

CHAPTER-I

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Child labor has been accepted as an integral part of the Nepalese economy and society. For many children in Nepal, the workday starts at dawn and extends late into the evening. Everyday is a day of labor for these children; they are deprived of their basic rights to protection, participation, and development. Unfortunately many children from the third world suffer a lot from hunger, malnutrition and are often exploited (Shah 2000). Therefore they are far from enjoying their right. Child labor has emerged as a social problem in the developing world today. The rapid increased in population, economic stagnation, structural adjustment, drought, war and disease have decreased the ability of the families to earn a decent living.

Economically weak people compel their children to work and earn a livelihood to support family. So children work for being poverty and they are forced to work outside the hometown and sometimes run away from their own home. Though children are not well paid, they still serve as major contributors to family income in developing countries (Suwal et al. 1997). The causes of working are such as social suppression, unemployment, tie labor and social discrimination is responsible for the pushing children into the difficult circumstances.

Child labors are not only overworked but are socially and economically exploited. They are easily targets for exploitation because most of them are illiterate, uneducated and unaware of the dangers inherent in their labor. The development of the nation depends upon the development of the children. The healthy upbringing of children can sustain the healthy development of

the nation. So, children should be protected from all social and economic exploitation and discrimination and have opportunities to develop their potential (ILO/IPEC 1999)

After the restoration of multi-party democracy in 1990, the issue of child development is accorded priority in the national agenda. As the result, sweeping changes were made in the government's attitude towards the problem of child labor. The government rectified the UN convention on the Right of the Children on August 19, 1990. The government signed World Summit Declaration on December 1990 and formulated a "Ten years National Program of Action for Children and Development" through a National Task Force, coordinated by National Planning Commission. Specific provisions were made on the issue of child labor both in the Constitution of Nepal and Labor Act (1992). Legislation like Children's Act was passed in 1992. Ministry of Labor and ILO signed on a program of cooperation to eliminate all forms of child labor in Nepal in 1995. The aim of such cooperation will be to promote conditions to enable government to progressively prohibit, restrict, and regulate child labor with the view to its ultimate elimination, and increase awareness in the national and international community of the consequences and solutions to the child labor problems (ILO/IPEC 1999).

Child labor has existed in different types of society at different stages of history. It continues to exist in many societies of the world. However, it emerges as a major problem in the under developing countries where poverty and political problems have compelled children to seek employment for the survival (GEFONT 2001). Child labor is consequence of socio-economic and political reality of the country which exists many underdeveloped countries. Increasing social injustice economic

backwardness socio-political exclusion are implicit factors of child labor. The growing rural migration and urbanization has also contributed to increase the magnitude of domestic child labor (CWIN 1998).

Exploitation of child labor in this part of the world is inhuman and intolerable. The pattern of child labor in Nepal is similar to other developing countries where children work in undesirable's occupation, their wages are low as compared to the adult workers and their rights are not recognized. Child labor in Nepal has two different dimensions one is connected with rapid growth of urbanization. Children are engaged in various occupations such as manufacturing carpets, the construction of roads and buildings, quarrying and mining and as a domestic servant. The other dimensions are the traditional areas of work such as agriculture, animal husbandry, pottery and other family operated business (CWIN 1998).

On the basis of this background, child labor is rampant worldwide social phenomena. It is not exceptional case in Nepal. Therefore, I choose female child labour as unit of analysis to test socio cultural aspect in specific urban setting. This research is about domestic female child labor among intellectual and middle class families around Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur. This research argues that domestic child labor in emerging urban areas is not only associate pride and prestige among middle class but also unwanted need among urban educated families. Sex preference of the workers is rooted on the gendered based socialization in the society. Female children are socialized working on household chores and small babysitter from their early childhood. Tanglaphat, Sibalaya and Kumariclub are relatively new settlements around Tribhuvan University Central Campus lies in Kirtipur municipality. The settlements have not long history. These settlements are not free from household child labor. Small girls aged 10 to 16 are working on many households as relative, helper or worker.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Child labor is a product of social phenomenon. Specific types and degree of child labor exists in specific social structure domestic child labor is increasing because of growing urbanization, middle class culture and migration. Children from different parts of the country work in the household as a helper. Because economic, social and political problems they are compelled to leave their families and join household labor. Some of them were connected by their relatives, social network, villagers and few of them searched job by themselves.

Many children are working in own relatives house too. Domestic child labor are multifaceted poverty, lack of education opportunity, social exclusion, domestic violence, loss of parents, gender and ethnic discrimination, urban migration may be few causes of child labor (CWIN 1998). If children are compelled to work in their early age for there more survival, they will not be capable member of the society nor can positively contribute for society. It is the responsibility of the society, family and individuals to create positive environment to protect them and their rights.

In the stage of crucial stage if children are forced to work in the early stage of their life for their mere survival, they can't become the fully functioning member of the society nor can contribute to the society positively. It is the responsibility of the nation as well as the civil society, family and the individual to create the successful environments which protect them and their rights. Thousand of children are working as domestic helper, work as cleaning, washing, taking care of children of their master and cooking. In many countries this fact is not only socially and culturally accepted but

might be regarded positively as a protected type of work especially for child. The working children, from very poor and illiterate families have to work at the most congested difficulty places in their services. They also face problems like low payments, long working hours, inadequate shelter, job insecurity, exploitation by masters and deprivation of the education and medical facilities. This is why almost all the children expressed their unwillingness to work in the factories.

In the name of relatives, middle class network and closest protector children are used in domestic female child labor. There are multifaceted exploitation and implication of female child labor in urban areas. When I worked as female child protection center of CWIN in Banepa, I came to know hundreds of female child labour case in urban middle class family in Kathmandu. Female child labor is still practicing in families of NGOs workers, teachers, so called intellectual and educated families. On one other hand NGOs activists, teachers and child based institutions tries to eliminate child labor but on the other hand they themselves keep child labor in own families as marker of middle class identity. On the basis of mentioned problem this study tries to answer following questions:

Which social background the girls are belonging to (Caste/ethnic and place of origin)? Where and how did they come to working families?

-) What are the factors that compelled to work?
-) What are the tasks undertake (work and payment relation)?
-) What are problems faced by them?
-) What kind of relation do they have with their household head?

1.3 Objectives

The general objective of the study is to analyze the socio-economic background of female child labor and their relation to employer. Specific objectives of the study are:

To explore the socio-economic background of the families and causes of being female child workers, and

To describe their working relationship with employer family.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Female child labor is widely talked but chronic problem in the Nepal. The news of sexual abuse by the employers was regularly published on papers. On the other hand numbers of female domestic child workers are increasing year by year. Though, child labor is formally illegal, social conditions and over negligence.

This problem is taken for granted. There are not legislations for job security of child labor. Anytime their job will be turn over. They have always sense of uncertainty on the one hand. On the other hand they have to bear social abuse and violence from their working households. They may have number of untold and invisible problems because they are not aware of their rights, abuses and protection against their lives.

Because of the unequal distribution of the resources and facilities, people are migratory from rural village to urban area. They have linkage to village. People in new settlement are busy. Though they are educated (University teacher, rights activists, bank manager), they keep young house helper. Some children are kept by the name of free education but in the family the children are busy to do household activities. So it is significant subject

matter to research about the reality and invisible household child labor.

1.5 Organization of the Study

The study consists six chapters. The first chapter includes introduction of the female domestic child labor, domestic child labor, and statement of the problem, its objectives and significance of the study. In second chapter, both conceptual and empirical literatures regarding domestic child labor, gender relation are reviewed. The third chapter includes research methodology part where different methods are used and described. Fourth chapter is about socio-economic background of the female domestic child workers, background of the employment. The fifth chapter deals on workers employers' relationship, their arrival in the working place, working conditions at present of child workers are analyzed and discussed. Finally, the chapter six summarizes and make conclusion of domestic female child labor.

CHAPTER-II

Literature Review

The issue of female child labor has been a neglected issue for a long time. International approach to look female child house worker has now changed dramatically. Issues pertaining to the rights of child have received more attention than even before from both government and non-government sector. In this chapter, both conceptual and empirical literatures pertaining to gender and child labor and child domestic workers are reviewed.

2.1 Child Labor

Children are engaged in wide variety of works. The conditions and nature of their work vary from occupations where children are able to develop responsibility and skills, and combine work with schooling to conditions of extreme hazards and exploitation. Number of factors determines their work is harmful or beneficial. A distinction is necessary to be made between child labor and child work. The child labor is defined as "Work for Wage" and carries the implication of being detrimental to the growth and development of the children where as child work is thought to be as "Work in the context of the household" and is positively evaluated (ILO 1995, Poudyal 1995). Therefore, the distinction between child labor and child work largely depends on the conditions under which children work rather than the type of work they do. Much child work can have positive impact on child development.

The work that girls do in their employer's homes is sweeping and washing the floors, dusting surfaces and washing dishes. Generally, other household tasks are done by the adult women in the household. Childcare is done by the child's mother and other women relatives. The tasks that girls have to do in their employer's homes are undefined and unlimited. The majority of tasks are done in these middle-class homes by the workers

because of official jobs of senior members and schooling of employer's children. These patterns and practices of work — where servants do the most menial tasks including washing dishes, cleaning floors, looking after the children and cooking—are increasingly common in urban India (Ray and Qayum, 2009).

