

CAMBODIA

**Women and Work
In the Garment Industry**



2006

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FOREWORD

Women in Cambodia and elsewhere in Asia are a dynamic but often underrated economic force. There have been recent gains: income gaps between women and men have narrowed and many governments in the region have started to review legislation addressing equality of employment and occupational opportunities for men and women. Despite these advances many challenges still remain and often stereotypes of different roles and responsibilities between men and women at work prevail and hamper progress in equality and non discrimination at work.

This research was commissioned and by ILO and the World Bank as a joint effort to improve our understanding and develop baseline data on issues confronting workers, particularly women in the garment industry. The ILO is engaging with these issues through *Better Factories Cambodia*, a unique workplace monitoring and remediation programme that has operated since 2001 in order to monitor and improve working conditions in the Cambodian export garment industry. The World Bank focus on labour relations emerges from its Justice for the Poor Program, a global research initiative examining the theoretical and practical challenges of promoting access to justice in the developing world.

As the overwhelming majority of garment workers (over 90%) in Cambodia are women, questions pertaining to their well being and concerns at work are of crucial importance to the industry and the economic and social development of the country as a whole. The monthly flow of remittance from the garment workers to the country side has an important and substantial anti-poverty effect and contributes directly to sustaining over one million Cambodians.

This study was designed to provide detailed data on critical issues identified concerning women workers in order for the stakeholders of the project: Government, Employer's and Worker's Organizations, Non Governmental and fellow United Nations and Breton Woods Organizations to be able to better understand, communicate and improve the wellbeing of women workers through development of appropriate policies and pragmatic new approaches at the workplace level. Issues covered include: Health and nutrition, breastfeeding, childcare, personal safety, and various forms of workplace harassment. From the World Bank's perspective issues of dispute resolution and collective action were particularly important.

Each of these issues has been covered based on a research methodology developed by CARE International, both a partner and the implementing agency of the research. The research was assisted by an advisory committee consisting of representatives from the Cambodian Ministry of Vocational Training and Labour, UNICEF, and UNIFEM. The completion of this work would not have been possible if it was not for the efforts and commitment of the CARE lead consultant Ms. Jen Makin who's contribution has been essential for the completion of this study. We sincerely hope that this research will provide useful information about women and work in the garment industry.

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Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ASI	Audio-assisted Self-administered Interview
CCAWDU	Coalition of Cambodian Apparel Workers Democratic Union
CCTU	Cambodia Confederation of Trade Unions
CFITU	Cambodian Federation of Independent Trade Unions
CLUF	Cambodian Labor Union Federation
CUF	Cambodian Union Federation
CWLFU	Cambodian Workers Labor Federation Union
DTUF	Democratic Thoamear Union Federation
FTUWKC	Free Trade Union of Workers of Kingdom of Cambodia
FUS	Federal Union of Solidarity
GMAC	Garment Manufacturers Association of Cambodia
KYFTU	Khmer Youth Federation Trade Union
LFULK	Labour Free Union of Lever Khmer
NIFTUC	National Independent Federation of Textile Unions in Cambodia
NUCW	National Union Federation Cambodian Workers
PLA	Participatory Learning and Action
RTAVIS	Road Traffic Accident and Victim Information System
TUWFPD	Trade Union Workers Federation of Progress Democracy
UFID	Union Federation of Independent and Democratic
USDOL	United States Department of Labor

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Executive summary

The ILO *Better Factories Cambodia* program has been monitoring garment factories in Cambodia since 2001. Despite improvements during that time, there remain areas which require further investigation and clarification. This study was designed to provide more detailed data on critical issues identified, but not fully covered, in ILO factory monitoring reports, that are of particular concern to women workers. The results of the survey should enable better policy and program responses on these issues to improve the wellbeing of women workers whilst improving productivity and quality.

The study consisted of a survey designed to explore workers' and managers' knowledge, attitudes and practices around a number of issues: health and nutrition, breastfeeding and childcare, personal security, harassment including sexual harassment, and workplace relations and dispute resolution. The survey instruments were designed following a series of Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) discussion sessions with workers and HR/admin managers. Following the survey, the results of the survey were presented and discussed to obtain more detail and clarification in focus group discussions with workers and managers. A total of 981 workers and 80 HR/admin managers participated in the surveys.

The key findings from the survey were presented at a consultative workshop attended by over 80 Cambodian and foreign representatives of unions, factories, employer organisations, government, NGOs and international organisations. The participants made several recommendations based on the main research findings, which raise additional issues for policy and program development. The key findings are as follows:

Health and nutrition

- Workers in factories where there was a canteen took 10% less sick leave, as well as eating a more balanced diet.
- Fainting/feeling dizzy was the second most common cause of sick leave reported by workers and the third by managers; it was significantly related to both not eating enough and being affected by chemicals/cloth debris.
- Managers and workers identified high incidence and cost of illnesses related to poor hygiene practices; over 50% of workers did not wash their hands with soap after going to the toilet in the factory. In the majority of cases, this was due to no soap being available.
- Almost all workers always sleep under mosquito nets, except some new workers and some male workers on occasions when they are drunk/it is hot. Mosquitoes are reported as present in nearly three quarters of factories; workers report being bitten, particularly during evening overtime.

Breastfeeding and childcare

- Workers would prefer factories to give them money to pay for childcare rather than provide a childcare centre (88%).
- There is a large unmet demand for breastfeeding, with 80% of workers with children reporting they would like to breastfeed until at least 6 months, and over 50% young children of workers living close enough to the factory to take advantage of breast-feeding breaks. Currently only 30% of Cambodian garment factories have a functional and accessible nursing room.

Personal safety

- More than one quarter of factories do not insure all workers for work-related accidents and illnesses.
- Traffic accidents were the single most common cause of insurance claims, and resulted in the most time lost to sick leave after typhoid. Over 50% of workers had been in a traffic accident themselves or had a close personal friend who had been in an accident in the previous year.
- Rape is a major safety issue along the road to the factory; 9.3% of workers reported that they or a close personal friend had been raped in the previous year.

Harassment including sexual harassment

- Sexual harassment happens. Women garment workers are subject to harassment from managers, co-workers and men along the road.
- Non-sexual verbal harassment was the most commonly reported form of harassment experienced by workers, that is, abusive/insulting language, shouting etc.
- Incidence of sexual and non-sexual harassment was higher in factories with between 500 and 999 workers.
- Standard procedures for reporting harassment and disciplinary consequences are linked to lower incidences of non-sexual harassment. Disciplinary consequences are linked to higher numbers of sexual harassment complaints.
- Workers who had been harassed by their manager in the previous year were significantly more likely to have gone on strike or otherwise stopped work.

Dispute resolution and workplace relations

- Most disputes are resolved internally; managers' satisfaction with the outcome of disputes is higher for internally-resolved disputes.
- Disputes which are resolved externally most commonly involve the MoLVT, union federations and/or GMAC.
- Managers believe that the number and time lost to disputes has decreased in the past 5 years, and factory capacity to prevent and manage disputes has increased. They attribute this to training, both internal and external (from the ILO, GMAC, unions and the ministry).
- Confidence that problems would be fairly resolved was positively linked to safety levels in the factory and fair treatment of unions by management.
- Workers' trust in individuals and institutions to resolve problems was highest in factories with 3000-4999 workers.
- Union membership was 43.1% overall, but varied with factory size.
- The most widely represented union federations were FTUWKC, KYFTU, CLUF and CCAWDU.

Other issues

- Women rarely, if ever, have sex in order to get a job in a garment factory.
- Around 1% of Cambodian workers may be underage.

1 Introduction

1.1 *Better Factories Cambodia*

On 20 January 1999, the Governments of the Kingdom of Cambodia and the United States of America entered into a three-year Trade Agreement on Textile and Apparel, which was amended and extended for another three-year period on 31 December 2001. The Agreement set an export quota for garments from Cambodia to the United States, while seeking to improve working conditions and respect for basic workers' rights in Cambodia's garment sector by promoting compliance with - and effective enforcement of - Cambodia's Labour Code as well as internationally recognised core labour standards. The amended Agreement offered a possible 18% annual increase in Cambodia's export entitlements to the United States provided the Government of Cambodia supported:

"The implementation of a programme to improve working conditions in the textile and apparel sector, including internationally recognised core labour standards, through the application of Cambodian labour law" (Article 10B, US-Cambodia Textile Agreement)

Following the signing of the Agreement, the Governments of Cambodia and the United States requested ILO technical assistance to prepare a project proposal to support the implementation of the article of the Trade Agreement concerned with the improvement of working conditions. The result of this proposal was the Garment Sector Working Conditions Improvement Project, later renamed *Better Factories Cambodia*. The basic objective of the project was to improve working conditions in Cambodia's textile and apparel sector through: establishing and operating an independent system to monitor working conditions in garment factories; providing assistance in drafting new laws and regulations where necessary as a basis for improving working conditions and giving effect to the labour law; increasing the awareness of employers and workers of core international labour standards and workers' and employers' rights under Cambodian labour law; increasing the capacity of employers and workers and their respective organizations to improve working conditions in the garment sector through their own efforts; and, building the capacity of government officials to ensure greater compliance with core labour standards and Cambodian labour laws.

1.2 *Key issues*

Nearly 290 000 workers are employed in the export garment sector. They come from rural areas where it is unlikely that they or their families have direct experience in formal employment – for 75% it is their first full-time job. They migrate to work in the cities in order to support families of 4-9 people and to support their siblings to gain an education. Around 72% are single, 22% married and 6% divorced or separated. Over 90% are women (Cambodian Researchers for Development, 2004). Given these statistics, it is appropriate to pay particular attention to issues which affect women in their working lives in the garment industry. While the ILO has been monitoring working conditions in export garment factories since 2001, including provisions of the labour law designed to assist workers to balance their work and family responsibilities, there remain areas which require further investigation and clarification.

Health Status related to Occupational Health and Safety

In discussions with *Better Factories Cambodia*, health insurers report that the highest levels of worker compensation claims in the industry are for typhoid, malaria and diarrhoea. This relates to questions of protection from mosquitoes (e.g. sleeping nets), access to hygiene facilities and nutritious food. Many workers do not eat well as they are trying to maximize savings to send home; at the same time they worry about the effects on their health of eating food lacking in nutrition or hygiene (Cambodian Researchers for Development, 2004). Knowledge of the extent of the problem and causes would assist in discussing with the industry appropriate responses. Improving worker wellbeing also reduces absenteeism and improves productivity.

Childcare and breastfeeding

The Cambodia Demographic and Health Survey for 2000 indicated that 96% of mothers breastfeed, but not exclusively (National Institute of Statistics, 2000). The percentage of mothers that do exclusively breastfeed is quite low (2%) and even up to three months the percentage is unsatisfactory (15%) given the proven association between infant deaths, morbidity and suboptimal breastfeeding. Recent qualitative research suggests that although awareness about timely initiation of breastfeeding and exclusive breastfeeding is quite high, combinations of social, cultural and economic factors make it unusual for a mother to put this knowledge into practice (Doyle, 2005).

According to the labour law (Art. 186), enterprises employing at least 100 women must set up a day-care centre, or pay the childcare costs of women employees. They also must set up a functional and accessible nursing room at or near the workplace. Mothers are entitled to one hour of paid time-off per day to breastfeed their children, until the child reaches one year of age. Employers should ensure that mothers are aware of their right to time-off for breastfeeding (Art. 184). The most recent ILO synthesis report from monitoring indicated that 86% of the factories covered by the report had failed to provide a childcare centre or costs, and 88% had failed to set up a functional and accessible nursing room. In 43% of factories, workers were either not given or not aware of their entitlement to paid breast-feeding breaks.

Given that the majority of garment workers come from rural areas, and often live away from traditional family support structures, there is a need to understand their current practices and preferences in order to design effective policy and program responses to support appropriate childcare options and increase breast feeding rates.

Personal Security

There is credible anecdotal evidence that women in the garment industry face threats to their personal security. There are reports of robbery, intimidation and sexual coercion. The nature and extent of the problem is not documented. It is not clear to what extent personal security concerns are linked to the workplace.

Harassment including sexual harassment

Sexual harassment is a serious employment and human rights issue, violating workers' dignity and security. Sexual harassment and indecent behaviour are forbidden under the labour law (Art. 172).¹ *Better Factories Cambodia* is concerned about the low level of reporting of sexual harassment in its monitoring activities (no cases in the most recent synthesis report). The reasons for this could include:

- The incidence of sexual harassment is indeed very low; and/or
- The method of monitoring is not conducive to reporting of sexual harassment; and/or
- That sexual harassment (including Khmer translation of the word) and the concept of sexual harassment is not well understood particularly within the cultural context

It is important to understand the incidence of sexual harassment and cultural attitudes to it, to assist with more effective monitoring and policy and program responses.

In addition there is a high level of reporting in ILO monitoring of workers feeling harassed by non-Khmer line managers. There is need to understand this more fully, including cultural differences, to be able to design appropriate responses.

Workplace Cooperation and dispute resolution

Issues relating to the legal system and dispute resolution have been identified as one of the major constraints to private sector growth in Cambodia (World Bank, 2004). Responding to this need, much of the work being done by the ILO in Cambodia is targeted at improving workplace cooperation and dispute resolution. More extensive baseline data is required in order to support design, monitoring, and evaluation of future work in this field. This work will

¹ For a more extensive discussion of sexual harassment in the Cambodian context, see Annex A.

contribute to a broader research program being undertaken by the ILO and the World Bank with a view to establishing indicators for the performance of Cambodia's industrial relations system.

1.3 Research objectives

To provide more detailed data on critical issues identified, but not fully covered, in ILO factory monitoring reports, that are of particular concern to women workers. The results of the survey should enable better policy and program responses on these issues to improve the wellbeing of women workers whilst improving productivity and quality.

The ILO through *Better Factories Cambodia* and the *Labour Dispute Resolution Project* will use the outcomes of the research to improve its monitoring of sexual harassment in factories, design model factories policy, information, programs and training on the research topics, establish baseline data on the understanding and practice of dispute resolution procedures by garment workers in order to measure impact of ILO training and education programs over the next 3 years, and assist in more effective workplace cooperation training through better understanding of current practices and understandings with regard to dispute resolution.

World Bank will use the outcomes of the research as part of a larger policy-oriented research program looking into issues of dispute resolution in Cambodia. The World Bank is interested in more detailed understandings of industrial relations with a view to the development of possible future program support for labour dispute resolution activities and/or initiatives in other sectors which drawn on lessons learned from labour dispute resolution.

UNIFEM will use the research as part of a larger project on gender and trade. UNIFEM is interested in tracking the (perceived) impact of trade reform (WTO accession and the end of the MFA quota system) on the working conditions of women garment workers and requirements for social and legal protection.

2 Methodology

The research comprised three stages, which are briefly described here. More detailed information on the methodology of the study can be found in Annex B.

2.1 *Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) sessions/harassment taxonomy*

The aim of the PLA sessions was to identify current practices, issues and priorities associated with the 5 research topics. The results were not designed to be representative of the population of garment workers, but were used to assist in designing the (quantitative) KAP survey. The harassment taxonomy was designed to explore the terminology used by the target population to describe unwelcome behaviour in the workplace, including behaviour of a sexual nature. The protocols for this component closely followed those developed for similar research conducted by CARE with beer promotion women in 2005 (Bury, 2005). A total of 102 workers (9 men) from 27 factories participated in 12 sessions. During this stage of the research, a focus group discussion was also held with 6 HR managers (5 men) from 5 factories. Key questions for each topic can be found in Annex F.

2.2 *Knowledge, attitudes and practices (KAP) survey*

Separate surveys were conducted with workers and HR/admin managers using a sampling strategy designed to collect representative data on the industry as a whole. A total of 981 workers (118 men) from 40 factories participated in the workers' survey. Eighty HR/admin managers (64 men) from 80 factories participated in the managers' survey. Questionnaires (see Annex G) were developed based on the results of the PLA and taxonomy sessions. Feedback on draft versions of the questionnaires was provided by the research reference group and by key staff from ILO *Better Factories Cambodia*, the World Bank, UNIFEM, CARE, and CLEC. Questionnaires were developed in English, translated into Khmer, then back-translated to check for accuracy. Both questionnaires were pre-tested, the workers' questionnaire with 12 randomly selected workers, and the managers' questionnaire with 5 HR managers from factories participating in the CARE reproductive health project. The workers' pre-test additionally tested two versions of the answer booklets.

Interviews with garment workers were conducted using the Audio-assisted Self-administered Interview (ASI) method, which has previously been used successfully by CARE with garment workers and beer promotion women (BURY, 2005; CARE, 2005).² There are several benefits to using this method with this target group:

- Garment workers are only available on Sunday – it is convenient to organise a group to participate in the survey at one time.
- Quick to implement – around 1.5 hours per group of up to 40.
- Confidential – all interviewees have an answer booklet and complete each question on their own behind their own screen. This is expected to increase honest reporting.
- Allows participants with limited literacy to self-administer a questionnaire.

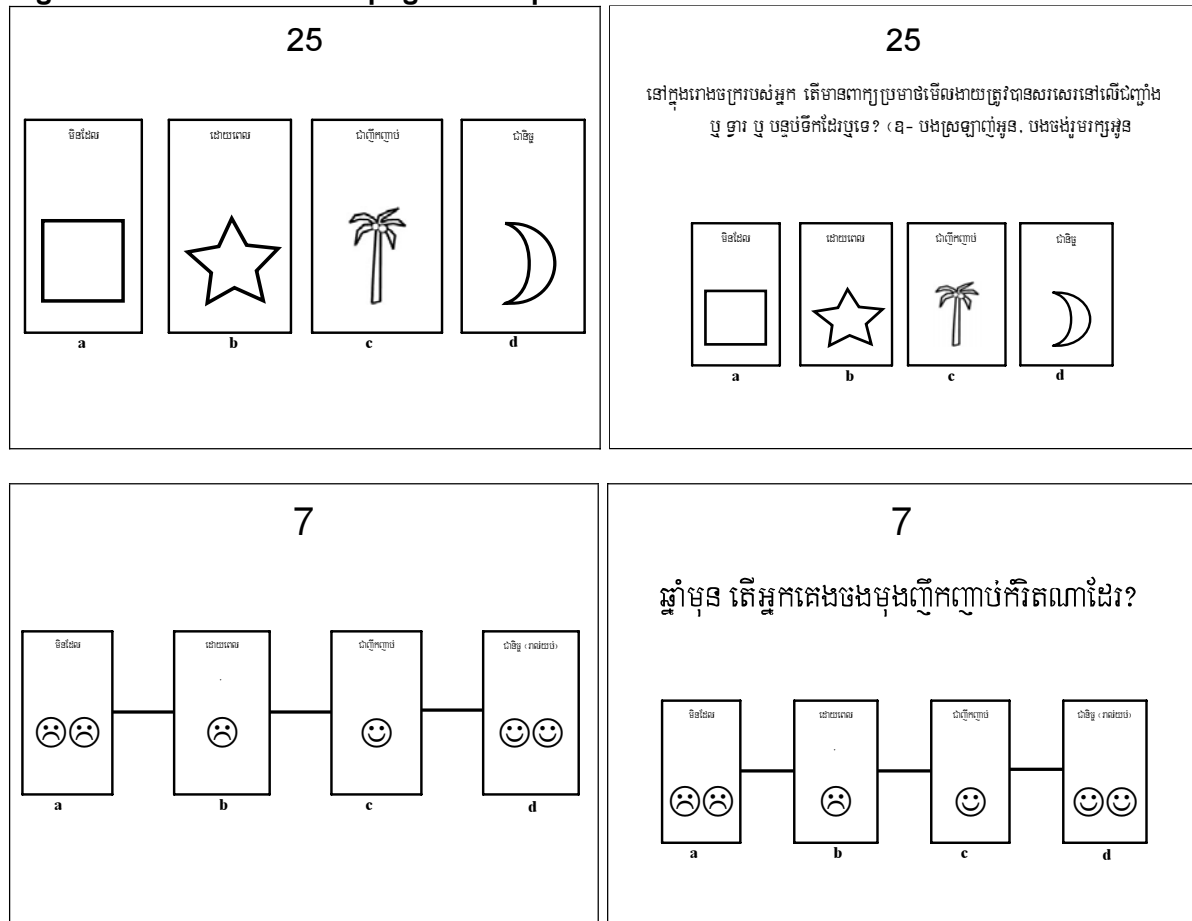
The method is used as follows:

- Participants sit on the floor. Each participant has an A5 answer booklet, shielded from others by a cardboard box.
- Each page of the answer booklet corresponds to one question from the questionnaire, and contains the question number, and one picture for each possible response (see Figure 1).

² The method was developed based on computer-assisted self-interviewing methods (Jones, 2003), and its development and first application was for Masters research investigating condom use among Cambodian garment workers (Klinker & Magtengaard, 2005).

- The interviewer stands at the front of the room, and reads out each question and its possible answers in turn, while simultaneously displaying the same information on a screen (see Figure 1).
- Participants circle the picture(s) which match(es) their answer(s) to each question.
- When the interview is finished, all participants place their booklets in a locked box. As the booklets are identified only by a code number, there is no way of matching individual participants with their answers.

