ASYLUMS OF EXPLOITATION

Internally Displaced Children in the Worst Forms of Child Labour due to the Armed Conflict in Nepal

Save the Children

कपा CREHPA

Terre des hommes

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Contents

TABLES vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS viii
THE STUDY TEAM ix
ACRONYMS x
PREFACE xi
FOREWORD xii

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction 1

Executive Summary 1
Background 3
Rationale 5
Objectives 6
Conceptual Framework 6
Study Design and Methodology 7
Study Sites and Sample 10
Research Instruments and Interviewing Strategy 13
Training and Fieldwork 13
Data Management and Analysis 14
Protection and Ethical Considerations 14
Constraints and Limitations 15

CHAPTER TWO
Findings 17

Summary of Key Findings 17
General Findings 19
Findings by Labour Situation 26

CHAPTER THREE
Background Characteristics 51
Age 51
Marital Status 52
Ethnicity 52
Educational Level 54

CHAPTER FOUR
Factors Governing Internal Displacement 55
Level of Conflict in District of Origin 55
Reasons for Migration 56
Decision to Migrate 57
Pathways of Migration 58
Knowledge about Destination 59
Accompaniment during Migration 59
Entering the Labour Situation 61

CHAPTER FIVE
Basic Needs 63
Access to Education 63
Health Care 65
Nutrition 66
Living Conditions 66

CHAPTER SIX
The Workplace 69
Children's Perception of the Quality of Their Work Situation 69
Children's Perception of the Working Environment of Other Children 71
Length of Working Hours 72
Remuneration 73

Obligation to Support Family Members 75
Health Concerns in the Workplace 75
Problems Encountered in the Workplace 76

CHAPTER SEVEN
Safety Net and External Risk Factors 79

Accompaniment in the Living Situation 79
Accompaniment in the Workplace 81
Presence of Relatives or Village Friends in the City 82
Support Received from Employers 83
Potential Caregivers during Difficulties 85
Institutional Support 87
External Risk Factors 87

CHAPTER EIGHT
Future Aspirations 91

Desire to Leave Current Labour Situation 91
Reasons for Leaving Current Labour Situation 92
Reasons for Remaining in Current Labour Situation 94
Desired Destination If Leaving Current Labour Situation 95

CHAPTER NINE
Recommendations 97

Recommendations by Service Provider 97
General Recommendations 98
Recommendations by Labour Situation 98

ANNEX I. Areas of Investigation Regarding the Displacement of Children by the Armed Conflict in Nepal 101
ANNEX II. Participating Organizations 103
ANNEX III. Bibliography 106

Tables

Table 1.1 Primary child labour situations identified by stakeholders working with working children in Kathmandu, Biratnagar and Pokhara
Table 1.2 Most exploitative forms of IDP child labour in two urban areas of Nepal, as ranked by local stakeholders
Table 1.3 NGOs providing gatekeeper support
Table 1.4 Labour situations covered in Kathmandu, Pokhara and Biratnagar
Table 1.5 Number of IDP working children covered in each urban area, by research tool administered
Table 1.6 Distribution of respondents by type of labour situation and by study site
Table 1.7 Distribution of respondents by type of labour situation and by research tool

Table 3.1 Percentage distribution of respondents by age group and by labour situation
Table 3.2 Percentage distribution of respondents by caste/ethnicity and by labour situation
Table 3.3 Percentage distribution of respondents by educational attainment prior to displacement and by labour situation

Table 4.1 Percentage distribution of respondents by level of conflict in their district of origin and by destination city
Table 4.2 Reasons for migration, by labour situation (findings from in-depth interviews)
Table 4.3 Decision-making regarding leaving home, by labour situation (findings from in-depth interviews)
Table 4.4 Percentage distribution of respondents who travelled directly or indirectly to the place of destination, by labour situation (findings from semi-structured interviews)
Table 4.5 Percentage distribution of respondents by prior knowledge about destination and by labour situation (findings from in-depth interviews)
Table 4.6a Percentage distribution of respondents regarding their accompaniment during migration, by labour situation (findings from semi-structured interviews)
Table 4.6b Accompaniment during migration, by labour situation (findings from in-depth interviews)
Table 4.7 Percentage distribution of respondents according to the person who helped the child get present job, by labour situation
Table 4.8 Percentage distribution of respondents by prior knowledge of the kind of work they would perform, by labour situation

Table 5.1 Percentage distribution of respondents currently studying and level of study, by labour situation
Table 5.2 Percentage distribution of respondents according to the reasons for not attending formal or non-formal education, by labour situation

Table 6.1 Percentage distribution of respondents by perception of their working environment and by labour situation
Table 6.2 Percentage distribution of respondents by working hours and by labour situation
Table 6.3 Percentage distribution of respondents by monthly remuneration and by labour situation
Table 6.4 Percentage distribution of respondents according to the health problems experienced, by labour situation
Table 6.5 Percentage distribution of respondents by problems in the workplace and by labour situation

Table 7.1 Percentage distribution of respondents according to the person(s) they live with, by labour situation
Table 7.2 Percentage distribution of respondents according to the presence of relatives or fellow villagers in the workplace, by labour situation
Table 7.3 Percentage distribution of respondents according to the presence of relatives or friends in the city, by labour situation
Table 7.4 Percentage distribution of respondents according to support received from employer along with salary, by labour situation
Table 7.5 Percentage distribution of respondents according to perceived support persons on the basis of first preference, by labour situation
Table 7.6 Percentage distribution of respondents by knowledge about children who left the workplace and by labour situation
Table 7.7 Percentage distribution of respondents according to the person who took the children from the workplace, by labour situation

Table 8.1 Percentage distribution of respondents by intention to continue with the present job and by labour situation
Table 8.2 Percentage distribution of respondents by reason for leaving their current labour situation and by labour situation
Table 8.3 Percentage distribution of respondents by reason for remaining in their current labour situation and by labour situation
Table 8.4 Percentage distribution of respondents according to desired destination if leaving the workplace, by labour situation

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The Study Team

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Acronyms

CDF	Community Development Foundation
CDS	Child Development Society
CPCS	Child Protection Centre and Services
CREHPA	Centre for Research on Environment, Health and Population Activities
CWIN	Child Workers in Nepal Concerned Centre
CWISH	Children and Women in Social Service and Human Rights
CWSN	Child Welfare Scheme Nepal
FNCCI	Federation of Nepal Chambers of Commerce and Industries
FOHREn	Forum for Human Rights and Environment
GONESA	Good Neighbour Service Association
IDP	internally displaced person(s)
ILO	International Labour Organization
INGO	international non-governmental organization
NFE	non-formal education
NFGD	narrative focus group discussion
NGO	non-governmental organization
NRs.	Nepali rupees
PCCI	Pokhara Chamber of Commerce and Industries
RRN	Rural Reconstruction Nepal
UPCA	Underprivileged Children Association
WHO	World Health Organization

Preface

The efforts by Terre des hommes, Save the Children Alliance and other organizations to combat child trafficking in Nepal have been complicated by the growing armed conflict, as tens of thousands of children and youth have been forced from their communities to urban areas. Hungry, often separated from friends and families, they can easily end up in the most exploitative forms of child labour. In addition, the efforts by police and government forces to stop child trafficking in Nepal have been compromised as more of their time is devoted to security-related issues.

Terre des hommes commissioned this study, with additional support from the Save the Children Alliance, because we needed to know more about the impact of the conflict on the work patterns of children and youth in Nepal. In particular, we were alarmed by the growing numbers of internally displaced children whom we encountered in Kathmandu, Nepalgunj, Pokhara, Butwal, Biratnagar and other cities. Few of these children had access to education, health care or legal protection. Most had never before been away from their families and their home communities. We wanted to know where they were from, their ethnicity, why they migrated to urban areas, what support they had received at their destinations, and what levels of exploitation they had encountered.

To carry out this study - the first of its kind in Nepal - we enlisted the support of our friend and advisor John Frederick to serve as Research Director, and the talented team at the Centre for Research on Environment, Health and Population Activities (CREHPA). CREHPA assembled a group of field researchers who had the challenging assignment of locating the children, and interviewing them in a manner that was not invasive and was respectful of their privacy and need for confidentiality. While we at Terre des hommes and Save the Children Alliance are very pleased with the study, we are sobered by the findings with respect to the impact of the conflict on children in many districts of Nepal, and the exploitation, harassment and abuse that the children have experienced in their new surroundings.

We want to thank all the children and young people who agreed to participate in this study, who gave their time and who willingly told their stories. We only hope that their courage and resilience are eventually recognized by the people of Nepal, that they win access to schools to improve their situation, and that they will be able to return to their families and their communities. But first and foremost, these children need peace in their lives.

Reinhard Fichtl
Terre des hommes in Nepal

Foreword

The District Headquarters of Rukum must be among the least welcoming places for children in all of Nepal. Sandbagged and barbed-wired, the gritty garrison town is one of the few remaining settlements in Rukum ostensibly under the control of the national government. Brave school children must navigate a maze of armed sentries to reach their classes, and there is no room on the crowded hilltop where the town is precariously poised for football games or other idle pastimes. The atmosphere in the settlement is tense, and soldiers on patrol keep their weapons close at hand. Everyone understands that an assault by Maoist forces could come at any time. The town's airport is in ruins, destroyed by Maoist forces more than one year ago during a brazen mid-day attack. Bullet holes and graffiti mark the walls of the abandoned departure lounge, and dozens of pigeons have moved into the control tower.

In March 2006, as part of the Terre des hommes delegation visiting Rukum, I encountered a young child who for me personified the current armed conflict in Nepal. A 12-year-old boy had heard that visitors who wanted to help children had arrived from Kathmandu, and so he had walked more than three kilometres into town, learned where we were meeting, then pushed his way through the adults who crowded the room so he could tell us his story. To keep him safe, I'll call him Raj Kumar.

Despite the growing conflict, the boy had been attending school and enjoying the support of his extended family. Then Maoists had announced that a road was to be constructed, and a labour force was required. Every family in the community was obligated to contribute one member. Raj Kumar, being the oldest child in his family, reluctantly said farewell to his parents and siblings, and was marched with other conscripts to a neighbouring district. The work under the hot mid-day sun was painful and monotonous. Few tools were available, so Raj Kumar broke the ground with his bare hands. People slept communally, sharing thin blankets. Little food was provided.

After less than two weeks working on the road, Raj Kumar heard the sound of an approaching aircraft. A helicopter suddenly appeared from the south, then swooped down on the workers with machine guns blazing. Raj Kumar described how everyone scrambled for cover, and how he had found protection under a massive rock. But his leg was exposed, and during the attack a bullet pierced his foot. The pain was overwhelming, and he remembered losing and regaining consciousness. Raj Kumar was carried to safety, and rudimentary medical care saved his foot from amputation. But the bullet had done massive damage to bone and tissue, and when the bullet wound healed he could no

longer walk properly. Raj Kumar wanted help from Terre des hommes so he could keep up with his friends when he walked to school, and when he played games.

In the District Headquarters of Rukum, the delegate of Terre des hommes and others in the room listened intently to Raj Kumar's testimony, and to the reports of other children who had suffered on account of the current armed conflict in Nepal. The children had no favourites: some had been aggressively conscripted by Maoists, while others had lost parents to government security forces. But they all shared the misery of poverty, made more extreme on account of their vulnerability to intimidation and violence because of their youth. Reinhard Fichtl, delegate of Terre des hommes Foundation in Nepal, and I have worked in challenging places, including Afghanistan during the reign of the Taliban, but we agreed that these were perhaps the saddest girls and boys we had ever encountered. Their childhood had prematurely come to an end, and they had little hope for the future. While we could ensure that Raj Kumar received proper therapy for his foot, we couldn't restore his self-confidence or his spirit.

This study of child labour and armed conflict in Nepal by the research organization Centre for Research on Environment, Health and Population Activities (CREHPA) provides hard evidence to support the assertion that ever-increasing numbers of young children in Nepal are being forced to abandon their communities in outlying areas of the country and move to urban areas in search of peace and security. Fearing recruitment by Maoists, or suffering the consequences of family breakdown as a result of the death of a parent, the children walk to the nearest road, then purchase one-way bus tickets with the few coins and bills they have in their pockets. On arrival they are easy prey for traffickers and petty criminals. The lucky ones find employment as domestic servants in the homes of strangers, working from dawn until late at night, eating food scraps, fending off unwanted sexual advances from male employers and their adolescent sons, sleeping on cold floors, and enduring harassment and beatings on account of being poor. As stated by a 16-year-old child domestic worker quoted in the CREHPA study, 'Our owner beats me and my friends with a stick everyday. It does not make any difference to him whether we work or not. He scolds us and we have to work continually.'

While the International Labour Organization, Child Workers in Nepal Concerned Centre, Concern and other organizations have carefully documented the phenomenon of child labour in Nepal, the CREHPA study is the first to explore the link between the armed conflict in the country and the working patterns of children. In a dynamic and volatile environment, it is crucial that government, development organizations and community groups understand and act on the new reality documented in the CREHPA study: armed conflict in Nepal has transformed child labour into a survival strategy for families, and for children. Children aren't merely running away from their homes on a whim, or in search of adventure. Children are being forced to prematurely abandon school in order to support

themselves, and in many cases to contribute to household income. The CREHPA study suggests that families are making strategic and desperate decisions to send one or more of their children to the city to find work. In many cases parents actively encouraged their own children to leave the community of origin and to seek work. Relatively few children included in the study travelled to the city alone in search of work; almost 80% were accompanied by family members, relatives or friends. Not only children from so-called low caste and disadvantaged families are being affected by conflict: the CREHPA study shows that Brahmin and Chettri children comprise 60% of the boys surveyed who are currently employed in the transport sector. One conclusion from the CREHPA study is inescapable: the armed conflict is having a significant impact on children from all walks of life in Nepal, and not only on the ranks of the rural poor. And few parts of the country are being spared the effects of war: the internally displaced children covered by the study came from 54 of Nepal's 75 districts.

More children in the CREHPA study were employed as child domestic workers than in any other sector. Child advocates in Nepal have noted the growing phenomenon of 'sheltering', whereby families in outlying areas in Nepal as a result of the armed conflict are handing their children over to strangers in urban areas, where they are employed as domestic servants in exchange for food and accommodation. Child domestic workers are employed behind walls, and have little or no contact with their friends or family. Loneliness is the rule rather than the exception. Few have the opportunity to go to school, to attend non-formal education classes, or to play any sports. Children working as domestic servants are especially vulnerable to sexual abuse by their employers.

While the CREHPA study does not attempt to estimate the number of children displaced to urban areas on account of the conflict in Nepal, over three fourths of working children interviewed in Kathmandu, Biratnagar and Pokhara had originated from seriously conflict-affected districts. Almost 90% of working children surveyed in Pokhara had been displaced from seriously conflict-affected districts. In-depth interviews with working children in the three cities showed that the 'Maoist problems', with accompanying 'economic problems', were the most important reasons for migrating to urban areas. Children spoke about fears of abduction by Maoists, pressure to join Maoist forces, family members being tortured by government security forces or by Maoists, and demands for donations of food or money by Maoists as reasons for leaving their homes. A 13-year-old girl employed as a domestic servant spoke for many young Nepalis when she stated to CREHPA researchers that 'when I was studying in Class 2 in my village, the Maoists came two or three times to take me with them. So my parents sent me to Kathmandu with my maternal uncle.'

The lives of most working children in Nepal are defined by abuse and exploitation, and testimonials recorded by CREHPA researchers reflect the misery of legions of their coun-

terparts, whether employed in brick kilns and carpet factories or as rag pickers. A 14-year-old domestic servant working in Kathmandu complained that his employers 'expect that I work continuously without resting.' A 15-year-old boy employed in Kathmandu stated 'anyone working in a carpet factory will always be ill. It is better to work in a paddy field in a village than to work in a carpet factory.' Perhaps the most poignant quotation recorded by the researchers was attributed to a 16-year-old girl in Pokhara, who alluded to the discrimination that many working children in Nepal encounter, and must learn to accept: 'My employer always shouts at me and beats me. I have to get up early in the morning at 3:00 a.m. or they pour a jug of water on me. Their children also discriminate (against me) saying 'You are a servant! Go away from me.'

Street children and rag picking children are easy targets for police in Nepal, and are subject to regular harassment and arrest. Newspapers in Kathmandu have reported that Maoists recruit street children to 'plant bombs, deliver weapons, and spy on the movements of security forces in the city,' which only contributes to their alienation from mainstream society. Long-distance child porters in Nepal are routinely interrogated by Maoists and security forces alike as to what and whom they have seen while on their journeys. If they don't have proper identification, they often are prevented from continuing to their destinations.

Unfortunately, many development organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Nepal have been slow to comprehend the profound impact of the armed conflict on all aspects of life in the country, and have been reluctant to adjust their implementation strategies. In many organizations a 'business as usual' mentality has prevailed, with little attention paid to the deteriorating human rights situation, and increasing numbers of internally displaced people who are in acute need of assistance. Few national or international staff in Nepal have experience working in a complex emergency scenario. Poor children in Nepal have become accustomed to being ignored by NGOs, despite elaborate promises made in workshops and international conferences. Drop-in centres in urban areas provide only the most rudimentary services, and reach a small percentage of working children. NGOs in Nepal have few trained outreach workers, and instead resort to traditional institutional-based programming, outdated and expensive. NGOs in Nepal should be sobered by the finding that only 44% of street children surveyed by CREHPA identified NGOs as the first place of seeking help in case of difficulties. Almost no other children identified NGOs as a primary source of support.

What is clear is that until peace breaks out, more children and youth from outlying communities will be driven by the failing rural economy, by fear or by hunger to Nepal's burgeoning cities. Municipalities can be important allies in delivering basic services to internally displaced children, including non-formal education and health care. Most internally displaced children lack proper legal identification, which often precludes them from enrolment in government schools. It is crucial that school officials across Nepal

relax the requirements for internally displaced children so that they don't miss out on opportunities for schooling. Similarly, internally displaced children should be allowed to receive medical care at clinics and hospitals, even when not accompanied by adult family members. In the great tradition of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, NGOs need to train their staff members to reach working children at their work sites on their own terms, whether it is deep inside a carpet factory, a coal mine or a junkyard. To remain relevant, organizations assisting internally displaced children in Nepal must be flexible, creative and resourceful. We need to be as ingenious, and as courageous, as the children we are attempting to help.

Peter Dalglish
Founder, Street Kids International

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Executive Summary

In resource poor countries such as Nepal, child labour cannot be totally eliminated. However, the severity of exploitation of children in labour situations can be reduced through political commitment and conscious efforts by the government to regulate the norms and conditions of employment of children in the formal and non-formal sectors. Children internally displaced by the conflict require special attention in this respect. These children have been separated from their homes, families and schooling, and forced to seek refuge in difficult urban environments. Children's entry into the urban labour force is for many the only alternative to the risks of remaining in areas of conflict and as a consequence, they become highly susceptible to exploitation.

It is evident from the study that rural internally displaced children in urban labour situations are subject to severe exploitation in the form of heavy workloads, lack of remuneration and denial of basic needs. These exploitative conditions encourage children to leave their jobs, and many boys, after attempting to survive in urban Nepal, have migrated to India. Girls, however, have fewer options than boys and many must work to support their families. Hence, most girl children are compelled to live and continue working in their present circumstances. For many IDP working children, labour abuse is complemented by social discrimination, and many children in the study felt they were mistreated because of their rural origins, poverty and current status as displaced persons. This discrimination has given rise to the incidents of physical abuse, psychological abuse and sexual exploitation of labouring children that have been documented in the present study.

The conclusions derived from the study sample must be placed in perspective. Due to the need for the field researchers to use 'gatekeeper' NGOs to access children, most of the child respondents were presently in contact with NGOs. The majority of working children in Nepal do not have contact with NGOs, and the views of the respondents may not be entirely representative. As well, the total number of labouring children in different labour situations is unknown, so again, the extent to which the interviewed children represent Nepalis labouring children in general cannot be determined.

Many of the conclusions that can be drawn from the data were expected, and are present in existing studies on Nepalis internally displaced by the conflict and in the experiential knowledge of NGOs working with labouring children. The deteriorating economic conditions of rural families, the profiles of displaced persons, the destruction of the rural educational system and the psychological impact of the conflict on children have been documented. The labouring situations of girl carpet factory workers and street children are well known, if not extensively documented.

However, a number of notable, and perhaps unexpected, conclusions can be drawn from the study. The inadequate response of many urban-focused NGOs – excepting the gatekeeper NGOs who supported the study – to the needs of labouring children was surprising, considering the vast amount of funding and publicity provided by donor partners in Nepal over the last 15 years. The majority of the many NGOs screened at the beginning of the study appeared to be lacking direct personal involvement with labouring children. Few conducted outreach activities and few were attentive to the presence or needs of internally displaced children among their target population.

The study challenged the somewhat dramatic assumption that much of child IDP migration is made up of children separated from their families and travelling unaided in a hostile environment, prey to abusers and traffickers. The majority of children travelled with family or persons from the same village, went directly to the destination and were provided support upon arrival. Exploitative labour agents and traffickers were not reported. Although some of the children indeed travelled at risk and definitely needed support and protection, the majority of children and their families did not appear to need 'safe migration' interventions. Family and village networks supported the children well during migration, although the support from these networks weakened after the children arrived at their destination. The problems of children appeared to be most significant at the source and destination rather than during the migration process.

The study also challenged the assumption that families, in their fear and desperation due to the conflict, are careless in placing their children in labour situations. A highly complex system of work placement was revealed – although not detailed – in the study. While

protection concerns appeared to be paramount, families were also motivated to place their children, particularly girls, as wage-earners. Many of the children were sent to work situations with established linkages to the family or village. In the case of carpet workers, for example, children entered long-established working relationships between carpet factories and individual families and villages. Thus, it is not certain, as assumed, that children entering urban labour due to the conflict are invariably more exploited than children who enter for other reasons.

While the majority of the working situations were exploitative, the study found no obvious risk factors – with the exception of those for girls working in carpet factories – which would result in girls and boys entering worse circumstances, such as being trafficked, entering prostitution, or entering slavery-like labour situations. Employers exploited the children's labour and frequently deprived them of basic needs, but there was little evidence of more extreme danger to the children.

Both disturbing and reassuring data emerged regarding children's labour situations. The level of verbal and corporal punishment of labouring children was much higher than expected. As well, the amount of social discrimination against labouring children was extreme, and was noted by many children. At the same time, all children, except street children, appeared to receive adequate nutrition and most came to their employment with some education and a wish to enrol in school, although this was not always granted by their employers.

In terms of releasing children from child labour, perhaps the most disturbing finding of the study was that a small percentage of children wanted to return home. This finding, coupled with the low percentage of working children who lived with close family members, means that many children, if 'freed' from child labour, would be without any means of support and protection from caring adults – and may be at greater risk than if they stayed in the workplace. This uncomfortable conclusion must be considered in planning interventions on behalf of working IDP children.

Background

In 1996, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) announced the 'People's War' against the government of Nepal. Today, the armed conflict affects all 75 districts of the country and has resulted in over 13,000 deaths. The number of people displaced by the conflict is unknown, but likely exceeds 150,000 to 200,000 people. The displacement of Nepalis by the conflict has followed basic patterns of economic rural out-migration prevalent in the country for many years: either to major cities and the southern Terai belt within Nepal, or to India. This study focused on those who have migrated within Nepal due to the armed conflict, thus referred to as internally displaced persons.

> Internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters and who have not crossed an internally recognized State border.
>
> - Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1998

Three profiles of internally displaced persons can be identified. The core thrust of the Maoist insurgency has been against government officials, local party members and affluent landowners whom the Maoists believe have failed to provide open governance and basic rights to the people as expected after the establishment of a multi-party system in 1990. Consequently, those persons have been directly threatened and targetted by Maoist forces. Significant to this IDP population is the fact that the vast majority are from the Brahmin/Chettri ethnic group, which has long dominated landholding, government service and political power in Nepal (more than 90% of government servants were of Brahmin/Chettri ethnicity prior to 1990, and the percentage increased during the rule of the 'democratically-elected' parties). The displacement of people of Brahmin/Chettri ethnicity is reflected in the ethnicities of the children investigated in this study.

The second and largest group of internally displaced persons are the 'collateral victims' of the armed conflict, primarily poor villagers who have fled their homes due to general insecurity, degradation of the local economy and services, food scarcity, fear of abduction by the Maoists, or fear of harassment and violence by either the Maoists or the government's security forces (including the national police, Armed Police Force and Nepalese Army). This group includes a wide range of rural castes and ethnicities. The internal displacement of villagers has not been chaotic and random, however. These IDPs have generally followed routes already established by rural-to-urban labour migration, settling in destinations and finding employment with the assistance of already-migrated family and community members.

The third group of IDPs due to the armed conflict are youth, primarily boys and young men above the age of 12. These youth have fled due to fear of abduction and recruitment by Maoist forces or fear of harassment and violence by Maoists or security forces (or both). While many of these young men appear to have migrated to India, many have fled to Nepal's major cities, particularly those in the Kathmandu Valley.

