CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Nepal is a small landlocked country bordered by People's Republic of China to the North, and India to the West, East and South. The total area of country is 147,181 sq. km. Ecologically, the country is divided into 3 zones – mountain, hill and Tarai (plain) and, administratively, into 14 zones and 75 districts. The mountain and hill regions consist of rugged topography with often steep slopes in contrast to the low flat fertile land in the Tarai.

Nepal has multi-ethnic and multi-religious society. The 2001 population census identified a total of 100 caste/ethnic groups and more than 8 religious groups. The hill Hindu group constituted the highest 38.0 per cent of the total population of the country (23.2 million) followed by Janajati (indigenous group) (both hill and Tarai Janajati), and Tarai Hindu groups (Dahal, 2003). Socio-cultural norms are largely guided by Hindu religion. Within Hindu caste system, a system of caste hierarchy exists according to which Brahmins are considered to be the so-called upper caste, and Dalit as the untouchables. Others fall in between Brahmins and Dalits. Janajati have own cultural practices and do not fall within the caste system.

Nepal is largely a rural society where 86 per cent of total population lives in rural areas (Sharma, 2003). Farming is the main source of livelihood. About 65.7 per cent of economically active population of the country is dependent on agriculture, it was even higher (81%) in 1991 (Shrestha, 2003). Literacy among people is still as low as 54 per cent, 65.5 per cent among males and 42.8 per cent among females (Manandhar and Shrestha, 2003). However, it is in increasing trend. The literacy rate is substantially lower for rural areas (51%) than in the urban areas (72%).

The country's population continues to grow more than 2 per cent per annum. Such a higher rate of population growth is felt to be undesirable and its impact on accelerated land degradation, deforestation and depletion of natural resources is also being realized ever more (Subedi, 2003).

1.2 Population and Development

The history of population enumeration in the country goes back to 1911. At that time, total population of the country was 5.6 million. The history of population growth in Nepal shows a decline in the size of population until 1930 and rapid increase thereafter. As the country was under the autocratic Rana rule prior to 1951, the year of advent of democracy, there was no concern about population growth and economic development. The country embarked upon the process of planned development five years after the year of democracy. However, the country did not show any population concern in the Development Plans before 1965. Considering the negative effect of rapid population growth (more than 2% per annum) on the economic development of the country, Third Five Year Plan (1965-1970), for the first time, included population concern in the development plans with the commitment to curtail fertility level through the provision of family planning programme in the country.

The planned development shows some positive fiscal performances. The total investment of the country over the period steadily increased from 16.6 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1975/76 to 25.2 per cent in 1994/95 and to 26.1 per cent in 2002/2003 (Panday, 1999; Khanal et al., 2005). During the same period, development expenditure increased to 8.7 per cent of GDP to 11.5 per cent in 1990/91-1994/95 period. However, it declined to 10.1 per cent during 1995/96-1996/1997 period. Similarly, average annual export growth rate doubled during the 1975/76-1979/80 to 1995/96-1996/1997 period from 3.7 per cent to 6.5 per cent. The revenue performance, as an average annual growth rate as per cent of GDP, also improved from 7.7 per cent in 1975/76-1979/1980 to 12 per cent in 2002/2003.

Despite these positive fiscal performances, the country experienced increased fiscal and trade deficit. Average annual fiscal deficit increased from 3.1 per cent in 1975/76-1979/1980 to 5.6 per cent in 1995/1996-1996/97, and foreign trade imbalance increased from 6.9 per cent to 25.1 per cent during the same period (Panday, 1999). Similarly, national saving hovered around an average of 12 per cent to 13 per cent during 1990s. As a consequence resource gap has increased over the years with increasing foreign debt.

Sectoral decomposition of development expenditure shows a remarkable increase of investment in social sector development (Khanal et al., 2005). Investment in social services increased from 1501.2 million rupees (27.4% of total development expenditure) in 1984/85 to 12344.4 million rupees (44.1% of total development expenditure) in 2002/2003. Similarly, during the same period, investment on education increased from 644.2 million rupees to 2272.0 million rupees and on health, it increased from 254.8

million rupees to 1971.6 million rupees. Investment on drinking water increased to 2408.5 million rupees (8.6% of total development expenditure) in 2002/2003 from just 201.6 million rupees (3.7% of total development expenditure) in 1984/85. Local development expenditure during the same period increased 14.5 folds from 339.3 million rupees in 1984/85 to 4908.4 million rupees in 2002/2003. There is also a remarkable increase of investment on agriculture, irrigation, transportation, electricity, and tourism.

In spite of massive investment, Nepal still remains one of the poorest countries in the world having Gross National Product (GNP) per capita of US$ 230. The GDP growth rate has remained extremely low throughout much of the country's economic development experience, and inadequate to tackle the Nepal's problem of poverty (Panday, 1999). From the early 1990s, the country gradually adopted that liberalization and globalization policies would open the country's economy to the external world. However, the move towards economic liberalization did not trigger any significant growth in Nepal's economy (Khanal et al., 2005).

The social sector development particularly establishment of physical infrastructure such as road, health and educational institutions and people served by them provides some satisfaction. However, coverage and quality of services still remains far from satisfactory. Panday (1999) argues that

> [T]he poor state of literacy continues to become a problem, fuelling deprivation and poverty continuously. The effective enrolment rates are much lower, especially poor, who are not able to bear the direct and indirect (opportunity) costs of sending their children to schools… But children continue to die in big numbers of such curable ailments like measles, diarrhea, and, above all, malnutrition. Even if commendable progress in immunization, not more than 36 per cent of the children may currently be fully immunized… When the meager health services are ill distributed, the poor generally have even less access to them than implied by the low average.

It is often cited that economic development is hindered by rapid population growth as it has increased incidence of unemployment and underemployment, demographic pressure on resources, and environmental degradation. Development planners realized the multisectoral effects of rapid population growth in the economy since the formulation of the Third Five Year Plan and discussed, at greater length within the policy framework of population and manpower and incorporated family planning programme into the development planning. Since then, the country also adopted frequent changes in the approach and focus of development planning from integrated development approach since 1970s, sustainable development approach since mid-1990s and family planning

programme over the past decades. However, the country has not been able to cope with the problem of rapid population growth deteriorating quality of life of people and declining economic development in the country. The population continued to grow at the rate of two per cent per annum and even higher, during those decades, and the GDP at slightly higher rate than the population growth. In spite of tremendous efforts to the expansion of family planning programme, increase in the contraceptive prevalence rate and its impact on fertility reduction was not realized until the middle of the 1980s.

The structure of country's agricultural economy has been largely subsistence. Despite increase in industrial production, there was a marginal change in the structure of economic output as the share of agricultural output continued to occupy more than 50 per cent of the total GDP until 1990. More than 80 per cent of total economically active population continued to rely on agriculture for their livelihood until 1991 (it is 65.7% for 2001).

The adverse effect of rapid population growth on agricultural sector in recent time has been more explicit in terms of per capita food and land availability. Though agricultural production increased over the years, the food surplus condition has continued to worsen mainly due to increasing food requirement for the increasing number of population (Pudasaini, 1993).

The argument of Blaikie et al. (1982) that "the hill economy is on the brink of disaster" is still relevant. The expansion of area under crops in this region is largely due to practice of shifting cultivation as well as cultivation of marginal and steep lands to commensurate increasing food requirement for the increasing number of population. One estimate shows that, the forest area drastically reduced to 16 per cent of the total area during mid-80s. Forest area was being destroyed every year at the rate of 3 per cent (NPC, 1988). Deforestation has been considered to be one of the major causes of soil erosion and landslides. It is ascertained that 53 per cent of total effect on soil erosion in the country is caused by human interference, i.e. grazing, deforestation, farm practices, and fodder collection.

The rapid population growth coupled with the lack of reasonable agricultural development can be considered as a leading cause of marginalization and landlessness of farmers. In the Nepalese agricultural system, population growth and land fragmentation are characterized as a related phenomenon; hence population growth is a major factor of marginalization of farmers. This process is inherent and perpetuated through the system of sharing forefathers' land property among progenies. As a result, the country has increasingly been facing the problem of landlessness and illegal occupation of land.

1.3 Incidence of Poverty

It is evident that planned development effort failed to address the problem of poverty in Nepal. Number of population below poverty line doubled during the period of 1977-1996, and percentage of population below poverty line increased from 36.2 per cent to 45.0 per cent. The figure was even higher for rural areas (47.0%). Currently, the percentage of population below poverty line has been declined to 30. Although there has been a decline in the incidence of poverty, poorest 20 per cent of population grew by 98 per cent during the eight years period from 1995/96 to 2003/04 (CBS, 2004). Pandey (1999) argued that poverty in Nepal is the product of three factors: i) unsatisfactory growth in aggregate output: ii) historical effect of unequal distribution of assets and differential social and economic status among different groups of citizens including the caste-related and gender-related biases; and iii) inequities born of recent development efforts that have generated further iniquitous distribution of income and assets.

1.3.1 Incidence of Rural Poverty

In its multidimensional approach, poverty comprises of the notion of deprivation in terms of lack of access to resources and opportunities, illiteracy, poor health, and lack of sanitation, deprivation of basic rights and security, vulnerability and powerlessness (Lanjouw et al., 1998).

Poverty is basically a rural phenomenon in Nepal. Despite some decline in poverty, poverty is greater in rural areas, and more widespread especially in higher-altitude and less accessible regions (UNDP, 2000). Pariyar (n.d.) cited that the Human Development Index for urban settings is 0.581, while for rural settings remain 0.452 (UNDP, 2004). A higher value of Human Poverty Index (HPI) for rural areas is recorded: 42.0 for rural areas and 25.2 for urban areas (UNDP, 2004). This indicates that rural human poverty exceeds urban poverty. The poverty intensity level and severity gap for urban areas is 7.0 and 2.8 per cent respectively. The same measures, for rural areas remains 12.5 and 5.1 per cent respectively, while for overall Nepal it is, 12.1 and 5 per cent respectively (NPC, 2002).

CBS (2004) indicates that a vast majority of the agricultural household relies on subsistence farming from small farms. About 45 per cent of small farmers operate in less than 0.5 ha of land, occupying 13 per cent of agricultural land while 8 percent of large farmers operate in 2 ha or more of land, occupying about 31 per cent of total agricultural land. The concentration index for agricultural land is 0.50 (0.54 in 1997) reflecting a

highly uneven distribution of land resource in Nepal (Pant, 2003; NLSS, 2004 quoted by Pariyar, n.d.).

1.3.2 Rural Poverty and Work Migration of Children

The problem of rural poverty is directly related with peoples' propensity to migrate in Nepal. Even if the population redistribution policy have been continued to be implement, the so-called stereo-typed migration policy measures have failed to regulate population movement whether it is in terms of hill to Tarai and rural to urban migration stream or international boundaries. KC (2003) indicated that absolute volume of inter-district migration increased 7 times during the last 40 years and that of inter-regional volume increased by 4 times since 1971. With the opening of foreign employment recently, the labour migration to foreign countries has tremendously increased. The phenomenon of migration in Nepal is largely a coping strategy of rural poors against unemployment and hardship of life. In recent times, women as well as children are being increasingly involved in this process.

1.4 Work Migration of Children in Nepal

In the simplest terms, migrant child labourers may be defined in terms of mobility of children and their involvement in economic activities. From this standpoint, it can be said that all the migrant children are not migrant child labourers.

Most censuses and surveys have classified migrant children according to the age groups under 20, or under 10 and 10-19 years, which is not compatible with the standard set forth in recent days, i.e., 5-14 or 5 to 17 years of age, for the study of child labour and migrant child labour. It is probable that lumping of 0-4 and 5-9 years age group in one does not provide the realistic picture of the level of child migration in these age groups.

Likewise, no censuses and surveys provide detail job description of migrant child labourers. The censuses and surveys merely provide a broad classification of reasons for migration such as marriage, dependent, education, service, trade/commerce, agriculture, seeking of job, and others.

The censuses and surveys commonly adopted the "usual place of residence" approach in migration data collection. According to this approach, an individual is considered migrant who has been absent from home for more than six months. If the concern is to take into account all the children who are absent from home irrespective of duration of absence, the usual place of residence approach tends to undercount those children who left home during the six months prior to the census or survey. Despite this, the published census and migration survey information may be utilized to approximate the volume and

characteristics of migrant children, and migrant child labourers in Nepal. Based on this information, the following section examines the extent of child migration in Nepal. This study distinguishes the "work migration of children" from "child migration", then, examines the volume as well as stream of migrant child labourers in the country.

1.5 Volumes and Streams of Migrant Child Labour in Nepal

According to 1981 census of Nepal, in every 100 children aged 0-9 years, about 3.5 per cent were migrants. The corresponding figure for 10-19 years was found to be 7.8 per cent. Dangol (1992) provided estimates of migration rates for 1986 by age. Of the total children in the age group 0-9, 3.9 per cent were migrants. The corresponding figure for the children of 10-19 years was 16.2 per cent.

KC et al. (1997) estimated that 8.8 per cent of the total children aged 5-17 years were migrants in Nepal. In every 100 children aged 5-9 years, about 5 per cent were migrants. The corresponding figures for 10-14 and 15-17 years were 8.2 per cent and 17 per cent respectively.

Most migration of child labourers in Nepal takes place from rural to urban areas. Fifty-four per cent of the migrant children currently residing in urban areas came from rural areas (KC et al, 1997). The proportion migrating from urban to rural areas is just 16 per cent of the total migrant child labourers. Urban to urban movement of migrant child labourers is remarkably high (55%). As most of the large-sized urban areas are located in the Tarai, high proportion of children and child labourers is expected to migrate from adjoining hill areas to the urban areas of the Tarai zone.

Evidences suggest that many children are migrating to India for work. NGO figures indicate that there are 5,000 to 7,000 Nepali children working in Bhadoi and Mirjapur areas of Benarash District and most of them are bonded labourers. It is revealed that most of the children who have migrated to India come from the Tarai and hilly areas near Indo-Nepal border. Nepali children employed in Indian carpet industries are economically exploited, mentally and physically abused and are at a risk situation. Besides, about 200,000 Nepali women and children who have been trafficked to India are forced into prostitution. It is estimated that at least 20 per cent of them are children less than 14 years old.

1.6 Reasons for Child Labour Migration

Studies have revealed that overwhelming majority of the children migrate for non-economic reasons. For instance, about 66 per cent of the lifetime migrant male children

less than 15 years of age moved for non-economic reasons (CBS, 1987). This implies that only one-third of the life-time migrant male children under 15 years of ages moved for economic reasons like trade/commerce and agriculture. The corresponding figure for those who moved for economic reasons among migrant female children of the same ages was reported to be 31 per cent (CBS, 1987).

Majority of children of these ages moved with senior family members as dependants. About 93 per cent of the life-time male migrants less than 20 years of age moved to rural areas as dependants (Dongol, 1992). It was found that remarkably high proportion of life-time female migrant children aged 10-19 years moved to rural areas for marriage reasons (60.7%). As compared to rural-ward migration, urban-ward migration of children takes place more for economic reasons. KC et al. (1997) indicated that one-third of the migrant children aged 5-17 years during five years prior to 1996 migrated for economic reasons such as service, agriculture, trade/commerce, and in search of job and the remaining for non-economic reasons such as dependant, marriage, schooling and training.

The 1981 census data indicated that the number of children under 15 years of ages who migrated for economic reasons constituted about 1.4 per cent of the total children of the same age. KC et al. (1997) based on information on period migration indicated that number of children who left home for the purpose of employment was 1.06 per cent of the total children in Nepal. They also reported that the number of migrant children aged 5-17 years who were involved in economic activities before, or after migration constituted about 1.58 per cent of the total children of the same ages.

Studies have revealed that more than 90 per cent of the children who are working in urban areas are migrants (CWIN, 1998). They are mostly working as porters, tempo helper *(khalash)*, domestic servants, shoe-cleaners, and carpet weavers. CWIN (n.d.) also indicated that majority of the children working as rag pickers, shoe cleaners, hotel *Kanchha*, street children, carpet weavers in Kathmandu city were migrants. Most of the migrant child workers were 13-14 years old (CWIN, 1998). Majority of the children who migrated from the villages of Nuwakot districts were working as domestic servants in the cities of Kathmandu Valley.

1.7 Kathmandu Valley as the Destination of Child Labour Migration

Situated in the mid-hill region, Kathmandu valley is a historic and capital city of Nepal. The valley consists of part of three districts - Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur with five cities such as Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Thimi and Kirtipur. The total

population of five cities is 995,966 (Sharma, 2003) that constitute 30.1 per cent of total urban population.

Kathmandu valley continued to become the center of political as well as economic power and privilege since the last 238 years when Prithivi Narayan Shah conquered the valley, and moved his capital from Gorkha to the Kathmandu valley. The historical accounts suggest that Kathmandu valley was not the destination of migrant labourers until the early 18th century (Regmi, 1999). After that India appeared to be a good destination for Nepali emigrants who wanted to find jobs for cash earnings. Therefore, many people tended to migrate to India due to tax obligations during the period of socioeconomic reforms after Sugauli Treaty until mid-eighteenth. This trend might have continued to the subsequent years. Another historical account suggests that there was a tradition to bring Tamang girls to Kathmandu valley from its peripheral districts primarily from Sindhupalchowk and Nuwakot to serve as servants and young wives in the palace. This tradition was started before Rana regime and continued even after the death of Mathvarsingh Thapa (JIT, 2002).

The rise of democracy in 1951 was a big turning point in the economic history of Nepal in terms of planned efforts for economic development. Since then, investment on infrastructure, social and economic development is on the rise, and, with this, economic activities continued to expand throughout the country. Kathmandu valley as a centre of economic activities and power developed itself as the place for cash economy. At the same time, rural areas including peripheral districts of Kathmandu lagged far behind in the economic development. KC et al. (2002) indicated inequalities born out of modern development efforts, and reasons for rural to urban migration as follows.

> [T]he rural economy based on agriculture and with subsistent mode of production in a traditional manner is suffering from low productivity and low wages for labour that is not compatible with modern consumerism… the direction of migration in Nepal has shifted from rural-to-rural to urban especially to the Kathmandu valley. This shift in migration pattern seems quite natural in that the capital city is the center of power and privilege, and… in-migration to Kathmandu is primarily caused by the economic attraction where there has been a rapid growth of economic activities including tourist-oriented services, rapid growth of urban facilities, and abundance of low-skill informal sector service.

KC et al. (1999) further indicated that migration to Kathmandu valley is overwhelming and in increasing trend (10.2% in 1981 and estimated 26.7% in 2001). The rural to urban migration is primarily associated with economic purposes like service, trade/business, agriculture and searching for jobs.

Increasing influx of labour/child labour migration to the Kathmandu valley is largely associated with rapid expansion of informal service sectors that provided new employment opportunities to migrant labourers to earn cash income. Acharya (2000) indicated that informal service sectors like manufacturing, transport, communications, storage, restaurants/hotels real estate have been the fastest growing sectors in recent years. None of these sectors are free from exploitation of child labour.

In a carpet booming period in early 1990s, carpet factories (most of the carpet factories are located in Kathmandu valley) employed 250-300 thousand labourers, of them children constituted 40-50 per cent[1] (KC et al., 2002). Even after downturn and regulation of carpet factories in the use of child labour, child labour force made up of 12 per cent of the total labour force. Many migrant child labourers are employed in hotels, restaurants and cabin restaurants, message parlours as sex workers. ILO (2002) indicated that more than 80 per cent of the children less than 18 years of age who worked as sex workers in hotels/restaurants, message parlours, and in street were migrant children. CWIN (1998) estimated around 1200 street children in Kathmandu valley, mostly coming from outside the valley, and every year around 300 to 500 children would be in the streets of Kathmandu mostly from neighbouring districts namely Nuwakot, Kavre, Dhading, Makawanpur and Dolkha (quoted by Subedi, 2002). Ninety two per cent of child porters, 87 per cent of child tempo helpers, 95 per cent child domestic servants, 93 per cent child shoe cleaners and 97 per cent of child carpet weavers in Kathmandu valley were estimated as migrants (quoted by Subedi, 2002).

Kathmandu valley continues to be common destination of the majority of migrant labourers and especially children from adjoining districts. Children from neighbouring districts are brought to Kathmandu to work as domestic servants, or in hotels, restaurants and tea stalls, or in carpet factories. INSEC (1996) indicated that majority of the children who worked in Kathmandu Metropolitan city in-migrated from Kavrepalanchowk, Sindhupalchowk and Nuwakot districts.

KC et al. (1997) indicated that Central Development Region, where capital city is located with the highest level of urbanization (15%) has also the highest proportion of migrant child labourers coming from almost all the regions. About 11 per cent of Far western, 36 per cent of Western, and 54 per cent of Eastern Region who moved for economic reasons are currently residing in the Central Development Region. On the other hand, overwhelming majority of the children aged 5-17 years who moved for economic reasons (86%) from this region do not move to the other regions.

[1] This figure is said to be highly exaggerated by newspapers.

1.8 Statement of the Problem

Even though Kathmandu valley has become the common destination of the majority of the migrant child labourers, there is no precise estimate of the number of children out-migrating from the adjoining districts of Kathmandu except for Nuwakot district. It is estimated that about 1,600 children aged 5-17 years would have been out-migrated for work from Nuwakot district alone (ABC/Nepal, 1997). A rough estimate applying the work migration rate of children for Nuwakot district indicates that a total number of 6,400 children is estimated to have been migrated for work from the five adjoining districts of Kathmandu valley – Nuwakot, Dhading, Kavre, Sindhupalchok, and Makawanpur.

The number of working children as labourers is expected to increase in the future with high rate of population growth engrossed with poverty and deprivation. Growing number of work migration of children tends to worsen the child labour situation in urban areas. Therefore, it is essential to conduct a more rigorous study on the situation child labour migration and rural poverty in Nepal.

