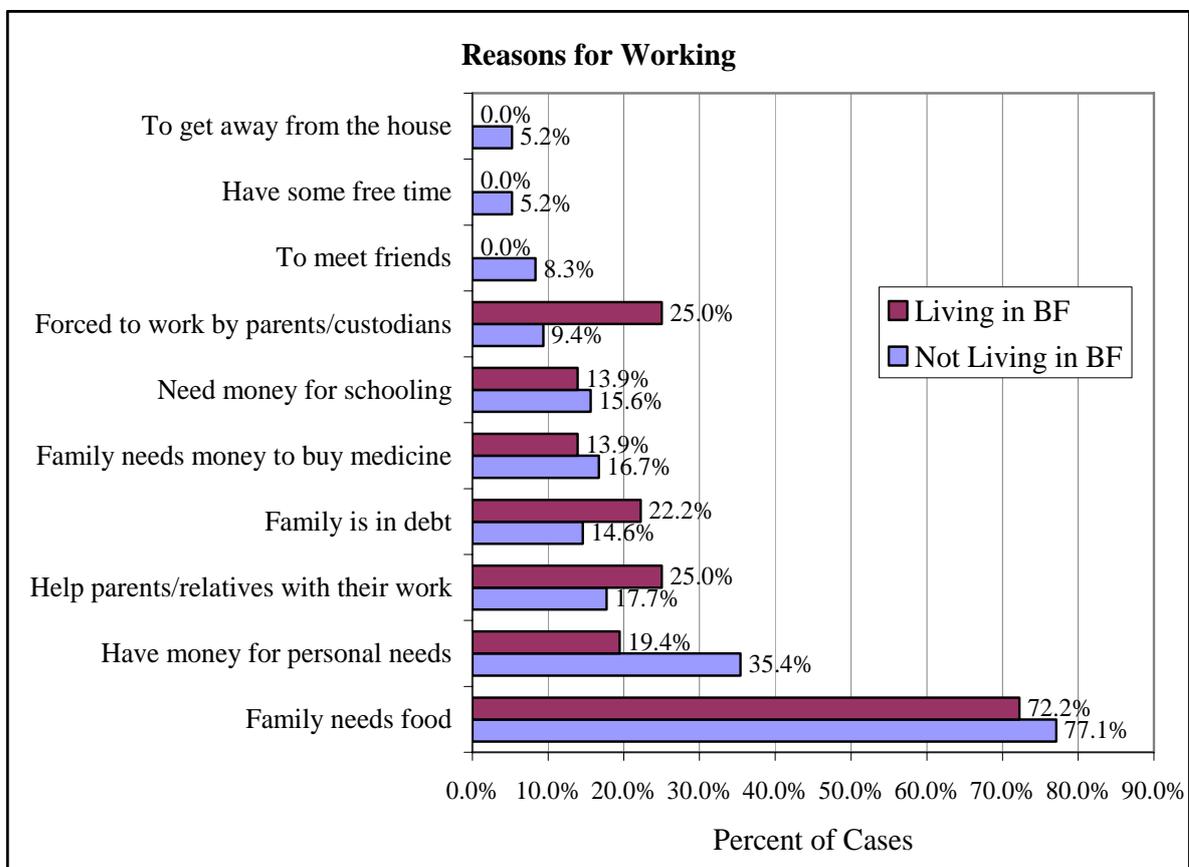
This section discusses the reasons behind children’s engagement in child labour in brick factories based on the data obtained from the interviews with child workers, parents, and employers.

6.1. Children's Reasons for Engaging in Child Labour

Child workers in brick factories were asked two open-ended questions to capture the reasons why a child has to work for money and why a child has to work in a brick factory. The first question is to capture all reasons behind children's participation in child labour and the second reason is to understand why they choose to work in brick factories.

Figure 8 shows the reasons for working given by child workers interviewed. Similar to the reasons of why child workers quitted school, the family economic hardship appears to be the top reason for children to engage in child labour, regardless of whether they live in the brick factory compound or not. For instance, 77.1% of those not living in the BF compound and 72.2% of those living in the BF compound reported that they work because their families needed money for food.

Figure 8. Reasons for Working: Child Workers' Responses



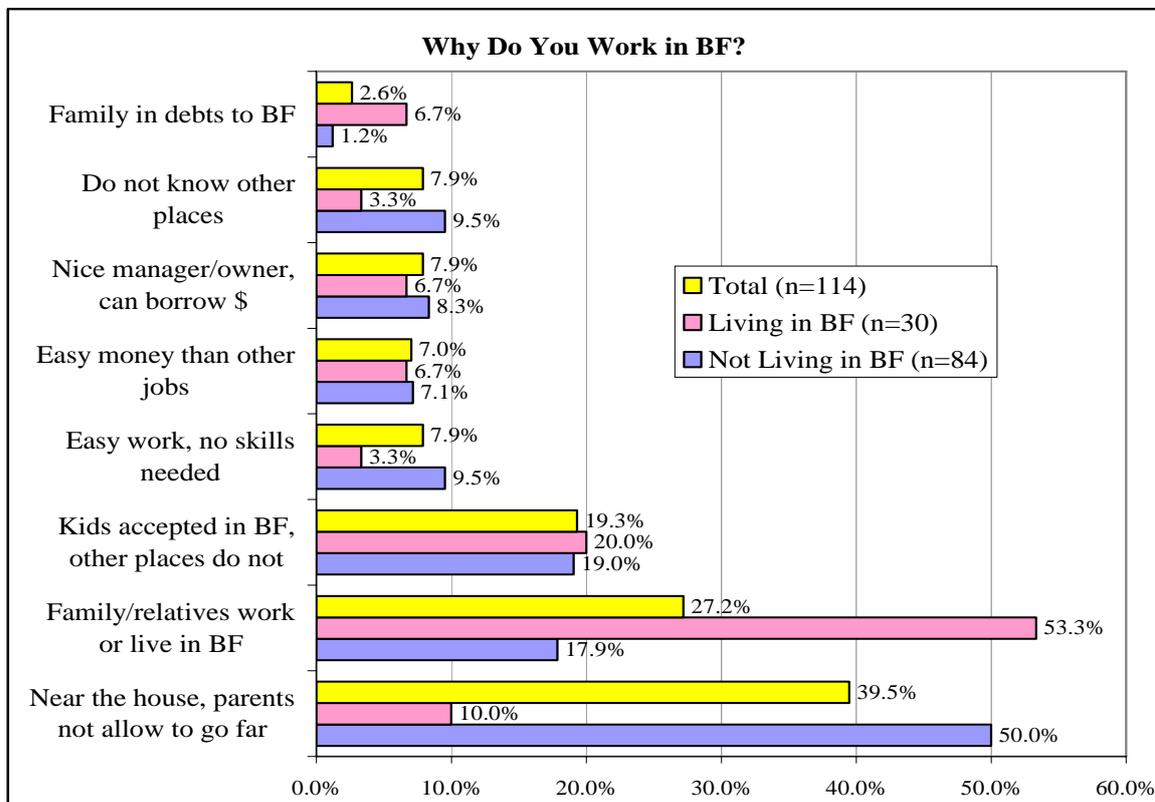
The second main reason for working is different by whether child workers live in the BF compound or not. Working to meet personal needs (such as clothes, shoes, snacks, etc.) is the second reason for working among child workers who do not live in BF compound (35.4%). However, the second top reason for working among children who live in the BF compound is that they are engaged in child labour by their parents or custodians (25%) or helping parents or custodians with their work (25%). The third reason for those living in the brick factory compound is to work to help the family pay debts (22.2%). The second and the third reasons combined indicate that children who live in brick factory compound are pulled into child labour because of the family situations, noticeably around the issue of survival and debts, rather than personal will or pleasure.

6.2. Children's Reasons for Working in Brick Factories

After knowing the reasons behind what pulls child workers into work, it is important to understand why they chose to work in brick factories. It is important to note that 18 children did not respond correctly to this question because they responded that they work in a brick factory because their family needs money. These responses were not relevant and were excluded from the result presented in Figure 9 below.

Among brick factory workers who do not live in brick factory compounds, the distance to their workplace becomes an issue. For instance, 50% of them said they worked in a brick factory because it was close to their home. This is true, given the parental concern about their safety because the majority of them are girls aged 15-17 years old. Other reasons include getting a job very easily in brick factories (19.0%), being acquaintance to someone in the brick factory (17.9%), no skills or experience required (9.5%), easy money (7.1%), and nice managers (8.3%).

Figure 9. Why Do Children Work in Brick Factories?



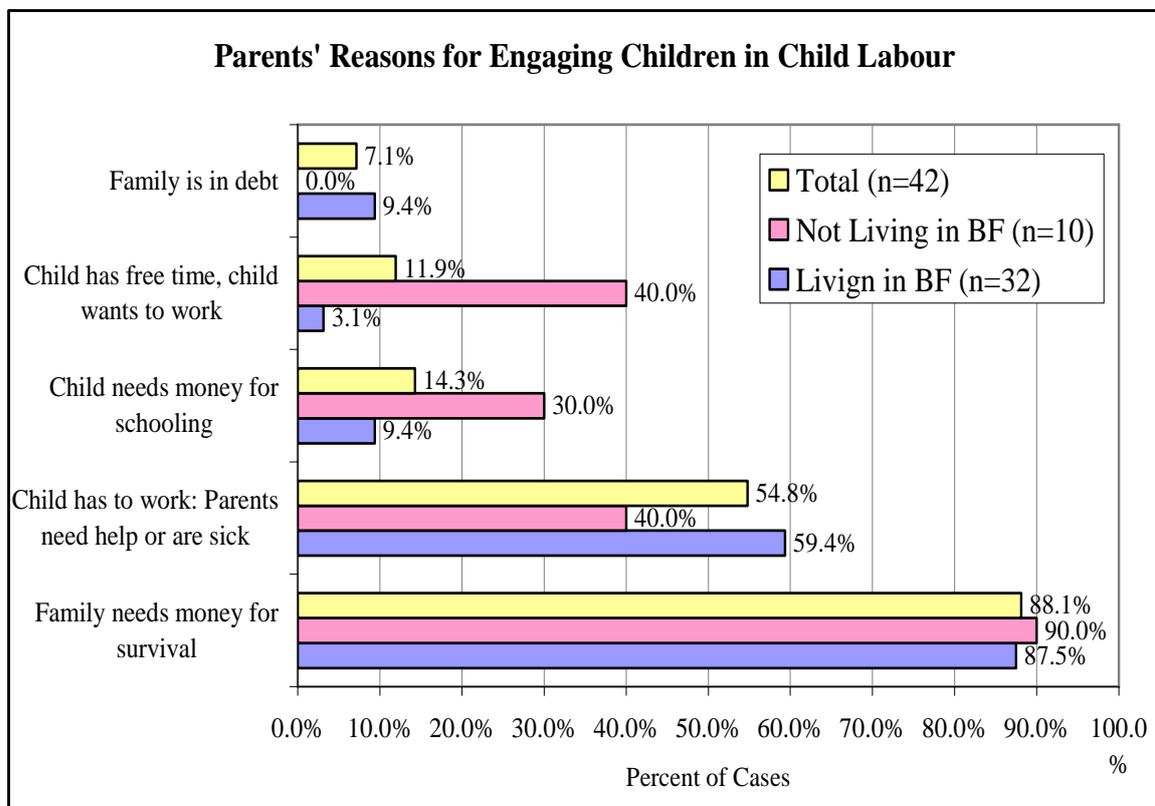
Among child workers who live in brick factory compounds, their first two reasons are quite contrasting to those of children coming from villages. This finding is not unexpected, however. The majority of brick factory children (53.3%) said that they worked in brick factories because their families or other relatives worked or lived there. However, only 10% of them indicated that their parents did not allow them to work elsewhere that is far away from where they lived. This finding confirms that, by living in a brick factory compound, children tend to be pulled into work in brick factories in the long run.