Figure 1: Answer booklet pages and question slides



Interviewers were trained in the ASI method and practiced using it several times until they were confident. They were trained to read clearly and slowly at an appropriate volume, and to carefully observe the participants in order to judge when they were ready to proceed to the next question. Each question and its answers were read at least twice, more if necessary. The first three questions were considered to be practice questions; they included the three main types of questions used in the survey (single answer, multiple answer and scale). For these questions, assistant researchers went around to each participant to check that they understood the method. For subsequent questions the researchers were not permitted to look at participants' answers. Participants were told to raise their hand at any time if they had a question or required assistance, and a researcher would come and assist them.

2.3 Focus group discussions

The aim of the focus groups with workers and managers was to clarify and further explore issues arising from the KAP survey. Question guides can be found in Annex H.

3 Results

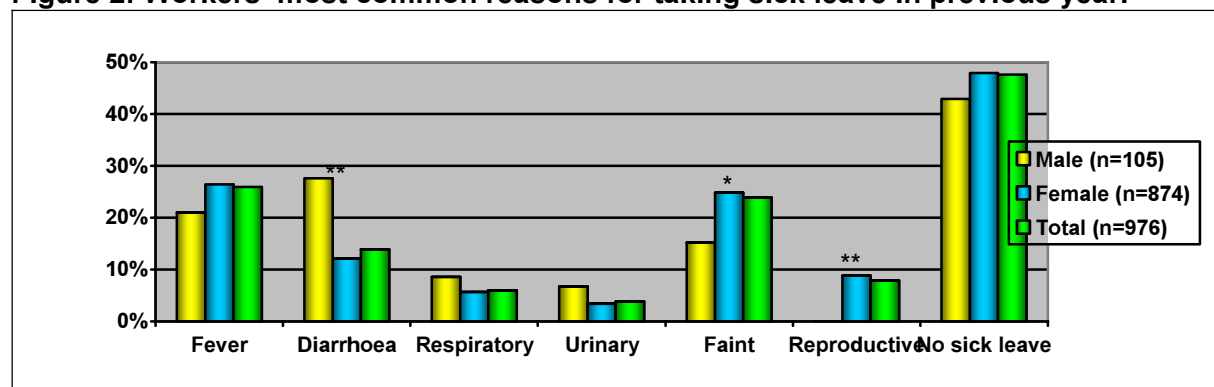
Selected results from the surveys are presented in this section, illustrated where appropriate with participants' responses from the discussion sessions. While exploratory comparisons were made of all variables by sex, factory size and union membership, only those which were judged by the research team and advisors to be most relevant for encouraging policy and program responses are presented here.

3.1 Health and nutrition

3.1.1 Sick leave

Workers were asked to indicate all illnesses for which they had taken sick leave in the previous year (see Figure 2). The most common reason for taking sick leave was fever (25.9%), followed by feeling faint/dizzy/unconscious (23.9%), and diarrhoea (13.9%). The most common reason for male workers to take sick leave was diarrhoea; men were more likely than women to have taken sick leave for diarrhoea (27.6% vs. 12.1%; $p < .01$). Women were more likely than men to have taken sick leave for feeling faint/dizzy/unconscious (24.8% vs. 15.2%; $p < .05$) and for reproductive health problems (8.8% vs. 0.0%; $p < .01$). Contrary to the stereotype that women take more sick leave than men, there was no significant difference between the percentage of men and women workers who reported taking no sick leave in the previous year.

Figure 2: Workers' most common reasons for taking sick leave in previous year.



** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

Managers identified typhoid as the most common cause of sick leave requests (59%) followed by diarrhoea (53%), feeling faint/dizzy/unconscious (45%) and fever (40%). Typhoid also caused the most time to be lost to sick leave (69%) followed by traffic accidents (44%), other fevers (23%) and diarrhoea (18%).

3.1.2 Canteens, nutrition and sick leave

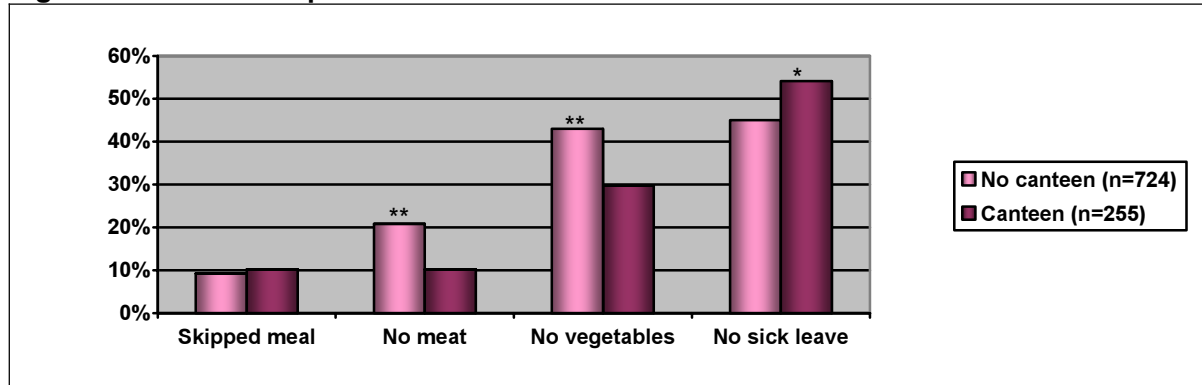
Managers were asked whether there was a canteen in their factory; 84% said there was no canteen, 3% said there was a factory-run canteen, and 13% said that there was a canteen run by others in the factory. Workers were asked a series of questions about what they had eaten on the day prior to the survey; they were also asked whether they had taken any sick leave in the previous year.

Bivariate analyses were conducted comparing workers' nutrition and sick leave in factories with and without a canteen (see Figure 3). There was no significant difference in the percentage of workers who skipped a meal on the previous day between factories with no canteen and factories with a canteen (9.2% vs. 10.2%; $p > .05$). Most workers who skipped a meal skipped breakfast (6.5% compared with 0.7% for lunch and 2.7% for the evening meal). The presence or otherwise of a canteen would be expected to have less effect on meals not normally eaten at the factory.

A significantly higher percentage of workers in factories with no canteen ate no meat on the previous day than in factories with a canteen (20.8% vs. 10.2%; $p < .01$); a similar difference was found in the percentage of workers who ate no vegetables on the previous day (43.0% vs. 29.8%; $p < .01$).

A significantly higher percentage of workers in factories with a canteen took no sick leave in the previous year (54.1% vs. 45.0%; $p < .05$).

Figure 3 : Relationship between canteen and workers' health/nutrition



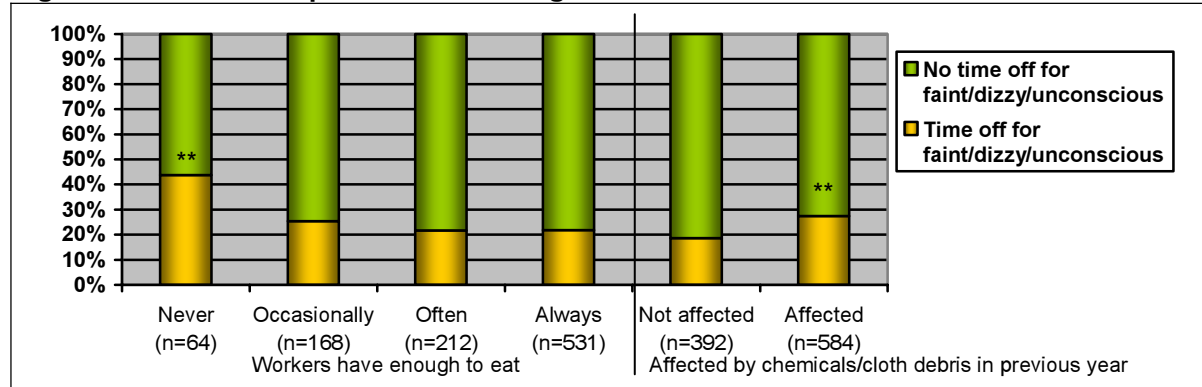
** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

Given the apparent link between the presence of a canteen and workers' nutrition and sick leave, it would seem that establishing a canteen in a factory would be a sensible measure. However, managers in one of the focus groups explained some of the difficulties they saw to establishing a canteen. They worried that providing food would leave them liable to complaints from workers in the case of food poisoning, and believed that workers would interpret the establishment of a canteen as an attempt by the company to make money from them. They were also concerned that the factories had no experience in providing or monitoring food. This would require outside expertise, which comes at a price, particularly as they believed that the likelihood of corruption would make it impossible to hire local staff for this purpose. For these reasons, they believed that the costs would outweigh the benefits, despite recognising the probable positive effects on worker nutrition and sick leave.

3.1.3 Fainting

Workers who said they never had enough to eat were more likely to have taken time off work for feeling faint/dizzy/unconscious in the previous year (43.8% vs. 21.7-25.4%; $p < .01$), as were workers who reported being affected by chemicals or cloth debris in the previous year (27.4% vs. 18.6%; $p < .01$) (see Figure 4). While these relationships are significant, they are not necessarily causal; there are also other possible causes of fainting. In several recent cases of mass fainting in Cambodian factories, both chemicals and poor nutrition were suggested in local newspapers as possible causes, as well as food poisoning, poor health and excessive work, but evidence was inconclusive (Business Press, 2006). A World Health Organisation representative cited in the Cambodia Daily explained that there could also be a psychosomatic element to mass faintings, with "the power of suggestion" prompting workers to faint after seeing other workers faint (Kuch Naren, 2006).

Figure 4 : Relationship between fainting and nutrition/chemicals

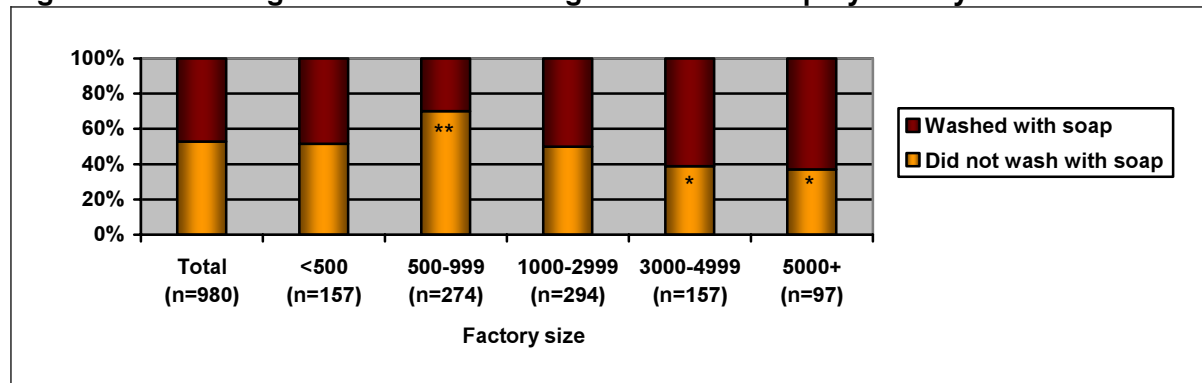


** p<.01; * p<.05

3.1.4 Hand-washing

Given the high incidence and cost of health problems which can be caused through poor hygiene (diarrhoea, some fevers), workers were asked whether they washed their hands with soap every time after they went to the toilet at the factory on the day prior to the survey. Over 50% of workers reported not washing their hands with soap every time (see Figure 5). This figure was significantly higher in factories with between 500 and 999 workers (70.1%), and significantly lower in factories with 3000 or more workers (38.9% for 3000-4999, 37.1% for 5000+). Workers who did not wash their hands with soap were asked why; the majority answered that there was no soap available (80.2%), followed by not enough time (16.1%) and the factory having no hand-washing facility (8.8%) (multiple answers were possible).

Figure 5: Percentage of workers washing hands with soap by factory size



** p<.01; * p<.05

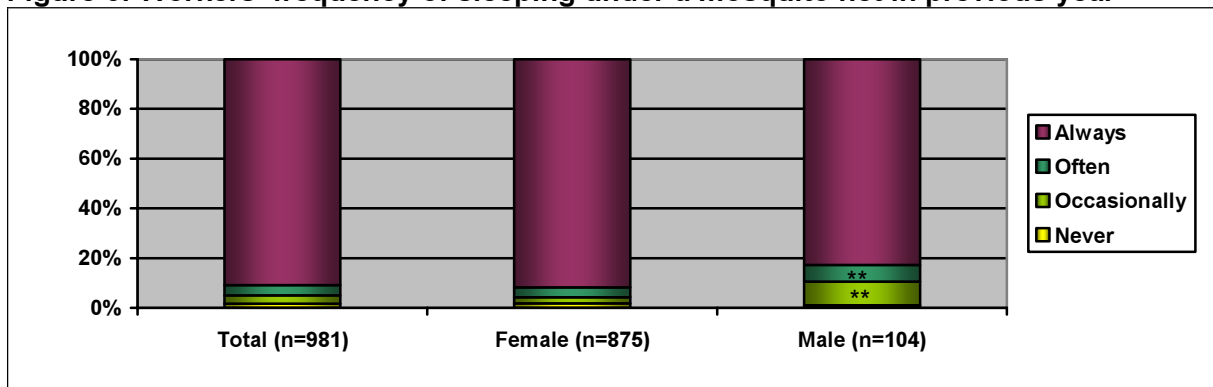
3.1.5 Mosquitoes

Fever was the most common reason for taking sick leave reported by workers and was also the fourth most commonly cause of sick leave requests reported by managers. Two of the most serious fevers – malaria and dengue - are mosquito-borne. Workers were asked how frequently they slept under a mosquito net in the previous year. Overall, mosquito net use was high, 90.8% of workers saying they always slept under a net (see Figure 6). Net usage was lower among men; 17.3% of male workers did not always sleep under a net.

Some of workers' reasons for not sleeping under nets were explored in the preliminary PLA sessions and in the final focus groups. Men said that they didn't always sleep under mosquito nets when they get drunk and are too lazy to hang one up. Some men also said they didn't like sleeping under nets because it is too hot. Women said that they always sleep under mosquito nets to avoid dengue, malaria and the annoyance of mosquitoes. Many said that the environment around their accommodation was not clean, with rubbish and standing water, but that they had no time to clean it up. They also said that some workers did not sleep under nets was when they first come to Phnom Penh – a net costs between \$2.50 and \$5, and many workers in Phnom Penh for the first time do not bring their own net. In some

cases, the landlord will provide nets, but other workers must use coils until they have enough money to buy their own. No workers in PLA sessions had heard of insecticide-treated nets.³

Figure 6: Workers' frequency of sleeping under a mosquito net in previous year



** p<.01; * p<.05

Managers were asked whether there were mosquitoes in their factory; 72% said there were. Workers were asked about mosquitoes in focus group discussions; participants in all but one group said there were many mosquitoes in certain areas of the factories: for example, the cloth warehouse, ironing department, under machines, or finished goods warehouse. Workers in 3 of the 8 groups said that the main problems with mosquitoes in the factory occurred when they had to work overtime at night, particularly between 6.30 pm and 10 pm.

³ Insecticide-treated nets are the primary method of malaria prevention worldwide (WHO, 2006).

3.2 Breastfeeding and childcare

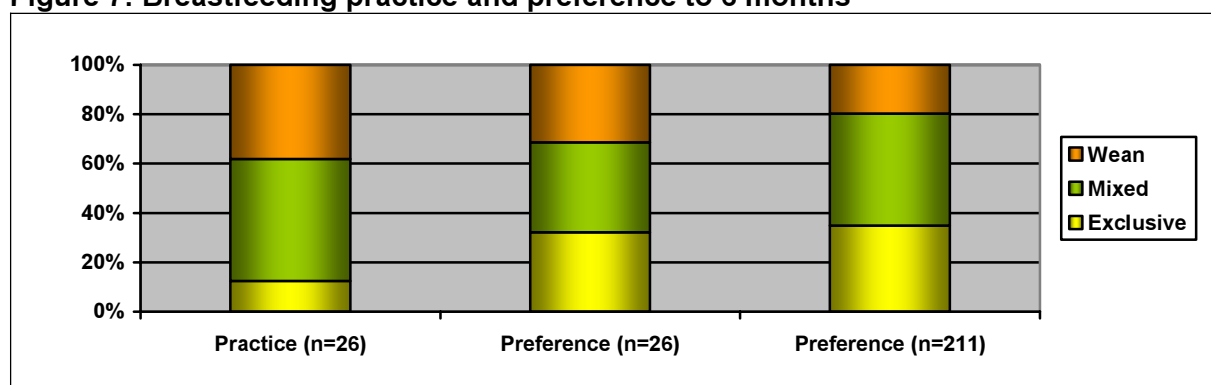
Worker participants were asked whether they had any children; 215 (21.9%) reported that they did. This figure matches that obtained in the first Asian Development Bank (ADB) socio-economic survey of 1538 Cambodian garment workers from 10 factories (21.5%; Cambodian Researchers for Development, 2004). The true percentage is likely to be higher, as the sample was biased towards workers without young children living with them – having to look after a young child was one of the reasons frequently cited for refusing to participate in this study.

According to the labour law (Art. 186), enterprises employing at least 100 women must set up a day-care centre, or pay the childcare costs of women employees. The 215 worker participants who had children were asked whether they would prefer the day-care centre option or the payment; 88.0% said they would prefer the payment.

According to the labour law (Art. 184), mothers are entitled to one hour of paid time-off per day to breastfeed their children, until the child reaches one year of age. Enterprises employing at least 100 women must also set up a functional and accessible nursing room at or near the workplace (Art. 186). Of the 60 factories within the sample which were monitored by the ILO *Better Factories Cambodia* programme in the first half of 2006, only 30% were in compliance with this requirement. Companies often claim that mothers of young infants generally send them to live with family (usually in the provinces), and that a nursing room would therefore be redundant. Of the 48 children aged under 1 reported by survey participants, 15 (32%) lived within half an hour of the factory, and a further 13 (27%) lived between half and one hour away. A targeted survey of 68 pregnant workers and workers with young infants recently found that only 38% reported that their child would be taken care of by family outside Phnom Penh (Cambodian Researchers for Development, 2005). This would indicate that over 50% of workers with young children would potentially be able to take advantage of a nursing room if one were provided.

Workers with infants were also asked about their current feeding practices, and whether they would prefer/would have preferred to breastfeed until the child was at least six months old. Due to the small number of participants with infants under six months, no statistical comparisons can be made. However, the results are indicative – only 13% of those with infants under six months exclusively breastfed, but 32% would like to (see Figure 7). This figure matches that for the entire sample of participants with children – 35% reported that they would prefer/would have preferred to exclusively breastfeed until at least six months. Another 45% reported that they would like to continue breastfeeding until at least six months while introducing some additional foods. This represents a large unmet demand for breastfeeding, indicating that not only do many workers with young children live close enough to the factories to take advantage of a nursing room, but also that many wish to breastfeed more than they do.

Figure 7: Breastfeeding practice and preference to 6 months



3.3 Personal safety

3.3.1 Safety in the factory

Workers and managers rated the level of safety in their factory on a scale from 1 (not at all safe) to 4 (completely safe). At all factory sizes, managers' perceptions of safety levels were more positive than workers' (see Figure 8). Managers who participated in focus groups were asked if they could explain this discrepancy. One foreign manager attributed this to lack of familiarity with the machines used in the factory:

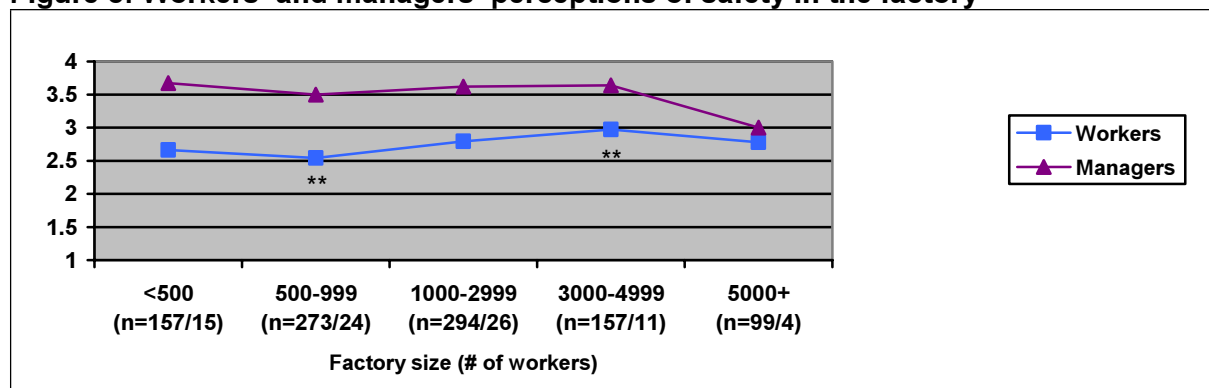
“The managers know how to use the things, know how the safety procedures, but the workers is no, maybe that is the first time for their life, to see the sewing machine, or the packing machine, so they are so strange for them, so of course they will think anything strange for you is not safe. For us it's so used to it, you've been doing this according to the procedures, or according to the way, the right way, then it should be completely safe.”

This was reflected by managers' survey responses; when asked what they believed to be the main safety problems in the factory, 91% said machinery, and 71% said electrical problems (multiple answers were possible). However, workers were less concerned about machinery (20.5%), instead identifying electrical problems (70.9%) and chemicals/cloth debris (67.7%) as the two main safety issues.