The poverty argument regarding child labour migration and exploitation of child labour appears to be very powerful. Analyzing district level data, Chhetry (1996) establishes close interrelationships between incidence of poverty and child labour rate in children in Nepal. He shows that the districts with high incidence of poverty tend to have high child labour rate. Pradhan (1990) indicated that among the child workers in stone quarry in Bishnumati River at Balaju, Kathmandu, there are also girls and in certain cases, three generations of workers - grandparents, parents and children - work together. They are landless and migrated to Kathmandu in search of employment. Majority of the migrant children who are working as porters, tempo helper *(khalashi)*, domestic servants, shoe cleaners, carpet weavers in Kathmandu are illiterate and belonged to less educated families and are compelled to work under more exploitative conditions.

Employment oriented migration of children is unacceptable at any standard. It is commonly cited that child labour migration is a coping strategy among poor families. Silva (1981) argues that wife and children are sent out to work when head of the household in poor families fails to find him a job. Cain and Mazumdar (1980) also have similar arguments that child labour is often viewed as a part of strategy to minimize the risk of interruption of household's income to reduce the potential impact of job loss by a family member or of a failed harvest.

There are numerous studies on population migration[2] in Nepal but the issue of work migration of children has not been given attention in both research and policy agenda. Anti-child labour legislation and policies/programmes have long exited in the country, but the issue of work migration of children and exploitation of child labour, though related, are not the same issue because migration takes place from rural areas and labour exploitation takes place in urban areas. In this context, issues to be addressed by the research as well as policies/programmes for the prevention of work migration of children are certainly different from the issues to be addressed to control labour exploitation of children. The research and policies/programmes for the prevention of work migration of children should be carried out in the place of origin, and, for prevention of labour exploitation, appropriate measured should be carried out in the place of work/destination.

Research as well as policy/programme issues of population and child labour migration also do not seem to be similar, though both are related to the place of origin. The basic distinction is that work migration of adults, in many instances, is acceptable, but the work migration of children is never acceptable and requires immediate actions to prevent it. Research issues and policy instruments designed to regulate migration of adult population may not be suitable for the prevention of work migration of child population. Migration of adult population might be regulated with employment opportunities in the village, but an effective education system must be the prerequisite for the prevention of migration among children.

Research study on volume, pattern, characteristics, and determinants of child labour migration in Nepal is limited in scope and depth. Existing studies focus primarily on the place of work of children in urban areas after they have already left their homes in rural areas. Studies carried out in the children's place of work in urban areas describe poor living conditions and exploitation of children, but fail to provide estimates of volume and pattern of child labour migration.

Until now, very limited number of studies has been carried out to investigate the level, trends and patterns of migrant child labourers in Nepal. Most of them are in the form of small-scale case studies with small sample size. Only one study on migrant child labourers has been conducted based on a nationally representative sample (KC et al., 1997). Information from period censuses and migration surveys do not provide detail information about the mobility of children and child labourers. Most information available is scanty and fragmented.

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[2] The term “population migration” is used in the sense of migration of population other than children.

KC et al. (1997) provided volume, pattern and characteristics of migrant child labourers aged 5-17 years. This study, however, did not include the analysis on determinants of migrant child labour in the country. Since this study was conducted as a part of the population migration survey by adopting the usual place of residence for the enumeration of adults and children together, it substantially underestimated the magnitude of migrant child labourers in the country. Census estimates on incidence of child labour migration are national level estimates but cover only the age group of children 10-14 years.

ABC/Nepal (1998) carried out a study in five villages of Nuwakot district in order to estimate the volume and examine the characteristics, and causes of work migration of children in the peripheral area of Kathmandu valley. This study also did not analyze poverty as one of the determinants of work migration of children.

Dynamics of child labour migration cannot be fully understood without an in-depth and rigorous analysis of the household information in relation to migrant child labourers. Naturally, such studies must be carried out in the place of origin of the migrant child labourers by soliciting household information from the most knowledgeable person of the family of migrant children. Most of the existing studies on child labour migration are carried out at the work place of children with limited household information acquired from children, who possess limited knowledge about their family and household economics.

This study proceeds with the contention that work migration of children is a social evil, and such social evil must be controlled through appropriate policies and programmes at the place of origin, and origin-based research studies can help better understand the dynamics of child labour migration. Therefore, with the help of descriptive as well as advance statistical tools, this study examines general characteristics of the relationship between poverty and child labour migration, pervasiveness of poverty among child labourers' families, and the role of various push factors related to socioeconomic and child deprivation at the place of origin.

More specifically, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What is the incidence of child labour migration in rural areas and especially peripheral districts of Kathmandu valley with respect to characteristics of household and work migration of children.

2. What are the nature and characteristics of poverty among families with child labourers?
3. What is the relationship between household poverty and child labour migration?
4. What is the role of various poverty and child deprivation related factors in determining child labour migration in rural Nepal?

1.9 Objectives

The main objective of this study is to examine the interrelationships between rural poverty and child labour migration. The specific objectives are:

1. To examine the incidence and characteristics of child labour migration.
2. To examine general characteristics and levels of household poverty among families of child labourers.
3. To examine differentials of child labour migration according to the poverty and deprivation.
4. To examine the role of household poverty and child deprivation-related factors in affecting child labour migration.

1.10 Significance of the Study

With the recognition of child labour migration as a social problem, various governmental and nongovernmental organizations are involved in launching preventive as well as rehabilitative programmes for prevention and alleviation of child labour migration. In this context, this study will help systematically and more obviously understand major push factors as determinants of child labour migration from rural Nepal. So far, the interrelationships between child labour migration, child deprivation and rural poverty have not been rigorously examined. More specifically, this study systematically evaluates the relative importance of the determinants of child deprivation in rural Nepal, and child labour migration as its consequence. This will fill an important gap in the existing child labour research in Nepal.

CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter reviews relevant literatures on the relationship between poverty and child labour migration. Firstly, an evidence of European countries and America is provided which is followed by review of the evidences from the empirical studies in contemporary developing countries. As poverty argument appears to be the most powerful on work migration of children, a theoretical explanation on the relationship between poverty and work migration of children is provided. The next section provides review on the causes of poverty in Nepal. Finally, a broad conceptual framework of the present study is constructed on the basis of the formulations of the past studies and the objectives of the study.

2.1 Child Labour Migration: Historical Evidences

Patel (1991) indicated that origin of the problem of child labour lies in the process of industrial revolution. Industrialization process leads to migration of labour, including child labour, from rural to urban areas. No social phenomenon of the industrial revolution in England has been used more than child employment as a moral measure of industrialization (Hartwell, 1971). In Britain, in the early period of industrialization, up to 1830, the expected income from children rose as the opportunities for child employment increased; after 1830, the costs of children rose along with legal prohibition on the employment of children. It is cited that, in the early stage of textile industry, children from workhouses in the different parishes of England were sent to Manchester to live in barracks and to work in the cotton mills (Glover et al., 1955). Similarly, the early operatives in the textile mills in United States were ordinarily girls or unmarried women who looked upon the chance of earning money and at the same time escaping from drudgery and dependency of farm life (Faulkner, 1967). In general, only about one-tenth of the workers in American cotton factories during the first half of the nineteenth century were able-bodied men and others being girls and women (Lester, 1949).

In the later part of the nineteenth century, Norway saw child labour in industries (Kostol and Baklund, 1991). The Norwegian textile industry was looked upon as suitable for girls and the modern textile industry needed a cheap work force. Because of large numbers of children in one family and because of poverty, child labour was necessary for the survival of the family. Child labour was prevalent in Germany in workshops as well as factories of the pre-industrial and early industrial phases during 1750-1850 and in

factories during the peak phase of industrialization (Voll, 1991). With the industrial revolution in England, the parish workshops evolved into factories, and the use of children as slave labour became common (IFM, 1991).

The phenomenon of child labour in Belgium is also associated with the rise of industrial revolution. According to Bert (1991), the process of industrial revolution encouraged child labour and child labour migration in Belgium. Industrial factories needing labour brought them from rural areas. Capitalists lured them to come to cities by providing them regular employment and wages. However, these wages were not enough, and the labourers were forced to send first women and then children to work in factories. During 19th century, children of five years of age also worked in textile factories of France (Girand, 1991). Health of working children was bad and their death rate was high in these factories. Poor education and even prostitution by girls aged 12 years was observed.

Similarly, child labour was common in Sweden during both peasant society and during breakthrough of the industrialization (IFM-SEI, 1991). In Cyprus, with the industrialization and urbanization started in the 1940s, boys had to help their parents in the fields and gradually apprenticed to technicians either in the village or in the town (CERA-CYPRUS Delegation, 1991). The boys had an extremely hard life during apprenticeship and had to work from sunrise to sunset. Only a few girls attended school and most of them took care of the home, were sent to the town to serve as maids in rich houses. Many families in Malta had to send their children to work instead of giving them education due to meager family income (Agius, 1991).

The historical accounts suggest that exploitation of child labour was very common in the history of economic development of many of the today's developed countries, and the process of child labour migration in these countries was embedded with the process of industrial revolution. The industrial revolution is generally characterized as a technological breakthrough in the production system that came first in mid-17s in England and gradually spreaded over other European and American countries. Tondon (1972) argued that the industrial revolution resulted in a marked increase in national income and rate of economic growth with accompanying structural alterations in the economy of the country. He further argues that

> [I]n industries where techniques were revolutionized, the old organization was no longer suitable, important changes in the distribution of economic functions took place; there was a tendency towards enlargement of units of organization resulting from increased importance of fixed capital. Structural changes were not confined only to those industries where technical changes had taken place, but practically

> in all types of industries changes were revealing... The results were far-reaching; there was a general increase in production for exchange and a growth of distinctive nature of division of labour… It is defined as the interval during which the rate of investment increases in such a way that real output per capita rises…During the period of take off the rate of effective investment and saving rises… The first immediate consequence of the industrial revolution was that it created wealth on a scale little short of miraculous…

The industrial revolution brought far-reaching changes in mode of production and production relations. With industrial revolution, capitalist production was initiated, that led to capital accumulation. It appears that child labour migration process in the history is largely associated with the process of capital accumulation processes. In fact, historically, labour migration of population is always associated with the process of socioeconomic formation and transformation and became prominent type of migration especially since the "genesis of the capitalist farmers" in the late 15^{th} and early 16^{th} centuries (Balan 1982; Davia, 1974; Marx, 1964,67 quoted in Shrestha, 1990). From the Marxian perspective, labour migration is a displacement of labour to cities and presence of a large labour force is critical for capital accumulation and capitalist development (Marx, 1967 quoted in Shrestha, 1990).

Morice (1981), on the other hand, relates the phenomenon of child labour migration with commercialization process of agriculture. He argued that commercialization of agriculture has led considerable increase in urban populations through rural to urban migration process and children have been deeply involved in this process. The commercialization of agriculture is also a process of capital formation, and emerges it with agricultural revolution. According to him, commercialization of agriculture with export-oriented plantation of agriculture tends to dismantle subsistence economies, and leads to urbanward migration of population. He attributes employment of children in the cities due to poverty of those who arrive in cities with their children. According to him, continued birth rates and high rural emigration cause plentiful supply of labour in informal sector.

2.2 Arguments from Contemporary Empirical Studies

2.2.1 General Overviews

There is a general consensus among national and international communities that children should be protected from all forms of social and economic exploitation, and discrimination whereby they can enjoy childhood and have opportunities to develop (Suwal et al., 1997). Therefore, children should not be deprived of basic facilities that are necessary for their survival, protection, and development. The issue of child labour migration has got serious concern in the international arena. World Summit for Children

including other international instruments on the rights of children guaranteed children's right to live with their parents.

However, in practice, socioeconomic condition of the large majority of the children of today's developing countries is very tragic (Suwal et al., 1997). They have been the victims of the prevailing social, economic and political systems that exploit and suppress them. In many instances, children are seen as a source of cheap labour to augment profits/incomes within the family and in various enterprises. As a result, many children in developing countries are compelled to join the labour force early without having to attend, continue and complete their education. .

2.2.2 International Movement of Child Labour Migration

Although worldwide estimates on the migrant child labour is still lacking, it may be said that use of migrant child labour is widespread in many countries. Migrant children from Mexico and ethnic minorities in the United States are employed in the agricultural sector (UNICEF, 1997). Information on external migration of Nepali children and their works is extremely limited. However, it has been claimed that a substantial number of Nepali migrant child workers are working in India in carpet industries and as domestic servants in big cities, or in small hotels in unhealthy conditions hampering their physical as well as mental growth (Ghatia, 1988). Similarly, migrant children from Mexico and ethnic minorities in the United States are employed in the agricultural sector (UNICEF, 1997). Evidences suggest that most of the Nepali girls trafficked (a form of forced migration) to India are less than 18 years of ages. CWIN (1998) revealed that children from economically deprived households of rural areas go to urban as well as to various parts of India in search of job. Large number of Nepali children in India is engaged in catering industries, hotels and restaurants. A considerable number are also engaged in shoe shining, factory works, pottering or working as coolies in the railway stations. Some of them are engaged in circus and magic shows.

Many of the forms of child labour practiced around the world are forced in the sense that children are taught to accept the conditions of their lives and not to challenge them (UNICEF, 1997). In South Asia, this has taken on a quasi-institutional form known a 'bonded child labour'. Under this system, children, often only eight or nine years old, are pledged by their parents to factory owners or their agents in exchange for small loans. Their lifelong servitude never succeeds. Girl trafficking can be considered as forced migration. Many girls from Nepal are trafficked to India and other countries for prostitution. CWIN (1998) has estimated that about 20 per cent of the total trafficked

children and women are less than 14 years of age and some are as less as 10 years of age when they were trafficked to the brothels of India.

The cross-border child labour migration can be viewed in parallel with the general trend of urban migration (CWIN, 1998). Not only poverty, but also pressure, hardship of life in the village and curiosity contribute to the migration of children. The trend is nurtured and expanded by the involvement of syndicates who thrive on the big demand for cheap labour and slackness in law implementation for prevention and control of this problem in both the countries. As agriculture based country a large number of children are exploited in villages in their homes and most of them reach in the cities with the expectation of better life over there but the condition becomes reverse and they suffer adversely. It seems in our society that many children are found to return to their homes after realizing the suffocating life for them in the cities.

Ghatia (1991) revealed that most of the Nepali migrant workers in India are in the eight to 10 years age group. They enter India walking through the tough path near Pithoragarh, Uttar Pradesh and Raxaul (Bihar). These children work from 5 a.m. to 10 p.m. with some free time in the afternoon. Many of these children are brought to India by the distant relatives, while some are also brought by pimps and racketeers wanting commission and most of them are farmer's families who cannot afford to feed them. These children are many times assaulted sexually.

2.2.3 Internal Migration of Child Labour: The Context of Asian Countries

Evidences from some of the Asian countries suggest that poverty is the main factor explaining internal migration of child labour. The Asian perspectives on child labour migration is summarized in Table 2.1

Table 2.1

Summary of the Arguments from Contemporary Studies in Asian Countries

Country	Author (date)	Findings/Argument	Types of Work Migrant Children Do
India	Dube (1981)	- migrant families and migrant individuals account for a high percentage of child labour in India. - Chamars of Western Uttar Pradesh of India migrate seasonally to Hariyana or Punjab villages in search of employment. Children are also often involved in this process	Domestic service, tea stalls and small eating establishments, work-shops, cycle repair shops, printing presses, household, tea stalls etc.
Thailand	Sintawichai, (1991)	- low family income forces parents to send their children to work - children from rural areas enter the city labour market through brokers or on own, employment agencies and friends and relatives	
Sri Lanka	Senaviratne (1991)	- the brokers get children from poor families and do a brisk business by supplying them to the rich and middle class families in the cities	domestic service, agriculture and plantation, small-scale industries and commercial ventures.
Indonesia	Senaviratne (1991)	- poverty of parents in rural as well as in urban areas drives children to work	
The Philippines	National Statistical Office, 1995	- The working children away from home are mostly in households (64.8%) rather than in business firms (29.5%).	

2.2.4 The Context of Nepal

Like in other Asian countries, various studies on child labour migration in Nepal also reveal similar views on the characteristics of and reasons for internal child labour migration. Findings of some of the selected studies are summarized in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2

Summary of Arguments from Contemporary Studies in Nepal

Author (date)	Extent	Findings/Argument	Types of Work Migrant Children Do
CWIN (1992)	-among the Nepali workers in brick kiln, child workers varies from 10-50%	- rural children come to cities to work	-street, brick kiln
CWIN (1988, 1989)	50% are from the Tamang ethnic group	- working children in Kathmandu are growing with every passing day mainly due to an increase in migration from the rural to the urban areas - originated from Ramechhap, Sindhupalchowk, Kavre, Dolkha, Nuwakot, and Makawanpur. - Abandoned, orphanage, unemployment of family, poverty, dysfunctional family, runways, lack of proper love and care in the family, domestic violence	Street, carpet weaving, shoe shining and other occupations
Dhital (1991)		- landlords bring many of the children to the cities, some of them are either sent or brought directly by their parents, while others are sent or brought by the middlemen.	Domestic service, bonded labour, query workers
Sauttaur (1993)	number of street children in Kathmandu is increasing	- result of confining development activities to Kathmandu alone - Brokers entice rural children to work in cities by offering loans to their parents.	no sector is free from child labour
KC et al. (1997)	1.06 per cent of the total children aged 5-17 years leave home for economic reasons in Nepal; 1.72 per cent males and 0.36 per cent females[3]	- Central development region is the most migrant child labourer receiving region.	
ABC/Nepal (1998)	1.69 per cent of the total children aged 5-17 years left home for employment purposes from the five VDCs of Nuwakot district.	- Poverty related factors appear main cause of employment oriented child migration	Hotels/restaurant, domestic service, workshops, patrol pumps, etc.

[3] *Since this study adopted "usual place of residence" approach in data collection, this figure does not reflect those children who have left home for less than 6 months prior to the survey.*

2.3 Theoretical Explanation on the Relationship between Poverty and Child Labour Migration

Review of historical and empirical studies above suggests that urban-ward work migration of children is associated with poverty of rural households and contemporary capitalist development in urban areas. With this, the previous studies establish a close link between rural poverty and work migration of children.

Theoretical explanation on the relationship between poverty and work migration of children is extremely limited. Schildkrout (1981) argued that migration is one of the factors which directly affect children, but study on migration has often been overlooked. A survey on the existing theoretical literatures on child labour migration suggests that, up to now, no systematic approach to child labour migration has been developed to fully explain dynamics of child labour migration. None of the exiting theories on population migration such as individual behaviour model of Ravenstein's laws of migration, conventional perspective of Lews, Fei and Ranis as surplus labour model, Myrdal's center-periphery argument, Neomarxist-dependency formulations and structural theories on migration (Shrestha, 1990) – also do not speak about dynamics of child labour migration. However, some theoretical formulation regarding child labour migration exists. They can be elaborated into two main headings: structuralist and survival strategy framework.

2.3.1 Structural Arguments on Rural Poverty and Work Migration of Children

Drawing evidences from history of today's developed countries, the structuralist arguments advocate that economic roles of children vary systematically according to the nature of the mode of production, and that these roles will undergo systematically change in the transition from one mode of production to another (Rodgers and Standing, 1981). They further argue that

> [T]he role of schooling of children in pre-capitalist economies is minimal, and net return to schooling might even be negative. Younger members often children usually perform 'time-intensive' tasks and provide tributary labour services to the family. It is argued that with the development of semi-feudal relations, usually young men or women, and in many cases teenage or even pre-teenage children are sent to work for long hours in poor conditions and for meager wages in order to meet families' obligations to landlords, rental and wage obligations and repayment of debts…With the growth of capitalist relations of production, industrial production increases, commercialization of agriculture takes place, landless population along with migration and urbanization increases, unemployment grows and monetization of domestic activities takes place. Rural families, in capitalist mode of production, require wage income to pay taxes or to purchase new or

> newly monetized commodities, youths often young children are encouraged to leave the rural domestic production unit, notably the peasant farm.

The essence of structuralist argument is that labour migration is a manipulated behaviour by structural forces rather than merely an individual decision (Shrestha, 1990), and migration process of children is deeply entrenched to the process of socioeconomic transformation of society (from pre-capitalist to capitalist mode of production). In the same line, Mehata (1999) argues that migration is a result of growing capitalist penetration into peasant and tribal societies (pre-capitalist mode), and increasing proletarization The assertion that spatial and social distribution of resources has important bearing on migration behaviour of population.

The structural arguments deny the fact that migration is not free choice of individual but "superimposed by structural forces" (Shrestha, 1990). Structural theory on population migration also postulates similar views on labour migration of adults and asserted that "migration is a product of interaction between capitalist development in urban areas and social relations of production". Shrestha (1990) indicated that

> [M]igration is an outcome of interaction between capitalist development and the social relations of production. [It is not merely a free choice of individual as forwarded by Revenstein's laws of migration]. It is a manifestation of, and a necessary response to, the social and spatial arrangement of national economy in which the dependent state plays a determinant role through its control over the social as well as spatial distribution of capital and consequently the development process in the name of systematic planning. Central to this line of argument is that migration needs to be analyzed in the context of the existing social formation, whether externally imposed and subsequently internalized or internally existing but externally reinforced.

In this sense, dynamics of work migration of children does not appear to be distinct, at least with respect to structural argument, to that of labour migration behaviour of adult population. In this context, it may be said that work migration of children can partly be explained with respect to structural arguments regarding rural poverty and population migration. Marxian perspective is central to the structural argument and explains how rural landless and near landless are converted into "proletariats" in the process of changing production relations due to capitalist development of rural agrarian economy.