Child worker in Nepal concerned center (CWIN) has conducted series of research about child labor. The migration of rural children to urban areas has been increasing tremendously and this has ultimately contributed to an increase in the magnitude to child labor. CWIN noted five major sectors namely carpet industry, domestic servants, shoe swinging, and potter and tempo helpers. Domestic labors absorbed the second highest migrant child laborers (CWIN 1998, 1999).

Child work can enhance a child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development without disturbing schooling. Helping parent in their household activities and business after school in their free time contributes positively to the development of child. When such work is truly part of socialization process and means of transmitting skills form parents to child it is not child labor. Through such work children can increase their status as family members and citizens and gain confidence and self esteem. Therefore, the distinction between child labor and child work largely depends on the conditions under which children work rather than the type of work they do. Much child work can have positive impact on child development.

Hirway et al (1991) states the phenomenon of child labor is a consequence of the exploitative systems operating at national and international levels, not only closes the future of millions of children in third world countries, but it also drastically restricts the development prospects of these countries. The existence of child labor is a threat to world development and to solidarity and peace in the world.

Eradication of child labor form the world is therefore a goal which must be achieved at the earliest. Employers capitalize on the obedience of the

children recognizing that these laborers cannot legally form unions to change their conditions. Such manipulation stifles the development of youths. Finally, these children are deprived of the simple joys of childhood, relegated instead to a life of hard work.

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Present working conditions of the domestic child labors are dependent variables which are determined by a number of social, cultural, demographic and economic factors. The ultimate determinants 'of the job of the child labors are the characteristics of the rural household such as illiteracy, small landholding size, low productivity, lack of skills poverty, broken family, political conflict and non farm employment opportunities' which pushed them from native place to migrants to the urban areas. In urban areas there is high choice of getting job as there are different kind of livelihood strategies like construction industry, transportation services, trade, carpet industry, bag pickers, domestic child labor but mirrors migrating form the rural areas are of lack of education, lack of skill, lack of employment opportunities but physically capable therefore forced to worked as domestic child labor (ILO/IPEC 1999).

2.2 Gender Based Discrimination

Gender is deeply woven into our ways of life. *“It refers to the personal traits and social positions that members of a society attach to their being female and male”* (Macionis, 2005). It affects the opportunity and constraints each of us throughout our life. In Nepal gender relation is institutionalized and practiced in common life from each individual family to society (Acharya and Bennett 1981). The gender issue mainly involves hierarchy and ranking men and women differently in term of power, wealth prestige and other privileges.

The determinant of the gender discrimination is most considerably the division of labor which can be viewed in different spheres of life. Men have been engaged in the productive sphere while women, mainly have been confined in household work. *"Most productive work done by women is neither recognized in terms of surplus is completely discounted and house work is not evaluated at all"* (Bhasin, 2000). Literatures shows that women's roles in decision making is affected directly or indirectly by economic condition. A woman who has greater economic participation tends to have greater power of decision making (Acharya 1993). Gender analysis breaks down and divides between the private and public spheres. According to Bhasin (2000), gender roles refers to behavior that is learnt , based on social conducting that is a response to socio-economic and environmental pressures and conditions within households and communities . Gender roles are fluid, but in society they are considered as appropriate activities for men and women. Lober Judith (1994) aggregates that the gender is human invention, like language kinship, religion and technology. It is socially and culturally constructed roles and responsibilities assigned to men and women in a given

culture, society and location based upon their societal structures that is learnt behavior over time. Without linking the concept of gender in development theories and process it is incomplete.

There are four fundamental principles of gender. a) Gender difference beliefs that women's location in, and experience of, most situations is different from that of men in the situation. b) Gender inequality is the main theme of liberal feminists. They say that women's location in most situation is not only different but also less privileged than or unequal to that of men. c) radical feminist believe on the principle of gender oppression in which women are oppressed, not just different from or unequal to, but actively restrained, subordinated, molded , and used and abused by men. d) Socialist feminists' beliefs that structural oppression is the main obstacle for women. For them women's experience of difference, inequality, and oppression varies location within capitalism, patriarchy, and racism (Ritzer, 2000).

2.3 Domestic Child Labor

Saubhagya Shah (2000) has analyzed dynamics of relationships and recruitment processes between workers and Maliks (employers) in middle class oral agreement on types of work, facilities and incentives. He depicts clear picture of patron ship of Malik by sending them school and teaching them cultured behaviors. He cites employer's hyperbole in front of wests such as "Oh he is our 'hero'. Here "she is very much our own family member". But one the servants were out of earshot, hosts would hasten to clarify that person was only Kamgarne, lest the person be mistaken for my family member's (2000:91). He also analyses the double standard of employers. Apparently workers have been sent school but work burden and

lack of adequate facilities and time, they could not study. "Schooling provides a strong justification basis for the employers. Rather than occasionally being made to feel defensive about keeping under paid servants, employers now have resource to the high moral ground of providing educational opportunities to the disadvantaged" (Shah 2000:100).

Dhital (1991) study based on interview of children which shows that there are about 30,000 bonded and semi-bonded child laborers in Nepal, engaged in domestic services. Many of them are brought to the cities by the landlords. Some of them are sent and brought by their parents, while others are sent or brought by the middlemen. There are also bonded children from among the orphans and runaways. The children have before them a heavy work load, life without joy, empty pocket, abuses, loss of family contacts and an uncertain future. A great majority of them are unpaid, working for as much as 17 hours a day for just two meals. They seldom allowed to partake in the family food and are given too little to eat. Scolding and physical abuse is common, but they have nobody to protect them (Dhital 1991).

Domestic child labor are employed to conduct domestic chores such as washing dishes, looking after children, cooking, cleaning houses and clothes and other household activities. ILO (2002) defined domestic child labor as "Children working in an employer's house with or without wages" (ILO 2002:5). Domestic child labor indicates the employment of children by adults other than own parents, who considered children constitute cheap and docile source of labor, working long hours (Seven days a week, 12 to 20 hours a day) at a range of domestic tasks for little or no pay and minimum benefits such as food, accommodation and clothes (Black 1997).

Kate (2002) argues that domestic child labors are in great deal of personal danger. Their safety can be never assured because these children are

working behind the closed door of private home, are invisible, alone, difficult to reach and count. A majority of child domestic workers are in exclusive around the clock control of their employers. These child labors are in work place-that is someone else's home-hidden from public view and labor inspection. These children are at risk not only of exploitation but also of abuse, harassment and violence (Kate 2002).

A study on Bangladesh presented that child domestic labors rarely have place of their own to sleep. They are expected to sleep any available space, such as kitchen floor. It also disclosed only 16% received their own wage in hand, 45% never saw their wages, which were given to parents or guardians and about 25% received no wage at all (Blanchet 1999).

Sattur (1993) argued that the smaller the family the more work load appears to compare in large families. Washing dishes, cooking and shopping take up most of the time in large families. But in smaller families working couple with babies, the worker has to wash clothes, baby sitter, and guard the house (Sattur 1993).

It has been the tradition of the Nepalese Society, to recruit the household child labor not only by rich families but also by middle and lower middle class society. In many cases, the family needs the income of the working children in order to survive. Parent argues that in some situation that child is learning skill early, which will help them in adult employment. Although the consequence of putting a child to work can appear attractive to parents, most families are not aware of the long term consequence of the working children. As these children are illiterate or less educated as a successive generation grows up to be adult lacking education and higher skill, who will continue to live in poverty, have large family's members and put their children to work.

2.4 Female Child Labor in Nepal

Saubhagya Shah (2000) has analyzed dual characters of the landlord or the employers of the children. In front of the children employers called children respectable words like Kancha, Babu but on the absence of them land lord are boosted as prestigious life and indirectly presented their higher social status. He recorded first hand experiences of calling children differently.

According to the Suwal et al (1998), children migrate from those families, which are socio-economically poor, but it is not that children from all poor households do migrate for the purpose of employment. The attitudes of the parents and children, knowledge about the work place, availability of jobs, and medium of contact with the employer, distance to migrate and mode of transportation play an important role in the decision on child migration for the purpose of employment.

Chapagain (1998) found three major classes of factor for the children which drive them go to carpet factories. These include push factors, pull factors and interactive factors. The push factors are identified as acute poverty, lack of work opportunities in village due to seasonal nature of agriculture and the traditional concept of parents, that a child is "helping hand". The pull factors include attraction of urban life, earning that can be used to buy cloth or other personal amenities at the worker's own discretion and industry preference of child and minor labors as they are cheaper and easier to manage. Similarly the interactive factors are specified as food and meat intakes get to eat much more than at home, parental preference of learning and earning rather than formal education, socialization and friendship making or following friends and socializing among other workers and no alternative activities at home like study, play etc (Chapagain 1998).

