A Comprehensive Analysis of Child Labor Practices in Brick Kilns: A Case Study of Harion Municipality, Sarlahi, Nepal

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Abstract

This study explores the forcible factors leading to child labor in brick kilns, focusing on Harion Municipality, Sarlahi district. It highlights poverty and illiteracy as key drivers. Using a mixed-methods approach grounded in pragmatism, data were collected through interviews with 30 children working in three brick kilns, with parental consent. Analysis, informed by Marxist discourse, reveals that child labor is the primary income source for poor, large families, mostly children aged 10 to 14. The work, characterized by harsh conditions, results in serious health issues and a high school dropout rate of 66.7%. The study exposes exploitative piece-rate wage structures and widespread unawareness of child labor laws among children and parents. The findings underscore how poverty compels seasonal migration and school dropout, trapping children in hazardous labor cycles that benefit brick kiln owners through cheap labor. To disrupt this cycle, awareness among families and institutional efforts to provide educational opportunities are essential. Addressing these issues can help break the intergenerational cycle of labor in brick kilns.

Keywords: child labor, brick kilns, poverty, illiteracy, education

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Introduction

Nepal, despite its abundant natural resources, continues to grapple with significant poverty, with approximately 4.9 million people (17.4% of the population) living in multidimensional poverty as of 2021 (National Planning Commission [NPC] 2021). Rapid urbanization and the increased demand for construction materials following the 2015 earthquake have expanded brick kiln operations nationwide, employing many workers and housing around 34,593 children aged five to seventeen in these settings (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund [UNICEF], 2021).

Although Nepal has ratified international labor conventions such as ILO Conventions No. 138 and 182, and enshrined children's rights within its constitution, child labor persists, particularly in hazardous sectors like brick kilns where over 224,493 children work under perilous conditions (International Labour Organization, 2024). The Child Labor (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1999 prohibits child labor under fourteen and regulates light work for those aged 14-16, but enforcement remains weak amidst financial hardship in such industries.



From a Marxist perspective, child labor in brick kilns reflects capitalist commodification of labor, where maximizing profit often overrides workers' rights, rendering children as cheap and exploitable labor vital for family survival and reinforcing structural inequalities (Marx (1867).

While national studies provide broad insights. localized factors such as caste discrimination. seasonal migration, and governance in small towns like Harion Municipality in Sarlahi district profoundly influence child labor practices. This study addresses the gap by investigating how poverty, illiteracy, oppressive payment systems, generational debt, and lack of legal awareness trap children in brick kiln labor cycles. By documenting experiences of 30 affected families, it aims to generate contextualized, evidence-based policy recommendations to alleviate this persistent exploitation.

This background situates the study within Nepal's socio-economic and legal landscape, highlighting the intersection of poverty, policy, and human rights in perpetuating child labor in brick kilns.

Problem Statement

The rationale for this study lies in the persistent problem of child labor in Nepal's brick kiln sector despite the country's ratification of international labor conventions such as the Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention (No. 182) and the ILO Minimum Age Convention (No. 138). While legal frameworks exist to regulate child labor and protect children's rights, enforcement remains weak, particularly in brick kilns, where economic imperatives prioritize profit over human welfare (Sah et al., 2019). These brick kilns operate under hazardous conditions, with workers-including large numbers of childrensubjected to exploitative piece-rate wage systems that perpetuate cycles of poverty and debt.

Recent occupational safety research in Nepal highlights severe health risks associated with physically demanding labor in construction-related settings (Ghimire et al., 2025; Mishra, 2024; Lama et al., 2019). These insights underscore the urgent need to address child labor not only as a legal or social issue but from an integrated occupational health and socio-economic perspective.

This study applies a Marxist theoretical lens to analyze the structural inequalities underpinning child labor in brick kilns, framing it as a commodification of labor wherein children are exploited as cheap laborers within capitalist profit-driven systems. Marxist theory illuminates how systemic power imbalances and economic dependency sustain this injustice and silence the vulnerable voices of child workers and their families. By focusing on Harion Municipality in Sarlahi, this research aims to provide a contextspecific examination of how poverty, illiteracy, debt cycles, and lack of legal awareness interact to sustain child labor practices, which can inform targeted interventions and policy recommendations.

