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The Standard of Living of Garment Workers in Cambodia: Its Determinants and Workers' Perception

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Abstract:

Since the mid 1990s, the rapid growing garment factories around Phnom Penh city have provided many employment opportunities for young female women from the rural areas. Previous researches confirmed that the workers who left their rural work to take up new jobs in the garment factory could earn higher wages than their previous work. Moreover, part of their earnings from the garment work was used to improve their family's standard of living who was residing in the countryside. Yet these studies have only partly covered the actual workers' standard of living. Due to the lack of current studies that considered this issue in any detail, this research attempts to study the workers' daily living activities and their perceptions toward standard of living. The research also aims to figure out the important factors that mostly affect the workers' standard of living and discuss how these indicators could be improved.

The significance of the thesis compared to other research works is that it deeply discusses the main basic living requirements of the garment workers in Cambodia including food, health, housing, utilities, health, and transportation. Another important characteristic of this research is to uncover the opinions of the workers toward their standard of living and reveal their difficulties in daily life. The first and foremost finding in this research confirmed that there are four important indicators should be taken into account when studying the Cambodian garment workers' standard of living. They are food, housing, utilities and health respectively. According to the workers perception Transportation and Education is less important for their daily life. Moreover, security is another part of the concern for most garment workers. Second, to improve the workers' standard of living, there is a need of government policy intervention and strict enforcement. For example, having canteen at the factory is suggested to improve the workers' food quality. The workers insist to having a canteen at the factory while the employers want to escape from this responsibility. Having limited overtime is another suggestion for improving the workers' health condition; however, in most cases, both employers and employees agree to go beyond the limit. Finally, workers perceived that they don't have a good standard of living or their standard of living is lower than the expectation. This finding could be taken as one of the indicators to evaluate the threats of the industry.

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The Standard of Living of Garment Workers in Cambodia: Its Determinants and Workers' Perception¹

By

Chiek Chansamphors

1. Introduction

The garment industry is one of the largest global industries in the world. Through the previous three centuries the garment industry has significant noticeable changes. Many industrialized countries such as U.S., Japan and Great Britain had experienced from the development of this industry as the “first step” in industrialization progression. During the process of globalization, relative labor cost and the movement capital had shifted the industry from the U.S., Great Britain and Japan which were the top three leaders in international trade of textile and garment, to lower labor cost countries. Later on, the followers such as Hong Kong, Korea, Singapore and Taiwan have also been successful in starting up the similar progress as Japan. Today the garment and textile manufacturers mostly concentrate in ASEAN, South Asian countries and China.

The success story of the above countries has urged Cambodia to follow those countries' footsteps for development. As a result, recently Cambodia has become the sixth largest garment exporters in the world (Du, 2007). The garment industry in Cambodia contributes large numbers of employment opportunities and shares the largest part in the manufacturing sector and export (Chan and Sok, 2007b). In 2006 the amount of garment export from Cambodia reached to US\$2.5 billion (World Bank, 2007). It also employs at least 347,000 workers as of July 2007 and 92 per cent of them are female (Better Factory Cambodia, 2007). Economic Institute of Cambodia estimated that the garment industry not only created direct jobs but also indirect jobs in other sectors such as agriculture, industry, service and the number of indirect job created were about the same as direct job (see Table 1.1). In addition, an estimated 1.7 million people depend on the garment industry directly or indirectly (World Bank, 2007).

Table 1.1. Number of Direct and Indirect Jobs Created by the Garment Industry, 2005

Category	Sector	Number of Jobs (in '000)	Percentage of the Total
Direct Job	Garment	270	53
Indirect Job	Agriculture	92	18
	Service	113	22
	Industry (excl. garment)	37	7
Total		512	100

Source: Chan and Sok, 2007b, p. 16.

¹ This working paper is based on his Master Thesis submitted at the Graduate School of Asia Pacific University in Japan on July 18, 2008

Many families are proud of having their daughters' works in the garment industry because part of their daughters' income could partially share with the family to improve family's living condition.

"...According to Son Sean[garment worker], smiles and responds: 'My family has better living conditions now,' ... 'From my earnings, my mother has been able to build a 5 by 7 meter brick house with a tiled roof, and my 15 year-old sister has been able to continue her schooling'..." (World Bank, 2007, p. 1).

As dutiful daughters, those who migrate from rural area to work in urban areas often remit about 30 per cent of their income to help their family "Garment Workers tend to support three family members, making them a vital component of the family's financial security" (Chan and Sok, 2007b, p. 21).

However, to remit small amounts of money to family is not an easy task. The workers need to manage their income in order to cope with the higher cost of living in the city compared to the rural areas and at the same time save some money for remittance. The monthly earning of US\$50² is inadequate to meet both ends meet and to send some money home. Therefore, most of them need to work overtime at nights or on holidays in order to earn extra income.

Lim (2007) claimed that the garment workers, especially those who migrate from other provinces, cannot have a good standard of living. He also added that the garment workers cannot afford expensive things which most urban people have. They do not want to spend their money except for sending it home (p. 46). The primary goal of the young female workers who are working in the garment industry is to remit part of their income to help their family as a dutiful daughter.³

The above review has question for the future research to elaborate more on the living condition of the garment industry which is the main objective in this research. Though primarily the income of the garment industry is relatively high compared to rural work; In contrast the financial management and living condition awareness may be inadequate for those garment workers to live in a good condition.

As the industry is one of the key developments of Cambodia's economy, many studies have been done related to workers' working conditions rather than the living conditions. The focus on the factories working condition is mainly because it is the requirement from the buyers to ensure the working condition in the garment factories is good. Better Factories Cambodia and Garment Manufacturing Association in Cambodia (GMAC) play important roles in achieving this objective.

However, the distinction of this research from other studied is this research is going to study about the workers' standard of living rather than workers' working conditions. The study of standard of living is important because workers are the most potential resource for the sustainability of the garment industry. If the garment workers live improperly and walk out from the factory the industry would face serious difficulty. According to the Council for the Development Cambodia (CDC) the Cambodian government continues its improvement in maintaining the labor condition in the country when the primary concerns for most of the citizens are food, clothing and shelter (as cited in Wai, 2007, p. 2).

There are two similar studies focused on the study of the living conditions of garment workers but they all serve different purposes and have different weaknesses. The spending patterns of garment workers, presents in the discussion paper by Dahlberg was based on a very small scales of sample (41 workers) and the report did not focus in detail the daily life of

² On 1st of April 2008, the minimum wage was revised to \$56 Better Factory Cambodia, 2008: 2.

³ Half of worker's earning is used to support minimum daily life and another half to support family in the country side and for net saving (Chan and Sok, 2007b: 15).

the garment workers, yet this report produced a high quality result for the additional information on previous quantitative approach survey by the Asian Development Bank (ADB). Socio-economic conditions of garment workers in Cambodia, attempted to study, by Wai, produced a doubtful result. In that thesis, the sample of 90 workers was selected from two factories in Kandal province. The sample selection of one location especially in province doesn't really represent the garment workers in Cambodia since more than 80 per cent of garment factories are located in the city. The two factories employ more local workers than those which are located in Phnom Penh city.⁴ Thus, the result from the provincial data would not be guaranteed to reflect the real life picture of garment workers in Cambodia. Employees in the garment industry at least three fourth migrated from other provinces. Also note the living condition of local workers is different from the migrant workers. One of the examples is that local workers can have a home or live with their families, while the migrant workers have to rent rooms and share with friends or relatives.

The significance of the thesis compared to the other research works is that it attempts study deeply on the Cambodian workers' standard of living by using two different methods measurement. The first method is known as workers' self-perception on how they rate their own standard of living. The second method will figure out the determinants which may have relation to the workers' standard of living. The determinants to be tested if they have relationship to garment workers' standard of living are food, health, housing and utilities, education and transportation. In short, this research is going to conclude of the differences in workers' standard of living by using these two approaches.

2. Socioeconomic Issues in Cambodia and Garment Industry

This chapter first reviews the major socioeconomic issues in Cambodia before we study specifically on the garment workers. The importance of reviewing the issues as a whole is to provide better understanding the characteristics of the population and make comparison to the garment workers' standard of living. In addition, the chapter also reviews multiple impacts of garment industry on the standard of living in Cambodia in general as well as the workers and how the government pays attention to the garment industry and how it is developed and promoted within the context of the Cambodian political economy system.

Socioeconomic Issues in Cambodia

Cambodia has a population of about 14 million and the average annual population growth rate 1.81 per cent from 1998-2004 (National Institute of Statistic of Cambodia, 2005). At the end of 2006, Cambodian GDP per capita reached to 2,105,000 riel (about US\$513 at Exchange rate 4103.3 riel per US\$) (ADB, 2008). The average GDP growth rate for the last ten years is about nine per cent. The recent economic progression in Cambodia during this last decade has been a remarkable point in Cambodian history. The noticeable growth rate has significantly changed the Cambodian living conditions both in rural and urban areas. Cambodia's economy is composed of three main sectors: agriculture, industry and services. These three sectors absorb around 8 million of the total population of 14 million. In 1995, the agriculture sector had been the main employer spotting figures as high as 80% of total employment. Since then, employment percentages have been going down, bottoming out at 56% in 2006. During the same period, this shift in the employment landscape has enabled the industry and service sectors to grow from 3% to 14% and 16% to 28% respectively.

⁴ Phnom Penh residents rarely take up garment job (Lim 2007).

The main stream of allocating the labor force from agriculture to industry and service are because of the two sectors provides higher income comparing to agriculture (Dahlberg, 2005). Another reason is the agricultural sector is very vulnerable to climate resulting in the difficulties of the farmers in adapting to the climate changes. In some years, the crop yields higher than the other years depending on the weather. For instance, in 2005, the agriculture's growth rate shot to 16.4 per cent while the average from the past was only 3 per cent. The significant growth of the sector was mainly because of the favorable climate and expansion of the cultivated area (Chan and Sok, 2007b, p. 6). Therefore, the income from agriculture is not sustainable in comparison with the industry sector in which the workers could get a stable salary without much concern over the climate.

Many rural residents migrated to the urban areas to find jobs in the industry sectors especially garment and construction given that they are labor intensive sectors. Besides, they come to the city to provide some services such as motor-taxi, car wash and restaurant service. The labor forces in Cambodia is gender based which males and females are separated clearly. Most of the workers in the garment factory and restaurant service are female while the motor-taxi and construction workers are mainly male (Lim, 2007).

2.1.1 Widening gap between the rich and the poor

Despite current noticeable economic growth in Cambodia, it was estimated that as of 2004 the poverty line (income below 1 US\$ per day) is still at 35 per cent. In addition, the gap between the rich and poor became wider. Only a small portion of the rich and elite people could benefit from the growth while many others are left out. According to the World Bank, the gap between the rich and the poor is 0.42 which 0 is the perfect equality and 1 is perfect inequality (World Bank, 2006, p. 49). The main challenge today is to have a fair distribution of wealth otherwise Cambodia would face serious social crises.