CWIN (1998) shows that migration of Nepali children from rural to urban areas has been increasing greatly and this has ultimately contributed to overwhelming increases in the magnitude of child labor. CWIN again cited information on types of sector based on the migration status of children in urban Nepal. It noted five major sectors, namely carpet industry, domestic servants, shoe shining, porters and tempo helpers. All these sectors absorbed an overwhelming majority of migrant child laborers. Domestic laborers absorbed the second highest migrant child laborers.

Child labor is an integral part of Nepalese society. The magnitude of the problem is very high and more transparent in South Asia. Exploitation of child labor is not a new occurrence but its perception as social evil is of recent origin. Child labor is the social problem which prohibits the natural growth of the children. The rights of child are both need and demand of the era. While there has been a lot of development in socio-cultural, political and economic attitudes of the people, community and the government of Nepal in the direction of child's right compared to the earlier years. CWIN in this regard explains both governmental and non-governmental agencies of the country have been making attempt to convert the spirit of UN convention on the right of child into reality. In spite of all these positive efforts and initiatives different form of child labor exist as the matter of the fact (CWIN 1998).

Child labor and situation of child labor is very severe condition and similar to other developing countries. To get exact information of child labor is very hard because it is relatively scarce since child labor is illegal. Many studies do suggest that poverty is one of the main contributing factors to child labor. Whatever the actual cause and effect relationship is the commonly held view that poverty causes child labor raises the question of whether poor children

should work while middle and upper middle class children should attend the school. Poverty is seen as a justification for the continuation of child labor, and the attitude that is acceptable for poor children to work instead of studying is common.

2.5 Working against Child Labor

Child labor is pervasive problem in Nepal. It is deeply rooted in the Nepalese society. Until the end of the Rana regime, the feudal landlords and rulers of the country exploited the poor and weaker part of the society by engaging in agricultural activities and for entertainment purposes. And As revealed by a study carried out by CWIN the pioneer movement for the right of child working children in Nepal come across with the following problems such as work at night, too young to work in appropriate work for children, low wages and long working hours, economic exploitation by adults, lack of basic education opportunities, separation form parents, abuse and neglect, physical and emotional exploitation, no rest or entertainment, not having their basic needs met, in appropriate child rearing atmosphere, lack of adequate parental love, care and understanding, lack of social security and attention and violation of child's right law.

Child welfare is a vague concept. The child has to be properly cared for and take care of. In Nepal, child labor is a result rising out of the socio-economic structure of society. The children are either forced for economic considerations or they work under conditions damaging their health. In the initial stage, the planners, policy makers and the government were indifferent about the problem of child labor. They were attracted to this problem only after the re-establishment of democracy and the arrival of

activist NGO's.

To sum up, Child domestic service is a wide spread practice in many developing countries with employers in urban areas often engage children from rural villages through family, friends and contacts. While most child domestic workers come from extremely poor families many have been abandoned are orphaned or come single parent's families. Child labor reflects under investment in education and the future of a nation. Education is at the heart of development.

Historically, the universal achievement of free education of good quality has been identified as the key to economic growth. Child laborers are automatically denied their right to education. Similarly, many large families put in to child labor, face financial difficulties and are forced to send at least one child to work. Due to the family break up many children face exploitation, beating, neglect and verbal abuse from their step parents. Then children run away from their own home to the towns. Many working children do not have opportunities to go to school which seriously handicaps their education. These child worker often grow up to be unskilled adults trapped in poorly paid jobs and in turn will look to their own children to supplement the family's income. Educational skill has played an important role in the rapid economic growth of many countries. Many of child laborers miss an important time in their physical and mental development to work day and night. Moreover, education empowers children by enabling them to gain knowledge of their basic right and their potential. Findings disprove the claim that children benefit later in life form working at a young age. Child laborers often end up challenging national economies.

Child labor has accepted as an integral part of the Nepalese economy and society. For many children in Nepal, every day is a day of labor; they are

deprived of their basic rights to protection, participation and development.

In major cities, in Kathmandu valley, mainly in Restaurants, domestic servants in households and there are also large number of street children who work mainly as beggars and rag pickers. Some of these children have become addicted to alcohol and drugs and have resorted to gambling, pick pocketing and stealing to survive. There are also increasing number of girls working as sex workers.

The problems of child labor engaged in different sectors vary. Similarly the problem of children working under hazardous conditions is increasing. Many social evils and crimes are being generated because of child labor. The problems of both boys and girls trafficking are increasing. In the process of working towards the elimination of child labor, it is essential that the problem is approached and tackled from different angles. Awareness needs to be created against all forms of child labor. A nationwide social movement against all forms of exploitation and oppression of children needs to be launched. Primary education should be made compulsory. Income generating programs to people below the poverty line can be introduced so that they will send their child for work.

On the basis of this conceptual and empirical literature, female domestic child labor in the selected areas will be analyzed. The Empirical studies help to compare data from the field and conceptual literature helps to description and generalization of the case of female domestic child labor in urban area.

CHAPTER-III

Research Methodology

In this chapter, I am talking about research design, rationale of the selection of study area, nature and sources of data, universe and sampling, techniques of data collection, data processing and analysis, and limitations of the study.

3.1 Research Design

This research was based on descriptive survey design which was helpful to explore multifaceted problem of domestic female child labor. This would cover a sample of the children working in household labors and the issue related with children and their works. On the whole, the study was descriptive and explorative in nature. It describes caste ethnic composition, working scenarios, age, education as well as explores causes of child labour. To get in depth information of family background and their transition into urban job, few case studies will be conducted. The researcher was selecting the relevant variables for an analysis of sampled cases.

3.2 Rationale of the Selection of Study Area

The study area was Tanglaphat, Sibalay and Kumariclub residential areas of Kirtipur municipality. The settlements lie around Tribhuvan University, out of ring road. These settlements have been started since 2045 B.S. This is mixed immigrants settlement composed of different caste/ethnic groups. They are different socio-cultural background. The number of domestic female child labor is significant. Numbers of educated, middle class and Right activists also have been living in this area. Paradoxical situation of advocacy of elimination of child labor and domestication of child labor in

own hose is heard in this area. This area is selected due to familiar area, new settlement and easily accessible to regular visit in the study period.

3.3 Nature and Sources of Data

Both qualitative and quantitative data was collected. The study was based on both primary and secondary data. Primary data were collected from field survey. The secondary data were collected from published and unpublished literature .i.e. various books, journals, articles, research reports of national and international organizations and government reports.

3.4 Universe and Sampling

All female children working as household helper in Tanglaphat, Sibalay and Kumariclub areas of Kirtipur municipality comprised sample universe. The exact number of such children in this area is not known. Respondents were selected on probability sampling methodological epistemology of snowball sampling method. In snowball sampling method, one respondent informed other such workers in this area and researcher met required number of respondent by using this method. This sampling method was also useful to find respondents' relatives. In the selected area 30 female domestic child workers were selected by using snowball sampling method. During survey, I decided to stop survey when the numbers of respondents were 30. It was also because of end of snowball channel of identifying next respondent. Female domestic child worker up to age 16 were selected.

3.5 Methods of Data Collection

To collect primary data, field survey was conducted on January to March

2011. Interview schedule, observation, case studies and informal hangouts were major techniques of data collection. Some of the households are relatives and some of them are friend's house. For secondary data, different library and sites was visited.

3.5.1 Interview

An interview schedule with a set of questionnaire was developed for interviewing the female domestic child labor to collect data. It was conducted to generate data related to caste ethnicity, age, place of origin and other socio-economic background of the respondent. The structured question was asked with the sample respondents. Unstructured questions were asked to get detail information for the objectives of the study. The questions were focus on different issues such as family background, work experiences, education, arrival attitude toward work and their future aspiration. Some informal gossips were happened during field work.

3.5.2 Observation

During the field work, non-participant observation was conducted to gather qualitative information. It was employed to generate data related to their physical attributes, dress up, cleanliness, confidence to talk with employer and other observable scenarios. This technique was used to get information on their working conditions, physical appearance, dress, health, behaviors, language and attitude toward work. Observation was helpful to cross check the information provided by the respondents.

3.5.3 Case Study

For the sake of detail study of situation of female child worker, family background, and socio-economic background of the children were conducted. They shared their pushing and pulling factors in this way of livelihood, education and their relationship with employers. Six case studies are recorded for the cross checks of the qualitative and quantitative response of the respondents which are presented on annex I.

3.6 Data Processing and Analysis

The collected data were being processed, edited and tabulated accordingly. They were need different types of distribution tables. Presented tables were interpreted on the basis of statistical tools. Bi-variant tables were explaining the differential issues. They were interpreted on percentage distribution over the cells of the cross-table.

3.7 Limitations

The study did not claim to accomplish all in-depth of its objectives because of limited time and resources. Though, the scope of the study was defined at Tanglaphat, Sibalay and Kumariclub areas of Kirtipur municipality, yet the samples were not covering all areas. So the findings of the study may not applicable for Tanglaphat, Sibalaya and Kumariclub as whole. The sample size of 30 domestic child labors seems too small to represent the whole universe. The methodology may not applicable in other place.