Children, naturally, are included in all three groups of IDPs, and this is demonstrated in this study. Throughout the armed conflict, the Maoist forces have directly targeted children, both boys and girls. Hundreds of school children have been abducted from schools for political indoctrination, many have been forcibly recruited as soldiers into the Maoist army, and many have been used as informants, porters, message carriers and weapons smugglers. These latter children have thus faced pressure, and sometimes torture and violence, from both Maoists and security forces, being suspected of allegiance to 'the other side.' Children have also suffered from the social and economic disruption caused by the conflict, including the psychological impact of seeing family and community members killed or tortured, destruction of protecting family units, illness due to malnutrition and lack of health services, cessation of their education, and in some documented cases among girls, sexual abuse from either Maoists or security forces. While many older family members have stayed in the villages in an attempt to protect their property, families have sent many children away for their safety. In this study, the majority of girls and two fifths of the boys had been sent to the cities by their families.

Rationale

The focus of this study was determined by an analysis of primary gaps in research regarding Nepali children affected and/or displaced by the armed conflict. The general areas of research are illustrated in Annex I. Areas of Investigation Regarding the Displacement of Children by the Armed Conflict in Nepal.

The supporting partners of the study sought recommendations for actions to address the situation of children within Nepal, rather than those who migrated or intended to migrate outside the country, who had been covered by other research (refer to Annex III. Bibliography). Because the armed conflict limited both field research and interventions in rural areas of the country, and in light of the considerable rural-to-urban migration due to the conflict, it was decided to focus on children displaced to urban centres.

Among those children who had arrived in urban centres, it was decided that the research would focus on those who had entered the worst forms of child labour, as defined by International Labour Organization Convention No. 182. As of the initiation of the study, little research had been conducted regarding Nepali children in the worst forms of child labour as a result of the conflict, with the exception of girls who had entered the entertainment sector (dance bars and cabin restaurants).

ILO Convention No. 182

For the purposes of this Convention, the term *the worst forms of child labour* comprises:

a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;

b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;

c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;

d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

Objectives

The objectives of the study were to:

1. Identify concentrations of internally displaced children in the worst forms of child labour in urban areas of Nepal
2. Investigate these children's reasons for migration, knowledge of migration destinations, and risk/protection factors during migration
3. Assess the state of internally displaced children in the worst forms of child labour in terms of personal vulnerabilities, social 'safety nets' and external risk factors
4. Recommend ways to:
   - prevent internally displaced children from entering the worst forms of child labour
   - protect, support and, when necessary, withdraw children presently in the worst forms of child labour, and
   - prevent those children from entering situations of greater hardship (debt servitude, prostitution, trafficking, etc.)

Conceptual Framework

Several assumptions underlie the conceptual framework of this study:

- The present conflict causes dislocation of many children from their families and home support systems, placing these children in situations of vulnerability.
- Many of these children have migrated or are presently migrating from their home areas to other parts of the country and out of Nepal.
- In the act of migration and at temporary or longer-term destinations, many children are without a 'safety net' of family, friends and community.

- Due to personal vulnerability, the absence of a 'safety net' and external risk factors, many internally displaced children enter the worst forms of child labour, and are either at risk of exploitation and abuse in the workplace or entering situations of greater abuse or hardship.

Thus, the study focused on investigating three areas that determine the well-being or exploitation of internally displaced children:

- personal vulnerability factors: age, sex, education, social status
- family, community and institutional 'safety nets': presence of supporting and protecting family members, friends, employers, responsible adults or institutions; and fulfilment of basic living needs by family, employer, other persons, institutions or the children themselves
- external risk factors: presence of exploitative labour agents, traffickers, abusers, etc.; negative influences leading to substance abuse, crime, violence or unwilling or underaged sex; and other risks of entering worse working situations (such as prostitution, forced labour, etc.)

In order to protect and support children in the worst forms of child labour, the recommendations based on the study data are thus focused on reducing personal vulnerability and enhancing resiliency, creating and strengthening safety nets, and protecting children from external risk factors.

Study Design and Methodology

The present study was carried out in three phases: a) preparatory activities, b) reconnaissance visits and consultation meetings, and c) survey.

Preparatory activities, and identification of 'gatekeeper' support

In the preparatory activities phase, the study team conducted a literature review on the situation of adult and child IDPs in Nepal. The team prepared lists of national and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) working with children in urban areas considered to have a high concentration of IDP children. The organizations were screened through telephone and email about their current projects aimed at ameliorating the conditions of labouring children, particularly IDP children.

During this phase, a series of meetings with the donor partners (Terre des hommes Foundation and members of the Save the Children Alliance) was organized to discuss the study design and methodology. The donor partners provided input on the selection of the study sites, child labour organizations that could be contacted in each site, and ethical considerations to be observed by the field researchers while interviewing IDP children.

Six urban areas were preliminarily assessed for: a) the presence of IDP working children; and b) the presence of NGOs that were actively working with working children and could provide 'gatekeeper' support to the study team, including access to working children. Because of the logistical challenges and limited time/budget, field researchers could not contact all target children on their own, and access through 'gatekeepers' was necessary.

The urban areas included: the Kathmandu Valley, Nepalgunj, Biratnagar, Butwal/Bhairahawa, Birgunj and Pokhara. The number of NGOs preliminarily identified were approximately: 40 in the Kathmandu Valley; 25 in Nepalgunj; 19 in Biratnagar (including neighbouring Itahari and Dharan); 17 in Butwal/Bhairahawa; five in Birgunj; and ten in Pokhara. Of these, some organizations could not be contacted, and many, although working with working children, had few or no IDP children in their programme. Notably, many NGOs who professed to be working extensively with working children, upon closer examination had little actual contact with children. In all, it was difficult to find a sufficient number of NGOs (four or five per city were required by the study) actively working with working children in any of the urban areas.

The Kathmandu Valley, Pokhara and Biratnagar (and adjoining areas) were chosen as the target urban areas. Available information showed that Birgunj, Butwal/Bhairahawa and Nepalgunj were not feasible for the study as these cities either had too few NGOs working directly with working children or lacked NGOs sufficiently engaged with IDP children to provide adequate access.

Reconnaissance visits and consultation meetings

Reconnaissance visits were carried out by the study team in the three urban areas selected for the study. In each city, local stakeholders (NGO and INGO staff and government officials) were contacted for the purpose of soliciting information on the internally displaced population in the city over the last three years and identifying local concentrations of IDP children.

Twenty types of labour situations were listed by the NGOs for the three cities: 12 in Kathmandu, 11 in Pokhara and 16 in Biratnagar. Table 1.1 shows the labour situations in which IDP children were engaged in each study city.

Consultation meetings were organized with district-based NGOs, INGOs and government officials in order to identify the four to five most exploitative forms of child labour for examination in the study. Forms of child labour were ranked by the participants according to perceived level of exploitation, using ‘Severity Rating’ exercises. Meetings were held in Pokhara and Biratnagar. An insufficient number of NGOs working with working children

Table 1.1 Primary child labour situations identified by stakeholders working with working children in Kathmandu, Biratnagar and Pokhara

S.N.	Labour situation	Kathmandu	Biratnagar	Pokhara
1.	Domestic worker	X	X	X
2.	Street child/rag picker	X	X	X
3.	Carpet factory worker	X		
4.	Tea stall worker	X	X	X
5.	Restaurant worker	X	X	X
6.	Cabin restaurant worker	X		
7.	Masseur	X		
8.	Brick kiln worker	X	X	
9.	Transport worker	X	X	X
10.	Stone breaker	X	X	X
11.	Mechanic helper	X	X	X
12.	Porter	X	X	X
13.	Construction worker		X	X
14.	Hotel/lodge worker		X	
15.	Factory worker		X	X
16.	Vegetable seller		X	
17.	Rickshaw puller		X	
18.	Vehicle cleaner		X	
19.	Goods carrier		X	
20.	Boat operator			X

were available in the Kathmandu Valley to provide reliable severity ratings for child labour situations. A composite table was prepared on the basis of the weighted score allotted to each labour situation. The composite table identified the most exploitative IDP child labour situations, as indicated in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 Most exploitative forms of IDP child labour in two urban areas of Nepal, as ranked by local stakeholders

Ranking	Pokhara	Biratnagar
1.	Domestic worker	Domestic worker
2.	Tea stall worker	Stone breaker
3.	Street child/ rag picker	Tea stall worker
4.	Stone breaker	Restaurant worker
5.	Mechanic helper	

Street children (rag pickers) were purposively selected in view of their highly vulnerable situation. Children in prostitution or in the entertainment sector (dance bars and cabin restaurants) were purposively not selected for the study, for two reasons: a) other studies had recently examined the situation of such children (and adults) in Nepal ; and b) protection and confidentiality concerns for such children require the use of specialized instruments, training of field researchers and interview methodologies as well as additional time in the interview process, and these were not possible within the study timeframe and budget.

At the consultation meetings, the study team discussed with local stakeholders the general situations of IDP working children, ways that these children could be approached at their workplace or at venues where they receive non-formal education or life skills, and protection and confidentiality considerations. The study team identified 'gatekeeper' NGOs with whom CREHPA could coordinate the study and access the children. Criteria for the selection of 'gatekeeper' NGOs included: a) actively working with IDP children; b) ability to provide protected access to the children; c) addressing the identified forms of exploitative child labour; and d) serving an adequate number of IDP children for the study sample. The NGOs providing 'gatekeeper' support are presented in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3 NGOs providing gatekeeper support

S.N.	Kathmandu	Pokhara	Biratnagar
1.	CDS	PCCI	Nari Bikash Sangh
2.	CWISH	CWSN	UPCA
3.	Sath Sath	GONESA	FNCCI
4.	CPCS	CDF	FOHREn
5.		Gandaki Auto Mechanic Works Association	RRN

Survey

The study employed both qualitative and quantitative research techniques. The qualitative assessment tools included in-depth interviews, narrative focus group discussions (NFGD) and focused ethnographic study (free-listing, free pile sorts and rating exercises), while the quantitative research tool consisted of semi-structured individual interviews.

Study Sites and Sample

Study sites

The study focused on three urban sites: the Kathmandu Valley, Pokhara and Biratnagar (and nearby municipalities). The Kathmandu Valley is the largest urban area of the country, and includes the cities of Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur, as well as smaller towns. The industrial city of Biratnagar is the second largest urban area of the country. Due to the lack of NGOs actively working with IDP working children in Biratnagar, the Biratnagar site also covered neighbouring Itahari and Dharan municipalities. Pokhara is a popular tourist destination, geographically close to areas of Nepal with high impact from the armed conflict. Although the study originally intended to cover four urban areas (particularly including Nepalgunj, a focus of IDP migration), all other cities were dropped from the list due to low

Table 1.4 Labour situations covered in Kathmandu, Pokhara and Biratnagar

S.N.	Kathmandu	Pokhara	Biratnagar
1.	Domestic worker	Domestic worker	Domestic worker
2.	Street child/ rag picker	Tea stall worker	Stone breaker
3.	Carpet factory worker	Street child/ rag picker	Tea stall worker
4.	Transport worker	Stone breaker	Restaurant worker
5.	Tea stall worker	Mechanic helper	
6.		Transport worker	

coverage of IDP children by NGOs. In the short timeframe of the study, access to the sample of IDP working children without NGO assistance was not possible.

Study respondents

The study covered IDP children in five labour situations in Kathmandu, six in Pokhara and four in Biratnagar (Table 1.4). Boys and girls aged ten through 17 years and engaged in these labour situations were contacted for the interviews. Children under ten years of age were not covered in the present study.

Sampling design

The study respondents were purposively selected with the help of the gatekeeper organizations. These organizations primarily addressed children through the provision of non-formal education (NFE) classes, life skills classes and awareness activities. Children who were currently attending NFE classes were accessed with the help of the NFE facilitators, while children working in other labour situations were contacted through outreach workers of the gatekeeper NGOs. In some cases, the NGOs had insufficient outreach to access children, and consequently children were contacted directly by the field researchers. These children included mechanic helpers, tea stall workers and street children (rag pickers).

Sample performance

A total of 413 IDP children (267 boys and 146 girls) were covered by individual semi-structured interviews in the three study sites (Table 1.5). Of these, 64 children (41 boys and 23 girls) also provided in-depth interviews to explore their safety nets and working

Table 1.5 Number of IDP working children covered in each urban area, by research tool administered

Study site	Semi-structured interview			In-depth interview			Narrative focus group discussion		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Kathmandu	89	52	141	12	8	20	5	3	8
Pokhara	84	54	138	16	8	24	5	3	8
Biratnagar	94	40	134	13	7	20	4	2	6
Total	267	146	413	41	23	64	14	8	22

Table 1.6 Distribution of respondents by type of labour situation and by study site

Labour situation	Kathmandu			Pokhara			Biratnagar		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Domestic worker	14	15	29	5	35	40	20	20	40
Carpet factory worker	13	37	50	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transport worker	20	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-
Street child/ rag picker	31	-	31	28	-	28	-	-	-
Tea stall worker	11	-	11	11	9	20	13	1	14
Restaurant worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	41	-	41
Mechanic helper	-	-	-	30	-	30	-	-	-
Stone breaker	-	-	-	10	10	20	19	20	39
Total	89	52	141	84	54	138	94	40	134

situations in greater depth. As well, 98 of the 413 children gathered in groups for a total of 22 narrative focus group discussions (14 groups of boys and eight groups of girls).

Children engaged as domestic workers comprised the largest segment of the semi-structured interview samples (109), followed by street children (59), stone breakers (59) and carpet factory workers (50) (Table 1.6). In the sample, the number of girls outnumbered those of boys in domestic labour (70 girls vs. 39 boys) and carpet factory work (37 girls vs. 13 boys), while all of the restaurant workers, transport workers, mechanic helpers and street children (rag pickers) in the sample were boys. The number of boys and girls was roughly equal among the stone breakers (30 girls vs. 29 boys). Carpet factory workers and transport workers were sampled from Kathmandu only, restaurant workers from Biratnagar only, and mechanic helpers from Pokhara only. The remaining labour categories were represented in all three study sites.

Table 1.7 Distribution of respondents by type of labour situation and by research tool

Labour situation	Semi-structured interview			In-depth interview			Narrative focus group discussion		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Domestic worker	40	69	109	8	12	20	2	4	6
Carpet factory worker	13	37	50	3	5	8	1	2	3
Transport worker	20	-	20	-	-	-	1	-	1
Street child/rag picker	59	-	59	11	-	11	4	-	4
Tea stall worker	36	9	45	3	2	5	-	-	-
Restaurant worker	41	-	42	4	-	4	2	-	2
Mechanic helper	30	-	30	6	-	6	2	-	2
Stone breaker	29	30	59	6	4	10	2	2	4
Total	268	145	413	41	23	64	14	8	22

Research Instruments and Interviewing Strategy

Semi-structured interviews, in-depth interviews and narrative focus group discussions were organized with the assistance of gatekeeper NGOs to ensure the protection, confidentiality and trust of the chil d respondents (Table 1.7).

The interviews were conducted in NFE classes, NGO premises and in rooms and grounds with adequate privacy. To create a positive environment for the interviews, the researchers spent considerable time building rapport with the children by singing songs, telling jokes and playing games.

Individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with every child in each of the labour categories. These interviews were conducted mainly to explore their reasons for migration, knowledge of migration destination, the risk factors taking place during migration and their safety nets at destination.

In-depth interviews were conducted with 64 of the same children to explore exploitative labour situations in more detail. Respondents were selected for in-depth interviews if the semi-structured interviews indicated that they lacked an adequate safety net or had been exposed to significant forms of exploitation such as long working hours, low salary, physical punishment or a hazardous working environment.

Narrative focus group discussions were used to generate information and seek group consensus about exploitative conditions, risk factors and vulnerability. The NFGD was a focussed discussion tool based on an imaginary story between a child (named Saila for boys' groups and Saili for girls' groups) who was in an exploitative labour situation. The objectivity granted by an imaginary story allowed the children to freely express their opinions and ideas about child labour without placing focus on their own personal situation. Narrative focus group discussions with tea stall workers could not be organized as these children could not get time free from their work, and no NGOs were providing group activities in which these children came together in a group.

Training and Fieldwork

The field team members received ten days of intensive training at CREHPA prior to entering the field. During the first three days of training, experts on child participation methodologies from the Save the Children Alliance provided guidance and sensitization sessions on gender issues and on protection and confidentiality considerations for children in vulnerable situations. During these days, field team members were instructed in child-friendly ice-breaking and interview tools, such singing songs, telling jokes, playing games and

visual methods of collecting information through 'cut-and-tell' and 'draw-and-tell' stories. The remainder of the training period was devoted to discussion of the study's conceptual framework, objectives and guidelines, review of the instruments, and role-play and mock interview exercises.

Three field teams were formed for the study, each team comprised of one Field Coordinator and four field researchers (two male and two female researchers). The fieldwork was carried out from 21 July to 30 September, 2005. First, all three teams jointly conducted the fieldwork in the Kathmandu Valley in order to share experiences from the field and make collective decisions on interview strategies. Following the first round of fieldwork in the Kathmandu Valley, two teams began the fieldwork in Pokhara and Biratnagar respectively. The third team completed the fieldwork activities in Kathmandu and then joined the other teams in Pokhara and Biratnagar.

Data Management and Analysis

The quantitative data (semi-structured interviews) were manually edited and coded before data entry. Data were entered in dBase IV and then transferred into SPSS. Frequency and cross tabulations were the main quantitative outputs for the present analysis. The qualitative data derived from in-depth interviews and NFGDs were manually examined and analysed. A report presentation (chapterization) plan formed the guidelines for analysis and report preparation.

Protection and Ethical Considerations

The study was conducted according to the ethical and protection guidelines presented in the following documents:

- Terre des hommes Foundation: *Child Protection Policy* and *Code of Conduct for Field Workers and Researchers*
- Save the Children Federation: *Child Safety Policy*
- World Health Organization: *WHO Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Interviewing Trafficked Women*

Field researchers were trained in these guidelines, and in protection and confidentiality procedures for interviewing children in vulnerable situations. Response procedures were clarified in case a child reported to the field researchers an incident of sexual abuse, trafficking or physical abuse. Risk factors for the child during the interview process – that is, situations such as threat or external observation in which the child should not be interviewed – were clarified. The instruments were reviewed for questions that might possibly

traumatize or endanger the child, such as involvement of the child's family in the armed conflict. In-depth interviews were preceded by Witnessed Verbal Informed Consent Procedures.

Constraints and Limitations

- The study was carried out in collaboration with gatekeeper organizations and the researchers had to rely on these NGOs for access to the working children. The fieldwork was delayed in situations where the gatekeepers could not give sufficient time to contact the respondents.
- NFE classes conducted by NGOs were a primary venue for access to working children. Most of the NFE classes phased out during the fieldwork, and field researchers needed to take time to contact the respondents at their residences.
- Due to their workload, children working in carpet factories did not have sufficient time to talk with the researchers.
- Although child tea stall workers were ranked by the NGOs as among the most highly exploited of all working children, no NGOs were working directly with child tea stall workers (some NGOs were contacting them occasionally to provide 'awareness', although the children said that the NGOs provided no support or helpful information). Therefore the field researchers had to seek out and access these children on their own. Access to the respondents in this labour situation was difficult and the target sample could not be achieved in all three cities.
- Problems were faced while accessing children working in restaurants as it was difficult to convince the employers to provide them time for interviews.

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1 Save the Children Norway. (2005). A Study on the Influence of the Conflict on Girls and Women Entering the Sex Trade. (Preliminary draft.) Kathmandu: Save the Children Norway.

2 ibid.

CHAPTER 2

Findings

Summary of Key Findings

Background characteristics

- The majority of children interviewed were from major hill ethnic communities (Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Sherpa, Magar, Gurung), followed by Brahmin/Chettri communities.
- Very few of the children interviewed were from marginalized castes.
- The majority of the children had received primary education or higher prior to displacement.
- Nearly one fifth of the working children had attended Class 6 or above.

Factors governing internal displacement

- Three quarters of the children interviewed came from seriously conflict-affected districts of Nepal.
- More than one half of the children interviewed stated Maoist problems, among other reasons, to be the reason why they migrated.
- Nearly one half of the children interviewed stated home economic problems, among other reasons, to be the reason why they migrated.
- Decision to leave home was made by family members for two thirds of the children.
- Almost all girls and three fourths of the boys travelled to their destination with family members or persons from the same village.
- Most frequently, relatives and persons from the same village helped children find employment.

Basic needs

- One fifth of the boys and three fifths of the girls were attending formal or non-formal education classes at the time of the study.
- Almost all children had access to medicines through their employers, but few had access to health care services.
- All children interviewed received regular and adequate meals, with the exception of street children.
- Sanitation, space and comfort were lacking in the physical living situations of almost all children.

The workplace

- The majority of both boys and girls described their work situation as good or average.
- Scolding and corporal punishment were most frequently mentioned as a reason for disliking the work situation.
- Girls working in domestic service and in carpet factories reported sexual and verbal harassment from males.
- Most of the children interviewed worked long hours, girls on an average of 11 hours per day and boys on an average of nine hours per day.
- Many children received no payment for their work, particularly domestic workers and mechanic helpers.
- One half of the girls and one fourth of the boys worked to provide monetary support to their families.
- Of the working situations investigated, carpet factories had the most health risks.
- The most frequently perceived problem in the workplace was lack of sleeping place, followed by verbal and physical abuse.
- Children perceived the employer to be the source of most of their problems in the workplace, including verbal and physical abuse, forced labour and poor wages.

Safety net and external risk factors

- Only one third of the girls and one fourth of the boys lived with their parents, spouses or other close family members.
- More than one half of the girls lived with their employers.
- One half of the girls and two thirds of the boys had no relatives or fellow villagers in their workplace.
- Although the majority of children had relatives or acquaintances in the same city, these persons provided little contact and support.
- One third of the boys and one fourth of the girls received no support from their employers (food, shelter, clothing, health care, education).
- Children identified family members as the primary source of support in times of difficulty, followed by employers.

- With the exception of street children, almost no children reported NGOs to be sources of support during difficulties.
- Almost all children reported that they confronted no negative influences because they had neither free time nor mobility to recreate with friends or members of the opposite sex.

Future aspirations

- One half of the boys and almost two thirds of the girls intended to remain in their present jobs.
- The most prevalent reasons for leaving the work situation were excessive workload, verbal or physical abuse by the employer, and lack of payment for work.
- More than one half of all girls reported excessive workload as the reason they wanted to leave their jobs.
- The most common reasons cited by children for remaining in their current jobs were liking their work situation and having no work alternatives.
- Difficulties of returning home and fear of Maoists were rarely reported as reasons for remaining in the current job.
- Most children expressed an intention to remain in the city where they were presently working.
- Only one in four girls and one in seven boys desired to return to their homes.
- Of respondents who knew the destinations of other children who had left the work-place, nearly one in five reported that boys who left had migrated out of Nepal.

General Findings

Background characteristics of the working children

The study focused on children from ten to 18 years of age. While a relatively even age distribution was found in most labour situations, young children from ten to 12 years were significantly present in three of the labour situations with the highest levels of vulnerability and risk, and/or lack of safety nets. Young children accounted for half of those in stone quarry work (with a high level of workplace injuries), two fifths in rag picking (with high levels of personal vulnerability, extremely poor living conditions and high external risk factors), and one third of domestic workers (with inadequate social safety nets and protection).

The castes and ethnicities of the children illustrated the caste-directed offensive of the Maoist insurgency as well as traditional economic responses of certain populations of Nepal. As expected, children from the major hill ethnicities dominated the working child population, particularly in occupations such as carpet factory labour which have tradition-ally drawn their workers from hill ethnic groups. Notably, nearly as many boy children

were from Brahmin/Chettri castes, which have been extensively targetted by the Maoists in rural areas. The percentage of Brahmin/Chettri children among IDP working children far exceeded the percentage of Brahmins/Chettris in the general population of the country. Children from marginalized castes, generally considered to comprise a high proportion of migrant child labourers, were relatively few, particularly those from the southern Terai districts.

The study examined the level of the children's education prior to their displacement. The majority of children had received primary education or higher prior to displacement, and notably nearly one fifth of the children had attended Class 6 or above, indicating a severe disruption of children's education in the conflict areas. Those with the highest levels of education were predominantly older Brahmin/Chettri boys working in restaurants and as mechanics, who had fled or been sent away from the conflict for fear of forced induction into the Maoist army or retribution by either Maoist or security forces.