2.1.2 External dependency

The Cambodian economy heavily relies on the external factors such as the financial aid, international market, and international prices. With the annual aid of about US\$600 million per year from the international donor countries particularly Japan, Cambodia could run its administration and develop basic physical and social infrastructure. Cambodia is a small market with about 14 million people and low per capita income. The international market is the main pushing factor for the international and local companies to focus on. The fluctuation of the international markets directly impact on export oriented companies/factories in Cambodia leading to a loss of jobs and incomes for the Cambodians. Currently Cambodia is granted preferential treatment from European countries and the United States under the quota system. Under this system, Cambodia could export clothes to these markets. As Cambodia relies on imported oil and natural gas, the economy has been affected by the recent price hike. The increase in fuel price in the last few years has dragged most of the products to increase their prices. The inflation keeps rising every year. In 2004 the inflation was 5.6 per cent and increased to 6.7 in 2005. Though in 2006 the inflation dropped to 2.8 per cent however during the first six month of 2007 the inflation jumped again to 5.8 per cent (National Bank of Cambodia, 2007). Food is the most substantial product which is affected by high inflation almost every year. This means inflation highly impacts to the low income people which food is the basic need for everyone.

2.1.3 Gender disparity

Gender is a big concern for social and economic development in Cambodia. Although many efforts have been made to promote women's rights and participation in the society, still women are in weak positions compared with men. Females accounted for 51.5 per cent while

men account for only 48.5 per cent however, the unemployment rate of females to males is 147 per cent mean for the unemployment 247 persons there are 100 males and female 147. There is a big disparity among gender in Cambodia. Female so far received less education than males. Female literacy rates lower than male literacy rates 20 per cent. The current male literacy rate is 80.3 per cent.

2.1.4 Labor force

Cambodia is a young population country. A baby boom after a prolonged civil war pushed Cambodia into a state of young people. It is both a blessing and curse regarding the young population density. It creates more pressures for the government to create more jobs otherwise it would be socially and politically unstable given that young people are eager to demonstrate their feelings and demands in the street. On the other hand, Cambodia could provide many cheap labor forces attractive to investors. There are 61.6 per cent of the total population is 24 years old or younger as of 2004 (National Institution of Statistic Cambodia, 2006). It means that Cambodia is full with labor supply for the current and future time as the population is still in the grow rate of 1.8 per cent per annum.

2.1.5 Health care

In the 2007/2008 Human Development Report ranked Cambodia as the 137th among 177 countries. Access to health care is still very low especially in the rural area. The poorest received less significant care than the rich. The access to health care for the poor is about 60 per cent of the total while the rich is up to 75 per cent. This difference is not that marked in Phnom Penh (United Nation Development Program, pp. 121-123). There are two out of three who are looking for the treatment in a period of four weeks (National Institute of Statistic of Cambodia, 2005). Since the mid 90s, numerous health care centers have been built and public health programs such as Tuberculin, Malaria and Diarrhea have been introduced. However, noticeably during the same period, health problems such as high blood pressure and stomach ulcers have been increasing. In addition, cost of health care has also been increasing relatively to average earnings (World Bank, 2006, p. 111).

2.1.6 Infrastructure and transportation

The infrastructure and transportation method in Cambodia are very limited. There is no reliable public transportation in the country. Bus is the only available means of transport for the long distance (travel from one province to another) and train is only used to transport goods in certain regions. In the city most people rely on their privately own bikes or cars while those who don't have their own private transportation rely on moto taxi, Tuk Tuk, tricycle and motor-cart (mostly used by the garment workers). Motor-cart considers as one of the cheapest for commute because it can fill many people in one cart; however, the route of this motor-cart is very limited. Motor-taxi is considered as the most convenient for transport which can access to most places. However, its price is considered to be very expensive for low income group of people.

2.1.7 Education

The current educational status of Cambodian people is still very low though there is improvement for many years. The education structure in Cambodia was destroyed by the Pol Pot regime during 1975-1979 and just recovered from scratch after that period. As the 12 years education programs, the average number of schooling in rural area is 3.2 years compares to in Phnom Penh is 6.4 years (World Bank, 2006, p. 99). In average 75 per cent of rural inhabitants could not complete primary education. Quality of education in Cambodia is still a doubt to the Cambodian population. One father in Battambang province mentioned

that he wondered about his son's education while he is in the sixth grade but still cannot read his own name. (World Bank, 2006, p. 101)

Characteristics of Garment Industry and Its Impact

Along with the economic growth, the Cambodia Garment industry has progressed noticeably since 1995. The garment industry has generated revenue for more than US\$ one billion since 2000 and increase an average of 16 per cent every year. As of 2007, the value of garment export from Cambodia reached to US\$2.7billion (Better Factory Cambodia, 2008, p. 1). It accounts for 80 per cent of the total export as of 2006 (World Bank, 2007). With this respect, the growth of garment factories had responded to the need of jobs for many young Cambodians. Today there are around 300 factories that are operating in Cambodia. These factories employ more than 350,000 workers and about the same amount were created as indirect jobs to support the industry. Thus, the industry has absorbed about 26 per cent of the total new entrants in the labor market (Chan and Sok, 2007b, p. 17).

Almost 90 per cent of total garment factories are concentrated in the Phnom Penh and Kandal Province (the province where the city is located in the center). The benefit of setting up garment factories around the city is the easy access to electricity and infrastructure even though the materials and finished products have to be shipped from the port which is located 200km away. The rural workers who are looking for the opportunity to earn more money decide to leave their home towns from many different provinces and gather in Phnom Penh city.

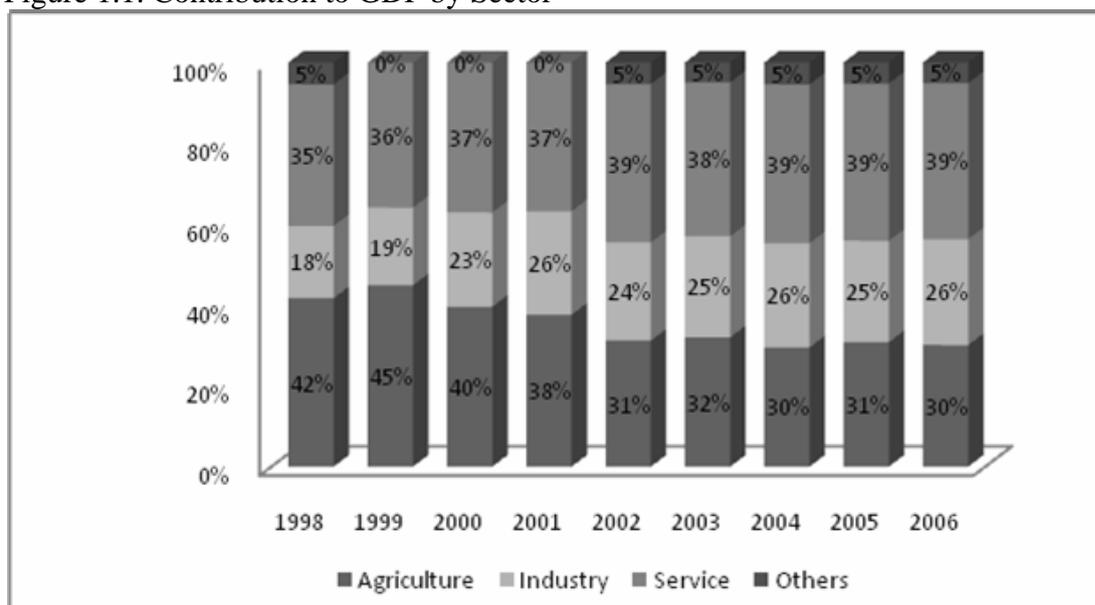
The garment products from Cambodia were mainly exported to the United States and Europe which account for 64 per cent and 29 per cent respectively. Salinger (2006) noted that most of the Cambodian garment export in the U.S market usually concentrates on the list which is the constraint from China specifically cotton night-ware and manmade fiber skirts. Cambodia's garment market was developed based on three advantages which are the bilateral agreement known as quotas, the linkage of corporate social responsibility and the Everything But Arm preferences (EBA)⁵.

2.1.1. Garment industry contributes to economic growth

The reformation of Cambodia's economic policy from central planned economy to free economy during the early 90s had a significant impact on the country's development during the previous decade. Through the progress negotiation with the United State and the European Union and the open policy with investment incentive such tax holiday has encourage investors in Cambodia. The industry and service which has been almost forgotten for two decades since 1975 has now become the major economic contribution to the government revenue. As of 2005, the manufacturing sectors' value added is composed of the garment industry and about 70 per cent followed by beverage, food and tobacco and others (Chan and Sok, 2007b, p. 9). The high share of the garment industry in the manufacturing sector and its contribution to export makes the garment industry become one of three top potential sectors in Cambodia of which the other two sectors as agriculture and tourism.

⁵ See detail of EBA here <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/issues/global/gsp/eba/ug.htm>.

Figure 1.1. Contribution to GDP by Sector



Source: National Institution of Statistic of Cambodia, 2008.

The development of the Cambodia garment industry over the past decade so far no doubt has contributed significantly to both economy and employment generation. The industry employs many young and less educated women into this sector. It was developed from almost nothing in 1995 to a significant level during 2004 and 2005. Chan and Sok (2007b) estimated that the garment industry has created over a half million of both direct and indirect jobs by the end of 2005. In addition, more than one million people currently benefit from this industry both directly and indirectly. The indirect jobs that have been created to support the garment industry is also significantly important. The major indirect jobs created by the industry are services such as food selling, housing and transportation (Tung, 2004, p. 16).

2.1.2. *Garment industry contributes to poverty reduction and women empowerment*

The garment industry in Cambodia is the only industry which significantly empowers female to participate in formal economy (Chan and Sok, 2007b, p. 21). Most of those who are working in this industry are young unmarried females who migrated from the rural provinces. Nine among ten of them are migrants aged from 18 to 25 (Yamagata, 2006a). They receive higher wage than engage in rural jobs. On average an employee could received around US\$60 including overtime (Sok, 2004, p. 4). Many studies admitted that the garment industry strongly helps the workers to earn more money than engage in rural works. The industry contributes directly and indirectly to the employment at least half million during 2005 (Chan and Sok, 2007b, p. 16).

Previous finding found out that by migrating from the rural to urban to take up new jobs such as garment work will generate extra income for the family. Even though the rural will lack of labor to perform the agricultural activities however, the remittance is higher than the cost of hiring for help (Dahlberg, 2005, p. 6). Yamagata (2006a) also confirmed that the industry provides employment opportunities with higher wages than those people in the rural areas (p. 1).

According to Wai (2007) the factors that attract the rural poor to migrate are push and pulled factors. In contrast, the finding by Lim (2007) argued that the garment industry is the only effective urban pull factor sector in Cambodia (p. 8). He added that, there are very

limited numbers of pushed factors that force the people to work in the garment factory because those who are very poor often lack of social and financial capital to find contact to get the job in the city.