6.3. Parents' Reasons for Engaging Children in Child Labour

To better understand the reasons behind the involvement of children in child labour, parents and adult workers who have their children work in brick factories were also asked to provide three most important reasons for allowing their children to work in brick factories.

Categorization of their responses deserves attention here because a variety of reasons were given by the parents. Some of their responses were overlapped, such as “family needs food,” “family is poor,” “family has many children to feed,” and “family does not have enough money.” For simplicity, these responses were grouped into one category: “family needs money for survival.” Another category is related to forcing children to work by parents. This category include parents’ 4 reasons: children have to work because parents need their help, children have to work because work in a brick factory becomes the family job, children have to work this job because the family lives in the factory, and children have to work to replace their parents who are old or sick. With one parent excluded from the analysis due to missing answers, the reasons were based on 42 parents and were categorized into five groups: the family needs money for survival, the family needs money to pay off debts, parents need child help with their work in brick factories, children want to work because of the need for money to cover school expenses, and children want to work because they have free time (Figure 10). Overall, each parent provided 2 reasons on average.

Figure 10. Reasons for Letting Children Work: Parents’ Responses



The result shows several consistent reasons for engaging in child labour between the responses provided by child workers (Figure 8) and by parents (Figure 10). One consistent finding is the family economic hardship. About 90% of parents said that their children had to work because their families needed money to buy food and other basic needs, compared to nearly 80% reported so.

Another leading reason is that children are pulled into child labour by their parents because either their families live there, parents need their help to perform their work, parents need replacements when they are sick or old, or jobs in brick factories have become the family tradition (54.8% of parents reported this category). This figure is found to be higher among parents who lived with parents in brick factories than among parents who did not live in brick factories (59.4% versus 40%, respectively). While the specific reason among those who did not live in brick factories is related with old or sick parents, the finding confirms the argument that children living in the brick factory compound will be pulled into brick factory jobs in the long run by their parents, regardless of the economic circumstances of the families.

Working to earn some money for schooling and working because children want to work are also reasons, but these reasons by the proportion of the respondents are more relevant to children who do not live in the factory than to those who live in the factory compound. For example, only few parents who lived in brick factories reported that they let children work because children needed money for schooling (one of 32 parents) or children had time and wanted to work (3 of 32 parents). But, a substantial proportion of parents who did not live in brick factories reported that they let children work because children needed money for schooling (3 of 10 parents) or children had time and wanted to work (4 of 10 parents). Although the number of village parents is small (only 10 parents), the finding is likely to be reliable and consistent with children's own responses presented in Figure 8 above.

Another specific reason for those living in brick factories is that parents engage their children in child labour because of debt. Although the percentage for this reason is small (only reported by 3 parents) compared with that for other reasons, the finding reflects a situation where some families were brought to live and work in the factory by the owner/manager to pay off debt. In short, children who live in the brick factory are engaged in child labour largely because of the family economic hardship and their needed labour.

6.4. Brick Factory Owners/Managers' Reasons for Hiring Children

Brick factory managers/owners were also asked why there were children working in brick factories and why they hired children to work. Given the sensitive nature of the questions, not every brick owner/manager answered the question. Specifically, five of all 15 respondents refused to provide reasons. This was not unexpected because the study was also designed to collect this information indirectly through three other questions, including the questions of satisfaction about having child workers in brick factories, of positive things about child workers, and of negative things about child workers.

According to the owners or managers, children came to work in brick factories because of three reasons. The first reason is associated with the jobs in brick factories, such as no special skills required, jobs are easy for them to perform, and no strict working regulations (such as they could come any day they wanted to work). The second reason is that children

in the neighbouring villages come to work in brick factories. The third is that some children quit school and look for jobs to earn money.

With regard to the reasons of hiring children, three reasons are important here. The first reason is associated with children's family economic hardship (9 out of 10 brick owners/managers). Specifically, the owner/manager saw that the children are poor and need help; so they give them jobs.

As said by two managers interviewed:

“Children had to work somehow to make some money for the families, given their family situation. Thus, it was better to give them something to do here, where we knew it would be both helpful to their families and preventing them from undertaking other unpredictably anti-social acts.”

Another manager said very similar:

“We know about child labour laws. However, if we do not let them work, who else would help them? They are from very poor families. Thus, giving them some work to do means to help them. In addition, we do not want to see them become child labourers along the Thai border, where work is so harsh, exploitative, and deceiving for them.”

The second reason is that owners/managers can't resist children begging to work there (4 out of 10 owners/managers said so). As they said, “It's hard to resist children's wanting to work here, especially when many come here and keep asking for work.” The third reason is that some of the children's families work at the brick factories, and the parents requested that their children be allowed to work too; otherwise, parents would not take the job (according to 4 of 10 managers). In sum, the responses to the direct of hiring child workers show good, rather than bad, intentions of the employers.

Using the indirect questions assumes that the employer would prefer child labour if he or she is satisfied with child workers or has good things to say about their child workers. It is important to note that not every employer answered the satisfaction question, while all of those who were satisfied with child workers had good things about child workers to say and the rest had more bad things to say about child workers than good things (Table 5).

Six of 15 owners/managers reported that they were satisfied with having children coming to work in their factories, while 4 others said they were not satisfied and 5 respondents neither responded nor showed any satisfaction at all (Table 5). Furthermore, some owners/managers perceive several good things about their child workers. According to their respondents, children are easy to be managed, come to work on time, can work independently on contract, work fast and work hard, and are good for carrying bricks.

However, some of these features are viewed otherwise by other owners or managers. For instance, four respondents said that they had hard time to manage working children. In addition, some owners/managers reported several other negative features of children working in their factories, such as children were not careful or not serious, not working hard, playing a lot, causing damages to the factories, not coming to work regularly, getting sick or hurt because of falling bricks, and complaining a lot.

It is important to note that the field work observation indicated that some owners or managers were reluctant when answering the interview questions. It is no doubt that they were aware of child labour issues and attempted to hide real intentions of why they hired children to work. Even so, the finding in this section reveals several reasons behind hiring child workers, ranging from the feeling of sympathy due to children’s poor families to children as good labour force in brick factories.

Table 5. Brick Factory Owners/Managers’ Satisfaction about Child Workers

A. Owner/Manager's Satisfaction with Child Workers	N
Satisfied	6
Neither satisfied not dissatisfied	4
Dissatisfied	4
Not respond	1
Number of respondents	15
B. What is good about having child workers in the BF?	N
Easy to make them work, no force needed	4
Punctual	2
Good for working on contract	2
Working fast, hard	1
Carrying bricks is suitable for children	1
Number of respondents	6
Number of saying “NONE”	6
C. What is not good about having child workers in the BF?	N
Hard to make them work or manage them	4
Not careful, not serious, playing too much	4
Causing damages	3
Small children are not very productive	2
Not coming to work regularly	2
Getting sick or hurt by bricks sometimes	1
Complaining a lot	1
Number of respondents	11
Number of saying “NONE”	2

7. Work Conditions in Brick Factories

Understanding of the working conditions of child labour helps us understand the awareness of the risk of work hazards, children’s exposure to hazardous work, and consequences of work impact on child development. In addition, the impact of hazardous work conditions is preventable and reducible through self-awareness and best practice of health care. The working condition of brick factories is examined using brick factory aggregated data obtained from children’s respondents. Then, the perception of parents on their children’s workplace is presented. Finally, data on work safety and regulations obtained from children, parents, and employers are summarized in this section.

The observation from the fieldwork shows that the environment for working in the brick factory is hazardous to child health due to unsafe working environment, such as heat, smoke, burning ashes, flying ashes, pieces of broken bricks everywhere, prolonged working hours, and heavy and dangerous jobs undertaken by children. In addition, one brick factory had also unbearable stinks of manures, while a few other brick factories had sanitary problems because the place was not clean and workers consumed rain water or water from a pond directly.

7.1. Assessment of Child Workers about Their Work Place

Seven dichotomous questions were used to capture the overall work conditions in brick factories, based on the knowledge of child workers²³. These questions include whether the respondent thinks that their work place 1) has not first-aid kits, 2) is extremely hot, 3) has flying ashes, 4) is not safe as bricks can fall on workers any time, 5) has no sanitation, 6) is not a safe place for kids to live and work, and 7) is hazardous to their health. Each question was converted into a work condition index for each brick factory, with a factory being considered as having bad working conditions if at least 50% of child respondents agreed with a given question²⁴. This criterion results in the exclusion of 9 out of 25 factories because these factories had only one or two child workers interviewed, which is insufficient number of responses. Each of the seven indexes is presented in Figure 11.



Consistent with the observation, the above finding shows that child workers in brick factories are well aware of their hazardous workplace. With regard to 4 brick factories that were voted to be a good place for children to live and a good workplace with no hazards, further cross-checking the data and the field notes reveal the following. First, one brick factory could be a good place to live and to work because it is located in a school territory. Second, an alternative explanation is durable for the other factories. Many child workers working in brick factories may get so accustomed to the place that sanitary problems, burning and flying ashes, pieces of broken bricks, and falling bricks become no longer an issue for them. In addition, they may not be aware

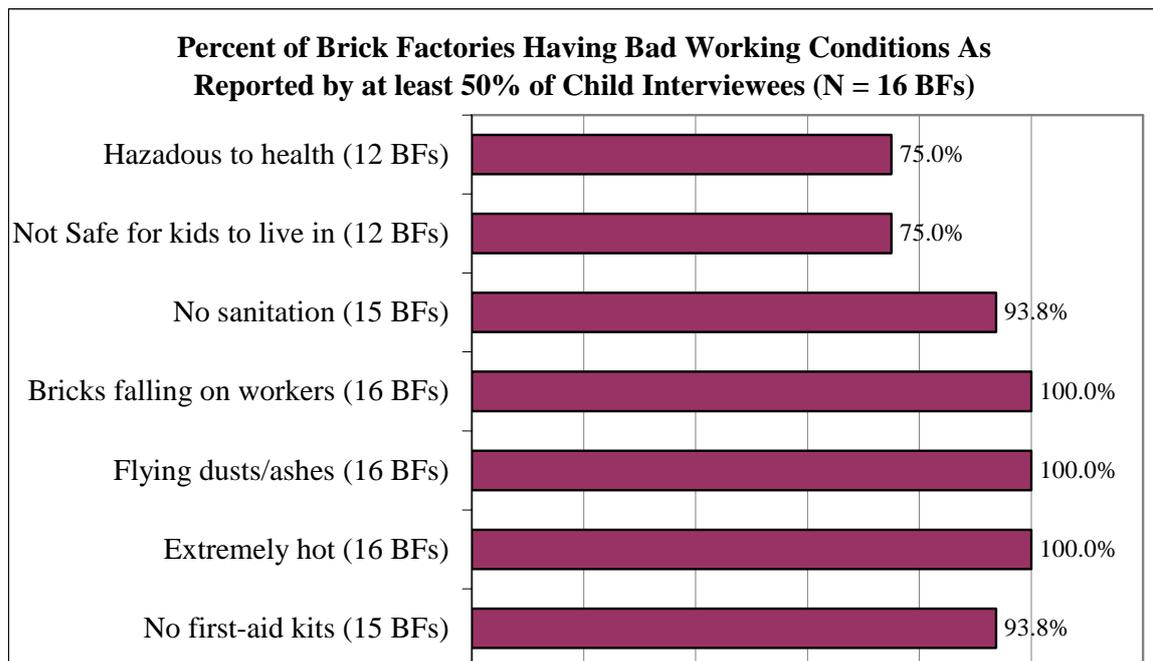
²³ Observations are also good data source for this. However, the survey technique was use in this study, in addition to the observation, in order to capture the respondents' knowledge and awareness of their working conditions in brick factories.