Other managers mentioned in focus group discussions that while they provided safety equipment to workers (needle guards, masks etc), without constant monitoring workers often did not use the equipment. This resulted in managers believing that everything possible had been done to ensure a safe working environment, while in reality the workers experience a lower level of safety.

A one-way analysis of variance indicated that workers' perceptions of safety differed significantly according to the number of workers in their factory. Post-hoc comparisons using the Games-Howell test revealed that perceptions of safety in factories with less than 1000 workers were significantly lower than in larger factories (2.66/2.54 vs. 2.79/2.97/2.78; $p < .01$).

Figure 8: Workers' and managers' perceptions of safety in the factory



** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; (n=workers/managers)

3.3.2 Safety along the road

Workers and managers were asked what they believed to be the main safety issues along the road to and from the factory. Workers were additionally asked whether they or a close personal friend had experienced any of these during the previous year. Workers identified traffic accidents as the single most serious safety issue along the road (67.4%) (see Figure 9). This is hardly surprising given their experiences: 53.9% had either been in a traffic accident themselves or had a close personal friend who had been in an accident in the previous year.

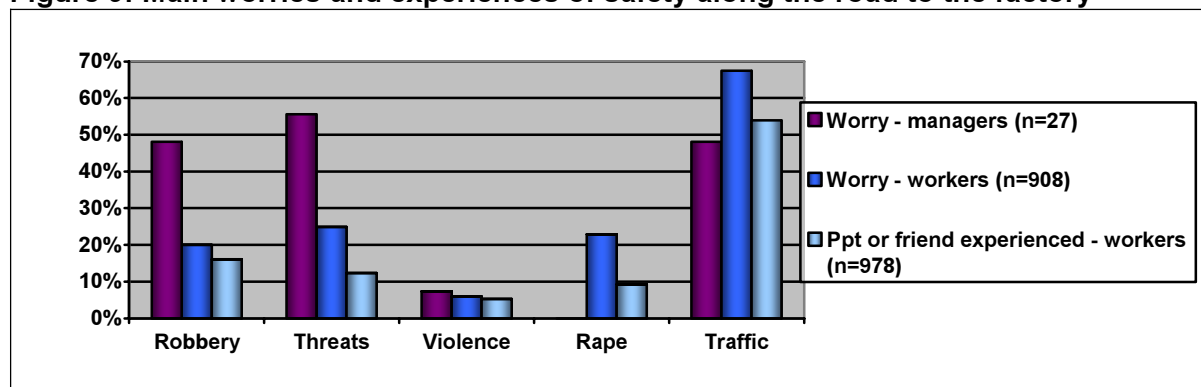
According to the Road Traffic Accident and Victim Information System,⁴ there were around 10,500 casualties in the first 5 months of 2006; around 60% of these were attributable to high speeds or drug/alcohol use. Over the past 5 years, the number of traffic accidents has increased by 50%, and the number of deaths has doubled (RTAVIS, 2006). Statistics from the Ministry of Public Works and Transport cited in the Phnom Penh Post show that official motorcycle ownership increased 140% between 2004 and 2005, and 60% of accidents involved motorcycles (Shum, 2006). According to RTAVIS statistics, only 3% of motorcycle casualties were wearing a helmet, and 39% of all casualties suffered cranial trauma. On average, the cost of treatment after an accident was \$99. In the workers' survey, 19.4% of participants said they used a motorcycle for at least part of their journey to and from work, 69.0% walked and 11.0% rode bicycles (multiple modes of transport were possible).

Workers discussed the traffic issue in focus groups. They said that accidents mostly occur during the morning and evening traffic jams, and are usually caused by motorcyclists driving too fast. With the crowded traffic and many big trucks, motorcyclists can not overtake safely. The situation is worse when it is raining. Drivers, passengers and pedestrians are all at risk of getting hurt. Some workers said that their factories provided transport home if they worked late overtime, which was safer; they had never experienced an accident. Workers in one group suggested having traffic-calmed areas near factories, where big cars/trucks are not allowed without a permit, and motorcycles are compelled to drive slowly. Another group suggested moving small traders back from the road to increase the road width and improve their safety.

A new law to be presented to the National Assembly at the end of 2006 will introduce a number of road safety measures, including compulsory helmets for all two-and three-wheeled vehicles, driving licenses for operating motorbikes larger than 49cc (currently only required for larger than 100cc), and blood alcohol limits (Shum, 2006). However, improvements will depend on enforcement, which is not currently a strong feature of the Cambodian traffic system.

Although 88% of managers from the survey said actions had been taken to improve the safety situation along the road, the most common action taken was to "cooperate with the authorities" (74%), which may be a less than concrete way of reducing traffic accidents. In focus group discussions, managers said that traffic accidents occurred outside the factory, and were therefore the responsibility of the workers. Providing insurance cover was the extent of the assistance they could provide. However, in the managers' survey 24% of participants said that their factories did not insure workers. Managers not only identified traffic accidents as the single most common cause of insurance claims in factories with insurance (67%), but also as resulting in the most time lost to sick leave after typhoid (44%). Apart from the direct economic effect, this must also have an impact on insurance premiums. It would therefore be in the interests of factories to work to reduce traffic accidents.

Figure 9: Main worries and experiences of safety along the road to the factory



⁴ RTAVIS publish monthly reports available at www.cnctp.info, compiled from data collection forms filled in by trained staff at major hospitals, private clinics and traffic police.

None of the managers from the survey identified rape as a major safety issue along the road to the factory, perhaps because the majority were male. However, this was the third most common concern for workers (22.9%). An alarmingly high percentage reported that they or a close personal friend had been raped in the previous year (9.3%). In initial PLA sessions, women in all three groups that discussed personal security and harassment knew of other workers who had been raped, usually gang raped. Some, but not all of these incidents occurred on the way home from the factory. For example:

“Two months ago, one worker was raped by 7 men when she came back from work at 10pm (about 1km between factory & dormitory)”

“One worker was raped by 3 men after she left the factory at 8:30pm. She was killed. When this problem occurred, we complained to police, but we have to spend money. Sometimes they release the doer because doer has much money. The factory took no responsibility. One more thing is that we dare not complain because we are shy/feel embarrassed.”

“One 17 year old worker was raped by 6-7 drug abusers that she used to scold. The abusers gave police \$700; they are free.”

“One worker was raped nearly 1 year ago. She is 20 years old and the abuser is 30, with 4 children. She lives in the same village as the abuser. When she left work at 8:30pm, she met him along the road. He raped her. She complained to the commune/village chief. She got only 100,000 riels for mental damage.”

“One 16 year old worker went out with her boyfriend. He took her to a guest house and called his friends. She was raped by 19 people (including the boyfriend) until she died. She was naked when we found her in the guest house.”

From these anecdotes, it is apparent that not only are women at risk of rape, particularly when they are required to work overtime until after dark, but that a culture of impunity means that rapists are likely to go unpunished. The phenomenon of gang rape (*bauk*) committed by young Cambodian men was first documented in 2002 (Wilkinson & Fletcher, 2002). Further research found that in the majority of cases, the victims are sex workers. One 23 year old university student is cited as saying: “I have never experienced *bauk* with the good girl, just only with prostitutes or beer girls” (Bearup, 2003; p.87). The fact that participants in all PLA sessions knew of women being targeted for *bauk* is further evidence of negative societal attitudes towards garment workers (see section 3.4.2 below). In the absence of attitude and behaviour change among Cambodian men, more needs to be done to protect garment workers against such extreme violations of their human rights.

3.4 Workplace harassment including sexual harassment

3.4.1 Taxonomy

In Khmer, sexual harassment is translated as *ka beat bean phlau phet*. However, this is a relatively new term, and there is as yet no broad common understanding of its meaning. It is commonly associated with sexual assault, and in particular rape, and may not always be understood to include other unwanted behaviours of a sexual nature. Accordingly, prior to the survey, a taxonomy exercise was used to explore the terminology used by workers to describe unacceptable behaviour in the workplace, both sexual and non-sexual.

In small groups, a total of 37 workers listed all the unacceptable behaviours they encounter in the workplace. They were asked to indicate which terms were sexual or somehow related to sex, and then ranked all behaviours according to frequency of occurrence. In each session, a smaller group of workers was then asked to sort the terms from the main list into categories, and give each category a name. Unlike the beer promotion women who did the same exercise for the previous survey on sexual harassment (Bury, 2005), the garment workers did not distinguish sub-categories of sexual harassment, but treated all the relevant behaviours as one group. For the purpose of the survey, the sexual harassment terms listed were grouped into sub-categories by matching terms with those with similar examples.

While previous factory monitoring has found little evidence of sexual harassment in the workplace, workers were able to name a wide variety of harassing behaviours, and agreed that some of these are relatively common. The terms and categories defined and used by the garment workers to describe sexual harassment in the workplace and along the road to and from work are listed in Table 1, with examples.

Workers say that men look down on female garment workers generally, both inside the factory and along the road. Verbal harassment is most common, sometimes from managers, often from male workers and men along the road home. Men who participated in the workplace relations PLA also said that some group/section chiefs and Chinese managers verbally abuse the female workers, for example saying “you only think about men”. Some workers also reported unwanted touching from male workers and men along the road.

Workers also identified other types of harassment in the workplace, principally verbal abuse from supervisors. Both Khmer and Chinese supervisors at all levels were mentioned in this regard; however, Chinese managers were particularly singled out as being perpetrators of verbal and physical abuse (shouting, insulting, staring, throwing clothes, pointing, slapping table). Other behaviours perceived as unacceptable related to unfair working conditions – lack of sick pay/holiday pay, refusing to change status to permanent after 1 year, refusing permission for leave, forced overtime, irregular salaries.

One group also claimed that male workers are given higher salaries and higher raises than female workers, as Chinese managers are afraid of male workers and think they will go on strike otherwise. Participants in one of the workplace relations PLA sessions agreed that factories rarely recruit male workers because they are strong and easily go on strike. In particular they said that the Chinese are afraid of hiring male workers. Another group also said that most of the workers who complain about piece rates are male workers. Male participants said that female workers dare not complain.

None of the groups mentioned rape in their initial brainstorming, but two out of three mentioned it during the subsequent taxonomy exercise, and all three groups which discussed personal security highlighted the issue. It seems that rape is seen more as a security issue than an extreme form of sexual harassment, and for this reason is discussed in section 3.3 above.

Table 1: Sexual harassment terms

Terms/ behaviours	Khmer	Examples
Men use derogatory/ impolite words to workers, look down on them	មនុស្សប្រុសប្រើពាក្យ ប្រមាថ/មិនគួរសម មើលងាយពួកគេ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Both female & male managers think that workers aren't the same status as them ▪ Male workers scold female workers ▪ Heh, <i>Mi nis</i> (bad word for woman) where do you go? ▪ <i>Misrey rongchak</i> (female garment workers) are easy to go with men if he takes her on his new/expensive motorbike ▪ They say it is easy to woo female workers (woo only one, but they can get others) ▪ "Oh, I used to sleep with her" ▪ <i>Mi nis</i> wear tight trousers ▪ "Female workers aren't good." They said female workers always go out with men and have many men ▪ "Lower values than prostitute" ▪ Along the road a man drove a motorbike and said "Spend 500 riels, you can sleep with them for 2 days" ▪ When we leave the factory, men always look down on us. For example, if they say something and then we reply, they say we are easy women (<i>Chet geay</i>). If we don't reply, they said that we are arrogant. We are upset because they think we are worthless. ▪ Men living near workers' dormitory. He invited her to go outside with him; she refused. He said: you are a garment worker, why do you refuse?
Court/Flirt/ Ask to go out with	ចែចង់/ញ៉ែ/បបួល ទៅក្រៅជាមួយ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In one factory, Chinese mechanic asked female workers to sleep with him when working at night ▪ When the workers go home at night, men along the road say "come to a guesthouse". ▪ Happens from male workers, machinery workers, neighbours
Sexual touching	ការប៉ះទាក់ទងនឹងផ្លូវ ភេទ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Male worker touching female worker (<i>dai dorl</i>), speaking & using hands at the same time ▪ Embrace from behind, she shouted, he said "you are a garment worker - why did you shout?" ▪ Touch the bottom ▪ Touch shoulder ▪ Male workers touch hands intentionally ▪ Unknown person along the road touch breast ▪ (Mentioned in one group only)
Stare/Look up and down	សំលឹង/មើលពីលើ ដល់ក្រោម	
Make kissing sound	បង្កើតជាសំលេងទើប ចេញពីមាត់	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (Mentioned in one group only)

3.4.2 Incidence of harassment

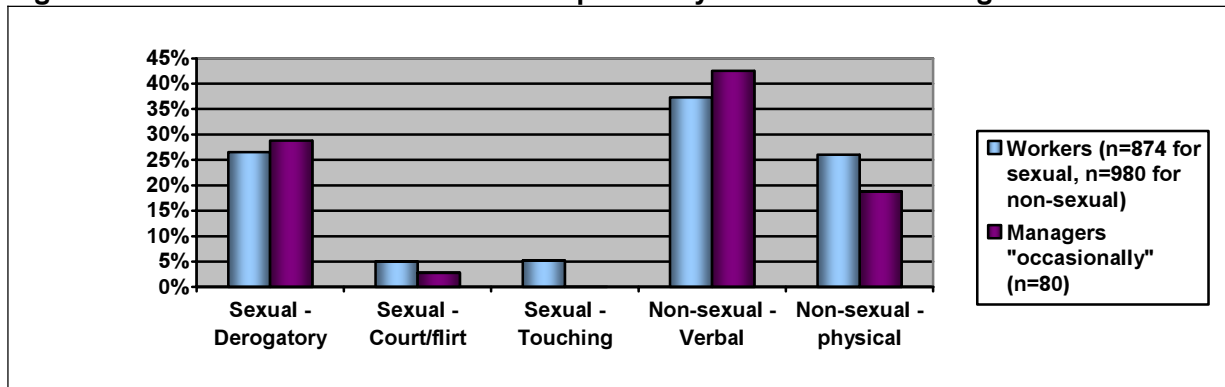
Workers were asked whether they had themselves experienced any of the unacceptable behaviours from the taxonomy exercise in the previous year from a manager/supervisor.⁵ Of the female participants, 26.5% reported that a manager/supervisor had used derogatory

⁵ All results reported for sexual harassment are for women workers only, the findings for non-sexual harassment refer to the whole sample.

words for women/female garment workers (e.g. *Minis*, *Chet Geay*, say garment workers are easy to have sex with) (see Figure 10). Five percent said a manager/supervisor had courted or flirted or asked to go out or have sex with him, and 5.2% had experienced unwanted sexual touching (e.g. embracing, touching bottom/hand/shoulder/breast/back). Among all participants, 37.3% had experienced verbally disrespectful behaviour (e.g. insulting, scolding, shouting, blaming) and 26.0% had experienced physically disrespectful behaviour (e.g. point at face, hit, throw something, hit table).

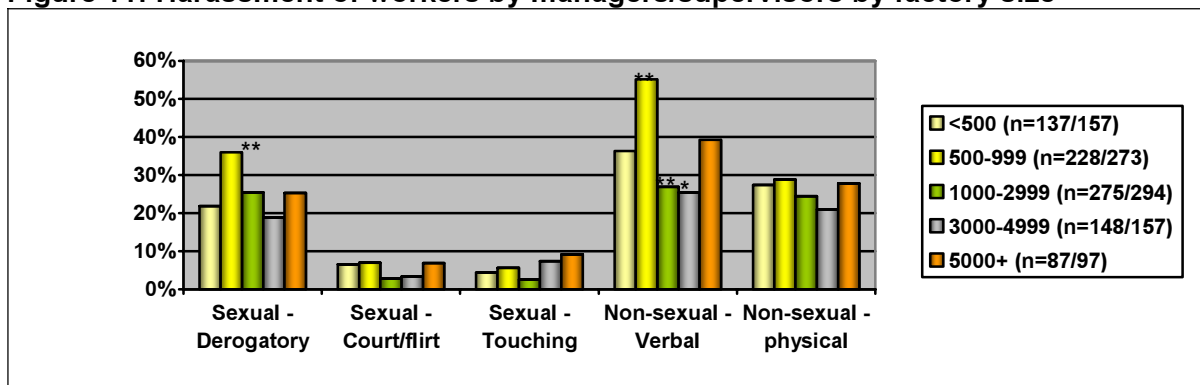
Managers were also asked how frequently they thought managers/supervisors in their factory harassed workers. No manager said that any kind of harassment behaviour occurred more than occasionally. Non-sexual verbal harassment was most frequently reported to occur occasionally (43% of managers), followed by using sexually derogative words (29%) and non-sexual physical harassment (19%). While workers' and managers' reporting of each kind of harassment behaviour was at similar levels overall, bivariate analyses revealed that there were no significant differences in reported harassment between workers in factories where managers said such harassment occasionally occurred, and workers in factories where managers said such harassment never occurred. That is, managers' perceptions of the frequency of harassment do not match the experiences of workers in their factories.

Figure 10: Incidence of harassment as reported by workers and managers



Incidence of harassment by managers/supervisors was compared by factory size. Bivariate analyses revealed that the use of sexually derogative words was reported significantly more frequently by workers from factories with between 500 and 999 workers (36.0% vs. 18.9-25.5%; $p < .01$) (see Figure 11). Significantly higher percentages of workers from this group also reported non-sexual verbally disrespectful behaviour from their managers/supervisors; percentages were significantly lower for workers from factories with between 1000 and 4999 workers (55.1% vs. 26.9% and 25.5%; $p < .01$).

Figure 11: Harassment of workers by managers/supervisors by factory size

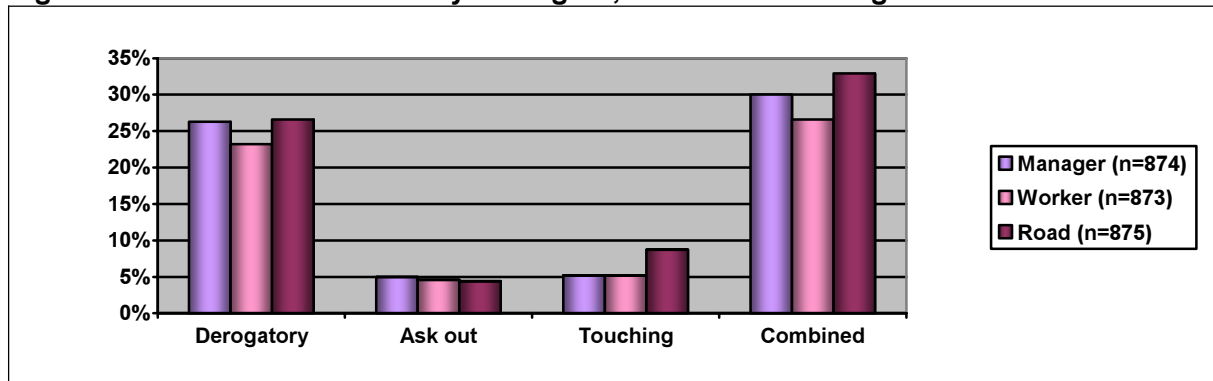


** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; (n=sexual (women only)/non-sexual)

Workers were also asked whether they had experienced sexual harassment from other workers and from men along the road. Percentages for each behaviour were similar across

all three groups – 30.0% had been sexually harassed by a manager/supervisor in the previous year, 26.6% by a co-worker, and 32.9% by a man along the road to the factory (see Figure 12).

Figure 12: Sexual harassment by managers, workers and along the road



This indicates that sexual harassment is not just a workplace phenomenon, but reflects prevailing attitudes in Cambodian society that such behaviour towards women is acceptable, compounded by particularly negative attitudes towards garment workers. These have been noted in other reports, for example a factory administrator is cited as telling researchers on the first ADB socio-economic survey that “he would never allow his son to become romantically involved with a girl who worked in a factory” (Cambodian Researchers for Development, 2004; p.11). From focus groups with garment workers, Womyn’s Agenda for Change reported that:

“Neighbours, relatives, or other people in their village claim that garment workers are bad girls. Garment workers are considered bad because they live in town and may go out with men. The people in the village look at how the garment workers dress and judge them to be bad girls.” p.44

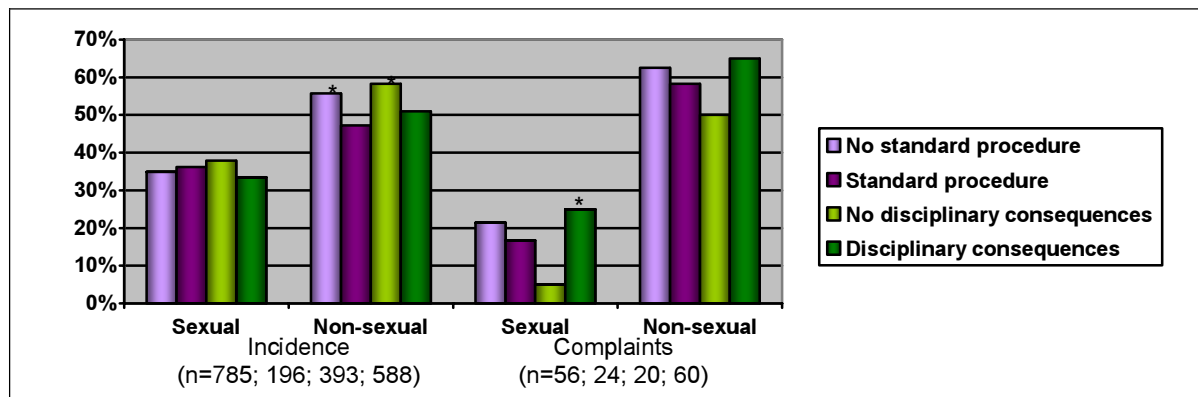
“women factory workers are always much more criticized than men. Garment workers may not be considered good women even for marriage – in some cases engagements have been broken because the girl was a garment worker. Some village boys who work in garment factories tell other boys in the village not to marry factory girls because they are not virgins.” p.45 (Womyn’s Agenda for Change, 2005)

Such societal attitudes do not excuse managers’ sexual harassment of workers; indeed, managers have a particular responsibility to ensure that the work environment is free of sexual harassment as this is one of the fundamental labour rights.