The Marxian perspectives posit that technological improvement is central to the capitalist development of rural agrarian economy. With capitalist penetration, agrarian production relations is changed that gives way to capitalist production relations characterized by wage-labour and social polarization in terms of both economic viabilities and positions becomes increasingly crystallized. In the process of capitalist development of agrarian

economy, technological improvements favor those who control the means of production other than labour, and, as cited by Shrestha (1990), offer landlords

> [N]ew opportunity to consolidate land and other resources and elevate their economic positions. Land demand increases due to its profitability and population growth, thus pushing its price higher. Rural indebtedness also increases leading to land sales and ensuing land accumulation in the hands of rich farmers…Such developments reduce land accessibility to landless and near landless peasants and, thus diminish their positions in the agrarian relations of production. Their socioeconomic conditions deteriorate as their farming-tied economic viability evaporates. As a result, they are increasingly forced into a pool of rural "proletarians" and "semi-proletarians" whose immediate economic option is to join the ranks of migrants hoping to sell their labour power in areas where capital is concentrated, for example, cities, construction sites, mining enclaves, or plantation farms.

2.3.2 Survival-Strategy Framework

Drawing evidence from Chile, Silva (1981) argued that independent migration of children in Chile is a common reaction to families' serious economic problems. Children in the poorest families are family asset, as they can work and add to family income (Whelan et al., 1977 quoted by Silva, 1981). For many families, children are reserve workforce to be used when the adults cannot fulfill their economic functions. Studies of the survival-strategies of working-class families have shown that when the head of the household fails to find himself a job he sends his wife and children out of work (Whelan et al., 1977; Patricio, 1977 quoted by Silva, 1981).

The survival-strategy argument is also highly relevant in the context of rural Nepal where poverty is rampant. However, findings of existing studies indicate that there is a significantly high proportion of independent migration of children for work and their independent work migration does not involve income motive of households, hence not directly related to survival strategy of the households. ABC/Nepal (1998) indicated that about 37 per cent of children in the study areas have independent work-migration of children. KC et al. (1999) revealed that about 48 per cent of the migrant children working in carpet factories of Kathmandu valley have independent migration. These children are mostly runway children who are victims of family problems as well as those who do not like to stay in the village, hence, left home in the hope of cash earnings in the cities. In the case of the children who leave home on own, income motive of households motive does not appear to involve. Similarly, in Ghana independent movement of children for work is closely linked with education or apprenticeship (Hasim, 2005).

2.3.3 Underlying Causes of Rural Poverty in Nepal

Structural as well as survival-strategy arguments above indicate that poverty of agrarian households is most important reason for urban-ward work migration of children. This formulation is highly relevant in the context of rural Nepal where poverty is rampant, and it is frequently cited as a main cause for work migration of children to cities. Therefore, drawing evidences from existing studies, it is relevant to provide formulation of underlying causes of poverty especially rural poverty in Nepal.

The existing studies on poverty in Nepal indicate that underdevelopment of agrarian economy (hence poverty) at present time is a manifestation of historical experiences of unequal distribution pattern of resources/opportunities and inequalities born by recent development efforts (Shrestha, 1990; Pandey, 1999), others being caste/ethnicity and gender-based discriminatory practices (Pandey, 1999; Pariyar, n.d.; UNDP, 2000) and demographic factors.

2.3.3.1 Historical Experiences

Historical references suggest that Nepal's economic underdevelopment is related with internal policies with respect to land, labour and industrial development. Drawing evidence from Regmi (1972), Shrestha (1990) indicated that the compulsory and unpaid labour system called as Jhara during territorial unification of Nepal by Prithivi Narayan Shah and thereafter caused severe and widespread scarcity of critical input for the development of agriculture so prospects of agricultural development were deeply buried. He further cited that

> [T]he campaign of territorial expansion mounted by Prithivi Narayan Shah and his successors required an enormous supply of labour not only for army service, but also for many other ancillary services such as the transportation of military and other supplies over long distances… What is more distressing to note that the forced labour service was also unpaid... such system of compulsory and unpaid labour is called *Jhara.… Jhara* labour was extracted almost exclusively from the peasants and middle and low caste groups while the elite and powerful were paid for their service in the form of land grants.

According to him, *Jhara* labourers had to leave their villages to provide services in distant communities leaving their farms in the hands of children, women, and the elderly. There was very little time left for them to improve their land, properly raise livestock for manure, and build and maintain irrigation canals. The lack of time, surplus, and incentive to improve land and acquire technical labour skills prevented them for contributing to agricultural development through increased productivity. It caused progressive

impoverishment of the peasantry, increased their indebtedness, and inflicted enduring hardships on them. The indebted peasants were compelled to work in the capacity of bondsmen for their moneylenders who mostly comprised of village landlords.

Gorkhali rulers' land policies also contributed to underdevelopment of agrarian economy. Shrestha (1990) cited that

> [T]he political unification and territorial expansion required the maintenance of a large and expanding administrative, bureaucratic, and military organization. …Land grants and assignments under the *Birta* and *Jagir* systems were extensively used. From time to time various measures were taken to appropriate large areas of land for the purpose of making grants and assignments as rewards and emoluments to civil and military officials, members of nobility, chieftains of conquered principalities, and others. In addition,, the policy of land grants served as an effective means to tightly control these elements and to ensure their loyalty to the central throne…Land grants also favoured Brahmins, Chhetris and Thakuries, particularly form the western hill areas. Gurungs, Magars, Tamangs, and Newars did not receive such favours.

In order to meet increasing expenditures on various goods and services, including the procurement and manufacture of arms and ammunition, and extravagant and unproductive consumption, various tax systems were devised and employed. The tenant peasants were forced to pay such taxes. The tax policies contributed further to the maintenance of the peasantry in a state of subsistence, impoverishment, and indebtedness. Very little of the economic surpluses extracted by ruling and landed classes was invested to improve the land and its productivity and to raise the standard of living for masses.

The in-ward looking industrial policies of Rana rulers, lack of industrial protection, and investment on promoting new technologies and improve existing industrial base is also considered to be responsible for another cause of Nepal's economic underdevelopment.

2.3.3.2 Inequality Born by Recent Development Efforts

Pandey (1999) argues that the dualistic structure of the Nepali economy has remained intact and may have been further sharpened through the efforts that have gone into the long campaign for development. He further argued that

> [T]his dualism is a product of the social and historical bias against the rural population, against women, against the oppressed classes, against the landless, and against the "minorities" that do not belong to the dominant castes, classes or ethnicity. A process of development, which is on track, has to show signs of reforms against such biases that inhibit productivity, creativity, justice and sense

> of self-esteem in the society. But in Nepal even the issues of uneven distribution of land holdings and the tenurial system, where there is an apparent national consensus on necessary rectification measures, have not been addressed in favour of the peasants who actually depend upon agriculture for their livelihood and honour.

UNDP (2000) argued that lack of access to resources of rural households is the main for explaining rural poverty in Nepal that the poor have low-productivity land, as a result of lack of credit and modern inputs, in turn a result of inadequate infrastructure and weak institutions. Access to resources here refers to land resource which is the most important resource for rural livelihood.

IFAD (n.d) argues that due to the lack of usable roads, farmers cannot obtain modern inputs or get their crops to market. Whatever services the government provides appear to be captured by better-off households because the poor are not well organized to defend their interests. In the rural areas the majority of households have little or no access to primary health care, education, clean drinking water and sanitation services. IFAD further argued that

> [A]lmost 70 per cent of households have holdings of less than 1 ha and depend on plots that are often too small to meet their subsistence requirements. Poor growth in the agricultural sector has resulted in deteriorating living standards in rural areas and an increase in poverty. The growing population has put huge pressure on cultivable land, especially in the Terai region, which also supports many landless migrants from the hills. There are many factors that contribute to chronic poverty in Nepal's steep and mountainous areas. Productivity is low because of the rugged terrain and harsh climate. These areas are also physically isolated, with poor communications and infrastructure and inadequate access to natural resources. Increasing population pressure has led to unsustainable use of natural resources, such as overgrazing and deforestation. Further, erosion in the uplands causes flooding in the lowlands.

2.3.3.3 Caste/Ethnic and Gender-based Discrimination

Pandey (1999) argued that the continued exclusion of a large number of ethnic, indigenous, tribal and service caste groups form the development mainstream may be not only exacerbating income distribution but also endangering human rights and social stability. The resource distribution pattern also favours so-called dominant groups. Landlessness is more acute among the Dalits, as out of all absolutely landless, 22 per cent are Dalit*s* (Basnet, 2004 quoted by Pariyar, n.d.). Amongst the Dalits, average landholding per household is 2.46 ropanies[4] of khet (irrigated land) and 4.5 ropanies of

[4] 1 hector== 19.66 ropani

pakho land (semi arid and rain fed land respectively). This has a major implication for food security. It is reported that more than 50 per cent of the Dalit have food deficiency (Dahal et.al, 2002 quoted by Pariyar, n.d.).

He further cited that food security amongst Dalits is severely constrained (Sharma et al., 1994). They reported that almost about 21 per cent Dalit households, food grain produced in a year lasts less than 3 months. For 19.4 per cent of them, food grain lasted for 4-6 months, while 14.5 percent could grow food grain enough to consume for whole year. Only 5.1 per cent of them had surplus food grain production. Given these circumstances, it is important to evaluate whether the poorer households usually affiliated to lower castes are benefiting as much as the richer households usually from higher caste background in deriving benefits from irrigation canal development in Nepal or not.

Pandey (1999) argues that here, too, women tend to be discriminated against more severely. Because of caste-barriers, near-zero access to literacy and low skill levels, the artisan-caste women suffer economic and social indignity bestowed on them by ignorance and exploitative social relations inherited from history.

2.3.3.4 Demographic Factors

Shrestha (1990) cited that population growth has implication on ecodemographic relations of production. In the early phases of societal development, the ecodemographic relations of production were largely determined by the physiographic forces. The early phases of societal development is called as natural economy and land was available without difficulty. He further argues that ecodemographic relations of many underdeveloped countries are undergoing ecological as well as social transformations. The change, according to him, is related to sudden and unprecedented rate of growth since the 1950s and affects poor most.

> [I]n the agrarian social formation of today's underdeveloped countries typified by the regressive production relations, socioeconomic inequality and underdevelopment, the impact of rapid population growth is class-specific as it affects the poor most and almost exclusively. The irony is that such conditions tend to perpetuate high population growth for the disadvantaged and dispossessed segment of the population has few options other than to sell family labour for survival. ….The essence of the argument is that a large and growing population exerts, especially when and where the social distribution of land is skewed and the economy underdeveloped, increasing pressure on land eventually creating a situation of absolute land scarcity, along with reckless land exploitation or even degradation. Such an outcome is inevitable because land is fixed in nature.

2.3.3.5 Child Deprivation and Work Migration of Children

Evidences suggest that household poverty has adverse consequences on the lives of children leading to work migration. The evidence from United States "girls and women who escaped from hard work/labour (drudgery) in farm to work in textile factories" suggests a link between work incidence of children in rural households and work migration of children. Hasim (2005) also cited the similar evidences from Mali and Ghana that "children migrate (case of Ghana) because they are disappointed that their parents will not send them to school" mostly due to poverty (Beauchemin, 1999 quoted in Hasim, 2005). In Ghana, about 24 per cent of the independent migration of children was associated with schooling, work and apprenticeship (Hasim, 2005). Obviously, this is an indication of the situation of educational deprivation of children due to household poverty. Various studies carried out in Nepal also indicates a high level of illiteracy among migrant child working in Kathmandu valley (Subedi, 2002; KC et al., 2002; ILO, 2001; CWIN, 2000) indicating educational deprivation among children at the place of origin.

According to the structural arguments, role of schooling of children in pre-capitalist economies is minimal, hence children are provided with low opportunities of schooling. Low schooling of children is directly related with higher incidence of work among children who have to help in family farms, household chores, and some of them have to work even as paid workers.

2.4 Conceptual Framework of the Study

As postulated by various studies reviewed above, the present study also proceeds with the contention that poverty is the main in explaining work migration of children. However, definition of poverty in this study is not limited to narrow sense of monetary dimension (definition of poverty is provided in next Chapter). Therefore, poverty is defined in terms of wider context of deprivation and, in its simplest term, the dichotomy of "deprivation" and "affluence" signifies existing level of socioeconomic inequalities of households. The existing level of inequality, as noted above, is a function of unequal/skewed distribution pattern of resources and opportunities in the past and the present time.

Unlike other studies, this study is devoted to in-depth investigation of poverty-related factors in a wider context of socioeconomic development variables, and their relative importance in determining work migration of children at the place of origin. Obviously,

it involves the notion of causal relationship, and, for this, choice of dependent and independent variables have to be made.

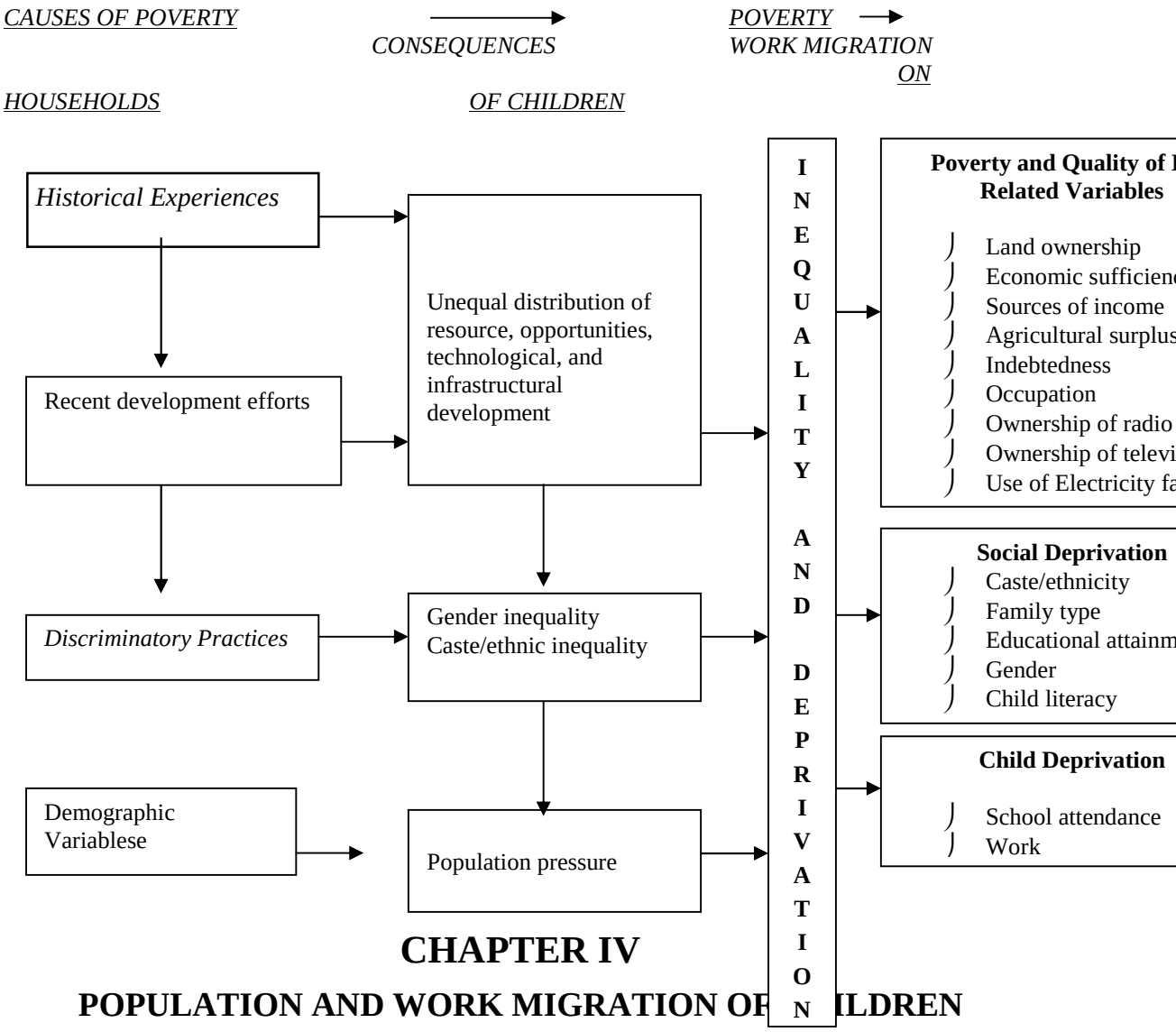
Work migration of children is chosen as dependent variable. Taylor (1973) suggested that work migration of children should be studied in terms of the profile of the labour force like age, sex, education and other factors, including ethnicity and race. This indicates that the independent (contextual) variables explaining work migration of children comprise of household as well as characteristics of children. However, contextual variables in analyzing casual relationship in population migration study suggest that it comprise wider range of variables representing different sectors of socioeconomic development (Conway & Shrestha, 1981; Lee, 1985). Therefore, the present study also tries to analyze work migration of children with respect to wider range of contextual variables to represent primarily four different sectors of socioeconomic development - economic, social, demographic and child development. These variables are grouped under four headings - poverty and quality of life related variables, social variables, demographic variables and child deprivation variables (Fig 1).

The present study presumes that poverty and deprivation are consequences of historical pattern of resource distribution and inequality born by the development effort at the present time. Therefore, poverty and deprivation are assumed to be consequence variables which are manifested in socio-economic inequalities of household. As indicated by Sen (2004), though poverty and inequality seem to be fundamentally different issues, they are related phenomenon since identifying poors requires drawing poverty line with respect to contemporary standards and poverty may look very like inequality between poorest group and the rest of the community. In many instances, poverty is also defined in terms of deprivation, since being poor has clearly much to do with being deprived (Sen 2004) (definition of poverty is provided in the next chapter). The study assumes that the incidence of poverty has to do with different sphere of life of households - quality of life, social deprivation, child deprivation and demographic variables.

As the main focus of the present study on statistically testing of the effects of poverty and deprivation variables on work migration of children, this study does not try to explore historical explanation of poverty and deprivation on work migration of children. Historical explanation involves entirely different methodological procedures. In this context, the present study, as indicated above, identifies some household level socioeconomic and demographic variables and tries to statistically assess the impact of these variables on work migration of children. Altogether 22 independent (predictor)

variables are selected for the causal model on the basis of the prior notion that they affect work migration of children. Of them, nine are economic and quality of life related variables, five are social variables, another six are child deprivation related variables, and two are demographic variables (Fig 1). Each independent variable has different attributes, and when households and children are stratified according to different attributes and compared, it is possible to provide a sense of rich group (more affluent or less deprived group) and poor (more deprived group) according to the level of possession of resources, knowledge and opportunities. This is a simple way of measuring deprivation in which, according to Stark (1991), requires generate group statistics, and take any one of the group as reference group to compare statistics.

Fig. 2.1: Conceptual Framework of the Study



CHAPTER IV

POPULATION AND WORK MIGRATION OF CHILDREN IN THE STUDY AREAS

This chapter describes characteristics of sample households, average family size, age composition, dependency ratio and child population. It also includes description on incidence of child labour migration, destination, type of work at the place of residence, persons influencing for migration, literacy, school attendance and perceived reasons for child labour migration.

4.1 Sample Households and Population

The 571 sample households (108 households who involve work migration of children and 463 households who do not involve work migration) covered by the present study

include a weighted number of 3,216 persons (unweighted number is 3,282), male 1,516, and females 1,700 (Table 4.1). The average family size is 5.6 persons. About 54 per cent of the households are nuclear families and the rest 46 per cent are living in joint families.

Table 4.1

Characteristics of the Study Population (weighted)

Variables	Male	Female	Total
Total population	1516	1700	3,216
Family size per household	2.6	3.0	5.6
Age Structure of Population			
% of population aged 0-14 years	37.6	33.3	35.3
% of population aged 15-59 years	58.4	64.2	61.5
% of population aged 60& above	4.0	2.5	3.2
Age Dependency Ratio	-	-	
Child Dependency Ratio	-	-	59.6
Old Dependency Ratio	-	-	9.1
Total Dependency Ratio			68.7
Total Children (aged 5-17 yrs)	526	552	1,079
% of children aged 5-17 years in total population	16.3	17.2	33.5
Average number of children aged 5-17 years per household	0.92	0.97	1.89

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.

Child population aged 0-14 years constitutes 35.3 per cent of the total sample population in the study area. Another 59.3 per cent of the population is in working ages, 15-59 years and the 5.4 per cent in old ages, 60 years and above. A high proportion of children have resulted in a high child dependency ratio of 59.9. The old dependency ratio is 9.1.

One-third of the population in the study areas is composed of the children aged 5-17 years that accounts for nearly 2 children per household.

4.2 Households Involved in Child Labour Migration

The main survey identified altogether 92 (4.2%) households who are involved in child labour migration). From the 92 households, a total of 110 children are migrated for work. This represents “actual number of work migration” of children. The supplementary survey identified additional number of 6 households who sent their children elsewhere for work, one child from each household. This way, total number of households involved in child labour migration in the main and supplementary survey combined, is 98 (92+6). The actual number of child labour migration from the 98 households is 116 (110+6). Furthermore, in the supplementary survey, 10 more households showed their intention to

send their children for work. This represents “intentional migration”. If combined actual and intentional migration, some 108 households (unweighted) are involved in child labour migration. The weighted number of households involved in child labour migration is 34 constituting 6.0 per cent of the total households (571). This indicates that some 6.0 per cent of the households in the study areas are involved in child labour migration. Household involved in child labour migration vary according to the major socioeconomic and demographic variables selected (Table 4.2).

4.3 Relationship between Households’ Involvement in Child Labour Migration with Selected Socio-economic, Demographic Variables

Households involved in child labour migration do not differ according to the agricultural surplus status of the households (Table 4.2). About 6.2 per cent of the households who have agricultural surplus are involved in child labour migration against 5.8 per cent of the households who do not have agricultural surplus. Very low value of chi-square (.047) indicates that the difference is not significant.