²⁴ A stricter definition of good work conditions can be applied, such as at least 75% of the interviewees had to agree on each statement.

of the long-term negative impact of hazardous work conditions because it is usually undetectable.

Obviously, all brick factories were perceived by at least 50% of the interviewed child workers as having bad working conditions on three indexes: unbearable heat (100%), flying ashes (100%), and falling bricks on workers (100%). In addition, all but one factory were viewed also as having bad working conditions on lack of sanitation (15 of 16 factories) and no first-aid kits (15 of 16 factories). Finally, only 12 out of 16 brick factories were voted as a place that was not safe for children to live and as a health hazardous workplace.

Figure 11. Working Conditions in Brick Factories



7.2. Brick Factories as a Safe Place for Children: Parents’ View

All parents were asked if they thought that brick factories were a safe place for their children to live or to work. Interestingly, 30% of the parents (11 of 33 parents who lived in brick factories and 2 out of 10 parents who did not live in brick factories) said “yes” on each question. This means that a substantial number of parents view brick factories as both a safe living place and a safe workplace for their children. While not every kid living or working in a brick factory suffers, such a parental view causes a great concern about the well-being of children.

The other 66.7% of parents do view that brick factories are not suitable for children to live or to work. They reported four primarily concerns about brick factories as a place for young children to live: flying ashes, stepping on burning ashes, possibility of bricks falling on, and getting cut or injured by brick pieces. Regarding the brick factory as an unsafe place for children to work, a variety of explanations were given by these parents. They include, in addition to the above four concerns, a danger associated with working with brick making machine, sanitary problems, or the danger of trucks running over children.

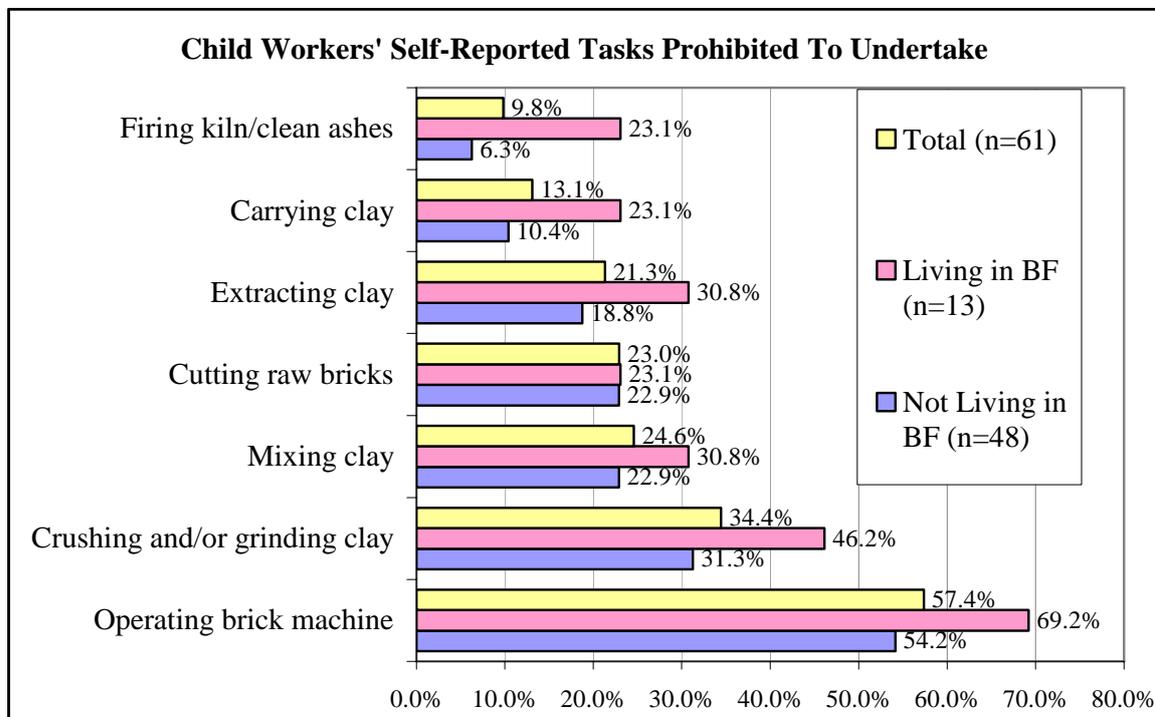
8. Work Safety and Regulations

Some tasks, such as operating a brick machine, digging and carrying clays, firing kilns, and cleaning burning ashes, are extremely dangerous for children to undertake. Other tasks, such as loading bricks and pulling brick wheelbarrows, are less dangerous if properly managed. This section summarizes knowledge and practices about work safety and regulations based on the interviews with children, parents, and the employers. Specifically, these respondents were asked if there was any task that children were prohibited to undertake in brick factories, how they were enforced, and if child workers had been provided with work safety orientations before starting to work.

8.1. Prohibited Tasks for Child Workers

The result of the interview with child workers shows that the majority of children were allowed to undertake any tasks. According to 71 child workers (54% of the interviewed child workers), no one had ever prohibited them from undertaking any task since they worked. It is noteworthy that children living in the brick factory compound are more likely to report no task restriction than those coming from villages (64% versus 50%, respectively). The rest (61 child workers) said they were forbidden to undertake certain tasks; such as operating a brick machine; cutting raw bricks; extracting, grinding, and mixing clays; carrying clays; firing kilns; and cleaning burning ashes (Figure 12). However, the proportion of child workers reported being prohibited from undertaking each of these tasks is low, with the exception of operating machine because about 57% of child workers interviewed reported that they were prohibited to work with the machine.

Figure 12. Self-Reported Tasks Prohibited to Undertake



The finding that about 57% of child workers interviewed reported that they were prohibited to work with the machine is consistent with the responses provided by parents and by brick factory owners/managers. On the one hand, for instance, two thirds of parents

(28 of 43 parents) said that they knew operating a machine was prohibited for children under 18 years of age, while 10 out of 15 owners/managers also reported the same thing. On the other hand, there is evidence that some brick factories did not have any regulations about working with brick making machine (11 of parents and 3 of 15 brick factory owners/managers said so).

8.2. Access to Work Safety Information

To assure work safety in vulnerable work conditions, child workers should have been informed about these hazards and the measures against them. Child workers were asked if they had received any information about how to work safely, how often, and by whom.

All but two brick factory owners or managers reported that their child workers had received work safety orientations before they started to work. According to child workers who were interviewed, only about 52% of them said they received such information (56.3% among child workers not living in brick factories and 38.9% among child workers living in brick factories). Among those who were told about work safety, the majority reported received such information 1-3 times in the past (Table 6).

Table 6. Access to Work Safety Information

	<u>Not living in BF</u>	<u>Living in BF</u>	<u>Total Children</u>
Been told about work safety			
No	42 (43.8%)	22 (61.1%)	64 (48.5%)
Yes	54 (56.3%)	14 (38.9%)	68 (51.5%)
Total	96 (100%)	36 (100%)	132 (100%)
How often?			
1-3 times	36 (72.0%)	5 (35.7%)	41 (64.1%)
> 3 times	14 (28.0%)	9 (64.3%)	23 (35.9%)
	50 (100%)	14 (100%)	64 (100%)
By Whom?			
Owner/manager	21 (40.4%)	4 (28.6%)	25 (37.9%)
Co-worker	8 (15.4%)	1 (7.1%)	9 (13.6%)
Family/Relatives	15 (28.8%)	8 (57.1%)	23 (34.8%)
NGO	11 (21.2%)	1 (7.1%)	12 (18.2%)
	52 (100%)	14 (100%)	66 (100%)
Last time that was told			
0 this morning	11 (23.4%)	2 (14.3%)	13 (21.3%)
1 Yesterday	4 (8.5%)	4 (28.6%)	8 (13.1%)
2 2-3 days ago	6 (12.8%)	3 (21.4%)	9 (14.8%)
3 About week ago	8 (17.0%)	2 (14.3%)	10 (16.4%)
4 A week-one month ago	10 (21.3%)	1 (7.1%)	11 (18.0%)
5 More than a month ago	8 (17.0%)	2 (14.3%)	10 (16.4%)
	47 (100%)	14 (100%)	61 (100%)

However, many of them did not receive such information from the brick factory owners or managers, with only 40.4% among those not living in brick factories and 28.6% among those living in brick factories being told by the managers or owners. In other words, many

of these children knew about work safety from other sources, including parents or relatives and NGOs. According to the interviewed parents, only 7 parents living in brick factories reported that there was a casual monitoring of work safety in brick factories by the owners or managers, while the rest claimed that their working children knew about work safety through either parents or someone else.

Interestingly, nearly 50% of all child workers receiving work safety information said that the last time they received such information was just a couple of days prior to the survey was conducted (Table 6). This is one of the good practices that remind children about work safety now and then, if their reports were reliable. Given that child labour is a sensitive issue and the owners and managers were informed about the survey, however, this finding suggests that some owners or managers may have just reminded their child workers about the work safety because of the coming survey.

9. Impact of Child Labour

Impact of child labour in brick factories on child development represents one main objective in this study. The negative impact of child labour on child health and education can be detrimental to child development because of its far-reaching effects, and its long-term effects are usually hard to detect. In addition, the relationship between child labour and child development is complex because the relationship is multidimensional, dynamic, positive or negative, or causal or spurious. In other words, there is no single effect of child labour but a multitude of effects on child development that vary with the nature of the work undertaken, with the duration of work that indicates the length of exposure, and with the living condition of children's families.

Given the above, the duration at current work is used to compare the impact of being involved in child labour on schooling, health, and other development-related behaviour. All child workers are grouped into having worked less than 2 years and having worked at least 2 years in brick factories. The 2 years cut-off point is arbitrary, but it assures capturing all lagged effects of child labour.

9.1. Impact of Child Labour on Education

The impact of working in brick factories on schooling can be assessed by comparing school-related issues across working duration, with the assumption that the longer a child works in a brick factory, the more he or she will be likely to either quit school or have school-related problems. For those who quitted, the timing of quitting school and the time of start of the current work are used to identify child workers who quitted school after they had started to work. Out of 91 children, 7 were missing on the timing of school dropouts and were excluded. For those who are still in school ($n = 33$), a series of questions addressing their schooling behavioural problems were asked. The result is presented in Table 7.

The percent of school dropouts is apparently higher among children with longer work duration than their counterparts with shorter work duration (37.8% versus 7.7%, respectively). In addition, all children who work have school-related problems, but children who have worked for at least 2 years seem to have more school-related problems than do those who have worked less than 2 years. For example, 52.6% of children having worked for at least 2 years reported that their study has been getting poorer than before,

compared with only 21.4% among those having worked less than 2 years. The percentage of going to school late and frequent class skipping is also high among old child workers (47.4% and 42.1%, respectively) than among more recent child workers (28.6% and 7.1%, respectively).

The interviewed parents also reported that their children’s schooling attitudes and behaviour had changed after they started to work in brick factories. For example, about one third of their working children reported (20 out of 55 reported children) had developed negative attitudes towards their schooling (disliking going to school), decreased regular school attendance (skipping school more often), and received poorer school grades than before.