CHAPTER-IV

Socio-Economic Background of Female Domestic Child worker

This chapter includes socio-economic background of the Female domestic child workers. Family background, age, caste ethnic composition, origin districts, educational status, parental status and parents' occupations are described in detail. In the process of working towards the elimination of child labor, it is essential that the problem is approached and tackled from different angles.

Poverty is main pushing factor of children to leave their own family and ended up domestic worker (Suwal et al 1997). Female children did not leave own family without severe poverty. It is not armature job as some boy adopted to enter into the urban area. The case of female is different. Childhood is considered as the best period of human life. However, not all children are bale to enjoy the carefree environment of childhood. Due to labor intensive nature of agriculture and lack of other income generating opportunities, children are forced to premature labor in the rural areas of Nepal. Children are the best creation of the nature. They are the source of humanity and civilization. Every society has great hope on children for its development, which is determined by how the children are brought up in that society. They are also pushed in the labor market due to sudden death of the bread earner in the family or break of the family. The situation in this regard is even worse for girl children. Girls are more vulnerable because of possibility of sexual abuse and vio9lence. The workers age is most important uniqueness of an individual. Age implies not only physical strength but also maturity to handle roles and responsibilities in the family.

4.1.1 Age Structure

From the child development perspective the age under 16 is a very important period for their overall development which they will carry into their adulthood. In this regard an attempt has been made to know the age structure of the household child labor.

The Age range of the workers varies. Age also makes difference in their working condition, treatment from the employer and their capacity to think about future and vulnerability. Younger are relatively more vulnerable because employers feel easy to tell every things and compel them work. In the case of girl, elder are also equally vulnerable in terms of sexual exploitation.

Table 4.1: Ages Structure of the Respondents

Age (Years)	Female No.	percentage
10	3	10
11	4	13.33
12	5	16.67
13	9	30
14	6	20
15	3	10
Total	30	100

Source: Field work, 2011.

Out of the total 30 children interviewed, 13 to 14 years constituted 50% of the respondents. This shows that the teenager were more involved in domestic service than the under teenager. Only 40% were below thirteen

years old. The highest number 30% were in 13 years old and 10% were in the age of 10 and 15. Higher age girls could find ways to escape from exploitation but the younger had to bear unless extreme form of physical damage. Girls are more vulnerable out of home. These are concepts working behind lesser number of girl workers.

4.1.2 Caste/Ethnic Composition

Caste/Ethnicity refers to distinct socio-cultural group. An individual inherits by birth. It gives an ascribed status to an individual.

Table 4.2: Caste/Ethnic Composition of Respondents

Caste ethnic composition	Number of respondent	Percentage
Brahmin	1	3.33
Chhetri	2	6.67
Sanyasi	2	6.67
Tharu	4	13.33
Magar	3	10
Tamang	6	20
Rai	1	3.33
Kumal	1	3.33
Rajbamsi	1	3.33
Hill Dalit castes	6	20
Madhesi castes	3	10
Total	30	100

Source: Field work, 2011.

In a caste society the job to individuals to places in the social hierarchy is decided by social groups and cultural heritage. Caste can be defined as an early system of social grouping distinguished by degrees of purity, pollution, social and exclusiveness. In traditional rural society, caste/ethnic status of

the people directly influences their access to any occupation. In view this; caste/ethnic composition of the sample of household child labor was taken as important characteristics. Out of the total 30 children interviewed, ethnic groups constituted 53%. Ethnic groups are those who are recognized and listed as ethnic nationalities by Nepalese government. Ethnic groups' number is high because their socio- economic background pushes them as household child labor. Among total worker, 20% are from Tamang, 20% from hill Dalit castes, 13.33% from Tharu, 10% from Magar, 10% from Madeshi castes and 10% from Kumal, Rai, and Rajbamsi communities. Brahmin, Chhetri and Sanyasi constitutes 16%. This figure shows that Tamang, Dalit and Tharu community children are more vulnerable in comparison to other ethnic groups. Brahmin, Sanyasi and Chhetri' s number also indicates that all so called high caste people are not free from poverty.

4.1.3 Native Place

Native place of the domestic child labor reflects availability of access to livelihood options in their own locality. Native place of household was taken as an important personal characteristic. Most of the domestic children they have come from different districts to work as child domestic workers.

Table 4.3 Resident of Respondents

Native Place (District)	No.	Percentage.
Dhading	4	13.33
Chitwan	3	10
Kavre	3	10
Nuwakot	3	10
Makwanpur	4	13.33
Sindhupalchok	2	6.66
Dang	2	6.66
Baglung	2	6.66
Saptari	2	6.66
Dhanusa	2	6.66
Sunsari	1	3.33
Jhapa	2	6.66
Total	30	100

Source: Field work, 2011.

The significant relationship between the place and child labour is found from this table. Out of the survey the maximum number of girl children came from Dhading and Makwanpur districts. Dhading and Makwanpur is main root to enter in the valley and large numbers of people from these districts are working in the valley. Female domestic workers came through channel of previous domestic workers in this area. Almost 60% of female workers were from main five districts named Dhading, Nuwakot, Kavre, Chitawan and Makwanpur. All these districts are close to Kathmandu. More than 15% were from Madhesi community. Female domestic workers were brought from the villages by their relatives and neighbors and supply in relatives and

neighbors houses in the valley. Dang Baglung Saptari, Dhanusa and Jhapa districts were also female child supplier districts. Each of these district supplied 6.66% of worker in the valley. The least number was found from Sunsari district that constitutes 3.33% of worker. The number of workers also indicates that people from these districts have connection in the study area. Makwanpur, Kavre, Nuwakot and Dhading are predominated by Tamang and Brahmin and Chhetri people.

4.1.4 Education

Education is one of the most important factors for the social, economic and cultural development of human being. Every child has right to be educated and without education no one can achieve success in his or her life. Various researchers are convinced that education or primary education is needed for child. In this context it is interesting to find out their educational status.

Table 4.4 School Enrollment of Respondents

Status of School Enrollment	No.	Percentage
Enrolled	21	70
Drop Out	3	10
Not enrolled	6	20
Total	30	100

Source: Field work, 2009.

Out of the total 30 children interviewed assuming the children who were once enrolled also literate, most of the children were literate. Among 30 children, 6 were never enrolled to school in the past. But three of them were literate from informal education in the village run by government and other

NGOs. As mentioned by the respondents main reason for not being enrolled to any school was that they could not afford it economically. The others reasons by the respondents for not being enrolled to school were need to work at house and no interest for studying. Children’s dropout number is not significant. They said that they dropped out school to help their parents in the household work and small baby caretaker in the home.

Table 4.5 Level of Education of Respondents

Level of Education	Number	Percentage
1-3 class	12	40
4-7 class	9	30
Above 7	3	10
Never schooling	6	20
Total	30	100.

Source: Field work, 2011.

When they are asked about their present educational status, out of the 30 respondents, a large number (20 percent) were not getting school education after they join their job as work similarity with their school time and 30 percent children were still going to school. The literate domestic child labor who have attained up to one to grade three is higher than who have attained four to seven grade. It was found that only 10 percent of the domestic child labor has been able to study above the seven.

4.1.5 Family Status

Status of parents and family status makes difference in the life of children. Bond between husband and wife is marriage, relationship between parents

and children and sometimes adoption is family. So family is a micro and social institution composed of husband, wife and children. Family is a durable or permanent association of husband and wife, with or without child or of a man or woman alone. Family is a group of persons whose relations to one another are based upon consanguinity and who are therefore kin to another. So at first there will be a marriage and having mating relationship between husband and wife there create family. In this context family structure is defined in term of parent's status and household size.

Family also serves to locate children socially and plays major role in enculturation and socialization process. Disharmony and break up of family structures also compel children to work. Family background is also a strong factor to examine the causes of child labor. That is why it is important to examine the family background of child labor.

Table 4.6 Parental Status of Child Workers

Parent's Status	Number	Percentage
Both alive	12	40
Divorced	3	10
Father dead	3	10
Mother dead	6	20
Both dead	6	20
Total	30	100

Source: Field work, 2011.

Parental status does not make significant difference on the area of female child worker. Both alive and both or one of them dead percentage is almost equal. So, divorce and death are not main cause of child labour.

Regarding the status of their parents, it was found that 40 percent children have their parents alive. Even if they were alive they were unable to keep their daughter with them. Similarly parents were convinced by employers in the name of education, facility and seeking good family for the marriage of the girl. Out of 30, 3 or 10% of them were from parent divorced families. Similarly, 10% of them have no father, 20% of them have no mother and 20% of them lost both parents. Some of them informed that absence of their parents forced them to leave their home and become a child labor. Separation of family and suppression of Step-mother were other reason to leave family. They were not come alone in the working place. Their relative and friends and neighbors brought them in the present family as a domestic worker.

It was also revealed that when family break up due to separation or death could be the major cause for children needing to work, either one or both of the parent death leads to fulfill the vacancy by step parents which is one of the reasons for driving children out of their home. This observation may not be true in all cases because most of the respondents of this study are from families of both parents alive. But it is definite that the death of any one of the parent bring stress and strain beyond the management of the child, and the family dissolution may the child and drive her away from the family.