Households having non-agricultural sources of income tend to involve less in child labour migration. Of the households who have non-agricultural sources of income, about 6 per cent are involved in child labour migration as compared to 8.0 per cent among those who do not have non-agricultural sources of income. However, as indicated by low value of chi-square (.824), the difference is not statistically significant.

Duration of economic sufficiency brings significant variation in the households’ involvement in child labour migration. Household’s involvement in child labour migration decreases with increased duration of economic sufficiency. About 29 per cent of the households who have up to 5 months of economic sufficiency in a year are involved in child labour migration, and it is reduced by more than half (13.4%) in the households who have up to 11 months of economic sufficiency. Only about 3 per cent of the households are involved in child labour migration that has economic sufficiency for the whole year. A high value of chi-square (43.6) indicates the difference is significant.

Compared to the landless and households with small size of landholding (9.9%), proportion of households’ involvement in child labour migration is significantly lower among those who have medium and large size of land holding (1.9%). Chi-square value of 15.9 indicates a significant difference in the households’ involvement in child labour migration according to the size of land holding.

Household’s involvement in child labour migration does not differ according to literacy status of household head. Of the households with literate heads, 6.3 per cent households

are involved in child labour migration, and the corresponding figure for those with illiterate households is 6 per cent. Considering the educational attainment of the household heads, some difference in households' involvement in child labour migration according to the educational attainment of household head is observed. Households' involvement in child labour migration is comparatively lower (2.9%) among households with secondary level of education than the households with illiterate heads (6.0) and primary level of education (7.3). Here, a higher proportion of households involved in child labour migration among households with primary level of heads' education compared to the households with illiterate heads are contrary to expectation. The low value of chi-square (1.78) indicates that the difference in households' involvement in child labour migration according to the level of educational attainment of household heads is not significant.

Household involvement in child labour migration increases with increased level of educational deprivation of household. The proportion of households involved in child labour migration in the households with all members literate (no deprivation) is 5.5 per cent, and increases to 5.9 per cent among less deprived households (up to 50% literate members).

Table 4.2

Percentage of Households with Child Labour Migration According to Poverty-Related Factors (weighted)

Socioeconomic Variables	Households with Child labour migration		N	Chi-square	
	Number	%		Value	Significant
Agricultural Surplus					
Yes	16	6.2	258	0.047	0.828
No	18	5.8	313		
Non-agricultural Sources of income					
Yes	25	5.7	404	0.824	0.364
No	9	8.0	97		
Duration of Economic Sufficiency in a Year					
Up to 0-5 months	8	28.6	28	43.16	0.000
Up to 6-11 months	15	13.4	112		
All 12 months	11	2.8	431		

Size of Landholding					0.000
Landless and small	29	9.9	303	15.958	
Medium and large	5	1.9	268		
Literacy of Household Head					
Yes	18	6.3	288	0.015	0.904
No	16	6.0	283		
Educational Attainment of Household Head					
Illiterate	17	6.0	283	1.786	0.409
Primary	15	7.3	219		
Secondary	2	2.9	69		
Level of Educational Deprivation.					
No deprivation	4	5.5	73	0.628	0.878
Less deprived	17	5.9	290		
Highly deprived	10	6.3	15		
Most deprived	3	9.4	32		
Caste/Ethnicity					
Brahmin/Chhetri	8	4.9	162	2.223	0.528
Newar	1	2.1	47		
Hill ethnic group*	24	6.8	338		
Dalits	2	8.3	24		
Total	**34**	**6.0**	**571**		

*Tamang/Gurung/Sherpa/Lama/Rai/Magar.

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.

Similarly, it increases to 6.3 per cent among highly deprived households (up to one % among literate households) and to 9.4 per cent among most deprived households (no member literate). However, the difference among these categories is not statistically significant.

Households' involvement in child labour migration differs according to the caste/ethnicity. The highest level of involvement of households in child labour migration (8.3%) is found to be in Dalit households. It is followed by hill ethnic group (6.8%). The lowest involvement of households in child labour migration is observed in Newar community (2.1%). About 5 per cent of Brahmin/Chhetri households are involved in child labour migration.

4.4 General Characteristics of Work Migration of Children

4.4.1 One-fifth of the households send more than one child for work

In Chaughada, 14 households are involved in child labour migration, 36 in Ganeshthan, 19 in Kharanitar, 14 in Ralukadevei, and 9 in Sundaradevi (Table 4.3). In all the VDCs, number of migrant children is observed to be higher than the number of households

involved in child labour migration. It is mainly due to the fact that, from some households, more than one child is migrated for work. A ratio of total number of out-migrating children for work to the total number of households involved in child labour migration (110/92=1.19) indicates that about 20 per cent of the households send more than one child for work elsewhere.

4.4.2 Female children constitute about one-third of the total work migration among children

Altogether, 110 out-migrating children for work were identified from 92 households, 19 in Chaughada, 42 in Ganeshthan, 23 in Kharanitar, 16 in Ralukadevi and 10 in Sundaradevi (Table 4.3). Number of female children who migrated for work constitutes about 30 per cent of the total migrant children (of the 110 migrant child labourers identified, 33 are female children).

Table 4.3

Numeric Distribution of Migrant Children Aged 5-17 years Enumerated in the Main Survey by Village Development Committee (VDC) (unweighted)

S.N.	VDCs Surveyed	Households	Total	Male	Female
1.	Chaughada	14	19	13	6
2.	Ganesthan	36	42	32	10
3.	Kharanitar	19	23	15	8
4.	Ralukadevi	14	16	10	6
5.	Sundaradevi	9	10	7	3
	Total	**92**	**110**	**77**	**33**

Source: ABC/Nepal, 1998 data.

4.4.3 About Two per cent of the children have out-migrated for work

The sample included 1,188 children aged 5-17 years with 580 are males and 608 are females. Considering age of the children, 368 are in the age group 5-9 years, 515 in 10-14 years age group and the rest 267 in 15-17 years age group. Of the 1,188 children aged 5-17 years, there is weighted number of 20 children who migrated for work (unweighted figure is 110). Of the 20 children who migrated for work, one is of very tender age of 5-9 years (unweighted is 4), 10 from the ages 10-14 years (unweighted is 56) and the rest 9 from the 15-17 ages (unweighted is 50). Based on the above statistics, over all about 1.7 per cent of the children aged 5-17 years have out-migrated for employment from the study area.

4.4.4 Work migration of children increases with age of the children and that male children tend to migrate more than the female children

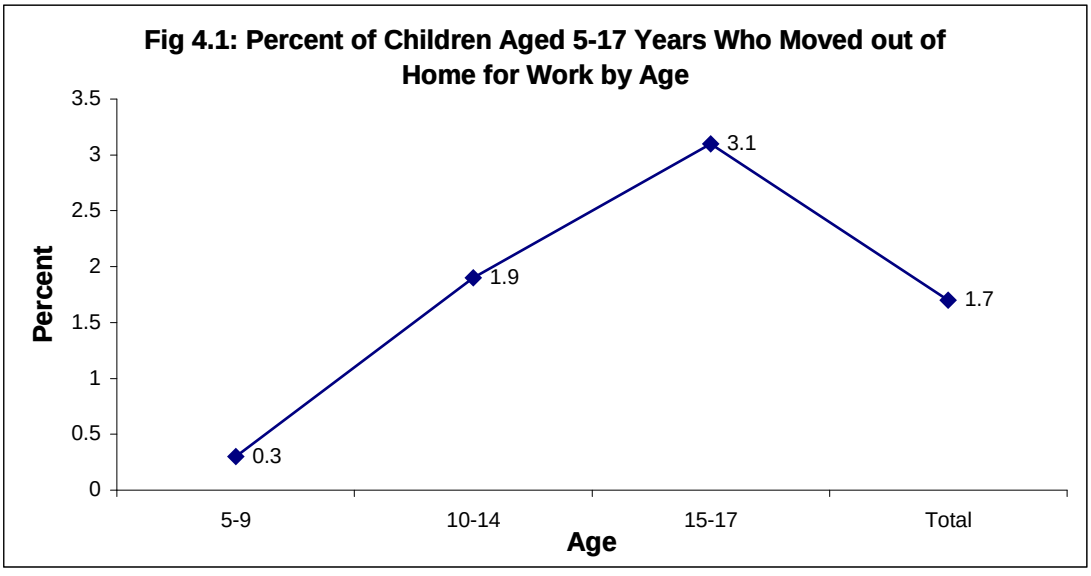
The percentage of such children tends to increase with increase in age, 0.3 per cent in the age group 5-9 years compared to 1.9 per cent in 10-14 years and the 3.1 per cent in 15-17 years (Table 4.4). Male children tend to migrate more than the females. The percentage of work migration among male children is 2.4 per cent and it is 1.0 per cent among female children.

Table 4.4

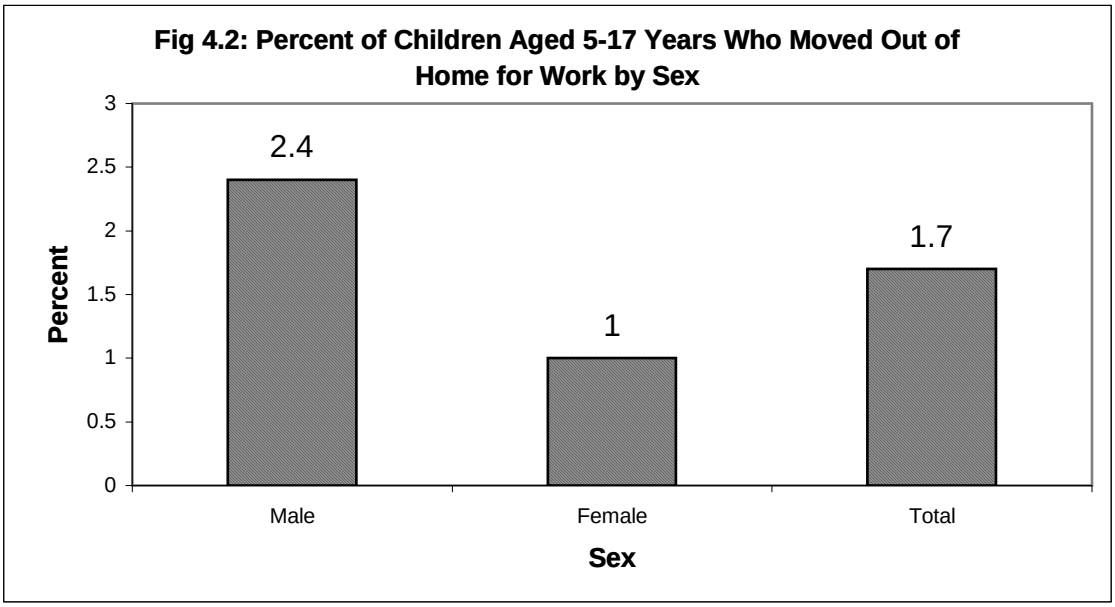
Percentage of Out-migrating Children for Work According to Age and Sex in the Sample (weighted)

Variables	**Total Children**	**Number**	**Per cent**
Age of Children			
5-9 years	370	1	0.3
10-14 years	530	10	1.9
15-17 years	288	9	3.1
Sex of Children			
Males	580	14	2.4
Females	608	6	1.0
Total	**1188**	**20**	**1.7**

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.



Source: Table 4.4.



Source: Table 4.4.

4.4.5 Early age of work migration among female children is more than two times higher than the males

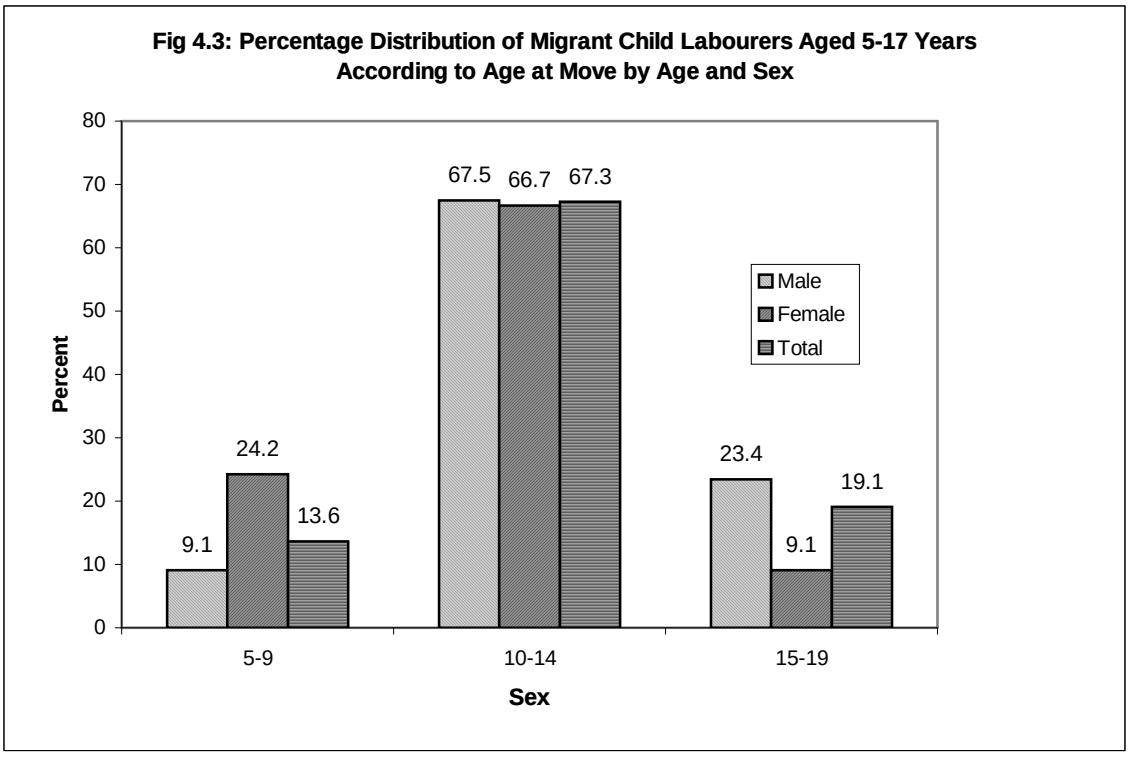
Distribution of migrant child labourers at the age of migration indicates that more than two-third of the children of both sexes left their home when they were 10-14 years old (Table 4.5). The percentage of children who left home at their very tender ages of 5-9 years is significantly higher among females (24.2%) than the males (9.1%) and lower in their mature ages of 15-17 years. Work migration of a higher proportion of female children at early ages is mainly due to the higher demand of female children in domestic chores. Contrarily, significantly lower proportion of work migration of female children in mature ages (19-17 years) is associated with the lower demand of their services in household chores. The general tendency is that 15-17 years old girls are considered to be physically mature, and such girls are not preferred to keep for domestic services because of the fear of being eloped.

Table 4.5

Distribution of Migrant Child Labourers According to Age at Migration (Unweighted)

Age at Move	Both Sexes		Male		Female	
	Number	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**
5-9	15	13.6	7	9.1	8	24.2
10-14	74	67.3	52	67.5	22	66.7
15-17	21	19.1	18	23.4	3	9.1
Total	110	100.0	77	100.0	33	100.0
Lowest age at move, 7	4	3.6	1	1.3	3	9.1
Highest age at move, 17	3	2.7	3	3.9	-	-

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998.



Source: Table 4.5.

4.4.6 Some lost children are reported

Whereabouts of some three children is not known to their parents (ABC/Nepal, 1998). They are run away children without informing their parents. These three children are the lost children. Parents know the countries of residence in the case of 107 migrant children, but do not know their full address of the current place of residence, employer's name and telephone number.

4.4.7 School attendance at the time of move is low

Only 37 per cent of male and 42 per cent of the female child labourers were attending schools at the time they left home for work (Table 4.6). Economic difficulty of households appears to be the major reason for school nonattendance among migrant child labourers. Sixty-six per cent of male and 95 per cent of female child labourers were not attending schools for this reason.

Table 4.6
School Attendance of the Migrant Children at the Time of Migration

Variables	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Per cent	Male	Per cent	Number	Per cent
School Attendance Status						
Attending	41	37.3	27	35.1	14	42.4
Not Attending	69	62.7	50	64.9	19	57.6
Total	**110**	**100.0**	**77**	**100.0**	**33**	**100.0**
Reasons for Not Attending School						
Unwillingness of children	12	17.4	12	24.0	-	-
Parents could not afford	51	73.9	33	66.0	18	94.7
Others	6	8.7	5	10.0	1	5.3
Total	**69**	**100.0**	**50**	**100.0**	**19**	**100.0**

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998.

4.4.8 Literacy and educational attainment among migrant child labourers is considerably low

Table 4.7 shows that only 63 per cent of migrant child labourers are literate. Literacy rate among male and female migrant child labourers does not differ. Overwhelming majority of literate migrant children have completed just primary level of education (75.7%). Compared to males (71.4%), significantly higher percentage of female migrant child labourers (85.7%) have completed primary level of education.

Table 4.7

Literacy and Educational Attainment of Migrant Children by Age and Sex

	Total

Literacy/Education	**Both**	**Male**	**Female**
Literacy Status			
Illiterate	36.4	36.4	36.4
Literate	63.6	63.6	63.6
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
N	**110**	**77**	**33**
If Literate, Completed Grade			
0-4 grade	75.7	71.4	85.7
5-10 grade	24.3	28.6	14.3
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
N	**70**	**49**	**21**

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998.

4.4.9 Highest proportion of migrant child labourers belong to hill ethnic group

Of the 110 migrant child labourers, the highest 39.1 per cent belong to the hill ethnic group like Tamang, Gurung, Sherpa, Lama, Rai and Magar (Table 4.8). Brahmin/Chhetri accounted 28.2 per cent of the total migrant child labourers. It is followed by 12.7 per cent for KDS and 10.0 per cent for Newars.

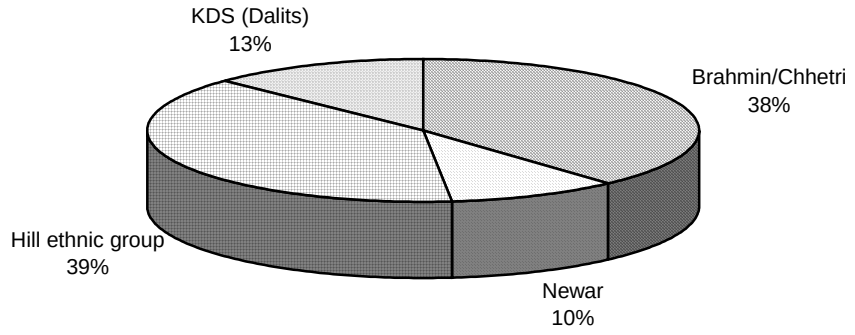
Table 4.8

Distribution of Migrant Children According to Caste/Ethnic Composition

Caste/Ethnicity	**Number**	**Percent**
Brahmin/Chhetri	42	38.2
Newar	11	10.0
Hill ethnic group	43	39.1
Dalits	14	12.7
Total	**110**	**100.0**

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998.

Fig 4.4: Percentage Distribution of Migrant Child Labourers Aged 5-17 Years by Caste/Ethnicity



Source: Table 4.8.

4.4.10 Highest Proportion of Children Migrated with the Influence of Relatives

The highest one-third (32.7%) of the children migrated with the influence of relatives, and nearly equal proportion had no influence by others (Table 4.9). Among those who migrated on parents' decision, in the case of 41 per cent, parents were influenced by relatives, but majority of those who migrated on own decision migrated without the influence of others.

Table 4.9

Distribution of Migrant Child Labourers According to the Types of Persons Influencing in Work Migration of Children

Who Advised?	*Total*		**Parents' Decision**		**Own Decision**	
	Number	**Per cent**	**Number**	**Per cent**	**On own**	**Per cent**
No body Advised	35	31.8	22	25.9	13	52.0
Relatives	36	32.7	35	41.2	1	4.0
Neighbours	25	22.7	23	27.1	2	8.0
Employers	4	3.6	4	4.7		0.0
Friends	4	3.6	1	1.2	3	12.0

Others/Don't know	6	5.5		0.0	6	24.0
Total	**110**	**100.0**	**85**	**100.0**	**25**	**100.0**

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998.

4.4.11 Kathmandu valley is the common destination of migrant child labourers of the study areas

Of the 110 migrant children, 87 per cent of the children are reported to be in Kathmandu valley, 8.2 in India, and 1.2 per cent in other parts of Nepal. Parents do not know whereabouts of 2.7 per cent of the children.

4.4.12 Most of the migrant child labourers are doing unskilled labour at the place of destination

Table 4.10 reveals that most of the migrant child labourers are doing unskilled work at the place of destination. Types of work most frequently reported by the parents are dish/cloth washing, cooking, cleaning home, and other works related to domestic chores. Of the 110 migrant child labourers, 49 (44.5%) are reportedly doing these types of works. Of them, 23 are males and 26 are females. Actually, all of these children are working as domestic servants in private houses. The remainder is reported to have been doing other types of works such as in hotel/restaurants, jeweler/iron works and helper in bus and tempo or circus performers.