Table 7. Impact of Work on Schooling

	Duration at current jobs		
	< 2 years	2+ years	Total
I. Not in School			
Total N (excluding 7 missing on timing)	39	45	84
Quit School After Having Worked in BF	3	17	20
% quitting school after having worked in BF	7.7%	37.8%	23.8%
II. Currently in School			
Since starting to work,			
My study has been getting poorer than before	21.4%	52.6%	39.4%
I have gone to school late more often	28.6%	47.4%	39.4%
I have skipped class more often	7.1%	42.1%	27.3%
Total N	14	19	33

9.2. Impact of Child Labour on Health

9.2.1. Self-Assessed Health Problems

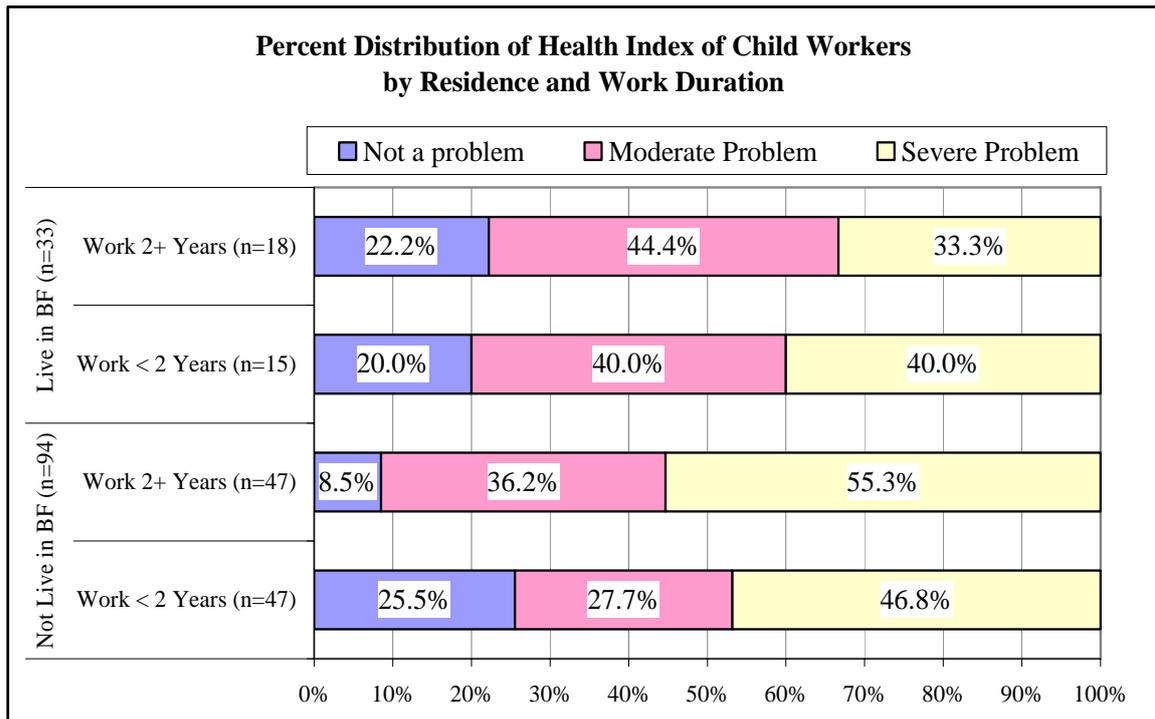
Child workers were asked to assess their own general health conditions by answering true or false to a set of 9 questions (Questions 39_1 - 39_9, Appendix 1). The questions were combined to create a general health index, classifying the respondents into no health problems if a child reported having less than 3 health problems, moderate health problems if a child reported having 3-5 health problems, and severe health problems if a child reported having 6-9 health problems.

The result in Figure 13 shows that about four fifths of child workers who lived in brick factory compounds assessed their own health conditions as either moderate or severe based on the general health index. Minor difference is found to be between those working less than 2 years and those working at least 2 years, with an exception that the proportion of reporting severe health problem is higher among recent workers than among long-term workers (40.0% versus 33.3%, respectively). Such a difference can be either due to small sample size that makes the result less reliable or due to the fact that recent workers are undergone abrupt changes in health experience after undertaking a specific task.

However, the difference in self-assessed health conditions across work durations is more pronounced among child workers who come from the nearby villages, with longer work

duration being associated with more moderate or severe health problems than shorter work duration. For example, 91.5% of child workers with longer work duration reported having experienced health problems (36.2% having moderate and 55.3% having severe health problems), compared to 74.5% among those with shorter work duration (27.7% having moderate and 46.8% having severe health problems). These figures not only show shocking concerns about child health among child workers in brick factories, but also indicate possible health deterioration of children who had working two years or longer.

Figure 13. Self-Assessed Health Index of Child Workers



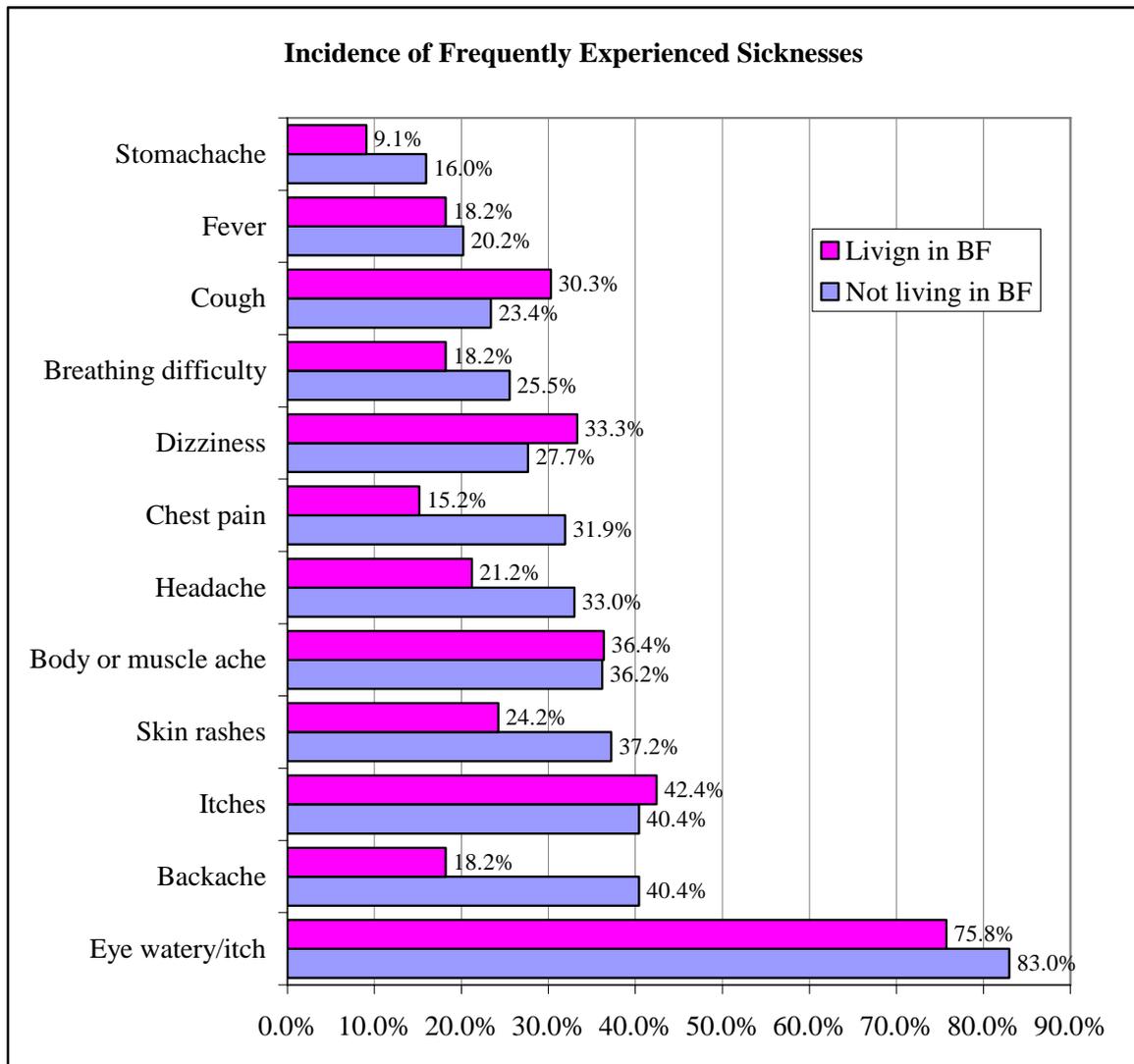
9.2.2. Incidence of Frequently Experienced Sicknesses Due to Work

In addition to general health assessment, specific health problem experiences, as indicated by sicknesses or injuries due to work were also asked from all child workers interviewed. A list of sicknesses was given to the respondents who were asked to indicate if any of them has ever happened to them due to work, and if so, how often (never, rarely, sometimes, or often). Figure 14 presents the result of the experienced sicknesses that had happened often to child workers for those living in brick factories and for those not living in brick factories, separately.

Both child workers living in or not living in brick factory compound tend to suffer from health impact of their work and workplace conditions. The most common health impact is eye watery or eye itches because of smoke and flying ashes (83% among village children and 75.8% among brick factory children). Other health problems experienced frequently by children who did not live in brick factories include backache (40.4%), skin itches (40.4%), skin rashes (37.2), body or muscle ache (36.2%), chest pain (31.9%), and a number of other minor illnesses.

Child workers who lived in brick factories also experienced these problems frequently, but the proportion of experiencing each problem is a bit different from that among those who did not live in brick factories. For instance, they were less likely than their village counterparts to experience backache (18.2% versus 4.04%), chest pain (15.2% versus 31.9%), headache (21.1% versus 33.0%), skin rashes (24.2% versus 37.2%), difficult breathing (18.2% versus 25.5%), and stomach-ache (9.1% versus 16.0%). One potential explanation may be that these children have better adapted to the work environment in brick factories than their counterparts because they live and work in the same environment.

Figure 14. Incidence of Frequently Experienced Sicknesses



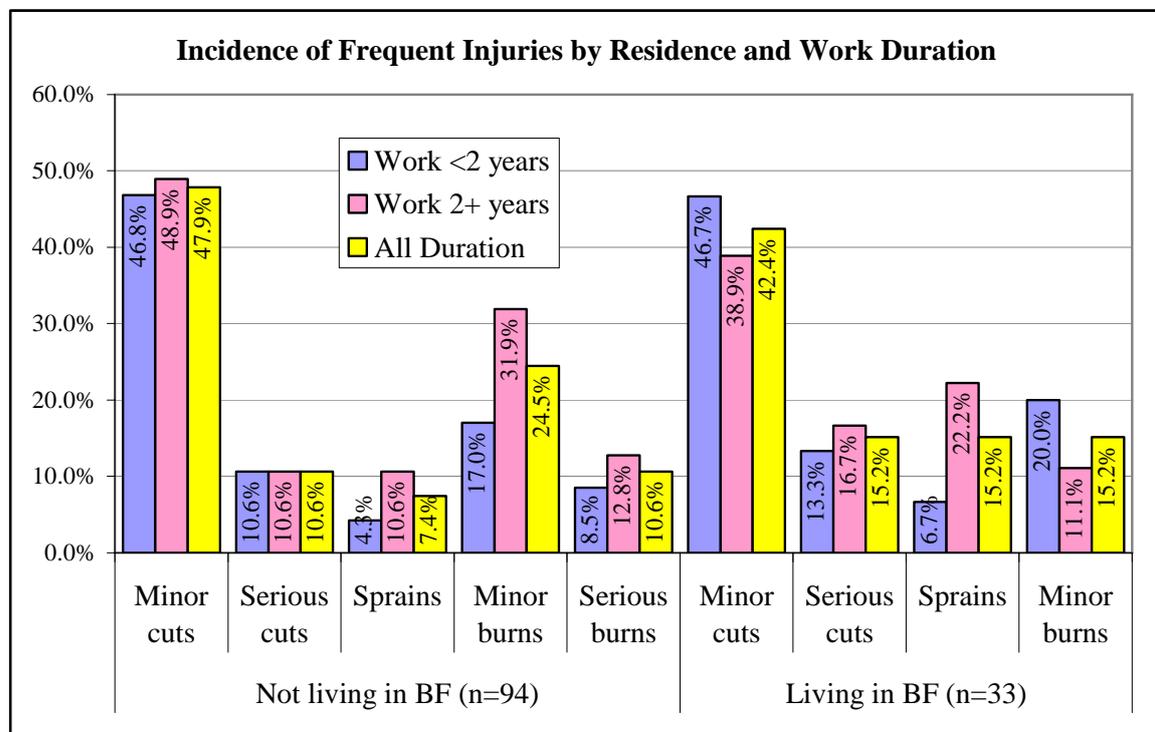
9.2.3. Incidence of Frequently Experienced Accidents and Injuries

All child workers were asked if any accident or injury had ever happened to them, and if so, how often. Below is the result of the reported incidence of accidents and injuries based on the number of child workers who reported that these injuries had happened to them frequently (Figure 15).