Thus, the study fills critical gaps in understanding local dynamics of child labor in Nepal's brick kilns, integrating legal, health, economic, and socio-political dimensions to advance more comprehensive strategies for eradicating this deeply entrenched exploitation. This dual focus aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the realities faced by children working in brick kilns, particularly in Harion Municipality, Sarlahi, Nepal, where poverty, illiteracy, and exploitative labor systems persist despite legal frameworks aimed at child labor eradication.

Research Objective

The objective of this study is to investigate the current status and nature of child labor in brick kilns and to identify the socioeconomic and structural causes and consequences associated with child labor in this sector.

Literature Review

With a focus on Harion Municipality in the Sarlahi District of Nepal, this literature review investigates the persistent issue of child labor within the brick kiln industry. Child labor represents a critical violation of children's rights, undermining their education, health, and overall development. This review synthesizes global, regional, and local perspectives to analyze the situation of child laborers, their hazardous working conditions, and the complex socioeconomic and structural factors that perpetuate this practice. By drawing on international conventions, national statistics, and empirical studies, this review emphasizes the systemic nature of child labor and the specific vulnerabilities faced by children in the Terai region of Nepal, particularly within the context of a profitdriven, seasonal industry.

Child labor is formally defined by the International Labour Organization (ILO) as "work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development" (ILO, n.d.). It is crucial to distinguish between harmless child work, which may include light chores that do not interfere with schooling, and exploitative child labor. The most severe forms, as outlined in ILO Convention No. 182 (1999), include work that is mentally, physically, socially, or morally dangerous and harmful to children; work that interferes with their schooling; and all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery. The brick kiln industry, with its documented hazards, unequivocally falls into the category of the worst forms of child labor (ILO, 2014).

Globally, child labor remains a pervasive challenge. According to the latest global estimates, 160 million children nearly one in ten worldwide were engaged in child labor at the beginning of 2020, with millions more at risk due to the socioeconomic impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic (ILO & UNICEF, 2021). The phenomenon is not confined to any single region but is concentrated primarily in agriculture (70%), the service sector (20%), and industry, including mining and manufacturing (10%) (ILO & UNICEF, 2021). The root causes are universally linked to a complex interplay of factors, including pervasive poverty, lack of access to quality education, weak legal frameworks, and cultural norms that normalize children's economic contribution. The global economic system, with its demand for cheap goods and labor, also creates an environment where the exploitation of vulnerable populations, including children, can thrive.

South Asia hosts one of the largest populations of child laborers in the world. While significant progress has been made in the region over the past two decades, economic disparities, rapid population growth, and political instability continue to fuel the problem. Countries like India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh have large agricultural and informal sectors where child labor is prevalent (UNICEF South Asia, 2018). The region is characterized by deeply entrenched social hierarchies based on caste and class, which disproportionately push children from marginalized communities into the labor force. Furthermore, seasonal migration for work within and across national borders is a common feature, often leading to entire families, including children, being trapped in cycles of debt bondage in industries like construction, agriculture, and brick manufacturing (Haythornthwaite & Olsen, 2018).

Nepal, despite its natural beauty and cultural heritage, remains one of the least developed nations, a status that creates a fertile ground for child labor. The 2021 National Population and Housing Census reports that 39.85% of its 29.16 million residents are under the age of 18 (National Statistics Office [NSO], 2021). Although general literacy has increased, significant disparities persist, and multidimensional poverty affects 17.4% of the population, forcing many families to rely on their children's income (NPC, 2021). A decade-long civil war, political instability, and natural disasters like the 2015 earthquake have exacerbated poverty, unemployment, and poor governance, all of which are key drivers of child labor (NPC, 2021). The Nepal Living Standards Survey (2010/11) found that 21% of children aged 5-17 were working, with 39% of them engaged in hazardous work (NPC, 2011). The informal sector, including brick kilns, construction, and agriculture, relies on child labor due to children's perceived docility and lower wage demands.