3.4.3 Relationship between harassment and standard procedures

The incidence of non-sexual harassment as measured by the percentage of workers who reported this was significantly higher in factories where there was no standard procedure for reporting harassment (55.7% vs. 47.2%; $p < .05$), and also where there were no disciplinary consequences for harassment (58.3% vs. 51.0%; $p < .05$) (see Figure 13). There was no significant relationship between incidence of sexual harassment and either standard procedures or disciplinary consequences. However, managers were significantly more likely to report that there had been complaints about sexual harassment in factories where there were disciplinary consequences for harassment (25% vs. 5%; $p < .05$). This indicates that while there is no difference in the incidence of sexual harassment, women feel most confident to report it in factories with disciplinary consequences. The presence of standard procedures was not significantly related to complaints about sexual or non-sexual harassment.

Figure 13: Harassment incidence and complaints by presence of standard procedures and disciplinary consequences

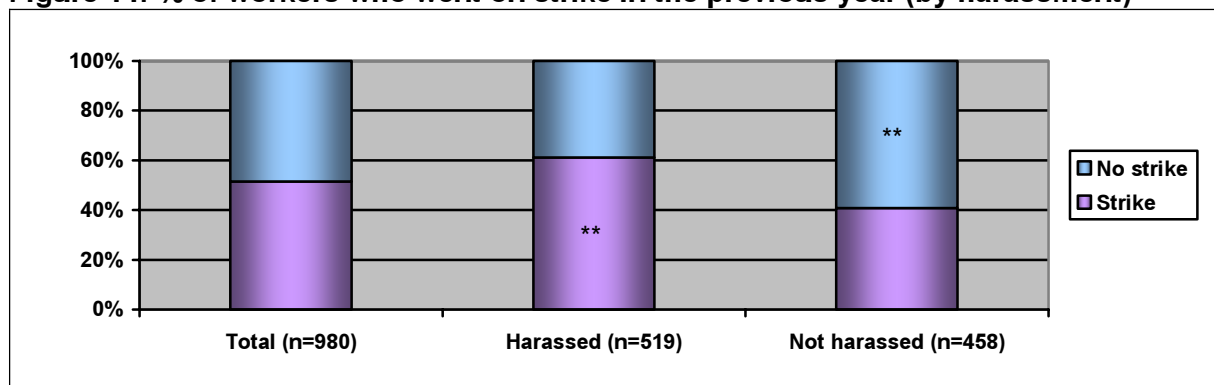


** p<.01; * p<.05; (n=no procedure; procedure; no consequences; consequences)

3.4.4 Relationship between harassment and labour relations

Harassment is not only detrimental to individual workers, but also is indicative of poor labour relations in the factory as a whole. There was a clear relationship between harassment and several labour relations variables (see section 3.5 below). In general, labour relations were better in factories where there was a lower incidence of harassment. For example, there was a significant difference in the percentage of workers who went on strike or otherwise stopped work in the previous year between workers who had been harassed by their manager and those who had not (61.1% vs. 40.8%; p<.01) (see Figure 14).⁶ The relationship makes intuitive sense – harassment of a worker by a manager is an exercise of power, which reflects a seriously imbalanced relationship. In such cases, open and equal communication is very unlikely, and workers may feel they have to resort to extreme measures to resolve their problems, rather than relying on discussion and negotiation.

Figure 14: % of workers who went on strike in the previous year (by harassment)



** p<.01; * p<.05

⁶ This relationship remained significant after using multinomial regression to control for sex, being scared by manager, perceptions of factory safety, perceptions of management treatment of unions, union membership, factory size, ever having had a case at the arbitration council, percentage of female supervisors, percentage of Cambodian supervisors, confidence that problems would be solved fairly, and presence of standard grievance procedure. For regression table showing odds ratios, see Annex D.

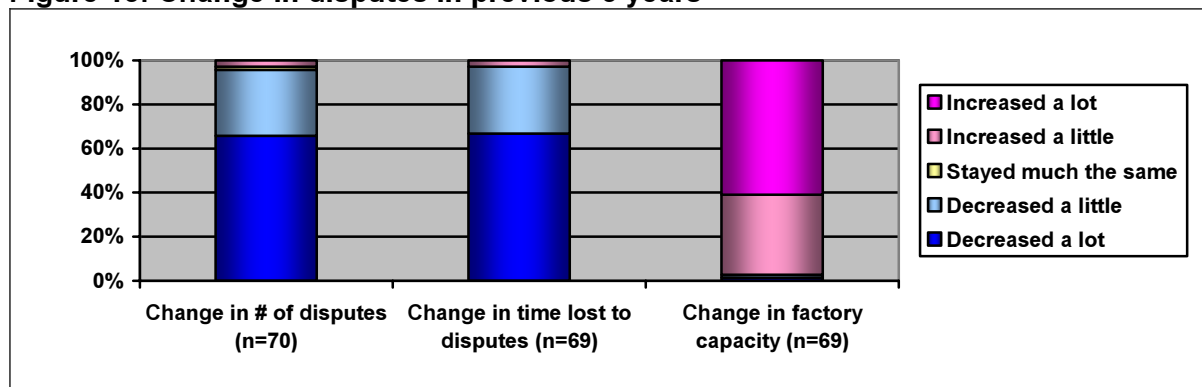
3.5 Dispute resolution and workplace relations

3.5.1 Dispute resolution

Among managers, 72% reported that the last dispute that occurred in their factory was resolved internally. Disputes which were taken outside the factory most commonly involved the labour inspectorate (35%), followed by the union federations (32%), the Garment Manufacturers Association of Cambodia (GMAC) (20%) and the Arbitration Council (10%). Mean satisfaction with the outcome of the dispute as rated from 1 (not at all satisfied) to 4 (completely satisfied) was significantly higher for disputes which were solved internally than externally ($M=3.34$ vs. 2.64 ; $p<.05$).

Managers were also asked about changes in disputes during the previous 5 years. Almost all managers reported that the number of disputes had decreased (96%) and the time lost to disputes had decreased (97%) while factory capacity to prevent and manage disputes had increased (97%) (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: Change in disputes in previous 5 years



This was explored in more detail during focus group discussions. Participants who had been in the industry for several years explained that 5-10 years ago there were many more problems than now, and attributed the change to training:

“From 1996-97, there were many problems (1 or 2 times a month, 3-4-5 times a year). After organisations and the ministry came to train about the labour law or what is right/reasonable, workers and other representatives understand. ... That’s why I said disputes dramatically decrease.” *Cambodian admin manager*

“When the Chinese supervisors arrive, we have training about culture/traditions and some law with them. In the previous time, we didn’t, so they didn’t get along with Cambodian workers. It caused many disputes. After having training, disputes decreased.” *Cambodian admin manager*

“In the previous time, there were problems we can’t solve because workers, representatives including union representatives didn’t understand clearly about the law. They get to know a lot after they are invited to training by organisations [ILO, GMAC]. They can have ideas to solve the problems. Until now, workers get to know through worker representative, union representative, and employer.” *Cambodian admin assistant*

“Disputes decreased because both unions and managers have good education. In our country, we consider the labour law as fundamental. Employers and workers have to respect the labour law. They studied at ILO about dispute resolution. We have to decrease it. In short, we make small dispute into no dispute and big dispute to small” *Cambodian HR manager*

Foreign participants in focus group discussions agreed that the situation had improved, although they themselves had not been in country for longer than 5 years. They said a focus on communication to resolve problems while they are still small had been beneficial. They emphasised that awareness of the labour law among workers had increased and that companies which did not follow the law had problems because their workers learned about their entitlements from workers in other factories. They appreciated the training which had been provided by the ILO on quality, productivity, OSH etc in the context of the remediation program. With regard to training on dispute resolution, they felt that management had appropriate levels of skills but suggested that training should be targeted at Cambodian HR officers, who have more direct contact with workers. This would enable smaller problems to be solved without involving higher management, while also building the dispute resolution capacity of Cambodian middle management.

Foreign participants also believed that the introduction of standard grievance procedures had improved the situation; this was not corroborated by the data from the survey with managers, where there was no significant difference between factories with grievance procedures and factories without procedures either in terms of reported disputes in the factory, whether these disputes were resolved internally or externally, or levels of satisfaction with the outcome of disputes. It is worth noting that of the 45% of factories which had a grievance procedure, only 70% had trained or notified the workers about this procedure, and workers were only reported to use the procedure “often” or “always” in 17%.

Workers and managers were given a scenario of a simple, common workplace problem:

“Think of the following situation: At the end of one month, when you go to get paid, you and some of the other workers on your line are not given your attendance bonus (*prak rungwan twer ga tieng toat \$5*) You think this is wrong. How confident are you that this problem would be resolved fairly in the end?”

They were asked to rate their confidence on a scale of 1 (not at all confident) to 4 (completely confident). Managers’ confidence was much higher than workers’, with 80% of managers stating that they were completely confident that such a problem would be resolved fairly (see Figure 16).

Figure 16: Confidence that problem would be resolved fairly

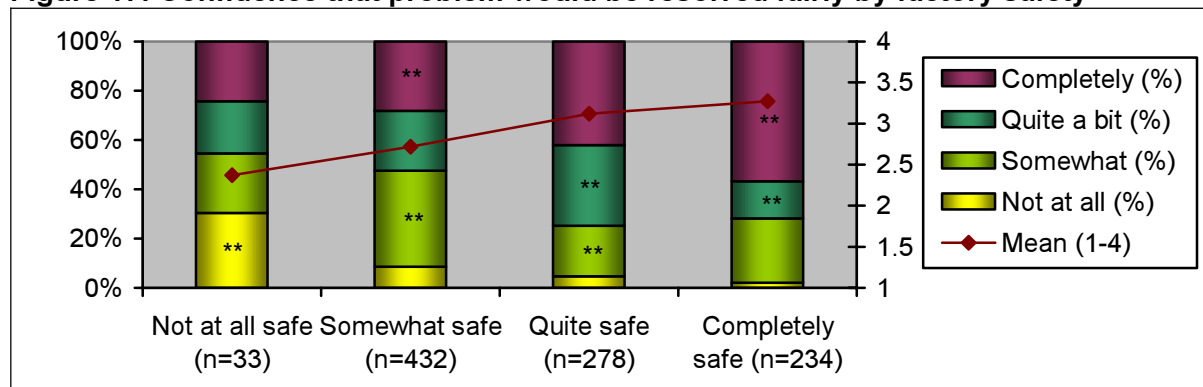


There was a significant linear relationship between confidence that the problem would be solved and perceived levels of safety in the factory ($p < .01$); workers who feel safer have higher confidence that their problems will be solved (see Figure 17).⁷ This relationship makes intuitive sense – workers who believe that their safety is not a priority of management are also unlikely to trust management to work towards solving problems fairly. Factories which

⁷ This relationship remained significant even after using multinomial regression to control for management treatment of unions, factory size, ever having a case at the arbitration council, standard grievance procedure in factory, % of female supervisors in the factory, % of Cambodian supervisors in the factory, sex, being scared of or harassed by a manager in the previous year, union membership and strikes. For regression table showing odds ratios, see Annex D.

have effective systems to resolve problems may also have spent time ensuring other systems are established and effective, for example safety procedures.

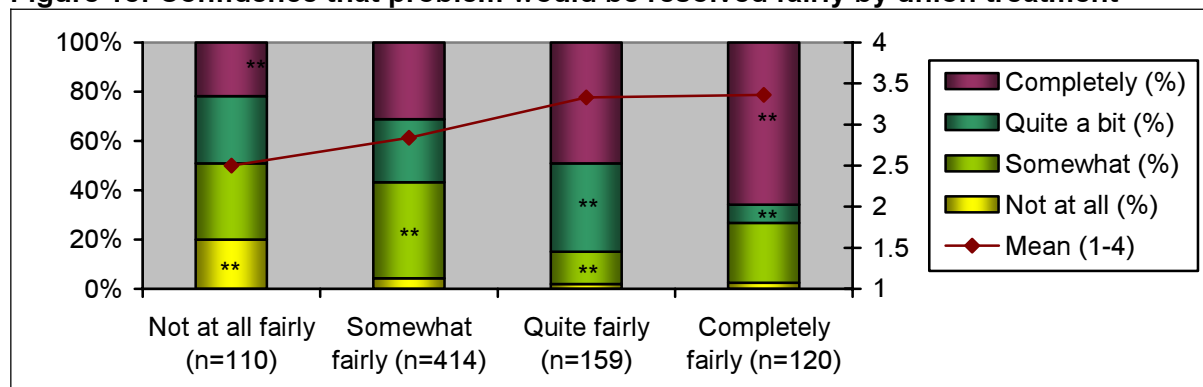
Figure 17: Confidence that problem would be resolved fairly by factory safety



** p<.01; * p<.05

There was a significant linear relationship between confidence that the problem would be solved and perceived treatment of unions by management in the factory (p<.01); workers who believe management treats all unions fairly have higher confidence that their problems will be solved (see Figure 18).⁸ This relationship also makes intuitive sense – in factories where there are better relationships between workers and management, as measured by management’s fair treatment of unions, confidence that management will work to solve problems fairly is also likely to be higher.

Figure 18: Confidence that problem would be resolved fairly by union treatment

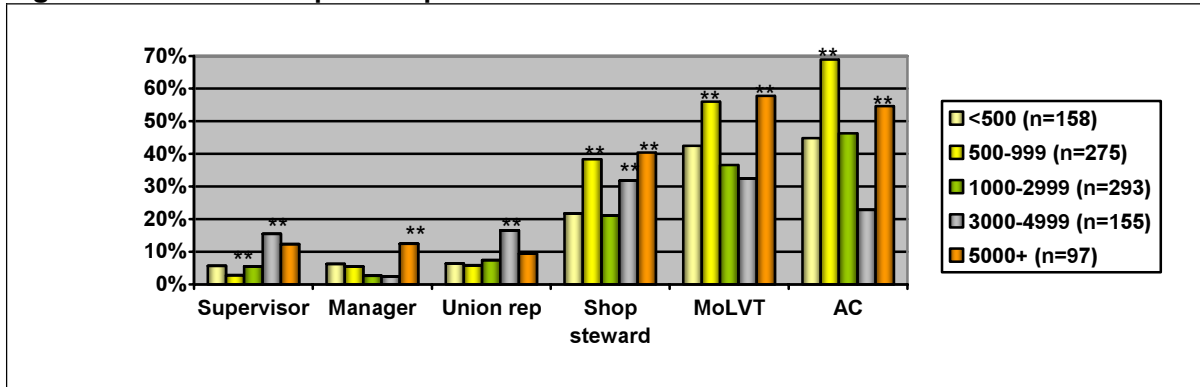


** p<.01; * p<.05

Workers and managers were asked to rate their trust that a number of individuals/institutions would help to solve the above problem fairly: immediate supervisor, higher management, union leader/representative, shop steward, Ministry of Labour and Arbitration Council. Relatively high percentages of workers responded that they didn’t know or hadn’t heard of each individual/institution (see Figure 19). Workers in larger factories were less likely than those in smaller factories to know how much they trusted their immediate supervisor or higher level manager. Shop stewards were generally not well known. This is probably a linguistic issue, as many workers did not understand the term (*protepu bokelik*); the term was used despite knowing this as the alternative (*damnang bokelik* – workers’ representative) can be used to refer to both shop stewards and union representatives. The highest percentage of “don’t know” responses was given to the Arbitration Council – 49.4% of workers said they did not know or had not heard of the Arbitration Council.

⁸ This relationship remained significant even after using multinomial regression to control for perceived safety in the factory, factory size, ever having a case at the arbitration council, standard grievance procedure in factory, % of female supervisors in the factory, % of Cambodian supervisors in the factory, sex, being scared of or harassed by a manager in the previous year, union membership and strikes.

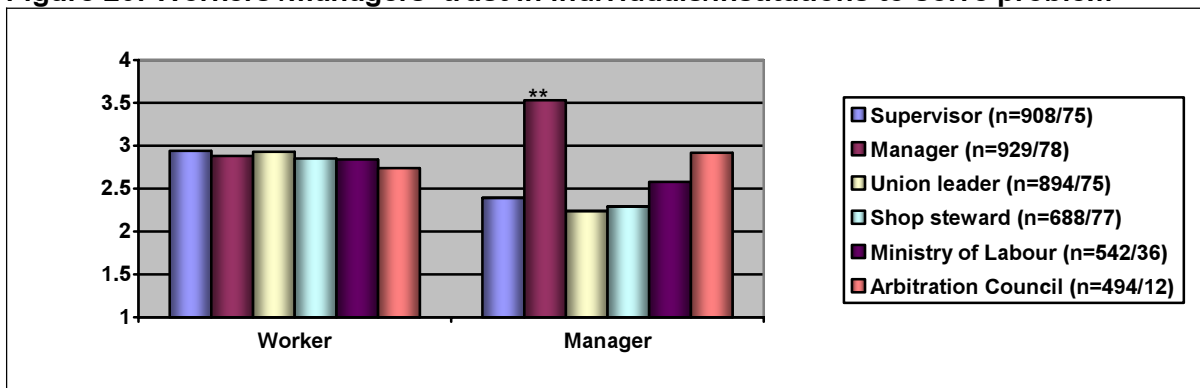
Figure 19: Trust to help solve problem – don't know/have not heard of institution



** p<.01; * p<.05

All correlations between workers' levels of trust in different individuals/institutions were significant (p<.01). That is, workers who rated one individual/institution highly tended to also rate the other individuals/institutions highly. Workers' levels of trust were similar for all individuals/institutions (see Figure 20). This was not the case for managers; who had significantly higher levels of trust in managers to solve problems than in all other individuals/institutions (M=3.53 vs. 2.24-2.92; p<.01).

Figure 20: Workers'/managers' trust in individuals/institutions to solve problem



** p<.01; * p<.05

While there was little variation in mean levels of workers' trust in different individuals/institutions, analyses of variance showed significant effects for factory size for all individuals/institutions. Post-hoc comparisons using the Games-Howell test revealed that workers in factories with 3000-4999 workers had higher levels of trust in immediate supervisors, higher level managers and the ministry of labour than workers in smaller and larger factories, and that workers in factories with 5000 or more workers had lower levels of trust in union leaders, shop stewards, the ministry of labour and the arbitration council than workers in smaller factories (see Figure 21).

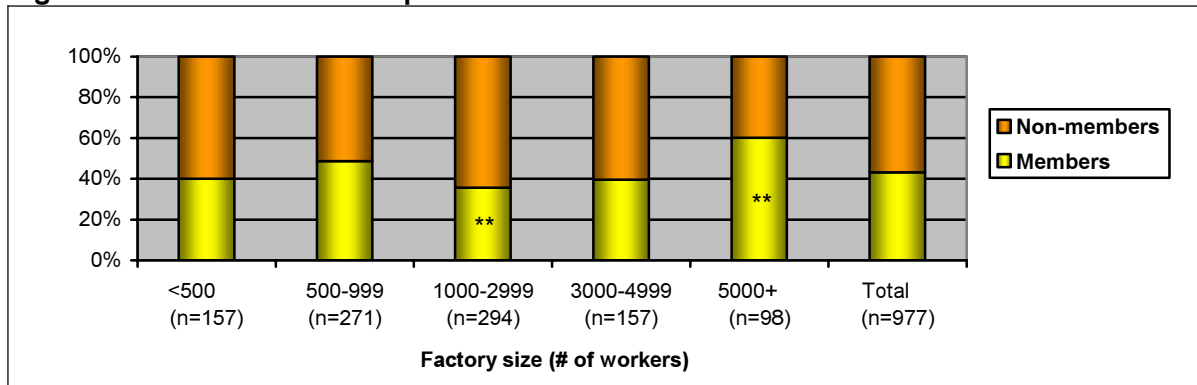
Figure 21: Workers' trust in individuals/institutions by factory size



3.5.2 Unions⁹

Overall, union membership reported by workers was 43.1% (see Figure 22). This is in line with the figure of 40% found in the first ADB socio-economic survey (Cambodian Researchers for Development, 2004), and with the US State Department estimate of 40-50% in 2005, up from 25-30% in 2001.¹⁰ Union membership varied significantly with factory size, being lower in medium sized factories, and higher in very large factories (35.7% in factories with 1000-2999 workers; 60.2% in factories with 5000 workers and over; $p < .01$).

Figure 22: Union membership



** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

According to managers, there were unions active in 37 of the 40 factories included in the workers survey (73 of the total sample of 80 factories for the managers survey). In 85% of these factories managers reported only one or two unions.¹¹ Managers in 34 (69) factories could name the unions active in their factory and the federations with which they were affiliated. The Free Trade Union of Workers of the Kingdom of Cambodia (FTUWKC) was the most common federation named, being active in 20 (32) factories, followed by the Khmer Youth Federation of Trade Unions (KYFTU) in 12 (21) factories and the Cambodian Federation of Independent Trade Unions (CFITU) in 7 (16) (see Table 2).