It is apparent that minor cuts are the most common type of injuries experienced frequently by nearly half of the interviewed child workers in brick factories, regardless of residence and work duration. The most common reasons are bricks falling on (45% of reported severe incidence) and being cut with bricks while loading/unloading or carrying them (27.5% of reported severe incidence). The third reason is cutting foot by sharp objects (pieces of bricks or shovel) when tripped over because of not wearing proper working shoes (17.5%).

The next common type of injuries is the minor burn that happened frequently to 24.5% of child workers who did not live in brick factories and to 15.2% to child workers who lived in brick factories. The leading reason for this injury is unloading bricks from the kiln while bricks were still hot. Serious cuts and serious burns do happen frequently to about 10-15% of child workers.

Figure 15. Incidence of Frequently Experienced Injuries



It is noteworthy that the percentage of children experiencing serious injuries is obviously underestimated due to the use of frequent experiences because severe injuries are less likely to happen as frequently as minor injuries. Nevertheless, the finding shows that both minor and severe injuries are common for work in brick factories.

Below presents a case study of a brick factory based on observation and an informal discussion with 4-5 adults. The case study shows how children who live and work in the brick factory suffer from the unsafe living and working conditions, how they are pulled into child labour, and how they are neglected by the owner and manager of the brick factory.

“The factory has 10 kilns and 5 brick making machines. Fourteen worker families, with about 20-25 small children, are living in the compound. These families were migrants from Takeo, Kampot, or Kampong Speu. Common jobs for these families are firing kilns, clay preparation, and brick machine operation. One family has lived and worked in this factory for three generations as kiln firing clerk. Some children are living in disrupted families as their parents were divorced or separated, while some other children are raised by their grand-parents.

Children live in misery. All children, after reaching 8 years old, are considered old enough to help their parents or other adults with arranging bricks, pushing brick wheelbarrows, and loading bricks onto a truck. They work without wage, but often they receive 200-300 Riels for their daily labour.

Two serious accidents involving working with brick making machine happened in this factory about 9-12 months before the survey. About 12 months ago, one child was pulled into the machine up to his armpit. After spending 3 months in a hospital with the help from an NGO, his life was saved and his arm was spared. Another child was pulled into another machine about 3 month after the first incident. The accident was less severe than the previous one as only the child’s hand was caught in the machine and several stitches saved his hand too.

Children living in this factory have problems with their health. Many of them looked skinny, while some looked paled, weary, and undernourished. They were sick frequently. Some suffered from chronic chest pain and headache because they started to work at a very young age.

These children lack basic education. Two children never attended school, while many quitted school at grade 4 or 5. They quitted school in order to help their parents with their work. Those who are still in school do not attend school regularly, however, because sometimes their parents need their labour immediately to finish up the contractual work.

10. Best Practices to Reduce Work Hazards

Best health practices, such as wearing protection device while working, can help reduce the impact of hazardous work on health and development. However, an overwhelming number of child workers in brick factories did not wear any protection device while working. Figure 16 shows the proportion of children who never wear any protection device.

Noticeably, wearing glasses and working hat is not a practice for all child workers. Only few children reported wearing working shoes (12.1% among children living in brick factories and 27.7% among children not living in brick factories). However, wearing sun hat, mask or scarf, and working gloves is more practical among some children, with the proportion being higher among children from villages than among children living in brick factories, although the proportion is low (Figure 16).

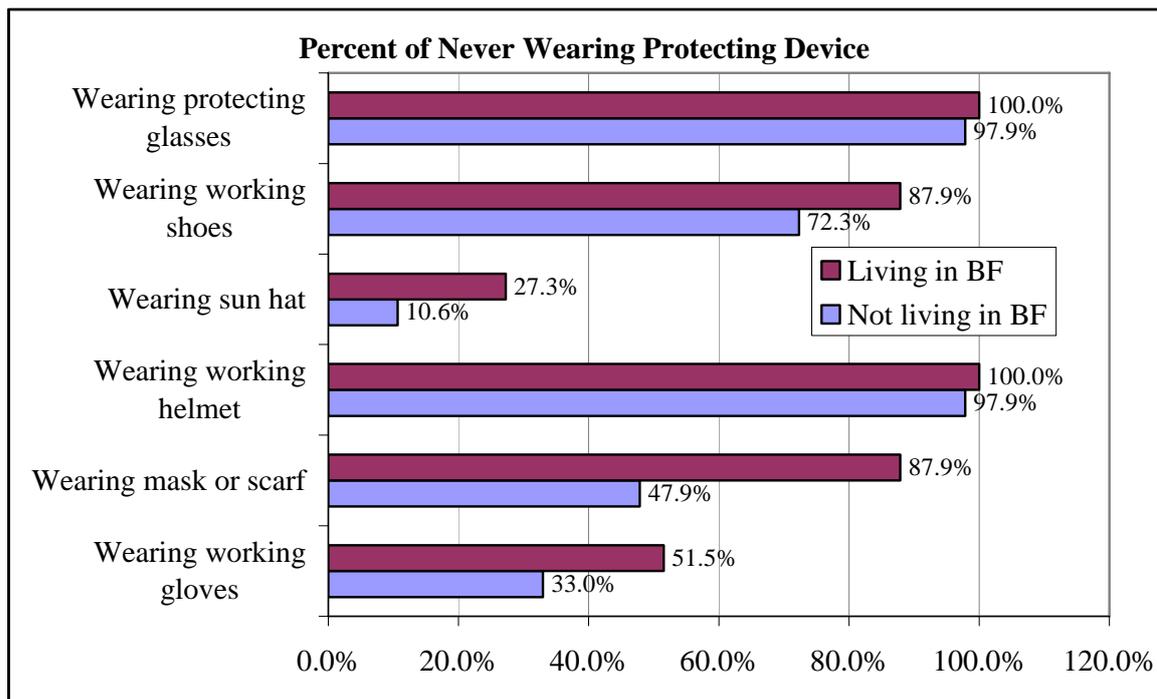
One leading reason for not wearing any of these devices is that they did not have them and could not afford buying them. It is important to note that some of child workers reported that they received working shoes, working gloves, and masks from WVC.

11. Awareness of Child Labour Proclamation

As aforementioned, not every brick factory provide orientation about work safety to children before they started to work (only 11 of 15 managers/owners reported providing such an orientation to children) and not every factory prohibited children from working as a machine operator (only 10 of 15 managers/owners claimed having prohibited children to operate brick-making machines in their factories). In addition, many brick factory owners or managers (9 of the 15 interviewees) did not know about the existence of any child labour proclamation in Cambodia. Some of these factories are located in Anlong Vil commune in Sang Ke district; while others are located in O Mal commune of Battambang district.

Thus, it is clear from the study that there is a huge gap in the practice by the owners or managers to ensure a safe working environment for children, as well as rules and regulations to eliminate potential harms to child workers in brick factories.

Figure 16. Percent of Wearing Any Protecting Device While Working

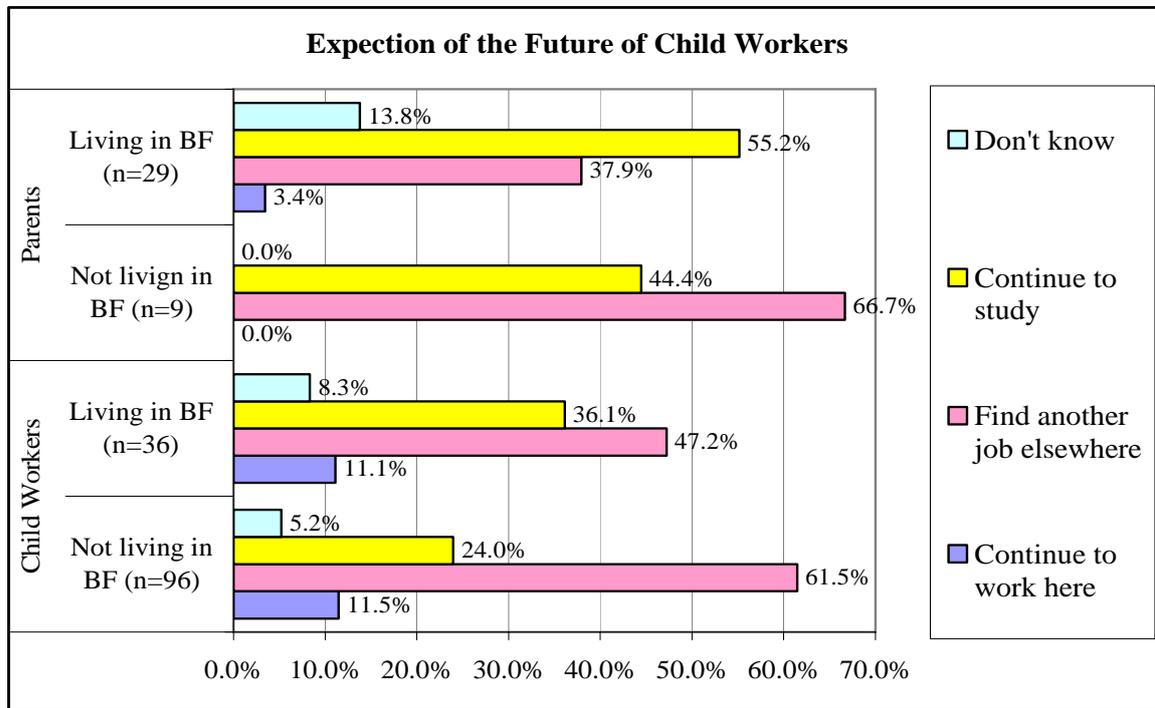


12. Expectations of the Future of Child Workers

Figure 17 shows what child workers and their parents expect about the future of the child workers. Interestingly, the majority of child workers do not want to continue their schooling, contradicting to the expectation of parents who lived in brick factories. This may be due to the fact many child workers interviewed had already quitted school. Many children wanted to find a job elsewhere, while a few children expressed their intention of

continuing to work in the brick factory, the finding is similar to that provided by parents who did not live in brick factories.