4.4.13 Overwhelming majority of girl children are employed as domestic servants

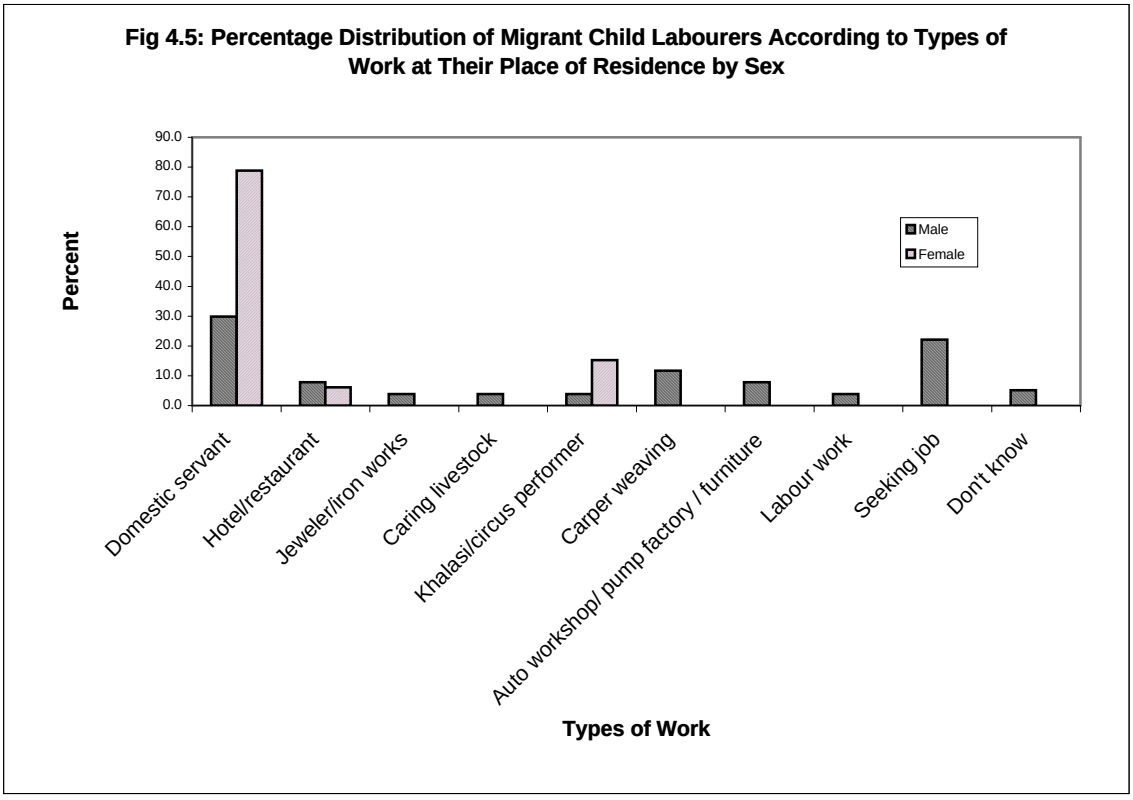
Overwhelming majority of the female migrant child labourers are employed as domestic servants (78.8%) as compared to just 30 per cent among male migrant child labourers (Table 4.10). Comparatively higher proportion of girl children of young ages employed as domestic servants reflects society's preference of employing early age girls in domestic services. However, when girls get physical maturity, girls are discontinued from the job.

Table 4.10

Migrant Children by Types of Work in Their Current Place of Residence

Types of Work	**Total**		**Male**		**Female**	
	Number	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**
Domestic servant	49	44.5	23	29.9	26	78.8
Hotel/restaurant	8	7.3	6	7.8	2	6.1
Jeweler/iron works	3	2.7	3	3.9	-	-
Caring livestock	3	2.7	3	3.9	-	-
Khalasi/circus performer	8	7.3	3	3.9	5	15.2
Carper weaving	9	8.2	9	11.7	-	-
Auto workshop/pump factory/ furniture	6	5.5	6	7.8	-	-
Labour work	3	2.7	3	3.9	-	-
Seeking job	17	15.5	17	22.1	-	-
Don't know	4	3.6	4	5.2	-	-
Total	**110**	**100.0**	**77**	**100.0**	**33**	**100.0**

Source: Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998.



Source: Table 4.10.

4.4.14Many children are brought to work with false promises

Parents of most of the migrant children did not have problems in reporting the type of work their children are engaged at the current place of residence. However, the relatively higher number of children were reported to be in search of jobs. It might be, to some extent, due to parents' reluctance to specify actual type of jobs their children are doing. Tracing of some of the migrant child labourers in Kathmandu suggests that children were brought to work in hotel/restaurants, livestock caring, jeweler/iron works, auto-mechanics are employed in employers' private houses. They are not employed in the specific jobs employers promised to employ. Parents do not know about this.

4.4.15 Poverty is the main reason for work migration of children among other reasons

The majority of the households sent their children due to poverty (Table 4.11). Sixty-three per cent of the households sent their children for work elsewhere due to poverty reasons like poor economic condition of the family, repayment of debt, economic insufficiency, hope for future improvement of economic condition of family, and hope of supplementing family income. The other reasons like education of children, children wanted to leave home and dislike of village accounted for about 37 per cent of the work migration of children, which are not directly related with parents "income-motive" to send children elsewhere for work.

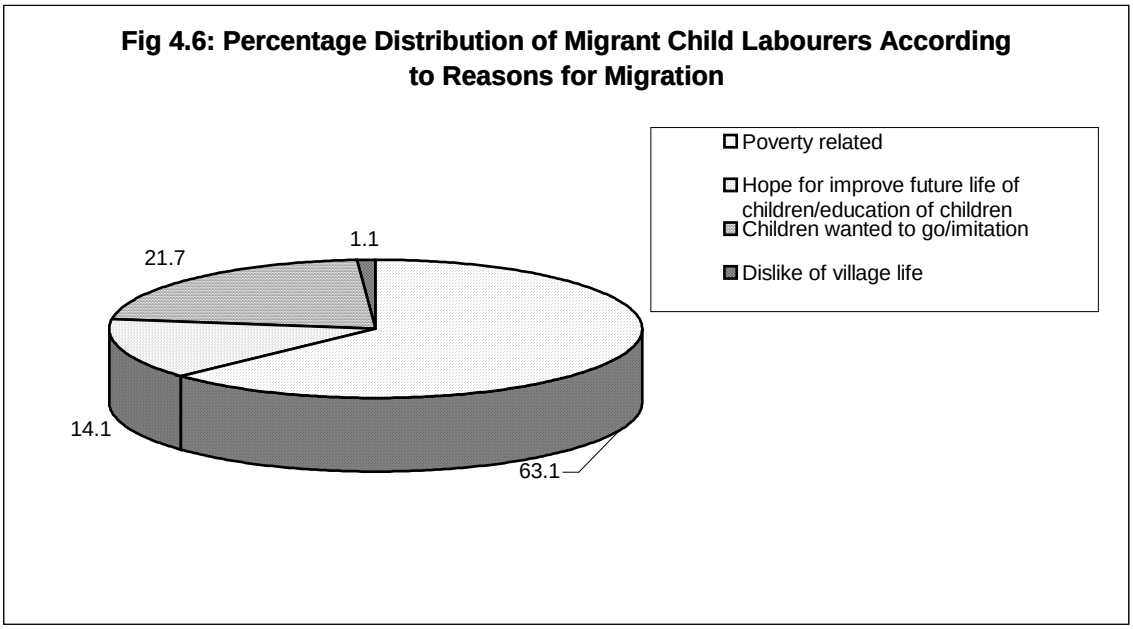
Table 4.11

Distribution of Households According to Perceived Reasons for Sending Children Elsewhere for Work (broad categories)

Reasons for Sending Children for Work	Number	Per cent
Poverty related	58	63.1
Hope for improve future life of children/education of children	13	14.1
Children wanted to go/imitation	20	21.7
Dislike of village life	1	1.1
Total	**92**	**100.0**

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998.

Fig 4.6: Percentage Distribution of Migrant Child Labourers According to Reasons for Migration



Source: Table 4.11.

4.4.16 Parents of three-fourths of the migrant child labourers do not emotionally feel good to send children elsewhere for work

More than three-fourth of the respondents do not feel good about sending their children away for work (ABC/Nepal, 1998). Emotional factors appear to be important. Of those who reported child migration is not good, 39 (56%) are due to their love and affection for their children. Some of them reported that migration causes separation of children from home and deprivation from parental love and care. These respondents realize that children may be abused and badly treated if sent away for work and kept under the control of strangers. Most of others blame their pitiable economic condition for sending their children away for work even if they do not feel good to do so.

4.4.17 Half of the households feel improved economic condition from migration of children

espondents were asked about whether their economic position has been getting better due to employment of children. Of the 92 respondents, 43 (47%) reported that income of the children has not contributed at all for the betterment of economic position of the family (ABC/Nepal, 1998). Another 34 respondents (37%) feel some improvement in economic position of the family due to income of the children and 7 feel remarkable improvement.

CHAPTER V

CHARACTERISTICS OF POVERTY AND DEPRIVATION AMONG FAMILIES OF CHILD LABOURERS

This chapter analyzes characteristics of poverty among families of child labourers. Poverty in this study has been analyzed in terms of qualitative data rather than quantitative analysis of income and consumption data. Sources of income of households with and without child labour migration are examined. Secondly, households' economic sufficiency associated with livelihood of the family is also analyzed. Household access to land resource and demographic pressure on resources are the two other dimensions of poverty/deprivation, would include inequality in the possession of resources. Besides these, educational deprivation of households and the child deprivation are also analyzed.

5.1 Characteristics of Household Poverty

5.1.1 Limited Sources of Income

Households having child labour migration also reported to have limited sources of income derived mainly from agriculture and wage labour (Table 5.1). Of the 92 households involved in child labour migration, 92 per cent stated agriculture as the principal occupation[5]. Agriculture is the single source of income for nearly 41 per cent of the households involving child labour migration as compared to just 19 per cent of the households that did not have child labour migration. About 46 per cent of the households also make income from wage labour. Besides agriculture and wage, some households make income from other sources like business, service .2%), and remittance ((less than 4%) as compared to 9-22 per cent of such households with no child labour migration.

5.1.2 Agricultural Wage-Labour Oriented Household Economy

About half of the households that involved child labour migration reported wage labour as a source of income as compared to slightly higher than one-third of households without child labour migration (Table 5.1) Wage labour here mostly refers to wage labour in agriculture rather than in non-agriculture. Very high proportion of households making cash income from the non-agricultural sources is not expected because of very low opportunities in non-agricultural activities like construction works and so on in the rural areas of Nepal.

[5] Tabulation of data not shown.

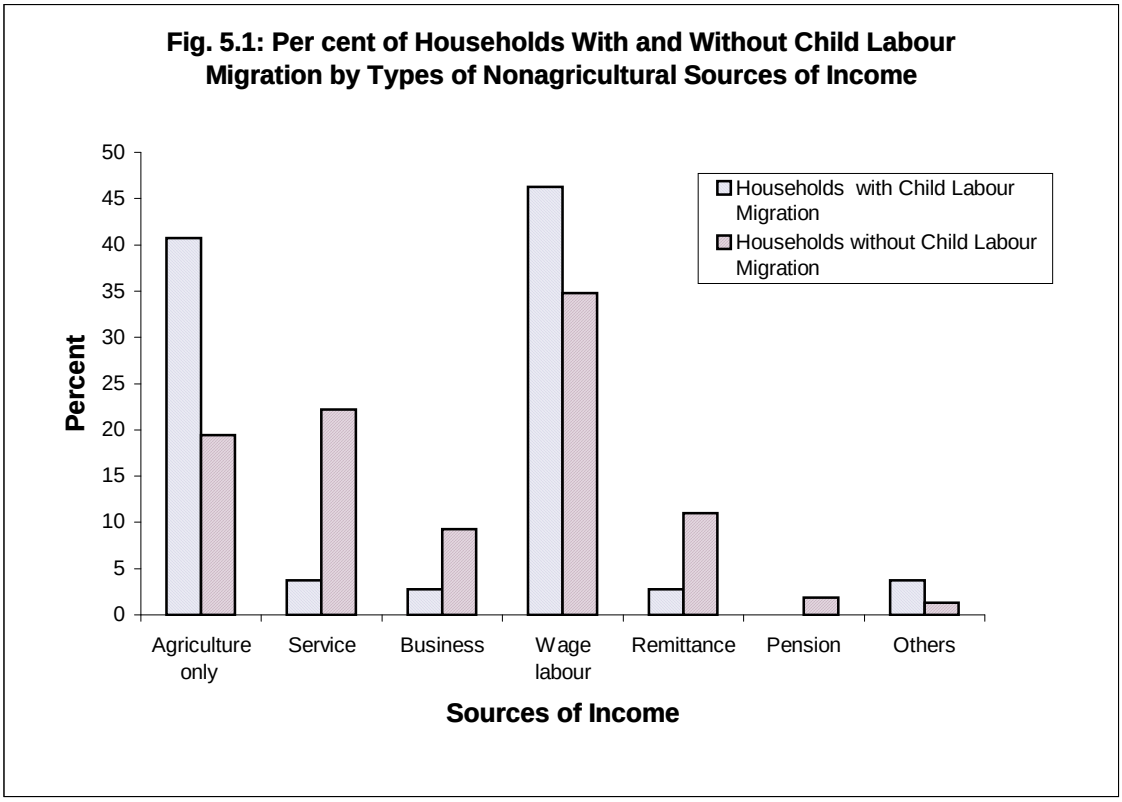
Significantly high proportion of households in wage labour for cash income, in fact, indicates the agricultural labour-oriented economy of the child labourers' families. In traditional agricultural societies, the agricultural labour is overwhelmingly an unskilled type for land preparation, plantation, weeding, and harvesting of crops.

Table 5.1

Per cent of Households With and Without Child Labour Migration According to Types of Nonagricultural Sources of Income

Sources of Income	**Households with Child Labour Migration**	**Households without Child Labour Migration**
Agriculture only	40.7	19.4
Service	3.7	22.2
Business	2.8	9.3
Wage labour	46.3	34.8
Remittance	2.8	11.0
Pension	-	1.9
Others	3.7	1.3
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**
N	**108**	**463**

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.



Source: Table 5.1.

5.1.3 Subsistence Agriculture

Food-grains are the major agricultural production in the study area. They grow different types of food-grains mainly paddy, maize and millet. Their purpose might be both household consumption as well as earning cash income, but it may or may not contribute to cash income depending upon the amount required for household consumption. In fact, food grain production has not contributed cash income for the majority of the households with child labour migration (88%); only 12 per cent make cash income from the sale of food grains (Table 5.2). As compared to this, 31 per cent of the households without child labour migration make income from the sale of food grains during the last 12 months of the survey. Only around 16 per cent of the households with child labour migration could make income from the sale of animals and animal products as compared to more than one-third among those without child labour migration.

Table 5.2

Percent of Households With and Without Child Labour Migration Who Could Make Income from the Sale of Agricultural Products during the Last 12 Months Period

Income Made From:	Households with Child Labour Migration	Households without Child Labour Migration
Sale of food grains	12.0	31.3
Sale of animals and animal products	15.7	33.7
Fishery	0.9	0.2
% of household who could make income from any one of the above sources	28.6	65.2

Inability of large proportion of household to make income from the sale of agricultural products indicates that large proportion of households with child labour migration has subsistence or below subsistence level of agriculture production (only 28.6% could make income from any of the three sources) as compared to households without child labour migration (65.2% could make income from any of the three sources).

5.1.4 Widespread Income Poverty

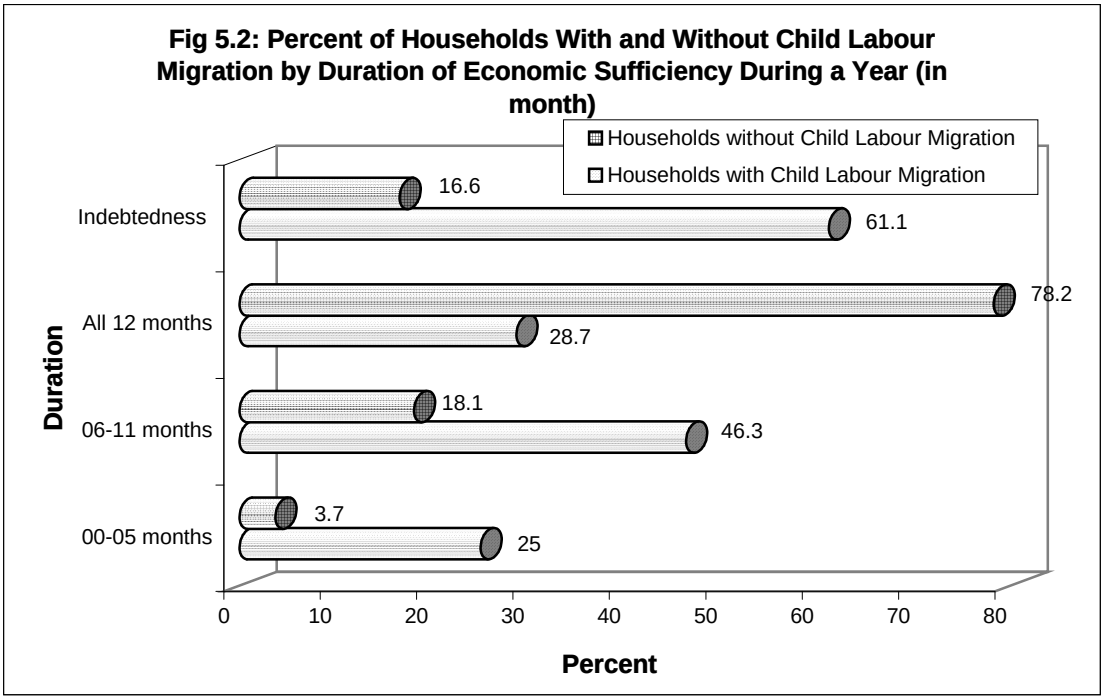
Poverty among households with child labour migration is ultra poor (25%) to poor (46.3%) compared to just 3.7 per cent ultra-poor and 18.1 per cent poor among those without child labour migration (Table 5.3). Rich category households without child labour migration constitute 78 per cent as against only 28.7 per cent households with migration. Similarly, indebtedness due to economic insufficiency is also more prevalent among poor and ultra poor households (61.2%) than among rich category households without child labour migration (16.6%).

Table 5.3

Percent of Households With and Without Child Labour Migration by Duration of Economic Sufficiency during a Year (in month)

Months of Economic Sufficiency in a Year	Households with Child Labour Migration	Households without Child Labour Migration
00-05 months	25.0	3.7
06-11 months	46.3	18.1
All 12 months	28.7	78.2
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**
Indebtedness due to Economic Deficiency	61.1	16.6
N	**108**	**463**

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.



Source: Table 5.3.

5.1.5 Low Access to Resources

Households with child labour migration own on an average less than one-third hectare of land (0.31 ha.) followed by landless (10.2%) compared to about 2 times larger size of land holding (0.58 ha.) and only about one per cent landless among who do not involve

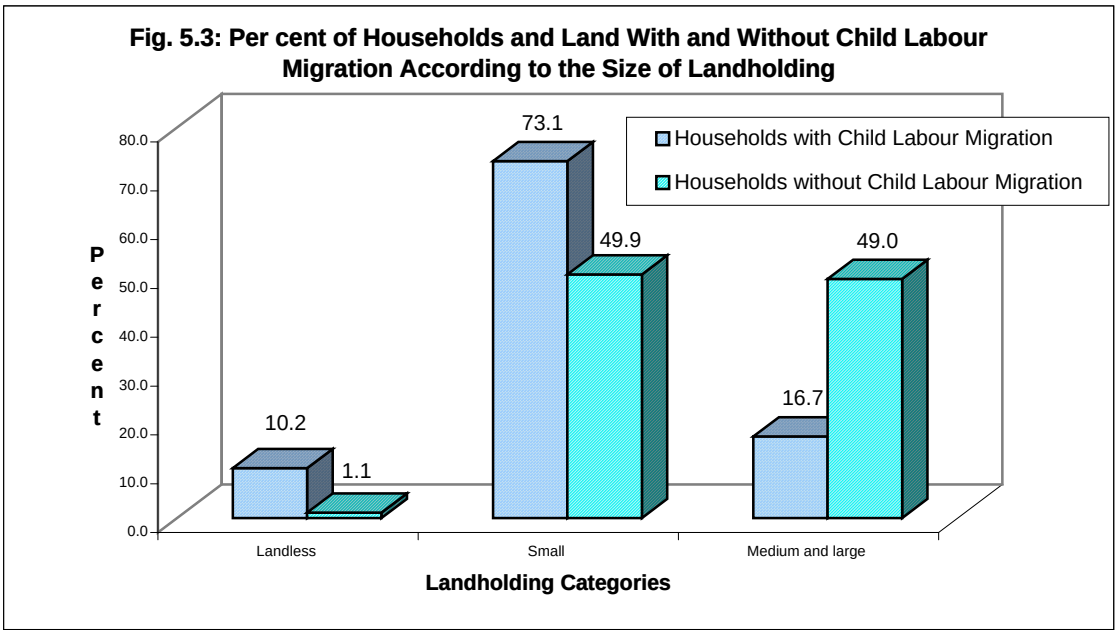
child labour migration (Table 5.4). Households with migration have lower access to resources, small land holding, economic insufficiency, two-times more population pressure on household resources (6.2 family size) than those without child labour migration (5.2 family size).

Table 5.4

Percent of Households With and Without Child Labour Migration and Land According to the Size of Landholding

Size of Landholding	Households with Child Labour Migration		Households without Child Labour Migration	
	% HH	% Land	% HH	% Land
Landless (0 ha.)	10.2	0.0	1.1	0.0
Small (> 0 and <0.50 ha.)	73.1	50.6	49.9	21.9
Medium and large (0.51 and above ha.)	16.7	49.4	49.0	78.1
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Average household landholding	-	0.31	-	0.58
N	**108**	**108**	**463**	**463**

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.



Source: Table 5.4.