2.1.3. Garment industry's working condition

In order to work in a garment factory, most of them have to leave their hometowns and families to the work in the city. They often get jobs through relatives such as cousins, sisters or neighbors who came from the same hometown. Dalhberg (2005) found out that around 63 per cent of the employments were through their relatives (p. 9). The Cambodia garment industry which is not much different from other countries, employ females more than male. Dalhberg (2005) the overall distribution of the workers in Phnom Penh are 90 per cent female. This is because of the traditional roles of women in Cambodia suits to females rather than males (p. 11).

The regular working hour for garment work starts from 7:30am in the morning and finished at 4:30pm in the evening from Monday to Saturday (total 48 hours). Each factory has different overtime work according to the number of orders they received. In general, the factory engages the workers to do the overtime work from 4:30pm to 6:30pm everyday to maximize and utilize their assets. The majority of the workers work overtime from 2-4 hours per day according to the order. Overtime work becomes common for garment workers in Cambodia. Survey by Wai (2007) found that everyday workers work overtime for two hours and 3.5 hours when there are many orders. They are keen to work over time if it is available. This is mainly for the economic reasons; however, it often creates social problems when the overtime is done late at night.

2.1.4. Garment industry law

The garment industry is one of the main industries which contribute significantly to economy and employment. The Cambodian government also pays attention and classifies this industry as one of the potential industries for future growth. Based on the nature of this industry human resource, specifically labor force is very much important in order to maintain this industry and stay competitive in the future.

To maintain these labor forces, the government protects the workers by imposing the minimum wage and designed specific law for this industry alone. This is a huge protection and incentive to many poor people to migrate from rural areas to work in this industry.

Garment industry is one of the significant industries which provide a large employment to Cambodian. The International Labor Organization and the Royal Government of Cambodia has decided to set up a guide to labor law for the garment industry. The purpose of having this specific labor law is to protect the employees from being exploited by the employers and to help the employers and unions to understand about the labor of conduct in Cambodia. The main articles can affect the workers' living condition are as below.

2.2.4.1. Minimum wage

Having worked all day but earning less than the amount needed to spend on basic living is a problem. The minimum wage is set by the law to protect vulnerable low wage workers from exploitation. Cambodia is also one of the countries who apply the minimum wage in the garment, textile and shoes production company. According to Cambodian law, the minimum wage was set at US\$45 since 2001. Later on the minimum wage was raised to US\$50 in order to cope with inflation. The poverty in Cambodia is a very strong factor forcing workers to accept lower than the minimum wage. Though there is enforcement law but there are still a small number of companies that do not comply with this law and there are still a number of workers who wants to work for the factory.

2.2.4.2. Attendance bonus

In addition to the minimum wage, there is an extra US\$5 for attendance bonus. A worker eligible to receive this bonus if they work the whole month without absence or absence with authorized leave. In the case of workers requested for sick leave the amount of attendance bonus should be calculate on the prorate basis.

2.2.4.3. Overtime

“Overtime work is work done in excess of normal working hours” (ILO, 2005, p. 15). Usually workers can earn extra money by working the same hour but paid from 150 per cent to 200 cent (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1. Overtime Rate

Time of Overtime Work	Rate
Monday to Saturday (not worked at night)	150%
Monday to Saturday (worked at night)	200%*
Sundays	200%
Public Holiday	200% (normal pay + extra 100%)**

Source: International Labor Organization, 2005.

However, the law also limited that the workers should only do overtime work not more than two hours per days. In addition, the employees should not be forced to do overtime work. Overtime work should be voluntary and only exceptional and urgent with the permission from the ministry in charge of labor.

For those who work overtime, the law required the employers to pay extra of 1,000 riel (US\$0.25 equivalent) or provide a meal allowance one time on the day have overtime.

2.2.4.4. Seniority bonus

The government also created a law that encourages employees to work long term with the employers by having a seniority bonus system. For those who work more than a year will received US\$2 bonus top on their factory per month and US\$3, US\$4, US\$5 when they work more than 2 years, 3 years and 4 years and more respectively.

2.2.4.5. Leave and other benefits

Besides the monetary benefits, the garment workers should also receive other benefits such as public holiday, leave, health care insurance etc. By law, every employee eligible to be off from work during the public holiday (which is announced by Prakas every year) and the annual leave of 1.5 days (18 days per year) off per month if they work 48 hours per week. In addition, for those who work more than three years they will receive extra day(s) off as shown in table below

Table 2.2. Extra Leave

Number of Years in Employment	Based Number of Days Off	Extra Day(s) off Eligibility	Total Number of Days Off Should be Granted
1-3	18	0	18
4-6	18	1	19
7-9	18	2	20

Source: ILO, 2005, p. 19.

Every worker is eligible to receive health and safety care from the employer according to law. The health and safety care include the assurance of hygiene work place, infirmary, toilet, drinking water, seat etc.

2.1.5. Roles of Better Factories Cambodia

Better Factory Cambodia (BFC) is one of the programs initiated by the International Labor Organization. The main aim of the BFC is to monitor and report the workers' working condition by ensuring the factory complies with national and international standards. Its activities do not only benefit workers but also the employers, and buyers to reach the working standard. There are misunderstandings that the employers are the only party which doesn't benefit anything from the BFC; however, in reality the most beneficial party is the employers because they can receive the results through the improvement of the productivity by controlling activities which are introduced by the BFC. Most of the garment factories have been monitored by the BFC except very few contractors which they are outsourced by the bigger factories. H.E Cham Prasedh, the minister of ministry of commerce mentioned that for those factories which did not allow BFC to monitor would not be allowed to export their products to any countries. Every six months the BFC produces a monitoring report called "Synthesis Report" which shows monitoring progress of the factories performance in term of compliance and is conducted every six months and focus on seven topics are contracts, wages, hours, leave, welfare, labor relation and operation safety and health (OHS).

3. Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

It is important to know the respondents' demographic background before proceeding to the analysis. The workers' perception toward their own standard of living could possibly effect by their demographic background such as sex, age, marital status etc

Distribution of the sample by sampling area

As described in the methodology, the data was collected by using simple random sampling of the four targeted areas which accounted for more than 90 percent of total factories. Each location shares almost the same number of factories (Yamagata, 2006b, p. 88).

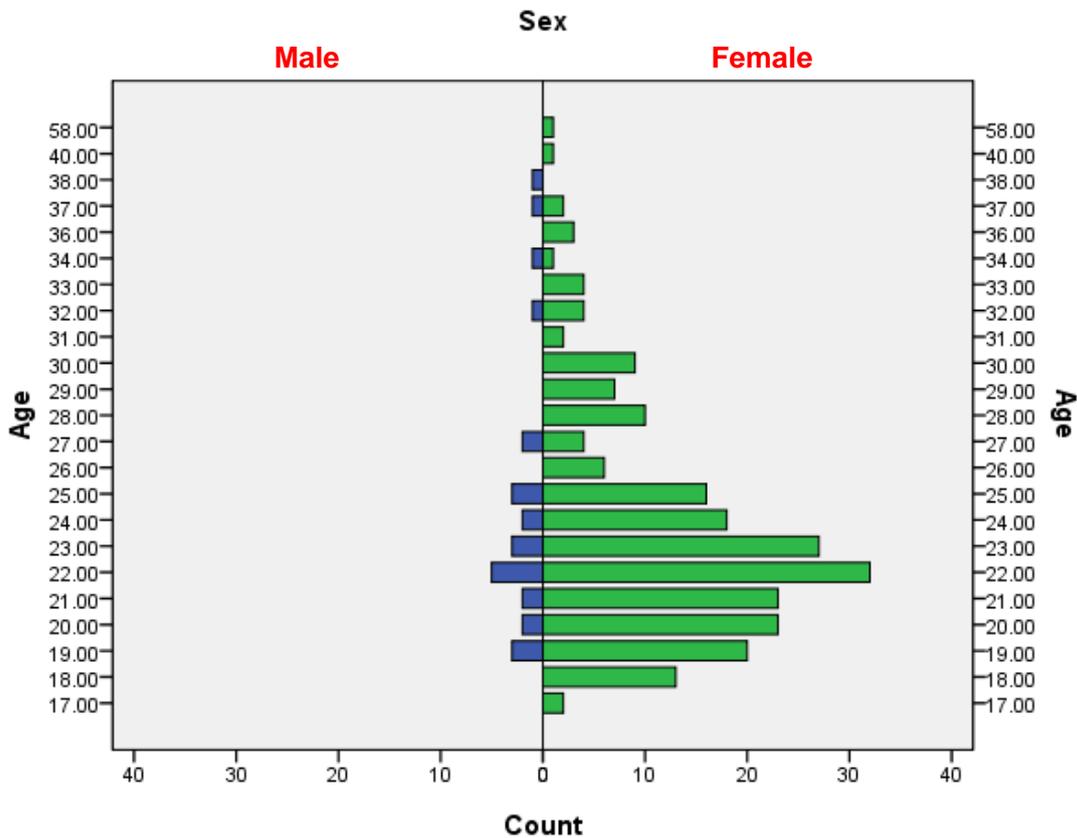
Table 5.1. Distribution of the Sample by Sampling Area

Area	Location of Sample	Number of Sample Collected	Percentage of Total
A	National Road No. 5 and Tuol Kork	57	22
B	National Road No. 4 and Tekthla	77	30
C	Veng Sreng Street	57	22
D	National Road No. 2 and Prek Pra	63	25
Total		254	100

As illustrated in Table 5.1, the minimum number target of samples is 200 and they are dispersed around Phnom Penh city and Kandal province. Each of the four areas should at least have 50 respondents. The actual total collected numbers of sample is 254 and every location it is achieved more than 50 samples.

Distribution of the sample by age and sex

Figure 5.1. Distribution of the Sample by Age and Sex



The above figure shows that, the entire respondents are 17 and above which mean there is no one underage for working in this industry according to the Cambodian labor law⁶. In average the respondents' age are 23 to 24 years-old and more than 75 per cent of respondents are 25 and below. The oldest age of respondent in this sample is 58 years old.

2.1.6. Distribution of the sample by family status

Figure 5.2. Distribution of the Sample by Marital Status

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The above Figure 5.2 shows that, the majority of the samples are single. They accounted for about three fourth of the total sample. About 18.5 per cent are married and the rest are divorced and widows.

⁶ According to Cambodian law, the workers' minimum age is 15. In addition, for the people ages from 12 to 15 are considered as "Minor" that may be hired to do light work. The minor may sign the contract with the employer if his/her parent consent him/her (ILO 2005:7).

Distribution of the sample by home regions

Table 5.2. Distribution of the Sample by Home Regions

Home Region	N	Percentage of Total
Kampong Cham	46	18
Kandal	43	17
Prey Veng	41	16
Takeo	40	16
Svay Rieng	19	7
Phnom Penh City	18	7
Kampong Thom	18	7
Kampot	10	4
Kampong Chhnang	5	2
Kampong Speu	5	2
Kratier	5	2
Sihanouk Ville	2	1
Battambang	1	0
Pausat	1	0
Total	254	100

The top four provinces where the respondents originally came from are Kampong Cham, Kandal, Prey Veng and Takeo. They accounted for about two third of the respondent. If we considered those who have their hometown in the Phnom Penh city and Kandal province, thus, the number of local workers would be one quarter and the migrant workers are three fourth.