Figure 17. Future Expectation of Child Workers

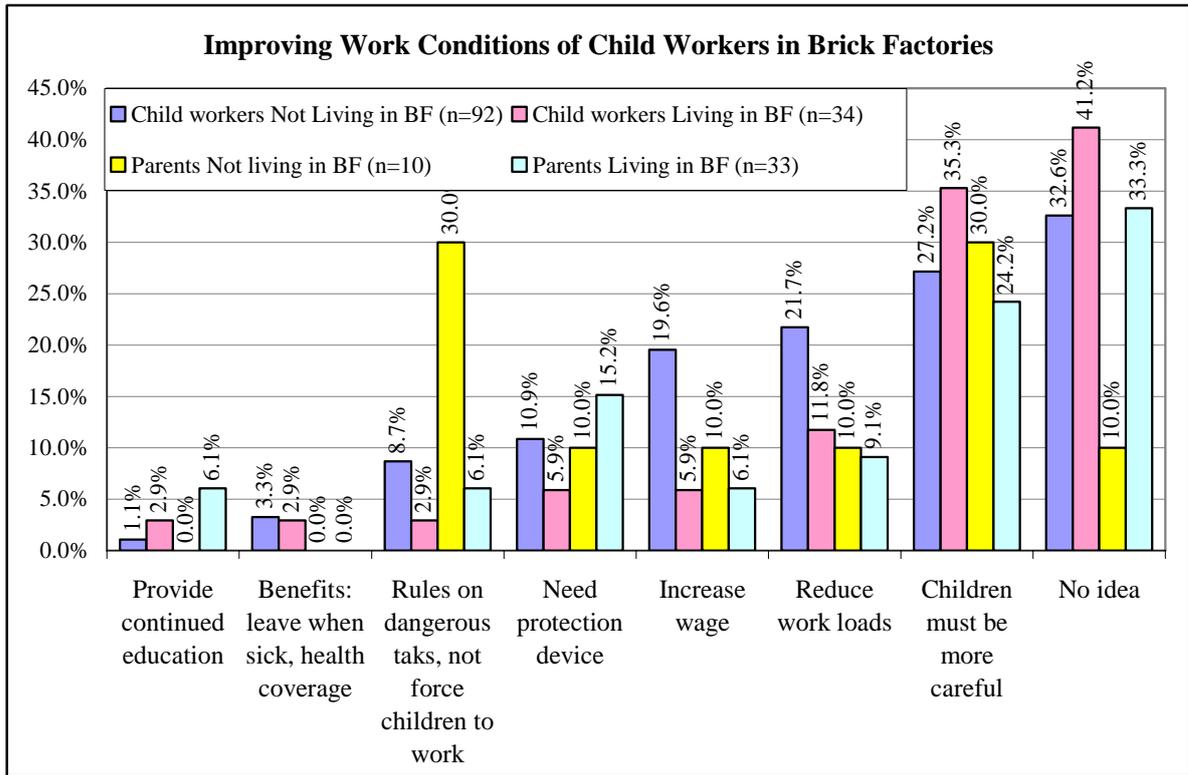


13. Suggestions for Improving Working Conditions for Children in Brick Factories

Suggestions for improving working conditions of child labour in brick factories were sought from child workers and parents (Figure 18). Interestingly, many respondents, either child workers or parents, had no ideas on how to improve the working conditions, while another significant number of parents and child workers paid great attention to child worker factor, rather than attempting to raise some issues that might have significant contribution to the improvement of child workers' work condition at all.

However, some respondents came up with a few suggestions, although the proportion of making these suggestions is very low, with the maximum of only 21% among children, 11.8% among children living in brick factories, 15.2% among parents living in brick factories, and 30% among parents not living in brick factories. Their suggestions include reducing work loads for children, increasing wages for children, providing protection equipments to children, imposing rules that ban children from undertaking dangerous tasks, establishing rules that ban the employ from forcing children to work beyond their physical capability, providing sick-leave benefits when sick due to work, and providing support for children's schooling.

Figure 18. Improving Working Conditions for Children in Brick Factories



VI. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Conclusion

The study is designed to describe the working and living conditions of children working in brick factories and the impact of child labour on child development. In addition, reasons for working, reasons for involving children in child labour, and reasons for employing children are documented based on the interviews with child workers, their parents, and their employers. The research sites are all brick factories in two districts in Battambang province: Battambang and Sang Ke districts, which are the surrounding areas of Battambang provincial city. Data were collected using interviewer-completed questionnaires from three main sources (132 child workers, 43 parents, and 15 brick factory owners or managers) from 26 brick factories.

Child workers in about 30 brick factories in the targeted areas are estimated to be at least 400 or 500 children during the high child labour-demand season. These children are those coming from only villages within the vicinity of the brick factories or those migrants who live in the brick factory compound. One in every five working children living in brick factories is involved in the worst forms of child labour as they had ever worked as brick machine operators at least some times during their working careers and had never attended or stopped attending school. The figure is 13.3% among children not living in brick factories. Additionally, about 50% are involved in the severe forms of child labour because they work any jobs between 6 and 10 hours a day without going to school. This shows the estimated scope of the involvement of child workers in the worst forms of child labour.

Child workers who lived in brick factories tend to start to work at a very younger age than those who lived in the villages because of their parents' need for their labour. This suggests a prolonged exposure to work and great vulnerability to hazardous labour among those living in brick factories. The most common jobs undertaken by children are carrying, loading, and unloading bricks. According to nearly respondents, either child workers themselves, parents, or brick factory owners or managers, the family economic hardship stands out to be the top reason for why children have to work, followed by work to earn money for schooling and/or personal needs,

It is important to note that brick factories have several unique features that allure children to come to work. They include high demand of child labour (carrying, loading and unloading bricks), easy getting a job, no required skills or experience, no strict regulations, easy money, and easy advances. For those who live in brick factories, furthermore, core jobs of brick production (preparing clay, producing raw bricks, and firing kilns) have become the family occupation because they work to have a place to stay. This translates into engaging children in child labour in the brick factory in the long run. From the brick factory owners/managers' point of view, the availability of child labour force, their generosity, parents' demand for hiring children, children are easy to be managed, and children's capability to work (punctual, independent, fast, hardworking, and suitable for carrying bricks) are their reasons for hiring children.

Working environment in the brick factory is hazardous to child health due to unsanitary environment (unclean, smoke, bad smells of manures, and consuming pond water), unsafe working environment (such as heat, burning ashes, flying ashes, and pieces of broken bricks everywhere), and the hazardous work (prolonged working hours, heavy work, and dangerous jobs). Nearly all brick factories visited were found to have poor and hazardous work conditions due to unbearable heat, flying and burning ashes, falling bricks, lack of sanitation, no first-aid kits, and no lack of work safety regulations. Even so, wearing protection device is not yet a common practice for all child workers due to lack of protection equipments.

Early work means prolonged exposure to hazardous work and great health vulnerability. Impact of child labour on child development is found to be noticeable on two indicators. One is the interference on children's schooling, which is found to be greater among child workers who worked longer than those who recently started to work. The impact on schooling includes a tendency to drop out of school, poor grades, and irregular school attendance. The other is the impairment of children's physical and mental health due to injuries and sicknesses caused by hazardous work. Long-term child workers perceived that their general health condition has been deteriorated since work. Specifically, many child workers complained about eye watery or eye itches due to smoke and flying ashes, backache, chest pain, frequent headache, skin rashes, breathing difficulty, stomach ache, minor cuts and wounds, and minor burns.

2. Recommendations

1. Since the main reason for children to work is the family economic hardship, it may be unwise to eliminate all forms of child labour. However, children should be prohibited from undertaking all dangerous jobs, including operating brick machines, brick firing operations, and clay preparations. In addition, work-load and work-age regulations should set and strictly enforced. They include the reduced current work load for children, no forced labour, no work under contract, no full-time work for children less than 15 years of age during school time, no work more than 5 days a week for full-time child workers, etc.
2. Children have the rights for development. Thus, efforts against child labour should make sure that child workers have equal chance to attend school, that they attend school, and that they stay in school to complete at least their basic education. If they cannot attend school regularly for whatever reasons, especially those who live in brick factories, continued education should be provided either at the work place or at a designated place.
3. Child workers should be entitled to full health benefits. In other words, employers should take full responsibility for their child workers to cover their health expenses in case of injuries or sickness due to work, as well as recovery care. Local health authority should be involved.
4. Increase knowledge and awareness of work hazards. Efforts should aim at developing the public awareness of children's rights and the damage to children caused by child labour. Such awareness requires partnerships among many different groups, including government sectors, businesses, trade unions,

educators, researchers, NGOs, the community leaders and stakeholders, parents, and children themselves.

5. Work safety regulations should be set and standardized for all brick factories. The legal force should be given to the regulations. The regulations should list also safety measure requirements for all child workers, including safe working environment and use of protection devices that include safety helmet, working shoes, workable gloves, masks, and protecting glasses. The employer should be responsible for providing these safety devices to child workers; and should workers should be charged for or not be allowed to work if not wearing the protection device at work. Warning signs or stickers of danger should be placed on each of work equipments and areas that are health-threatening or injury- or incident-inducing.
6. Safety devices should be required for all brick making machines. The machine belt should be properly and completely covered. The machine slot where clay is put should be funnelled in such a way that avoids direct contact of hand and the machine.
7. Monitoring and enforcement mechanisms should be created, including codes of conduct for employers in which they be confined employing children as set by work and work safety regulations, work safety orientations to all child workers, labour inspections, safety inspections, fines, and health checks.
8. Workshops on the current state of Cambodian Labour Law and other existing Prokas related to child labour should be organized for all brick factory owners, managers, workers, and child workers. Furthermore, the information about child labour and its worst forms, the impact of child labour on child development, measures needed to reduce the impact, and work regulations should be disseminated through outreach activities to parents, with the cooperation and involvement of all parties concerned, such as the local authority, employers, teachers, health practitioners, and law enforcers. Factories with safe working environments and protection in place should be encouraged.
9. By nature, children cannot fight for their rights because they are powerless. Thus, child workers need others to advocate and campaign on their behalf. Advocates against the worst forms of child labour should initiate social activities aiming at increasing the public awareness of child labour issues and at involving all parties concerned and relevant. In addition, they should set as priority identifying children who live in impoverished families and are involved in the worst forms of child labour because these children are most at risk of being forced into labour.

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Now, we want to ask you some questions about your schooling

11. Are you currently going to school?

1. No → Had you ever attended school before?

1. No. → Why did you not go to school?

.....

2. Yes → If Yes, ask:

What was the highest grade you ever attended?

For how long have you stopped going to school? . mo .. yrs ago.

Why did you stop going to school?

(GO to Question 20).

2. Yes

12. What grade are you in?

13. How many days a week do you go to school? days a week

14. Since you started to work, is your study improved, the same, or worse than before?

1. Worse 2. Same 3. Improved

15. Since you started to work, have you ever come to school late?

1. Never 2. Sometimes 3. Often

If the answer is 2 or 3, ask: Did you use to go to school late like this before? 1. No

2. Yes

16. Since you started to work, have you ever skipped class?

1. Never 2. Sometimes 3. Often

If the answer is 2 or 3, ask: Did you use to skip school late like this before? 1. No

2. Yes

17. Since you started to work, is your relationship with other students better, same, or worse?

1. Worse 2. Same 3. Better

18. Since you started to work, have you ever had fights with other students?

1. Never 2. Sometimes 3. Often

If the answer is 2 or 3, ask: Did you use to go to school late like this before? 1. No

2. Yes

19. Since you started to work, have you ever had other school discipline problems?

0. No

1. Yes, What problems?

.....

Now, we want to ask you some questions about your work

20. What tasks do you undertake here? (Circle all that apply)

1. Operating a brick-making machine

2. Cutting raw bricks
 3. Extracting (digging) clay
 4. Crushing and/or grinding clay
 5. Mixing clay
 6. Carrying clay
 7. Loading bricks in and out of the kiln
 8. Loading bricks onto the truck
 9. Loading bricks in and out of the brick wheelbarrow
 10. Pulling a brick wheelbarrow
 11. Arranging bricks to dry
 12. Others, please specify
21. Which tasks are you prohibited from undertaking in the factory? (DO not read the answers. Circle all that apply)
1. None → Go to Question 23
 2. Operating a brick-making machine
 3. Cutting raw bricks
 4. Extracting (digging) clay
 5. Crushing and/or grinding clay
 6. Mixing clay
 7. Carrying clay
 8. Loading bricks in and out of the kiln
 9. Loading bricks onto the truck
 10. Loading bricks in and out of the brick wheelbarrow
 11. Pulling a brick wheelbarrow
 12. Arranging bricks to dry
 13. Others, please specify
22. Who prohibits you from undertaking those tasks? (**Do not read the answers; Multiple answers**)
1. No one
 2. Factory owner/manager
 3. My work supervisor
 4. Labour inspector
 5. Family or relatives
 6. Don't know who
 7. Other, specify
23. For how long have you been working in this factory?months years.