5.1.6 Educational Deprivation

Literacy and educational attainment represent sources of knowledge, and understanding of the outer world associated with better economic conditions of the households for enabling them to grab better employment opportunities. Table 5.5 shows that the percentage of illiterate population aged 5 years and above is significantly high (59.4%) among households with child labour migration compared to 38.5 per cent among households without child labour migration. A high proportion of illiterate household heads among those households with child labour migration indicates educational deprivation.

Table 5.5

Percentage of Illiterate Population (aged 5 years and above), Illiterate Heads and Heads Completing Different Level of Education for the Households With and Without Child Labour Migration

Illiteracy	**Households with Child Labour Migration**	**Households without Child Labour Migration**
Overall illiteracy (aged 5 yrs and above)	59.4 (625)	38.5 (2342)
Illiteracy among household head	73.1 (108)	48.2 (463)
Educational attainment of household head		
% of household head completing primary level education	96.5	75.0
% of household head completing secondary level education	3.4	23.3
% of household head completing above secondary level education	-	1.7

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.

Similarly, incidence of illiteracy among household heads with child labour migration is more widespread than in the households without child labour migration. About three-fourth of the household heads with child labour migration are illiterate (73.1%) as compared to nearly half (48.2%) among those without child labour migration.

Educational attainment of household heads with child labour migration shows that only about 3 per cent of the heads have education above primary level as against 25 per cent of the household head completing above primary level of education among households without child labour migration (Table 5.5). A higher proportion of household heads completing only primary level of education implies a more widespread educational deprivation among household heads with child labour migration.

Educational deprivation can also be examined in terms of literacy status of the household population. When households are classified according to the proportion of literate population in the households, about 14 per cent of the households with child labour migration fall in the most deprived category as compared to just 5 per cent of the households without child labour migration (Table 5.6). In the former category, another 48 per cent are educationally highly deprived, 34.3 per cent less deprived and only 3.7 per cent have no educational deprivation. The comparative figures for the latter are 30.7 per cent, 51.0 per cent and 13.0 per cent respectively.

Table 5.6

Percent of Households With and Without Child Labour Migration According to the Household Level of Educational Deprivation

Educational Deprivation Level	Households with Child Labour Migration	Households without Child Labour Migration
No Deprivation (all members literate)	3.7	13.0
Less Deprived (up to 50% members literate)	34.3	51.0
Highly Deprived (51-99% members illiterate)	48.1	30.7
Most Deprived (all members illiterate)	13.9	5.4
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**
N	**108**	**463**

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.

By definition, the no deprivation category represents rich category of the literacy status of family members, which comprises households who have all members literate. The most deprived category, on the other hand, represents poorest category of the literacy

status of family members, which comprises those households who have all members illiterate. From this standpoint, a comparatively lower proportion of households falling in no deprivation category from households with child labour migration, and, at the same time, higher proportion of households falling in most deprived category demonstrates higher incidence of educational deprivation among households with child labour migration.

5.1.7 Social Exclusion and Poverty/Deprivation

Kami, Damai and Sarki (KDS) also called Dalits who are socially excluded and economically backward. Only 41.7 per cent of the Dalit households are economically sufficient as compared to 75.0 per cent of the hill ethnic group, 80.9 per cent of Brahmin/Chhetri and 79.2 per cent of Newars. Similarly, indebtedness due to economic insufficiency is also greatest among Dalits. About 54 per cent of the Dalit households are indebted because of economic insufficiency compared to the lowest 15.1 per cent among hill ethnic group and 19 per cent among Newars.

Educational deprivation is also considerably high among socially excluded group, i.e. Dalits. 62.5 per cent of the heads of the Dalit households is illiterate as compared to 59.3 per cent in hill ethnic group, 33.3 per cent in Brahmin/Chhetri and 29.2 per cent in Newars.

School attendance of children is quite high among Dalits (71.4%) as compared to 75.5% among hill ethnic group, 89.9 among Brahmin/Chhetri groups and 92.5 per cent among Newars. However, it is still lower than the other caste/ethnic groups. Proportion of children who do not attend schools but are at work is also comparatively high among Dalits (14.3%) as compared to 11.1 per cent among hill ethnic group and 3.4 per cent among Brahmin/Chhetri and 1.9 per cent among Newars.

In this study, child labour migration has been reported from a total of 12 caste/ethnic groups – Tamang, Gurung, Sherpa, Lama, Rai, Magar, Kami, Damai, Sarki, Brahmin, Chhetri, and Newar (Table 5.7). They are grouped under four groups according to the cultural similarity – hill ethnic group (Tamang, Gurung, Sherpa, Lama, Rai, Magar), Dalits. Dalits are called untouchable castes, and socially excluded caste group. They have less privilege and power in the society. The other caste groups are so called high caste (Brahmin, Chhetri), and the Newar. The high caste (Brahmin and Chhetri) is also called high Hindu caste that enjoys certain privilege and power in the society.

Households with child labour migration in all the caste and ethnic group may be characterized as a low level of economic sufficiency and high indebtedness (Table 5.7).

In this group, only 18.9 per of hill ethnic group, 41.7 per cent of Dalits, 37.1 per cent of Brahmin/Chhetri and 37.5 per cent of Newars have economic sufficiency. Around 80 per cent of households without child labour have economic sufficiency. However, Dalits are exception to this. Only around 42.1 per cent of the Dalit households have economic sufficiency.

In all caste/ethnic groups, access to land resource is also comparatively low among households without child labour migration. About 87 per cent of households in hill ethnic group with child labour migration are landless or have just up to small size of land (one-half hectare of land) as against 55.3 of households without child labour migration. Proportion of such households among Brahmin/Chhetri is 77.1 per cent as against 36.8 per cent among them who do not have child labour migration. This indicates that households with child labour migration have lower access to land resource across all ethnic groups. Contrarily, in Dalit group who does not have child labour migration, proportion of landless and who own small size of land is comparatively high.

Across all caste/ethnic groups, the incidence of educational deprivation is quite high. Among the four ethnic groups, it may be concluded that the incidence of educational deprivation is the highest among Dalits and hill ethnic group.

In all the caste/ethnic groups, incidence of child deprivation is quite high among households with child labour migration. For instance, 52.9 per cent of the children aged 5-14 years are not attending schools in hill ethnic group, 23.0 per cent in Dalit, 57.8 per cent in Brahmin/Chhetri and 61.5 per cent in Newar as compared to 23.0 per cent, 17.6 per cent, 7.1 per cent in 0.0 per cent in the respective caste/ethnic groups without child labour migration. Similarly, the proportion of children who work without schooling opportunity (work only) is also significantly high among households with child labour migration across all the caste/ethnic groups.

In all caste/ethnic groups, above 68 per cent of the children who are not attending schools affected is due to economic difficulty. As compared to this, the lowest 23 per cent of the children who are not attending schools in Brahmin/Chhetri group and the highest 33.3 per cent in Dalit are not attending due to economic problems.

Table 5.7

Characteristics of Poverty According to Caste/Ethnicity and Child Labour Migration Status of Household

Poverty Characteristics	Caste/Ethnicity							
	Hill Ethnic Group		KDS (Dalit)		Brahmin/ Chhetri		Newar	
Economic Poverty	CLM**	No CLM	CLM	No CLM	CLM	No CLM	CLM	No CLM
% of eco sufficient HH	18.9 (53)	78.2 (271)	41.7 (12)	42.1 (19)	37.1 (35)	82.7 (133)	37.5 (8)	80.0 (40)
% of HH indebted due to eco insufficiency	52.8 (53)	14.4 (271)	58.3 (12)	52.6 (19)	68.6 (35)	15.8 (133)	87.5 (8)	17.5 (40)
Access to Resources								
% of HH with no land and small size of landholding	86.8 (53)	55.3 (271)	75.0 (12)	84.2 (19)	77.1 (35)	36.8 (133)	100.0 (8)	52.5 (40)
Educational Deprivation								
Overall illiteracy (aged 5 yrs. and above)	70.5 (258)	47.6 (1354)	63.3 (90)	39.1 (69)	46.0 (215)	25.4 (737)	53.2 (62)	24.2 (182)
Child illiteracy (aged 5-17 years)	61.0 (141)	27.8 (457)	49.1 (53)	11.5 (26)	32.1 (112)	9.7 (309)	39.4 (33)	3.5 (57)
Illiteracy among HH head	85.4 (48)	57.6 (276)	86.7 (15)	56.3 (16)	51.4 (35)	33.8 (133)	70.0 (10)	26.3 (38)
Child Deprivation								
% of children (aged 5-14 years) who are not attending schools	52.9 (102)	23.0 (352)	65.7 (35)	17.6 (17)	57.8 (90)	7.1 (240)	61.5 (26)	0.0 (37)
% of children (aged 5-14 years) who usually help in domestic work and work outside home	44.1 (102)	36.4 (352)	44.1 (35)	47.1 (17)	49.4 (90)	24.6 (240)	30.8 (26)	8.1 (37)
% of children (5-14 years) who work but do not attend school (work only)	24.5 (102)	10.8 (352)	22.9 (35)	11.8 (17)	25.6 (90)	1.7 (240)	19.2 (26)	0.0 (37)
% of children (aged 5-14 years) who are not attending schools due to economic problems	70.4 (54)	30.9 (81)	82.6 (23)	33.3 (3)	80.8 (52)	23.5 (17)	68.8 (16)	--

*Numbers in Table refer to percentage of households and population. Number in parenthesis refers to number of cases.

**CLM = Households with Child Labour Migration.

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.

5.1.8 Household Level of Educational Deprivation by Caste/Ethnicity

Classification of households according to the proportion of illiterate population aged 5 years and above indicates that, in all ethnic groups, level of educational deprivation is higher in the households with child labour migration than those without it (Table 5.8).

Table 5.8

Level of Education (per cent of illiterate population aged 5 years and above) and Child Deprivation (per cent of children aged 5-14 years who are not attending schools) According to Caste/Ethnicity and Child Labour Migration Status of Household

Type and Level of Deprivation	**Caste/Ethnicity**							
	Hill Ethnic Group		**KDS**		**Brahmin/ Chhetri**		**Newar**	
Household Level of Educational Deprivation	CLM	No CLM	CLM	No CLM	CLM	No CLM	CLM	No CLM
No Deprivation (all members literate)	5.7	12.2	-	10.5	2.9	12.0	-	22.5
Less Deprived (up to 50% members literate)	26.4	36.9	16.7	52.6	54.3	75.9	25.0	62.5
Highly Deprived (51-99% members illiterate)	47.2	42.8	75.0	31.6	34.3	10.5	75.0	15.0
Most Deprived (all members illiterate)	20.8	8.1	8.3	5.3	8.6	1.5	-	-
N	**53**	**271**	**12**	**19**	**35**	**133**	**8**	**40**
Children's Deprivation of Schooling Opportunities								
No Deprivation (all children attend schools)	34.1	66.9	9.1	72.7	20.6	85.6	12.5	95.7
Less Deprived (up to 50% children attend schools	13.6	8.4	-	9.1	17.6	7.7	-	-
Highly Deprived (51-99% children do not attend schools	15.9	10.8	36.4	9.1	32.4	4.8	50.0	4.3
Most Deprived (no children attend schools)	36.4	13.9	54.5	9.1	29.4	1.9	37.5	-
N	**44**	**166**	**11**	**11**	**34**	**104**	**8**	**23**

Note: CLM=Child Labour Migration.

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.

5.2 Child Deprivation

5.2.1 Educational Deprivation

Literacy and school attendance are considered to be the most effective means for all round development of children, and their welfare. School non-attendance and illiteracy among children indicates child deprivation. Child ages are considered to be for education, not for work. Educational deprivation causes higher incidence of work as well as labour migration of children. Due to labour migration, they are separated from parents, and deprived of parental love and care. For example, those having child labour migration and not having it makes a significant difference in that child literacy is only 22.1 per cent among households with child labour migration and it is 51.2 per cent among households without child labour migration indicating a higher level of educational deprivation coupled with low level of school attendance (Table 5.9). Only about 42.7 per cent of the children aged 5-14 years attend schools in the households of child migrants as against 84.4 per cent households without child migration. Many children aged 5-14 years help in domestic work. Proportion of working children is 54.7 per cent among households with migration and 39.1 per cent among households without child migration. High level of incidence of child work is associated with low level of school attendance of children.

Table 5.9

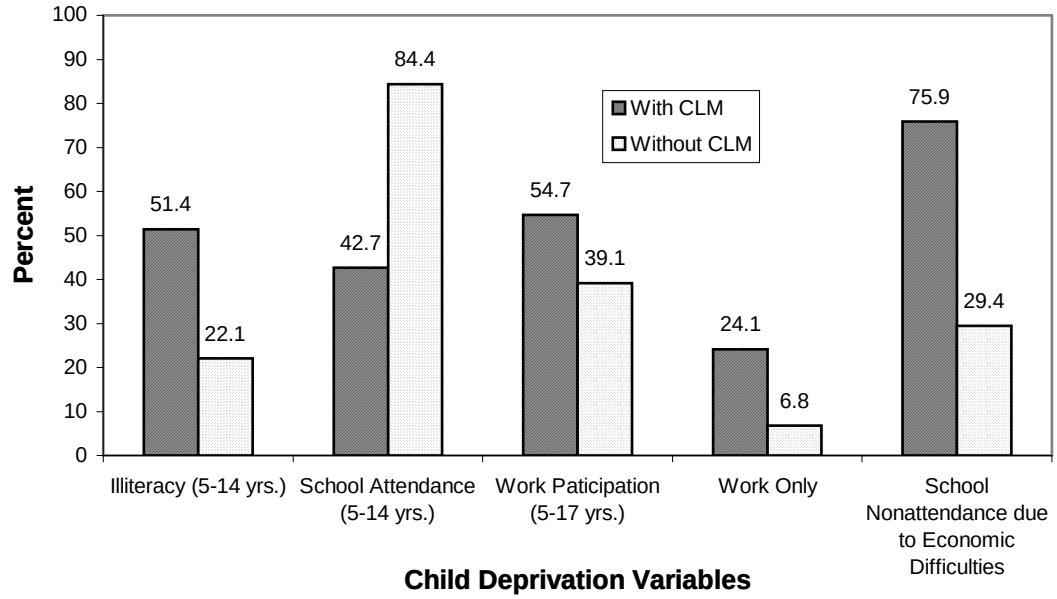
Illiteracy, School Attendance and Work Participation of Children (per cent of children) According to Child Labour Migration Status of Household

Description	Households with child labour migration	Households without child labour migration
% of illiterate children aged 5-14 years	51.4 (253)	22.1 (646)
% of children (aged 5-14 years) who are currently attending schools	42.7 (253)	84.4 (646)
% of children (aged 5-17 years) who usually help in domestic work	54.7 (333)	39.1 (849)
% of children (5-14 yrs) who work but do not attend school (work only)	24.1 (253)	6.8 (646)

% of children (aged 5-14 years) who are not attending schools due to economic problems	75.9 (145)	29.4 (102)

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.

Fig. 5.4: Illiteracy, School Attendance and Work Participation of Children (per cent of children) According to Child Labour Migration Status of Household



Note: CLM=Child Labour Migration.

Source: Table 5.9.

Table 5.10 reveals that, among one-fourth of the households (24.7%) with child labour migration, all children attend schools, hence no incidence of deprivation of schooling opportunities. As compared to this, in three-fourth of the households without child labour migration, all children are attending schools (75.7%). In 36.1 per cent households who are involved in child labour migration, none of the children are attending schools (most deprived), and in another 26.8 per cent households, up to 50 per cent of the children are attending schools (highly deprived). Similarly, in 12.4 per cent of the households some 51-99 per cent of the children are attending schools. Compared to this, the percentage of households in these three categories among households who do not have child labour migration is significantly low, less than 10 per cent. This again reflects low level of school attendance in households involved in children labour migration, hence higher level of children's deprivation of schooling opportunity.

Table 5.10

Per cent of Households With and Without Child Labour Migration According to the Different Level of Deprivation of Schooling Opportunities

Level of Deprivation of Schooling Opportunities	Households with Child Labour Migration	Households without Child Labour Migration
No Deprivation (all children attend schools)	24.7	75.7
Less Deprived (up to 50% children attend schools	12.4	7.6
Highly Deprived (51-99% children do not attend schools	26.8	8.2
Most Deprived (no children attend schools)	36.1	8.6
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**
N	**97**	**304**

Note: 11 households who involve child labour migration and 159 households who do not involve it do not have children aged 5-17 years, so they are automatically excluded from the analysis.

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.

5.2.2 Incidence of Work

Incidence of child work is another indicator of child deprivation. By definition, working children represent more deprived children and not working children represent less deprived children (Table 5.11). As in the case of deprivation of schooling opportunities, an attempt is made to examine incidence of work among children for both categories of households with and without child labour migration. For this, percentage of working children is calculated for each household and households are categorized according to the different level of work incidence of children.

Table 5.11 reveals that in 41 per cent of the households without child labour migration, none of the children are involved in work as compared to just about 9 per cent of such households among those with child labour migration. In other words, incidence of child work is observed to be in 91 per cent of the households with child labour migration as

compared to 59 per cent among those without it. This indicates the incidence of child work is more pervasive among households with child labour migration.

Considering different level of work incidence, in 46.6 per cent of the households with child labour migration, up to 50 per cent of the children work compared to 22.9 per cent in the households without child labour migration. Similarly, in 22.3 per cent of the households with child migration, 51-99 per cent of the children work. The corresponding figure for those without child labour migration is only 8.3 per cent.

Table 5.11

Distribution of Households With and Without Child Labour Migration According to the Different Level of Work Incidence Among Children in the Household

Level of Work Incidence	Households with Child Labour Migration	Households without Child Labour Migration
No incidence of work (no children work)	8.7	41.0
Low incidence (up to 50% children work)	46.6	22.9
High incidence (51-99% children work)	22.3	8.3
Very high incidence (all children work)	22.3	27.8
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**
N	**103**	**363**

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.

5.3 Causes of Poverty and Deprivation

Local leaders perceive that, over all socio-economic condition of villages is improving, with increased accessibility to community services like education, health, electricity, transportation, irrigation and drinking water. Similarly, a number of non-governmental organizations are launching various awareness, infrastructural development as well as skill training programmes. As a part of women development programme, women groups are being formed and motivated to involve women in income-generating activities. Despite these efforts, perceptible improvement in the economic life of poor people has not been felt, as they argue that economic hardship of poverty-ridden households is still the biggest problem of the community as stated by community leaders in Chaughada and Sundaradevi. The causes of poverty and deprivation in the study areas can be attributed to various factors.

5.3.1 Traditional Peasant Economy

Agriculture is the main source of livelihood in the study areas. Agriculture is largely traditional in character. There is a variation in the quality of land according to the physical structure of land, hence cropping intensity and agricultural productivity differs according to the physical structure and climatic conditions.

There are flat fertile lands along the basin of Tadi river where adequate irrigation facilities are available. With flat and fertile lands combined with irrigational, some part of the Chaughada village has high agricultural productivity with 3 cycles of crop. Unlike this, in areas with slopes and rugged lands and arctic climate, only one crop can be harvested in a year, and they remain almost idle during half of the years. In these high altitude areas, there is a vast amount of pasturelands but they are largely not utilized in favour of poor people's livelihood.

5.3.2 Vicious-Circle of Poverty Caused by Constraints of Resources and Opportunities

As mentioned earlier, farming is the main source of livelihood in the study area. Farming in the study areas is largely traditional farming and very limited employment opportunities in the nonagricultural sectors exit for the people. In this context, ownership of small plot of land itself is an indicator of poverty resulting in economic insufficiency of households (Table 5.12). Economic insufficiency of household has made them debt bonded. Table 5.13 shows the incidence of indebtedness due to economic insufficiency is substantially high in the households with economic insufficiency. In fact, households would not have taken debt if other alternatives of income were open for them in the village.

Table 5.12

Percentage Distribution of Households (unweighted) according to the Size of Landholding and Economic Sufficiency Status in a Year

Size of Landholding	Economic sufficiency status		Total	N
	Yes	No		
Landless	25.0	75.0	100.0	16
Small	60.0	40.0	100.0	310

Medium and large	82.9	17.1	100.0	245

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.

Table 5.13

Percentage Distribution of Households According to Economic Sufficiency Status and Indebtedness Due to Economic Insufficiency

Economic Sufficiency Status	Indebtedness due to economic insufficiency			
	Yes	No	Total	N
Yes	2.7	97.2	100.0	393
No	74.2	25.8	100.0	178
Total	25.0	75.0	100.0	571

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.

The economically insufficient households are not able to afford education of their children hence school attendance of children in these households[6] is lower than the households that have economic sufficiency (Table 5.14). The general consequence of low school attendance of children is in higher incidence of work among children. A higher incidence of work and school non-attendance of children in the economically insufficient households symbolizes prevalence of higher incidence of child deprivation. The incidence of child labour migration is expected with higher incidence of child deprivation of schooling opportunities. The argument "child labour" is not the problem but a symptom of the problem of poverty and inequality" (ILO, 1994) appears to be relevant here.

Table 5.14

Percentage Distribution of Children According to Economic Sufficiency Status of Households and School Attendance Status of Children

School attendance status of children	Economic Sufficiency Status	
	Yes	No
Yes	86.1	77.1
No	13.9	22.9
Total	100.0	100.0
N	848	341

Source: ABC/Nepal data, 1998; Field Survey, 2000.

[6] Percentage of children attending schools does not vary much according to economic sufficiency status of households (77.1% among economically insufficient households and 86.1% among economically sufficient households) Higher school attendance of children among economically insufficient households might be due to the provision of free education up to primary level. A lower level of retention rate after primary level is expected among the children who are from the households with economic insufficiency.

It is obvious that school non-attendance and work destroys children's future. This implies that poverty continues to the next generation. ABC/Nepal (1998) describes how children in poverty-ridden households are deprived of education and migrate for work as follows.