The brick kiln industry in Nepal is a significant employer of child labor due to its labor-intensive, seasonal, and informal nature. The production process, which includes molding, carrying, and stacking wet bricks, is physically demanding and hazardous. Children are exposed to extreme heat, dense smoke and dust, heavy loads, and long hours, leading to severe health consequences such as respiratory illnesses, musculoskeletal disorders, burns, and chronic fatigue (International Labour Organization [ILO] & Kendrīva Tathvānka Vibhāga, 2021). The piece-rate payment system incentivizes entire families to work, including children, to maximize output and meet production targets. This system, combined with advances or loans taken by parents from kiln owners or contractors, often leads to situations of debt bondage, trapping families in a cycle of exploitation from which escape is difficult (Sharma et al., 2019).

The persistence of child labor in Nepal's brick kilns is not a monocausal issue but the result of interconnected socioeconomic determinants: Poverty and Indebtedness: Economic hardship is the primary driver. For impoverished households, a child's income is often essential for survival. Debt taken for basic needs, medical emergencies, or social obligations binds families to kiln owners (International Labour Organization & Central Bureau of Statistics, 2021). Lack of Access to Quality Education: Despite improved enrollment rates, barriers such as the cost of materials, poor school infrastructure, and the irrelevance of the curriculum to daily life lead to high dropout rates. The seasonal migration of families for kiln work directly disrupts children's schooling (UNICEF Nepal, 2021). Social and Cultural Norms: In many communities, particularly among Dalits and other marginalized groups, children's work is culturally accepted and viewed as a necessary contribution to the family. A lack of awareness of the long-term benefits of education further perpetuates this cycle.

Weak Law Enforcement and Governance: Although Nepal has ratified key international conventions and has national laws like the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act (2000), enforcement is notoriously weak in the informal sector. A lack of political will, corruption, and insufficient labor inspectors allow kiln owners to operate with impunity.

Harion Municipality in the Sarlahi District of Madhesh Province exemplifies these national challenges. With a child population (0-14 years) of 32.8%, the municipality has significant numbers of vulnerable children (Harion Municipality, n.d.). A 2022 survey identified 275 child laborers in just 16 local brick kilns, with a majority being local children (CPO Sarlahi, 2022). The COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated the situation, disrupting education and pushing more households into economic distress, thereby increasing reliance on child labor. Local governments like Harion Municipality often lack the resources and capacity to effectively monitor kilns and enforce child protection laws, leaving children exposed to continuous exploitation (CPO Sarlahi, 2022).

Methodology

The purpose of the study is to examine the state of child labor in the Harion Municipality's brick kilns. This study used a mixed-methods approach, guided by pragmatism included both exploratory and descriptive techniques in order to examine child labor in Harion's brick kilns. The study is combined surveys and statistical analysis with interviews and on-site observation. This blend of numbers and personal stories helped capture both the scale of the problem and the human experiences behind it, offering a fuller understanding of how and why child labor persists. Secondary data derived from relevant published and unpublished sources, such as books, journals, articles, reports, and newspapers.

The sample comprised thirty children from three wards (4, 6, and 9) of Harion Municipality who worked in brick kilns. All of the respondents had at least one child employed in the kilns and were purposefully chosen from the Dalit, Madhesi, and Janjati ethnic groups. This method of nonprobability sampling gave a thorough picture of child labor and its effects. To reduce interviewer bias and make frequency statistical analysis easier and to make convenient to respondents a structured questionnaire was employed. Nonverbal behaviors were studied through observations, while other facets of the respondents' lives, such as aggression and familial pressure, were revealed through casual conversations. Ethical approval was obtained from the brick owner and written consent was taken from the respondents and their parents before taking interview

Results and Discussion

Caste/Ethnicity of Respondents

The study's sample of child laborers from three brick kilns was chosen purposively, and the table below displays the respondents' caste and ethnicity classifications.

Table 1 Distribution of Respondents According to Caste/Ethnicity

Caste/Ethnicity	No. of Respondents	Percent (%)
Madhesi	10	33.33
Dalit	10	33.33
Janajati	10	33.33
Total	30	100

Note. Field Survey, 2025

According to the above table, the majority of the manual laborers employed in brick kilns were from the Madhesi (33.33%), Dalit (33.33%), and Janjati (33.33%) communities. These individuals were came to the brick factories as seasonal workers, together with their family members and children who work as child labor.

Gender Distribution of Child Labors

The number of child laborers by sex is displayed in the table below. The examination discovered that nine girls and twenty-one boys were working as underage laborers in the brick kilns that were the subject of the investigation. The majority of child laborers work alongside their parents in brick kilns.