Factors governing internal displacement

The study used the article 'IDPs in Nepal: Most Affected Districts' from the *INSEC Human Rights Yearbook 2004* as the basis for differentiating between districts that were either moderately or seriously affected by the conflict. The study showed that three quarters of the children came from seriously conflict-affected districts. More than one half of the children stated that Maoist problems, among other reasons, was the cause of their migration. Nearly one half attributed home economic problems, among other reasons, as the cause of their migration. The extent to which these economic problems are a direct result of the conflict could not be determined, although other studies indicate severe disruption of rural economies, particularly in seriously conflict-affected areas. A small but notable number of children migrated because they had been abandoned by their families. Whether this abandonment is due to the conflict or other reasons is not clear. However, a significant lack of family care and support is indicated and requires further investigation.

> **Q. How did you come to this place?**
> A. I was living in my village with my parents. At that time I was studying in Class 6. The Maoists abducted me and my other friends. They kept us for four or five days. At midnight, we ran away and returned to our homes, but we could not stay there. Our parents sent us with our cousin-brother to a safe place where we did not have to be scared by the Maoists. Then he brought us directly to Biratnagar.
> girl domestic worker, 12 years old

It is clear from the study that the majority of the families of these working children took concrete steps to protect their children from the conflict by arranging their placement in work situations in Nepal's urban areas. In two thirds of the

cases, families unilaterally made the decision for their children to migrate. The great majority of children travelled directly from their homes to the urban destination, and the majority were aware of that destination at the time they migrated. Almost all families provided protection to their children en route, sending them to the cities accompanied by family members or persons from the same village. It should be noted, however, that neither village acquaintances nor distant relatives necessarily provide the support and protection to a child that is provided by close family members. Almost all the girls and three fourths of the boys travelled accompanied by someone they knew. As expected, those who travelled alone were primarily older boys.

In the cities, relatives and persons from the same village most often placed the child in the work situation. In some cases, such as stone quarry work, entire families migrated together for employment. In other cases, such as carpet factory labour, children entered workplaces with long-existing presence of family members or fellow villagers. Children were not always knowledgeable of the work they would perform at the time of their migration, however. Approximately one half of the girls and three quarters of the boys had no prior knowledge of the work they would engage in.

Fulfilment of basic needs in the labour situation

The study investigated the basic needs of IDP working children, including education, health care, nutrition and physical living conditions. These needs were addressed from several sources: family members and those sharing the child's residence, employers, governmental and non-governmental organizations, and the children themselves. Overall, it was found that many of the children's needs were not addressed, depending considerably upon the labour situation. Family members and employers attended to the majority of those needs that were addressed, followed by the children themselves. With the exception of the NGOs who provided gatekeeper support to the study, organizations performed poorly in addressing the needs of IDP working children.

Nearly three times more girls than boys were attending formal or non-formal education. While nearly two thirds of girl children were attending school, only one fifth of the boys were doing so. The large number of boys not attending school greatly consisted of older boys working and living semi-independently. Notably, many these boys were those who came from the village with the highest education, indicating a disruption of these children's educational track. Lack of interest was the most frequent reason for non-attendance cited by boys, and economic obligation to the family was the most frequent reason cited by girls. Lack of time to study due to work was nearly as common, and was cited by both girls and boys.

> **Q. Who provides your food, shelter and other basic needs in this city?**
> A. I do not have anyone other than my employer. My employer gives me food and a place to live. His family gives me whatever they eat. They do not discriminate against me for food.
> boy tea stall worker, 14 years old

Few of the children had access health care services, although almost all were provided 'medicines' by the employers if they were sick. The efficacy of medical care through pharmaceuticals prescribed by employers or local pharmacists is questionable and a number of diseases and ailments, such as tuberculosis and intestinal parasites, are likely not attended to. Notably, due to their association with NGOs, street children (rag pickers) had the most access to formal health care services. Health care provided by NGOs for other working children was not reported. The nutritional status of the children was not formally assessed in the study. However, it was found that almost all children were provided with an adequate quantity, if not quality, of food, viz. two meals a day plus tiffin. Only rag pickers appeared to be lacking sufficient nutrition.

The living conditions of all children were poor, generally lacking sanitation, space and even rudimentary comforts. Some children, like stone breakers, lived with their families in simple dwellings. While domestic servants worked in houses with adequate amenities, they were usually provided poor and often demeaning accommodation, such as under the staircase or outside the house. Many children slept inside the shop where they worked or in attached accommodations, sharing their space with adult workers. The level of protection for girl children from sexual abuse in these environments was not assessed, but could be considered low.

The children's situation in the workplace

Although the study found most of the children's workplace situations to be poor, the children themselves proved remarkably tolerant. The majority of both boys and girls described their work situation as good or average. It is not clear whether this indicates an improvement over their situation in the village, a reluctance to complain or a high tolerance for discomfort. At the same time, when asked what they liked about their work situation, the children were unable to provide many answers. On the other hand, when asked about things they didn't like, their answers were abundant. Notably, scolding and corporal punishment were most frequently mentioned as a reason for disliking the work situation. As well, many children reported that their employers expected them to work without pay.

Investigation of the working hours and remuneration of child labourers indicates severe and unequivocal exploitation. With few exceptions, the children worked long hours, girls on average of 11 hours per day and boys on average of nine hours per day. The most exploitative labour situations in terms of working hours were carpet factory labour and tea stall labour, with the majority of these children working more than 13 hours per day. Many children received no payment for their work, particularly domestic workers and mechanic helpers. Nearly one third of the boys and girls earned 'no fixed amount', meaning that they earned according to either production or number of clients served. Thus children were forced to work long hours in order to earn sufficient income for their needs. At the same time, one half of the girls and one fourth of the boys worked to provide monetary support to their families. Surprisingly, one fourth of rag pickers reported that they sent money home to their families.

Q. How does your employer behave with you?
A. Our employer beats me and my friends every day with a stick. It does not make any difference to him whether we work well or not. He scolds us and we have to work continuously.
girl domestic worker, 16 years old

Regarding health problems in the workplace, it was found that about one half of the children's work situations indicated no significant health concerns. On the other hand, transport workers, carpet factory labourers and stone breakers conducted work in situations that would not be tolerable for either children or adults.

When asked about the types of problems encountered in the workplace, children most often attributed their problems directly to their employer, rather than to the physical situation, the work itself or their co-workers. Most frequently, children said that employers did not provide them decent places to sleep, and next frequently children said that employers often beat and scolded them. Forced labour and poor wages were also frequently reported by the children. Although direct questions about sexual abuse were not asked children for reasons of protection, a number of girls in

Q. Would you please tell me about your current working environment?
A. It is very bad.

Q. Why?
A. My uncle, who is my employer, often meets with his friends to play cards. I have to prepare food and tea for all of them. They drink alcohol, get drunk and make noise. My uncle has sexually harassed me. I feel very insecure in my current workplace.
girl domestic worker, 13 years old

carpet factories and domestic labour voluntarily reported attempted sexual abuse in their workplace.

Safety nets of protection and care for working children

In this study, it was assumed that the presence and potential support of family members or concerned adults in the living situation comprises a 'safety net' for children. This assumption is limited however, as extended family members may not adequately protect children, and employers can either protect or abuse children, depending on the individual employer. The study found that only one third of the girls and one fourth of the boys lived with their parents, spouses or other close family members. More than one half of the girls lived with their employers. While some employers might provide a child with security, others could abuse or exploit a child in the relative isolation of the workplace, particularly domestic servants. Domestic servants, girl tea stall workers and boy rag pickers had the most inadequate safety nets in terms of accompaniment in their living situation, whereas a high percentage of girl carpet factory workers and boy and girl stone breakers lived with their family members.

Accompaniment in the workplace of family members and known persons from the same village was also assumed to provide a safety net for children. Here, quite inadequate safety nets were found. One half of the girls and two thirds of the boys had no relatives or fellow villagers in their workplace. While a high percentage of carpet factory workers worked with family members or persons from their village, studies and field observers have reported a high incidence of sexual abuse and trafficking of girls in carpet factories. The assumption that the presence of known persons in the workplace ensures protection for the child is inadequate and data need to be interpreted with care.

In the study design, it was also assumed that the presence of relatives or fellow villagers in the same city would provide a source of support for working children. This assumption proved to be incorrect. While the majority of children had relatives or acquaintances in the same city, these persons provided little contact and support.

> **Q. Do you have any relatives in the city?**
> A. I have one relative. I call her 'sister'. She also works as a domestic worker like me. I frequently meet her. We share our problems with each other but she is unable to support me for anything else.
> girl domestic worker, 15 years old

Employers appeared to be those who, while economically exploiting the children, provided them with the most physical support, including food, shelter, clothing, health care and education. Two thirds of the boys and three quarters of the girls received varying amounts of support from their employers. The

kinds of support least provided by employers were access to education and appropriate medical care.

To supplement the information on children's safety nets, the children were asked about the persons they would most likely go to if they had difficulties. Notably, children had a difficult time answering the questions, and almost all were incapable of naming more than two persons who would provide them support. Children identified family members as the primary source of support in times of difficulty, followed by employers. A significant percentage of girl carpet factory workers, tea stall workers and restaurant workers said they had no one to help them during difficulties. In terms of providing support to children in times of urgent need, governmental and non-governmental organizations did not show themselves well. With the exception of rag pickers, almost no children considered organizations to be a source of support if they had problems.

External risk factors for working children

The study attempted to assess factors outside the residence and workplace that could result in children's increased exploitation or abuse, involvement in drugs, crime, unwilling sex or violence, or entering worse working situations such as prostitution or other forced labour. These were termed 'external risk factors.' Generally, it was found that few children faced significant external risk factors. Families, employers and the children themselves arranged the entry into labour for all children, and labour agents were not mentioned. Investigation of children's knowledge of the departure of other children from the workplace, and their accompaniment and destinations, provided no data indicating the presence of traffickers.

> **Q. Are there people in this city whom you can share your problems with?**
> A. There is no one. I have some friends in the street but when I share my problems with them, they make fun of me. I have my grandfather in Boudha (outskirts of Kathmandu) but I don't like to visit him. When I go to meet him he scolds me, saying, 'You bad boy, you have ruined our reputation.' Organizations like Sath Sath and CWIN help me more than my relatives.
> boy rag picker, 17 years old

Notably, the primary 'protection' for children from external risk factors came not from family or employers, but from the children's long working hours and lack of mobility, which kept them away from negative influences. With the exception of girl carpet factory workers, about whom other studies have noted the problems of sexual abuse and trafficking, rag pickers were the only child labourers who faced significant external risks in their 'workplace.'

Q. Who gives you the worst problems?
A. Drug addicts.

Q. What types of problems do you have to face from drug addicts?
A. They snatch our money. If we refuse to give them money they will beat us. They throw away our collected rags. When we are sleeping they search our pockets and take all our money.

Q. How do you protect yourselves from them?
A. Sometimes we call older street boys from another location to help us. And sometimes we shout to call the army men who are nearby.
boy rag picker, 13 years old

Children's future aspirations

While many children did not like their working situations, most intended to stay. Boys showed more interest in seeking other employment and moving to other places than girls. One half of the boys and almost two thirds of the girls intended to remain in their present jobs.

The most common reasons cited by children for remaining in their current jobs were liking their work situation and having no work alternatives. Difficulties of returning home and fear of Maoists were rarely reported as reasons for remaining in the current job. The most prevalent reasons given by the children for leaving the work situation were excessive workload, verbal or physical abuse by the employer, and lack of payment for work. More than one half of all girls reported excessive workload as the reason they wanted to leave their job.

Children were not clear what they wanted to do if they left their jobs, and were vague about their desired destinations. Most children did not intend to return home, and most expressed an intention to remain in the city where they were presently working. Only one in four girls and one in seven boys desired to return to their homes. Travel difficulties and fear of Maoists were not prevalent reasons for staying in urban areas, and it can be supposed that many children who have been displaced by the present conflict will not return to village life once the conflict has ended.

Findings by Labour Situation

Domestic workers

The use of children as domestic servants is prevalent throughout Nepal and is distinguished by fact that domestic labourers work within the home and are difficult to access. Addressing child domestic labour is perplexing because a child in domestic service can

receive either substantial support or substantial abuse, depending entirely on the employer. Children both live and work within the confines of the home, and the study showed that some are provided with the greatest range of basic needs of all working children and receive the greatest protection and care. For other domestic labouring children, however, isolation from the outside community can hide myriad forms of exploitation and abuse, which might otherwise be tempered by community response. As well, working as a 'servant' in the home can give rise to daunting forms of discriminatory treatment, by employers' children as well as adults, that seriously damage the self-esteem of the child. Such treatment was widely noted by the domestic labourers interviewed.

Boy domestic workers

Boy domestic workers evenly covered the range of ages from ten to 18 years. Nearly one third were from Brahmin and Chettri castes. This may reflect the pressure by Maoists on Brahmin and Chettri families in the rural areas and the resulting placement of their boys in urban work situations. The findings may also reflect traditional economic relationships of rural families who are in a debt or tenancy situation with rural landlords who also own homes in urban Nepal. Often, these landlords place their tenants' children as domestic servants in their urban homes as part of the tenancy obligation. This tenancy obligation is possibly indicated by the fact that nearly one third of the boy domestic servants were from the southern Terai, where such tenant-landlord situations are prevalent. The largest percentage of Terai castes of any child labour situation was found among boy domestic labourers.

The majority of boy domestic labourers migrated from their homes because of family economic problems. The great majority knew about their urban destination prior to migration and travelled directly to the city. Unlike other children, many boy domestic labourers travelled with either neighbors or employers rather than relatives. One third knew the work they would do before they migrated, and a relatively high percentage of their jobs was organized by the employer rather than the family. These data show a high involvement of employers in the children's entry into work, and may indicate, once again, a relationship between rural tenants and urban-based landlords.

> **Q. How did you come to Biratnagar?**
> A. I used to go to school and graze cattle in my village. The local commander of the Maoist forces came to me during the Dashain holidays and said that he would return after Dashain to take me with him. So my parents told me to flee, and I and my cousin-brother left home at three in the morning on the day after Bhai Tika.
> boy domestic worker, 17 years old

Notably, following their employment in the city, boy domestic workers had the highest attendance in school of all children interviewed except their girl counterparts. This reflects the work of the gatekeeper NGOs who provided researchers access to the children, most of whom were interviewed at sites of NGO-run NFE classes. After transport workers, the highest percentage of children attending secondary school (Classes 9 and 10) were boy domestic labourers.

Boy domestic workers appeared to have a difficult time in their workplace. Except for rag pickers, more of these children rated their work situation as 'below average' than any other children. More than one third said that they were routinely scolded and beaten by their employers, the highest of such reporting for all children and three times the average of other boys. Boy domestic labourers received very poor pay. More than one third received no remuneration, making them the least remunerated of all children. The high percentage of domestic workers not receiving salaries may be due to their families placing them in a 'protected' situation in times of armed conflict, or it may be due to children being forced to satisfy their parents' tenancy obligation to the employer/landlord.

> **Q. What does your employer expect from you?**
> A. They expect me to work continuously without resting.
> boy domestic worker, 14 years old

These children had easier working hours than most other children, averaging 9.5 hours of labour per day, and received much more physical support in terms of food, clothing, shelter, medicine and education. At the same time, as domestic servants they had no family accompaniment in either the living or working situation, and were highly dependent upon their employers for help in times of difficulty. Nearly half of the boy children wished to leave their current job, about average for all children. Boy domestic workers ranked the highest, with tea stall workers, for stating verbal and physical punishment by the employer to be the primary reason for leaving their jobs. Among those who wanted to stay, one fifth expressed fear of abduction by the Maoists. Notably, more than one third of the boys – much more than any other children – said they would have an opportunity to study if they remained. This is a positive reflection on the NGOs working with boy domestic labourers.

Girl domestic workers

Girl domestic workers shared the same background characteristics as boy domestic labourers, including a high level of education prior to entering service. Notably, among reasons for migration, while many noted family economic and Maoist problems, girl domestic workers were among the most frequent of all children to say domestic violence.

These girls primarily migrated with family members although more of these girls than others came indirectly to the workplace, stopping in other destinations along the way. Most knew their final destination and about half knew they would be working as domestic servants. Girl domestic labourers had the highest percentage of all children who migrated with their employers – twice that of other girls – indicating, as with boys above, that employers played a significant role in the recruitment of their girl servants.

> **Q. How did you come to this city?**
> A. When I was studying in Class 2 in my village, the Maoists came two or three times to take me with them. As my parents did not allow them to do so, the Maoists threatened my parents that they would abduct me. So my parents sent me to Kathmandu with my maternal uncle.
> girl domestic worker, 13 years old

Employers provided more basic needs to girl domestic labourers than other employers provided to their child workers. Three quarters of the girl children interviewed were enrolled in school. Of all children who were not enrolled, girl domestic workers expressed the greatest inability to enrol due to lack of proper documentation, including birth registration and lack of educational certificates. While almost all girl domestic workers were provided shelter, most had strong objections to their living situation. Many claimed they were forced to sleep in uncomfortable parts of their employers' houses, such as on the veranda or under the stairs. Girl domestic servants, with boy domestic servants, most commonly spoke of verbal and physical abuse by their employers. Some reported attempted sexual abuse by members of the employer's family.

Despite these objections, girl domestic workers were the highest among all children to rate their work situation as 'good', nearly one half. They said they had opportunity to watch TV and read books, unique among all labouring children. At the same time, they complained that they were treated like inferiors, forced to work and frequently scolded or beaten. Their working hours were moderately high, averaging 11 hours per day, but their remuneration was nearly the lowest of all girls. One in six

> **Q. What problems do you face in your workplace?**
> A. I am forced to do loads of heavy work and if they find a minor mistake they scold me badly. I feel very bad. My maternal uncle and aunt live in the city. Sometimes I want to phone them and meet them but I am not allowed to talk on the phone. When I ask my employer if I can call my relatives, she scolds me saying, 'Why do you want to call them? Do you want to complain about me? You cannot talk to them.'
> girl domestic worker, 13 years old

received no remuneration at all. Continuing family contact with the employer was evident in the fact that children's wages were frequently paid directly to the families. Half of the girls said they sent money home to their families.

Girl domestic servants were the most isolated from family and village acquaintances of any children, thus having the poorest social safety nets. Of all children, they had the fewest known persons in the residence, the workplace or the city. While employers could provide protection and support, these girls had no recourse if the employer or members of the family abused or exploited the child. In times of difficulty, most girl domestic servants could only rely on their employers. Significantly, one in ten said they had no one to support them if they had difficulties.

About two thirds of the girls said they intended to remain in their present jobs. A high proportion, nearly one quarter, said they would leave only if told to do so by their parents. This, along with parents receiving wages, strongly indicates a direct and purposeful placing of girls in domestic service by parents. This link between the employer and the families is reinforced by the fact that, if leaving the job, one third said that they would return home – a far higher proportion than other children except for those in carpet factories. In all, girl domestic workers were not dissatisfied with their situation, and almost all said they wanted to remain in the job because they liked the situation and the employer.

Carpet factory labourers

The use of children in carpet factories in the Kathmandu Valley has been prevalent for approximately 35 years, since the inception of Nepal's carpet industry. However, the carpet industry differs significantly from others in the use of children because of the tradition of individual factories using entire families from particular villages as their workers. Almost all workers in carpet factories are of the hill ethnicities, predominantly Tamang. The relationship of specific villages and families with individual factories provides a certain amount of protection and support to the working children. At the same time, many of these same Tamang villages have been severely impacted by the trafficking of girls for prostitution, and other studies have indicated that trafficking also takes place from the carpet factories themselves.

> **Q. With whom do you live in this city?**
> A. With my cousin, aunt and uncle and other people from my village. The carpet factory that I work in is owned by my aunt and uncle. They are my distant relatives.
> girl carpet factory worker, 14 years old

The situation of working children in the carpet factories has been addressed by development organizations for the last 15 years, much longer than the situations of other working children. However, a significant lacuna should be noted in the development interventions on behalf of 'child carpet industry workers': almost all interventions have focused on child carpet *weavers*, and children who *spin* the yarn for the industry – a larger number of children – have been ignored. These children work in homes and small sweatshops that are much less visible than the weaving factories, and work in much poorer conditions at much lower wages. It remains for the development community to address the majority of exploited children in the carpet industry.

Boy carpet factory workers

Most of the boy carpet factory workers identified in the study were older children, 16 or 17 years of age. As expected, almost all came from hill ethnicities. A lower proportion were illiterate than children in most other labour situations. The reasons the children stated for their migration varied considerably. Many boys had followed the traditional path of their family members and fellow villagers to carpet factories, although many may have done so due to the Maoist insurgency. The proportion of boys to girls at the looms appears to be greater than it was a decade ago, although comparative data are not presently available.

Most boy carpet factory workers came directly to the job site, most knew of their destination and the majority – the highest proportion of all boys – were aware of the work they were to perform. None of these children travelled alone. All came accompanied, many by employers or village neighbors. A greater percentage of boy carpet workers were accompanied to their destination by employers than other boy labourers, likely due to strong traditional ties between the source villages and the factories as mentioned above.

Not all of the basic needs of boy carpet factory workers were adequately met. None were enrolled in school or NFE classes. When asked why they did not study, nearly two thirds said they had no time to study due to work obligations, a reason stated more often by boy carpet factory workers than by any other children.

Boy carpet factory labourers worked very long hours, averaging 13 hours a day. Their working hours were greater than any other working children studied, with the exception of girl carpet factory labourers. Their remuneration was adequate – for working children in Nepal – with the majority earning between 500 and 1,000 Nepali Rupees (NRs.) per month. Notably, boy carpet factory workers earned less than their girl counterparts. Regarding support received from employers, the proportion of boys receiving food, clothing, housing and medical treatment was about average for all children. However, the boys received no support for education.

Q. What don't you like about your current workplace?
A. It is better to work in the paddy field in the village than to work in a carpet factory. Anyone who works in a carpet factory will always be ill. We suffocate because of the dust from the wool. It gives us throat problems and we cough all the time. These problems will never be cured. It is worse in the summer because there are no windows in the workroom.
boy carpet factory worker, 15 years old

While the boys did not express great objections to their work situation, questions about health concerns in the workplace revealed extremely poor and unhealthy working conditions. Children expressed concern about their health, frequently mentioning respiratory problems from wool dust, aggravated by lack of windows and other ventilation in the weaving rooms. More than half of the boys said that they had respiratory problems and one third complained of burning noses and eye irritation from the wool dust.

The majority of boy carpet factory workers lived with family members and more than one quarter lived with other persons from the same village, by far the highest proportion of all children. As well, almost all the boys reported relatives or fellow villagers in the same workplace, again reflecting the traditional system of persons from the same families and communities working in the same carpet factory. Thus, boy carpet factory workers can be considered to have adequate, even strong, social safety nets. This is confirmed by almost half of the boys saying that they would go to family members in case of difficulty, the highest proportion of all children by far.

Although, with the exception of health concerns and lack of education, boy carpet factory labourers appear to have better working situations than many children, the great majority expressed a desire to leave their jobs, and almost half of them hoped to leave within a couple of months. The primary reasons given were the heavy workload and body pains resulting from the work, both reasons given more frequently than all other children. While eager to leave their jobs, boy carpet factory workers expressed the least desire of all children to remain in the same city. At the same time, they had the least clear ideas of their destinations when they left their work, with the largest proportion of all children saying they would go 'anywhere'. Notably, one in six of the boy carpet factory workers said they would like to go to India, a far higher proportion of any other children.

Girl carpet factory workers

Girl carpet factory workers were on average older than the children in the other labour situations investigated, nearly three quarters being 16 or 17 years of age. Nearly one in

ten were married. As with their boy counterparts, the majority were from hill ethnicities, primarily Tamang, although this group also had the highest proportion of Newar children of all groups, approximately one in seven. One in four girl carpet factory workers were illiterate when they came to the factories, the highest level of illiteracy of all children except girl tea stall workers.

While many girls reported that they migrated due to economic or Maoist problems, a high proportion migrated due to violence in the home. Surprisingly, a high proportion of girl carpet factory workers said that they themselves, not their families, made the decision to migrate. All of the girls came directly to the worksite, and all were accompanied, the majority by their families, indicating good protection during the migration process. More of these children than any others had prior knowledge of the work they would perform, which is understandable considering the traditional relationship of their families with the urban carpet industry.

More than one half of the girls were presently attending NFE classes, in contrast with the fact that no boys in the carpet factories were attending school. Among those who did not attend, more than one third said they had no time to attend due to work, the highest proportion of all girl child labourers who stated this reason. Notably, while boy carpet factory workers received adequate support from their employers in terms of basic needs, girl carpet factory workers received very poor support. Only one in six received food, almost none received medicines and none received education. One third of girl carpet factory workers said they received nothing at all. The reason for this disparity of support between boys and girls in unclear.

> **Q. How many persons live with you?**
> A. Altogether eight persons are living together. Expect one, all of them are my relatives. My aunt and uncle are my employers.
>
> **Q. Do you have any difficulty at your place of living?**
> A. Yes, all of us have to sleep in the same room and the room is very small.
> girl carpet factory worker, 14 years old

Girl carpet factory workers had the longest working hours of all children, averaging 13.7 hours of work per day. At the same time, they were the best paid of all girl children, with more than one third earning over 1,000 NRs. a month, and one in six earning between 2,000 and 3,000 NRs. a month. As noted above, girl weavers earned more than boys. One third said that they were paid ‘no fixed amount’ meaning they were paid according to the amount of production. Although most girls could quote an average monthly income, payment ac-

cording to production is prevalent in carpet factories and accounts for the long working hours of the children. One half of the girls worked to support other family members.