> [F]ifty-four year old Mr. M. Tamang of Kharanitar VDC has been indebted due to economic insufficiency since the last 37 years. His principal occupation is farming. His family consists of 10 persons and owns no lands. One of his neighbours has given him 2 ropanis (0.10 ha.) of land on which he has built a thatched. Because of high altitude and lack of irrigation facilities, cropping intensity and productivity of land are very low.
>
> One of his daughters (12) currently goes to the informal child literacy programme run by ABC/Nepal. Mr. Tamang says "I had not been able to send this girl school before due to economic difficulties. It is very difficult to the family like mine to send children to school where we have to pay some fees and have to remain in school whole day. Since I don't have to pay anything for my child's education programme, I agreed to join my child in the literacy programme run by ABC/Nepal. My girl goes for education in the morning and helps in domestic affairs in the daytime". Two of his sons discontinued schooling and others never attended due to economic difficulties.
>
> Another source of income of this family is wage labour. His sons and daughters usually do wage labour in agriculture. They also work in construction sites whenever jobs are available. Mr. Tamang says "income from all sources can support living cost of the family just 2 months of a year and for the remainder I have to take loan from others". Currently I owe a total debt of Rs. 3,000 (US$44)". He further stated that he owns nothing to invest in business and no family members have received skillful training to undertake any other income-generating activities.
>
> Since the last year, one of his sons, G. Tamang (14), is working in Bhairahawa as domestic servant. Mr. M. Tamang revealed that his son left home in accordance with parents' decision. He also urged that 'difficult economic conditions' and 'inability to repay debt from other sources of income' are the prime reasons for sending son away for work. He does not agree to bring his son back home because his salary contributes greatly to make full repayment of the loan.

5.3.3 Lack of Utilization of Development Potentials

The high altitude areas with vast amount of pastureland have high potentials for livestock farming, and the low land with irrigation facilities have potential of vegetable farming and horticulture. The direct transportation link facilitates to export produce to Kathmandu valley. However, some of the marginalized Tamang households continue commercial production of *doko,* a big eyed bamboo basket which is carried on the back, *namlo,* a rope with a band for carrying a load, *thumse,* a bamboo basket without eye which is carried on the back, and *bhakari,* a large bamboo basket for storing grain and make some income out of it. However, people of Sundaradevi VDC have to discontinue

production of such goods due to the lack of adequate market facilities. Cottage industries run by local people in Kharanitar VDC have already been collapsed and local skills have not been utilized for commercial purposes. It is reported that Sundaradevi village has potential of tourism, but no effort has been made for tourism development in this village.

5.3.4 Transportation Facility has not Contributed much to the Local Economy

The two villages - Ganesthan and Chaughada have been linked with motorable roads with regular transportation facilities. A trail has been constructed along side of the Tadi river that links up other VDCs also. Though it has facilitated population mobility with simultaneous growth of market centers, transportation facility has not helped much to promote agriculture and industries.

5.3.5 Increased Monetization of the Economy

In the recent days, gradual monetization of economy of the study area has been felt with the increased labour migration (in as well as outside the country) and remittances, promotion of market centres, and small-scale commercial activities with opening of transportation facilities. In this context, importance of cash money has increased. Many of the local people stated that work migration of children is one of the repercussions of monetization of economy that demand increased need of cash to sustain the family. This fact here cannot be ignored because poor households dependent on traditional agriculture and can not meet the requirement of cash income as demanded by monetization, and tend to resort child migration to earn cash income.

5.3.6 Lack/Failure of Poverty-Focused Programmes

Chand (2004) argued that the causes of poverty in Nepal began with illiteracy, poor health conditions, low productivity, low level of income, saving and investment. Over the years, government, through its development planning, have experimented different types of operational strategies to address the problem of poverty and economic backwardness of the community. The poverty-focused programmes in Nepal, in different times, came into operation in different name such as Basic Needs Programmes, Small Area Development Projects, Integrated Rural Development Projects, Small Farmer Development Projects, Build Our Village Ourselves, Poor with Bisweshwar, Women Income Generation Programme, Community Forestry Programme, Agricultural Perspective Plan and so on. However, none of these programmes was implemented in these villages except Women Income Generation Programmes by some non-governmental organizations. Women Income Generation Programmes are being

implemented through group dynamics – women's group and cooperatives. However, it is observed that this programme also has not been effective to contribute increased income among community women. Under the Women Development Programme, sewing, knitting and cutting training as well as sewing-machine were provided to some women of Ralukadevi, but women are not undertaking these jobs due to the lack of market in the local context. Similarly, in Kharnitar, it is reported that cottage industry has been collapsed. One of the community leaders in Sundaradevi feels that income-generating activities being implemented in the village has not been effective to increase income of women. These, in fact, are some of the example of failures of economic development programmes. However, local people feel that irrigation projects have some impact on increased agricultural productivity in four of the villages: Ralukadevi, Kharanitar and Chaughada. However, farmers of the study areas face the problems of timely unavailability of chemical fertilizers, seeds and insecticides.

CHAPTER VII

DETERMINING THE ROLE OF PREDICTOR VARIABLES: HYPOTHESES AND MODEL TESTING

This chapter initially examines the relationship between response (dependent) and predictor (independent) variables through Karl Pearson's zero-order bivariate correlation analysis. The bivariate correlation provides basic structure of variables, but its structure will change when we examine effects in relation to other variables (Lee, 1985). Subsequently, hypotheses are tested through logistic regression analysis and attempt is made to determine the role of each independent variable in explaining the dependent variable and identify subsets of independent variables that are good predictors of the dependent variable. For this, the likelihood estimates have been derived with the help of bivariate and multivariate logistic regression function. Then, model testing is performed with an automated model with the use of stepwise logistic model in which variables in the model are eliminated on the basis of score statistics. This will also help evaluate the relative importance of independent variables in explaining their effects on the dependent variable. As an initial step to model building and testing, Table 7.1 provides coding scheme for the selected variables in the analysis.

Table 7.1

Coding Scheme for the Variables

S.N.	Variable	Coding
Dependent (response) Variable		
	Work migration status (WORKING)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if child is migrant, 0 otherwise
Independent (predictor) Variables		
	Economic and Quality of Life	
1.	Income Sufficiency (ECOSUF)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if annual income is sufficient, 0 otherwise
2.	Land Ownership (LANDOWN)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if household has greater than 0.5 hectare of land (large size holding), 0 otherwise
3.	Non-agricultural Sources of Income (NONAGINC)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if household makes income from non-agricultural sources, 0 otherwise
4.	Agricultural Surplus (AGRISUR)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if household makes income by the sale of agricultural products from own farming, 0 otherwise

5.	Indebtedness Due to Economic Insufficiency (INDEBT)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if household is not indebted due to economic sufficiency, 0 otherwise
6.	Agricultural Occupation of Household Head (AGRIOCC)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if main occupation of household head is agriculture, 0 otherwise
7.	Ownership of Radio (RADIO)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if household own radio, 0 otherwise
8.	Ownership of Television (TV)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if household has electricity facility, 0 otherwise
9.	Use of Electricity Facility (ELECTRIC)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if household has electricity facility, 0 otherwise
	Social Variables	
10.	Caste/Ethnicity (CASTE)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if a child belongs to Brahmin/Chhetri group, 0 otherwise
11.	Family Type (FTYPE)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if family is nuclear, 0 otherwise
12.	Literacy of Household Head (LITHEAD)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if head of the household is literate, 0 otherwise
13.	Gender (GENDER)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if a child is male, 0 otherwise
14.	Household Level of Child Literacy (LITCHILD)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if cent per cent children are literate, 0 otherwise
	Child Deprivation	
15.	School attendance status (SCHATT)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if a child attends school, 0 otherwise
16.	Work Participation (WORK)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if a child does not work, 0 otherwise
17.	Schooling Only (SCHONLY)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if a child attends school but does not work, 0 otherwise
18.	Schooling and Work (SCHWORK)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if a child attends school as well as works, 0 otherwise
19.	No Schooling, No Work (NOSCHWOR) (idleness)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if a child is idle, 0 otherwise
20.	Work Only (WORKONLY)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if a child works but does not attend school and does not have to work, 0 otherwise
	Demographic Variables	
21.	Family Size (FSIZE)	Dummy variable that equals 1 if a child belongs to small family (1-4 members), 0 otherwise
22.	Age (AGE)	Actual age in completed years

7.1 Correlation Analysis

Table 7.2 presents correlation coefficients for the selected predictor variables. The significance level is not shown for all the coefficients, however, correlation coefficients greater than 0.07 are highly significant. The correlation analysis includes variables in 4 blocks. Block I involves Economic and Quality of Life Related Variables, Block II Social Variables, Block III Child Deprivation Related Variables and Block IV Demographic Variables.

Block I presents correlation coefficients between Economic and Quality of Life Variables, Block II presents correlation coefficients between Economic and Quality of Life and Social Variables, Block III presents correlation coefficients between Economic and Quality of Life, Social and Child Deprivation Variables and Block IV presents correlation coefficients between Economic and Quality of Life, Social, Child Deprivation, and Demographic Variables.

7.1.1 Economic and Quality of Life Variables

As expected, among the nine Economic and Quality of Life Variables, seven of them landholding (-.142), economic sufficiency (-0.138), nonagricultural income (-.087), having radio (-.162) and electricity (-.079), and television (-.071), and agricultural surplus (-.053) are negatively correlated with child labour migration. However, the association of agricultural surplus with child labour migration is not statistically significant.

As expected, indebtedness is positively correlated with child labour migration. Occupation of household head is another variable positively correlated with child labour migration, meaning households with agricultural occupation have higher incidence of child labour migration. But the association between agricultural occupation and child labour migration is not significant.

7.1.2 Social Variables

Among the five Social Variables in Block II, as expected, caste/ethnicity (-.045), literacy status of household head (-.098) and household level of child literacy (-.055) are negatively correlated with child labour migration. But the association of two of the variables caste/ethnicity and household level of literacy with child labour migration is not significant. As expected, sex of the child has significant positive correlation with child labour migration (.067). The positive correlation between type of family and child

labour migration indicating higher migration among children living in nuclear family is contrary to expectation. But such relationship is not significant indicating the fact that the relationship between type of family and child labour migration is not detrimental.

7.1.3 Child Deprivation Related Variables

Among the Child Deprivation Related Variables, school attendance of children (-.054), schooling without work (schooling only) (-.146) and idleness of children in Block III are negatively correlated with child labour migration. However, only the latter variable (school only) has strong correlation. The positive correlation coefficients (.114) for those who combine schooling and work suggest that, as compared to others, child labour migration tends to be higher among those children who combine school and work. There is negative correlation between idle children (-.011) and child labour migration which is contrary to the expectation. It might be due to the fact that children in this category fall largely small age children who is not considered fit for migration. As expected, work of children (.162) and work without schooling (.085) have strong positive correlation with child labour migration.

7.1.4 Demographic Variables

Among the demographic variables, age of the children (.140) is positively correlated with child labour migration implying possible increase in the incidence of child labour migration. Contrary to our expectation, small family size is positively correlated with child labour migration implying a higher incidence of child labour migration from among small family size. However, the correlation coefficient is not significant.

Table 7.2:

Zero-order Correlation Matrix

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
BLOCK I																							
WORKMIG (1)	1.000																						
ECOSUF (2)	-.138*	1.000																					
LANDOWN (3)	-.142*	.337	1.000																				
NONAGINC (4)	-.087*	.225	.163	1.000					Block I				Block II						Block III				Block IV
INDEBT (5)	.154*	-.787	-.306	-.184	1.000																		
HHOCC (6)	.006	.038	.126	-.093	-.092	1.000																	
AGRISUR (7)	-.053	.379	.201	.076	-.288	.030	1.000																
RADIO (8)	-.162*	.185	.116	.164	-.179	-.033	.154	1.000															
ELECTRIC (9)	-.079*	.165	.005	.334	-.146	-.070	-.008	.326	1.000														
TV (10)	-.071**	.155	.001	.440	-.138	-.077	.103	.161	.457	1.000													
BLOCK II																							
CASTE (11)	-.045	.118	.177	.281	-.030	.063	.068	.104	.166	.152	1.000												
FTYPE (12)	.049	-.055	-.171	-.022	.070	.039	-.107	-.136	-.085	-.113	.046	1.000											
LITHEAD (13)	-.098*	.214	.129	.270	-.118	.064	.278	.218	.139	.258	.284	.103	1.000										
LITCHILD (!4)	-.055	.033	-.029	.257	-.018	-.134	.048	.190	.217	.215	.160	.000	.195	1.000									
GENDER (15)	.067**	-.040	.001	-.028	.060	-.034	-.014	.033	.017	.027	-.068	-.053	-.029	.036	1.000								
BLOCK III																							
SCHATT (16)	-.054	.110	.120	.184	-.106	-.045	.120	.148	.162	.178	.174	-.022	.208	.457	.071	1.000							
WORK (17)	.162*	-.035	.128	.015	.042	-.011	.037	.020	.061	.003	-.077	.060	-.067	.049	-.164	-.084	1.000						
SCHONLY (18)	-.146*	.077	.142	.060	-.077	-.004	-.003	.061	.018	.068	.125	-.031	.134	.127	.168	.451	-.840	1.000					
SCHWORK (19)	.114*	.006	-.058	.081	.003	-.031	.100	.054	.113	.068	.004	.016	.024	.227	-.126	.299	.830	-.708	1.000				
NOSCHWOR (20)	-.011	-.083	-.029	-.136	.078	.026	-.065	-.143	-.142	-.128	-.082	-.053	-.118	-.323	-.001	-.674	-.235	-.312	-.210	1.000			
WORKONLY (21)	.085**	-.067	-.133	-.112	.057	.035	-.101	-.059	-.082	-.111	-.153	.084	-.167	-.293	-.091	-.654	.358	-.302	-.204	-.090	1.000		
BLOCK IV																							
FSIZE (22)	.016	.077	-.185	.065	-.090	-.121	.072	.036	.039	-.014	-.125	.230	.010	.167	-.009	.054	.121	-.101	.148	-.032	-.037	1.000	
AGE (23)	.140*	-.006	-.008	.055	.012	-.068	-.011	.036	.025	.057	-.044	.058	-.008	.232	-.082	.118	.426	-.281	.395	-.244	.088	.071	1.000

* p< 0.01 (2-tailed) .

** p>.01 and <=.05 (2-tailed).

Note: '*' is not given to mark the significance of correlation between independent variables. The coefficients greater than 0.07 are significant at more than 0.05 levels.

7.2 Logistic Regression Analysis

This section tries to test hypotheses through bivariate logistic regression analysis. Unlike correlation analysis, the bivariate logistic regression analysis involves the notion of causal relationship and be able to assess the extent of effect of predictor variables on dependent variable. By definition, the bivariate model involves only one predictor variable at a time the model. In practice, a more realistic model involves with multiple predictor variables and requires subsequently assessment of association between independent variables.

Along with logistic coefficients, Table 7.3 provides likelihood estimates for all the selected variables using bivariate logistic function. The value of –2LL is used to assess goodness of fit of the model. Since the likelihood is a small number less than 1, it is customary to use –2 times the log of the likelihood (-2LL) as a measure of how well the estimated model fits the data (Norusis, 1992). At first, -2LL is calculated for the model containing only the constant (base model) and compared the value of –2LL with the model with variables. A good model is one that results in a high likelihood of the observed results. The value for the improvement in the Table is difference between –2LL for the model with only a constant and –2LL for the current model (model with predictor). It tests the null hypothesis that all of the beta coefficients for the variables added at the last step (current model) are equal to zero meaning that all of the predictor variables are independent of the response or the dependent variable. The significance of improvement is also provided. Coefficient of Determination ($R^{2)}$ represents the explanatory power of independent variables in explaining the dependent variable. Value of 'B' represents log odd which is equivalent to *log [pro (event)/pro (no event)]* in logistic model. This is also called logit. Value of log odd tells about increase (+) or decrease (-) in the probability that a child is likely to become migrant for work with one unit change in the value of the independent variable. The odd ratio tells about what times the probability of child migration for work increases or decreases with per unit increase or decrease in the value of the independent variable.

7.2.1 Hypothesis Testing

7.2.1.1 Economic and Quality of Life Variables and Child Labour Migration

Hypothesis 1: Incidence of child labour migration significantly decreases with increased duration of economic sufficiency in a year.

As expected, a negative value of log odd (B=-1.499) indicates that there is an inverse relationship between child labour migration and economic sufficiency of households and this relationship implies a decrease in incidence of child labour migration with increased duration of economic sufficiency (Fig. 7.1; Table 7.3). The decrease is highly significant. Therefore, hypothesis 1 is accepted. This leads to conclude that with economic sufficiency, the likelihood of child labour migration tends to decline significantly. The corresponding decline in the likelihood of child labour migration is by the factor of 0.223. The decline as well as model improvement (improvement=19) is highly significant and this variable alone explains about 7 per cent of variance (value of R^2) in child labour migration.

Hypothesis 2: Incidence of child labour significantly decreases with increase in the size of household landholding.

It is evident that log odd for child labour migration decreases to –2.114 with increase in the size of household landholding from no/small size to medium/large size. This indicates an inverse relationship of child labour migration with size of household landholding. The decrease in the log odd is highly significant. Therefore, the hypothesis that the incidence of child labour migration decreases with increased size of household landholding is accepted. This implies that with households' higher access to land, likelihood of child labour migration tends to decrease significantly. One unit increase in the size of landholding from no/small size to medium/large size tends to decline the likelihood of child labour migration by the factor of .121. The corresponding highly significant model improvement (27) further suggests that the effect of household landing variable on child labour migration is highly significant. This variable explains 9.1 per cent of total variance (value of R^2) in child labour migration.

Hypothesis 3: Incidence of child labour migration significantly decreases with nonagricultural source of income of households

Table 7.3 reveals that log odd for child labour migration decreases to -1.249 with nonagricultural source of income of households implying decrease in the incidence of child labour migration with nonagricultural source of income of households. The decrease is highly significant. Therefore, Hypothesis number 3 is accepted. This leads to conclude that change of income source of household from agriculture to nonagriculture causes significant decline in the incidence of child labour migration. The decline is by the factor of .287. The non-agriculture source of income explains about 3 per cent of the variance in child labour migration.

Hypothesis 4: Incidence of work migration of children significantly decreases with agricultural surplus status of households.

It is evident that log odd for child labour migration decreases to -.677 with change of a household's status from subsistence to surplus one. This implies a decline in the incidence of child labour migration with agriculture surplus status of households. But the decline is not significant. Therefore, Hypothesis number 4 is rejected. The rejection of hypothesis implies that change of household's status from subsistence to surplus one does not bring significant decline in the level of child labour migration. Agricultural surplus variable explains very small proportion of variance in child labour migration (1.2%, the value of R^2).

Hypothesis 5: Incidence of child labour significantly increases with indebtedness of households due to economic insufficiency.

A positive value of log odd for child labour migration is estimated with respect to indebtedness due to economic sufficiency (Table 7.3). The increase in log odd is 1.622. This implies an increase in the incidence of child labour migration among households who are indebted due to economic insufficiency as compared to those who are not indebted due to the same reason. The increase is significant to conclude that incidence of child labour migration among indebted households is significantly higher. Therefore, Hypothesis number 5 is accepted. This variable explains 7.7 per cent of the variance in child labour migration.

Hypothesis 6: Incidence of work migration among children significantly increases with agricultural occupation of household heads.

Log odd for child labour migration increases to .090 with the shift of occupation of household head from nonagriculture to agriculture. This implies that incidence of child labour migration tends to increase with agricultural occupation of head of the household. The increase is by the factor of 1.095. However, contrary to expectation, the increase is not significant. So the hypothesized relation that incidence of child labour migration significantly increases with agricultural occupation of household head is rejected.

Hypothesis 7: Incidence of work migration among children significantly decreases with increase in the ownership of radios.

It is evident that log odd for child labour migration decreases with respect to ownership of radios implying an inverse relationship between child labour migration and ownership of radios (Table 7.3). With radio ownership, log odd decreases to –1.689 with corresponding decrease in the likelihood of child labour migration in these households by the factor of .185. The decrease in likelihood is statistically highly significant with significant model improvement with respect to radio ownership. Ownership of radio explains 8.3 per cent of the variance in child labour migration (R^2=.083).

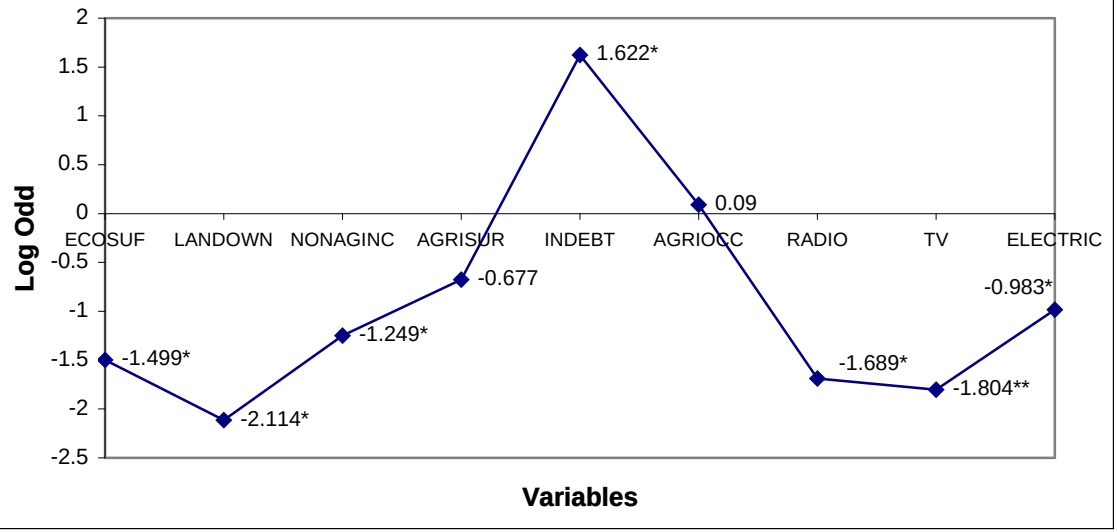
Hypothesis 8: Incidence of work migration among children significantly decreases with increase in the ownership of television.