In summary the studied demographic of respondents are young and unmarried female which the majority of them are below 25 years old. Three third of the respondents are migrated from other province to take up the job in the city or nearby province.

Food

Food is the basic necessity of life. Having not enough food resulted in lack of energy for all types of activities such as slower development of intelligence, psychological disorder, and physical weakness. Food also helps to protect the body from disease (Feuerstein, 1997, p. 35).

Food has been paid much attention when studying about standard of living because it is the first and foremost basic necessary need for human life. The initial spending for everybody is food. The poor often spend on food around 30 to 40 per cent of their expenditure. Food is the main and important factor for the garment workers. The largest portion of their expenditure is paid for food.

Though it is not always accurate in reality, they assumed that for those who could not have ability to meet the basic food need (spend up to food poverty line) in theory could not have ability to meet non-food consumption need such as clothing, shelter, medical care and so on (World Bank, 2006, p. 20). Another assumption is that people could not receive enough food if they spend less than food poverty line. "Someone who consume less than food poverty line is not receive the minimum amount of food necessary to maintain their health"

(World Bank, 2006, p. 20). Therefore the food poverty line is used to measure the adequate amount of food for living.

Food poverty line

By using food intake method, Cambodia has agreed on the definition of 2100 calories intake per day to maintain the dietary (Ministry of Planning, 2004). The food poverty line is based on the value of the reference food basket which the group of people consumed during the past week. However, the value of the food basket were updated with the three reference market price⁷, thus, Cambodia has three reference food poverty lines in Phnom Penh and other urban and rural areas.

The previous assessment of food poverty line was made by World Bank with the update of 2004 inflation which resulted in 2004 FPL. Therefore, in this research the food poverty line needs to be updated to 2007 in order to reflect the price of commodity in 2007 as the research was done in that year.

Updated food poverty line

In order to update FPL, two important data are included. First, the based line of FPL and second the food Consumer Price Index (CPI) to adjust to current market price.

Because there is no significant change in government intervention toward the food policy, there is no change regard the amount of calories needed per person and the items in the food bundle are still the same. As the result, the food poverty line would be mainly affected by the inflation.

Table 5.3. Updated Food Poverty Line (Based Year 1993/94 in riel)

Summary	1993/1994	1994-1997	1997-1999	1999-2004	2004-2007
Inflation		5	12.5	0.5	9
Increase		187	364	44	525
FPL	1,185	1,372	1,736	1,780	2,305

Sources: World Bank, 2006 and Cambodia Development Resource Institute, 2007

Note: FPL in 2007 is calculated by author using the FPL based year 1993/94 and update by using CPI.

Issues in using food poverty line

The above FPL is based on 2,100 calories consumption which doesn't include the choice of food. In the measurement of the 2,100 calories two third are obtained from cereal especially rice (Ministry of Planning, 2004). To obtain the same 2,100 calories, two persons may spend different amount of money. For example, those prefer cereal such as rice and corn would spend less than those who prefer meat because of the price of cereal is much cheaper than meat in Cambodia.⁸

Workers' food expenditure

Table 5.4. Daily Spending on Food of Cambodian Garment Workers (in riel)

Meal Types	Min	Max	Mean	N	SD
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⁷ The market price is divided into three regions known as Phnom Penh city, other urban areas and rural areas.

⁸ For example cost per 100 calories of rice is 20riel in 1993/94 Phnom Penh price compared to the cost per 100 calories for small mud fish is 342riel (World Bank 2006).

Breakfast	300	5,000	1,155	245	685
Lunch	800	5,000	1,800	245	731
Dinner	500	5,000	2,084	245	1,065
Others	200	7,000	881	245	1,048
Total	1,800	22,000	5,920		

* SD: Standard Deviation

Table 5.4 demonstrates the average amount of spending on food for every meal. Through the minimum spending each meal we could see that there is a possibility that the workers spend at 300 riel for breakfast and 500 riel for dinner. However, please note that a worker is unable to spend at the minimum every meal as if they spend less for breakfast they must pay higher for lunch or dinner. The lowest spending of the workers is reported at 2,000 riel but they only could get the food for two meals.

Table 5.5. Food Spending Pattern by Number of Meal per Day (in riel)

Frequency of Meal	Min	Max	Mean
3 times and extra	2,500	14,000	6,389
3 times	2,300	12,000	5,114
2 times	2,000	4,500	3,250
Average	2,000	4,500	5,920

The above Table 5.5 shows the amount of spending by the garment workers on their food according to their number of meal they have. On average spend around 5,920 riel (US\$1.50) per day for the three meals and extras. The minimum spending of one worker is 2,000 riel (US\$0.50). Almost 25 per cent of the total respondents spend at or less than 4,000 riel (US\$1.00) per day.

Comparison of food poverty line to workers expenditure

By comparing the food poverty line to the food expenditure of the garment worker, we found that all the factory workers, except one person, spend higher than the food poverty line. In average a worker spends 5,920 riel per day to support their three meals higher than food poverty line (2,305 riel per day). There is one worker spend only 2,000 riel per day which is less than food poverty line. However, the 2,000 riel she spends could only afford two meals (lunch and dinner).

Workers perception toward food quality and quantity

The survey allowed workers to rate the food quantity if they have enough food to eat. Self rating, though it is not a perfect one, reveals the condition of food they have every day. Because the industry is highly dependent on human capital, thus, workers' own rating is very important for policy making for the consideration.

5.2.6.1. The opinion of workers toward food quantity:

Figure 5.3. Perception of Workers toward their Food Quantity
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As illustrated in Figure 5.3, about half of the respondents complain that they don't have enough food to eat and 36 per cent of the respondents rated that they are in shortage of food for their daily meal while the other 16 per cent said they are in very much shortage.

The opinion of workers toward food quantity:

Workers usually cook in the evening and share the food with her roommates. In the group discussion, the group agreed that self cooking in the evening usually costs more than buying food in front of the factory, however, they can eat enough and their food quality is much better than the food are sold in front of the factory. (Personal communication, 03 January 2008)

Figure 5.4. Perception of Workers' toward their Food Quality
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Almost three fourth of the respondents said the food quality is acceptable while only 16 per cent of the total complain about the food quality.

Weighted average index for food quality and quantity

Table 5.6. Food Quality and Quantity Based on Weighted Average Index

Category	N	WAI	LEVEL
Food Quality	257	0.47	M
Food Quantity	257	0.33	SE

N = Frequency

WAI = Weighted Average Index

M = Medium; SE = Slightly Enough

Table 5.8 presents the WAI score of the Food Quality and Food Quantity of the workers. The food quality index (0.47) has a good evaluation than the food quantity index (0.33). The interpretation of the food quality index which is 0.47 is considered as “Medium” (range of medium is from 0.41 to 0.60) and the interpretation of food quantity index which is 0.33 is “Slightly Enough” (range of “Slightly Enough” from 0.21 to 0.40).

Relationship between food quality and food quantity

Table 5.7. Correlation between Food Quality and Food Quantity Based on Workers' Opinion

		Food Quality	Food Quantity
Food Quality	Pearson Correlation	1	.485**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0
	N	254	254
Food Quantity	Pearson Correlation	.485**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0	
	N	254	254

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Though the above analysis shows the different level of rating between food quality (medium) and food quantity (slightly enough); however, they both have medium positive relation. At $P < 0.01$ and 99 per cent confidential level the food quantity change 0.485 when there is a change in food quality 1 unit. This can explain that for those who complained about the food quality often eat not enough also.

Other factors to be considered regarding food quality and quantity

When embarking on a study regarding food quality and quantity, there are a few factors that should be observed. The main assumption here is if the worker spends more money on food the higher quality and quantity of food they received. However, the assumption was not true in this case (See Table 5.8 below).

Table 5.8. Correlation between Food Quality, Food Quantity and Daily Food Spending

		Food Quality	Food Quantity	Daily Spending
Food Quality	Pearson Correlation	1	.485**	-0.055
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0	0.395
	N	254	254	245
Food Quantity	Pearson Correlation	.485**	1	-0.031
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0		0.628
	N	254	254	245
Daily Spending	Pearson Correlation	-0.055	-0.031	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.395	0.628	
	N	245	245	245

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Significantly correlated, age and location have negative correlation to food quality and food quantity.

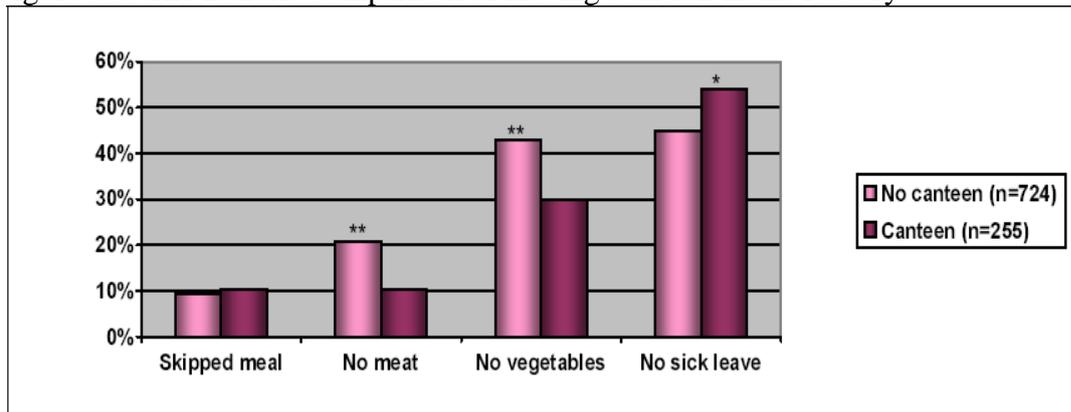
Other general factors toward workers' meals

In common, Cambodians have meal three times per day as breakfast, lunch and dinner and so the garment workers do. Only 6 per cent of the sample said they have meal twice times a day. However, many of them as many as 40 per cent experienced skipped meal for

their previous 7 days. In average they skipped their meal around three times per week. Interview found out that the main reason for them to skip meal is because of the work load while sometimes the workers don't have lunch break but to work overtime.

Many workers demanded the factory to established canteen or at least a proper place where they can bring their own food to eat. Makin (2006) found out that those factories equipped with canteen have less number of sick leave than those which do not have. Moreover, contents of food for factories with canteen are better than those without canteen (See Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5. The Benefit Comparison of Having Canteen in the Factory



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

Source: Makin, 2006.

Figure 5.5 illustrated that, the workers who are working in the factories with canteen can enjoy food with meat or vegetables than those who are working in the factory without canteen.

Opinions of the workers on their food through focus group discussion

The in-depth focus groups interview provides extra useful information in order to verify with the analysis of questionnaires before the conclusion can be made. Rather than just repeated the question in the questionnaires the interview was trying to figure out why it is going in that way and trying to find solution.