The physical work situation of girl carpet factory workers was poor. Health problems in the workplace were significant for girl carpet factory workers, who reported the most health problems of any children. These were due to inadequate ventilation in the workshops, insufficient rest and hand injuries from weaving. More than any other children, girl carpet factory workers reported problems of insufficient wages, having to work when sick, lack of mobility and work pressure from their employers. Girls in carpet factories frequently said that boys made vulgar remarks to them, and they were helpless to respond. For protection reasons, sexual harassment, sexual abuse and trafficking for prostitution in the carpet factories were not explored in the study.

The assumption that the presence of family members ensures the protection of a child is challenged in the case of girl carpet factory workers. They appeared to have a strong safety net, with the great majority living with family members, working with family members and having relatives and village friends in the same city. As with boys, most of the girls said they would most often go to relatives in the case of difficulty. However, a notable one in six said that they had no one to go to for support, higher than any other girl respondents. When this is combined with poor support from the employers, a high reporting of problems in the workplace, statements of harassment by boys in the workplace and observations of sexual abuse and trafficking made by other studies, it can be concluded that girls in carpet factories have less protection than girls in many other labour situations. This conclusion is supported by the fact that girl carpet factory workers expressed the most desire to leave their jobs of any girls interviewed.

Transport workers

The transport workers interviewed in this study were all boys and all working in the Kathmandu Valley. The term ‘transport worker’ here refers to boys who are conductors on the small passenger vans (*micros*) and three-wheeled electric or butane-powered vehicles (*safa tempos*) that ply the streets of the Kathmandu Valley.

Although these transport workers are generally small in stature – so that they can easily duck in and out of the doors of the small vehicles to collect passengers’ fares – all of the boys interviewed in the study were between 13 and 17 years. None were aged ten to 12. More transport workers were from Brahmin/Chettri families than any other children interviewed, almost two thirds. These children overall had the best education of any working children interviewed: none were illiterate and three quarters had primary education.

The boy transport workers fit a common profile of children whose education has been interrupted by the armed conflict and who fled, often by their own decision, to the city for any work they could find. One quarter said that their schools had been shut down by the Maoists. At the time of migration, almost none had prior knowledge of the work they would do, and more than any other children, employers helped the children come into the work-place. The disruption of education by the conflict is illustrated by the fact that none of the boys were enrolled in school at the time of the study. The largest proportion said that their non-enrolment was due to lack of interest.

The health concerns of child transport workers are considerable, due to inhalation of automobile pollution while leaning out of the vehicles all day in the middle of traffic. It is doubtful that any adult or child workers in the country, including vehicle drivers, are more subject to toxic fume inhalation than these children.

Although transport workers worked among the longest hours of the children interviewed, averaging nearly 12 hours per day, they expressed the highest satisfaction with their work of all children except mechanic helpers. Transport workers earned fairly high salaries, with one in five claiming to earn over 2,000 NRs. per month. Two out of five earned 'no fixed income', meaning that their earnings depended upon the number of passengers carried by the vehicle. Transport workers claimed relatively few problems in the work-place. Their primary complaint was poor sleeping conditions, as many slept in or nearby the vehicle during the night. Among all children, they were the lowest to report abuse by their employer and being forced to work all of the time.

At the same time, transport workers had among the poorest safety nets of all children. One quarter of these children lived alone, more than any other children, and one third lived with friends. Only one third had relatives or fellow villagers in the same work-place, although a high proportion said that they had brothers and village friends also employed as transport workers. Child transport workers depended highly on these people for support in times of difficulty, and depended little on either employers or other family members. These children received the least amount of physical support from employers of any children in the study. Only one fourth received food, few received shelter or clothing, and none received medical treatment or education. Thus, with street children, boy transport workers depended primarily upon their own resources for survival.

Child transport workers had clearer visions of their future than other children. Half wanted to remain in their jobs, stating that their employer promised to help them acquire skills, which presumably would advance them from the role of conductor to that of driver. Of

those that wanted to leave their present jobs, one third wanted to continue work in the transportation sector.

Rag pickers (street children)

Street children are rather unique in this study because they were targetted more due to their living style than to their primary means of earning a living, rag picking. While they are not typical 'child labourers', nonetheless they work, as well as beg, for a living and can be included here. The children earn money from the collection of metal, plastic and bottles, which they sell by weight to dealers. The profession is difficult for many reasons: it entails sorting through trash, some of which, such as hospital waste, can be hazardous; the younger children particularly are routinely cheated by dealers and their collected trash as well as their rupees are routinely stolen or extorted by older children and street drug addicts; and they are routinely subjected to physical abuse by street thugs, police and other street children. Nonetheless, rag pickers are skilled survivors and exhibit far greater tolerance and resiliency than other working children.

The rag pickers interviewed for this study were all boys. They were generally young, and two out of five were aged from ten to 12 years. Their ethnic backgrounds were notable: more than one third were from high-caste Brahmin/Chettri households and as many were from the lowest hill marginalized castes. Their educational background was also remarkable: almost two thirds had primary education, above average for the children studied, and one quarter were illiterate, the highest proportion of all children except girl tea stall workers. Almost none had either non-formal education or formal school above primary.

> **Q. Why did you leave home?**
> A. My father remarried, to a woman in Pokhara. Then my mother eloped with another man and took my younger sister and me with her. I stayed three or four years with my step-father. He used to beat me. I could not bear it any longer and ran away from there.
> boy rag picker, 13 years old

The street children interviewed were from Pokhara and the Kathmandu Valley, and the great majority were from districts severely affected by the armed conflict. However, the street children seldom stated Maoist or family economic problems as a reason for migration. They stated domestic violence as a reason for migration more frequently than any children interviewed. As expected, a much higher proportion of street children than other children made their own decision

about migration, visited other destinations en route to the city and travelled alone. The boys who became street children clearly migrated without either support or expectations, because they had the least prior knowledge of the work they would perform, and found their employment almost entirely through other street children.

Almost none of the street children were attending school at the time of the study, and more than other children gave lack of interest as a reason. One third, however, wanted to enrol in school but said that they had no home or other environment in which to study. The unique state of rag pickers is reinforced by the findings that while street children had the best access to health care of any working children interviewed – due to their extensive contact with NGOs – they had the poorest nutrition. Most ate from the garbage as well as begging from passers-by and shops.

> **Q. What are the things you don't like about working in the street?**
> A. I feel bad when people scold me when I collect rags from the garbage. They use bad language, saying, 'What are these khates (pejorative slang expression for street child) doing here?' They beat us with sticks and chase us away because they think we are thieves.
> boy rag picker, 13 years old

As is obvious, rag pickers had the worst living conditions of all. They slept on the footpath with their friends and were victims of harassment, theft, beating and sexual abuse by older street children, drug addicts, security guards and police. Frequently, they sought protection from older street children in exchange for alcohol, sex and glue. Naturally, street children claimed the lowest satisfaction with their work situation of all children. Notable among the reasons for dissatisfaction was social discrimination. Many street children spoke of scolding and curses as a greater problem than living on the street, scavenging food or physical abuse.

Street children worked the shortest hours of all child labourers, averaging less than five hours per day. This group also had the largest proportion of those who received 'no fixed amount' for their labour, as they earned according to the amount of refuse collected and sold. Interestingly, one in ten said that they earned over 3,000 NRs. a month, the second highest proportion among the children interviewed. As well, one in four said they sent money home to their families, a far higher proportion than any other boys.

Both health hazards and other risks were high among street children. Not only did they work in a polluted environment, but they claimed almost the highest percentage of work

> **Q. With whom do you live in this city?**
> A. I live with my friends. I have seven or eight friends but two of them are very close to me. We work together and share the money we earn. We do everything together all the time.
> boy rag picker, 17 years old

injuries of any children, primarily cuts from glass and metal while collecting refuse. Street children faced risks of parasitical infections from eating discarded food, risks of tetanus and other infection from cuts, and risks of HIV infection from sexual abuse by injecting drug users. Many street children were addicted to inhalants, primarily glue, and beyond this study, NGO outreach workers have noted injecting drug use among older street children, with its attending high incidence of HIV infection.

As expected, street children had the poorest safety nets of all children in the study. Almost all street children lived with friends rather than family members. Two thirds of the children had no relatives or village friends in their workplace, and while the majority had relatives in the same city, they had no contact with these persons. At the same time, street children received far more support from NGOs than other labouring children. When asked whom they would go to in case of problems, almost half said they would go to organizations – a source of support mentioned by almost no other labouring children. Many organizations directly or indirectly addressed the needs of street children, including CWIN, CWISH, CPCS, Sath Sath and Saathi in Kathmandu, and CWSN, Contact Centre, Asha Clinic and Namaste Nepal in Pokhara.

Two thirds of the rag pickers said that they wanted to leave the job, and the reason most often provided was beating and scolding by others. Those who wanted to remain in the job said that the work was not difficult, the situation was enjoyable and they had no alternatives. When asked where they would like to go, the street children gave the most equivocal responses of all children. Most said that anywhere would do.

Tea stall workers

Although data are incomplete, after agricultural labour, tea stall work may be the most common occupation of child labourers in Nepal. Tea stalls, known in Nepali as *bhattipasals*, are found in every urban street, roadside halt and village in Nepal. Often operated by women, children are the most usual employees and working men are the most usual customers. Most serve simple rice meals and some (more commonly called *raksi pasals*) serve alcohol. They are ubiquitous and they are one of the primary social hubs of Nepali society.

Boy tea stall workers

Boy tea stall workers encompassed the target age range of the study, from ten to 18 years. One quarter were from Brahmin/Chettri families and almost one half from the major hill ethnicities. These boys were among the best educated of the children interviewed: nearly three quarters had completed primary school and one in five were in lower secondary at the time they migrated. Their reasons for migration were mixed, including Maoist problems, family economic difficulties and domestic problems. Boy tea stall workers appear to have been quite independent in terms of their migration: two thirds made their own decision to migrate, almost all came directly to their destination and the majority – second only to street children – travelled alone. The remainder travelled with neighbors, friends or employers, and few travelled with their families. In keeping with their independence, a high proportion of the boys found their own work. Most of the rest found work through village neighbors or friends, and few had depended on their families. At the same time, only one in three knew of the work they would perform before they came to the city. To all appearances, these boys had left their villages of their own accord and without clear expectations, and entered the work that was most readily available in their destination city.

Only one quarter of the boy tea stall workers were attending school. Their reasons for non-attendance were that they did not have time to study – the second highest group citing this reason among the children interviewed – and that they were not interested. Tea stall boys worked long hours, averaging 11 hours per day, while earning the lowest of all boy children except domestic labourers. Almost three quarters earned under 1,000 NRs. per month. Despite this, most of the boys said that they were contented with their work and that they had few problems in the workplace. Boy tea stall workers had among the fewest health concerns of any children interviewed.

In line with their apparently independent mode of migrating and finding work, boy tea stall workers had little family accompaniment in the city, and thus fairly weak safety nets. The majority lived with their employers or friends, and most had no relatives or villagers either in the workplace or the city. Thus, these boys were highly dependent on their employers. More than one half said they would go to their employers if they had problems, and a notable one in seven said they had no one to go to for support.

As expected, most of the boys wanted to stay in their jobs. Their reason for leaving was primarily

Q. What types of problems do you face in your workplace?

A. My employer beats me when I make any mistake. He scolds me and accuses me of not doing the work properly.

boy tea stall worker, 14 years old

that the employer beat and scolded them, the highest such reporting among all of the boy labourers. Their primarily reason for remaining in the job was that they liked the situation and the employer. Boy tea stall workers were among the few children who noted clear reasons why they liked their job: they enjoyed the social life of the tea stall, serving customers and meeting new people.

Girl tea stall workers

The field researchers found it difficult to access girl tea stall workers because no NGOs could be found who worked directly with them in the target areas. The field researchers themselves sought out girl tea stall workers for interviews without the support of 'gatekeepers.' The sample of girl tea stall workers was small, and only from Pokhara, with the exception of one child. The profile of these children was unique among the children studied, and may reflect a group of working children who are only found in Pokhara. Nonetheless, it is likely that many aspects of their everyday living and working situation reflect the general situation of girl tea stall workers in other cities of Nepal.

The tea stall workers interviewed were primarily older girls, two thirds being 16 or 17 years of age. While a little over half were either Brahmin/Chettri or from major hill ethnicities, it is notable that nearly half were from minor, and generally impoverished, hill ethnic communities (Chepang, Bhotia, Kumal and Darai). Children from these communities appeared almost nowhere else in the study. This group had by far the highest level of illiteracy, nearly two thirds, and none had attended NFE classes, an indication of relatively little contact with NGOs in their home villages.

Most of the girls likely came from villages severely impacted by the conflict, as did 90% of the children interviewed in Pokhara. Twice as many girls stated Maoist problems as a reason from migration as those who stated family economic problems. Almost all came directly to Pokhara from their villages and most knew where they were going at the time they left their villages. Many of these girls travelled unaccompanied by family or village friends, the highest proportion of all girls.

> **Q. How is your living place?**
> A. I have to sleep where they wash the dishes. Children use the place as their toilet. I do not have a mattress. I sleep on a flattened cardboard carton. I don't have anything to use a blanket.
> girl tea stall worker, 16 years old

It appears that the girls were placed in work situations in the city through agreement between the employer and the girls' families. When asked how they obtained their jobs, the girls most often stated that it was arranged through family and employer. Almost one fourth travelled to the worksite with their employers,

almost all knew of the work they would perform, the majority said they were working to alleviate their family economic problems, and the girls' wages were given directly to the family more often than any other children.

The living and working situations in which families placed the girls were not good. Girl tea stall workers had the lowest school enrolment among all the working girls. When asked about their living conditions, they often described their sleeping place as 'horrible', without privacy, comfort or security. Girl tea stall workers had the highest proportion of those stating that their work situation was 'poor', nearly one in five. When asked what they liked about their work situation, many responded that they didn't like anything.

Girl tea stall workers worked the longest hours of any children except carpet factory workers, averaging 12.6 hours per day. Unlike carpet factory workers, they were paid extremely poorly. More of these girls earned below 500 NRs. a month than any other children, and none earned above 1,000 NRs. a month. While most of the respondents appeared to be tolerant of their work situation – not surprisingly, as many came from severely disadvantaged communities – girl tea stall workers had the highest proportion of children who said that their employer gave them no wages and the highest proportion who said that their employer beat them.

> **Q. What are your problems in your current workplace?**
> A. My employer always shouts at me and beats me. I have to get up early in the morning, at 3:00 a.m., otherwise they pour a pan of water on me. The employer's children also discriminate against me, saying, 'You are a servant! Go away from me.' My employer's wife teaches her children to talk like this.
> girl tea stall worker, 16 years old

The safety net for these girl children, in terms of persons who could provide them protection and support, was the poorest of all children interviewed. Almost all girl tea stall workers lived with their employers and almost all were without any relatives or village friends either in the workplace or in the city. Notably, more of these girls lived alone than any others. When asked whom they would go to if they had problems, most said that they were dependent upon their employers for support and protection – the highest such dependence of all children. A high number of respondents said they had no one to go to for support.

Likely, most of these girls were placed in their jobs by families who were in poor economic circumstances. Consequently, more girl tea stall workers than other children said that they would prefer to stay in their job rather than leave, and that they would prefer to stay

in the same city. When asked why they might want to leave, every respondent said she would want to leave because of beating and scolding by the employer. One half also said that they received no remuneration from the employer. Although almost all of these girls were 16 or 17 years old, it is likely that most, due to the interests of both their families and their employers, did not have the freedom or options to leave their jobs.

Restaurant workers

Both restaurants and tea stalls (*bhattipasals*) serve tea and meals. Tea stalls are tiny establishments, serving a simple rice meal for workers and usually opening directly onto the street or footpath, whereas restaurants occupy larger premises, have an attached kitchen that prepares a menu of meals, and are usually closed to public view.

All of the restaurant workers interviewed for this study were boys, and all were working in the city of Biratnagar. Restaurant workers were not able to be interviewed in Pokhara and the Kathmandu Valley due to the lack of NGOs who worked with them. Generally, while girls may often work in tea stalls, primarily boys work in restaurants ('cabin restaurants', which provide female company for customers, excepted). The boys in this study were kitchen help, cleaners and errand boys, with some option to advance to waiter if they were somewhat literate. Most of these boys were 16 or 17 years old, and covered a spectrum of castes and ethnicities common to many of the child labour groups studied: approximately one quarter Brahmin/Chettri, two fifths major hill ethnicities and the remainder general castes from the Nepal's southern Terai, in which Biratnagar is located.

> **Q. Who made the decision for you to leave?**
> A. The Maoists had threatened to abduct me so my mother decided it would be better for me to leave for Biratnagar than to die in the village. She thought at least I could survive here.
> boy restaurant worker, 17 years old

The boy restaurant workers were the second most educated children of the study, after mechanics. Notably, one in three had attended secondary school. A high proportion of these boys had migrated due to Maoist problems. This is understandable, because boys of 16 and 17 are highly vulnerable to being forcibly inducted into the Maoist forces or being harassed or killed by either Maoist or security forces.

As displaced persons, restaurant workers showed a high level of independence from family and other social support networks. As with street children, restaurant workers most commonly came to the city indirectly, through several intermediate destinations. They frequently migrated alone or with friends, rather than with family members. One third of them found

their own employment – a high proportion for the children interviewed – and had less assistance from their family than most of the children in the study.

Although relatively well educated, they showed very low school enrolment. When asked why, a high proportion of the boys said they had no time to study and a low proportion said that they had no interest. Like boy domestic labourers, they appeared to want to attend school, but were unable to do so because of their work.

The restaurant workers were noncommittal about whether they liked their work situation. Most rated it as 'average', one in five as 'below average' and almost none as 'good'. They worked long hours and received relatively high pay. Averaging over 11 hours of work per day, restaurant workers earned the highest pay of all children except carpet factory workers. One third earned more than 1,000 NRs. per month. At the same time, restaurant workers reported the lowest incidence of health problems of all of the children, and encountered the fewest problems in the workplace. Nearly one half said they had faced no problems. Lack of a proper sleeping place was the problem most frequently reported.

Boys in restaurant work had poor safety nets in terms of family support, although their higher age should be taken into consideration. More than eight out of ten lived with either friends or their employer, and few lived with their families. Most had no relatives or village friends in the workplace, although an average proportion had relatives or village friends in the same city. They received good support from their employers for food, clothing, shelter and medical care, and poor support for education. As mentioned above, the boys were relatively well educated and inclined to study, but were prevented from doing so because of their work obligations. The boys' independence is emphasized by the fact that a greater proportion of restaurant workers than any other children said that they had no one to support them during times of difficulty. The persons they mentioned were employers or friends, and almost never family members.

Restaurant workers appear to have a profile commonly associated with older boys displaced by armed conflict: adequately educated, independent, frustrated with the disruption of their lives, but having nowhere else to go. More restaurant workers than any other children said they wanted to leave their jobs, almost three quarters. When asked where they wanted to go, they gave numerous possible destinations, but few wanted to stay in the same city. The primary reason for leaving, they said, was lack of adequate remuneration. The primary reasons for staying in their jobs, stated by restaurant workers more frequently than by any other children, were lack of alternatives and fear of abduction by the Maoist forces.

Mechanic helpers

In this study, 'mechanic helpers' refers to boys who work as assistants in automobile and motorcycle repair shops. Usually beginning their work cleaning the shop, changing engine oil and conducting small repairs, they are in a position to learn skills from senior mechanics and have opportunities to advance in their profession. The boys interviewed in this study were only from Pokhara, as NGOs working with mechanic helpers did not exist in the other cities.

Mechanic helpers presented a profile quite different from the other working children studied. Almost all were 16 or 17 years old. After transport workers, this group had the highest proportion of children from high-caste Brahmin/Chettri communities, almost half. Curiously, this group also had the second highest proportion of children from lower-caste hill marginalized communities. Their education at the time of their migration was remarkably high: two fifths of the boys had lower secondary education (Classes 6 to 8) and one fifth had secondary education (Classes 9 and 10). This is likely related to the predominance of Brahmin/Chettri youth among the population of mechanic helpers.

As displaced children working in Pokhara, the vast majority of the boys came from districts seriously affected by the armed conflict, although they stated family economic problems more often than Maoist problems as their reason for migration. Most of the boys came directly from their village to the city, and had the highest knowledge of all children about their destination. Many, two out of five, travelled alone. At the time of their migration, more than half knew of the work they would perform, and relatives and fellow villagers helped them find their jobs. Many had relatives or fellow villagers in the same workplace, indicating that village and family networks in the city helped place the children in jobs as mechanic helpers.

Some of the basic needs of mechanic helpers were adequately met, and some were not. Like boy carpet factory workers and transport workers, none of the boys were attending school. Their primary reason was lack of interest. They usually slept in rooms with friends or co-workers, and had no complaints about their living situation. With domestic workers, mechanic helpers appeared to have the best nutrition. Many said they often had meat with their meals.

Mechanic helpers liked their work. Overall, they expressed the highest appreciation for their jobs of all the children interviewed. They said they enjoyed working with engines and learning new skills, and were clearly encouraged by the possibility of making a decent future living in their profession, a possibility not shared by any other children. The situation of 'apprentice' leading to established mechanic is evident in the payment of mechanic helpers. Some were paid, and paid well, and some earned nothing – their learning of remunerative

skills was considered adequate payment. Those who were paid received the highest salary of all children interviewed – none earned less than 1,000 NRs. per month – while the group also showed the highest proportion of children working without remuneration.

Mechanic helpers worked an average of 10.4 hours a day, a little more than most of boys in the study. As they showed the greatest satisfaction with their work, they also claimed the least number of problems in their workplace. At the same time, two out of five reported workplace injuries from the tools.

In terms of contact with family, mechanic helpers appeared to have the most inadequate safety nets of any boys in the study, after street children. Almost three quarters of them lived with friends or alone. At the same time, a high proportion of mechanic helpers had relatives, fellow villagers or friends in the same workplace and almost all had relatives in the same city. Employers and relatives were the persons to whom they would most likely go for support if problems occurred.

As might be expected, mechanic helpers had nearly the highest intention of remaining in their present jobs among the children interviewed. Those who wanted to leave cited lack of remuneration as a reason, perhaps expressing an impatience with being an unpaid apprentice. Likely, having the advantage of learning marketable skills, the boys shared the hopes of many young Nepali males: to go overseas to earn decent wages. Nearly two out of five – far higher than any other children – said they wanted to go to an overseas destination to work.

Stone breakers

The children in this labour situation differed from other children in the study because almost all were living and working with their families. In Nepal, much of the gravel used for road building and house construction is made by hand, by pounding stones with a hammer. Throughout the country, along roadsides, in stone quarries and in sand and gravel operations at the edges of cities, children and women sit on the ground breaking stones throughout the day. Older boys and men carry stones and sand, and assist in delivering the materials to construction sites. Many of these stone breakers are families who live in huts or crude plastic-roofed tents near the construction site. These families are often from poor hill communities and have migrated to highway construction sites and the fringes of urban areas due to the conflict.

Boy stone breakers

Boy stone breakers were somewhat older than many of the boys studied, one half being 16 or 17 years old. More than two thirds were from the major hill ethnic communities. Surpris-

ingly, despite being predominantly from hill ethnicities rather than Brahmin/Chettri communities, the boys working in stone quarries had among the highest levels of education among the children interviewed, and very few were illiterate. Nearly one in ten boys had attended Class 9 or 10 prior to their displacement. The reason for this high level of education amongst a seemingly disadvantaged community is unclear. The reason may be that because stone quarry work pays relatively high wages and allows families to stay together, the occupation may have become a refuge of hill families who were formerly advantaged under the old political system and have recently incurred the retribution of the Maoists.

Q. With whom did you come to this city for the first time?
A. I came with my maternal uncle.

Q. What types of support did you get from your uncle?
A. He helped me carry my luggage when I was too tired, and paid for my accommodations, travel fare and food.
boy stone breaker, 11 years old

As a reason for migration, the boy stone breakers reported both Maoist and economic problems. Parents and family made the decision to migrate, and as expected, the boys said that they had migrated with family accompaniment, came directly to their destination, knew where they were going and had family assistance in finding their present work. Surprisingly, few said they had prior knowledge of the work that they would perform. This does not fit with other data, unless the family had suddenly migrated together as a unit, without prior work expectations, or unless the families had kept their work plans hidden from their children and fellow villagers, perhaps because of the demeaning nature of the work.