24. Now, tell me about your working days and times you usually work over the last 6 month.

<u>Days usually work</u>	<u>Hours a day you work</u>	<u>Time you usually work</u>
By work load	..... hours	From to and from to
Every day	..... hours	From to and from to
only ... days	..... hours	From to and from to
Weekend only	..... hours	From to and from to
If free	..... hours	From to and from to

25. Why do you have to work? (Do not read to answers; multiple answers are allowed)

1. My parent(s)/custodians forced me to work
2. My family needs food
3. My family needs money for buying medicine
4. My family needs money to pay off debts
5. To help my parents/relatives with their work
6. To have money for my schooling (pay school fees or buy school supplies or snacks at school)
7. To have money for personal needs
8. To meet friends
9. To get away from the house
10. Don't like school/Cannot study
11. Had fight/problem with students at school
12. Others, please specify

26. Why do you accept to work in the brick factory? (Not other job?)

.....

.....

.....

27. How much do you get paid on average?daily or monthly.

28. What do you do with the money earned?

.....

.....

29. According to you, how important is your money contribution to your family's need?

1. Not important at all 2. Little important 3. Very important

30. According to you, how important is the money you earned for you?

1. Not important at all 2. Little important 3. Very important

31. Had you ever worked elsewhere before coming to work here?

1. No 2. Yes → What job?

32. At what age did you first start to work for money? Years old.

Health Profile

33. How often have you sustained any injuries because of working or living in the factory?

	Problems due to work	How Often?			
1	Minor cuts or wounds	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
2	Serious cuts/wounds	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
3	Broken bones	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
4	Sprains	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
5	Minor burns	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
6	Serious burns	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
7	Other	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often

(If Never to all questions, Go to Question 35)

34. Among these injuries, which one was serious that involved medical attention (being taken to a doctor, taking medicine...)? **(You can remind the respondent of their answers)**

	Injuries (Use Code from above)	How did it happen?
1
2
3

35. How often have you sustained any of the following sicknesses because of working or living in the factory?

	Problems due to work	How Often?			
1	Chest Pain	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
2	Backache	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
3	Body or muscle aches	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
4	Difficult breathing	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
5	Headache	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
6	Fever	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
7	Cough	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
8	Dizzy	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
9	Stomach ache	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
10	Diarrhoea	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
11	Itches	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
12	Skin rashes	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
13	Eye watery/itches	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often

14	Other	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
----	-------------	----------	-----------	--------------	----------

(If Never to all questions, Go to Question 37)

36. Among these sicknesses, which one was serious that involved medical attention (seeing a doctor, taking medicine...)? **(You can remind the respondent of their answers)**

	Sickness (Use Code from above)	What caused it?
1
2
3

37. How do you feel about your health now in general compared to that before you work here? Is it:

1. Worse than before 2.The same as before 3.Better than before

38. Do you know why?

39. To your best knowledge, is the following true or not? **(Read the statement and check the appropriate box)**

	Since my children started to work,	
1	I have gotten sick more often	1. True 2. False
2	I have eaten less than before	1. True 2. False
3	I have lost their weight	1. True 2. False
4	I have had nightmares	1. True 2. False
5	I have had sleep difficulty	1. True 2. False
6	I feel tired all the time	1. True 2. False
7	I have had eye impairment	1. True 2. False
8	I have had hearing impairment	1. True 2. False
9	I often forget things	1. True 2. False

Work conditions and safety

40. Have you been taught or told about work safety while working here?

No

Yes. If Yes:

- | |
|--|
| <p>a. How often?</p> <p>b. When was the last time you were told?</p> <p>c. By whom?</p> <p>d. What did they teach you?</p> |
|--|

.....
.....
.....

41. Do you wear any of the following protective devices while working and how often?

	Wearing:	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never	If NEVER, explain why?
1	Working gloves	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	..... .....
2	Masks/scarf	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	..... .....
3	Safety helmet	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	..... .....
4	Hat to protect from the sun	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	..... .....
5	Boots or working shoes	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	..... .....
6	Protecting glasses	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	..... .....

42. For each of these statements about your workplace and your work, please say if it is true or false according to your best knowledge:

1. My workplace has first-aid kits []False []True
2. My workplace is extremely hot []False []True
3. I am always working in the sun []False []True
4. I often carry or lift heavy loads of clay or bricks []False []True
5. There are lots of dusts or ashes flying when it winds []False []True
6. Bricks can fall on me []False []True
7. I am allowed to operate a brick-making machine []False []True
8. My working hours are too long for me []False []True
9. My workplace has sanitation []False []True
10. My work place is safe for children living here []False []True
11. I do not have time to take any break while working []False []True
12. My job is heavy for me []False []True
13. My work is not hazardous to my health []False []True

43. Since you work here, have you seen **other working children got sick** at work?

0. No 1. Yes → How many?

How did they get sick (Ask for the major cause)?

.....
.....

44. Since you work here, have you seen **other working children got injured** at work?

0. No 1. Yes → How many?

How did they get injured (Ask for the major cause)?

.....
.....

45. Since you work here, have you seen **any children living in the factory** got injured at work?

0. No 1. Yes → How many?

How did they get injured (Ask for the major cause)?

.....
.....

46. What are your future goals? (**Do not read the answers**)

Continue working in brick factory

Find another job elsewhere

Continue study

Other, specify

47. What do you think should be done to improve children's work conditions and their protection?

.....
.....

48. Do you have any requests?

.....
.....

Thanks for your participation!

For the interviewer, Please record the following:

Height of the child: **Weight of the child:**

Is he/she skinny? a. Very skinny b. A bit skinny c. Normal

Request for the interview with the parent: [] No [] Yes

Name of the parent:

Address: **Time:**

APPENDIX 2. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INTERVIEW WITH PARENTS/CAREGIVERS OF WORKING CHILDREN

Child Questionnaire ID:.....	Parent Questionnaire ID:.....
Interviewer:.....	Date of Interview:...../07/2007
Residence: Village: Commune: District:	
Time Starts: Time Ends:	
Checked by team leader: Name Signed	

Introduction:

My name is....., a researcher conducting a survey for LICADHO and WVC to get a better understanding of the living conditions, schooling, health, and work of children in Battambang. The research can only be successful with your cooperation. So, I would like to ask you to participate by answering questions related to the above topics. There is no right or wrong answer. If there is any question that you do not want to answer, you can choose not to answer it. The interview takes about 30 minutes. All information you provide will be kept strictly confidential and will be used for a summary report only. Shall we start!

1. Sex: 1. Male 2. Female
2. How old are you?
3. Do you live with your spouse?
 1. Yes
 2. No → Are you Widowed Divorced or Separated?
4. What is your village of current residence? (**Write down the name of the factory if the respondent lives in the factory compound**)
 1. In Brick factory
 2. In Village Commune
5. Since when have you lived in the above place?

Since born (Go to Question 7)

Since the year of
6. Where did you live before? (Name of the Province)
7. Please answer with Yes or No to the following questions:

		Yes	No
1	Does your family own a house?	[]	[]
2	Does your family own any farming land?	[]	[]
3	Does your family raise any farm animals?	[]	[]
4	Does your family have a motorcycle?	[]	[]
5	Does your family have access to electricity?	[]	[]

6	Does your family have access to clean water? (piped or well water)	[]	[]
7	Does you family have a TV set?	[]	[]
8	Is your family in dept?	[]	[]

8. Are you working in this brick factory?
1. No → What is your main occupation? (Go to Question 10)
 2. Yes → What kind of work do you undertake?
9. How long have you worked in the brick factory?years months
- 9.a. Why are you working in the brick factory?
10. What is your average monthly income?

Children and Their Education

11. How many living children do you have?
12. How many children are between 7 and 17 years of age?
13. Please provide the education information for each of your children age 7-17 years old
(**Please complete all questions with child 1 first, before continuing with the next child if the respondent has more than one child**):

	Children age 7-17 Years old		
	Child 1	Child 2	Child 4
A. Age			
B. Sex			
C. Still in school?	1. No 2. Yes → Question E	1. No 2. Yes → Question E	1. No 2. Yes → Question E
D. Why not in school?	..... ..... (Go to Q G)	..... ..... (Go to Q G)	..... ..... (Go to Q G)
E. Grade in school			
F. Does the child attend school regularly?	1. No 2. Yes	1. No 2. Yes	1. No 2. Yes
G. Child is working?	1. No → Go to Next Child 2. Yes	1. No → Go to Next Child 2. Yes	1. No → Fill Child Form if >3 2. Yes
H. Child works in a brick factory?	1. No 2. Yes	1. No 2. Yes	1. No 2. Yes
	Continue to Next Child if any	Continue to Next Child if any	Fill Child Form if more than 3 children

Children and Their Work

14. Please provide work information of each of your children currently working in the brick factory (**Please start with Child 1 and continue to the next child if the respondent has more than one working child**):

	Tasks performed (use codes below, can be more than 1)	Work Duration	Days/week	Hours/day
Child 1		... months ... yrs		
Child 2		... months ... yrs		
Child 3		... months ... yrs		
Child 4		... months ... yrs		

Box A. Task Codes:

1. Operating a brick-maker machine
2. Cutting raw bricks
3. Extracting (digging) clay
4. Crushing and/or grinding clay
5. Mixing clay
6. Carrying clay
7. Loading bricks in and out of the kiln
8. Loading bricks onto the truck
9. Loading bricks in and out of the brick wheelbarrow
10. Pulling a brick wheelbarrow
11. Arranging bricks to dry

15. (**Complete Question A before asking Question B**)

A. Please provide three important reasons of why you allow your children to work?

1.
2.
3.