According to the focus group discussion, the main reason that the workers do not have enough food is because the food is sold in front of the factory not hygiene enough for them. The workers have the meal in front of factory only to fill up their stomach (Personal communication, January 3, 2008).

Those who have chance to cook by themselves or eat with their friend rate the food quality acceptable, however, many respondents who said they do not cook by themselves often complaint about food quality (Personal communication, January 3, 2008).

The workers doesn't have proper eating place. They are not allowed to have meal inside the factory gate. If foods stall outside factory can provide enough places to site then it is better. According to the one union's staff mentioned that, some factories located a bit far from the town the workers need to have their lunch under the tree or direct sun light (Personal communication, December 28, 2007)

General observation

Besides survey and interview, researcher also did the observation in order to confirm the workers' food condition. Through the observation, access to good quality food is the challenges for garment workers. The availability and quality of provided food is varied from

locations. Factories which are located close to the public gathering areas often have a better food provide. However; for those which are located in the suburb often lack of variety of food and the place for eating often improper for some factories the workers has to stand and eat outside the factories under the direct sun without shade.

Summary of food conditions

It is found out that the workers have meal three times per day as breakfast, lunch and dinner as common Cambodians do. Some of them have extra meal in the evening because they need to work overtime a bit late. In average the workers spend two times more than the food poverty line, however, it is not necessarily to conclude that the workers have enough food as the way to calculate the food poverty line is not an ideal measurement.

The result from the survey found out that the workers do not feel satisfy with their food quantity rather food quality. Their main problems concerning to meal during the day is during their lunch time. Most of workers have lunch at food stalls or just buy packaged food and stand eating in front of factory. The money they spend on food are only could afford for poor quality food and also not enough for a meal.

There is a discrepancy between quantitative survey data and qualitative answer from the workers regarding to the food quality. In the survey questionnaires, the workers rated the food quality as “Medium” while during interview; the food quality cannot meet the workers’ expectation.

Health

Amartya Sen said that health status is a key indicator of a population’s welfare. In addition, Stauss and Thomas also stress that improving the health status of the population leads to greater economic productivity (as cited in Gertler, Glewwe, and Rose, 2000, p. 177). Health is a very important and basic necessity for living. A person may not be able to work (generate income) if he/she is sick.

The workers not only have to pay for the hospital or medical fee, when they are sick, but also they may not get paid if they are absent from work.⁹ Moreover, the way the workers live and work is in the dangerous situation that health is very much to be care of. Workers live together by sharing common tools, cutleries, share same bed and work in the group. Thus, if one among the group get contact infected disease, this will be very much possible that the rest of the group is facing with the same disease as her friend has.

The measurement of health status is pretty much difficult if we seriously want to collect the perfect data. The ideal case is to employ doctors, nurses and other health professionals to assess health condition of every targeted worker. Without health professionals or doctors, accessing one’s health is subjective. However, by employing health professionals and doctors to assess all the respondents’ health is impractical and almost impossible to do (though may be in a certain case they are willing to pay for those costs) (Gertler, Glewwe, and Rose, 2000, p. 183). When exercise the standard living survey, LSMS doesn’t suggest doing in such way. The data from survey and interview will also give a certain reliable result to assess their health condition if the methodology is good enough. Assessing the workers health status is very challenging because the result could be possibly subjective. By having the same sickness, one may rate it as a serious sick while another may just rate it as normal sickness. The subjectivity comes is influenced by education, perception, knowledge of specific illness and income.

⁹ By law, the employee is allowed to have sick leave up to 6 months. However, there is no law requires employer to pay for employee sick leave (ILO 2005).

The potential method to measure health is the change in health status and the activities of daily living.

Change in health status

One of the indicators to measure health status is the change in health condition in a certain period. In this research we are going to measure the changes of health status during the previous 12 months as Living Standard Measurement Survey.

Figure 5.6. Change in Health Status during the Past 12 Months

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More than three fourth of the respondents perceived their current health condition worse than the previous 12 months. WAI index for changing in health is 0.27 which is rated as “Weaker” in the category of weaker range from 0.21 to 0.40. There have been many cases that the workers collapsed when during on duty. Through the interview and survey we found out that the workers' health condition is weaker than the past 12 months.

There are two possible factors have impact on the workers’ health status. The first factor is health related-working activities and the second factor is related-daily living activities.

Relationship between health and working activities

Workers believe that their health is much related to the working condition rather living activities. The assessment of health related compliance in the factory is presented in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9. Percentage of Factories Complied to Labor Laws

Legal Requirement	Percentage of Factory in Compliance
Voluntary overtime	78
Exceptional overtime	14
Overtime limited to 2 hours per day	38
Provide personal protective equipment	56
Install needle guards on sewing machine	48

Source: Better Factory Cambodia, 2007.

According to the nineteenth synthesis report, the compliance progress up to October 2007 shows that the health related-working still not been complied well by many factories.

According to the workers’ view, working overtime is the main cause of their health problems. Many employers as many as 62 per cent do not follow 2 hours over time work per day. However, it is interesting to note that even though by law there are a limited number of hours that allow workers to work overtime but both employers and employees go beyond than limit because both parties are benefit. Wai (2007) found out that workers in one factory had 3.5 hours in average for overtime; however, the workers still keen to work more in order to earn extra income.

By law in article 6.7.2 “Employees must be allowed to choose to work overtime or not. Employers must not impose any penalty on an employee who chooses not to work overtime” (ILO, 2005). However, there are still some factories force or threat the workers to work overtime.

Only slightly above half of the all the factories can provide personal protective equipment such as mask, back rest chair ect. The small cut pieces from the clothes believed to have an effect on the workers’ health condition. Back rest chair, though is not appear as illness in the short term but for sure in long term for those who have work related to sit for many hours per day.

Relationship between health and daily living activity

“Hungry people are far less effective in fighting disease than well-feed people.” (United Nation World Food Programme, 2007, p. 2). To figure out if the workers health is related or their daily living activity or not, the test on correlation between health and food is necessary (see Appendix A2 for food and health relationship).

Based on the perceptions of workers, Table 5.10 shows the relationship between food quality, food quantity, and workers' health conditions.

Table 5.10. Correlation between Food Intake and Health

		Food Quality	Food Quantity	Health
Food Quality	Pearson Correlation	1	.485**	.251**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0	0
	N	254	254	254
Food Quantity	Pearson Correlation	.485**	1	.209**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0		0.001
	N	254	254	254
Health	Pearson Correlation	.251**	.209**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0	0.001	
	N	254	254	254

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

At $P < 0.01$ the workers believe that food quality and food quantity is just a small part which significantly to the changes of their health. The above table shows the positive relationship between the food quality and change in health mean if the quality of food is reduced, their health would be weaker but not very much impact.

Accessibility to health services

There are several factors relate to accessibility to health service such as physical access; ability to pay; knowledge and information about availability; personal beliefs and perceptions of need and quality of health care; and of the functioning of referral systems.

Accessing health care is not a major problem for those who live in the city; however, reliable service and fee for treatment is too expensive compare to the workers' income. There are numerous ways in accessing to health service in Cambodia.

Table 5.11. Health Providers in Cambodia

Public Health Service	Private Health Service	Non-Medical Sector
National hospital (PP)	Private hospital	Shop/market
Provincial hospital (RH)	Private clinic	Traditional healer
District hospital (RH)	Private pharmacy	Prayer/ Religious believe
Health center	Home/office of nurse and trained health workers	Others...
Health post	Visit nurse or trained health workers	
Others...	Others...	

Source: National Institute of Public Health, *et al.* (2006).

Public hospital is difficult to access by the garment workers because they have difficulty in request for absent from the workplace. Besides limited in time, public hospital doesn't have variety medicines. This mean that they have to get the doctor's order and buy the medicine from the pharmacy therefore the cost of transportation, medicine and doctor fee are almost comparable to the private service.

Pharmacy and private clinic or private hospital are popular for the workers because it is easy access and more reliable though it is often more expensive than public service. Other methods such as using traditional medicine become less popular.

The previous research found out that almost 70 per cent of migrants (include other sectors such as motorcycle-taxi driver, construction workers) treat their illness by visiting pharmacy (Lim, 2007, p. 28). However, in this research by considering only garment workers, there are only 40 per cent prefer pharmacy yet it is still the first place that the workers commonly visit. Private hospital or health clinic are the second choice and usually the workers visit only when their disease become serious.

Benefit from working in the garment factory, the workers could access to infirmary which is provided by the employers. By law the factory which employs more than 50 employees must have infirmary. The main purpose of setting up factory infirmary is to provide first aid which is result from the work injury and slight sick such as headache or diarrhea during the working hour. Many factories have established infirmary according to the law; however, the function is still in doubt. During the working hour, when the workers feel sick or have any accident, most of them visit the infirmary because the treatment and medicine is free of charge but limited. The workers' common diseases such as illness related to bowel and stomachache are not covered in the infirmary. The workers have to depend on outside sources such as pharmacy or private clinic.

There is no social health insurance in Cambodia but the private health insurance and very few community base insurance. The private health insurance is only available in very high price that most Cambodian cannot afford.

Discomfort required treatment and minor sick

More than three fourth of those who need to treat their illness go for private hospital rather public hospital. Though private hospital is more expensive but the ability to cure disease is far much better than public hospital. Service at public hospital usually is lower than expectation which cause many problems to workers and sometimes they need to pay extra fee for nurse. (Personal communication, 6 January 2008).

Figure 5.7. Number of Times of Discomfort and Required Treatment during the Past 12 months

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During the previous 12months, at least half of the respondents reported that they have discomfort 5 times or more. The common discomfort which require treatment for the garment workers are typhoid and stomachache which usually these disease need to take day(s) off.

Related to their common disease such typhoid, the main cause of transmitting these bacteria is because the food they eat or water they drink is not clean. Typhoid is a food borne disease, which is transmitted from one person to another through foods and drinking water. The bacteria may occasionally transfer from public sanitation through the flying insects or through their dirty hand (Typhoid fever, 2008). Therefore, the main reason for their discomfort is through the living behavior.

In addition, when feeling not well the workers go to pharmacy (without prescription) and ask the pharmacy nurse to find the suitable medicine according to their symptom. This is the cheapest way, and usually can cure disease faster; however, the side effect after the disease is still a question.

Those who get serious sickness which fall in discomfort have to go to private clinic or hospital and the cost will be covered by the company or workers according to the factory policy. It is common that if the workers get injure or sickness during working hour, the cost will be covered by the company while if it is outside the working hours the workers have responsibility to pay for the hospital bill.

Figure 5.8. Number of Workers Who Reporting Fainting or Injury Experience During the Past 3 Months

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When asking about previous four weeks, the workers seems to have said they don't have any problems concern to their health condition; in contrast, when the period is extended up to three months there are as many as 83 per cent said they had used to have feeling of fait or got injured during that period.