Nearly one quarter of union members in the worker survey did not know with which federation their union was affiliated (22.6%). This indicates relatively weak links between at least some factory level unions and their federations. Four federations accounted for over 50% of union members participating in the survey: FTUWKC (22.1%), KYFTU (11.5%), the Cambodian Labor Union Federation (CLUF) (10.5%), and the Coalition of Cambodian Apparel Workers Democratic Union (CCAWDU) (9.7%). The two federations most commonly named by workers (FTUWKC and KYFTU) match the information given by managers, making it likely that these are two of the most active federations in the industry. The CLUF and CCAWDU were identified by managers as being active in only a few factories; their relatively high percentages in the worker survey indicate high union membership in CLUF/CCAWDU-affiliated unions, and/or strong links and awareness between factory level unions and federations.

The CFITU has a particularly low percentage of members reporting affiliation (6.9%), given that it was the third most active union according to managers. This would indicate low levels of union membership in CFITU-affiliated unions, and/or weak links between the unions and the federation. In 2003, the United States Department of Labor (USDOL) reported that while CFITU self-reported as the second largest federation,

⁹ The following findings with regard to union membership are based on workers' self-reported affiliations as measured by the survey instrument.

¹⁰ <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2001/eap/8283.htm>,
<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2005/eap/61604.htm>

¹¹ Of the 73 factories where there were unions, 38 had one union, 24 had two, 7 had three, 2 had four and 2 had five unions.

“The level of activity of CFITU unions varies considerably from enterprise to enterprise. CFITU has well-established unions in some factories where the workers are aware of the union and participate in its activities, but in other enterprises, union awareness seems to be limited to a handful of individuals.” (U.S. Department of Labor, 2003; p.4)

This is corroborated by the findings from the current survey.

The federation with the lowest percentage of workers in affiliated unions was the Cambodian Unions Federation (CUF) (2.3%); managers in only 3 factories included in the worker survey (8%) identified the CUF as being active in their factories. This does not match figures published by the USDOL in 2003, where the CUF reported that they represented 50,130 workers in 125 factories, that is, 30% of the total workforce at the time, 34% of all union members, in 64% of all factories (U.S. Department of Labor, 2003). It is of course possible that the selection of target factories by chance included almost exclusively factories from the 36% of factories where the CUF is not active. Otherwise it would seem that many of the factory level unions have very low membership or are inactive, and/or that there are only very weak links between factory level unions and the federation.

Table 2: Union federation membership and activity in target factories

Federation	# members (self-report, USDOL) ¹²	Approx. % of all union members (USDOL)	Present in x% of all factories (USDOL)	Present in x% of factories in managers' survey ¹³	% of all union members (workers' survey) ¹⁴
FTUWKC	23,000	15%	41%	40%	22.1%
KYFTU	16,000	11%	16%	26%	11.5%
CLUF	7,000	5%	7%	9%	10.5%
CCAWDU	7,000	5%	7%	6%	9.7%
CFITU	24,807	17%	25%	20%	6.9%
CUF	50,130	34%	64%	9%	2.3%
NIFTUC	17,000	11%	12%	4%	N/A
CWLFU	4,000	3%	4%	8%	N/A
FUS	N/A	N/A	N/A	8%	N/A
TUWFPD	N/A	N/A	N/A	6%	N/A
UFID	N/A	N/A	N/A	5%	N/A
CCTU	N/A	N/A	N/A	3%	N/A
LFULK	N/A	N/A	N/A	1%	N/A
DTUF	N/A	N/A	N/A	1%	N/A
NUCW	N/A	N/A	N/A	1%	N/A
TUFDLW	N/A	N/A	N/A	1%	N/A

The USDOL report observes that while according to self-estimates of membership, the CUF, CFITU and FTUWKC were the largest federations, the three most active and independent federations were FTUWKC, the National Independent Federation of Textile Unions in Cambodia (NIFTUC), and CCAWDU. Detailed interviews conducted in 2004 with the leaders of the union federations also revealed that financial membership (calculated by dividing the reported monthly subscriptions collected by the individual subscription rate) was much lower than estimated membership in many federations, ranging from 97% to only 5%, with a mean of 27% (Bolwell, 2004). This may or may not reflect significantly lower levels of workers who believe they are a member of a union in some federations.

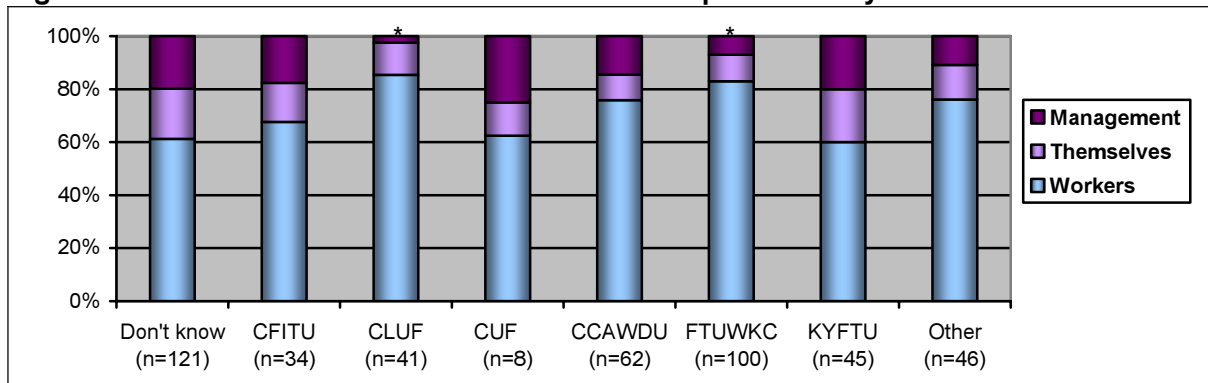
¹² Number of members and factories taken from federation self-estimates published by the U.S. Department of Labor in 2003, figures from 2001-2002 (U.S. Department of Labor, 2003).

¹³ Percentages of the sub-group of 40 factories included in the workers' survey differed by less than 10% from the overall percentages.

¹⁴ Due to the interview method used, workers were only given a limited list of federations to select from (CFITU, CLUF, CUF, CCAWDU, FTUWKC and KYFTU); 13% of union members said their union was affiliated with another federation.

Workers were asked whether they thought union leaders/representatives work mostly for the benefit of workers, of management, or for their own benefit. Members of unions affiliated with CLUF and FTUWKC were significantly less likely to believe that union representatives work mostly for the benefit of management (2% and 7% vs. 11-25% for other federations; $p < .05$) (see Figure 23). This confirms the findings of the USDOL above that the FTUWKC is one of the most independent unions in the country, and corroborates the relatively strong showing of the CLUF among survey participants. The KYFTU performed relatively poorly on this measure, with only 60% of its members believing that union representatives work for the benefit of workers, similar to the percentage of union members who did not know with which federation their union was affiliated.

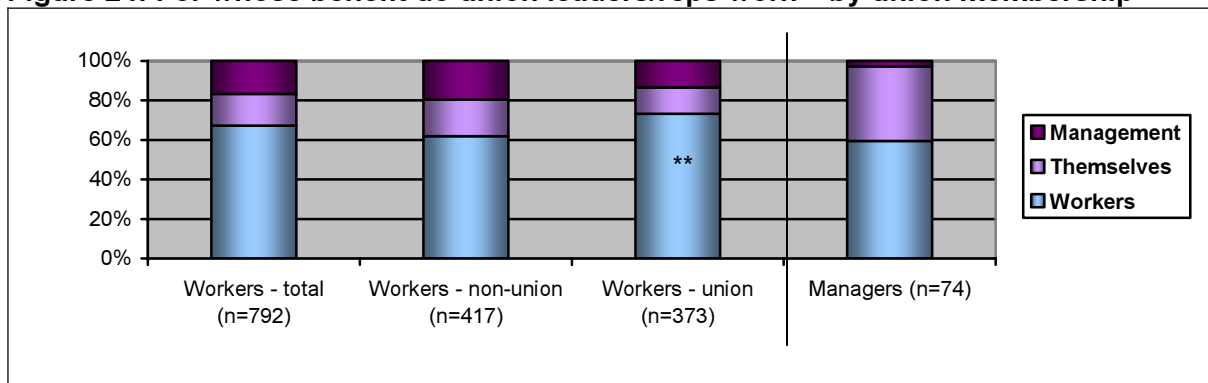
Figure 23: For whose benefit do unions leaders/ reps work – by federation¹⁵



** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

Overall, 67.3% of workers believe that union leaders/representatives work mostly for the benefit of workers. Union members were significantly more likely than non-members to believe this; however the percentage difference was relatively small (73.2% vs. 61.9%; $p < .01$) (see Figure 24). Only 3% of managers reported that union leaders/representatives work mostly for the benefit of management, but 38% believed that they work mostly for their own benefit.

Figure 24: For whose benefit do union leaders/ reps work – by union membership



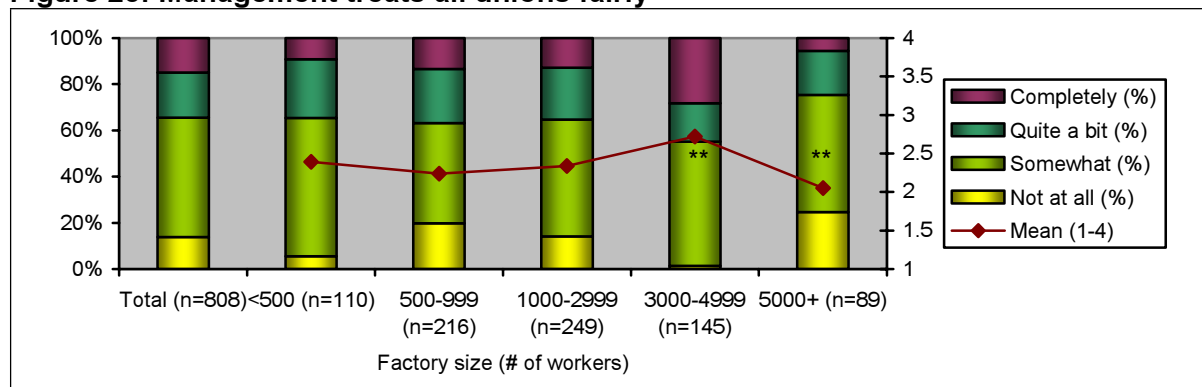
** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

Workers rated management's treatment of unions on a 4-point scale, from 1 (not at all fairly) to 4 (completely fairly). Analysis of variance showed that workers' perceptions of how fairly management treats unions varied significantly according to factory size ($p < .01$) (see Figure 25). Post hoc comparisons using the Games-Howell test confirmed that perceptions of fair treatment of unions were significantly more positive in factories with 3000-4999 workers, and less positive in factories with 5000 or more workers. There was a significant positive correlation between management treatment of unions and workers' trust in management to

¹⁵ "Don't know" responses were excluded from figures 23 and 24 and the related analyses.

solve problems ($r=446$; $p<.01$). Workers who believed managers treated all unions fairly had higher levels of trust in management, and vice versa.

Figure 25: Management treats all unions fairly



** $p<.01$; * $p<.05$

In focus group discussions, workers explained the meaning of “treating all unions fairly” in more detail. Workers in one group said that unfair treatment meant that managers treat different unions differently; one union takes the workers’ side but another union works for management and is favoured by them. Two groups agreed that some unions take bribes from management. Unions’ treatment by management depends on whether they are being bribed or not. Workers in two groups explained that even when unions were treated the same, when they raised workers’ concerns with management, management did not always act to resolve these. Another group explained that in factories where there are several unions, the unions themselves do not agree, making different demands on behalf of their membership. There is competition for membership. This was corroborated in the focus group discussion with foreign managers; one manager said that while they tried to satisfy the majority, when there were several unions with competing demands, there were inevitably people left less than satisfied with their treatment.

3.6 Other issues

3.6.1 Sex for jobs

There are persistent rumours that some women have sex in order to get jobs in garment factories. It is clear that women garment workers are frequently subjected to sexual harassment during employment (see section 3.4), which increases the likelihood that some may be asked to perform sexual acts in order to get a job. However, rumours that women have sex to get jobs in factories may also stem from generally negative societal attitudes towards women garment workers (see section 3.4.2), and contribute to the perpetuation of these attitudes.

In an attempt to discover the truth of these rumours, workers were asked whether they had done anything sexual in order to get a job, for example have sex, have oral sex, allow sexual touching, touch someone sexually. Only 17 women out of the total of 868 (2.0%) said they had done something sexual; 4 said they had sex/oral sex, some in addition to sexual touching. A further 5 said they had allowed sexual touching or touched someone sexually, and the remaining 8 replied ‘other’. Given the small numbers of positive responses and a confidence interval of $\pm 0.9\%$,¹⁶ it is possible that some or all of these are errors – participants who mistakenly circled the wrong answer, or who did not understand the question. However, it cannot be ruled out that some workers may be required to perform sexual acts in order to get a job.

¹⁶ Calculated as detailed in methodology section using sample size = 868 and proportion = 0.02.

To clarify, focus group participants were asked whether they had ever heard of anyone having sex to get a job. In both groups with male workers, one or two participants said they had heard that this happens, but were most likely just repeating rumours, as they gave no specific examples, saying only that women garment workers have sex “in order to get more satisfying work”, and pretty girls “get \$100 salary whether they come to work or not”. In three of the focus groups with women workers, none of the participants had ever heard of anyone having sex to get a job. In the remaining two groups with women, the participants also did not personally know of anyone who had sex to get a job. In one of these groups, participants said they had heard of Vietnamese workers having sex with higher level managers; given the prevailing negative attitudes towards Vietnamese in Cambodia, this is likely to fall under the category of rumour. In the other group a worker said she had heard that this happened previously but not now, and another worker said she had heard that very occasionally women may have sex with someone who facilitates them getting a job, but didn't herself know of anyone who had done this.

Given this quantitative and qualitative evidence, while it is not possible to conclude that workers are never required to engage in sexual acts in order to get a job, it seems safe to conclude that having sex to get a job in a garment factory is not the widespread practice that rumour would have it.

3.6.2 Child labour

Prevalence of child labour was estimated based on responses from participants in the workers' survey. It is estimated that a maximum of between 0.9% and 1.4% of the total sample were aged under 15. Of course, as for the previous section, it is possible that some or all of these workers may simply have circled the wrong answer; both estimates can therefore be considered maximum levels. Unlike the previous section, however, there exists corroborating evidence from ILO *Better Factories Cambodia* monitoring that child labour is at least occasionally used in some Cambodian factories. Some of these participants are therefore likely to be really aged under 15. The upper estimate (1.4%) includes all workers with ages of 13 or 14 according to their survey answers; the lower estimate (0.9%) includes only those who reported having paid for false age certification, or who work in factories not monitored by the ILO, or factories where the most recent monitoring report noted concerns regarding the reliability of the age verification system. The full method of deriving these estimates can be found in Annex E.

Fifteen to seventeen year-olds accounted for 10.2% of the sample. This figure is higher than would be expected from ILO monitoring; of the 34 target factories from the workers' survey that have been monitored this year by the ILO, none admitted to employing workers aged 15-17. Two of these were doubted by monitors on the basis of observation and document checks. The majority of participants were aged 18 to 26 (72.1%).

4 Consultative workshop recommendations

Following the conclusion of fieldwork and analysis, preliminary results were presented at a consultative workshop held on 10 August 2006. Over 80 Cambodian and foreign representatives of unions, factories, employer organisations, government, NGOs, and international organisations attended. After discussing the findings in small groups, the participants made several recommendations. These are based on the main research findings and raise additional issues for policy and program development.

4.1 Health and nutrition

- Factories should maintain hygiene and quality in canteens.
- The Ministry of Health (MoH) should monitor the hygiene and quality of food provided in factory canteens.
- It is important to work with food vendors who sell food outside factories, as many factories don't have canteens. Companies should monitor the hygiene and quality of food sold outside their factories.
- Provide nutrition information to workers which is appropriate to their income level in order to allow them to make healthy choices – for example to eat an egg or a banana instead of a sweet snack. This can be done by health NGOs, the ILO and/or the MoH.
- Workers should be given sufficient breaks to allow them to eat properly. Achieving this requires the involvement of the Ministry of Labour, GMAC, factories and unions.
- Factories should provide soap for workers to wash their hands after using the toilet.
- Workers should be educated about the importance of washing their hands with soap; this can be done by unions and by using workers to educate their peers.
- Workers' hand-washing with soap should be monitored.
- Factories should be sprayed every 3 months to kill mosquitoes, either by the company or by the MoH as occurs elsewhere.
- Factories should have a list of chemical substances, clearly posted where workers can read it. They should explain to workers about each chemical substance, including the possible effects if they are used improperly. Chemicals should be correctly stored in a safe, separate area. Workers who work directly with chemical substances should be provided with masks, boots and gloves as required.

4.2 Breastfeeding and childcare

- Factories should comply with the labour law to provide a nursing room and one hour of paid breastfeeding time each day.
- NGOs, ministries and unions should educate workers about the importance of breastfeeding. IEC materials should be developed for this.
- The pumping of breast milk for babies should be promoted (by CHED, CARE, other health NGOs, MoH, factories).
- The amount of time for breastfeeding should be re-considered to determine whether one hour per day is sufficient. Stakeholders with expertise in breastfeeding should work with factory managers to find a reasonable solution for workers.

- Factories should have internal policies on breast feeding (designed with input from health NGOs, ILO).
- The Ministry of Labour should draft a Prakas to standardise the amount or formula for calculating payments for childcare, as currently this is left to the discretion of factories and there is wide variation.
- When providing payments for childcare, it should be made clear that this is not in place of breastfeeding – the money is for childcare, not formula. Payments should be combined with breastfeeding promotion.

4.3 Personal safety and security

- There are provisions for factory safety already included in the labour law. The Ministry of Labour should enforce the implementation of this law throughout the country, particularly in small factories which subcontract from larger factories.
- Unions should work closely with management to educate workers in safety practices, such as using personal protective equipment correctly. The benefits of using this equipment should be emphasised.
- Factories should install cooling and ventilation systems where temperatures are too high.
- The labour law should be reviewed and revised where necessary to clarify safety provisions.
- Ministries should regulate so that all workers in factories must be insured. Factories should insure all workers.
- Factories should provide transportation home to workers who work overtime after dark.
- Factories should provide training to workers on how to avoid rape.
- Factories should provide regular health care services to workers; the Ministry of Labour should inspect this more regularly.
- Factories should educate workers about traffic accidents.
- The Ministry of Labour should draft a Prakas to require factories to pay their workers during working hours, and to have no overtime on pay days.¹⁷

4.4 Harassment

- Disseminate information on the law on harassment to workers.¹⁸ Information on standard procedures and disciplinary consequences for harassment should be posted on notice boards in the factory so that workers will know that the perpetrators will be punished if found guilty.
- Perpetrators of harassment should be named and shamed on notice boards.
- There should be special committees in factories on women's issues, run by women. This committee should particularly work on sexual harassment, and provide a safe environment for reporting harassment cases. The committee should involve both managers and workers.

¹⁷ This was also suggested in one of the focus group discussions. Workers reported feeling like easy targets for robbery when they are carrying their salary, particularly as it is often known on which day they are paid. If they are required to work overtime on these days, they must return home after dark, when they feel even more vulnerable.

¹⁸ Sexual harassment and indecent behaviour are forbidden under the labour law (Art. 172).

- There should be procedures to inform workers who they should report harassment cases to (both inside and outside the factory) and what the process will be to deal with complaints. The system should be as simple as possible so that workers can understand and follow it.
- Training on sexual harassment should be provided, both inside and outside the factory. Unions and factory management should work together on this inside the factory, and NGOs and/or the government should work outside.
- The law on sexual harassment and its implementation should be clarified.
- The Ministry of Labour should extend protection to workers who report harassment, so that they can not be terminated as a result of the complaint. Unions should talk with factories to have a clear policy that workers will not be removed from their jobs if they make a complaint.
- The government should provide education on sexual harassment through the media, particularly TV and radio spots.

4.5 *Disputes/workplace relations*

- Workers and employers should be encouraged to resolve problems internally.
- Workers and employers should develop collective bargaining agreements to reduce the incidence of disputes and help to resolve disputes internally.
- There should be bi-partite committees of unions and management which meet regularly to identify problems that exist and try to find solutions. This can help workers to understand the point of view of managers as well, which can reduce conflicts.
- The Ministry of Labour should increase the effectiveness of their dispute resolution procedures by reducing delays.
- Arbitration awards should be binding.
- Arbitration should be extended to cover individual as well as collective disputes, which are currently mostly solved internally.
- Factories and workers should agree on neutral parties to help resolve problems.
- Unions and management should cooperate and act as partners in improving compliance and factory conditions.
- Share information from the survey with all stakeholders.

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Annex A: Sexual harassment (taken from Bury, 2005; p.19)

“Sexual harassment is a relatively new area of investigation for many countries in Asia. This is due to traditional attitudes and perceptions on the roles of women and men, perceived cultural constraints and the changing roles and relationships within the context of emerging and persistent poverty among larger parts of the population, especially women.¹⁹ This is particularly true for Cambodia. ...