Household directly influence the socio-economic life of the members of the house. Most of the activities of the member of the family are guided by the household's rules.

4.1.6 Parent's Occupation

Food sufficiency is a great problem for the low income people, so large children are sent to work because of the incapability of the families to feed

them. So it is necessary to find out the parental occupation of the child domestic worker. Table 4.7 shows the frequency distribution of the major occupation of female child domestic workers.

Table 4.7 Occupation of Parents of Respondents

Parent's occupation	Number	Percentage
Agriculture	10	33.33
Wage labors	6	20
Traditional Service	3	10
Pottering	2	6.66
Seasonal migration	4	13.33
Street vending	3	10
Vegetable marketing	2	6.66
Total	30	100

Source: Field work, 2011.

Out of the total 30 children interviewed agriculture has been the main occupation for their parents. 33.33% of them were from agricultural parents' family. Other 20 percent child domestic workers parents followed by wage labor, 13.33 percentage were street vending in urban areas. Most of the people are farmer in the village even if they do not have own land for production. Agriculture is neither easy nor it ensures food security of the families. Children of rural farmers struggle for enough food in the family. If they do not get then they search alternatives. This match up to the livelihood of the rural population of Nepal where agriculture is the major economic activity and agriculture and other type of manual labor constitutes the primary occupation of the rural people. These farmers are occupant farmers who are facing on share cropping. Most of the child domestic workers were not able to inform on land status. 10 percentage of them were from traditional service occupation like sewing and metal working. Pottering and vegetable marketing was other livelihood strategies of the about 14% respondents.

CHAPTER-V

Domestic Female Child Workers and Relationship with Employers

This chapter deals with relationship between employers and employee, conflict and negotiations, payment, facility, work experience, salary and attitude of employers toward the worker. Two different background people negotiate for certain agreement and the chapter talks about how these negotiations take place. In this part I am discussing why the children have to come to work as domestic servant

5.1 Arrival of Female Domestic worker at work place

There were various means and network of children arrival to the present destination. For the female child, some convincing network or certain level of trust was required for the agreement of workers to work at working household. As mentioned both workers and employers during field work, It was not easy to find working place for the female workers and on the other hand it was hard to find female worker. Being female, they could not leave own family without trustworthy people, family consent and working destination. In the case of male children, they could just leave home without consent of family members and stay at the street. As female workers said they could not stay out or street. Therefore, they need protectors at least for safe shelter. As they said, female workers were sensitive not only for sexual violence but also cross border trafficking.

Table No. 5.1 Arrival of female domestic workers.

With whom they arrived at work place	Number	Percentage
With Employer	9	30
With Employer's relative and friend	6	20
With Parents	5	16.67
With Own relative	3	10
With own Neighbor	4	13.33
With Friends	3	10
Total	30	100

Source: Field work 2011.

Among 30 child workers, 30 percent revealed that their employers themselves brought them. Either employers were their far relative or already known people of the village. At least, workers parents trust upon the employers and allowed to come with them. Similarly, employers' relatives and friend were the second main contributors for taking the children from their home to domestic service sector. 20% of female workers came with employers' relatives and friends because they had close relationship with the workers' parents and parent trust upon employers' relatives. In such case parents did not know much about employers. While 16.67 percent of the children mentioned that it was their parents who dropped them in the working place. They dealt with the employers and trust upon the employers. Interestingly, 10% female domestic workers were came with own relatives like sibling, cousin sisters and another 10% with friends of the village because they were also domestic workers and familiar with employers family. Previously working relative and friends had network with their employers' relative and neighbor and they brought the present worker

according to the demand of their employers. It was also found that 13.33% percent responded that they followed their own neighbor people to leave their home and joined the service sector. Most of the decisions were made by parents and relative or guidance.

There were various reason of joining as domestic worker out of own family. Poverty was commonly answered cause of being domestic worker but there were other interests that motivated the worker to join on work.

Table 5.2 Reasons of respondents for Taking up Domestic Work

Reasons	Number	Percentage
Supplement family income	10	33.33
Desperate food problem	6	20
To study further	6	20
Anticipation of better life	5	16.67
Others (non of above)	3	10
Total	30	100.0

Source: Field work, 2011.

The major reason cited for the children to work as servant was to supplement family income by 33.33 percent. Twenty percent children reported poverty and insufficient food was the major reason which compels to join the domestic service sector. However, 20 percent children joined with a hope and purpose of studying further, they were unable to study because of unfavorable environment. 16.67 percent children joined the service sector with the anticipation of better life in the city, while 10 percent female workers did not give any specific reason for joining this work. They are convinced their relatives and friends to be ambitious to see Kathmandu and

city life. Like the morning shows the day, the status of the children show the future of the country. Because of family torture and demise of parents female workers were compelled to find alternative livelihood and consequently they were ended up present working place.

5.2 Working Experience in the Past

Many children are working as household child labor from the early period. So, an attempt has been made to find out the duration of involvement in the domestic service. The study found that nearly 40 percent were found new workers who were joined first time in the present place. While, remaining 60 percent were found to be working for more than 1 to 2 years. They reported that the employer demands experienced but experienced workers demand high salary. There was contradiction in the words of employers. Actually, employers preferred new workers because there was low chance of going other place for better work by new worker. Experienced workers demanded high payment as well as always risk of going other household for better opportunity. In front of their workers, employer said that she was not experience which was bargaining point for low payment. Otherwise household workers demand high payment and other facility. The answers of the employers and workers were contradictory in terms of working experience and age group. Employers prefer younger below twelve but apparently said that we need mature worker. Employers said that younger workers have less chance of love affair and elopement, high chance of sincerity on work and they were less cunning and pretentious. This study shows the paradoxical nature of employers to keep worker on low payment.

Employer preferred long term worker. This study shows that involvement of female children in domestic service is indeed a long term.

5.3 Changes in the Work Place and Employment

The respondents were asked whether they had worked previously. 60% of them had work previously and some of them were new in the service. Here below the table has presented whether they used to work previously or not.

Table 5.3 Distribution of Respondents by Change of Work Place

Change of work place	Number	Percentage
First time	12	40
Once	9	30
Twice	6	20
Thrice	3	10
Total	30	100

Source: Field work, 2011.

The study found that 40 percent of child domestic were working for the first time. 30 percent informed that they have already worked in one place before coming into this place. 20 percent reported that they have worked twice before. Only 10 percent reported that had worked more than twice. Higer the age and number of change working place have positive relation. 13 to 16 age groups are mostly likely to change working place. When asked why they left the previous work place then the reasons for changing the work places were primarily maltreatment, sexual abuse by the employers, heavy hard work, kicked out by the master and temptation by the more facilities in the next place. If you provide me better facility and payment I will come in your house. Other said that money and facility were secondary thing, primary

requirement is trust and sense of security. If they felt security then they were ready to compromise other facility and opportunity. They prefer security and trust of the employers' family members. If they were paid high but there was high risk of sexual violence, torture then high payment did not make sense.

5.4 Employment and Working Conditions at Present

Nepal is one of the poorest among the poorest countries in the world. In Nepal poverty, unemployment are prevailing characteristics which is effecting each and every sector of human lives including child, where children required to support their labor or they are forced to leave home and survive along. Every sectors of employment are not out form children labor and this trend is growing.

This section attempts to look working conditions of female workers at present in which they are engaged. The conditions of the work place, the hours of child works, and the brutality to which they are exposed, damage children who worked. All premature child works damages the body, mind and the sprit of the child. Children who do not have adequate rest and recreation and are constantly living in a state of fear of become mentally damaged. Children who from early age have to bear the burdens of adults, and do work inappropriate to their bodily strength and ability to bear, can become distributed and social misfit. This section therefore, attempt to analyses their working condition, their present environment, entertainment and relationship with the employer's and their employer's family.

Domestic female child labors did not have any fixed work schedule. For instance, when you are reading two guest came in the house, then the worker has to make tea, food and so on. They have a very wide range of activities at

their employer's home from kitchen work to the house cleaning. It was found that majority 60 percent of them had to do household chores. Some children have specific roles such as baby sitting. Only 6 percent has specific roles like baby care. Other 30 percent are found washing dishes, clothes, help cooking and cleaning floors, etc. particularly, the females were found to have performed stereotyped roles function such as baby sitting, cooking.

These children are always on call by every family member to do any thing and every thing. These include polishing shoes, cleaning the toilets, fetching a glass of water going to nearby shop and so on. Based on major categories of work respondents were asked about their working hours also. A majority of the respondents said that they have to work for more than 12 hours that is after getting up till sleeping time. Only 10 children have less than 8 hours of work. All of the domestic workers wake up before 6 AM and usually have time to sleep after 9 PM. The child domestic workers are expected to be always alert on any type of work. These jobs are often tedious and are often not perceived as real work. Because of unseen jobs, the child domestic workers were always busy.

5.5 Earning from the Work

Children are the cheap source of labor and are bound to work more than the adult. They are compelled to work long hour without any complaint but in return the payment was found to be very low.