Workers' opinion toward their health during the Focus group discussion

Health is a major concern for most workers in the garment factory. They often worry about their health become weaker after working in the garment factories. Both employees and employers believed that after working from this industry for one more years the workers health become weaker (Dahlberg, 2005 and Chan and Sok, 2007b). Though the injury and accidental cases as OHS issues are monitored by the BFC; however, environmental related health concern such as pneumoconiosis (respiratory related problems) which caused by the inhalation from the cotton dust still has not been paid much attention yet.

Extra overtime work is believed by all workers (during interview) to have indirectly impact on their health. The workers could not eat properly because they need to return to work place for doing overtime. They could not have enough rest because the overtime hour is too long. Moreover, they could not have proper sleep if the overtime work is finished in the mid night.

Summary of health condition

The number of times of discomfort required treatment and the workers perception can be inferred that the workers' health are not in the good condition. Most workers believed that their health status was poor compared to the previous 12 months. Most of workers blame on the working condition rather living condition. However, according to the analysis, workers' activities of daily living also partly contributed to their health status. Unclean water and unhygienic foods were the main cause of gastroenteritis as most of the workers reported that they were having typhoid and diarrhea. Finally, food intakes, both quality (nutrients) and quantity (enough) played an important role to keep workers healthy.

Housing and Utilities

Most of all garment workers migrated from rural provinces. Therefore, very few workers have ability to possess small house. The research found out that as many as 83 per cent of the workers share their rented room with family, friends or co-workers. Some of the factories provide the free or paid dormitory to workers but the condition is not good enough.

The three types of common accommodation for the workers are dormitory (either paid or provided by the factory), share room with friends or relative and own their house.

Figure 5.9. Types of Accommodation

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More than 80 per cent share rooms with friends, co-workers and relatives. Around 13 per cents live in dormitory provided by the factory either paid or free (usually stay alone in a single small room). The rest have their own house (Parent house) which most of them are local workers rather than migrant workers.

Major construction material of dwelling

Though the workers do not own the house but the dwelling type is an important factor to be considered when evaluating their accommodation. The major construction material of dwelling does not only represent the economic and health but also security condition. Chart below represents the dwelling type of the workers.

Figure 5.10. Major Construction Materials of Dwelling

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Figure 5.9 shows that almost two third of workers live in the ceramic tile made house and one third of them live in the wooden and bamboo house. Workers who live in the wooden and bamboo house reported more problems than those who live in the ceramic tile house.

Living space per person and number of person per room

As shown above most workers live by sharing with relatives, friend or co-workers for one room resulting in shrinking living space. The standard room for workers is usually 12m² (3mx4m) and shared for four or five people. The average living space per person is 3.6m² which is very narrow for Cambodian.

Table 5.12. Numbers of Members in a Dwelling

Number of Members	N	Percentage of Total	Cumulative Percentage
2	31	12	12
3	51	20	32
4	76	30	62
5	48	19	81
More than 5	48	19	100
TOTAL	254	100	

Common housing related Problems

Table 5.13. Common Problems of the Workers' Living Place (Can choose more than one)

Problem	Number of Sample	Number Reported Problems	Percentage
Hot	254	124	49
Not enough fresh air	254	124	49
Noise pollution	254	103	41

Sanitary problem	254	89	35
Flood	254	60	24
Factory pollution	254	21	8
Leaking roof	254	19	7
Others	254	1	0
TOTAL		541	100

The common problems for workers' rooms are hot and do not provide enough fresh air. Rooms are usually built in proximity to the factory areas in order to facilitate the workers get easier access to factory (on foot). This often results in some environmental problems such as dusty and noisy places.

Sanitation and toilet

Demographic and Health Survey 2005 demonstrate a large gap between urban and rural in accessing to sanitation facilities. More than 50 per cent of the urban are able to connect their flush to sewage system or septic tank comparing with 14 per cent in the rural. Although more than 50 per cent in the urban can access to the sewage or septic tank there are still large number of people do not have access and usually those who live in the suburb.

Sanitation is a problem for workers whose room located in the suburb. The wooden house usually doesn't have proper sanitation connection system but dispose the waste directly to the open space under or behind their house. Though the sanitation system for the room in the central area is better but the hygiene is still an issue.

Toilet usually can be found inside each separate room but there is one place Block B where the workers living in 10 rooms have to share two toilets. Again, the hygiene needs to be improved. Most of the workers came from the rural and poor families who lack knowledge on the basic hygiene.

Access to clean water

Almost 60 per cent of the workers complained about accessing to clean water. In average one worker spend around 5,900 riel (about US\$1.48) per month for water usage. Two major problems can be found regarding clean water. First, water is not clean which is full of dust and second, the water is often cut off. Water cut off becomes common for the place a bit far from the central city where the public water system still cannot reach those areas. Those who live around that area need to buy the water in transported basin.

Figure 5.11. Problems in Access to Clean Water

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When asking about whether they boil or treat water before drinking, many have reported that their water is not clean however; they do not boil it before drinking. The interviewees said that they always drink water without boiling or filtering since they were in the rural.

Access to electricity

The main problem in accessing to electricity is it is often cut off. 70 per cent of the respondents mentioned that they have problem in accessing to electricity and three fourth of those who reported problem are about the electricity cut off and the rest of 25 per cent are about the low voltage. There is no surprise about the difficulty in accessing to electricity

because the problem is not only happened to garment workers but to the Cambodian population as a whole.

Workers perception toward housing and utilities

Figure 5.12. Workers' Evaluation toward their Housing and Utilities

Housing Conditions

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Access to utilities (Water, Electricity, Sanitation)

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Almost 80 per cent of the respondents grade their house as “fair” which mean the housing condition is acceptable for most of workers. However, more than two third of the respondents share their difficulty in accessing utilities such as clean water, electricity and sanitation.

By using the WAI method, the below Table 5.14 confirmed that the overall workers' housing condition is medium and the accessing to utilities is difficult.

Table 5.14. Perception of Workers toward their Housing and Utilities

Types	N	WAI	LEVEL
Housing	254	0.46	F
Utilities	254	0.29	D

* F = Fair, D= Difficult

General observation

From my field work observation, there are two common types of house or room that the workers are currently living. The ceramic tile house usually available in the people gathering area while the wooden house often at the a bit remote. The general condition of ceramic tile house is usually better than the wooden house.

Table 5.15. Common Characteristics of Housing and Utilities

Accommodation Characteristics	Ceramic Tile Room/House	Wooden Room/House
Average Basic Monthly Fees per person	26,000 riel	22,800 riel
Availability	Mostly in the central area	Mostly in suburb
Toilet	Yes	Yes
Sanitation System	Yes	Many throw directly to dam behind or under house/ room
Access to Electricity	Difficult in the suburb	Difficult in the suburb
Access to Water	Difficult in the suburb	Difficult in the suburb

Summary of housing and utilities

The workers who migrate from other provinces usually share with their friends or relatives unless the accommodation is provided by the factory. There are two classification

type of construction material which is ceramic tile floor and wooden or bamboo floor. Those rooms in the city usually are ceramic tile and those in the suburb are wooden rooms. The monthly basic fees for the ceramic tile rooms is more expensive and hygiene than the wooden room.

Water and electricity are other issues raised by the workers. The major problem is the water is sometimes dirty and cut off while electricity problem is the frequent cut off.

Education

Though the industry doesn't require high education to perform the job; however, in any other industry as well as garment industry higher education often result in higher productivity. This mean that the more education the workers has the knowledge in performing job better.

Understanding the education it is important to measure the future development of workers living. Without education workers may face with loosing job when the other countries become competitive in the global world.

Table 5.16. The Education Attainment of the Respondents

No. of Years in Education	N	Percentage of Total	Cumulative Percentage
No education	18	7	7
1	0	0	7
2	9	4	11
3	12	5	15
4	11	4	20
5	32	13	32
6	32	13	45
Sub Total Primary Education	114	45	
7	39	15	60
8	30	12	72
9	34	13	85
Subtotal Lower Secondary School	103	41	

No. of Years in Education	N	Percentage of Total	Cumulative Percentage
10	17	7	92
11	2	1	93
12	7	3	96
Subtotal Higher Secondary School	26	10	
University	11	4	100
Total	254	100	

Around 45 per cent of the respondents have less than primary education or no education¹⁰. In average the workers' education is grade 7. Almost two third of workers would like to continue their education; however, financial and time reason have restricted them from continuing education. Very few cases have reported that they had enrolled in the course during the past 12 months and most of the courses they are taking are foreign language course (English) for the expectation to have better job in the future. There are some factories also provide training course such as first aid and safety training course but usually not for all workers but the representatives of the workers.

Because of limited time as well as the financial reason most of workers do not have ability to continue their education.

Table 5.17. Number of Reported Barriers to Pursue Education (Can Choose More than One Answer)

Type	Total Sample	Number of Reported Barriers	Percentage of Total
Financial Reason	254	207	82
Time Reason	254	96	38
Education Background	254	35	14
Enough Education for work	254	1	0
Others	254	1	0
Total		254	

Among the 254 respondents, there are as many as 81.5 per cent concern about finance when they want to continue their education. Some of them has reported that they have problem with their education background so if they have chance to further education, they would go to general public class.

There are few cases that the workers spend their own money to further their education level. They enroll in part time English class in the expectation of be able to work in other company or being promoted to work in the administrative job than operational job as they are doing today. Some of them go to private vocational training school such as beauty salon or private cooking class for the expectation of moving out from the garment work. However, the number of workers who practice like this is very few. Few workers have been selected to

¹⁰ 73 per cent of rural Cambodians fail to complete primary school.

learn about “First Aid and Emergency Response” which is provided by the factory. However, this course is much useful only in the workplace rather than living.

Transportation

Small part of the workers’ expense is for transportation. Workers usually rent the room near by the factory where they can easily commute to the work. They often go to work on foot. However, there are a number of them live far from the factory. There are several reasons that the workers do not rent the room nearby factory. First, the room nearby the factory is more expensive. Second, they want to stay with relatives or friends.

Commuting to work seems not a big problem for the factory workers since the distance from their home and factory are not very far. However, commuting to other places in order to do shopping or visit their friends and relatives during the weekend is the concern for the workers. They often use motor-taxi to go to some places. The motor-taxi fee is found to be very expensive for the workers.

Migrant workers return back to their hometown, in average, 3 times per year which usually in the long vacation such as New Year, Phchoum Ben, Viask Bochea.¹¹ The money they paid for transport varies according to where their hometown is. They usually use taxi to go back home; however, the transportation condition is dangerous.

Table 5.18. Transportation Means

Transportation Means	Go to Factory	Go to Somewhere Else	Return Hometown
On foot	209	25	0
Bicycle	28	10	3
Tricycle	0	0	0
Motor-Cart	0	2	0
Moto-taxi	14	207	0
Private Moto	3	0	28
With friend	0	10	0
Taxi	0	0	202
Bus	0	0	21
Total Respondents	254	254	254

On average every month the workers spend 20,800 (US\$5) for commuting around their living places. In addition, in returning to their hometown they spend around 33,200 riel (US\$8) for every return trip they make.