Despite their high level of education before migration, more than three quarters of the boys were not enrolled in school or NFE classes. They gave no special reasons for not attending. One reason may be the physical setting of the stone breaking families, living at construction sites and the fringes of urban areas where access to schools and classes was poor. The basic need of medical care seems to have been better provided to boy stone breakers than to other working children, as they lived with their families, who took care of them when they were ill. Their physical living situation was also better than most of the other children. Although their living quarters were crude and congested, the children lived in a private family space.

Q. In your opinion, what types of work are worse than domestic service?
A. Stone breaker, brick kiln worker, tea stall worker, most jobs for children are worse than domestic labour.
girl domestic worker, 13 years old

Boy stone breakers showed among the lowest satisfaction with their work of all children. This is not surprising, as breaking stones is dirty, tedious and difficult. The boys may also be reflecting the demeaning nature of stone breaking. Other child labourers, when asked their opinion about 'worse' jobs than theirs, said that stone breaking, brick kiln work and rag picking were the worst.

The boy stone breakers worked short hours (for a child labourer in Nepal), averaging a little over seven hours a day. Because the children earned according to the amount of output, nearly two thirds earned no fixed salary. From those who knew or estimated the amount of their monthly remuneration, it was found that some of the children earned the lowest of all children interviewed, while some earned the highest. More of the boy stone breakers – one in seven – earned over 3,000 NRs. a month, a good salary for any child or adult labourer in Nepal.

The children reported a high number of health problems in their workplace. Many had damaged their hands with the stone hammers or had suffered from getting stone chips in their eyes. Boy stone breakers were the second highest group to report workplace injuries. At the same time, the children did not report many other problems in the workplace. Some disliked working constantly and some disliked not being allowed to go to school, but few reported scolding and beating by their employer, a common complaint of most other children in the study.

Naturally, these children had the best family safety nets of any children interviewed. Most lived with some family members and more than one half lived with both parents. Almost all had relatives and fellow villagers in the same workplace, and two fifths lived and worked with their whole family. Similarly, almost all had relatives and friends in the same city.

Employers provided a minimal amount of support to the children, as this was generally provided by the parents. As expected, when asked who would support them in times of difficulty, boy stone breakers stated the highest support as coming from their mothers and fathers. One half said they would first go to their mothers for support – quite different from all other labouring children studied, few of whom had mothers in the same city. Notably however, this group had the highest proportion who said they had nobody to support them if they had problems. The reason for this high response is not known.

About half of the boy children wanted to remain in their current jobs, average for the working children interviewed. Boy stone breakers were the second most frequent (after girl stone breakers) to say that they wanted to leave the job because of their heavy workload. 'Workload' in this case probably does not refer to working hours, which are relatively short, but to the physical difficulty and tediousness of breaking stones.

Girl stone breakers

The data collected about girl stone breakers differed significantly from the data collected about boy stone breakers. The boys and girls interviewed were usually from the same worksites, so the reason for this difference is not clear. There was a high proportion of young children among the girl stone breakers – two out of five were from ten to 12 years of age. Like boy stone breakers, approximately three quarters of the girls were from the major ethnicities. However, almost none of the girl children were from Brahmin/Chettri communities and a notable one in five were from lower-caste marginalized hill groups. At the same time, along with their boy counterparts, girl stone breakers were the most educated of the children interviewed. One in three had attended lower secondary school, a high education for labouring girl children in Nepal.

Like boy stone breakers, the girls had migrated with their families. Parents made the decision to migrate and all of the girls travelled accompanied by their families. However, other details of their migration differed from that of the boys. The majority of the girls stated Maoist problems to be the reason for migration. Many girls – more than any girls interviewed – did not travel directly to their destination. One in three said that they found their own jobs, far more than their boy counterparts. Like the boys, these girls had among the least prior knowledge of all children about the work they would perform.

Basic needs were met primarily by their families. Notably, after girl domestic workers, a higher proportion of girl stone breakers were attending school than any other children, almost three fifths of the sample. Whether this reflects the care of families or the work of local NGOs is not known. As with boy stone breakers, basic health care, shelter and food were adequately provided by their families.

> **Q. Who supports you for your basic needs?**
>
> A. I am staying with my brother and sister-in-law and they support me. But I have to work. My sister-in-law wants me to work hard, otherwise she scolds me. I have to do all the household chores, bring her food to her place of work, and work in the stone quarry. I have been working here for the last four months but she has not provided me any clothes. I don't get any money for my work in the stone quarry. I don't have any idea how much money I am paid for my work. My sister-in-law takes the money directly from the contractor.
>
> girl stone breaker, 13 years old

Like boy stone breakers, the girls disliked their jobs. They were the highest among all girls and nearly highest among all of the children to say that their job was unsatisfactory. At the same time, they worked the shortest hours of all children except rag pickers, a little over six hours a day on average. Like boy stone breakers, the majority received 'no fixed

amount' of salary, and either earned very little or a lot. One in ten said that they earned over 3,000 NRs. a month.

Girl stone breakers reported the highest incidence of workplace injuries of all children, including damage to their hands from the stone hammers, eye injuries from flying stone chips and body aches from carrying baskets of wet sand on their backs. Girl stone breakers reported a number of problems in their workplace. For unknown reasons, nearly three quarters of them complained of no adequate place to sleep, a higher proportion than street children. They also said they had to work constantly and were not allowed to go to school, statements at variation with other data collected.

Their family safety nets were strong, and almost all lived with their families. Notably, nearly half lived with their mothers. As with children in carpet factories, these children had many family members in the same workplace. More than two fifths said that their whole family worked in the same workplace, the best accompaniment of all of the working children. Naturally, these girls stated family members, particularly mothers, to be the persons to whom they would first go for support if they had problems.

Although the girl children clearly disliked their work, they were among the most common to say that they wanted to remain in their present jobs. Here, there are similarities with girl tea stall workers who, despite poor working conditions, low protection and strong dislike for their jobs, wanted to remain. Girl stone breakers were the most frequent of all children to say they would leave their job due to the heavy workload. As with boy stone breakers, this statement probably referred to the difficulty and arduousness of the work.

CHAPTER 3

Background Characteristics

Age

KEY FINDINGS

- Nearly one half of the stone breakers, two fifths of the rag pickers and one third of the domestic workers were aged between ten and 12 years.
- The majority of carpet factory workers, mechanic helpers, restaurant workers and girl tea stall workers were above 15 years.

Table 3.1 presents the age of respondents according to the labour situations investigated. The findings show that nearly one half of the children covered in the study were in their late teens (16-17 years), approximately one fourth were 13 to 15 years old and one fourth were ten to 12 years old. The present study did not cover children below ten years of age.

Rag pickers, domestic workers and children working in stone quarries were younger than the children working in other labour situations. Nearly half of the children working in stone quarries (48% of boys and 43% of girls) and two fifths (41%) of the rag pickers (street children) were aged between ten and 12 years. Nearly one third of the domestic workers (33% of boys and 30% of girls) were found to be in the same age group. In contrast, almost all of the children working as mechanic helpers (93%) and restaurant workers (85%) were 16 or 17 years of age. The large majority of the carpet factory workers (70% of girls and 69% of boys) were aged above 15 years. Boys working in tea stalls were younger than the girls. For instance, two thirds of girls (67%) and of only two out of five boys (42%) were aged 16 or 17 years. Almost all (95%)

Table 3.1 Percentage distribution of respondents by age group and by labour situation

Age group	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child /rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
10-12	32.5	30.4	15.4	-	5.0	40.7	25.0	11.1	7.3	3.3	48.3	43.3	25.0	24.1
13-15	35.0	30.4	15.4	29.7	50.0	32.2	33.3	22.2	7.3	3.3	24.1	20.0	25.4	27.6
16-17	32.5	39.1	69.2	70.3	45.0	27.1	41.7	66.7	85.4	93.3	27.6	36.7	49.6	48.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

of the transport workers were above 13 years of age. Of these, half (50%) were between 13 and 15 years of age and nearly half (45%) were 16 or 17 years of age.

Marital Status

KEY FINDINGS

- Very few of the children interviewed were married.
- Of the forms of labour with the most married children, one in ten girls working in tea stalls and stone quarries were married.

Almost all of the children covered in this study were unmarried (97%). Only one in ten girls working in tea stalls and stone quarries was married. A negligible percentage of carpet factory workers (8%), restaurant workers (5%) and domestic workers (1%) were married. A few children working in carpet factories reported that they were either separated or divorced from their spouses (5%).

Ethnicity

KEY FINDINGS

- The majority of children interviewed were from major hill ethnic communities (Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Sherpa, Magar, Gurung), followed by Brahmin/Chettri communities.
- A notable percentage of street children, transport workers and mechanic helpers were from Brahmin/Chettri communities.
- A notable percentage of girl tea stall workers were from minor hill ethnic communities (Chepang, Bhotia, Kumal, Darai).
- Very few of the children interviewed were from marginalized castes, with the exception of street children, mechanic helpers and girl stone breakers.

For the purpose of this study, the caste/ethnic groups of Nepal have been divided into two categories: hill community and Terai community (the Terai is Nepal's southern lowland belt). The hill community category is comprised of Brahmin/Chettri, Newar, major hill ethnic groups (Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Sherpa, Magar, Gurung), minor hill ethnic groups (Chepang, Bhotia, Kumal, Darai), and marginalized 'lower-caste' groups (Damai, Kami, Sarki). The Terai community category includes Terai general castes/ethnicities (Tharu, Rajbansi, Satar, Majhi), Terai Hindu marginalized groups and the Muslims. Most IDP children covered in this study belonged to hill communities, and came from either Brahmin/Chettri or the major hill ethnic groups. The presence of children from Brahmin/Chettri communities was notable. The Brahmin/Chettri children identified in the study were predominantly male. This may indicate a disruption of Brahmin/Chettri households, who previously dominated the political and economic life of rural communities, by the Maoist insurgency. Notably, 60% of transport workers, 47% of mechanic helpers and 34% of street children were from Brahmin/Chettri families.

The major hill ethnic groups (Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Sherpa, Magar and Gurung) predominated, as expected, among child carpet factory workers (85% of boys, 76% of girls), as well as among stone breakers (69% of boys, 70% of girls) and boy restaurant workers (39%). A relatively high percentage of street children were from hill marginalized castes (32%), although more were from Brahmin/Chettri families (34%). However, this is notable due to the small population of hill marginalized castes. As well, it is notable that over 44% of girl tea stall workers were from the small population of minor hill ethnic groups (Chepang, Bhotia, Kumal, Darai). Generally, Terai populations were not significant in the sample, with the exception of Terai general castes among boy domestic workers (28%).

Table 3.2 Percentage distribution of respondents by caste/ethnicity and by labour situation

Caste/ ethnicity	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child /rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Hill community														
Brahmin/Chhetri	30.0	27.5	15.4	5.4	60.0	33.9	25.0	22.2	26.8	46.7	17.2	3.3	31.7	16.6
Newar	5.0	8.7	-	13.5	5.0	1.7	-	-	4.9	3.3	-	3.3	2.6	8.3
Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Sherpa, Magar, Gurung	27.5	29.0	84.6	75.7	25.0	23.7	47.2	22.2	39.0	16.7	69.0	70.0	36.9	49.0
Chepang, Bhotia, Kumal, Darai	5.0	4.3	-	-	10.0	-	2.8	44.4	2.4	3.3	-	-	2.6	4.8
Hill marginalized castes	-	7.2	-	2.7	-	32.2	11.1	-	2.4	20.0	13.8	20.0	12.7	8.3
Terai community														
Terai general castes	27.5	18.8	-	-	-	6.8	11.1	11.1	19.5	10.0	-	-	11.2	9.7
Terai marginalized castes	2.5	4.3	-	2.7	-	-	2.8	-	4.9	-	-	-	1.5	2.8
Muslim	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.3	0.4	0.7
Not specified	-	-	-	-	-	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.4	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

Educational Level

KEY FINDINGS

- The majority of the children had received primary education or higher prior to displacement.
- Nearly one fifth of the working children had attended Class 6 or above.
- The highest level of education reported by the children interviewed was among mechanic helpers, restaurant workers and stone breakers.
- The lowest level of education reported by the children interviewed was among girl tea stall workers.

The educational backgrounds of the IDP children in different labour situations are shown in Table 3.3. 'Non-formal education' refers to children attending NFE classes before their migration, not after arrival in their present destination. A high percentage of the respondents had received primary education or above (82% of boys and 62% of girls). Notably, among the IDP working children, 23% of the boys and 18% of the girls had attended Class 6 or above. This may reflect the disruption of more educated influential families in rural communities by the Maoist insurgency.

Educational attainment was most noteworthy among mechanic helpers (all boys), 37% of whom had lower secondary education (Classes 6 to 8) and 20% of whom had higher secondary education (Classes 9 or 10). This is likely related to the predominance of Brahmin/Chettri youth among the population of mechanic helpers. Surprisingly, following mechanic helpers, girls and boys working in stone quarries had the highest levels of education among the children interviewed. Notably, 57% of girl stone breakers had primary education, and 30% had lower secondary education. Overall, participation in non-formal education (NFE) classes was higher among girls (19%) than the boys (6%). Participation in NFE classes was highest among girls engaged as domestic workers (30%). Low educational attainment predominated among girl tea stall workers (67% illiterate, 33% primary education). No girl tea stall workers had attended NFE classes.

Table 3.3 Percentage distribution of respondents by educational attainment prior to displacement and by labour situation

Educational level	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child /rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Illiterate	10.0	15.9	7.7	24.3	-	23.7	11.1	66.7	7.3	3.3	3.4	6.7	10.4	19.3
Non-formal education	22.5	30.4	23.1	13.5	5.0	5.1	2.8	-	4.9	-	3.4	3.3	7.5	18.6
Primary (to Class 5)	45.0	36.2	61.5	51.3	75.0	62.7	75.0	33.3	51.3	36.6	72.4	56.7	59.0	44.1
Lower secondary (6-8)	15.0	13.0	7.7	10.8	20.0	8.5	11.1	-	31.7	36.7	13.8	30.0	17.9	15.2
Higher secondary (9-10)	7.5	4.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.9	20.0	6.9	3.3	4.9	2.8
SLC and above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.3	-	-	0.4	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

CHAPTER 4

Factors Governing Internal Displacement

Level of Conflict in District of Origin

KEY FINDINGS

- Three quarters of the children interviewed came from seriously conflict-affected districts of Nepal.

The IDP children covered in the present study represented 54 out of the 75 districts of the country. Of these 54 districts, 38 districts can be considered to be 'seriously conflict-affected'[3] and the remaining 16 districts can be considered to be 'moderately to low conflict-affected'[4]. It should be mentioned that in these latter districts there are areas that are seriously affected by the conflict.

It is evident from Table 4.1 that over three fourths (78%) of the working children interviewed had been displaced from seriously conflict-affected districts. City-wise comparison shows that Pokhara (90%) had the highest percentage of IDP children from seriously affected districts, likely due to its proximity to the Western and Far Western Regions of Nepal, where the conflict is most intense. Pokhara was followed by Kathmandu (79%) and Biratnagar (63%). In Pokhara and Kathmandu, field researchers found children who had migrated great distances from far-off districts such as Morang, Doti and Dailekh.

Table 4.1 Percentage distribution of respondents by level of conflict in their district of origin and by destination city

Level of conflict in district of origin	Kathmandu	Pokhara	Biratnagar	Total
Highly conflict-affected districts	79.4	89.9	62.7	77.5
Less conflict-affected districts	20.6	10.1	37.3	22.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	141	138	134	413

The basic characteristics of the children and their social support in their working environments were shown to be unrelated to the levels of conflict in their place of origin. Chi-square tests were performed for selected variables of the internally displaced children representing the two levels of conflict situations: those from the 38 seriously conflict-affected districts and those from the 16 less conflict-affected districts. The variables compared were: sex, age, educational background, presence or absence of close family members or other relatives in the workplace, living situation or destination city, current enrolment in formal school, and intention to leave their present jobs. The analysis showed that, for all of these indicators, there are no significant differences in percentages between children from seriously conflict-affected districts and children from less conflict-affected districts.

Reasons for Migration

KEY FINDINGS

- More than one half of the children interviewed stated Maoist problems, among other reasons, to be the reason why they migrated.
- Nearly one half of the children interviewed stated home economic problems, among other reasons, to be the reason why they migrated.

Information about the reasons for migration was collected from 64 children through individual in-depth interviews. Due to the sensitivity of the topic, the majority of children were not asked questions regarding reasons for migration in the semi-structured interviews.

In the in-depth interviews (Table 4.2), although they gave multiple responses, more than one half of the children said they were forced to migrate due to Maoist problems. These problems include fear of abduction by the Maoists, pressure to join the Maoist forces, family members subjected to torture or harassment by either Maoists or government security forces, and demand for donations of food and money from the Maoists. Economic problems in the villages was the second most common reason stated for migration. The extent to which these local economic problems were linked

Table 4.2 Reasons for migration, by labour situation (findings from in-depth interviews)

Reason for migration	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Street child /rag picker	Stone breaker		Restaurant worker	Tea stall worker		Mechanic helper	Total
	B* (8)	G (12)	B(3)	G(5)	B(11)	B(6)	G(4)	B(4)	B(3)	G(2)	B(6)	(64)
Maoist problems	4	8	2	2	2	3	3	4	1	2	3	34
Economic problems	6	4	2	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	5	27
Domestic violence	1	1	-	-	5	-	-	1	1	-	1	10
Wanted to work in carpet factory	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Influenced by relatives	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Desire to see city life	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
Abandoned by family	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	3
Stole money from home	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Security personnel harassed family about Maoists	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Friend convinced child to migrate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Hardship of the village	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Preferred to live with friends	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Had to do all the household chores	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Came with grand mother/migrated with family	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2

* B = boy, G = girl Total may exceed 64 due to multiple responses.

with the conflict is not clear, although it may be assumed that much migration is due to the deteriorating economic environment in the countryside as a result the conflict.

Decision to Migrate

KEY FINDINGS

- Decision to leave home was made by family members for two thirds of the children.
- One third of the children made their own decision to leave home.

Most of the girls (60%) said that the decision for them to leave home was made by their parents or other family members. In contrast, only two fifths of the boys said that their parents and relatives made the decision for them. A number of children said that they made the decision jointly with their families. A significant percentage of the boys (28%), but only a few girls (3%), reported that they had made their own decision to leave home.

Table 4.3 Decision-making regarding leaving home, by labour situation (findings from in-depth interviews)

Person(s) making decision about leaving home	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Street child /rag picker	Stone breaker		Restaurant worker	Tea stall worker		Mechanic helper	Total
	B	G	B	G	B	B	G	B	B	G	B	
Both parents	-	6	1	1	-	4	1	1	1	1	-	16
Self	4	3	1	4	7	1	-	2	2	1	2	27
Family member	3	2	-	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	10
Mother	4	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	10
Father	-	3	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	8
Other relative	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Total may exceed 64 due to multiple responses.

Self-decision was highest among street children. These data can be placed against the high incidence of children leaving home due to domestic violence. The majority of those children who stated that they made the decision by themselves were older, aged from 14 to 18 years.

Pathways of Migration

KEY FINDINGS

- The great majority of children travelled directly from their homes to the current destination, without extended stay in any intermediate place.

Contrary to expectations, the study showed that most of the IDP children (81% of boys and 84% of girls) had travelled directly from their home districts/villages to the current destination. The percentage of the boys who said that they had visited elsewhere before arriving at the present destination was highest among street children (29%), restaurant workers (24%), mechanic helpers (20%) and domestic workers (20%). Among the girls,

Table 4.4 Percentage distribution of respondents who travelled directly or indirectly to the place of destination, by labour situation (findings from semi-structured interviews)

Educational level	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child /rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Came directly	80.0	78.3	92.3	100.0	95.0	71.2	91.7	88.9	75.6	80.0	86.2	76.7	81.3	84.1
Came indirectly	20.0	21.7	7.7	-	5.0	28.8	8.3	11.1	24.4	20.0	13.8	23.3	18.7	15.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

approximately one fifth of the stone breakers (23%) and domestic workers (22%) had travelled elsewhere before arriving at their present destination.

Knowledge about Destination

KEY FINDINGS

- The great majority of children knew their destination at the time they left home.

The majority of children interviewed (54 out of 64 providing in-depth interviews) knew which city they were destined for at the time they left their home. All girl carpet factory workers and all boys and girls working in tea stalls had knowledge of their destination prior to migration. Lack of knowledge of the destination was evenly distributed among the various labour situations (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Percentage distribution of respondents by prior knowledge about destination and by labour situation (findings from in-depth interviews)

Knowledge about destination	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Street child /rag picker	Stone breaker		Restaurant worker	Tea stall worker		Mechanic helper	Total
	B	G	B	G	B	B	G	B	B	G	B	
Yes	7	10	2	5	9	4	3	3	3	2	6	54
No	1	2	1	-	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	9
No.	8	12	3	5	11	5	4	4	3	2	6	63*

* One boy stone breaker did not discuss knowledge about destination as he migrated with his family.

Accompaniment during Migration

KEY FINDINGS

- Almost all girls and three fourths of the boys travelled to their destination with family members or persons from the same village.
- More than one fifth of the girl tea stall workers travelled unaccompanied to their destination, and one fourth travelled with their employers.
- Boys who most travelled unaccompanied were street children, tea stall workers, restaurant workers and mechanic helpers.
- All carpet factory workers, all girl stone breakers and almost all domestic workers travelled accompanied.

The study showed that 24% of the children had migrated with their parents or their whole family to the present place of residence, 23% migrated with at least one of their other family members (brothers, sisters, uncles or aunts), while 20% had travelled alone.

Table 4.6a Percentage distribution of respondents regarding their accompaniment during migration, by labour situation (findings from semi-structured interviews)

Accompanied by	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child /rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Not accompanied	5.0	4.3	0	0	20.0	42.4	41.7	22.2	41.5	36.7	6.9	0	28.4	3.4
Parents/close family members	17.5	27.5	7.7	13.5	10.0	13.6	11.1	22.2	14.6	3.3	69.0	76.7	18.3	33.8
Relatives	27.5	18.8	38.5	48.6	40.0	15.3	8.3	11.1	12.2	36.7	17.2	20.0	21.3	26.2
Neighbour	32.5	21.7	30.8	24.3	15.0	8.5	16.7	22.2	7.3	10.0	0	3.3	13.8	18.6
Friend	5.0	0	7.7	10.8	15.0	13.6	8.3	0	24.4	3.3	6.9	0	11.2	2.8
Employer	12.5	27.5	15.4	2.7	0	6.8	13.9	22.2	0	10.0	0	0	7.1	15.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

Most of the girls had travelled with parents, other relatives or known persons from their village. It should be noted, however, that neither village acquaintances nor distant relatives necessarily provide the support and protection to a child that is provided by close family members. Among all labour situations covered in the study, only 3% of the girls had travelled unaccompanied (Table 4.6a). Notably, more than one fifth (22%) of the girls working in tea stalls had travelled unaccompanied.

The percentage of boys travelling alone is higher in all labour situations except carpet factory labour. None of the boys or girls working in carpet factories had travelled alone. Approximately two fifths of the street children (42%), boy tea stall workers (42%), restaurant workers (41%) and mechanic helpers (37%) reported that they reached their present destination alone. On the other hand, over two thirds of the boys engaged in stone quarries (69%) had been accompanied by their parents or close family members.

Table 4.6b Accompaniment during migration, by labour situation (findings from in-depth interviews)

Accompanied by	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Street child /rag picker	Stone breaker		Restaurant worker	Tea stall worker		Mechanic helper	Total N=64
	B	G	B	G	B	B	G	B	B	G	B	
	N=8	N=12	N=3	N=5	N=11	N=6	N=4	N=4	N=3	N=2	N=6	
Neighbour	2	3	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	10
Relatives	2	2	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	12
Parents/close family members	2	3	-	-	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	14
Employer/ employer's relatives	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	10
Friend	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	6
Not accompanied	-	-	-	-	5	1	-	3	2	1	1	13

For comparison, information about accompaniment was also solicited through in-depth interviews (Table 4.6b). The responses from the in-depth interviews confirmed the responses from the semi-structured interviews. Most of the children (50 out of 64) had been accompanied by their close family members, fellow villagers, relatives, employer or friends. About one fifth of the respondents said that they had travelled alone.

Entering the Labour Situation

KEY FINDINGS

- Most frequently, relatives and persons from the same village helped children find employment.
- Few children found their own employment, except boy tea stall workers, restaurant workers and girl stone breakers.
- Approximately one half of the girls and one quarter of the boys had prior knowledge, before migration, of the work they would perform.

Relatively few children had entered their present labour situation through their employers (12% of boys and 16% of girls). The children whom employers most helped to find work were transport workers (30%). This may reflect the relatively high age, higher education and presumably greater autonomy of boy transport workers. The labour situations in which employers most frequently helped girls find employment were domestic labour (28%) and tea stall work (22%). Some children working in restaurants and tea stalls remarked that their employers called them while they were wandering around the streets.