Harassment does not impact on all women equally. It is more prevalent against the more vulnerable, such as the young, single, separated, widowed and divorced, migrant workers and those who work as casual workers and in the informal sector²⁰. It is commonly agreed that sexual harassment has more to do with power relations than with sexual interest. For many it is seen and experienced as a form of oppression, victimisation or intimidation based on relationships of power and authority.

The definition of sexual harassment most commonly cited comes from the European Commission's Council Resolution on the protection of the dignity of men and women at work, 1990: *“sexual harassment means unwanted conduct of a sexual nature, or other conduct based on sex, affecting the dignity of women and men at work. This can include unwelcome physical, verbal or non-verbal conduct”*. (CEC 1993, cited in Haspels et al 2001, pg 17). Furthermore, conduct of a sexual nature has to be offensive to the person being harassed, and the intent of the harasser is not determinative. It is the recipient who determines whether the conduct, of a sexual nature is welcome or not.

The effects of sexual harassment on the individual are again subjective and range from being upset by it to feelings of irritation, and nervousness to anger, powerlessness and humiliation. At its worst sexual harassment can make individuals' working lives miserable and even dangerous. Research has shown that “victims can eventually become ill when subjected to sexual harassment on a regular basis, particularly where it is perpetrated by a supervisor, involves sexual coercion, or takes place over a long period of time or in a male-dominated setting.” It can also trigger a wide range of ailments, including stress-related illnesses, high blood pressure and depression.²¹

Sexual harassment also costs employers. When harassed workers lose concentration, when it interferes with their judgement, when they are unmotivated or tend to be late or absent, employers can incur significant losses. ...

Sexual harassment in Khmer language is translated as ka beat bean phlau phet. However, this term does not appear to encompass all types of behaviour of a sexual nature, but is commonly associated with sexual assault and in particular, rape. Although it is widely understood that sexual assault and rape, and sexual blackmail at work are the most severe forms of sexual harassment, the broader concept of sexual harassment remains unclear in Cambodia.”

¹⁹ Haspels, N, Kasim, ZM, Thomas, C, McCann, D, 2001. Action Against Sexual Harassment at Work in Asia and the Pacific, International Labour Office, Bangkok Area Office, EAMAT

²⁰ McCann, D 2005. Sexual Harassment at work: National and International Responses. Conditions of Work and Employment Series No. 2, International Labour Office, Geneva

²¹ R.A Thacker and S. F Gohmann: "Emotional and Psychological consequences of sexual harassment: a Descriptive Study", in *Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 130, 1996, p.429, cited in McCann, op. cit, note 3

Annex B: Detailed methodology

B.1 Fieldwork

Fieldwork was conducted over 7 months, from 27 November 2005 to 27 June 2006 (see Table 3).

Table 3: Fieldwork schedule and number of participants

Component	Fieldwork	# sessions	# ppts	# (male)	# factories
PLA/taxonomy sessions	27/11-11/12/2005	12	102	(9)	27
Focus group (managers)	30/11/2005	1	6	(5)	5
KAP survey (workers)	3/2-7/5/2006	38	981	(118)	40
KAP survey (managers)	10/3-4/6/2006	80	80	(64)	80
Focus groups (workers)	11/6-25/6/2006	8	85	(9)	20
Focus groups (local managers)	21/6-27/6/2006	2	11	(10)	10
Focus group (foreign managers)	23/6/2006	1	2	(2)	2

All fieldwork with workers was conducted on Sundays, in training rooms at the CARE and CLEC offices, with the exception of one factory which consented to researchers conducting the survey during working hours on factory premises.²² Workers were provided with transport/allowances, snacks/meal and/or soap as an incentive.

Focus group discussions with managers were conducted at the CARE office; managers were offered reimbursement for travel costs. All survey interviews were conducted at the managers' place of work, with the exception of one interview which was conducted over the phone. The survey was conducted for the most part in Khmer, but occasionally in English or through a translator into Chinese.

The research team comprised one female international research advisor, one full-time female research officer, six casual female researchers and one casual male researcher, all with prior research experience (see Table 4). The researchers for the sessions with workers were given 1-1.5 days training by the research advisor and research officer before each component. Training consisted of a thorough introduction to the tools with practice and mutual feedback sessions, as well as covering ethics, logistics and research methods.

Table 4: Research team

Component	Lead researcher	Researchers/assistants
PLA/taxonomy sessions with workers	Research officer	Six female researchers
Initial focus group with managers	Research officer	Research advisor
KAP survey with workers	Research officer	Five female researchers
KAP survey with managers	Male researcher	--
Focus groups with workers	Research officer	Five female researchers
Focus groups with local managers	Research officer	Research advisor
Focus group with foreign managers	Research advisor	Research officer

B.2 Research Reference Group

A project reference group was formed with representatives from the ILO, World Bank, UNIFEM, CARE, Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Ministry of Health, UNDP, Garment Manufacturers Association of Cambodia, unions, World Health Organization, and UNICEF. The reference group met 4 times during the research to provide advice on all aspects of the research.

²² Participants from this factory were selected randomly from a list of all workers; factory staff assisted in recruiting the selected workers. CARE has worked with this factory for several years, including conducting surveys in the past, and trusts that the recruitment was carried out as planned.

Ethics approval was sought and gained from the National Ethics Committee for Health Research in Phnom Penh.

B.3 Participant selection and sampling strategy

PLA sessions and focus groups

The PLA sessions and focus groups were not designed to be representative of all garment workers, but were principally to raise or clarify issues for the KAP survey. As such, there was no need for strict random sampling for participant selection, only to ensure that a cross-section of different garment workers participated. Discussion was expected to be more open in single-gender groups; female participants only were selected for all sessions except for one PLA session on workplace cooperation, and which was male only. Each session contained participants from more than one garment factory.

Selection of participants took place as follows:

1. Areas were selected where there are several garment factories.
2. On the Friday or Saturday before each session, research teams travelled to one of these areas during lunchtime. As far as possible, each researcher was assigned a different factory within the same area.
3. As the workers left the factory, the researcher approached one worker, introduced herself, and asked whether the worker had been in the industry for at least 6 months. If so, she explained the purpose of the research and asked whether the worker agreed to participate. If the worker did not agree, another worker was selected. If the worker agreed, s/he was asked if s/he would like to bring one friend who had also worked in the factory for at least 6 months.
4. Participants targeted for the PLA sessions on breastfeeding and childcare were additionally asked whether they had a child aged under 1 year. Workers without young children were allocated to other topics.
5. The researcher explained where and when the session would take place and gave the worker a simple handout containing these details and a summary of the research. Workers were asked to meet at the factory gate.
6. Recruitment continued until the maximum number of participants for each session agreed to attend.

The organisation of the initial HR managers' focus group discussion was facilitated by the project officer from CARE's Sewing a Healthy Future project; all managers were from factories which currently take part in the project. Managers who took part in the KAP survey were asked whether they would be interested in taking part in the final focus groups; the groups were recruited from among those who answered in the affirmative.

Knowledge, attitudes and practices (KAP) survey

The objective of the sampling strategy was to obtain a representative sample of Cambodian garment workers, while balancing the need for efficiency in the field. For this reason a multi-stage sampling design was used rather than simple random sampling from the total population of garment workers.

The total sample size for garment workers was 981 (see Table 5). This gives maximum confidence intervals of +/-3.1 with a 95% confidence level. That is, if a given percentage of the sample of workers give a certain answer to a survey question, it can be concluded with 95% certainty that the true population percentage lies within +/-3.1% of this percentage. For example, if 50% of research participants answer 'yes' to a survey question, the population percentage has a 95% probability of lying between 46.9% and 53.1%.²³ The total sample size

²³ Confidence interval calculated using sample size calculator at www.surveysystem.com/sscalc.htm

$$Ss = \frac{Z^2 * (p) * (1-p)}{C^2}$$

for HR/admin managers was 80, resulting in a confidence interval of approximately +/-9.8% at a 95% confidence level.

Table 5: Number of participants by stratum

(Totals in parentheses)	<500	500-999	1000-2999	3000-4999	>4999
% of factories (386)	54.4	28.0	13.7	2.8	1.0
% of workers (279,247)	16.6	28.3	30.9	14.9	9.4
# of target factories (50)	8.3 (8)	14.15 (14)	15.45 (15)	7.45 (8)	4.7 (5)
Target # of workers (1,000)	166	283	309	149	94
# of workers (factories x 20)	160	280	300	160	100
Actual # of workers	158	295	294	136	98
Target # of managers (80)	13.28 (14)	22.64 (23)	24.72 (25)	11.92 (12)	7.52 (8)
Actual # of managers (80)	15	24	26	11	4

The sampling frame was created by combining the following factory lists:

Table 6: Lists used to create sampling frame

List	Date	initial # of factories	final # of factories
ILO country profile (operational garment factories)	Jul05	229	219
ILO country profile (temporarily closed garment factories)	Jul05	14	0
ILO factory ranking synthesis from monitoring	Jul05	171	148
GMAC members list	Dec05	258	232
Department of Labour Inspection list of registered garment factories - open	Sep05	432	358
Department of Labour Inspection list of registered garment factories – closed (only factories also on other lists)	Sep05	35	0
CARE list of project factories	Nov05	25	25
UNICEF list of project factories	Nov05	4	4
Arbitration Council list of cases brought involving garment factories	Oct05	100	85
Total factories		443	386

From the initial list, all factories that were marked as temporarily closed/inactive on any of the lists were deleted. This is likely to result in a conservative figure, as any factories which had re-opened since lists were last updated were not included in the final sample frame. One factory marked as closed by GMAC was confirmed by CARE as currently operating, so was left on the final list. Figure for number of production workers were not available for four factories; as sampling factories proportional to their size depended on knowing the approximate number of workers, these were also deleted, leaving a total of 386 factories.

The number of workers given by the ILO, GMAC and the DLI often differed, although generally not substantially. Preference was given to the ILO figure, as this had a more complete breakdown of production and non-production workers. If there was no data for a particular factory from the ILO, the GMAC figure was used as it was the most recent; if this was also missing, the DLI figure was used; if this was also missing the AC figure was used. However, in cases where one company owned multiple factories, the ILO and GMAC figures often referred to the combined number of workers in all factories. As ILO monitoring has shown that there can be large variations in standards between factories owned by the same company, it was decided to treat these as separate factories, and in these cases the DLI figures for individual branches were used where available.

where Z = Z value (e.g. 1.96 for 95% confidence level), p = proportion picking a choice (.5 used for sample size needed), c = confidence interval, expressed as decimal (e.g., .04 = ±4%)

Sampling then proceeded as follows:

- The primary sampling unit was the factory. Factories were stratified by number of production workers (<500, 500-999, 1000-2999, 3000-4999, >4999).
- The number of factories selected from each stratum was proportional to the percentage of the total workforce in factories of each size category. e.g. as 16.6% of workers are in factories with less than 500 workers, 16.6% of the sample of factories were chosen from this stratum.
- Factories were selected from within a stratum with probability of being selected proportional to size (with replacement), to ensure that all workers had an equal chance of selection. A sample frame consisting of an alphabetical list of factories in each stratum was created with cumulative population size (see Annex B for process for creating sample frame). A random number generator²⁴ was used to create the appropriate number of random numbers for each stratum, for a total of 50 random numbers. The factories for which these random numbers fell within the cumulative population range were selected for the worker sample.²⁵
- Workers were randomly selected from target factories using the same procedure as for the PLA sessions above; 20 workers were targeted from each factory.²⁶
- As the factory selection process was based on random numbers, several factories were selected twice; 40 workers were targeted from these factories. The total number of factories selected was 40; 10 of these were selected twice.
- To bring the sample of managers to 80, an additional 40 factories were selected using the same procedure, except that repeat selections of the same factory were not permitted. The HR manager was targeted as a first choice; where he/she was not available, the admin manager was interviewed, or another office-based manager with responsibilities in HR.

Despite all efforts to create a random sample, the constraints on garment workers' time resulted in a relatively high number of refusals. While sampling from 40 randomly chosen factories and weighting the data to account for differences in numbers of participants will have mitigated the impact of this, the sample is not truly random. Time constraints also resulted in a low number of women with young infants participating in the survey, which limits the conclusions which can be drawn regarding breastfeeding preferences and practices.

B.4 Analyses

Although the sampling strategy was designed to avoid the necessity of weighting the data, the actual number of participants from each target factory differed substantially from the targeted number of participants. It is possible that these differences were not random – for example workers from factories with frequent Sunday overtime may have been less available to participate, or workers in factories with poorer conditions may have felt more wary agreeing to speak with outsiders. For this reason, weights were calculated for each factory, to compensate for the difference between the targeted and actual number of participants.²⁷ To check whether this had a significant effect on results, frequencies for several questions were calculated using both the weighted and non-weighted data and compared. As these comparisons showed some differences, and the aim was to produce a representative survey of the garment industry, the weighted data set was used for all analyses. Frequencies were

²⁴ www.random.org

²⁵ Two of the originally selected factories were found to be closed, two could not be found, and one had overtime every Sunday for all workers; these factories were all replaced using the same method.

²⁶ The sample thus recruited only approximates a random sample. The number of workers leaving the factory at the same time makes it impossible to maintain a strict selection interval. The number of refusals was also relatively high. After the experience gained during the PLA sessions, twice as many workers were recruited, to allow for non-attendees. Despite this, the percentage of recruited workers attending each session ranged from 0 to 110%; particularly low attendance was always due to large-scale unplanned overtime, or an over-looked public holiday, but probably the majority of non-attendees simply decided not to spend their only day off participating in a survey.

²⁷ Using the formula $\text{weight} = 0.981 \times \text{target \# pts} / \text{actual \# pts}$.

computed for all variables from the managers' and workers' surveys, followed by cross-tabulations of workers' variables with sex, factory size and several other variables. Given the large data set and the need to produce a readable report, only the results of those bivariate and multivariate analyses which appeared to be useful on a practical/policy level are reported here, as follows:

Bivariate analyses:

- All reasons for workers taking sick leave in the previous year, and frequency of sleeping under a mosquito net, by sex. (X^2)
- Workers' nutrition and sick leave variables, by presence of a canteen. (X^2)
- Sick leave for fainting, by workers' nutrition and chemicals/cloth debris. (X^2)
- Hand-washing, 'don't know' answers to ratings of trust in individuals/institutions, union membership, by factory size. (X^2)
- Harassment by managers, by managers' reports of frequency of harassment, standard procedures and disciplinary consequences for harassment, and strikes. (X^2)
- Managers' reported disputes, internal/external resolution, satisfaction with outcome of dispute, by standard grievance procedure. (X^2)
- Workers' confidence that problem would be solved, by perceived safety in the factory and treatment of unions by management. (X^2)
- Perceptions of for whom union reps work, by union federation and membership. (X^2)
- Perceptions of safety in the factory, ratings of trust in different individuals/institutions to resolve problems, and perceived treatment of unions, by factory size. (ANOVA)
- Managers' satisfaction with outcome of dispute, by int/external resolution. (ANOVA)
- Workers'/managers' trust in individuals/institutions, by individual/institution. (ANOVA)
- Workers' trust in different individuals/institutions to resolve problems. (Correlation)
- Treatment of unions and trust in management to help solve problems. (Correlation)

Multivariate analyses:

- Multinomial regression of strikes by harassment, sex, being scared by manager, factory safety, treatment of unions, union membership, factory size, having had a case at the arbitration council, % of female supervisors, % of Cambodian supervisors, confidence that problems would be solved fairly, and standard grievance procedure.
- Multinomial regression of workers' confidence that problem would be solved, by perceived safety in the factory, treatment of unions, factory size, having a case at the arbitration council, standard grievance procedure, % of female supervisors in the factory, % of Cambodian supervisors in the factory, sex, being scared of or harassed by a manager in the previous year, union membership and strikes.

In order for comparisons to be made between factories of different sizes, the sample size from each group needed be sufficient to reliably detect differences between the groups. The level of precision depends on the sample size of the smallest group – in this case, 98 for >4999 workers. This would enable a maximum difference of +/-17.4% to be detected with a confidence level of 95% and 80% power. That is, there is only a 5% probability of a difference of this size having occurred by chance, and the probability of such a difference being detected is 80%.²⁸

²⁸ StudySize1.08 software, by Bertil Olofsson, © CreoStat HB 2001-2004, trial version at studysize.com. Used calculation for hypergeometric distribution, two samples test, assumed 0.5 proportion within the population. Smaller differences could be reliably detected for variables with smaller proportions.

Annex C: Taxonomy of harassment

Terms/behaviour	Examples
Sexual harassment	
Most men look down on female garment factory worker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Man live near worker's dormitory. He invited her to go outside with him; she refused. He said: she is garment worker. Why does she refuse? In one factory, Chinese mechanic wants to sleep with the worker. He said that if she goes with him one night, he will give her \$5-\$10. He used to sleep with the worker. This time, he asked to good girl. She complained to the factory. Now he was sent to his country because he can make bad reputation for the factory. (It happened at night time. He took the worker to his room in the office)
Men use derogatory words looking down female worker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Male workers scold female workers Heh, Mi nish (bad word calling female) where do you go? Misrey rogchak (female garment workers) are easy to go with male if he take her with new/good motor Both female & male managers think that workers aren't the same status as them Minis (bad word to call girl) wear tight trouser
Female workers aren't good	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> They said female workers always go out with men, and have many men.
Lower values than prostitute	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Along the road someone drove a motor and said "Spend 500 riels can sleep with 2 days"
Ironing male workers use bad words to female workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It is easy to woo female workers (woo only one female, but they can get others) Oh, I used to sleep with her
Ask to go out with	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Happen along the road to the dormitory, men along the road say "come to a guesthouse"
Courtship/Flirt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Male workers, machinery workers, neighbours
Embrace from the back side	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She shouted, the doer said you are garment worker. Why did you shout?
Touch the bottom (intentionally)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chinese, workers, mechanic (Chinese)
Don't like male worker daring to touch female worker (dai dorl)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Speaking and using hands at the same time
Male worker touch her back	
Touch shoulder	
Touch hands by intention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Male workers
Stare/Look up and down (head to foot)	
Make kissing sound to workers	
Worker was abducted when she left the factory at 12am (midnight)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abductor said that he is her husband. Her husband cried in front of the factory. Factory ignored about this problem.
Verbal abuse, look down, violation	

Chinese managers insult/scold/shout	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ They think that they are our boss, look down on workers' rights ▪ <i>Mi choy mray</i> (fuck your mother), <i>Chhkourt</i> (crazy), <i>Kourkbal chhker/chrouk</i> (dog's/pig's brain) ▪ They think we are their servants ▪ <i>Choymray</i>, <i>chhkourt chhkourt</i> ▪ <i>Mi Ingorg/pleu</i> (stupid), <i>Mi chhkort</i> (foolish), <i>Mi choy mray</i> ▪ Chinese point to worker's face when they made mistake of sewing and cut salary.
Chinese manager point to workers' face/hit worker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ When we made sewing mistakes they took the shirt and threw it at our head
Chinese manager threw the clothes at our face/head	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ When we talk about something related to work but Chinese don't understand, they think that we talk about another thing besides work.
Chinese manager stare at workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Workers take long time at toilet. There are many people go to toilet.
Group chief (both Khmer and Chinese) blame workers/ speaks impolitely or loudly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ When we aren't clear how to do it, she said we are stupid. If we don't ask and made a mistake, she blames (If you don't know how to sew, go to sleep at home. Or if you want high salary, go to work at another place.)
Scold/blame without reason	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Working as a garment worker, why do you wear sexy clothes; your house is at the province.
Security guard look down on workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ When we forget our ID card, the guard doesn't allow us to enter and uses bad words
Policeman looks down on workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Said when the workers are on strike "Why don't you work? It is no problem if we shoot and kill 4-5 workers"
Nurse/doctor blames workers	
Administrator says bad words	
Factory's owner (in Cambodia) is mean/cruel/ vicious	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Blame workers, force workers to work overtime (when the owner from abroad arrives at the factory)
Criticize worker behind their back	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Group chief said to workers: with these clothes, you should be a garbage collector ▪ Working as a garment worker, why does she have mobile phone? ▪ Not proper dressing
Worker talk about another worker behind her back	
Group chief receives a bribe from Chinese manager	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Chinese manager tells the group chief to tell the workers to leave the factory at 6 or 8pm; group chief does so although workers want to stop at 5pm.
Take fingerprint (3 times = fired)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Factory sets the time for worker go to toilet. If the worker goes for long time, they take her fingerprint
Not hygienic drinking water	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Near the toilet
Was fired	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ New worker was fired when she didn't work for half a day

Not taking care of workers

When the workers got sick/faint/unconscious, the factory take no care/responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ When workers faint/lose consciousness, Chinese managers don't care. They only send workers to the hospital. They also take out/cut money while workers are in the hospital. ▪ When workers are unconscious/faint, factory's owner/union didn't visit them
--	--

Women and work in the garment industry

Working on festival day, factory didn't give extra money
When the workers got sick, the factory didn't pay money
Working for long time (1 year) but not become permanent worker yet
Impossible/hard to get sick leave

- Chinese don't care and also scold workers
- If workers don't work, they reduce money
- Categorized with leave issues
- Depends on factory
- Specifically with regard to gaining permission from Chinese managers
- Section chief tore up worker's permission letter
- Have to follow them like a dog when we want to get time off work. If we have a day off without permission, they take fingerprint; they sack us when we have 3 fingerprints

Not allow worker to leave half hour early for breastfeeding
Can't take bottle of water to seat

Unfair practices with regard to salary/leave; Salary too low for work done; Not equal rights between male and female workers

- The same work but male workers get more salary than female workers
- Factory gives high salary to male workers because Chinese managers are scared of male workers/think they will go on strike
- When the factory raises the salary for workers, female workers can get only \$2 more whilst male workers get \$10-\$15
- Working hours is until 11, but they ask us to work until 11:30. Then, force us to start work before working hour
- National festival, water festival, Sunday (because of many products). If it doesn't have many products, we can leave at 4pm
- Factory gives only 1,000 riels. Workers want to get 2,000 riels
- When worker has problem in the family, she asks permission but they didn't accept
- They allow but cut money
- They said just send money home, you aren't a doctor
- 3 day off (mother died) from work, cut over \$10

Overtime with no/low pay
Take advantage of working hours
Don't give public holiday

Not satisfy with meal allowance when workers work overtime
Problems obtaining family leave

3 minutes late can't get bonus
A day off from work with permission can't get yearly bonus
Reduce money even though worker has permission letter

Half day off from work without permission, cut 1 day salary

No doctor

No canteen

Can't complain

3 months maternity not enough

Low salary

- No place for workers to have meals. Workers have to sit under the sun light because the factory closes.
- Go on leave, salary, ask to leave early
- Some factory don't give salary during maternity leave esp. temporary worker
- \$45 for house rental, daily expenditure, and send some money to parents
- We dare not tell our parents how difficult it is to earn money
- \$30 starting salary
- 1 dozen = \$0.053
- Categorised as not taking care of workers
- Sometimes delayed until the next month – work for two months, get one month's salary

Get cheap price

Give salary not regularly

Oppression on workers' labour (mentioned by 2 out of 3 groups)

Force to work overtime

- Categorised as salary/leave issues

- Give only 800 riels/hour

- When workers work overtime, they don't give more money. If workers don't work until the expected hours (just a few minutes), they force workers to work more

Group chief blame/scold workers when they don't work overtime

Force to work over energy

No cooperation (mentioned by 1 group only)

Workers take no responsibility for each other

- Don't help each other at work.
- She stepped on my feet, didn't say sorry.