Table 2 Distribution of Sex of Child Labors

Gender	No of Respondents	Percent (%)
Boys	21	70
Girls	9	30
Total	30	100.00

Note. Field Survey, 2025

Of the respondents, 70% were boys who work as child laborers, and 30% are girls who work as child laborers. Given that working in brick factories is an outdoor job that mostly involves physical labor, the numbers and proportion make it abundantly evident that boys make up the bulk of child laborers in brick kilns.

Age and Work Duration Distribution of Child Labors

One of the main causes of youngsters working as child laborers is their age. The classification of child labor under investigation by age and job length category is displayed in the table below:

Table 3 Distribution of Respondents According to Child Labors Age and Working Duration

Age	Respondents	Percent (%)	Work Duration	Respondents	Percent (%)
Below 10	3	10	1-2 months	3	10
10-14	16	53.33	3-4 months	24	80
15-18	11	36.67	5 & above months	3	10
Total	30	100.00		30	100

According to the data, the majority of child laborers in brick kilns were between the ages of 10 and 14 (53.33% of all respondents), followed by those between the ages of 15 and 18 (36.67%), and those under the age of 10. This distribution implies that early adolescence, a crucial time when youngsters move with their family to augment household income, is when entry into labor intensifies. According to the research, children from low-income families prioritize survival over schooling and start working as early as age six. Such work participation highlights intergenerational deprivation where children's education is jeopardized in addition to reflecting

structural poverty. Eighty percent of respondents said their seasonal jobs lasted three to four months, which corresponds to the brick kiln's operational cycle. Ten percent of respondents said their jobs lasted shorter or longer. This yearly pattern demonstrates how child labor in the brick business is both exploitative and cyclical.

Educational Status of Children and Reasons of School Drop Out

The children's educational status and the reasons why the respondents who worked in brick factories dropped out of school are displayed in the table below.

Table 4 Distribution of Respondents According to Child Labor's Educational status and School Drop Out

Educational Status	Respondents	Percent	Reasons of School Drop Out	Respondents	Percent
Primary Education	23	76.67	Financial difficulties	30	100
Lower Secondary Education	7	23.33	Need to work	30	100
Secondary Education	0	0	Lack of interest	30	100
Total	30	100.00		30	100

Note. Field Survey, 2025

According to the results, 23 children, or 76.67% of the children employed in brick kilns, were only completed primary school, whilst 7 children, or 23.33%, were completed lower secondary school; none of them were completed secondary school. This suggests a significant primary school dropout rate, demonstrating the close connections between low educational attainment and child labor risk. In addition, all 30 parents (100%) cited lack of interest in their children's education, financial difficulties, and the need to support the family as the main causes of dropping out of school.

Daily Working Hours and Types of Work of the Children

The types of labor and working hours of children at brick kilns are displayed in the table below.

Table 5Distribution of Respondents According to Working Hours and Types of Work of Child Labors

Daily Working Hours	No of Respondents	Percent Types of Work		Respondents	Percent
0-3 hrs	5	16.67	Brick Making	30	100
4-5 hrs	13	43.33	Drying Bricks	30	100
6-8 hrs	12	40	Carrying Brick	30	100
Total	30	100.00	Loading & Unloading Bricks	3	10

According to the data, 43.33% of youngsters labor were worked in brick kilns for four to five hours per day, 40% for six to eight hours, and 16.67% for three hours or less. According to this, older kids typically put in more hours at work since piece-rate payment schemes (Rs. 900 every 1,000 bricks) encourage longer hours. Children's were participated mainly in three tasks and they are making, drying, and lugging bricks. Furthermore,

10% of respondents were said that they were participated in loading and unloading, a dangerous and time-consuming task that calls for strength and maturity, while soil mixing is automated and does not include minors

Facilities Available in the Brick Kilns

According to the responses, the brick kilns offer the following services and amenities:

 Table 6

 Distribution of Respondents According to Services & Facilities Available in the Brick Kilns

Services & Facilities	No of Respondents	Percent (%)
Free Accommodation	30	100
First Aid	30	100
Safe drinking water	30	100
Not enough nutritious food intake	30	100
Safe & Clean Toilet	9	30