Table 4.7 **Percentage distribution of respondents according to the person who helped the child get present job, by labour situation**

Person who helped child get present job	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child /rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Friends	10.0	2.9	23.1	2.7	25.0	86.4	11.1	-	24.4	3.3	10.3	10.0	30.2	4.1
Father	10.0	11.6	-	2.7	-	-	2.8	22.2	-	-	10.3	3.3	3.0	8.3
Neighbour	25.0	23.2	7.7	18.9	-	1.7	27.8	22.2	17.1	20.0	3.4	6.7	13.4	18.6
Brother	17.5	2.9	7.7	16.2	15.0	1.7	2.8	-	7.3	23.3	-	-	8.6	5.5
Sister	2.5	7.2	7.7	16.2	5.0	-	-	33.3	-	-	6.9	6.7	1.9	11.0
Mother	5.0	8.7	-	5.4	-	-	-	11.1	-	-	58.6	20.0	7.1	10.3
Employer	17.5	27.5	15.4	-	30.0	1.7	16.7	22.2	12.2	13.3	-	6.7	11.6	15.9
Self effort	5.0	4.3	-	2.7	15.0	5.1	27.8	-	29.3	13.3	6.9	33.3	13.4	9.7
Other relatives*	5.0	11.6	46.2	40.5	10.0	-	5.6	-	9.8	26.7	6.9	13.3	9.7	18.6
Other**	2.5	4.3	-	-	-	1.7	5.6	-	-	-	-	-	1.5	2.1
Not specified	-	-	-	-	-	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	3.3	0.4	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

* Uncle, aunt, brother-in-law, sister-in-law ** Tourists, rickshaw puller, people from organizations
Percentage total may exceed 100 due to multiple responses.

Table 4.8 Percentage distribution of respondents by prior knowledge of the kind of work they would perform, by labour situation

Person who helped child get present job	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child /rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Yes	30.0	49.3	53.8	67.6	10.0	1.7	33.3	77.8	26.8	53.3	10.3	6.7	23.9	46.9
No	70.0	50.7	46.2	32.4	90.0	98.3	66.7	22.2	73.2	46.7	89.7	93.3	76.1	53.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

Relatives and neighbors (that is, other persons from the same village) assisted children to get employment in the majority of the cases. The highest incidence of family members helping girls to find employment was among girls working in carpet factories, as expected due to the traditionally family-oriented nature of carpet factory labour. For boys, the highest incidences of family assistance were in carpet factories and stone quarries. The lowest incidence of family members assisting girls to find employment was in domestic labour, in which neighbors and employers most often brought girls into service.

Gaining employment through self effort was naturally more prevalent among boys, and was particularly noted in transport work, tea stall work and restaurant labour. Girls seldom secured their own employment, with the exception of stone quarry work, in which one third of the girls (as opposed to only 7% of boys) found their own jobs. The reason for this is not readily explained. As expected, street children most often entered the rag picking profession through friends.

The IDP children were asked if they had prior knowledge of the work that they would be doing. Approximately one half of the girl respondents but only one fourth of the boy respondents had prior knowledge of the work they would be doing. For girls, prior knowledge of the type of work they would enter was most frequent among tea stall workers and carpet factory workers (which work has traditionally been family-based), and least frequent among stone breakers. For boys, prior knowledge was most frequent among mechanic helpers and carpet factory workers, and least frequent among transport workers, rag pickers and stone breakers.

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[3] Informal Sector Service Centre. (2004). 'IDPs in Nepal: Most Affected Districts' in Human Rights Year Book 2004. Kathmandu: INSEC. The 38 seriously conflict-affected districts represented by the IDP children in the study are: Taplejung, Paanchthar, Terathum, Dhankuta, Sankhuwasabha, Bhojpur, Khotang, Okhaldhunga, Udaypur, Solukhumbu, Sindhuli, Ramechhap, Dolakha, Nuwakot, Makawanpur, Sindhupalchowk, Kavre, Chitwan, Dhading, Gorkha, Tanahun, Lamjung, Kaski, Syanja, Palpa, Baglung, Gulmi, Myagdi, Parbat, Dang, Banke, Surkhet, Bardiya, Kailali, Doti, Dailekh, Rolpa and Rukum.

[4] The 16 less conflict-affected districts are mostly in southern Terai belt and in the Kathmandu Valley. These are: Jhapa, Sunsari, Morang, Saptari, Siraha, Sarlahi, Mohattari, Dhanusha, Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Nawalparasi and Rupendehi, as well as Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur in the Kathmandu Valley. It should be mentioned that even in these districts there are areas that are seriously affected by the conflict.

CHAPTER 5

Basic Needs

Access to Education

KEY FINDINGS

- One fifth of the boys and three fifths of the girls were attending formal or non-formal education classes at the time of the study.
- None of the boy carpet factory workers, transport workers or mechanic helpers were presently attending school.
- The lowest school enrolment among girls was among tea stall workers.
- The highest school enrolment among both boys and girls was among domestic workers.
- Among girls, family poverty and work obligations were the most commonly cited reasons for not going to school.
- Among boys, lack of interest and work obligations were the most commonly cited reasons for not going to school.

The study shows (Table 5.1) that only 21% of the boys but 62% of the girls were either attending formal schools or participating in non-formal education (NFE) classes at the time of the study. These data cannot be generalized to the entire population of IDP children in labour situations in the target cities because many of the respondents were accessed through NGOs who provided NFE classes to labouring children. However, the data indicate success in enrolment of girl working children through NGO support among domestic workers, girl carpet factory workers and stone breakers, while indicating relatively low coverage of boy working children by NGOs.

Notably, among children where NGOs were not promoting school enrolment, lack of school or NFE class attendance was markedly high. 100% of boy carpet factory workers, transport workers and mechanic helpers, as well as 90% of street children and 77% of boy stone breakers were not enrolled in school or NFE classes. It is interesting to note that the percentage of enrolment either in formal or non-formal education is higher for street children (10%) than for boys working in restaurants (7%). Among girl respondents, the most significant non-enrolment was among tea stall workers (80%), indicating a lack of contact of these girls by NGOs.

Table 5.1 also shows the levels of education in which these children were currently enrolled. NFE classes predominate among the education levels for working children, again an indication of NGO activity, particularly among domestic workers, girl carpet factory workers and street children. A notable number of boy domestic workers were attending primary or lower secondary school (30% of those attending school), with 13% attending higher secondary school. Similarly, a moderately large percentage of stone breakers were attending formal school (41% of girls and 56% of boys in primary, 47% of girls and 22% of boys in lower secondary, and 12% of girls in higher secondary school).

Table 5.1 Percentage distribution of respondents currently studying and level of study, by labour situation

Currently attending school or NFE classes	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child /rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Yes	75.0	75.4	-	54.1	-	10.2	22.9	20.0	7.3	-	31.0	56.7	21.0	62.3
No	25.0	24.6	100.0	45.9	100.0	89.8	77.1	80.0	92.7	100.0	69.0	43.3	79.0	37.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	35	10	41	30	29	30	267	146
Level of study, if attending														
Non-formal education	56.7	90.4	-	100.0	-	100.0	62.5	50.0	-	-	22.2	-	53.6	73.6
Primary (1-5)	20.0	1.9	-	-	-	-	37.5	50.0	-	-	55.5	41.2	25.0	11.10
Lower secondary (6-8)	10.0	5.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	66.7	-	22.2	47.1	12.5	12.1
Higher secondary (9-10)	13.3	1.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	-	-	11.8	8.9	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	30	52	-	20	-	6	8	2	3	-	9	17	56	91

Table 5.2 presents children's reasons for non-enrolment in non-formal or formal education. The predominant reason for non-enrolment among boys was lack of interest, closely followed by lack of time for study due to work. More specifically, most boy carpet factory workers (62%) and nearly one half of boy tea stall workers (48%) and restaurant workers

Table 5.2 Percentage distribution of respondents according to the reasons for not attending formal or non-formal education, by labour situation

Perceived reasons for not attending school or non-formal education	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child /rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Do not like to go, no interest	10.0	17.6	7.7	17.6	40.0	49.1	33.3	12.5	21.1	40.0	20.0	7.7	32.7	14.5
No time for study due to work	10.0	23.5	61.5	35.3	30.0	3.8	48.1	-	47.4	33.3	15.0	30.8	28.9	25.5
Poor economic condition of family	20.0	17.6	7.7	23.5	10.0	17.0	14.8	37.5	18.4	26.7	30.0	46.2	18.5	29.1
No opportunity for education	30.0	11.8	7.7	17.6	10.0	30.2	22.2	50.0	23.7	3.3	30.0	7.7	20.9	18.2
Shutting down of schools by Maoists	10.0	-	-	-	25.0	1.9	-	-	2.6	6.7	10.0	7.7	5.7	1.8
Finished NFE classes and just appeared for compartment exam	20.0	11.8	-	11.8	-	-	-	-	2.6	-	-	-	1.4	7.3
No response	-	-	15.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.7	0.9	1.8
Other*	-	23.5		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.0	-	0.9	7.3
Don't know	-	-	7.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.5	-
No.	10	17	13	17	20	53	27	8	38	30	20	13	211	55

* No father and thus do not have birth registration for admission, old mark sheet required for admission has been left in the village but it is not possible to go to the village because of the Maoist problem.
Percentage total may exceed 100 due to multiple responses.

(47%) stated that they did not have time to study. Lack of interest dominated among boy transport workers, street children and mechanic helpers. Few girls stated lack of interest as a reason for non-enrolment. Among girl labourers who were not enrolled, lack of time to study and the poor economic condition of the family were the primary reasons given.

Health Care

KEY FINDINGS

- Almost all children had access to medicines through their employers, but few had access to health care services.
- Street children had the best access to health care services.

Almost all of the children interviewed had access to medicines, although few had access to health care services. Generally, employers showed concern for the children's health and provided them with medicines during illness. Most of the children did not visit hospi-

tals or private clinics when they were ill. Instead, their employers brought medicine for them from local pharmacists. The effectiveness of non-physician prescribed medicines in the treatment of illnesses is questionable. One boy carpet factory worker said that he had seen a traditional faith healer when he was ill. Notably, those with access to the best forms of health care were street children. Health-related NGOs provided free health care services to street children.

A few children said that the expenditure for treatment was deducted from their salary. Most the children were allowed to take rest when they were unable to work. One girl domestic worker said that she was not allowed to rest when she was ill, as her employer thought she was pretending. Some mentioned sick leave provisions, which depended upon the type of illness and its seriousness. If provided sick leave, their salary was deducted. Most of the children working in stone quarries were living with their family members, who took care of them during illness.

Nutrition

KEY FINDINGS

- All children interviewed received regular and adequate meals, with the exception of street children.

During the in-depth interviews, the study investigated the nutritional intake of the children. Information on children's nutritional status was not gathered through measurement or similar means, but was based on the number of meals the children took per day, and the food provided at those meals. With the exception of street children, all working children took two meals per day (the norm in Nepal), and most also received snacks and tea. Street children relied upon NGOs to provide them with meals, scavenged, or begged food in the streets or from shops.

Domestic workers and mechanic helpers appeared to have the best diets. Mechanic helpers said they often had meat with their meals. All domestic workers enjoyed the same food as that prepared for their employers, except one child who was offered stale food and leftovers.

Living Conditions

KEY FINDINGS

- Sanitation, space and comfort were lacking in the physical living situations of almost all children.

- Girl tea stall workers and street children reported the worst living conditions.

Information about the physical living situation of the children was solicited through the in-depth interviews. In terms of sanitation, space and comfort the living conditions of almost all children were poor. The best living conditions were found among children working in stone quarries, as almost all lived with their own family members. Still, the houses of stone breakers were congested, with numerous family members sleeping in one or two small rooms.

Most domestic workers were obliged to sleep on a veranda, in a corridor or under the stairs of their employers' houses. Only a few children said that they had a separate room for themselves. Some girls were allowed to share the rooms of female family members but had to sleep on the floor. One female domestic worker said her employer harassed her sexually and that she always tried to avoid him.

Girls working in tea stalls did not have a comfortable place to sleep and often described their sleeping place as 'horrible', whereas boys did not complain. Most of the children who worked in mechanic shops and restaurants slept in the shop or nearby rooms with their co-workers.

Street children had the worst living conditions. Except one, all of the street children slept on the footpath with their friends. The street children constantly encountered problems that were serious in comparison with those of other IDP children. Drug addicts, police, security guards and local people harassed them during the night. Drug addicts snatched their money and tried to abuse them sexually. Older street children demanded alcohol and Dendrite (a commercial glue used as an intoxicant) from younger children in return for protecting them from such abuses.

CHAPTER 6

The Workplace

Children's Perception of the Quality of Their Work Situation

KEY FINDINGS

- The majority of both boys and girls described their work situation as good or average.
- Scolding and corporal punishment were most frequently mentioned as a reason for disliking the work situation.
- Many children reported that their employers expected them to work without pay.
- Those with the lowest satisfaction with their work situation were boy domestic workers, rag pickers, girl tea stall workers and stone breakers.
- Those with the highest satisfaction with their work situation were girl domestic workers, transport workers and mechanic helpers.
- Girls working in domestic service and carpet factories reported sexual and verbal harassment from males.

Perception of their current work situation

In semi-structured interviews, all of the children were asked to rate the quality of their workplaces (either good, average, below average or poor). More than half of the boys (57%) and half of the girls (49%) described their workplaces as average, while a higher percentage of girls than boys rated their working environment as good (33% of girls vs. 19% of boys). A higher percentage of boys (21% of boys vs. 14% of girls) stated that their

Table 6.1 Percentage distribution of respondents by preception of their working environment and by labour situation

Perception of working environ-ment	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child /rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Good	27.5	43.5	7.7	29.7	25.0	11.9	27.8	33.3	7.3	33.3	13.8	13.3	19.0	33.1
Average	42.5	42.0	69.2	54.1	70.0	45.8	52.8	44.4	70.7	66.7	58.6	60.0	56.7	49.0
Below average	27.5	10.1	15.4	16.2	5.0	32.2	19.4	-	19.5	-	24.1	23.3	20.5	13.8
Poor	2.5	4.3	7.7	-	-	10.2	-	22.2	2.4	-	3.4	3.3	3.7	4.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

working situation was below average. Very few of the children reported their working situation as poor (4% of boys and 4% of girls).

Among girl respondents, a significant percentage of domestic workers (44%) and one third of tea stall workers and carpet factory workers stated that their working environment was good. However, nearly one fourth (22%) of girl tea stall workers stated that their working environment was poor. Among boy respondents, one quarter of transport workers and tea stall workers, and one third of mechanic helpers rated their workplace as good.

Things children liked about their work situation

Most of the children gave ambivalent responses when asked what they liked about their workplaces. Few children had access to entertainment, with the exception of domestic workers, who said they liked watching TV and reading books. Many said they appreciated chatting and gossiping with their friends, particularly carpet factory workers and mechanic helpers. Other children said that they appreciated their work: boys in restaurants said they enjoyed cooking, mechanic helpers said they enjoyed working with engines and learning new skills, and boy tea stall workers said they enjoyed serving customers (in contrast with girl tea stall workers, who said they didn't like anything about their workplace). Some street children said they were happy with the money they earned from selling rags, from which they could buy food.

Things children did not like about their work situation

Labouring children stated many more things that they disliked than they liked about their work situation. Most frequently, the children said that they did not like being scolded and beaten. Many stated that they were discriminated against, and treated as if they were inferior beings. Naturally, many complained of long and arduous labour, and many stated that they were not paid or did not get leisure time.

Although many domestic workers said that their working environment was good, a significant proportion also had strong complaints. Some of the girls reported that if their work was not done on time, their employers beat them. Another girl expressed her insecurity after her employer's husband tried to sexually harass her. They also reported that they felt bad when they had to eat their meals alone and were not allowed to enter the dining room while others were having food. Boy domestic workers shared similar views. They said they were scolded or beaten by their employers even for small mistakes or for no mistakes at all. They said that domestic servants had to do all sorts of work like cleaning dishes and working in fields, yet they were not treated properly by their employers.

Children working in carpet factories mostly expressed concern about the physical working conditions, which they felt were hazardous to their health. They complained of nose irritation and breathing problems caused by the wool dust, about the lack of windows and ventilation in the workrooms, and about dirty toilets. The girls said that they were not allowed enough sleep when the employer needed to produce many carpets in a short time, and that their hands hurt from the weaving. They also stated that they were harassed by the boys in the workplace.

Street children most strongly objected to the discrimination they received from society, and the fact that they were often accused of stealing. They said they were often scolded by local people and chased by dogs while collecting rags.

Employer's treatment of the children

Information on the employer's treatment of the children was solicited through in-depth interviews. The children were asked how they were treated by their employers. Although the majority of the children said that their employers' attitude towards them was 'okay', many of them also said that they were often scolded and beaten for no reason. They stated that the worst thing of all was not getting any leave, including for the national family holiday of Dashain. Many children reported that their employers expected them to work without pay. When asked whether the salary they received was equivalent to the work performed, many said they had not received any money, and those who were paid reported that their salary was low.

Children's Perception of the Working Environment of Other Children

KEY FINDINGS

- Children perceived stone breakers, rag pickers and brick kiln workers to have the worst working situations of working children.

- Children in contact with supporting organizations had greater knowledge of other children's working situations than children without contact.

The children were asked for their perceptions of the working environment of other children in same city. During the narrative focus group discussions (in which children discussed a story of an imaginary working child named Saili or Saila), the participants were asked the following questions: *Do you know any other children like Saili/Saila who are working in a bad labour situation in this city? Do you know how many children in this city are working in such a situation?*

Most of the children said that they were aware of other children working in a bad labour situation like Saili/Saila and many participants related the story with themselves. Some participants were also able to give a rough estimate of the number of children in similar situations and the places where they came from. Responses varied considerably among children in different labour situations. Children working in domestic labour perceived that children working as rag pickers, stone breakers and brick kiln workers had a worse situation than theirs. On the other hand, some children perceived the working environment of others to be better. For example, domestic workers regarded the condition of children working in restaurants to be better than theirs. Most of the rag pickers regarded their situation to be the worst of all.

Comparatively, children who were involved in NFE classes conducted by the NGOs were able to provide more information about other children's working situations than children who were not affiliated with any organization. Domestic workers and children working in tea stalls had the least knowledge about the working situation of other children, while the majority of carpet factory workers were able to give information.

Length of Working Hours

KEY FINDINGS

- Most of the children interviewed worked long hours, girls on an average of 11 hours per day and boys on an average of 9 hours per day.
- The most exploitative labour situations in terms of working hours were carpet factory labour and tea stall labour, with the majority of these children working more than 13 hours per day.

The average working hours per day for girls was notably longer (11 hours) than for boys (9 hours). All children in all labour situations worked longer than eight hours per day, with the exception of stone breakers and rag pickers. In terms of working hours, the most exploit-

Table 6.2 Percentage distribution of respondents by working hours and by labour situation

Working hoursper day	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child /rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
1-4 hrs.	2.5	2.9	-	2.7	-	28.8	5.6	-	-	-	24.1	46.7	10.1	11.7
5-8 hrs.	42.5	14.5	7.7	-	15.0	22.0	11.1	-	29.3	23.3	41.4	20.0	25.7	11.0
9-12 hrs.	37.5	55.1	30.8	16.2	60.0	20.3	52.8	77.8	31.7	66.7	34.5	30.0	39.2	41.4
More than 13 hrs.	17.5	27.5	61.5	81.1	25.0	1.7	30.6	22.2	39.0	10.0	-	3.3	19.0	35.9
Not specified	-	-	-	-	-	27.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.0	-
Average working hours	9.5	10.6	13.0	13.7	11.7	4.7	11.2	12.6	11.1	10.4	7.1	6.2	9.1	10.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

ative child labour situation was carpet factory work, in which 81% of the girls and 62% of the boys worked more than 13 hours per day. It should be noted that carpet workers are frequently paid by the amount of production, and thus 'willingly' work long hours to earn more money, although the validity of 'willingness' can be contested here regarding children.

Closely following carpet factory labour in terms of time exploitation was tea stall labour, in which girls worked an average of 13 hours per day and boys 11 hours per day. Restaurant workers, transport workers and girl domestic workers also worked an average of more than 11 hours per day.

Remuneration

KEY FINDINGS

- Many children received no payment for their work, particularly domestic workers and mechanic helpers.
- Children with the lowest salaries were domestic workers and tea stall workers.
- Carpet factory workers, restaurant workers and mechanic helpers earned the highest salaries among the children interviewed.
- Carpet factory workers, transport workers and stone breakers earned by amount of production or service, and needed to work long hours to receive adequate salaries.

Data on the remuneration of IDP children for their labour showed high levels of exploitation (Table 6.3). As expected, boy labourers overall earned more than girl labourers. Most of the children who received remuneration were of the opinion that their wages did not match the amount of work performed. The few children who received the highest salaries (over 3,000 NRs. per month) were stone breakers (14% of boys and 10% of girls) and rag pickers (10%). However, in terms of numbers of children earning adequate salaries (for

children in Nepal), carpet factory labour, restaurant labour and mechanical work were shown to be the most lucrative. 38% of girl carpet factory workers, 32% of restaurant workers and 37% of mechanic helpers earned more than 1,000 NRs. per month.

Those receiving the lowest salaries (under 500 NRs. per month) were domestic labourers (33% of boys and 41% of girls) and tea stall workers (33% of boys and 44% of girls). Over one fifth of the girl tea stall workers and one tenth of the girl carpet factory workers did not know how much they earned because their families received their salaries.

The percentage of children receiving no remuneration for their work was notable (nearly 15% of girls and 10% of boys). Lack of payment for work was most pronounced among boy domestic workers (35%), girl domestic workers (16%) and mechanic helpers (47%). The high percentage of domestic workers not receiving salaries may be due to their families placing them in a 'protected' situation in times of armed conflict, as well as being provided basic needs by the employer. To some extent, although not determined, the absence of salaries for domestic workers may also be linked to rural families' indebtedness or servitude to local landowners, with the children being placed as servants in landowners' urban residences as part of their families' debt obligation. The high percentage of mechanic helpers working without salary stands in contrast to the relatively high salaries of mechanic helpers who did receive wages (37% receiving 1,000 NRs. or more each month, with no mechanic helpers earning less). Thus, it may be possible that the unsalaried mechanic helpers were working for free as 'ap-

Table 6.3 Percentage distribution of respondents by monthly remuneration and by labour situation

Monthly remuneration (in Nepali rupees)	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child /rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Up to 100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.4	-	0.4	-
101-500	32.5	40.6	-	2.7	15.0	-	33.3	44.4	9.8	-	3.4	3.3	12.3	23.4
501-1000	12.5	8.7	61.5	18.9	25.0	8.5	38.9	22.2	41.5	-	-	3.3	20.1	11.0
1001-2000	5.0	2.9	-	21.6	-	6.8	8.3	-	29.3	20.0	10.3	-	11.2	6.9
2001-3000	-	-	15.4	16.2	15.0	5.1	-	-	2.4	13.3	-	-	4.9	4.1
3000+	-	1.4	-	-	5.0	10.2	-	-	-	3.3	13.8	10.0	4.5	2.8
No fixed amount	10.0	20.3	23.1	35.1	40.0	67.8	5.6	-	9.8	16.7	58.6	73.3	31.0	33.8
No remuneration	35.0	15.9	-	-	-	1.7	13.9	11.1	7.3	46.7	6.9	6.7	14.6	9.7
Don't know because family member takes the money	5.0	10.1	-	5.4	-	-	-	22.2	-	-	3.4	3.3	1.1	8.3
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

prentices', with the expectation of earning a moderately high salary (for a child) when they acquire mechanical skills.

Nearly one third of the boys and girls earned 'no fixed amount.' These were primarily carpet factory workers, transport workers, rag pickers and stone breakers. These cases generally indicate that the children earned according to their production (in the case of carpet factory or stone breakers) or, in the case of transport workers, the fares collected by the vehicle. Naturally, rag pickers earned according to the amount of rags and metal they collected and sold.

Obligation to Support Family Members

KEY FINDINGS

- One half of the girls and one fourth of the boys worked to provide monetary support to their families.
- The child labourers who most provided support to family members were girl carpet factory workers.
- One fourth of street children reported that they sent money home to their families.

The obligation of children to provide monetary support to their families can force them to tolerate exploitative labour conditions. Information about children's financial obligations was derived from the in-depth interviews with 64 children. Girls had more responsibility towards their family members than the boys. Nearly half (11 out of 23) reported that they had to provide monetary support to their families whereas only a little more than one fourth (11 out of 40) of the boys reported the same. Among domestic workers, one half (six out of 12) of the girls reported that they sent money to their families while only one boy had the same responsibility. About one fourth (three out of 11) of the street children sent money to their families.

Health Concerns in the Workplace

KEY FINDINGS

- Children in carpet factory labour, stone quarry work and mechanical labour reported the most health concerns and workplace injuries.
- Of the working situations investigated, carpet factories had the most health risks.