16. In your opinion, is your child's work too heavy or just about right for their age?

1. Very heavy
2. About right
3. Not heavy
4. Don't know

17. In your opinion, are your child's working hours too long, just about right, or too short for their age?

1. Too long
2. About right
3. Too short
4. Don't know

18. To your best knowledge:

1. Work place in the brick factory is safe for children to live?
 1. Not? How?
 2. Yes
 3. Don't know
2. Work place in the brick factory is safe for children to work?
 1. Not? How?
 2. Yes
 3. Don't know

Impact of Child Work

19. To your best knowledge, have these situations been worse, the same, or better since your children started to work at their current job? (**Read the statement and check the appropriate box**)

Child 1

	Statements	1. Worse	2. Same	3. Better	4. DN
1	Your child's attitudes toward schooling				
2	Your child's regular school attendance				
3	Your child's grade				
4	Your child's relationship with friends from school				
5	Your child's relationship with friends outside school				
6	Your child's relationship with teachers				

Child 2

	Statements	1. Worse	2. Same	3. Better	4. DN
1	Your child's attitudes toward schooling				
2	Your child's regular school attendance				
3	Your child's grade				
4	Your child's relationship with friends from				

	school				
5	Your child's relationship with friends outside school				
6	Your child's relationship with teachers				

Child 3

	Statements	1. Worse	2. Same	3. Better	4. DN
1	Your child's attitudes toward schooling				
2	Your child's regular school attendance				
3	Your child's grade				
4	Your child's relationship with friends from school				
5	Your child's relationship with friends outside school				
6	Your child's relationship with teachers				

20. To your best knowledge, is the following true or not regarding to your working child?
(Read the statement and check the appropriate box)

	Since my children started to work,	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3
1	They have gotten sick more often	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F
2	They have eaten less than before	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F
3	They have lost their weight	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F
4	They have had nightmares	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F
5	They have had sleep difficulty	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F
6	They have been tired all the time	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F
7	They have had eye impairment	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F
8	They have had hearing impairment	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F
9	They forget things a lot	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F	1. T 2. F

21. How often any of these illnesses happened to your child since starting to work at brick factory?

Child 1

	Problems due to work	How Often?
1	Chest Pain	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
2	Backache	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often

3	Body or muscle aches	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
4	Difficult breathing	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
5	Headache	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
6	Fever	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
7	Cough	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
8	Dizzy	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
9	Stomach-ache	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
10	Diarrhoea	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
11	Itches	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
12	Skin rashes	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
13	Eye watery/itches	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
14	Other	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often

Child 2

	Problems due to work	How Often?			
1	Chest Pain	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
2	Backache	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
3	Body or muscle aches	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
4	Difficult breathing	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
5	Headache	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
6	Fever	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
7	Cough	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
8	Dizzy	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
9	Stomach-ache	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
10	Diarrhoea	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
11	Itches	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
12	Skin rashes	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
13	Eye watery/itches	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
14	Other	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often

Child 3

	Problems due to work	How Often?			
1	Chest Pain	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often
2	Backache	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often

3	Body or muscle aches	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
4	Difficult breathing	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
5	Headache	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
6	Fever	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
7	Cough	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
8	Dizzy	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
9	Stomach-ache	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
10	Diarrhoea	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
11	Itches	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
12	Skin rashes	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
13	Eye watery/itches	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
14	Other	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often

22. **Skip this question if all answers above are never.** Which illness is serious and how it happened?

Child 1

	Serious Illness	How did it happen to your child?
1		
2		

Child 2

	Serious Illness	How did it happen to your child?
1		
2		

Child 3

	Serious Illness	How did it happen to your child?
1		
2		

23. How often any of these injuries or accidents happened to your child since starting to work at brick factory?

Child 1

	Problems due to work	How Often?
1	Minor cuts or injuries	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
2	Serious cuts or injuries	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
3	Broken bones	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often

4	Sprains	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
5	Minor burns	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
6	Serious burns	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
7	Other, specify	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often

Child 2

	Problems due to work	How Often?
1	Minor cuts or injuries	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
2	Serious cuts or injuries	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
3	Broken bones	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
4	Sprains	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
5	Minor burns	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
6	Serious burns	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
7	Other, specify	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often

Child 3

	Problems due to work	How Often?
1	Minor cuts or injuries	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
2	Serious cuts or injuries	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
3	Broken bones	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
4	Sprains	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
5	Minor burns	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
6	Serious burns	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often
7	Other, specify	1. Never 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Often

24. **Skip this question if all answers above are never.** Which injuries or accidents were serious and how it happened?

Child 1

	Injuries or Accidents	How did it happen to your child?
1		
2		

Child 2

	Injuries or Accidents	How did it happen to your child?
1		
2		

Child 3

	Injuries or Accidents	How did it happen to your child?
1		
2		

25. What did you do when your child is sick or injured due to work? (**Do not read the answers, can be more than one answer**)

1. Buy medicine for the drug store
2. Go to a public health provider
3. Go to a private health provider
4. Go to traditional healer
5. Do nothing
6. Other, please specify

26. Who paid for their medical fee?

1. The employer. about percent.
2. Family
3. Children themselves
4. Other, please specify

27. Since working here, have you ever known that other working children here were sick while working?

1. No
2. Yes → a. How many as you know?
- b. What are the major causes?

28. Since working here, have you ever known that other working children here were injured while working?

3. No
4. Yes → a. How many as you know?
- b. What are the major causes?

29. Since working here, have you ever known that other children living here were injured?

5. No
6. Yes → a. How many as you know?
- b. What are the major causes?

V. Knowledge about Child Labour and Work Safety

30. Do you know if there are any age requirements for working children to undertake specific tasks at the brick factory?

1. Yes
2. No

- 3. Don't know
- 31. Do you know that operating a brick-making machine is prohibited for children under 18?
 - 1. Yes
 - 2. No → **Go to Question 34**
 - 3. Don't know → **Go to Question 34**
- 32. Who enforces this prohibition? (**Multiple answers**)
 - 1. Employer or work supervisor
 - 2. Provincial government or local labour inspector
 - 3. Teacher
 - 4. Parents/family
 - 5. Nobody → **Go to Question 34**
 - 6. Don't know → **Go to Question 34**
 - 7. Other, please specify
- 33. How the prohibition is enforced? (**Multiple answers**)
 - 1. a. **Now-and-then** monitoring at the workplace
 - b. **Regular** monitoring at the workplace
 - 2. Displaying prohibitions at the workplace
 - 3. Through parents or family members
 - 4. Don't know
 - 5. Other, please specify

VI. Future Perspectives and Suggestions

- 34. What are your goals for the future of your children? (Can be more than one answer)
 - 1. Continue to work at the brick factory
 - 2. Continue to work other jobs, but not at the brick factory
 - 3. Access an education
 - 4. Other, please specify
- 35. How the work condition should be improved for the sake of child workers?

- 36. Any final suggestions or requests?

Thank you!

APPENDIX 3. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INTERVIEW WITH BRICK FACTORY MANGER/OWNER

Child Questionnaire ID:.....	Parent Questionnaire ID:.....
Interviewer:.....	Date of Interview:...../07/2007
Factory Code:	Village: Commune: District:
Time Starts:	Time Ends:
Checked by team leader: Name	Signed

Introduction:

My name is....., a researcher from the Center for Population Studies at RUPP. We are conducting a survey for LICADHO and WVC to get a better understanding of the living conditions, schooling, health, and work of children in Battambang. The research can only be successful with your cooperation. So, I would like to ask you to participate by answering questions related to the above topics. There is no right or wrong answer. If there is any question that you do not want to answer, you can choose not to answer it. The interview takes about 30 minutes. All information you provide will be kept strictly confidential and will be used for a summary report only. Shall we start!

Background Information

1. Sex: 1. Male 2. Female
2. Age:
3. Position:

Factory Information

4. How many brick kilns does the factory have?
5. How many adults are working in the factory?
6. How many families are working in the factory?
7. Where do the majority of these families come from? (**Identify 3 top provinces of origin**)
 1.
 2.
 3.
8. How many children are living in the factory compound?
 1. Boys: Age < 7: Age 7-17:
 2. Girls: Age < 7: Age 7-17:|
9. How many children on average are working with their families or in group in the factory?
 1. Boys:
 2. Girls:
10. What tasks do child workers undertake in the factories?

1. Operating a brick-maker machine
2. Cutting raw bricks
3. Extracting (digging) clay
4. Crushing and/or grinding clay
5. Mixing clay
6. Carrying clay
7. Loading bricks in and out of the kiln
8. Loading bricks onto the truck
9. Loading bricks in and out of the brick wheelbarrow
10. Pulling a brick wheelbarrow
11. Arranging bricks to dry
12. Others, please specify

11. Can you tell us some positive things about hiring children to work at your factory?

1. (A).....
2. (B).....
3. (C).....
4. (D).....
5. (E).....

12. Can you tell us some negative things about hiring children to work at your factory?

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

13. Among what you have just mentioned (**Refer to the answers of Question 11**), which is the first, second, and third most important reasons for you to hire children to work at your factory? (**Circle only ONE per row**)

1. First most important is A B C D or E
2. Second most important is A B C D or E
3. Third most important is A B C D or E

14. Do you have any other reasons to add about why you hire children to work?

.....

15. On a scale of 5, with 1 being very dissatisfied and 5 being very satisfied, how you score your satisfaction with having children working in your factory?

Very Dissatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very Satisfied

Incidence of Sickness and Injury

16. Have there been any cases of children sick while working at the factory as you have known?

1. No → Go to Question 17
2. Yes

17. What type of sicknesses and how many cases? (**Ask to get as many answers as possible**)

<u>Sicknesses</u>	<u>How Many cases?</u>
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

18. Have there been any cases of children injured while working at the factory as you have known?

1. No → Go to Question 19
2. Yes

19. What type of injuries, how it happened, and how many children infected? (**Ask each type of the injuries**)

	Type of injuries	How it happened?	How many?
1	Minor cuts/bruises		
2	Serious cuts/bruises		
3	Broken bones		
4	Sprains		
5	Minor burns		
6	Serious burns		
7	Other, specify		

20. What kind of supported do you provide to a sick or injured child worker? (**Multiple answers**)

1. None
2. Pay for medical care: [] < half [] about half [] > half [] full
3. Compensation
4. Lend money to family or the child
5. Other, specify

Safety Measures

21. Are there any age requirements for each task undertaken by children working in the factory?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

22. Do child workers receive any information or advice about work safety before undertaking a task?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No → **Go to Question 22**

23. How do they receive the information about the safety?

- 1. Group meeting/training provided by the factory manager/owner
- 2. Group meeting/training provided by NGOs
- 3. Group meeting/training provided by local labour inspectors
- 4. Printed materials
- 5. Being supervised while working
- 6. TV spots provided by NGOs
- 7. Other, please specify

24. Are there any internal regulations set to ensure work safety for child workers in your factory?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No → **Go to Question 25**

25. What are these regulations? Please list them all.

.....
.....
.....
.....

26. How are they enforced?

.....
.....
.....
.....

27. Are you aware of the existence of the Child Labour in Cambodia?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No → **Go to Question 25**

28. What recommendations do you have for improving the living and working environments for children in the brick factory? (**Multiple answers**)
1. Don't know
 2. No children allowed to work in factories
 3. No children allowed to undertake heavy tasks or to operate brick-making machine
 4. Do not allow children near dangerous places in the factory
 5. Make sure children attending school
 6. Develop non-formal education classes
 7. Develop agreement on working conditions
 8. Internal rules/regulations
 9. Regular inspections
 10. Poster displays at the factory or warning signs on brick-making machines
 11. More advocacy campaigns to raise awareness
 12. Other, please specify

Thank you!

APPENDIX 4

Research Team

1	Miss Chhan Sreymom	Student, Psychology Dept., RUPP
2	Miss Kim Sreyniang	Student, Psychology Dept., RUPP
3	Miss Kim Srey Sor	Student, Psychology Dept., RUPP
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5	Mr. Van Thirab	Student, Psychology Dept., RUPP
6	Mr. Sambo	WVC, Battambang
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8	Miss. Chay Panjary	WVC, Battambang
9	Mr. Yung Sokhan	LICADHO, Battambang
10	Mr. Ran Vanchan	LICADHO, Battambang
11	Dr. Poch Bunnak	Consultant, CPS, RUPP

Field Note on Data Collection

The data collection started on 09 July 2007 after the field work permission was obtained from the Provincial Office of Battambang and ended on 12 July 2007. Thus, the local authority knew about the survey before the field work started.

The number of respondents, all three types, were slightly less than that planned because the number of child workers turned out to be much lower than previously informed by local NGOs, some owners or managers refused to participate, and village parents were off to the rice field daily. Two reasons were plausible for the low number of child workers. First, the number of children coming to work in brick factories fluctuated in accordance to the labour needed (mostly when bricks are loaded in and unloaded out of kilns) and the availability of children (although children were on school vacation, parents and their children living in villages had gone to the rice field every day during the data collection period). Second, some brick factory owners/managers were aware of the survey in advance. Thus, they might warn child workers not to come to work. This apparently has impact on any attempt to estimate the number of child workers in brick factories. Despite some difficulties, the field work went successfully.



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