Note. Field Survey, 2025

According to the research, every responder (100%) were stated that brick factories provided them with free lodging, first assistance, and clean drinking water. Only nine respondents, or thirty percent were access to sanitary and secure restrooms. In addition to these meager benefits, employees were denied access to basic amenities including free food, medical care, insurance, safety gear, contracts, identification cards, union representation, transportation, and paid time off. Furthermore, all 30 respondents attested to the

fact that their kids were denied access to enough nutrient-dense food and instead survived on boring meals consisting of veggies, bread, and rice. These results show that brick kiln workers are deeply impoverished and subjected to systemic neglect.

Awareness on Rules and Regulations Related to Child Labor and Child Rights

In the table below, all 30 respondents are categorized based on their knowledge of the laws and policies pertaining to child labor and child rights.

Table 7 Respondents' Awareness of Child Labor and Child Rights Rules

Awareness on Child Labor and Child Rights	Respondents	Percent (%)
Yes	0	0
No	30	100
Total	30	100.00

As depicted in the above table, none of the respondents were known anything about child labor or child rights. The law forbids child labor, and no one is allowed to hire a youngster under the age of 14.

Reasons of Child Labor

The table below shows the respondents' answers about the causes of child labor.

Table 8 Distribution of Respondents on the Reasons of Child Labor

Reasons for child labor	No of Respondents	Percent (%)
Low family Income/Poverty	30	100
Debt Repayment	30	100
Helping parents Work	30	100
School failure (drop out)	20	66.67
Peer Influence	3	10
Dysfunctional family (Including Step Parent, separated)	1	3.33
Violence at home; scolding/beating.	1	3.33
Semi or Partly Orphan	1	3.33

Note. Field Survey, 2025

Due to poverty or low family income and to pay off debt, all the respondents, were worked in brick kilns with their children, as the above table demonstrates. In a similar vein, all respondents (100%) were stated that their kids physically assist them at work, which increases their income. According to the answers, one child (3.33%) was come from a semi-orphan family, one child (3.33%) was come from a dysfunctional family, and one child (3.33%) was witnessed domestic violence. According to the responders, the majority of the children 20 out of 30 were found to be dropped out of school, and three (10%) of the children were involved in child labor as a result of peer pressure.

Respondents' Willingness to Continue the Work

The table below shows the respondents' responses regarding their willingness to continue working in the brick kilns.

Table 9 Distribution of Respondents According to the Willingness to Continue the Work

Willingness to continue the work	No of Respondents	Percent (%)
Yes	0	0
No	17	56.67
Not thought about it	13	43.33
Total	30	100.00

Of the respondents, 43.33% (13) were unsure about future involvement, and 56.67% (17) were said that they were unwilling to continue to work. Economic need was the main affecting element continuing in this labor-intensive career, as families' decisions were influenced by poverty, limited alternatives, and familial pressures.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Child's **Employment**

According to the respondents, working families are able to live together in free temporary shelters known as Jhyauli with their kids. The quick cash that children receive from producing bricks helps the family pay for necessities and possibly pay off debt. Children can readily follow in their parents' footsteps because brick kiln labor doesn't require any formal education or specific skills, and families can profit according to their output thanks to the flexible piece-rate wage system. Advantages, children are exposed to dangerous surroundings, including severe weather, dust, and pollution, which can lead to respiratory issues and common injuries like blisters and bruises. Additionally, child labor forces children to live in substandard housing and unhygienic settings that raise their risk of illness while depriving them of opportunities for education, amusement, and natural growth. In the end, children who work in kilns lose their childhood and future opportunities, which keeps families stuck in poverty cycles. The results demonstrate that short-term gains can come at the expense of children's long-term health, education, and well-being.

Discussion

This study had two main objectives: first, to investigate the current state of child labor in the brick kilns of Harion Municipality; and second, to identify the root causes that force children into this work. The findings not only provide a clear picture of the situation but also allow to see how deeply the problem is connected to long-standing social and economic structures.

The investigation foregrounds that child labor in the local brick kilns is widespread and involves children of all ages, with over half (53.33%) being between 10 and 14 years old. These children perform physically demanding tasks like molding and carrying bricks, which leads to health problems and, crucially, forces them to drop out of school. A striking 77% were completed primary education, and all child workers had their studies completely interrupted by the seasonal migration their families must undertake for work.