The most physically hazardous labour situation identified by the study (Table 6.4) was carpet factory labour. The majority (54% of boys and 46% of girls) reported difficulty breath-

Table 6.4 Percentage distribution of respondents according to the health problems experienced, by labour situation

Monthly remuneration (in Nepali rupees)	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child /rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Difficulty breathing	5.0	10.1	53.8	45.9	-	5.1	11.1	11.1	4.9	6.7	6.9	13.3	8.2	20.0
Burning nose	-	1.4	30.8	37.8	-	11.9	11.1	11.1	2.4	3.3	-	3.3	6.3	11.7
Irritation of the eyes	2.5	5.8	30.8	37.8	15.0	5.1	13.9	11.1	4.9	23.3	10.3	30.0	10.4	19.3
Workplace injuries	12.5	17.4	38.5	32.4	5.0	45.8	19.4	11.1	9.8	43.3	51.7	66.7	28.7	31.0
Body pains	-	8.7	15.4	10.8	30.0	11.9	2.8	-	24.4	3.3	10.3	40.0	11.2	15.2
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

Percentage total may exceed 100 due to multiple responses.

ing due to the dust from the carpet wool and having to work in damp rooms without adequate ventilation. Approximately one third of both boys and girls in carpet factories reported burning noses, eye irritation and workplace injuries, particularly sore hands from weaving.

Stone quarry work resulted in considerable health problems for children, especially girls. Both girls and boys reported workplace injuries, including damaging their hands while breaking stones with a hammer or getting stone splinters in their eyes. Two fifths of the girls said they had severe body aches from carrying baskets of wet sand on their backs. More than 40% of mechanic helpers told of injuries from the tools and 46% of street children said that they frequently cut their hands on broken glass and sharp metal while collecting rags.

Problems Encountered in the Workplace

KEY FINDINGS

- The most frequently perceived problem in the workplace was lack of sleeping place, followed by verbal and physical abuse.
- Children perceived the employer to be the source of most of their problems in the workplace, including verbal and physical abuse, long hours and poor wages.
- Those reporting the most problems in the workplace were domestic workers and stone breakers.

When asked what kinds of problems they encountered in their workplace, 37% of the boys and 40% of the girls said they encountered no problems. Of the problems encountered, more than one fourth of both boys and girls said they had no proper place for sleep-

Table 6.5 Percentage distribution of respondents by problems in the workplace and by labour situation

Type of problem	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child /rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Have not faced any problems	30.0	46.4	46.2	29.7	45.0	15.3	52.8	77.8	46.3	56.7	24.1	26.7	36.6	40.0
No proper place for sleeping	17.5	17.4	7.7	2.7	50.0	55.9	5.6	22.2	22.0	6.7	27.6	73.3	26.9	25.5
Scolded, threatened or beaten by employer	37.5	30.4	15.4	27.0	5.0	6.8	22.2	22.2	19.5	3.3	6.9	-	15.3	22.8
Have to work all the time	20.0	11.6	30.8	2.7	-	-	11.1	11.1	7.3	6.7	31.0	30.0	11.2	13.1
Do not earn enough money	10.0	7.2	7.7	24.3	15.0	8.5	11.1	-	12.2	3.3	13.8	23.3	10.1	14.5
Have to work when sick	7.5	-	15.4	18.9	10.0	13.6	11.1	-	2.4	16.7	13.8	10.0	10.8	6.9
Is not allowed to go to school regularly	15.0	14.5	15.4	2.7	-	6.8	-	-	7.3	-	20.7	23.3	7.8	12.4
Beaten by older boys, robbed by hooligans	5.0	-	-	-	-	44.1	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	10.8	-
Employer doesn't give money, wages not fixed	12.5	1.4	7.7	13.5	-	-	2.8	22.2	4.9	6.7	-	3.3	4.1	6.2
Problems from police	-	-	-	-	-	30.5	-	-	-	3.3	-	-	7.1	-
Not able to meet mother/father, not able to return to village	2.5	15.9	-	2.7	-	-	5.6	-	7.3	-	-	-	2.2	8.3
Money stolen by others	-	-	-	-	-	25.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.6	-
Beaten by employer	2.5	4.3	-	2.7	-		8.3	22.2	2.4	-	-	-	1.9	4.1
Cannot leave workplace or join programme	5.0	5.8	-	8.1	-	-	-	-	4.9	-	-	-	1.5	4.8
Other*	2.5	-	-	-	-	5.1	-	-	4.9	-	-	-	2.2	-
No response	-	-	-	2.7	-	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.4	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

* Fight with friends, beaten by father/mother, people in city treat poorly, feel uncomfortable in the city
Percentage total may exceed 100 due to multiple responses.

ing. Somewhat fewer (23% of girls and 15% of boys) said they were frequently scolded, threatened or beaten by their employer.

The children who encountered the most problems were those working in domestic service and stone quarries. Domestic workers spoke frequently of being scolded or beaten, having no proper place to sleep, having to work all of the time and not being able to go to school regularly. Similarly, stone breakers were concerned about having no adequate place to sleep, having to work constantly and not being allowed to go to school. Girls in carpet factories frequently said that boys made vulgar remarks to them, and they were helpless to respond. Street children had problems unique among the working children, including being beaten and robbed by local hooligans and being threatened and beaten by the police.

Overall, the source of most problems for the children was their employer. Sometimes their employers scolded them for not doing the given task properly, used offensive language, beat them for disobedience and accused them of stealing. Employers frequently put pressure on the children to complete their work quickly. As many children, particularly domestic workers, had little knowledge of the surrounding community, they had no place to go for support. When asked their opinions on why they were treated like this, the children said it was because they were poor and displaced from their villages. Some said that because they were from the countryside, people in the city treated them as if they were ignorant.

CHAPTER 7

Safety Net and External Risk Factors

Accompaniment in the Living Situation

KEY FINDINGS

- Only one third of the girls and one fourth of the boys lived with their parents, spouses or other close family members.
- More than one half of the girls lived with their employers.
- Girl tea stall workers and boy street children had the most inadequate safety nets in terms of accompaniment in their living situation.
- A high percentage of girl carpet factory workers and boy and girl stone breakers lived with their family members.

The study showed that nearly one third of the girls (32%) and one fourth of the boys (25%) lived with their parents, spouses or close family members. Only 7% of the boys and 4% of the girls lived with both parents, although 12% of the girls lived with their mothers. Among boys, the largest percentage (40%) lived with friends (contrasting with 2% of girls who did so), followed by their employer (30%). Notably, 52% of the girls but only 39% of the boys lived with their employers. These data indicate a much higher vulnerability for girls than for boys to exploitation and abuse in the place of living.

By labour situation, almost all domestic workers naturally lived with their employers. Generally, it can be said that these children were provided a 'safety net' of responsible adults protecting and caring for them, although if incidents of abuse or maltreatment by employers occurred, these children had few alternative sources of support.

Carpet factory workers generally either lived with persons from the same village or relatives outside their immediate family. This reflects the long-established system in the Nepal carpet industry of persons from the same families and communities working in the same carpet factory. However, while providing more protection than friends or employers, distant relatives and neighbours do not provide a safety net as secure as that provided by closer family members. This situation would appear to provide a safety net for such children, although other studies have indicated a fairly high level of sexual harassment, sexual abuse and trafficking of girl carpet factory workers.

One half of the transport workers (50%) lived with family members or persons from the same village, and most of the remainder lived with friends or alone. Street children showed the greatest lack of access to caring adults in their living situation, with 88% living with friends. However, street child informants often noted that their friends protected and defended them if problems arose. The majority of boy tea stall workers (58%) and almost all girl tea stall workers (89%) lived with their employers. Comparing that with data above regarding their poor physical living situation, it is suggested that girl tea stall workers have

Table 7.1 Percentage distribution of respondents according to the person(s) they live with, by labour situation

Person(s) with whom the child is presently living	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child/ rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Friends	2.5	-	7.7	8.1	30.0	88.1	25.0	-	43.9	60.0	3.4	-	39.6	2.1
Employer	92.5	95.7	15.4	-	5.0	-	58.3	88.9	39.0	3.3	3.4	3.3	29.5	51.7
Alone	2.5	-	-	-	25.0	5.1	2.8	11.1	7.3	10.0	-	-	6.0	0.7
Husband/wife	-	-	-	8.1	-	-	2.8	-	4.9	-	-	10.0	1.1	4.1
Neighbour/ person from same village	-	-	23.1	10.8	5.0	1.7	5.6	-	-	6.7	10.3	6.7	4.5	4.1
Brother	5.0	-	-	10.8	20.0	1.7	2.8	-	2.4	13.3	20.7	6.7	7.1	4.1
Sister	5.0	2.9	-	24.3	10.0	-	2.8	-	-	-	17.2	-	3.7	7.6
Mother	-	2.9	15.4	2.7	5.0	3.4	-	-	2.4	-	20.7	46.7	4.5	11.7
Other relatives	-	2.9	30.8	51.4	10.0	-	2.8	-	-	10.0	6.9	26.7	4.5	20.0
Father	2.5	-	7.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.9	-	1.5	-
Driver	-	-	-	-	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.7	-
Both parents	-	-	-	5.4	-	1.7	5.6	-	-	-	51.7	13.3	6.7	4.1
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

the most inadequate safety net of all girl children in the study. Among boys, after street children, mechanic helpers appear to have the most inadequate safety nets, with 70% of them either living with friends or alone. At the same time, the relatively higher age of mechanic helpers must be taken into consideration. The majority of stone breakers, both boys and girls, lived with parents or other close family members.

Accompaniment in the Workplace

KEY FINDINGS

- One half of the girls and two thirds of the boys had no relatives or fellow villagers in their workplace.
- Those children with the least accompaniment in the workplace were domestic workers, tea stall workers, restaurant workers and street children.
- A high percentage of carpet factory workers and stone breakers worked with family members or persons from their village.

Table 7.2 **Percentage distribution of respondents according to the presence of relatives or fellow villagers in the workplace, by labour situation**

Presence of relatives or fellow villagers in the same workplace	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child /rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Yes	7.5	8.7	84.6	97.3	35.0	32.2	25.0	11.1	24.4	40.0	89.7	83.3	36.2	46.9
No	92.5	91.3	15.4	2.7	65.0	67.8	75.0	88.9	75.6	60.0	10.3	16.7	63.8	53.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145
Person(s) in same workplace, if present														
Whole family	-	-	9.1	5.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44.0	1.0	19.1
Mother	33.3	-	-	5.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	76.9	28.0	21.6	13.2
Father	33.3	-	-	2.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	76.9	20.0	21.6	8.8
Brother	33.3	50.0	18.2	50.0	71.4	63.2	22.2	-	40.0	33.3	19.2	12.0	36.1	35.3
Sister	-	50.0	-	30.6	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	26.9	12.0	7.2	26.5
Other relatives*	-	16.7	36.4	61.1	-	5.3	-	-	50.0	8.3	15.4	16.0	15.5	39.7
Employer	-	-	-	-	-	-	22.2	-	10.0	16.7	-	-	5.2	-
Neighbour from the same village	33.3	-	36.4	16.7	-	-	22.2	-	10.0	-	-	12.0	8.2	13.2
Friend from the same village	33.3	16.7	18.2	30.6	28.6	15.8	11.1	-	10.0	41.7	23.1	20.0	21.6	25.0
Not specified	-	-	-	2.8	-	15.8	22.2	-	-	-	-	-	5.2	1.5
No.	3	6	11	36	7	19	9	1	10	12	26	25	97	68

* Uncle, aunt, brother-in-law, sister-in-law
Percentage total may exceed 100 due to multiple responses.

The majority of girls (53%) and boys (64%) had no relatives, friends or neighbours from the same village at their place of work. The percentage of children who had no relatives or friends at their place of work, and were thus presumably less protected from exploitation, was highest among domestic workers (93% of boys and 93% of girls) followed by tea stall workers (89% of girls and 75% of boys), restaurant workers (76%) and street children (67%). In contrast, almost all of the girls (97%) and most of the boys (85%) working in carpet factories reported the presence of family members in their workplace. The large majority of the children working in stone quarries (90% of boys and 83% of girls) reported the same.

Presence of Realtives or Village Friends in the City

KEY FINDINGS

- Although the majority of children had relatives or acquaintances in the same city, these persons provided little contact and support.

Table 7.3 Percentage distribution of respondents according to the presence of relatives or friends in the city, by labour situation

Presence of relatives or friends in the city	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child/ rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Yes	77.5	56.5	100.0	100.0	100.0	67.8	69.4	55.6	73.2	93.3	86.2	66.7	79.1	69.7
No	22.5	43.5	-	-	-	32.2	30.6	44.4	26.8	6.7	13.8	33.3	20.9	30.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145
Relatives or friends, if present														
Friends from the same village	32.3	25.6	46.2	64.9	50.0	37.5	68.0	20.0	70.0	32.1	16.0	5.0	43.4	35.6
Husband/wife	-	2.6	-	2.7	-	-	-	-	10.0	-	-	15.0	1.4	5.0
Sister	12.9	20.5	7.7	37.8	15.0	15.0	8.0	20.0	6.7	7.1	16.0	20.0	11.3	26.7
Other relatives*	29.0	41.0	46.2	100.0	75.0	35.0	40.0	40.0	46.7	57.1	48.0	75.0	45.3	69.3
Father	6.5	2.6	-	8.1	-	10.0	4.0	40.0	3.3	-	32.0	-	7.5	5.9
Brother	29.0	25.6	15.4	27.0	50.0	12.5	16.0	20.0	23.3	46.4	20.0	15.0	25.9	23.8
Neighbour/person from the same village	16.1	5.1	30.8	-	10.0	7.5	12.0	-	3.3	21.4	12.0	10.0	12.7	4.0
Mother	9.7	7.7	-	2.7	-	10.0	4.0	20.0	6.7	3.6	28.0	-	8.5	5.0
Grandmother/ grandfather	-	10.3	-	-	10.0	10.0	8.0	-	3.3	-	4.0	10.0	4.7	5.9
Whole family	6.5	5.1	7.7	2.7	-	2.5	-	-	-	-	12.0	35.0	3.3	9.9
Other**	3.2	2.6	7.7	2.7	10.0	5.0	8.0	-	6.7	3.6	-	10.0	5.2	4.0
No.	31	39	13	37	20	40	25	5	30	28	25	20	212	101

* Paternal uncle/aunt, maternal uncle/aunt
** Knew that the relatives lived in the same city, but did not know the address, employer.
Percentage total may exceed 100 due to multiple responses.

- Girl domestic workers and girl tea stall workers had the fewest relatives or acquaintances in the same city.

The majority of the children (79% of boys and 70% of girls) covered in the study had some relatives or acquaintances in the city in which they were working. However, contrary to expectations, according to most children these persons provided little support. Most children said that they had little contact with relatives or friends from their village.

In terms of labour situation, it is notable that a high percentage of girl domestic workers (44%) had no relatives or village friends in the same city. This, coupled with data above indicating lack of relatives in the workplace or living place, indicates significant isolation of girl domestic workers. All carpet factory workers and, surprisingly, all transport workers had either relatives or village friends in the same city. The majority (67%) of the street children also mentioned that they had relatives in the city but most of them stated that did not have any contact with them. Some of them visited their relatives but their relatives ignored or scolded them.

As with girl domestic workers, nearly half (44%) of girl tea stall workers had no relatives or village friends in the city, and similarly (as in the data above) few had relatives in the workplace. Girl tea stall workers thus had very poor safety nets, in terms of persons who could provide them protection and support. The vast majority of restaurant workers, mechanic helpers and stone breakers (many of whom lived and worked with their families) had relatives in the same urban area.

Support Received from Employers

KEY FINDINGS

- One third of the boys and one fourth of the girls received no support from their employers (food, shelter, clothing, health care, education).
- Transport workers received the least amount of support among all of the children in labour situations.
- The kinds of support least provided by employers were access to education and appropriate medical care.

It was evident from the study that about one third of the boys and one fourth of the girls did not receive any support from their employers. These children, however, are concentrated in several labour situations: transport workers, rag pickers and stone breakers. Most stone breakers, particularly girls, live with their families who provide support. Street children have no ‘employer’ per se, and thus almost none reported support. Considering the data discussed above, transport workers (of whom 65% stated they received nothing

from their employers) appear to have the least amount of support from any source, either employers or family members.

Of the forms of support provided to the labouring children, education (enrolment in school or in non-formal education classes) was provided the least. Less than one third of the girls (32%) and only 10% of the boys reported that they received educational support from their employers. However, these figures are high because a large percentage of girl and boy domestic workers reported receiving education. The domestic workers interviewed for this study were accessed through NGOs who provided NFE classes or encouraged the children's employers to enrol the children in school, and thus were not representative of domestic workers generally. It is likely that the percentage of working children receiving education is much lower than the data indicate.

The next lowest was the provision of medicine or medical treatment (31% of boys and 47% of girls). However, in their responses the children did not differentiate between the provision of medicines (likely selected by the employer or pharmacist and not prescribed by a doctor) and the provision of medical treatment (that is, at a clinic by a trained medical person). Likely, much fewer children than data indicate were provided reliable medical care by a trained medical caregiver.

Food and shelter were the kinds of support most commonly provided to the children interviewed. Approximately 65% of the boys and 60% of the girls received food from their employers, and 56% of the boys and 68% of the girls received shelter.

Among the various labour situations, children working as domestic workers were provided more support from employers than children in other labour situations. This is obvious, as most domestic workers are live-in employees. Almost all of them stated that they received food (100% of boys and 97% of girls), clothing (93% of both) and a place to live (93% of boys and 91% of girls).

There was a considerable disparity between the support provided by employers to boy carpet factory workers and girl carpet factory workers. Notably, 77% of the boys stated that they received food while only 16% of the girls stated so. 40% of boy carpet factory workers stated that they received medicines or medical treatment while only 3% of the girls stated so. About 35% of the girls as opposed to 8% of the boys in carpet factories stated that they didn't receive anything. The reason for this disparity is unclear, although it may be that the girls were provided more support from relatives who work in the same place.

Table 7.4 Percentage distribution of respondents according to support received from employer along with salary, by labour situation

Support received from employer (other than salary)	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child/ rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Food	100.0	97.1	76.9	16.2	25.0	3.4	97.2	100.0	100.0	80.0	58.6	13.3	64.9	59.3
Clothing	92.5	92.8	15.4	-	5.0	-	61.1	44.4	26.8	60.0	58.6	10.0	40.3	49.0
Living place	92.5	91.3	76.9	62.2	10.0	3.4	80.6	88.9	85.4	63.3	58.6	13.3	56.3	67.6
Medicines or medical treatment	65.0	87.0	38.5	2.7	-	-	41.7	44.4	17.1	46.7	55.2	10.0	31.0	46.9
Education	40.0	60.9	-	-	-	-	5.6	22.2	2.4	-	24.1	10.0	9.7	32.4
Don't get anything	-	1.4	7.7	35.1	65.0	96.6	-	-	-	13.3	41.4	86.7	32.5	27.6
Other*	-	1.4	-	-	-	-	2.8	-	2.4	-	-	-	0.7	0.7
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

* Soap, extra money other than salary. Percentage total may exceed 100 due to multiple responses.

Transport workers received the lowest amount of support from their employers. Only one fourth received food, 5% received clothing, 10% received shelter and none received medicines or medical treatment. Considering the data above, which indicate that 55% of them lived alone or with friends, transport workers could be considered the children with the least amount of support from others.

Potential Caregivers during Difficulties

KEY FINDINGS

- Children identified family members as the primary source of support in times of difficulty, followed by employers.
- Due to lack of family members present, girl domestic workers and girl tea stall workers had the weakest safety net in terms of potential caregivers during difficulties.
- A significant percentage of girl carpet factory workers, tea stall workers and restaurant workers said they had no one to help them during difficulties.
- With the exception of street children, almost no children reported NGOs as a source of support during difficulties.

All of the IDP children were asked to mention several persons or institutions in the city that they would approach for help in case of difficulties. They were asked to rate these support persons in descending order. The large majority of the children were unable to identify more than two support givers.

Overall, the largest percentage of children identified employers as their first source of support. These include primarily domestic workers, tea stall workers and restaurant workers. In these situations, particularly among domestic workers and girl tea stall workers, children appeared to be highly dependent upon their employers.

Carpet factory workers, particularly girls, were less dependent upon their employers and identified close family members, particularly mothers, sisters, aunts, uncles and in-laws, as first sources of support. As previous data indicate, this is likely due to the proximity of family members in the workplace. Transport workers were highly dependent upon their brothers (25%) and friends (25%) for support. Almost half of the street children (44%) said they would first go to organizations for support, while 31% stated that friends would be their first option. As expected because they live and work with their families, stone breakers noted close relatives, particularly mothers, as their first preference as a support person.

A small but significant percentage of children (9% of both girls and boys) stated that they had no one to turn to in case of problems. Girl carpet factory workers, both due to being female and due to the lack of support from employers and family noted above, appear to have among the weakest support systems. 14% of girl carpet workers (as opposed to 8%

Table 7.5 **Percentage distribution of respondents according to perceived support persons on the basis of first preference, by labour situation**

First preference of person from whom to seek support	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child/ rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Whole family	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parents	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mother	5.0	4.3	-	13.5	-	3.4	8.3	11.1	-	6.7	55.2	50.0	9.3	16.6
Father	7.5	1.4	-	2.7	-	3.4	5.6	11.1	4.9	6.7	34.5	3.3	7.8	2.8
Brother	7.5	2.9	-	10.8	25.0	-	2.8	-	7.3	13.3	6.9	6.7	6.7	5.5
Sister	-	2.9	15.4	13.5	5.0	-	2.8	-	-	-	3.4	6.7	1.9	6.2
Other relatives*	10.0	4.3	46.2	27.0	10.0	1.7	8.3	-	-	30.0	3.4	16.7	9.7	12.4
Neighbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Friends from village	5.0	10.1	7.7	10.8	25.0	30.5	16.7	11.1	22.0	10.0	6.9	13.3	17.2	11.0
Employer	67.5	63.8	30.8	8.1	10.0	8.5	50.0	88.9	53.7	40.0	17.2	-	35.4	37.9
Organization person	5.0	4.3	-	-	-	44.1	2.8	-	7.3	-	-	-	11.9	2.1
No one	2.5	8.7	7.7	13.5	-	6.8	13.9	11.1	17.1	3.3	13.8	3.3	8.6	9.0
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.3	-	0.7
Other**	-	1.4	-	8.1	25.0	3.4	-	-	-	-	-	10.0	2.6	4.8
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

* Paternal uncle/aunt, maternal uncle, brother-in-law, sister-in-law
** Anyone, driver, known rich person, husband/ wife
Percentage total may exceed 100 due to multiple responses.

of boys) said they had no one to support them in case of problems. Similarly, 11% of girl tea stall workers stated the same. Boy tea stall workers, boy restaurant workers and boy stone breakers led the labour situations in which boys had no identified support person. Notably, a relatively low percentage of street children (7%) could identify no person for support in case of problems, indicating good support coverage by NGOs.

The children were also asked to rate the second preferred person from whom they would seek support if they had problems. For boys, the second preferred person was most often a friend from the village (31%), followed by close family members (mother, father, brother, totalling 19%). For girls, their employers again were dominant, followed by close family members (totalling 24%).

Institutional Support

KEY FINDINGS

- With the exception of street children, the majority of children did not perceive NGOs to be sources of support.

The children were asked their perceptions of the support they received from non-governmental organizations. The study did not attempt to evaluate the programmes of NGOs, and detailed information regarding NGOs' support for children is lacking. It is evident that street children had more exposure than other children to the services provided by NGOs. Street children covered in this study noted CWIN, CWISH, CPCS, Sath Sath and Saathi in Kathmandu, and CWSN, Contact Centre, Asha Clinic and Namaste Nepal in Pokhara.

Although most of the children were interviewed through the gatekeeper NGOs in the study cities, the majority of the children did not perceive NGOs to be sources of support, and as indicated in Table 7.5 above, few besides street children said they would go to NGOs if they had problems or needs.

External Risk Factors

KEY FINDINGS

- Almost all children reported that they confronted no negative influences because they had neither free time nor mobility to recreate with friends or members of the opposite sex.
- Street children reported abuse of inhalants.
- Some girls in domestic service and carpet factory labour voluntarily reported sexual harassment and attempted sexual abuse in the workplace.

- The majority of children lacked knowledge of the destinations of other children who had left the workplace.
- Of those children who knew the destinations of other children who had left the workplace, nearly one in five reported that boys who left the workplace had migrated out of Nepal.

Negative influences on children

In the context of this study, 'external risk factors' refer to factors influencing working children that may result in their entering situations that are more harmful than their present situation, most particularly being trafficked, entering prostitution, committing crimes, abusing substances or alcohol, or entering slavery-like labour situations.