Discrimination among friends

Don't keep promise

Friends don't say sorry when they made a mistake

- When we tell them about our story, they tell others by exaggeration

Stare up and down in bad ways

- Hate or detest workers

Annex D: Multinomial regression tables

Variable		Strikes – did not strike compared to went on strike	Confidence problem solved fairly – low vs high	Confidence problem solved fairly – medium vs high
Sex		n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Scared by manager			n.s.	n.s.
	Not scared	1.44*		
	Scared	1		
Factory safety				
	Not at all	.14**	n.s.	n.s.
	Somewhat	.56**	1.76*	n.s.
	Quite a bit	.52**	n.s.	1.92*
	Completely	1	1	1
Management treatment of unions				
	Not at all	n.s.	6.42**	6.05**
	Somewhat	.31**	3.27**	4.31**
	Quite a bit	.48*	n.s.	4.64**
	Completely	1	1	1
Strike		--	n.s.	n.s.
Union member			n.s.	n.s.
	Non-member	2.03**		
	Member	1		
Factory size				n.s.
	<1000	n.s.	.62*	
	1000-2999	.45**	.45**	
	3000+	1	1	
Case at AC				n.s.
	Never	1.9**	1.84**	
	Ever	1	1	
% female supervisors				n.s.
	1-65%	2.81**	.48*	
	66-75%	4.06**	.57*	
	76-100%	1	1	
% Cambodian supervisors				
	1-65%	n.s.	2.67**	n.s.
	66-75%	1.69*	n.s.	.54*
	76-100%	1	1	1
Harassed by manager				n.s.
	Not harassed	1.74**	.655*	
	Harassed	1	1	
Confidence problem solved fairly		n.s.	--	--
Standard grievance procedure		n.s.		n.s.
	No procedure		.56*	
	Procedure		1	

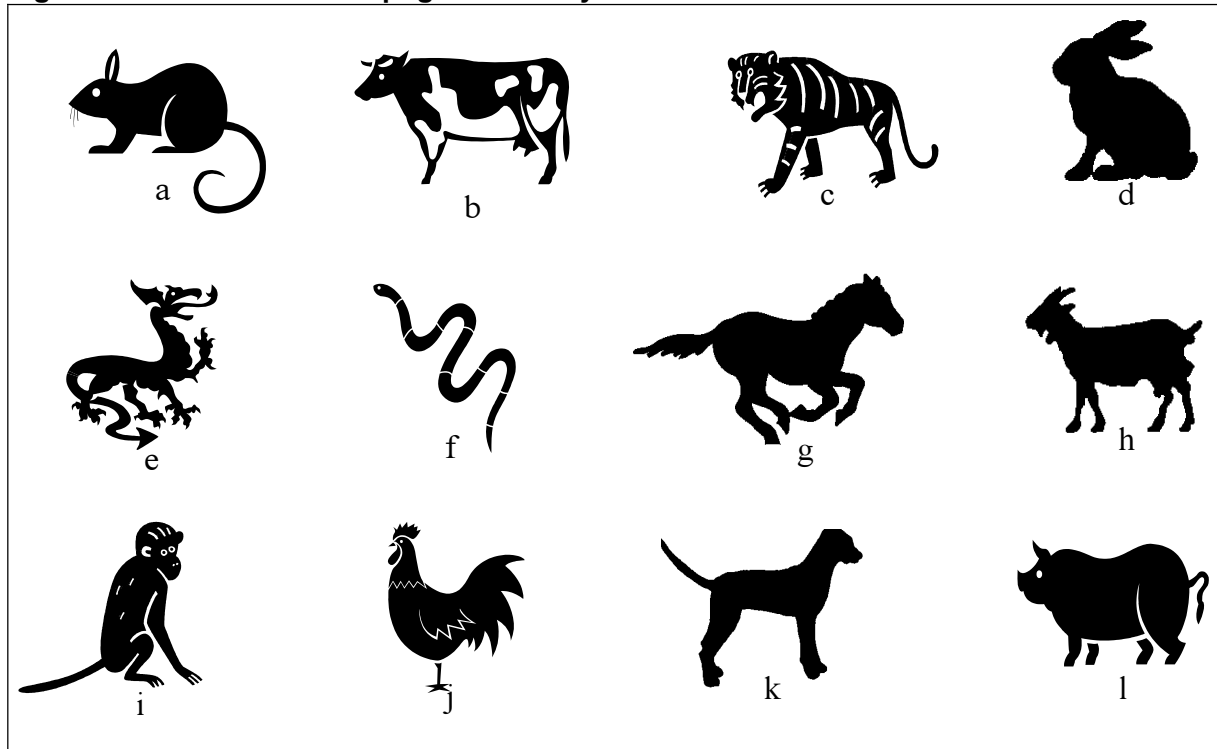
n.s. Not significant; ** p<.01; * p<.05

The table describes the factors associated with strikes and confidence after adjusting for the other factors listed in the table. Results are described as odds ratios. The last category within each variable is assigned an odds ratio of 1. A group with an odds ratio greater than 1 is more likely to have given the first answer in the column heading (e.g. did not go on strike; low confidence that problem would be resolved fairly) than the referent group. For example, workers who had not been scared by their manager/supervisor in the previous year were 1.44 times more likely than workers who had been scared by their manager/supervisor not to have gone on strike in the previous year. That is, workers who had been scared by their managers were more likely to have gone on strike. However, a group with an odds ratio less than 1 is less likely to have engaged in the behaviour than the referent group. For example, workers who believed their factory was not at all safe were 86% (=100-14) less likely than workers who believed their factory was completely safe not to have gone on strike.

Annex E: Calculation of child labour statistics

As Cambodians often do not know their exact age, workers were asked whether they were under 20, 20-29 or 30 and over. They were then asked to circle the animal corresponding to their birth year (see Figure 26).

Figure 26: Answer booklet page for birth year



There are 12 animals corresponding to the Cambodian/Chinese zodiac; each animal year runs from one Khmer New Year to the next (13-15 April) (see Table 7). Strictly speaking, people aged under 20 should fall within the yellow band, 20-29 green, and 30+ orange.

Table 7: Birth year according to animal year

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971

Given Cambodian flexibility with age, 12 year bands were used for the upper two age groups – workers circling 20-29 were assumed to be aged 19-30, and 30+ assumed to be 29-40. As researchers did not report any children taking part in the survey, the lower age group was adjusted to assume ages of 13-24 (workers whose answers indicated that they were aged 9, 10, 11 or 12 were more likely to be aged 21, 22, 23 and 24 respectively) (see Table 8).

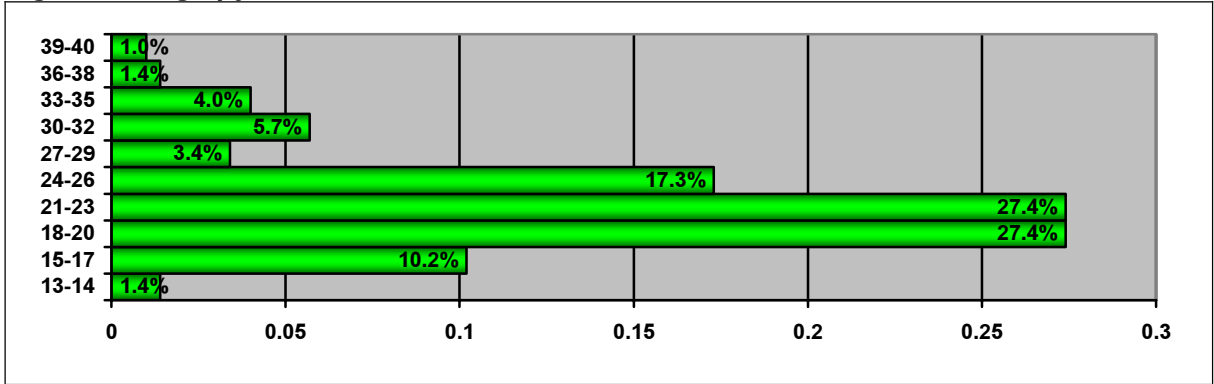
Table 8: Birth year according to animal year

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971

Using this method, there were 15 workers from 11 factories with reported ages of 13 or 14 (1.4% of the total weighted sample) (see Figure 27). Some of these underage workers may be attributable to simple errors, either from workers circling the wrong picture by mistake, or because they truly did not know whether they were younger or older than 20. The confidence

interval for 1.4% of the total sample is +/-0.76. Of the 15 workers, 6 indicated that they had paid for false age certification, and a further 3 worked in factories not monitored by the ILO, or factories where the most recent monitoring report noted concerns regarding the reliability of the age verification system (0.9% of the total weighted sample).

Figure 27: Age pyramid for workers²⁹



²⁹ The age group 27-29 corresponds to the birth years 1977-79, children conceived during the final years of the Pol Pot regime, and reflects the lower birth rate and high infant mortality of these years.

Annex F: PLA key questions

Workers

Harassment (including sexual harassment)

1. What behaviours do garment workers find unacceptable in the workplace?
2. What are the words they use to describe these behaviours?
3. Are there terms which refer to sexual harassment?
4. Which behaviours are most/least common? most/least acceptable?
5. How do workers categorise these behaviours? What words do they use?
6. How do they respond to harassment situations?

Personal security

1. What makes workers feel unsafe/frightened?
2. Where does this occur/who is involved?
3. Which things are most common/most feared?
4. How do workers deal with such situations/fears?
5. How could the situation be improved?
6. Has the situation changed? Become more or less safe?

Breastfeeding/childcare

1. Do workers with babies breastfeed them exclusively/partially/never? Until what age?
2. If not exclusively breast-fed, what else do they eat? Where do they get it from?
3. What are the positive and negative consequences of breast-feeding? What reasons do women give for choosing whether or not to breastfeed?
4. Would they like to breast-feed more? Until what age?
5. What would encourage them to do so?
6. Are they aware of the legal provisions for breast-feeding? What happens in their factories in practice? (what do the factories do? what do mothers do?)
7. Do factories provide formula or money for formula?
8. Who looks after young children? Where? What are the arrangements? (e.g. do the mothers pay for childcare?)
9. Should factories take more of a role in childcare? What should they do?

Health status

1. What are the main health issues/most common diseases according to workers? Are these year-round/seasonal?
2. What actions do workers take to protect their health? What actions would they like to take but cannot? What prevents them from taking these actions?
3. How much do workers spend on treatment/prevention of health problems?
4. Do workers protect themselves against mosquitoes? How? How often? Why/why not?
5. What are toilet facilities like at work? where workers live? Are there hand-washing facilities? soap? Do workers wash their hands after going to the toilet? Before eating?
6. Where do workers get water from? How frequently do they drink water during the day? How much do they drink per day? Why don't they drink more? What would they change if they could? What would help them to drink more/clean water?
7. What do workers eat each day? What kinds of food/how much/how frequently/at what times? Where do they get food from? How much do they spend on food each day? What do they think of the food hygiene/nutrition? What would help them to eat better?

Workplace cooperation

1. How do workers perceive the relationship between management and workers? Are supervisors understanding? Supportive? Rude? Are the managers/supervisors a different nationality/gender from the workers? Does this affect the relationship?

2. How do workers receive information from management? How do they communicate with management? Suggestion boxes? Announcement boards? Regular meetings? How often do workers and management talk on a regular basis (not for a specific dispute)? Who initiates this? What do they talk about? What gets done as a result?
3. Does the factory run training? Can workers request training/assistance? Who from?
4. How do workers see the unions' role in factories? In factories where there is more than one union, are there problems between the unions?
5. Does their factory subcontract other factories? Do finished goods come to the factory from outside for packing?
6. Are there costs involved for workers in getting a job? What 'fees' are charged? By whom? What are these ostensibly for (health check, age verification)?

Dispute resolution

1. What kind of disputes have workers experienced?
2. What are the pathways for dispute resolution: Who do they take it to? Where does it go next? Who is involved in the process? Who resolves the dispute – or is it not resolved? How long does it take? How do management/supervisors respond to worker complaints? Does this depend on the nationality/gender of the manager/supervisor?
3. Do they know of formal systems/procedures for reporting grievances/resolving disputes in their factories? Do they follow these procedures? How often? Under what circumstances?
4. In the dispute resolution process, what role is played by workers' organisations/unions/shop stewards etc? How is their relationship with workers? How do they communicate? Do workers know who their representatives are?
5. How satisfied are workers with the outcomes/process of dispute resolution?
6. Are there any repercussions for disputes?

Managers

Harassment (including sexual harassment)

1. Have there been any complaints of harassment in their factory, sexual or otherwise? What were the circumstances – who was involved, who did they complain to etc? What was the response from management? Do they perceive harassment as a problem in their factory?
2. Does the factory have a harassment policy? Is there a set procedure to follow in cases of complaints? Who designed the policy/procedure? Whose idea was it? Who else had input? Do the workers know about this procedure? Do they follow it?

Personal security

1. Do they know of any personal security incidents with their workers? What happened? When? Who was involved?
2. Does the factory do anything to promote personal security in the factory? Outside the factory? What do they do?
3. Do they feel that garment workers are becoming more or less safe, or is the situation unchanged?
4. How could the situation be improved?

Breastfeeding/childcare

1. Does the factory have a breastfeeding policy? What is it? Do women take advantage of it? Why/why not?
2. Does the factory provide formula or money for formula? If they provide formula, do they buy it, or do the formula companies donate it?
3. Does the factory have a childcare centre or provide money for childcare? Why not? Should factories take more of a role in childcare? What should they do?

Health status

1. What are the main health issues/most common diseases that affect workers? Are these year-round/seasonal?
2. What impact does this have on productivity?
3. Does the factory have a clinic? Do workers pay to use it? How much?
4. What are toilet facilities like at the factory? Are there hand-washing facilities? soap?
5. Do workers have access to drinking water at the factory? Does the factory provide water or do they buy it?
6. How many breaks do workers have during a standard shift? For how long? What do they do on their break?

Annex G: Questionnaires

Workers

Practice questions

Practice question 1: Are you a woman or a man?

Circle only one

- a. Woman
- b. Man

Practice question 2: Did you take time off work for any of these health problems during the past year? Only circle each answer if you took time off work because of the problem.

Multiple answers possible

- a. Fever
- b. Diarrhoea/stomach pain
- c. Respiratory problems
- d. Urinary/kidney problems
- e. Faint/dizzy/became unconscious
- f. Reproductive health problems (e.g. uterus, *tleak sor*)
- f. Other
- g. No time off work for health problems

Practice question 3: Do you eat enough every day?

Circle on scale

- a. Never – hungry every day
- b. Occasionally – sometimes full, often hungry
- c. Often – often full, sometimes hungry
- d. Always have enough to eat

Health

- 1 1. Yesterday, in the morning, before you went to work, what did you eat?
- 2 2. Yesterday, at midday, what did you eat?
- 3 3. Yesterday, in the evening, after you left work, what did you eat?
- 4 4. In the place where you live, do you always drink water which is clean/hygienic?

Multiple answers possible

- a. Nothing
- b. Rice
- c. Porridge/noodles
- d. Meat/fish
- e. Vegetables
- f. Cake/dessert/drink/snack
- g. Other

Multiple answers possible

- a. Nothing
- b. Rice
- c. Porridge/noodles
- d. Meat/fish
- e. Vegetables
- f. Cake/dessert/drink/snack
- g. Other

Multiple answers possible

- a. Nothing
- b. Rice
- c. Porridge/noodles
- d. Meat/fish
- e. Vegetables
- f. Cake/dessert/drink/snack
- g. Other

Circle on scale

- a. Never clean/hygienic
- b. Occasionally clean/hygienic
- c. Often clean/hygienic
- d. Always clean/hygienic

- 5 5. Yesterday, at the factory, did you wash your hands with soap every time after you went to the toilet?
- Circle only one*
- a. No, sometimes/every time did not wash hands with soap
b. Yes, washed hands with soap every time
- 6 6. If you washed your hands with soap yesterday every time after you went to the toilet at the factory, please circle the square now, put your pen down and wait for the next question. If you did not wash your hands with soap every time, why not?
- Multiple answers possible*
- a. Washed hands every time
b. No time
c. Too lazy
d. Forgot
e. No hand washing facility at factory
f. No soap at factory
g. Other reason
- 7 7. During the last year, how often did you sleep under a mosquito net?
- Circle on scale*
- a. Never
b. Occasionally
c. Often
d. Always (every night)
- Breastfeeding**
- 8 1. Do you have any children?
- Multiple answers possible*
- a. No
b. 0-3 months
c. 4-6 months
d. 7-12 months
e. 1-3 years
f. Over 3 years
- 9 2. If you have no children, please circle the square now, put your pen down and wait for the next question. If you have one or more children, think of your youngest child. For this child, would you prefer the factory to provide a childcare centre, or give you money to pay for childcare?
- Circle only one*
- a. No children
b. Would prefer childcare centre
c. Would prefer money for childcare
- 10 3. If you have no children, please circle the square now, put your pen down and wait for the next question. If you have one or more children, think of your youngest child. Who takes care of this child when you are working?
- Multiple answers possible*
- a. No children
b. Family member (e.g. husband, mother, niece, older child)
c. Paid babysitter
d. Someone else
- 11 4. If you have no children, please circle the square now, put your pen down and wait for the next question. If you have one or more children, think of your youngest child. How far away from the factory is the place where this child stays when you are working?
- Circle only one*
- a. No children
b. Less than half an hour away from the factory
c. From half to 1 hour away from the factory
d. From 1 to 2 hours from the factory
e. More than 2 hours from the factory?
- 12 5. If you have no children, please circle the square now, put your pen down and wait for the next question. If you have one or more children, think of your youngest child. What does this child eat now?
- Multiple answers possible*
- a. No children
b. Breast milk
c. Water
d. Formula
e. Porridge
f. Other

- 13 6. If you have no children, please circle the square now, put your pen down and wait for the next question. If you have one or more children, think of your youngest child. For this child, if it were possible, would you choose to breastfeed/to have breastfed until s/he is/was 6 months old?
- Circle only one*
- No children
 - Would like to breastfeed exclusively until at least 6 months
 - Would like to breastfeed and give other food (e.g. water/formula/porridge)
 - Would like to wean before 6 months (give only other food e.g. water/formula/porridge)
- Personal security**
- 14 1. In your factory, how safe do you feel?
- Circle on scale*
- Not at all safe
 - A little bit safe
 - Quite safe
 - Completely safe
- 15 2. In the factory, which of these do you worry about most? (choose two)
- Circle two*
- Electrical faults
 - Cloth debris/chemicals
 - Accidents with machinery
 - Threatened
 - Physical violence
 - Something different
- 16 3. Going to and from your factory each day, how safe do you feel?
- Circle on scale*
- Not at all safe
 - A little bit safe
 - Quite safe
 - Completely safe
- 17 4. Going to and from the factory, which of these do you worry about most? (choose two)
- Circle two*
- Robbed
 - Threatened
 - Physical violence (assaulted/mugged)
 - Raped
 - Involved in traffic accident
 - Something different
- 18 5. During the past year, do you know anyone who experienced the following problems in the factory– not just someone you heard of, but a friend you know personally:
- Multiple answers possible*
- Injured by electrical shock
 - Injured by cloth debris/chemicals
 - Injured by accidents with machinery
 - Threatened
 - Physical violence
 - Nobody I know has experienced any of these problems during the past year
- 19 6. During the past year, do you know anyone who experienced the following problems on the way to or from work – not just someone you heard of, but a friend you know personally:
- Multiple answers possible*
- Threatened
 - Physical violence
 - Robbed
 - Raped
 - Involved in traffic accident
 - Nobody I know has experienced any of these problems during the past year
- 20 7. During the past year, have you felt scared by any of these people?
- Multiple answers possible*
- Male worker in my factory
 - Female worker in my factory
 - Shop steward
 - Union leader/representative
 - Supervisor/manager
 - None of the above