This finding is consistent with numerous other studies in Nepal and across South Asia. Research by the ILO (2021) and others has consistently documented the hazardous nature of brick kiln work for children and its devastating impact on education. The reason for this powerful similarity is that the brick kiln industry operates in much the same way everywhere: it is seasonal, uses a piecerate payment system that encourages whole families to work, and relies on a migrant labor force. This system inherently disrupts schooling and exposes children to physical harm, regardless of the specific country or region.

Second key finding of the study investigates "why". The study identified a powerful combination of causes:

Caste and Ethnicity

workforces in the kilns were overwhelmingly made up of historically marginalized groups Dalit, Janjati, and Madhesi communities. Brahmin and Chhetri groups were absent, reflecting Nepal's deepseated social stratification that limits occupational choices based on caste.

Poverty and Household Size

Most families were large (70% had more than 4 members) and lived in poverty. With many mouths to feed and high debt, children's labor became a necessary strategy for family survival.

Gendered Labor

The work was highly gendered. Men were seen as the primary breadwinners, but entire families were forced to labor. Women and children performed essential but undervalued tasks like carrying and stacking, their work often hidden within the production process.

These findings align with broader national studies, such as the Nepal Living Standards Survey, which identify poverty as the primary driver of child labor. However, the study adds a critical layer of local context. It shows how universal economic pressure (poverty) is filtered through specific local structures of caste and gender inequality. While other studies might note poverty, this research demonstrates how historical marginalization channels certain communities into this exploitative work and how gender norms dictate the roles children play once they are there.

The researcher used a Marxist theory as a discursive lens to make judgement these results which seems highly relevant. Marxist theory argues that capitalist systems seek to generate profit by exploiting cheap labor, extracting the maximum "surplus value" from workers. The findings perfectly illustrate this process as follows:

Exploitation of the Marginalized

The kiln owners benefit from a ready pool of cheap labor from marginalized communities depriving them from economic opportunities and proper wage. This is a direct exploitation of preexisting social inequalities for economic gain.

Extraction of Surplus Value

Children are particularly valuable in this system because they can be paid less and are less likely to organize or protest. Their labor directly increases the kiln owner's profits (surplus value) while they and their families receive barely enough to survive.

Alienation:

The theory also describes "alienation", where workers are disconnected from the benefits of their labor. This is evident in the children, whose works generate profit for the owner but alienates them from education, health, and childhood, trapping them in a vicious cycle of poverty and education.

Conclusion

In Nepal, brick kilns provide much-needed jobs for struggling families. However, this often comes at the expense of children's safety and futures. Poverty, limited job opportunities, and a lack of schooling push many children in places like Harion Municipality into difficult and dangerous work. Most begin working between the ages of 10 and 14 carrying, stacking, and molding bricks. This heavy labour exposes them to injuries, skin and lung diseases, and poor nutrition. Long hours, low piece-rate wages, and constant moving for work add to their physical and mental strain. As a result, many drop out of school, repeating the cycle of family poverty.

Those already marginalized especially women, Dalits, Janjatis, and Madhesis often end up with the lowest-paying jobs and face exploitation by contractors. Many families are also unaware of laws protecting children from labour. To break this harmful pattern, we must take action on several fronts. Children need better access to schools and support to stay in them. Families living in poverty should receive financial help so they don't have to depend on their children's income. Laws against child labour must be strongly enforced, and awareness raised within communities. Making workplaces safer and ensuring fair treatment for all workers is also essential. Only through combined efforts can protect children's well-being and education and give them the chance to build a better future.

Implication

This means that simply creating jobs is not enough. If economic development continues to rely on the exploitation of children, it ultimately harms Nepal's future by creating a generation of uneducated, unhealthy adults.

Suggestion

To break this cycle, it needs a united effort. The local government should strictly enforce laws against child labor, while also providing financial support to the poorest families so they can afford to send their children to school instead of work. Kiln owners must be held accountable for providing safer conditions, and community awareness campaigns are needed to inform parents and children of their rights. Ultimately, protecting children is not just a legal duty, but an investment in a stronger, healthier future for the entire community.

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