Table 7.6 Percentage distribution of respondents by knowledge about children who left the workplace and by labour situation

	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child/ rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Knowledge of any male or female working children who have left the workplace														
Yes	17.5	10.1	30.8	27.0	10.0	37.3	16.7	-	26.8	30.0	3.4	3.3	23.1	12.4
No	82.5	89.9	69.2	73.0	90.0	62.7	83.3	100.0	73.2	70.0	96.6	96.7	76.9	87.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145
If yes, place where boys went														
Went home	42.9	40.0	25.0	20.0	-	9.1	33.3	-	9.1	33.3	-	-	19.4	27.3
Went to another place in Nepal	-	20.0	-	20.0	50.0	40.9	50.0	-	36.4	33.3	-	100.0	32.3	27.3
Don't know where they went	42.9	20.0	25.0	40.0	-	27.3	-	-	45.5	22.2	-	-	27.4	27.3
Went out of Nepal	14.3	20.0	50.0	20.0	-	18.2	16.7	-	-	11.1	100.0	-	16.1	18.2
Other*	-	-	-		50.0	4.5	-	-	9.1	-	-	-	4.8	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	7	5	4	5	2	22	6		11	9	1	1	62	11
If yes, place where girl went														
Went home	100.0	50.0	-	42.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	44.4
Went to another place in Nepal	-	-	-	28.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22.2
Don't know where they went	-	50.0	-	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22.2
Left to get married	-	-	-	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.1
Total	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	100.0
No.	1	2	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	9

* Went to work in motor facility, joined Maoists, went to Namaste organization

To elicit information that might shed light on potential negative influences, children were asked in in-depth interviews about the activities they conducted in their free time. Apart from rag pickers, no children mentioned any activities that clearly placed them at risk. The children reported that they did not have time from their work to have fun with friends, mingle with members of the opposite sex, or take drugs or alcohol. Street children, however, stated that they enjoyed sniffing glue with their friends. Although the children were not asked questions regarding sexual abuse, with regard for their confidentiality and protection, a number of girls voluntarily reported sexual harassment and attempted sexual abuse in the workplace. The girls were primarily in domestic service and carpet factory labour.

Departure of children from the workplace

In an attempt to ascertain whether children were abducted or possibly trafficked from their workplaces, the children were asked about their knowledge of other children who had left the workplace, where they went, and who had mobilized their departure. Generally, the results of this enquiry were inconclusive.

As indicated in Table 7.6, less than one fourth of the boys and one eighth of the girls were aware of other children who had left their jobs to go elsewhere. Knowledge of children who had departed was most prevalent, as expected, among street children, restaurant workers and mechanic helpers, all occupations that involve considerable social contact. Such knowledge, however, was also prevalent among boy and girl carpet factory workers, a relatively isolated population of workers.

Table 7.7 Percentage distribution of respondents according to the person who took the children from the workplace, by labour situation

Person who took children from the workplace	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child/ rag picker	Tea stall worker	Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	B	B	B	G	B	G
Child left without anyone's help	42.9	57.1	50.0	30.0	-	22.7	50.0	45.5	44.4	100.0	-	37.1	38.9
Don't know the person	14.3	14.3	25.0	20.0	50.0	45.5	16.7	27.3	44.4	-	-	33.9	16.7
Another boy, boy from the same village	28.6	-	-	30.0	-	4.5	16.7	9.1	11.1	-	100.0	9.7	22.2
Employer	-	-	-	-	50.0	4.5	-	9.1	-	-	-	4.8	-
Friend	14.3	-	-	10.0	-	4.5	16.7	9.1	-	-	-	6.5	5.6
Relatives	-	14.3	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.6	5.6
Other*	-	28.6	-	-	-	18.2	-	-	-	-	-	6.5	11.1
Not specified	-	-	-	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.6
No.	7	7	4	10	2	22	6	11	9	1	1	62	18

* Saint, mother, tourist, organization person

Percentage total may exceed 100 due to multiple responses.

The children who knew of other children who left the workplace were then asked their knowledge of where those children had gone. When asked about where boys had gone, notably 17% of all respondents had said that the departing boys had gone 'out of Nepal', presumably to India. The percentage of this response was particularly high among carpet factory workers (50% of boys and 20% of girls). This reflects the present out-migration of boys and young men from the country due to the conflict, as has been shown in other studies. When asked about where girls had gone, about 44% of respondents said that the girls had gone home, while another 44% said that either they didn't know or they went to another place in Nepal.

When asked who accompanied the departing children from the workplace (Table 7.7), approximately 38% of all respondents said that the children left on their own accord. Notably, only 23% of the boys and 33% of the girls said that the children left with relatives, friends or people from the same village. 34% of the boys and 17% of the girls said that they did not know who took the children from the workplace.

CHAPTER 8

Future Aspirations

Desire to Leave Current Labour Situation

KEY FINDINGS

- One half of the boys and almost two thirds of the girls intended to remain in their present jobs.
- Those most intending to leave their jobs were carpet factory workers, rag pickers and restaurant workers.
- Those most intending to remain in their jobs were girl tea stall workers, mechanic helpers and girl stone breakers.

Slightly less than one half of the boys (48%) and the majority of the girls (61%) intended to remain in their present jobs. Of those boys who intended to leave their jobs, most either intended to leave within two months or were uncertain when. Of girls who intended to leave, the highest percentage intended to leave as soon as they found another job (18%).

The labour situations in which children most wanted to leave their jobs were carpet factory labour (69% of boys and 54% of girls), rag picking (63%) and restaurant work (71%). Those labour situations in which children most wanted to stay were girl tea stall labour (78%), mechanic help (70%) and girl stone quarry labour (70%). The labour situations in which children were apparently looking for other jobs and were ready to leave immediately were girl carpet factory labour (35%), transport work (20%) and girl stone quarry labour (20%).

Table 8.1 Percentage distribution of respondents by intention to continue with the present job and by labour situation

Intended length of time to stay in job	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child/ rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Leave within 1 month	-	1.4	-	-	-	3.4	-	22.2	12.2	-	-	3.3	2.6	2.8
Leave within 2 months	7.5	4.3	46.2	5.4	35.0	13.6	13.9	-	24.4	3.3	3.4	-	15.3	3.4
Leave within 3 months	2.5	2.9	7.7	8.1	5.0	8.5	8.3	-	4.9	-	-	3.3	4.9	4.1
Leave within 4 months	-	-	-	-	-	1.7	-	-	2.4	3.3	-	-	1.1	-
Leave within 5 months or longer	15.0	5.8	7.7	-	5.0	6.8	13.9	-	7.3	26.7	3.4	-	10.8	2.8
Want to leave but cannot say when	17.5	14.5	-	5.4	-	16.9	8.3	-	12.2	6.7	20.7	6.7	12.3	9.7
Leave instantly after getting another job	7.5	10.1	7.7	35.1	20.0	15.3	2.8	-	7.3	6.7	17.2	20.0	10.4	17.9
No intention of leaving their job	57.5	62.3	30.8	45.9	50.0	37.3	55.6	77.8	29.3	70.0	55.2	70.0	47.8	60.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

Percentage total may exceed 100 due to multiple responses.

Reasons for Leaving Current Labour Situation

KEY FINDINGS

- The most prevalent reasons for leaving the work situation were excessive workload, verbal or physical abuse by the employer, and lack of payment for work.
- More than one half of all girls reported excessive workload as the reason they wanted to leave their job.
- Heavy workload was most cited as a reason by carpet factory workers and stone breakers.
- Verbal or physical abuse was most cited as a reason by boy domestic workers and girl tea stall workers.
- Lack of remuneration was most cited as a reason by restaurant workers and mechanic helpers.

When questioned regarding why they wanted to leave their present jobs, the highest percentage of both boys (34%) and girls (51%) stated that they were forced to work hard and did not get time to have proper rest. Scolding or beating by the employer was the second most prevalent reason why children wanted to leave their jobs (26% of boys, 26% of girls). Following this was lack of remuneration by the employer (27% of boys, 23% of girls).

Examining individual labour situations, boy domestic workers wished to leave primarily due to the heavy workload and to beating and scolding by the employer. While complaints of heavy workload were common to all children, those who most reported beating and scolding were boy domestic workers (41%), boy tea stall workers (44%) and girl tea stall workers (notably, 100%). Those who most frequently cited lack of remuneration as a reason to leave their jobs were girl carpet factory workers (35%), girl tea stall workers (50%), restaurant workers (59%) and mechanic helpers (67%). Notably, among carpet factory workers, after workload, physical pain from the job was a primary reason, with 44% of all boys and 25% of all girls reporting such.

In some cases, particularly among boys (transport workers, tea stall workers, restaurant workers and mechanic helpers), parents directed the child to leave or stay in the job. Girl tea stall workers appeared to have the most reasons for leaving their jobs, with all respondents (who wanted to leave) saying that their employer beat and scolded them, and half of all saying that they received no money and inadequate food.

Table 8.2 Percentage distribution of respondents by reason for leaving their current labour situation and by labour situation

Reason for leaving present job	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child/ rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Too heavy workload, no time to rest	41.2	46.2	66.7	45.0	20.0	29.7	12.5	50.0	31.0	11.1	69.2	77.8	33.6	50.9
Employer doesn't give money	17.6	15.4	11.1	35.0	10.0	21.6	6.3	50.0	58.6	66.7	7.7	11.1	27.1	22.8
Employer beats and scolds	41.2	19.2	22.2	30.0	-	40.5	43.8	100.0	17.2	-	-	22.2	25.7	26.3
Parents told child to leave this work	17.6	23.1	-	-	40.0	8.1	25.0	-	17.2	22.2	7.7	11.1	15.7	12.3
Want to learn tailoring	-	7.7	-	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.5
Have pain in hands and legs from working	5.9	3.8	44.4	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.6	10.5
Employer doesn't provide proper food	5.9	7.7	11.1	5.0	-	-	12.5	50.0	6.9	-	-	-	4.3	7.0
Want to work in transport sector	-	-	-	5.0	30.0	2.7	6.3	-	3.4	-	15.4	-	5.7	1.8
Other*	-	11.5	11.1	-	-	-	6.3	-	10.3	-	-	-	3.6	5.3
No.	17	26	9	20	10	37	16	2	29	9	13	9	140	57

* Employer sexually harasses child, want to leave the job because of sister will deliver baby, leaving for studying, employer does not care when child has problems, sleeping place is not good

Percentage total may exceed 100 due to multiple responses.

Reasons for Remaining in Current Labour Situation

KEY FINDINGS

- The most common reasons cited by children for remaining in their current jobs were liking their work situation and having no work alternatives.
- Difficulties of returning home, opportunity to study, and fear of Maoists were rarely reported as reasons for remaining in the current job.
- Fear of Maoists was most commonly cited among boy domestic labourers and restaurant workers as a reason for remaining in their current jobs.
- Opportunity to study was most commonly cited among boy domestic labourers as a reason for remaining in their current jobs.

Two reasons for remaining in the work situation predominated, one positive and one negative. Positively, 38% of the boys and 61% of the girls said that they liked their situation and that they had good relations with their employer. On the other hand, 29% of the boys and

Table 8.3 Percentage distribution of respondents by reasons for remaining in their current labour situation, by labour situation

Reasons for not leaving	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child/ rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	B	G	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	B	B	G	B	G
Child likes situation, has good relations with employer	47.8	86.0	75.0	47.1	30.0	9.1	60.0	85.7	25.0	52.4	18.8	14.3	37.5	61.4
No better work alternative	17.4	7.0	-	17.6	-	13.6	25.0	-	58.3	42.9	56.3	57.1	28.9	20.5
Difficult to return home, Maoists may abduct child if he/she went home	21.7	4.7	-	-	-	4.5	-	-	16.7	4.8	-	-	7.0	2.3
Have opportunity to study	34.8	9.3	-	-	-	-	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	7.0	4.5
Home economic condition is very poor	-	4.7	-	17.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.7
It is not difficult to do this work	4.3	-	-	-	-	18.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.9	-
Family members working in the same place	-	-	-	29.4	-	-	5.0	-	-	-	-	14.3	0.8	9.1
Employer promises to help child acquire skills	4.3	-	-	-	40.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.9	-
Other*	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.0	-	-	-	-	9.5	0.8	2.3
Don't know	-	7.0	-	-	-	9.1	5.0	14.3	8.3	-	12.5	-	4.7	4.5
100.00	-	-	25.0	17.6	30.0	45.5	-	-	8.3	-	12.5	4.8	13.3	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No.	23	43	4	17	10	22	20	7	12	21	16	21	128	88

* May be able to become a cook after some time, mother told me not to leave this work
Percentage total may exceed 100 due to multiple responses.

21% of the girls said that they would remain in the present work situation because they had no employment alternatives.

For boy domestic workers, almost one half (48%) said that they liked their situation, 22% feared that the Maoists would abduct them if they left, and a notable 35% said they would have an opportunity to study if they remained. This latter is likely a positive reflection on the NGOs working with boy domestic labourers. Alternatively, almost all girl domestic labourers (86%) who wanted to remain in their jobs wished to do so because they liked their situation and their employer. Curiously, only 5% of these girls wished to remain because of opportunities to continue their education. Whether this reflects the girls' low value of their own education or NGOs' lack of focus on girls' education was not determined.

Among carpet factory workers, the majority of boys who wanted to stay stated that this was because they liked the situation, while more than half of the girls provided negative reasons (18% said no alternative, 18% said home poverty) or the presence of family members in the workplace (29%). For transport workers, the primary motivation to remain was that the employer promised to help the child acquire skills, presumably as a driver. This, however, was not mentioned by mechanic helpers. Restaurant workers and stone breakers primarily gave negative reasons for remaining, viz. lack of work alternatives. Few in either labour situation said that they wished to remain because they liked the job or the employer.

Remaining in the job due to fear of abduction by the Maoists (which is primarily directed at boys) was not uniformly cited by boys in different labour situations. A fairly high percentage of boy domestic workers and restaurant workers cited this reason (22% and 17% respectively), but abduction was cited by only 5% of rag pickers and mechanic helpers, and by no boy carpet factory workers, transport workers, tea stall workers or stone breakers. The reason for this is undetermined.

Desired Destination If Leaving Current Labour Situation

KEY FINDINGS

- Most children expressed an intention to remain in the city where they were presently working.
- Only one in four girls and one in seven boys desired to return to their homes.
- Few children wanted to go to India, although two fifths of mechanic helpers wanted to go to an overseas destination.

Table 8.4 Percentage distribution of respondents according to desired destination if leaving the workplace, by labour situation

Desired destination if child left workplace	Domestic worker		Carpet factory worker		Transport worker	Street child/ rag picker	Tea stall worker		Restaurant worker	Mechanic helper	Stone breaker		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	M	M	F	M	M	M	F	M	F
Remain in same city	37.5	39.1	7.7	45.9	50.0	23.7	41.7	77.8	22.0	26.7	44.8	40.0	31.7	43.4
Return home	12.5	31.9	23.1	27.0	10.0	16.9	13.9	11.1	17.1	10.0	10.3	3.3	14.2	23.4
Kathmandu	5.0	8.7	23.1	2.7	5.0	15.3	13.9	-	9.8	3.3	10.3	16.7	10.4	8.3
Anywhere	15.0	2.9	23.1	16.2	20.0	18.6	16.7	-	17.1	-	13.8	10.0	15.3	7.6
Dang	7.5	8.7	-	2.7	-	1.7	2.8	-	-	13.3	3.4	6.7	3.7	6.2
A foreign country (besides India)	10.0	4.3	-	-	5.0	11.9	5.6	-	12.2	36.7	-	6.7	11.2	3.4
Pokhara	7.5	1.4	-	-	-	3.4	-	-	2.4	6.7	10.3	3.3	4.1	1.4
India	-	-	15.4	2.7	5.0	1.7	-	11.1	2.4	-	3.4	-	2.2	1.4
Other*	5.0	2.9	7.7	2.7	5.0	6.8	5.6	-	17.1	3.3	3.4	13.3	7.1	4.8
No.	40	69	13	37	20	59	36	9	41	30	29	30	268	145

* Biratnagar, Dharan, another factory, development organization, Doti
Percentage total may exceed 100 due to multiple responses.

All of the children were asked to state where they would most like to go if they left their current situation (Table 8.4). Over two fifths of the girls (43%) and almost a third of the boys (32%) preferred to remain in the same city. While one fourth of the girls (23%) preferred to return home, only one in seven boys (14%) preferred to do so. 15% of the boys and 8% of the girls were ambivalent, not having a firm opinion about where they would like to go. Notably, India as the place of choice was cited by very few boys and girls (below 3%), although one in ten boys identified other foreign countries (11%) as their place of choice. Generally, most girls either wanted to remain in the city or return home, while boys' desires were quite diverse.

By labour situation, boy carpet factory workers had the least desire of all children to remain in the same city (8%) and the greatest desire to go to India (15%). Girl tea stall workers had the most desire of all children to remain in the city (78%). Those who most wanted to return home were girl domestic workers (32%) and girl carpet factory workers (27%). Surprisingly, 11% of the girl tea stall workers wanted to go to India. Those who most wanted to go to a foreign country besides India were mechanic helpers (37%). As these boys were generally older and had hopes of acquiring mechanic skills, foreign employment naturally appeared to be a viable option.

CHAPTER 9

Recommendations

Recommendations by Service Provider

Central government

- Implement the Nepal Children's Act (1992), Section 17, regarding the prohibition of children under the age of 14 in labour and regulating the labour conditions of children over 14.
- Regulate working environments to ameliorate hazardous working environments of both children and adults.
- Enact laws providing mandatory schooling for children.
- Relax school enrolment regulations to allow IDP children who are lacking proper documentation to enter school.
- Enact laws forbidding the corporal punishment and physical abuse of children.
- Enact laws against child sexual harassment and abuse.

Labour unions

- Intercede on behalf of child workers to reduce labour exploitation and ensure fair wages, fair working hours and safe working environments.

Municipalities

- Provide basic health care services and access to education for IDP working children.

Child labour non-governmental organizations

- Identify and include IDP children in child labour target groups.
- Change the intervention strategy regarding child labourers from institution-based to outreach-based, and develop outreach and basic social work skills to reach children in their workplace.
- Shift emphasis from drop-in centres, shelters and other static physical facilities to mobile outreach health, learning and counseling activities.

General Recommendations

- Focus on labour situations with a high proportion of young children below the age of 14 (domestic labour, tea stall labour and stone quarry labour), and ensure that these children do not work full-time and are provided with full-time education and other needs for adequate child development.
- Among children's needs, place emphasis on school enrolment. Encourage and support employers to provide children free time to study and to attend school.
- Mobilize health-related NGOs, hospitals, clinics and municipalities to provide more extensive health care and discount or free services for IDP working children.
- Address each child labour situation individually, as each is unique. For each labour situation, precede interventions with studies of the needs and problems of working children. Ensure genuine monitoring of interventions.
- Work directly and extensively with employers. Provide training and positive support to employers to support and protect working children. Provide awareness on laws regarding children's rights, labourers' rights and workplace safety. Conduct firm actions through government, labour unions, police and other means to force recalcitrant employers to open their work venues (including domestic service) and make changes on behalf of children.
- Address working children in terms of existing family support networks. Using outreach strategies, provide support to family caregivers to help them provide basic needs and protection to working children.
- Support the establishment of child labour NGOs in urban areas where they are lacking (ex. Butwal) and expand the capacity of existing NGOs to broaden their coverage of working children.

Recommendations by Labour Situation

Recommendations for domestic workers

- Conduct awareness activities through local media to end public denial that many families use child domestic labour, and to encourage families to take responsibility for the well-being of domestic workers and provide them with mobility and free access to education, health care and outreach support.

- Enact laws to regulate the use of child domestic workers, particularly to forbid employers to sequester domestic workers within the home and to provide domestic workers with mobility and access to support and assistance outside the workplace, including education, health care and response to abuse and discrimination.
- Provide child domestic workers with outreach contact in order to strengthen their safety nets.
- Provide child domestic workers with access to legal response for physical abuse, sexual abuse and negligence by the employer or others.
- Support and expand existing activities to enrol domestic workers in school.

Recommendations for carpet factory workers

- Work directly with employers, providing awareness of laws regarding children's rights, labourers' rights and workplace safety.
- Make routine outreach contact with child carpet factory workers, particularly girls, to provide support and strengthen children's safety nets.
- With government, labour unions and others, regulate wages, working hours and workplace safety for child labourers. Place focus on workplace safety and working hours.
- Mobilize the international carpet-making business community to promote education, workplace safety, proper working hours and other needs for children through local carpet manufacturers.
- Conduct awareness and training for girl carpet factory workers to help them to resist sexual harassment and abuse.
- Provide girl carpet factory workers with access to legal response for sexual harassment and abuse and attempted trafficking in the workplace.
- Through government, labour unions, police, etc. make employers responsible for reducing incidents of sexual abuse and trafficking in carpet factories.

Recommendations for transport workers

- Mobilize NGOs to address the situation of child transport workers.
- With government, labour unions, transport operators associations and others, regulate wages, working hours and workplace safety for transport workers. Place focus on workplace safety and living conditions.
- Conduct activities to enrol transport workers in school.
- Make routine outreach contact with child transport workers to provide support and strengthen children's safety nets.

Recommendations for rag pickers (street children)

- Provide basic first aid, self-care, health and other life skills training to street children.
- Address nutritional needs of street children through outreach meal programmes.
- Provide support, education and counselling for substance abuse.

- Work with the police to decrease abuse of street children by the police and to increase the protection of street children from theft, beating and rape.

Recommendations for tea stall workers

- Mobilize NGOs to address the situation of child tea stall workers, particularly girls.
- Make routine outreach contact with tea stall workers to provide support and strengthen children's safety nets.
- Work directly with employers, providing awareness on laws regarding children's rights, labourers' rights and workplace safety.
- With government, labour unions and others, regulate wages, working hours and workplace conditions for child tea stall workers.
- With government, police and others, enforce laws against corporal punishment of child labourers.

Recommendations for restaurant workers

- Provide educational options for restaurant workers, particularly NFE and night classes so that working children can continue their education.
- Make routine outreach contact with restaurant workers to provide support and strengthen children's safety nets.

Recommendations for mechanic helpers

- Provide safe migration information to mechanic helpers who are planning to go overseas to work.
- No other specific recommendations. Mechanic helpers are older, are learning marketable skills and have relatively few problems in the workplace. (Some NGOs are training youths to become mechanic helpers.)

Recommendations for stone breakers

- Work directly with employers, providing awareness on laws regarding children's rights, labourers' rights and workplace safety.
- With government, labour unions and others, regulate wages, working hours and workplace conditions for child labourers. Place specific focus on workplace safety.
- Make routine outreach contact with both children and their families. Train and support families to increase the quality of care for their children.

Annex I

Areas of Investigation Regarding the Displacement of Children by the Armed Conflict in Nepal

SITUATION	AREA OF INVESTIGATION
Impact at conflict sites	■ impact on primary child protection and survival ■ impact on basic services and access to services ■ impact on family environment ■ impact on community environment ■ vulnerability to abuse, trafficking, human rights violations, migration/displacement due to the conflict ■ coping mechanisms and support networks at conflict sites ■ community perceptions of impact of conflict ■ community/individual perceptions of migration and trafficking
Initial migratory response	■ reasons, expectations and expected destinations of out-migrants ■ reasons (perceived/observed) for not migrating ■ situation of those who have not migrated ■ community/individual awareness of migration/trafficking dangers
The process of migration within Nepal	■ internal IDP flow patterns and volume, disaggregated ■ determinants of in-country migratory movement ■ perceptions, reasons, expected destinations at time of in-country migration ■ awareness of risk, level of choice/coercion, trafficking during in-country migration process ■ coping mechanisms and existing support networks during migration
Situation at destination sites within Nepal	■ primary in-country migration destinations ■ description of IDP children at primary in-country destinations

SITUATION	AREA OF INVESTIGATION
Impact at conflict sites	■ general situation of IDP children at in-country destinations, with reference to children in labour situations ■ abuse, debt servitude, trafficking and other rights violations of IDP children at intermediate and final in-country destinations ■ vulnerability of IDP children to abuse, debt servitude, trafficking and other rights violations at in-country destinations ■ perceptions of IDP children regarding their situation, risks and vulnerability at primary in-country destinations ■ coping mechanisms and support networks at primary in-country destinations
The process of migration outside of Nepal (to India, UAE, Malaysia, etc.)	■ cross-border IDP flow patterns and volume, disaggregated ■ determinants of cross-border migratory movement ■ perceptions, reasons, expected destinations at time of cross-border migration ■ awareness of risk, level of choice/coercion, trafficking during cross-border migration process ■ coping mechanisms and support networks during cross-border migration
Situation at destination sites outside of Nepal	■ primary external migration sites ■ description of IDP children at primary external sites ■ general situation of IDP children at primary external sites ■ abuse, debt servitude, trafficking and other rights violations of IDP children at primary external sites ■ vulnerability of IDP children to abuse, debt servitude, trafficking and other rights violations at primary external sites ■ perceptions of IDP children regarding their situation, risks and vulnerability at primary external sites ■ coping mechanisms and support networks at primary external sites

Annex II

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Annex III

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