Table no.5.4 Payment structure of the workers

Payment	No. of Respondent	Parcentage
Less than 1000	9	30
1000-1400	6	20
1500-2000	4	13.33
Don't know	6	20
Not paid	5	16.67
Total	30	100

Source: Field work, 2011.

Out of the total 30 children, it was found that 30 percent of children were paid less than Rs.1000 for their work. Twenty percent of children were paid Rs.1000 to 1400. Similarly, 13.33 percent child labors were paid in between Rs.1500 to 2000. Interestingly, 20 percent were unknown about their salary because their parents and close relative come to take payment from their employers. They said that they did not ask about their salary with the employers. The data revealed that 16.67 percent children were not paid a wage and only get food, cloth and education facilities in return of their work. In the name of free education and limited working hours in the morning and evening, they were not paid but the workers were satisfied with the facilities and reading opportunity provided by their employers. In such cases, most of the employers were relative of the workers.

Table 5.5 Use of Earnings of Respondents

Use of earnings	Number	Percentage
Family	15	50
Self	9	30
No fixed	6	20
Total	30	100.0

Source: Field work, 2011.

The study found that 50 percent children mentioned that they support the families through wages. Child labor is a cause of poverty and one of the main reasons, for the children to work as child domestic worker is to support families. Quite a significant, 30 percent said, they use the money or other earning for themselves only. However, in cases where wages are not paid, the child domestic workers are compensated by meeting the cost of schooling or buy clothes, other gifts and lump sum cashes given by the employers when either the child domestic workers visit their home or are visited by their parents.

When asked whether they were satisfied with the earning of the total 30 respondents, it was found that 40 percent children categorically said earning was not enough, while the 36 percent said the earning was enough. While the remaining 24 percent said they have no idea. When asked why the present earning was not sufficient, the majority answer was that the money was inadequate to support the family, and to buy the items of their liking.

5.6 Arrangements of Food and Shelter

For female domestic child labor, food and shelter were essential for personal security. The workers preferred bodily security rather than high payment and

other facilities. The following table shows the arrangements of shelter and other facilities for the female child domestic workers.

Table 5.6 Arrangement of Shelter

Types of Shelter	Number	Percentage
Separate Room	10	33.33
Kitchen	6	20
Open passage and below staircase	2	6.67
With children of employers	12	40
Total	30	100.0

Source: Field work, 2011.

All the 30 respondents were found that they were staying at their master's home but types of security was different among them. 33.33 percent reported that they are given separate room for study and sleep. But it was reported that they were given separate room usually made for storing varied items, while 20 percent female child domestic workers were sleeping at the floor of the kitchen, while 6.67 percent were given the space below the staircases and open ended passage in the house. The highest number 12 or 40% were sleeping with the children of the employers. They said that children of the employers were helpful in terms of education, work sharing and food sharing. It was found that female child workers were happy to stay with children of master because they were like friends, easy to communicate difficulties and mediator of the worker and employers. Female child workers said that it was easy to pass time with children in the family. They participate on recreational activities arrange by children.

Those who used open spaces for sleeping felt insecurity in the household. Being female, they need special personal secrecy and biological problems.

At that time they felt insecurity to use other spaces, such as the corner of the employer's corridor of the house. When asked about sleeping arrangements of the total 90 percent of the household child workers were given relatively good kind of sleeping arrangements, which included bed with mattress were laid at sleeping time only otherwise folded and kept at corners. While only 10 percent children are given just simple liner's such as piece of an old carpet and blanket.

As all the child domestic workers are staying at their master's home the fooding arrangement was also therefore, made available at their work place. 100 percent of the domestic child labors were given same food as master's family which was different in comparison to village household workers. but the quality of food differed because workers were given leftover food and cold food. All the respondents mentioned that they were given adequate quantity of meals but they did not get food in time of hunger..

As child domestic workers were disposed to unhealthy and unhygienic working conditions they are vulnerable form hygienic point of view. It shows the status of their illness after they have come to present work place. Fifty percent of the respondents mentioned that they were not severely ill. Similarly, other fifty percent mentioned that they were ill at least once after coming to work as child domestic worker. However, no major illness, expect cough, cold, headache, stomach ache and minor wounds was reported. In most of the cases, they were given medicines by the employers without having checked up with medical professionals.

5.7 Recreation Facilities

It is child's need and a right to have time for recreation. All respondents mentioned that they watch TV at least day time or the employers children watched. As it was not possible to quantify their viewing hours, separate analysis was not done. It was found that most of the respondents have less than one hour available to watch TV. Only few child workers manage to get more hours to watch TV. All the respondents stated that they were viewing TV at their master's house, and mostly sitting on floor. No child domestic workers has specifies house for other kind of playing. Some child domestic workers find time to play while entertaining the employer's children. Usually carom, badminton, playing ball and running around are the main games they have access together with their employer's children.

Female domestic workers are deprived of their own parent's affection. Therefore, it is necessary for them to have enough opportunities to get holidays and meet their dear ones. Among them, 50 percent of the respondents are not aware about holidays. They are not given in general. The employers want to engage them at their household work regularly. If child domestic workers leave employer's house, then they will not return back to the employer's home. Twenty percent of each respondent that they are getting holidays as per need or more than twice a year. This was true for the child domestic workers, who have come to work from peripheral districts. Ten percent children reported that they get leave to go home once a year. Usually, they are sent to their home during big festivals or when their parents are sick. All these respondents reported that usually they get one week or two week leave within a year.

5.8 Behavior of Employer

The behaviors of the children depend upon how they were behaved by others. Children need love and respect too for their healthy growth. Therefore, it is important to see how have been relationships between the employer and the child domestic worker. A large number of majorities of the children were treated in a good way. According to workers the employers were double status personality people. They were treated very good manner in front of their friends and relatives but ill treated in the absence of second person. However, the proportion of the children reporting good treatment was not the same for all. The perception of good treatment differs person to person. Giving opportunity to go school is good treatment for some and giving separate room for sleep was good treatment for other.. Out of the 30 respondents interviewed a majority of the female child domestic workers 25 percent have found their mistress to be the closet person. Similarly, 35 percent respondents feel that they are closer to their master and 40 percent were close to their masters' children. From the gender perspectives, female workers should be closer with female members of the family but in reality mistress were not generous for the workers. They imposed all personal work to the workers. Other types of women' jealousy was found toward mature female workers in terms of sexual attraction to their male members in the household. As women are responsible for domestic chores and girls are mostly supporting them and try to be closer relationships with them.

When asked about punishment, such as scolding, beating, etc, most of them faced such situations. The responses about the punishment to child domestic

workers substantially indicate that they faced various types of punishment from the employers.

Table 5.7 Distributions of Nature of Punishment

Types of Punishment	Number	Percentage
Scolding	27	90
Scolding and slapping	15	50
Scolding and sever beating	3	10
Sexual abuse and exploitation	4	13.33
No physical punishment	6	20

Source: Field work, 2011.

The nature and intensity of the punishment given to the child domestic workers are found to be varied. The percent of the children indicate immensity of punishment; majority cases 90 percent are limited to scolding and mental torture. Scolding was regarded as common expression of anger towards workers. Scolding and slapping simultaneously were reported by 50% respondents. However, 10 percent children were reported to have been severely beaten by the employers. Ram Maya used to be severely beaten by her mistress where she was working. Only 20% reported that they were not physically beaten but they were frequently scolding.

5.9 Perception towards the Work

Children were asked whether they are happy with their job. This question helped to know the attitude of the workers in their present job and the satisfaction with it. 78 percent of these children are found to be happy with their work as domestic worker. The main reason for liking the job was

mainly the hard and harsh life at the home while the remaining 22 percent reported that they are not interested to work as a domestic servant. The main reason for the dissatisfaction was mistreatment by the employers, no provisions of the salary and no free time.

Table 5.8 Future Plans of the workers

Future Plan	Number	Percentage
To keep on this job	9	30
Willingness to study further	6	20
To do others job	6	20
Do not know	9	30
Total	30	100.0

Source: Field work, 2011.

The largest percentage of respondents were either keep on this work or unknown about future. 30 % wanted to keep it up where as same 30% were unaware about future. The second large majority of them 20 percent want to study further and the same percent wanted to find other job. They also realize that unless they upgrade their educational qualification, they can not make significant change in their life. Still employers need to be more sensitive on the terms of employment because children are very lowly paid as domestic help compared to their working hours. This is a case of economic exploitation that need to be corrected or supplemented by better education options or training facilities to the working children so that their basic rights are honored.

5.10 Relationship between employer and worker

During field work, I have observed interaction and unexceptional situations as well as relationship between employer and workers. Dual nature and relationship of employer as well as worker was observed. Employer tried to show very closer familial relation and worker as one of the member of present family in front of worker. On the absence of the worker, employer indirectly showed his/her prestige and superior class socio-economic status in front of guest.