Security

Because most of the garment workers are young, unmarried female and migrate from the rural areas, therefore; security is a major part of worry to the migrant workers. They are worried about their security in the work place and at home.

¹¹ Price for transportation during the big ceremony usually increases double to the normal price.

Job related security

In general, garment factory work is not an inherently dangerous job. Despite that fact, certain positions are in fact considered dangerous for the workers. To ensure work places are safe, BFC choose two indicators to monitor the security protection practice of the factory. These two factors are to provide personal protective equipment and installing needle guard on sewing machines. The recent BFC's report shows that only about half of all the factories practice according to the standard.

Table 5.19. Percentage of Compliance of Working Security

Legal Requirements	Percentage of Factories in Compliance
Provide personal protective equipment	56
Install needle guard on sewing machines	48

Source: Better Factory Cambodia, 2007, p. 6.

The workers who make mistake during working and get injury not only receive no attention from the employer but also get blamed or cut their salary because of the damage of the fabric or machine. One factory worker in Gold Kamvimex factory claimed that her pay was cut because she was injured her hand by the needle and the fabric was damaged by her blood. In addition, she received no pay for one week because she couldn't go to work. She was also unable to visit the doctor because she has not enough money to pay for the medical fee (Hall, 2000).

Daily living related security

Robbery and kidnapping

Kidnapping and robbery are one of the fears for workers though their income is not considered as a lot. Few interviewees shared their fear of being robbed or kidnapped after they got their salary. However; there is no case reported that they used to be threatened or robbed.

Sexual abuse

Workers are vulnerable which need protection from the authority; however, when the workers face problems, the authority doesn't help the workers (Lim, 2007). Labor dispute and sexual harassment sometimes occurred but often not officially reported (Oxfam, 2004). In addition the report also presented a case when a worker was harassed by the supervisor in demanding of sexual favors in the return of keeping the job (Oxfam, 2004). One worker said that as the job required her to work until late night, she always concern about her security when traveling home in the dark while there could be harassed or raped by the gangsters (Oxfam, 2004, p. 25).

Sexual abuse is often resulted from having overtime at late night. Although according to Cambodia law, working overtime at late night, the employer has to provide transportation home still many factories do not comply with the law and leave the workers in danger. The workers often fear of being abused when they have to work until late night. "... 'every Friday we have to work overtime until 1, 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning. I feel afraid and can't go home' " (as cited in Marston, 2007). She added that "... 'before we could stay in the production area, but now we have to stay outside in front of the factory doors.' "

Marston (2007) interviewed 27 workers. He found out that “six of them had already been raped or had a close friend that was, and an additional eight workers had an acquaintance who had been raped”. Six out of 27 that is very high figure that the issue should be paid much attention.

Fears

Becoming a factory worker is not very difficult and gets higher benefit compared to other jobs in the rural area. A numerous researches have been trying to figure out the future of the workers. Many respondents want to own a small store, to be a tailor or to be a good spouse of the family; however, there is no study confirms the implication of being worked in the garment industry for a certain period. Working in the garment industry is a temporary and short term employment as the poor use it as a stepping stone to start up the long term career (Dahlberg, 2005, p. 23). Nonetheless, there is no study to confirm the worker choose the garment work as the temporary work. Instead many of them do not return home in a short period as they wish. The workers in average, at least, stay in the garment industry three years and four months which this figure considered as a long term. One of the confirmations to proof that the garment workers spend many years in the garment industry is the average age of workers has been increased from the previous study and this study. One worker’s father had not agreed his daughter to return home because of the rice harvest are not good during several years (Dahlberg, 2005).

In addition, the workers fear of losing their current job because they are not only supports only themselves but also the family. The pressure from the family to remit income home and the fear of criticism of returning home from both family and the neighborhood push the garment workers in the sex industry. This industry is known to provide well income (some even better than the garment work) despites the risk of health and HIV/AIDS. The study by UNDP figured out that that up to 60 per cent of sex workers in one area of the city were former garment factory workers (Fitzgerald, 2004, p. 14).

Low economic status, high pressure from the family and first time independency as staying away from family increased the chance of workers to contact with sex before married (contrast from Cambodian custom). The garment workers also face to HIV/AIDS risk than previous thought (Nishigaya, 2002). Cambodian culture required female to be virtuous to husband and parent, thus, the workers often believe on her boyfriend.

Socialization

As per literature review and conceptual frame work, the social condition should be also included when we want to study standard of living. Social factors believe to have strong relation to economic factor. This part presents short brief of the worker social condition to give extra information regarding to the workers’ life. The social conditions to be discussed in this part are security, free times and socialization among the group.

Living in the city is a one of challenges for migrant workers. Besides adjusting themselves to the high price of goods in the city, they have to challenge and expose to the city environment. However, economic reason has prevented them from going in the urban society. As noted earlier that the main purpose of the garment workers to work in the city is to save money and send back home as much as they can. Therefore, they don’t have much time or money left to spend on extra things besides supporting their living. High price of transportation has restricted them from step away from their house. They rarely going out or hang around in the city as many urban residents do (Lim, 2007).

Free time

In common, workers work six days per week from Monday to Saturday¹² while Sunday and holiday considered as free time. When interview them about how they spend their free time, many of them said they do nothing or go nowhere but stay at home. One of them who finished high school had mentioned that he likes to study thus, every free time he has he often visit the pond at the back of his room and reading the book over there. For few cases they reported to visit friend or relatives (Personal communication, 6 January 2008). The result confirmed to the finding from the Lim's report that almost half of people migration spent their free time by going nowhere followed by meet friends or relative 17 per cent and 15 per cent going for a walk. Going for a walk is a bit less common and in some certain occasion such as water festival.

Member of the group or community of people

The economic reason has forced workers to share accommodation with relatives and friends. This practice does not only help in reducing the economic burden but also increase the chance for socialization. Living together has built relationship, trustworthiness and community.

Overall Workers' Standard of Living

In order to evaluate the workers' overall standard of living, the comparisons of different methods were done. Below show the different result in standard of living by using different methods.

Workers' overall standard of living based on their perception

This approach is to use "naïve" in order to judge if they have proper standard of living. When asking worker to rate their own standard of living only one worker rate her standard of living is good while the rest consider is average and lower.

Figure 5.13. Perception of Workers toward their Standard of Living

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Rating	N	Percentage
Very Poor	31	12
Poor	136	54
Fair	86	34
Good	1	0
Very Good	0	0
Total	254	100

living through the assessment of workers' perception is 0.306 which resulted in the poor ranged from 0.20 to 0.40. We can conclude that the workers' do not satisfy enough with their current standard of living.

¹² When there are a lot orders they also work in Sunday and holiday as overtime work.

T
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		of Living	Quality	Quantity	Health	Housing	Utility	Education
Standard of Living	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	1	.318** 0	.350** 0	.200** 0.001	.298** 0	.302** 0	.159* 0.011
Food Quality	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.318** 0	1	.485** 0	.251** 0	.212** 0.001	.163** 0.009	.224** 0
Food Quantity	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.350** 0	.485** 0	1	.209** 0.001	.187** 0.003	.173** 0.006	.170** 0.007
Health	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.200** 0.001	.251** 0	.209** 0.001	1	.147* 0.019	.296** 0	.338** 0
Housing	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.298** 0	.212** 0.001	.187** 0.003	.147* 0.019	1	.312** 0	0.06 0.339
Utility	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.302** 0	.163** 0.009	.173** 0.006	.296** 0	.312** 0	1	.202** 0.001
Education	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.159* 0.011	.224** 0	.170** 0.007	.338** 0	0.06 0.339	.202** 0.001	1
Transportation	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	0.117 0.063	0.101 0.108	0.083 0.188	0.096 0.129	0.037 0.56	0.107 0.09	.192** 0.002

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Workers' standard of living by weighted average index

The principle of this technique is to identify the correlated factors to the standard of living and weighted them according to the scale.

Table 5.20 found out that there are five factors that confirm to have significant correlate to the workers' standard of living. Those determinants are, Food Quality, Food Quantity, Health, Housing, and Utilities. Therefore the calculation of those determinants by using the WAI is presented in Table 5.21 as below.

Table 5.21. Level of Standard of Living

Determinants	WAI Score
Food Quality	0.47
Food Quantity	0.43
Health	0.27
Housing	0.46
Utility	0.29
Average Standard of Living	0.38

The overall workers' standard of living by using the determinants factors is at 0.38 which considered as just slightly below average.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented the workers' standard of living by analyzed the collected data on food, health, housing, utilities, education and transportation through the distribution of structured questionnaires and informal interviews. This chapter has found out that:

First, the industry is dominant by young female migrant aged 25 and below. Their average education is about finished seventh grade which is considered as above average for those who are living in the rural.

Second, the major factors that currently are the worry of the workers in their daily life are food quantity, food quality, utilities, housing and health respectively. Though the workers rated their health as low in general, however, health seems to be less important for the study of standard living of workers. The workers meet some problems regarding to their transportation however, they feel it is not their big concern at this moment. Education doesn't have strong impact to their standard of living.

Third, security is also part of their concern in their daily living. Fear of getting rob, kidnapped and harassed are always follows the female workers' mind. The workers' level of socialization is still limited. The workers often restricted themselves in the house during free time though the way of living provides them socialize. The two reasons that limited the workers to go out are the financial reason and need of working hours for overtime work.

Finally, there are the government laws and international organizations have helped to protect the workers in the working life but not in the daily life. Nevertheless, the government

policy such as overtime limit, health check up indirectly contributes to the daily living of the workers.

4. Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter summarizes the finding from the result in previous chapter five and compare them to the objectives that were introduced in chapter one. The chapter also attempts to provide recommendation for the improvement of workers' standard of living as well as for further research related to Cambodian workers' standard of living.

Summary of Findings

This part is going to summarize the findings by comparing the result from the data analysis to the objectives which were set in Chapter 1. Those objectives are includes:

First objective is to provide the general view of garment workers' living conditions in Cambodia. This research confirmed the result from the previous research that the workers are generally young unmarried females migrating from other provinces seeking for extra income to support their families. Those migrants have to share accommodations either with friends or relatives or co-workers in order to reduce their financial burdens. From Monday to Saturday the workers have to leave their home and start to work from 7:30am until 4:30pm. Most of the workers accept to work overtime in order to increase their income to send remittance to their family. They have lunch in front or around the factory. In the evening the workers usually cook by themselves and sharing foods with their roommates.

Second objective is to understand the perception of the garment workers toward their own standard of living. After collected and analyzed the workers' perception toward their standard of living it is found that the workers perceived their standard of living as in 4th rank which considered as "low or poor".

Third objective is to measure their standard of living by using the components analysis and compare to their perception. Followed by the definition of Hoffer (1929) and the pattern of spending of garment workers in Cambodia, the six factors were tested in order to figure out if they have relation to the workers' standard of living. Among those six factors there are only four factors which have significant relation namely food, health, housing and utilities. Transportation and education have insignificant correlation with the workers standard of living. By using Weighted Average Index the research found out that the workers' standard of living is also in the 4th rank which confirm to the perception of workers though their score is different.