- 21 8. During the past year, have you felt scared by any of these people?
- Multiple answers possible*
- Security guard
 - People I don't know
 - Gangsters
 - Ghosts
 - None of the above
- Harassment and discrimination***
- 22 1. Have you personally experienced any of the following from a supervisor/manager during the past year?
- Multiple answers possible*
- Use derogatory words for women/female garment workers (e.g. *Minis, Chet geay*, say garment workers are easy to have sex with)
 - Court/flirt/ask to go out with/ask to have sex with
 - Unwanted sexual touching (e.g. embrace, touch bottom, hand, shoulder, breast, back)
 - Verbal disrespectful behaviour: Insult/scold/shout/blame (e.g. *Mi choy mray, Chhkourt, Kourkbal chhker, Kourkbal chrouk*)
 - Physical disrespectful behaviour (e.g. Point to face/hit/ throw something/hit table)
 - None of these
- 23 2. Have you personally experienced any of the following from other workers during the past year?
- Multiple answers possible*
- Use derogatory words for women/female garment workers (e.g. *Minis, Chet geay*, say garment workers are easy to have sex with)
 - Court/flirt/ask to go out with/ask to have sex with
 - Unwanted sexual touching (e.g. embrace, touch bottom, hand, shoulder, breast, back)
 - Verbal disrespectful behaviour: Insult/scold/shout/blame (e.g. *Mi choy mray, Chhkourt, Kourkbal chhker, Kourkbal chrouk*)
 - Physical disrespectful behaviour (e.g. Point to face/hit/throw something/hit table)
 - None of these

- 24 3. Have you personally experienced any of the following from someone along the road to and from the factory during the past year?
- Multiple answers possible*
- Use derogatory words for women/female garment workers (e.g. *Minis, Chet geay*, say garment workers are easy to have sex with)
 - Court/flirt/ask to go out with/ask to have sex with
 - Unwanted sexual touching (e.g. embrace, touch bottom, hand, shoulder, breast, back)
 - Verbal disrespectful behaviour: Insult/scold/shout/blame (e.g. *Mi choy mray, Chhkourt, Kourkbal chhker, Kourkbal chrouk*)
 - Physical disrespectful behaviour (e.g. Point to face/hit/throw something/hit table)
 - None of these
- 25 4. In your factory, are there ever derogatory words written on the walls/doors/toilets? (e.g. I love you, I want to fuck you)
- Circle on scale*
- Never
 - Occasionally
 - Often
 - Always
- 26 5. In your factory, do male and female workers who do the same work receive the same salary? We are talking about men and women who work in the same job.
- Workplace relations/dispute resolution**
- 27 1. Think of the following situation: At the end of one month, when you go to get paid, you and some of the other workers on your line are not given your attendance bonus (*prak rungwan twer ga tieng toat \$5*) You think this is wrong. How confident are you that this problem would be resolved fairly in the end?
- Circle on scale*
- Not at all confident
 - Somewhat confident
 - Quite confident
 - Completely confident
- 28 2. I am going to read out 6 different people and institutions that may be able to help solve a problem like this. For each one, I would like you to decide how much you would trust that person or institution to help solve the problem fairly. If you have never heard of that person or institution, circle the square.
- Circle on scale*
- Don't know/never heard of*
- Not at all*
- Somewhat*
- Quite a bit*
- Completely*
- Immediate supervisor
 - Senior management
 - Union leader/representative
 - Shop steward
 - Ministry of Labour
 - Arbitration Council
- 29 3. For whose benefit do you think union leaders/representatives mostly work?
- Circle only one*
- There is no union in my factory
 - Don't know
 - Mostly for workers' benefit
 - Mostly for their own benefit
 - Mostly for managers'/owners' benefit

- 30 4. For whose benefit do you think shop stewards (*protepu bokeluk*) mostly work?
Circle only one
 a. There are no shop stewards in my factory
 b. Don't know
 c. Mostly for workers' benefit
 d. Mostly for their own benefit
 e. Mostly for managers'/owners' benefit
- 31 5. In your factory, does the management treat all unions fairly?
Circle on scale
 a. There is no union in my factory
 b. Don't know
 c. Not at all
 d. Somewhat
 e. Quite a bit
 f. Completely
- 32 6. Did you pay anyone to get your job or to become a permanent worker?
Multiple answers possible
 a. No
 b. Yes – to get the job
 c. Yes – become permanent worker
- 33 7. Did you pay anyone for false age certification to get your job? Who?
Multiple answers possible
 a. No
 b. Yes – someone from the government
 c. Yes – someone from the factory
 d. Yes – someone else
- 34 8. Did you do anything sexual to get your job or become a permanent worker? (*twer awae moy teth dong nung phlau phet* e.g. have sex, oral sex, touch a man's penis)
Multiple answers possible
 a. No
 b. Yes – have sex
 c. Yes – have oral sex
 d. Yes – touch penis
 e. Yes – allowed unwanted sexual touching (e.g. embrace, touch bottom, hand, shoulder, breast, back)
 f. Yes – other

Demographics

35. 1. What type of worker are you?
Circle only one
 a. Trainee/apprentice
 b. Probationary
 c. Permanent (ongoing)
 d. Fixed term
 e. Casual/Floating (*andaet*)
 f. Other
 g. Don't know
- 36 2. How old are you?
Circle only one
 a. Under 20
 b. 20-29
 c. 30 or over

- 37 3. In which animal year were you born? *Circle only one*
- a. Rat
 - b. Ox
 - c. Tiger
 - d. Rabbit
 - e. Dragon
 - f. Snake
 - g. Horse
 - h. Goat
 - i. Monkey
 - j. Rooster
 - k. Dog
 - l. Pig
- 38 4. How far from the factory is the place where you sleep every night? *Circle only one*
- a. Less than half an hour away from the factory
 - b. From half to 1 hour away from the factory
 - c. From 1 to 2 hours from the factory
 - d. More than 2 hours from the factory
- 39 5. How do you get to work? *Multiple answers possible*
- a. Walk
 - b. Motodop
 - c. Bicycle
 - d. Own moto
 - e. Remorque
 - f. Truck
 - g. Other
- 40 6. During the past year, have you ever gone on strike or otherwise stopped work because of a labour dispute? *Circle only one*
- a. No
 - b. Yes
- 41 7. Are you a member of a union? *Circle only one*
- a. No
 - b. Yes
- 42 8. If you are not a member of a union, please circle the square now, put your pen down and wait for the next question. If you are a member of a union, is your union part of a union federation? *Multiple answers possible*
- a. Not a member
 - b. Not part of a federation
 - c. Don't know
 - d. Cambodian Federation of Independent Trade Unions (Ros Sok)
 - e. Cambodian Labor Union Federation (Sum Aun)
 - f. Cambodian Union Federation (Chun Mom Thol)
 - g. Coalition of Cambodia Apparel Workers Democratic Union, CCAWDU (Chhorn Sokha)
 - h. Free Trade Union of Workers of the Kingdom of Cambodia (Chea Mony)
 - i. Khmer Youth Federation of Trade Unions (Yun Rithy)
 - j. Another federation
- 43 9. Are you a union leader or union representative? (*neak duk noam ru damnang saharchip*) *Circle only one*
- a. No
 - b. Yes
- 44 10. Are you a shop steward (*protepu bokeluk*)? *Circle only one*
- a. No
 - b. Yes

Questions from managers' questionnaire

- Q101 What is your job title?
Q102 What nationality are you?
Q103 For how many years have you lived in Cambodia?
Q104 Which languages can you speak? How well?
Q105 What percentage of supervisory/management staff are female?
Q106 What percentage of supervisory/management staff are Cambodian?
Q107 What nationality(ies) are the remaining supervisors/managers?
- Q201 What are the main health problems which cause workers to request sick leave?
Q202 Which health problems cost the factory the most in terms of time lost to sick leave?
Q203 What percentage of workers does the factory insure for work-related accidents/illnesses?
Q204 Does this insurance include accidents on the way to/from work?
Q205 How many claims were made under this insurance last year?
Q206 What are the most common causes of claims under this insurance?
Q207 Is there a clinic in the factory?
Q208 Do all workers who get sick/injured at work use the clinic?
Q209 Why do some sick/injured workers not use it?
Q210 Do you drink the water which the factory provides for the workers yourself?
Q211 Are there many mosquitoes in the factory?
Q212 Does the factory have a canteen? Is this run by the factory or someone else?
Q213 Does factory management control hygiene standards in the eating area?
Q214 Does factory management control food quality in the eating area?
Q215 How would you rate the hygiene standards of the eating area?
Q216 How would you rate the food quality/nutritional value?
Q217 Can workers use the toilet facilities whenever they want to?
Q218 Are there disciplinary consequences for going to the toilet too often or for too long?
- Q301 Does the factory give extra money to workers with young children?
Q302 How much per month?
Q303 Beginning from what age (months)?
Q304 Until what age (months)?
Q305 Does the factory provide baby formula?
Q306 How much per month?
Q307 Beginning from what age (months)?
Q308 Until what age (months)?
Q309 Does the factory buy the formula, or is it donated by the manufacturer?
Q310 Does the factory provide a room for breast-feeding?
Q311 Do workers with young babies use this facility?
Q312 Does the factory allow workers with young babies additional breaks?
Q313 Do workers with young babies use these breaks?
Q314 Does the factory allow workers with young babies to leave early?
Q315 How early?
Q316 Do workers with young babies use this policy?
- Q401 How safe is the situation inside your factory?
Q402 What are the two main safety problems in the workplace?

- Q403 Has the factory taken any actions to reduce/prevent these problems?
Q404 What actions have been taken?
Q405 How safe is the situation along the road to and from your factory?
Q406 What are the two main safety problems along the road?
Q407 Has the factory taken any actions to reduce/prevent these problems?
Q408 What actions have been taken?
Q409 During the past year, have you felt scared by any of these people? (same list as workers)
- Q501 How frequently do you think supervisors/managers use derogatory words to female workers (e.g. *Minis*, *Chet geay*, say garment workers easy to have sex with?)
Q502 How frequently do you think supervisors/managers court/flirt ask to go out with/ask to have sex with female workers?
Q503 How frequently do you think supervisors/managers touch female workers in a sexual way (e.g. embrace, touch bottom, hand)?
Q504 How frequently do you think supervisors/managers are verbally disrespectful towards workers – insult/scold/shout/blame them? (e.g. *mi choy mray*, *chkout*, *kourkbal chrouk*)
Q505 How frequently do you think supervisors/managers are physically disrespectful to workers (e.g. point to face/hit/throw sth/hit table)?
Q506 Has a worker ever made a complaint about any of the above behaviours from a supervisor/manager?
Q507 Has a worker ever made a complaint about any of the above behaviours from another worker?
Q508 Are there disciplinary consequences for harassment?
Q509 Is there a standard procedure for harassment complaints?
Q510 Have workers been notified or trained on this standard procedure?
Q511 Have workers used this standard procedure?
- Q601 Think of the last time there was a dispute involving more than one worker and/or a union in the factory? What was the cause of the dispute?
Q602 Was the dispute dealt with internally or was it taken outside the factory?
Q603 Which institutions external to the factory were involved?
Q604 How satisfied were you with the outcome of the dispute?
Q605 How has the number of disputes in your factory changed over the past 5 years?
Q606 How has the amount of time lost to disputes in your factory changed over the past 5 years?
Q607 How has the capacity in your factory to prevent and manage disputes changed over the past 5 years?
Q608 How has the capacity of the Ministry of Labour systems to prevent and manage disputes in your industry changed over the past 5 years?
Q609 Do you think the establishment of the Arbitration Council has changed labour dispute resolution in your industry? How positive or negative has the impact been?
Q610 Think of the following situation: At the end of one month, a group of workers complain that they have not been paid their attendance bonus. How confident are you that this problem would be resolved fairly in the end?
Q611 How much would you trust the following people and institutions to help solve this problem fairly? (same list as for workers)
Q612 Last year, how many times did workers go on strike?
Q613 Last year, how many times did workers stop work or slow down without declaring a strike or going outside to demonstrate?

- Q614 Is there a standard procedure for reporting/resolving grievances?
- Q615 Have workers been notified or trained on this standard procedure?
- Q616 How often would you say workers use this standard procedure?
- Q617 How many unions are active in your factory?
- Q618 What are the names of these unions?
- Q619 Which federation do these unions belong to?
- Q620 What percentage of workers belong to each union?
- Q621 For whose benefit do you think union leaders/representatives mostly work?
- Q622 For whose benefit do you think shop stewards mostly work?
- Q623 Does management treat all unions fairly?

Annex H: Focus group discussion guides

Topic	Workers	Managers
Health and nutrition		
Men only – how often do they drink alcohol? How much? Can this affect their health in the short-term? In the long term?	Yes	No
What do workers consider to be a healthy diet? - Which foods should they eat? How often? - What benefits does this bring? - Do they follow this? Why/why not? - Is it a problem if you eat no/very little meat? Why/why not? - Is it a problem if you eat no/very few vegetables? Why/why not? - Is it a problem if you skip a meal? Why/why not? - Is it a problem if you eat only snacks for one meal? Why/why not?	Yes	No
Are there mosquitoes in the factory? - Many/some/none? - Do workers get bitten? - How often? - Is this a problem? Why?	Yes	No
Men only – 20% of male workers say they don't always sleep under a mosquito net. Why is this?	Yes	No
Does the factory provide health insurance? - Are all workers insured? - What does this cover? - How do you make a claim? - What things do people claim for?	Yes	No
When you are sick/injured at work, do you always go to the factory clinic? - Why not?	Yes	No
Safety		
Has management done anything to improve safety in the factory? - What? - Was it effective?	Yes	No
When workers say they worry about/have experienced being threatened in the factory, what do they mean? - Who threatens them? - How do they threaten? - Verbal or physical? - What do they say? - How often does this happen? - Where does this happen? - When does this happen? - Who does this happen to – all workers or some categories only?	Yes	No
Workers and managers both said one of their main safety worries in the factory was electrical shocks, what do they mean? - Are they talking about shocks or sparks or fires or something else? - How often does this happen? - Where does this happen? - When does this happen? - Who does this happen to – all workers or some categories only? - Are particular parts of the factory more at risk of electrical problems than others? - Has this problem changed? How (more/less serious, actions taken)?	Yes	Yes

<p>Workers said that one of their main safety worries in the factory was chemicals/cloth debris, but few managers mentioned this. What do they mean?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are they talking about the chemicals with which the cloth is treated or spot removal products or something else? - How can they tell they have been affected? - What do they experience when they are affected by chemicals/cloth debris? - How do they know this is from chemicals and not from lack of food/exhaustion/other illness? - How often does this happen? - Where are workers affected? - When does this happen? - Are particular parts of the factory more at risk of chemicals/cloth debris than others? - Who does this happen to – all workers or some categories only? - Has this problem changed? How (more/less serious, actions taken)? 	Yes	No
<p>Has management done anything to improve safety along the road? - What?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Was it effective? 	Yes	No
<p>Managers said one of the main safety problems along the road was being threatened; some workers also said this. What do they mean?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Who threatens them? - How do they threaten? - Verbal or physical? - What do they say? - How often does this happen? - Where does this happen? - When does this happen? - Who does this happen to – all workers or some categories only? 	Yes	Yes
<p>One of the main safety problems along the road is traffic accidents. - When do these mostly happen (what time of day/year)?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are they mostly caused by motos/cars/trucks/? - Are they mostly caused by speeding/drink-driving/crowded roads/? - Who gets hurt/killed – pedestrians/bystanders/people in vehicles? - Who does this happen to – all workers or some categories only? - Are some areas worse than others for traffic accidents? - Are there any ways of reducing/avoiding traffic accidents? - Has anything been done to reduce/avoid traffic accidents? 	Yes	Yes
<p>Half of all workers say they have been scared by a manager in the previous year. What do they mean by this?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What level of manager? - What are they scared of? - Does the manager actively do something to scare them? Verbal or physical? - Does it make a difference if the manager is Khmer or foreign? - Does it make a difference if the manager is a woman or a man? 	Yes	No
<p>20% of managers say they have been scared by a worker in the previous year. What do they mean by this?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What kind of worker (section/level/etc)? - What are they scared of? - Does the worker actively do something to scare them? Verbal or physical? 	No	Yes
<p>Managers' perceptions of safety in the factory are much more positive than workers' perceptions. Why is this?</p>	No	Yes

Harassment		
<p>What is the standard procedure for harassment complaints?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Who designed it? Whose idea was it? Who else had input? - How long has it been in place? - Were workers/managers informed/trained? How? By whom? For how long/how often? - How well does it work? Why/why not? 	No	Yes
<p>Do managers/supervisors sometimes use derogatory words towards women workers, e.g. <i>Minis</i>, <i>Chet geay</i>, say garment workers are easy to have sex with?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How often does this happen? - How does it make you feel? - Does it have an impact on your work? - Can you complain about it? Who to? How? - What would happen if you complained? - Do men outside the factory also sometimes use derogatory words towards women? - Is it the same when managers do this, or is it somehow worse/not as bad? Why? 	Yes	No
<p>Are there sometimes derogatory words on walls/doors?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What things are written? - Who writes them? - Are they general or do they target particular workers? - Are both men and women affected? - Does anyone complain? - Does management do anything to prevent/correct this? - How effective is this? 	Yes	Yes
<p>Some workers told us that they suffer verbal or physical disrespect from supervisors or managers. Verbal disrespect means insulting/scolding/ shouting/blaming (e.g. <i>Mi choy mray</i> , <i>Chhkourt</i> , <i>Kourkbal chhker</i> , <i>Kourkbal chrouk</i>). Physical disrespect means e.g Point to face/hit/throw something/hit table. Is this the same from Khmer supervisors/managers and foreign supervisors/managers, or are there differences?</p>	Yes	No
Workplace relations		
<p>How do they define a 'dispute'?</p> <p>Are there disputes which were not reported in the survey?</p>	No	Yes
<p>The majority of HR managers said that over the past 5 years the number of disputes has decreased and factory capacity to prevent and manage disputes has increased. Explain.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How long have they been in their job? - Why do they think disputes have decreased? - Is this all kinds of disputes, or just some? - Has anything else changed about disputes – e.g. more/less serious disputes, more/less strikes/stop works, different methods of resolving, different people involved? - How has factory capacity changed? - What has caused this change? - What has been the impact of the arbitration council? 	No	Yes
<p>What is the standard grievance procedure?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Who designed it? Whose idea was it? Who else had input? - How long has it been in place? - Were workers/managers informed/trained? How? By whom? For how long/how often? - How well does it work? Why/why not? 	No	Yes

<p>Have you heard of the arbitration council? - How did you hear about it? Who told you? - What does the arbitration council do? - Who does it work for (workers/managers/both)? - What do you think of the arbitration council? Why?</p>	Yes	Yes
<p>In some factories, workers and/or managers believe that management do not treat all unions fairly. What does this mean? - What do they do to unions which is not fair? - Do they discriminate against union members? How? - Do they discriminate against union leaders? How? - Do they allow unions to organise (recruit workers/communicate with workers)? - Do they treat issues raised by unions? - Do they treat different unions differently? Why?</p>	Yes	Yes
<p>Are Cambodian supervisors different from foreign supervisors? How? - Ability/skill at their job - Safety in the factory - Relationship with workers – inc. trust, treatment of workers - Relationship with management - Ability to resolve conflicts</p>	Yes	Yes
<p>Have you ever heard of any garment workers who had sex with someone (inc. oral/touching etc) in order to get their job? - What kind of worker? - What did they have to do? - Who with? - Does this happen often? - Does this happen in all factories?</p>	Yes	Yes
<p>What/who motivates management to make changes at factory level (e.g. workers/unions/ILO/buyers/GMAC/public opinion)?</p>	No	Yes
<p>Do they know of any payments workers must make in order to get/keep their jobs? - Are workers paying to get age verification/health checks/jobs/change to permanent staff? - Who do they pay? MoL/health inspectors/factory/unions? - Can workers be hired if they are underage/sick by paying? - Do managers have to make any payments relating to HR? - What for? - Who to? MoL/unions...? e.g. unions to avoid strikes, MoL for health and safety certification.</p>	Yes – age only	Yes
<p>Are there unions in your factory? - How many? - What are their names? - Which federations do they belong to? - Are you a union member? Which union? - Who do factory-level unions work for? (workers/themselves/management) - Who do union federations work for? (workers/themselves/management) - What is the relationship like between workers and unions? Do they represent the interests of the workers? Do they help the workers?</p>	Yes	No



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