Through my initiative and some time with the help of these workers, I came to know many of their employers and many of them said that they were parents/guardians of workers as well. Moreover employers and workers families were known, share unequal reciprocity in the village. Some of them have patron client relationships in rural settlement and employers are practicing same system in the city in different name. They do not have any basic written agreement of salary, working hours, facilities of food, clothes and shelter between two parties. The terms and condition are understood only in the morel ground. Employers used frequently kinship terms to hyperbole of Chori (daughter), Maiya and sister to address workers. Workers are loyal in front of their masters. Workers also do not like employers' behaviors towards them. Numbers of work and severity of work are main cause they hate their employers. They used different styles of objection and revenge. Most of them expressed their anger by longer hours to complete work, making intensely not testy food and tea; and making task messy and less speaking.

Much of the recruiting for the workers is done through informal networks of kinship and patron-client ties that link urban areas to rural hinterland.

Intermediaries, who have active connection in both urban and rural areas, play a role here. They have made certain oral agreement between them. It is found that rural villagers are state forward; honest and simple where as urban social environment is different. The stereotype of uncivilized village workers is thought to change civilized urban character. The conflict of interest between employers and workers also appeared superior urban and inferior rural culture and livelihood. The employers try to change workers in the name of civilization. But the workers felt that it was not the matter of civilization but policy of labor to them.

In the name of education and civilization, children are kept not formally child workers but education support of the poor person. Another trend appeared that some of the employers claimed that they facilitate children for total education. They boosted being such great philanthropic person in this capitalistic socio-economic context. Actually children said that it is double burden for them. They have to do household work at late hour in the evening and they can not complete school home work. Next day teacher battered in the school. These types of context push children further depression and dull. Slowly they do not obey teacher and employers. Continuous cold war is going on between employers and workers in the name of entertainment, school homework, extra money, time and leisure time. All children can not express such feeling but this psychology is deeply rooted in the mind of workers.

Worker like cousin, sister in law, and close relative are presented as own family member when the family go to party or visit out of home. Similarly they are left home to take of home as a member of the family. Employer exaggerates flesh and blood relationship between them. So, employers change their attitude towards worker on basis of context and their need.

Workers are also confused with employers' relationships. Some time they are treated as own blood and some time like servant. Both of parties tried to pretend as closer member but internally both of them have realized their distance. Most of workers are not good in study because of lack of reading room, time and family environment.

Treatment of male and female member of the employer family differs in different context. Female loved the workers when their works were completed without asking them. As menstruated respondents reported that in time of menstruation, all employers' family did not believe as pollution. Female members were interested about menstruation and its regularity of the workers. All respondents were not mature for menstruation. Only 45% of them had menstruation. If employer's family members saw the worker talking with other boys, serious questions were asked and unnecessary doubts were presented. Such doubtful questions were asked if menstruation was irregular. Dress codes were taught by the women of the family on the absence of the males. Similarly they taught ideas of being civilized and modern but controlled speaking and making gossips with other children. Being girl, you had to walk slowly, speak politely, and speak respected language were common orientations of the employers' women.

When the workers were late from the school, they had to give clarification in front of employers. Outgoing and tours were almost prohibited. Makeup and parlor going were also considered negatively. If they noticed any new getup and makeup, then they started saying, "now you are ready to elopement". The workers felt difficult to invite their school friends in the house. Domestic work in middle-class households situates young workers at the boundary between different social networks — those of their working-class families and those of their employers. By social networks I mean the

social relations between people in a group that are used as sources of strategic information, to exert influence, to accumulate social credentials and to be socially recognized. The commonly used terms Kaam Garne Keti (female servant) was not used by employers rather they called using their own names. It was difficult to identify whether the worker was really employee or their relatives. Employers of female child workers were denied to answer my questions why do they keep child workers?. But their lifestyle showed business and middleclass status. They tried to hide reality and pretended as workers were their relatives or poor children were taken for education purpose.

CHAPTER-VI

Summary and Findings

This is a study of domestic female child labor among newly immigrated dwellers of Tanglaphat, Sibalay and Kumariclub settlements. These settlements are around Tribhuvan University Campus lies in Kirtipur municipality. The settlements are not old traditional settlement of the Kathmandu valley. Most of houses have been building since 1990. Domestic female child workers aged 10 to 16 have been working on many households as helper or worker. Child labor is still practicing in educated families, middle class and so called right activists too. On one other hand teachers and child based institutions tries to eliminate child labor but on the other hand they themselves keep child labor in own families. In the name of relatives and closest protector of children are used in domestic labor.

This research raised come questions like Who the female workers are belong to (Caste/ethnic, gender and place of origin)?, Where and how did they come?, What are the factors that compelled to work?, What are the tasks undertake (work and payment relation)?, What are problems faced by them?, What kind of relation do they have with their employers? The general objective of the study is to analyze the socio-economic background of female child worker and their relation to employer. Specific objectives of the study are: to explore the socio-economic background of the families of female child workers, and to describe their working relationship with employer family

The methodology of the research was based on descriptive survey design which was helpful to explore multifaceted problem of domestic female child

labor. In the Tanglaphat, sibalay and Kumariclub area 30 domestic female child workers were selected. Female domestic child worker 10 to age 16 was selected. Snowball sampling method is used to find out numbers of respondents, their reality of domestic work and their relationship with the employers. Some informal interviews were conducted with employers to find out their relationships and attitudes. Interview, observation, case study techniques are employed to collect data. Primary data were collected through survey, questionnaire, participant observations, case studies, etc.

The findings are based on the interview of 30 children ages between 10-16 years working currently as domestic child labor in the study areas. Girl Children from various districts were found as domestic worker. Out of the total 30 children interviewed, ethnic groups constituted almost 55%, Brahmin Chhetri and Sanyasi constitute almost 15%, Tarai castes groups constitute 10% and hill Dalit castes constitute 20% of the female domestic worker in the areas. Dhading, Nuwakot, Makwanpur, Kavre and Chitwan are main source districts of female child labor export districts. 57% female child workers were from these main five districts.

In term of age group, 13 to 14 years constituted 50% of the respondents. This shows that the teenager were more involved in domestic service than the under teenager. Only 40% were below thirteen years old. The highest number 30% were in 13 years old and 10% were in the age of 10 and 15. Out of 30 workers, 20 percent were not getting school education after they join their job as worker and 30 percent children were still going to school. The literate domestic child labor who have attained up to one to grade three is higher than who have attained four to seven grade. It was found that only 10 percent of the domestic child labor has been able to study above the seven grades.

It was found that 40 percent children have their parents alive. Even if they were alive they were unable to keep their daughter with them. Similarly parents were convinced by employers in the name of education, facility and seeking good family for the marriage of the girl. Out of 30, 10% of them were from family of parent divorced families. Similarly, 10% of them have no father, 20% of them have no mother and 20% of them lost both parents.

To come into working place, they need mediator. According to the respondents, out of total 30 percent revealed that their employers themselves brought them. 20% of female workers came with employers' relatives and friends because they had close relationship with the workers' parents and parent trust upon employers' relatives. While 16.67 percent of the children mentioned that it was their parents who dropped them in the working place. Interestingly, 10% female domestic workers were came with own relatives like sibling, cousin sisters and another 10% with friends of the village because they were also domestic workers and familiar with employers family.

The major reason cited for the children to work as servant was to supplement family income by 33.33 percent. Twenty percent children reported poverty and insufficient food was the major reason which compelled to join the domestic service sector. However, 20 percent children joined with a hope and purpose of better education, 16.67 percent children joined the service sector with the anticipation of better life in the city, while 10 percent female workers did not give any specific reason for joining this work.

When they were asked personal security and secrecy of living, 33.33 percent reported that they are given separate room for study and sleep. But it was

reported that they were given separate room usually made for storing varied items, while 20 percent female child domestic workers were sleeping at the floor of the kitchen, while 6.67 percent were given the space below the staircases and open ended passage in the house. The highest number 12 or 40% were sleeping with the children of the employers.

It was found that 30 percent of children were paid less than Rs.1000 for their work. Twenty percent of children were paid Rs.1000 to 1400. Similarly, 13.33 percent child labors were paid in between Rs.1500 to 2000. Interestingly, 20 percent were unknown about their salary because their parents and close relative come to take payment from their employers. They said that they did not ask about their salary with the employers. The data revealed that 16.67 percent children were not paid a wage and only get food, cloth and education facilities in return of their work.

The percent of the children indicate immensity of punishment; large cases 90 percent are limited to scolding and mental torture. Scolding was regarded as common expression of anger towards workers. Scolding and slapping simultaneously were reported by 50% respondents. However, 10 percent children were reported to have been severely beaten by the employers. Only 20% reported that they were not physically beaten but they were frequently scolding. It was found that majority 60 percent of them had to do household chores. Some children have specific roles such as baby sitting. Only 6 percent has specific roles like baby care. Other 30 percent are found washing dishes, clothes, help cooking and cleaning floors.