Last objective is to discuss the difficulties of the workers in their living. The research found out as follow:

Food: Among the three meals, the workers concern about the food they have during lunch than any other meal. The workers aware of the quality of food which are sold in front of the factory however, they do not have any choice but to eat those food. The workers reported that sometimes they feel sick or diarrhea after having their lunch. The perception of the workers toward their own food and the food sold in front of factory is very much different. Some stalls in front of the factory do not have proper place that allow workers to have proper lunch as well as the factory do not provide canteen, thus, the workers forced themselves to have lunch under the tree or direct sunlight.

Health: Cost of health service is very expensive for workers. When the workers feel sick they usually go to the pharmacy and asked the pharmacist for the medicine according to their symptom. Public hospital is not a destination when the workers feel sick because they believe the service is inefficient and require more time.

Housing and Utilities: The workers usually stay in small and crowded place by sharing one room with three other persons in average. The lack of hygiene knowledge put the worker in a vulnerable situation such as easily to get infected by other roommates. The workers' reported the problems of their house as hot and not enough fresh air for those who are living in the central area. Accessing to clean water and electricity is difficult for those who are living far from the central.

Education: is not necessary for the recent workers' standard of living. However, for the development of the future for those who would like to further their education meets three difficulties in common. Time, finance and previous knowledge are the barrier for them to further their education.

Transportation: is not a very big concern for everyday life. The workers usually can commute to work on foot or using motor-cart which is inexpensive. In contrast, the public transportation is not widely available in Cambodia therefore they meet difficulty in returning home.

Security: The workers did not rely on local authority for the support when they have problems. The abuse case often reported happened at night when they work overtime too late.

Recommendations

According to the findings the following recommendations may help in improving the workers' standard of living. The interventions and assistances from other parties such as government, NGOs and unions are necessary to improve the workers' standard of living.

Table 6.1. Recommendations to Improve Workers' Standard of Living

Problems	Recommendations
1. Food and Canteen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government should enforce all the factories to set up canteen with reasonable food menu and price or at least a proper place inside the factory where the workers can bring their lunch. • The government should periodically check the foods which are sold outside, in front of the factory to ensure that food is not harmful to the workers' health.
2. Workers believe that the water is dirty however, the water was not properly boiled or treated before drink.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unions, NGOs and Government should directly provide the basic knowledge of living with hygiene course to the garment workers in order to improve their living condition.
3. Health and Safety related to Overtime more than 2 hours per day and late night	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Better Factory should monitor strictly on the overtime 2 hours per day though it may affect the workers' income and the company interest. • Government should not allow late night overtime work, unless the factories can present their ability and commit to transport the workers home after finished their work.
4. Public Health service is difficult to access	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government may consider increase the hospital's service hours such as Sunday or late

by the garment workers	evening for the workers to access to public hospital easily. <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Periodically provide health check up as compulsory to assess workers' health condition.
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5. Sanitation and Toilet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve sanitation and sewage system is costly and it is also in the government development plan. The immediate action that the government or NGOs could do is to provide training in order to increase the awareness of the workers on hygiene. (This could be done together in recommendation in point 2) • For the sustainability the government should continuously broadcast them about hygiene through mass media such as TV, Radio, Magazine or Broacher etc.
6. Transportation means	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government should also consider in improving the public transportation service. There is no city bus or train available in Cambodia yet.
7. Social security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government should strengthen the interior service to be a dependable place when the worker meet difficult situation.
8. Roles of Union	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade union may play an important role in the distribution of information and provide knowledge about the daily living as workers' benefit.

Future Research

First, the contribution from this research is important to further study in the area of workers' standard of living. This research has found out that only four factors that significantly in the present time that affect the workers' standard of living known as Food, Health, Housing and Utilities.

Second, the research did not cover any specific mechanism to cope with the difficulties of garment workers related to their daily living. Therefore, further research could focus on specific mechanism related to the improvement each type of difficulties faced by the workers.

Last, the future research may study the workers' standard of living where the factories are located in the provinces and compare the result from workers' standard of living in the city and in the province. The comparison could be useful for the part of the decision that the factories should be located in the rural or city.

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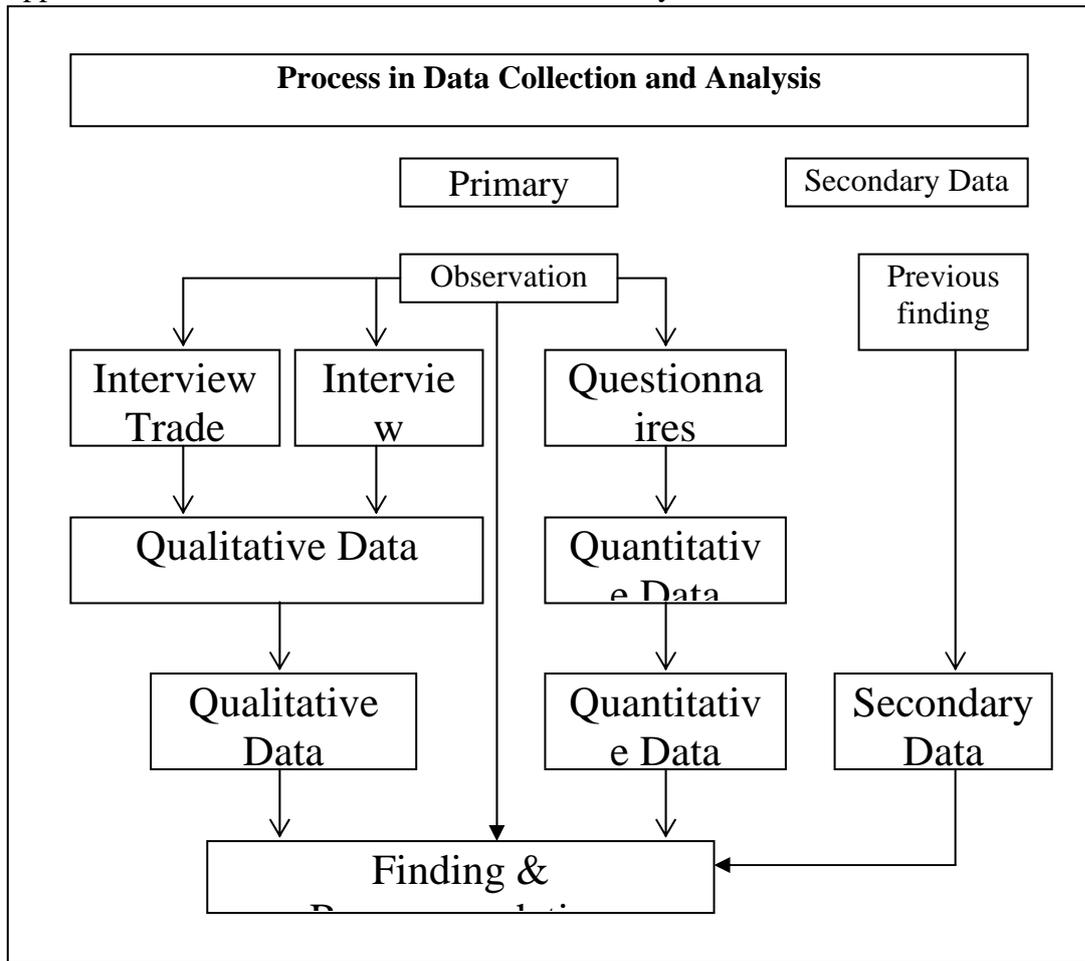
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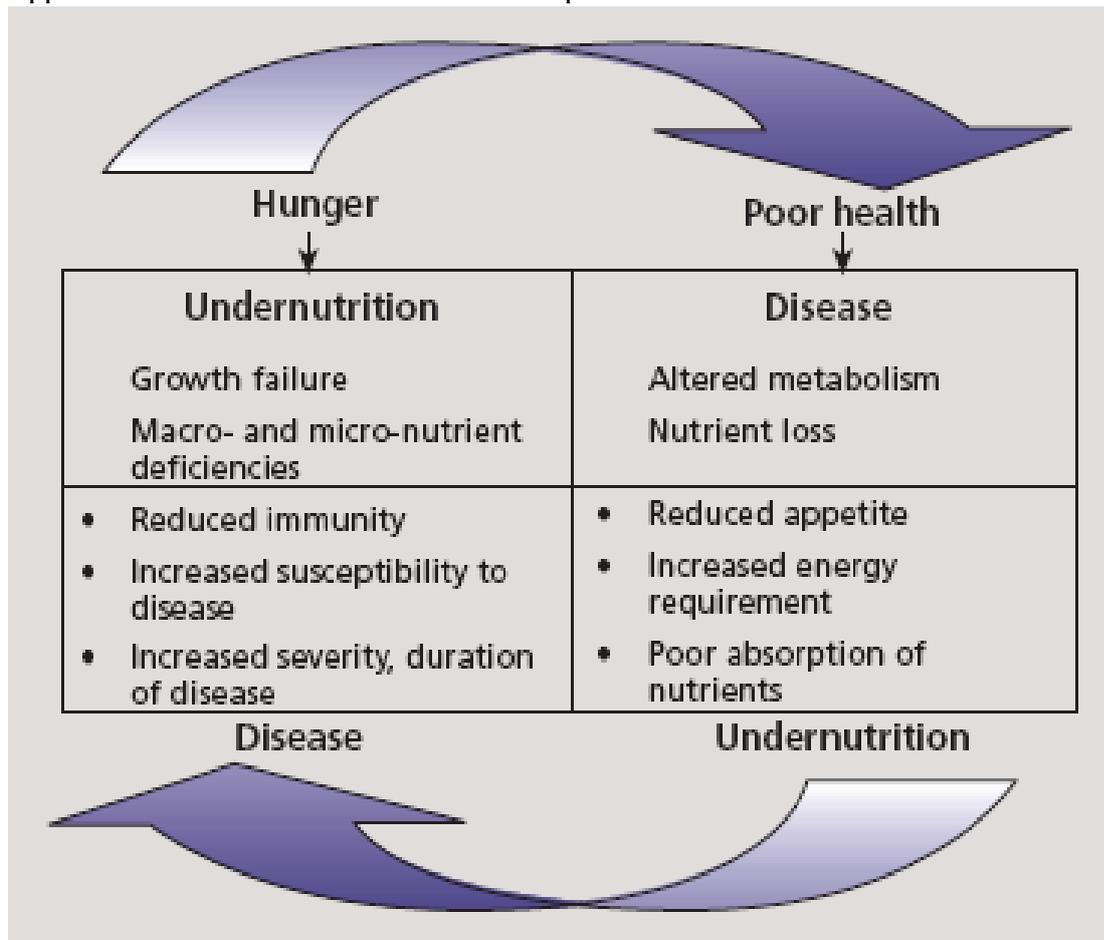
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Appendix A: Figures

Appendix A1. Process in Data Collection and Analysis



Appendix A2. Food and Health Relationship



Source: United Nations World Food Programme (2007).

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