Major Findings

Because of urban busy life style some of them are compelled to keep workers. Instead of elimination of child labor, new and intensive forms of

child labor in household setting spreading because of market based economy, changing family and marriage patterns and way of life. Double standard of advocacy and reality is found everywhere in the society. Educated elites, so called right based advocates and middle class people were main consumers who keep female domestic child worker. Child labor is generally considered as the most neglected form of the labor where as female child domestic work is the worst. Most parents have expectation of good education in urban area and send their children to work as domestic child labor because of large family size, unemployment, poverty and children are sent to work to get relief from the economic burden. As most of the employers are not interested in their education, most of the domestic child laborers or are either forced to dropout from school as their work time get along with the school. They are scold even on a small scale. Most of these child workers are not getting education after joining the sector because of work time similarity with their school time.

In the questions of gender based dictation, all the worker were oriented about language politeness, dress codes, prohibited to talk with next person and keen interests on regularity of menstruation. Thought all the menstruated workers said that their employer families did not perform menstrual pollution but they were asked frequently. Makeup and beautifications were perceived negatively and said the statement like "now you are ready for elopement".

There were tension between workers and employers. Mostly worker were loyal to their employers. Workers also do not like employers' behaviors towards them. They used different styles of objection and revenge. Most of them expressed their anger by longer hours to complete work, making intensely not tasty food and tea; and making task messy and less speaking. A

nationwide social movement against all forms of exploitation and oppression of children needs to be launched. Various plans as providing income-generating programs to people below the poverty line can be introduced.

There are two interrelated factors of female child labour in the urban areas and among educated families. The first is economic growth of urban middleclass people and their busy life style on the other hand poverty just out around the urban, urban middle class need assistant in the household chores. They want to save money too. Therefore, child labour is their preference. Female, on the other hand, is preferred because of gender based work socialization in the society. It is believed that girls are more skillful in domestic work in comparison to boys. They are mild, polite, submissive and skillful too. Therefore, female child workers are main target among the urban middle class nuclear families.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Case Studies

Kali Dilmaya

Dilmaya Tamang is a 14 year old girl from a village of Dhading districts. Her father is drunkard. She had two big brothers and two sisters and her mother works labor work in the village of Pipaltar. Her two big brothers went to India to work before five years ago and still they had not sent any money and no contact. All said that they are dead but her mother had not accepted this truth and thought that one day they will return home. She had not enough land in village so she sent Dilmaya to kathmandu with a friend of her.

She was then brought to a Chettri family where she is working for last three years. She was ten years when she was brought there. Both his master and mistress is job holder. For a couple of months, she was treated well at her master home. But her master had a big family. She is too busy that she was called by all at any time. She is called by other name 'Kanchi or Kali'.

She is strictly beaten by her master wife when she does a simple mistake. She never gets enough foods. Separate rice is cooked for her. She has to clean the whole floor house twice a day. She was joined school but she dropped because of double pressure of school and household work. She has not got opportunity to go home again. Her master has promised to sent her home in this coming year Dashain she wish that she will not come back again. She did not get proper amount of salary too.

Rammaya in Lecturer's House

Rammaya Nepali is a 13 year old girl from Chitwan. she had a few lands in Chitwan which were not enough to feed for all the members of the family. Her father and elder brother work in the field but it is hard to survive. she had the family of six members. Her both sisters work as a domestic labor in Chitwan.

It was not possible for her to survive so she started to work at the age of nine. Before coming in Tanglaphat she used to work in Narayangarh hotel. she had worked there for six month. Then she followed relative who was coming in Kathmandu. Her relative was working as housemaid in Kalanki.then her relative knew a lecturer from Chitwan. By this way she found a place to work as a domestic child worker in the Lecturer house, Sibalay. As his both master and mistress are job holder and their two children go to school. She is also encouraged to study. For the last one year she is studying in a Mangal Madhyamik School which is situated in Kirtipur. Before and after school if she is free then she has to send and received her master children from the station. she had time to study, security of protection, clothes and gets same food as her employers eat. Lastly her all the dream were fulfilling.

Renu's Work

Renu Tamang is thirteen years old and comes from Makwanpur district. She was employed as a domestic servant in a Brahmin family of six in Tanglaphat two years ago. Her parents felt she might get better exposure and opportunity for schooling. In the village the school is quite far, and Renu have never had the opportunity to go. As a domestic labourer, she has to work from five in the morning until ten at night, performing kitchen

chores such as cooking, dish washing and water collection in the mornings and evenings, and tidying the house and washing clothes for the remainder of the day. With such a workload, Renu knows she will never have time to go school. Her mother comes every second month to collect Renu's salary, (Rs 2000 for two months) which represents a great respite to her poor landless parents. But the cost to Renu is great: she will always work hard and will remain illiterate.

Jyoti's Dream

Jyoti Budhathoki, originally from Dhading, came to Kathamndu with her mother and four sisters after her father deserted the family. Her mother owns a small vegetable shop, and Jyoti works as a domestic servant. With the support of an NGO, which pays for education materials and fees, Jyoti has been able to pursue her schooling. Her mother provides her school dress, and her employer provides food and lodging. In exchange, Jyoti has to perform all household and kitchen chores in the morning and evening. She seldom has time to do homework, yet she is confident that she will pass SLC in two years, and plans to look for a job in a government office. She feels this will prevent her sisters from having to face her situation, but her mother may not be able to wait until Jyoti accomplishes that goal before she has her sisters employed as domestic workers.

Asha as Urban Kamlahari

Asha is a Tharu girl from Dang. She is twelve years old, and has been working for her present employer for two years. Her father works as a 'Kamaiya' for one of her employer's relatives in Dang. Asha has two brothers and one sister. Both brothers work in Dang, and her sister is also

working in Kathmandu, but she seldom sees her. Asha's work begins at five in the morning with sweeping and mopping the house, and ends at ten at night with dishwashing. She is illiterate and is unlikely to be sent to school, as there is no one to share her workload. She is unaware of the amount of her salary, which she thinks her parents receive in the village from the employer's relative for whom they work. She said that she did not like to go school because she did not know people and no time to read. She has to take care one small baby in the home.

'Kanchi'

Hira Kaji has a family of four; he and his wife are employed in a bank in Kathmandu, and their children go to school. Since there is nobody at home during the day, they needed somebody to look after the house and perform domestic chores. They brought 'Kanchi' (12 years old) back from a friend's village in the Nuwakot district. Kanchi's father collects her salary (Rs 1000 per month) every four or five months. She is not sent to school, as the prime reason for her being employed is to look the empty house. She was promised that her employers would provide all wedding expenses when she gets married. Kanchi sleeps in her employers' girl's bedroom. Hira Kaji is confident that 'Kanchi' is doing well here compared to the lifestyle she would likely have in the village, collecting firewood, water, grass and yet being only half fed. Kanchi also seems to be happy, but complains that she is not being sent to school. She also misses her friends in the village, and has not been able to make friends at Sibalay settlement.

Appendix 2: Interview Schedule

1. Personal Backgrounds

Name.....

Caste/Ethnicity.....

Address.....

Age..... Sex.....

How did you come here?

2. Family Background

Father..... (Dead/divorced/alive/deserted/not known)

Mother..... (Dead/alive/deserted/not known)

If alive, father and mother; living together/separated

If dead if deserted; step father /step mother

Parent's Occupation.....

Land Status.....

If yes how many.....

3. Previous Educational Background

Literate/Illiterate

If literate, study at home or school.....

If school going up to which class so you have studied.....

Reasons for dropping school.....

4. Present Education Status

Are you sent to school.....

If yes class.....

Type of school.....

5. Working Conditions

Nature of Work

(Cooking/dish washing/cloth washing/cleaning/baby sitting)

Working Hour.....

If yes how many place 1, 2.....

Reason for leaving.....

Since which age you worked in other’s house.....

6. Reason for Working

Types of work prior to entering domestic service.....

Decision to enter domestic service.....

Reason for taking up the domestic service.....

Duration of involvement in the domestic service.....

Age at entering domestic service.....

7. Earning

Paid/Unpaid

If unpaid reason.....

Wage payment pattern.....

Who keeps your earning.....

Are you happy with your present earning.....

8. Food and Shelter

How do you get a food.....

How many time do you eat in a day.....

Type of food in master house (same as master, different food)

If different specify (uneaten, separate cooking)

9. Recreation

Play game.....
If yes with whom master's kid/friends.....
Watch T.V.....
If yes where master's house/outside.....
If in master's house, where do you sit?

10. Relation with Master

How are you called, Kale, Kali, Bhunti, Bhonte, others?
Are you treated badly.....
If yes who does this most.....
How are you misbehaved (beating, using bad words, scolding.....)
Did you steal sometime.....

11. Relation with Family

How often you go to home?
Are they happy that you work here?

12. Health and Personal Hygiene

Have you ever been sick here?
If, yes name of sickness.....
How did you get recover (hospitalized/visited doctors/managed medicines/natural treatment?).....
Who helped you (master/parents/friends).....

13. Future Life and Attitude

Are you happy with your present work?

If no, would you like to leave here?

Future Ambition.....

Attitude to wards employer and present work.....

Key note:-

For employers

1. What is his/her perception toward household worker?
2. Are employers satisfied with worker?
3. How/In what way they describe child workers' behaviors, salary, working nature, etc?