Like ownership of radio, ownership of television also brings significant decrease in the likelihood of child labour migration. The log odd for child labour migration decreases to – 1.804 with ownership of television with corresponding decrease in the likelihood by the factor of .165. The decrease is statistically significant at 0.05 level to conclude that Hypothesis 8 is accepted. This implies that the likelihood of child labour migration significantly lower for the households who own television than who do not own it. Ownership of television explains 2.8 per cent of the variance in child labour migration (R^2=.028).

Hypothesis 9: Incidence of work migration among children significantly decreases with increase in the use of electricity.

With the use of electricity facility, log odd for child labour migration decreases to -.983. The decrease in log odd is highly significant with corresponding decrease in the likelihood of child labour migration by the factor of .374. Therefore, Hypothesis number 9 is accepted and concluded that use of electricity facility by the household brings significant decrease in the incidence of work migration of children. Use of electricity facility explains 2.7 per cent of variance in child labour migration (R^2=.027).

Fig. 7.1: Log Odd with Respect to Economic and Quality of Life Variables



* p< 0.01 (highly significant), ** p>.01 and < 0.05 (significant)

Source: Table 7.3.

7.2.1.2 Social Variables and Child Labour Migration

Hypothesis 10: Incidence of work migration of children significantly decreases in the households belonging to higher echelon of caste hierarchy.

A negative value of log odd (B=-.592) for child labour migration with respect to caste/ethnic hierarchy indicates that child labour migration is inversely correlated with so-called caste/ethnic hierarchy (Fig. 7.2; Table 7.3). Here, significant test is done Brahmin/Chhetri children verses others and the negative value of log odd for the Brahmin/Chhetri children implies likelihood of child labour migration for the Brahmin/Chhetri children decreases in the households belonging to higher echelon of caste hierarchy. The decrease in the likelihood of child labour migration, however, is not statistically significant. Therefore, Hypothesis number 10 is rejected and concluded that so-called caste hierarchy does not bring significant decrease in the incidence of child labour migration.

Hypothesis 11: Incidence of child labour significantly decreases with nuclearization of families.

Contrary our expectation, a negative value of log odd for child labour migration is observed with respect to nuclear family implying its positive effect on child labour migration. With nuclearization of family, log odd for child labour migration increases to .616 and the likelihood of child labour migration in the nuclear families increases by the factor of 1.851. The increase in likelihood is not statistically significant. Therefore, the Hypothesized relation that incidence of child labour migration significantly decreases with nuclearization of family is rejected.

Hypothesis 12: Incidence of child labour migration significantly decreases with literacy of household heads.

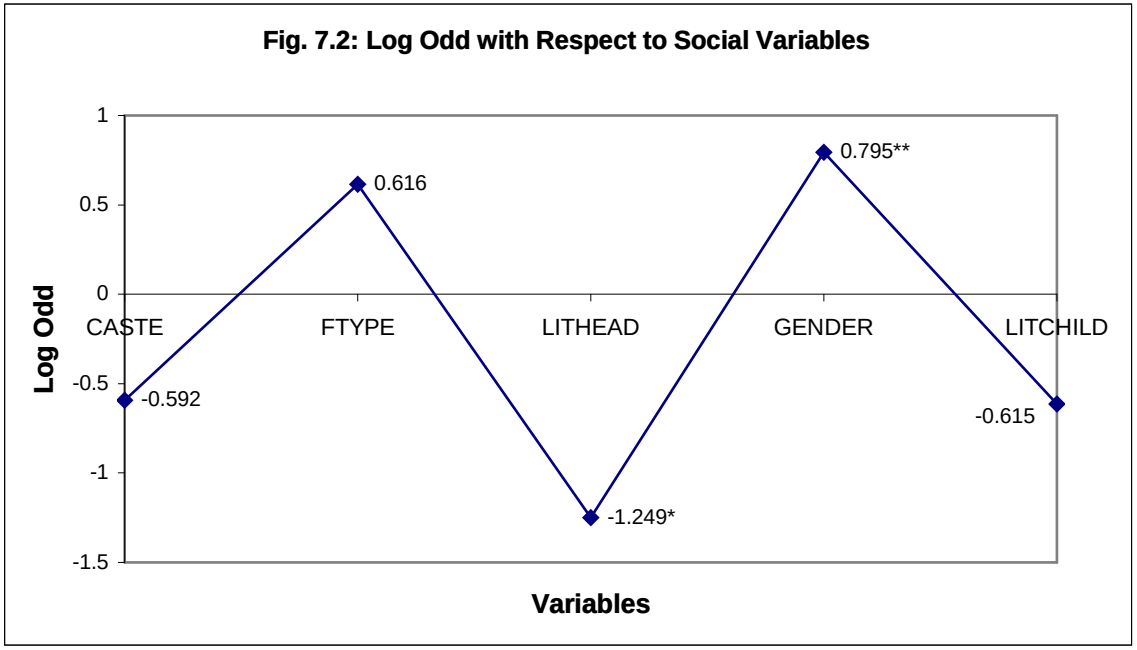
As expected, likelihood of child labour migration significantly decreases with literacy of household heads. Being a household with literate heads, log odd decreases to –1.249 with corresponding decrease in the likelihood by the factor of .287. The decrease in the likelihood as well as model improvement with respect to literacy of household heads is highly significant to conclude that child labour migration significantly decreases with literacy of household heads. Therefore, Hypothesis number 12 is accepted. Literacy of household head explains heads explains 4.1 per cent of variance in child labour migration.

Hypothesis 13: Boy children are positively selected for higher incidence of child labour migration

As expected, child labour migration is male selective. Being a male child, the likelihood of work migration tends to increase. With male children, log odd for child labour migration increases to .795 with corresponding increase in the likelihood of child labour migration by the factor of 2.215. The increase in the likelihood is significant at 0.05 level to prove that the likelihood of child labour migration is significantly higher for male children.

Hypothesis 14: Incidence of child labour migration significantly decreases with increase in child literacy rates among households.

A negative value of log odd for child labour migration is estimated with respect of level of literacy among households implying a decrease in the likelihood of child labour migration with respect to child literacy rate among households (Table 7.3). The log odd for child labour migration decreases to -.615 with corresponding decrease in the likelihood by the factor of .540. However, it is evident that decrease in the likelihood of child labour migration with respect to child literacy among households is not statistically significant. Therefore, the hypothesis that child labour migration significantly decreases with the level of child literacy among households is rejected.



* p< 0.01 (highly significant), ** p>.01 and < 0.05 (significant)

Source: Table 7.3.

7.2.1.3 Child Deprivation Related Variables and Child Labour Migration

Hypothesis 15: Incidence of child labour migration significantly decreases with school attendance among children.

The log odd for child labour migration decreases with respect to school attendance among children implying a decrease in the incidence of child labour migration with respect to school attendance among children (Fig. 7.3; Table 7.3). With school attendance of children, log odd for child labour migration decreases to -.675 with corresponding decrease in the likelihood of child labour migration by the factor of .509. But the decrease is not statistically significant to accept the Hypothesized relation that incidence of child labour

migration significantly decreases with school attendance among children. So, Hypothesis number 15 is rejected and concluded that incidence of child labour migration does not significantly decrease with school attendance among children.

Hypothesis 16: Incidence of child labour migration significantly increases with work participation of children at home.

Log odd for child labour migration increases to 2.117 with respect to work participation of children at home with 8.305 times increase in the likelihood of child labour migration (Table 7.3). The increase in the likelihood is statistically highly significant with significant model improvement. Therefore, Hypothesis number 16 is accepted. This implies that incidence of child labour migration significantly increases with respect of work participation of children at home. Work participation among children explains 10.8 per cent of variance in child labour migration.

Hypothesis 17: Incidence of work migration of children significantly decreases with schooling only condition of children at home.

With the schooling conditions of children, log odd for child labour migration decreases to –2.184 with corresponding decrease in the likelihood of child labour migration by .113. The decrease in the likelihood is highly significant. So, the hypothesis that incidence of child labour migration significantly decreases with schooling only condition of children is accepted. This leads to conclude that, as compared to other children, the likelihood of work migration tend to decrease significantly for those who attend schools but do not participate in work (schooling only).

Hypothesis 18: Incidence of work migration of children significantly decreases among those who combine work and schooling at home.

An increase in the likelihood of child labour migration is observed with respect to those children who combine school with work. With schooling and work conditions, the log odd for child labour migration increases to 1.093. The likelihood for child labour migration

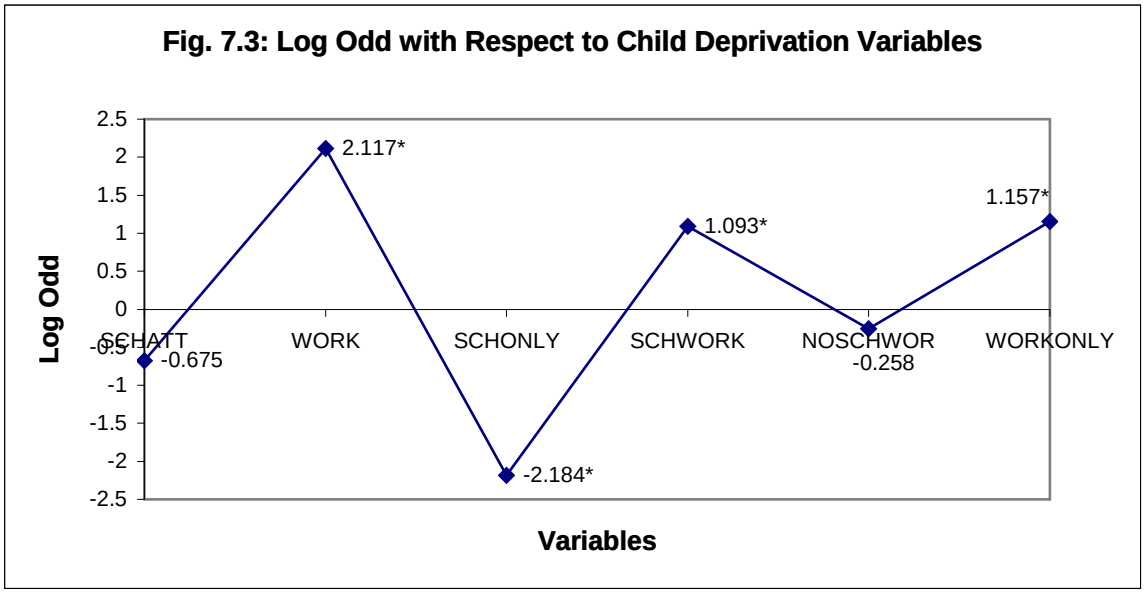
increases by the factor of 2.984 and the increase is statistically significant. The increase is contrary to our expectation. Therefore, hypotheses that incidence of child labour migration significantly decreases among children who combine school and work is rejected.

Hypothesis 19: Incidence of work migration of children significantly increases with idleness children.

Contrary to expectation, child labour migration decreases with idleness of children (no work and no schooling condition). It is evident that log odd for child labour migration decreases to -.258 with respect to idleness of children with corresponding decrease in the likelihood of child labour migration by the factor of .773. However, the decrease is not significant. Therefore, Hypothesis number 19 is rejected. It might be due to that fact that this category belongs to high proportion of small children who are not fit for migration and work, hence shows negative tendency to migrate in comparison to other children.

Hypothesis 20: Incidence of work migration of children significantly increases with work only condition of children

Work only condition of children is the most severe condition of child deprivation and, as expected, incidence of child labour migration increases with this condition of children to 1.157 with corresponding increase in the likelihood of child labour migration by the factor of 3.181. The increase in the likelihood is highly significant. So, the Hypothesis number 20 is accepted. This implies that the likelihood of child labour migration tends to significantly increase with the work only condition of children (work without schooling). Work only condition of children explains about 2 per cent of variance in child labour migration (R^2=.021).



* p< 0.01 (highly significant), ** p>.01 and < 0.05 (significant)

Source: Table 7.3.

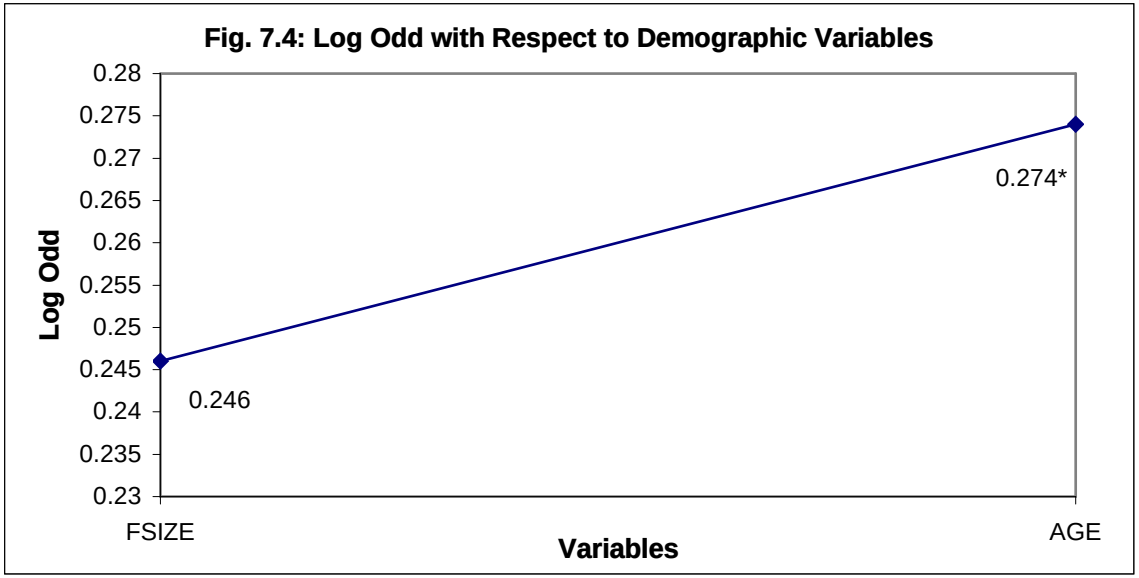
7.2.1.4 Demographic Variables and Child Labour Migration

Hypothesis 21: Incidence of work migration of children significantly increases with increase in the number of family members in the household.

Contrary to our expectation, incidence of child labour migration increases with small family size (Fig. 7.4; Table 7.3). The log odd for child labour migration increases to .246 with respect to small family size. Likewise, an increase in the likelihood of child labour migration is observed by the factor of 1.279 with respect to small family size (Table 7.3). However, the increase in the likelihood is not statistically significant. Therefore, Hypothesis number 21 is rejected.

Hypothesis 22: Incidence of child labour migration significantly increases with increase in age of children.

As expected, incidence of child labour migration increases with increase in age of the children. With one unit increase in age, log odd increases to .274 with corresponding increase in the likelihood for child labour migration to by the factor of 1.279. The increase in the likelihood is highly significant to conclude that incidence of child labour migration significantly increases with increase in age of the children. confirms that child labour migration is positively correlated with the age of children. About 9 per cent of variance in children labour migration is explained by age variable alone.



** p< 0.01 (highly significant), ** p>.01 and < 0.05 (significant)

Source: Table 7.3.

Table 7.3

Likelihood Estimates using bivariate logistic function for all the selected predictor variables

S.N.	Variables	-2LL (Base Model)	Improve-ment	*p*	R^2	Log odd (B)	*p*	Odd Ratio
	Economic and Quality of Life Variables							
1.	Economic sufficiency	297	19*	.000	.068	**-1.499***	**.000**	.223
2.	Land ownership (medium and large)	282	27*	.000	.091	-2.114*	.000	.121
3.	Non-agricultural sources of household income	316	10*	.001	.034	-1.249*	.005	.287
4.	Agricultural surplus	333	4	.059	.012	-.677	.071	.508
5.	Indebtedness due to economic insufficiency	291	23*	.000	.077	1.622*	.000	5.066
6.	Agricultural household head	336	.05	.832	.000	.090	.834	1.095
7.	Ownership of radio	312	25*	.000	.083	-1.689*	.000	.185
8.	Ownership of television	328	8*	.004	.028	-1.804**	.033	.165
9.	Ownership of electricity	329	8*	.005	.027	-.983*	.008	.374
	Social Variables							
10.	Caste/Ethnicity (Brahmin/Chhetri)	330	3	.109	.009	-.592	.126	.553
11.	Type of family (Nuclear)	330	3	.083	.010	.616	.096	1.851
12.	Literacy of household head	324	12*	.001	.041	-1.249*	.001	.287
13.	Gender (male)	331	6**	.019	.019	.795**	.023	2.215

14.	Household level of child literacy (all children literate)	333	3	.063	.012	-.615	.063	.540
	Child Deprivation							
15.	School attendance	333	3	.019	.010	-.675	.023	.509
16.	Work participation	304	32*	.000	.108	2.117*	.000	8.305
17.	School only	308	29*	.000	.096	-2.184*	.000	.113
18.	School and work	322	14*	.000	.048	1.093*	.000	2.984
19.	No school, no work (idleness)	336	.2	.684	.001	-.258	.694	.773
20.	Work only	330	6*	.012	.021	1.157*	.005	3.181
	Demographic Variables							
21.	Family size (small)	335	..3	.592	.001	.246	.583	1.279
22.	Age of children	311	26*	.000	.088	.274*	.000	1.316

* p< 0.01 (highly significant), ** p>.01 and < 0.05 (significant)

7.3 Identifying Good Predictors

A subset of independent variables that are good predictors of child labour migration is identified here. Likelihood ratio (LR) test method is used for this purpose. LR involves estimating the model with each variable eliminated in turn and looking at the change in the log likelihood when each variable is deleted (Norusis, 1992). The LR method tests for the null hypothesis that the coefficients of the terms removed are obtained by dividing the likelihood for the reduced model by the likelihood for the full model (Norusis, 1992).

Forward stepwise selection procedure is used in logistic function. In this procedure, all the selected predictors are put in the logistic function at a time and examined which variables are entered (or eliminated). This procedure requires all interaction terms to be evaluated before eliminating any individual variable. In this procedure, the score statistics is used for entering variables in the model,

and Wald statistics for removing variables from a model. At each step, the variable with the smallest significance level for the score statistics is less than the chosen cutoff value of 0.05 (Norusis, 1992). All variables in the forward stepwise block have been entered and then examined to see if they meet the removal criterion. Wald statistics for all variables in the model are examined and the variable with the largest significance level for the Wald statistic, provided it exceeds the chosen cutoff value of 0.1 is removed from the model. If no variables meet removal criterion, the next eligible variable is entered into the model.

Of the 22 independent variables put in the logistic function, the forward stepwise method selected 6 variables (Table 7.4). In this model, the 6 variables together explain 34.7 per cent of total variance in child labour migration. In the first step, work participation is selected in the model, which explains 10.8 per cent of the total variance ($R^{2)}$ in child labour migration as the dependent variable by the independent variables. Subsequently, radio, landownership, gender, age, and indebtedness are entered in the model respectively. The having radio entered in the second step explains 8.8 per cent of the total variance in child labour migration. Landownership explains 5.5 per cent of total variance in child labour migration. The explanatory power of the variables entered in fourth, and fifth step is 4.4 per cent and 3.9 per cent respectively. The least explanatory power is estimated to be for indebtedness variable entered in sixth step in the model.

Table 7.4

Model Summary of the Forward Stepwise Logistic Regression of Selected Predictor Variables on Child Labour Migration

Step	Variables Entered	-2 Log likelihood	Improvement	*p*	R^2	Explained by New Variable
1.	WORK	304.5	332.0*	.000	.108	.108
2.	WORK, RADIO	277.6	26.9*	.000	.196	.088
3.	WORK, RADIO, LANDOWN	260.6	17.0*	.000	.251	.055
4.	WORK, RADIO, LANDOWN, GENDER	246.6	14.0*	.000	.295	.044
5.	WORK, RADIO, LANDOWN, GENDER, AGE,	234.4	12.1*	.000	.334	.039
6.	WORK, RADIO, LANDOWN, GENDER, AGE, INDEBT	230.1	4.3**	.038	.347	.013

* p< 0.01 (highly significant), ** p>.01 and < 0.05 (significant)

7.4 Examining Relationship Between Independent Variables

The bivariate model assumes no correlation between predictor variables. It means one predictor variable does not affect another. But it is an unrealistic assumption. In reality, predictor variables are sometimes highly correlated causing multicolinearity. In a situation of high intercorrelation between predictor variables, it is difficult to determine the independent contribution of each variable since contribution of one predictor variable also depends on other variables in the model. In order to overcome the problem of multicollinearity, multiple logistic regression models have been performed in order to estimate net effect of the variable. Any change in the significance of likelihood in comparison to gross effect from bivariate model is attributed to multicollinearity among the independent variables. However, such interpretation is sometimes not straightforward.

When all the variables are put in the logistic function to estimate net effects of the variables, value of log odd for some of the variables which appeared to be significant with gross effect tends to decrease and log odd with respect to most of the variables turns out to be insignificant. Decrease in log odd is particularly observed for economic sufficiency, land ownership, nonagricultural source of income, indebtedness, ownership of radio, TV, use of electricity facility, and literacy of household head variables. Among these, only the net effect of two variables - land ownership and ownership of radio - is statistically significant. Net effect of all other variables is statistically insignificant.

There is simultaneous increase in the log odd for child labour migration with respect to work participation variable without change in structure of relationship (2.117 to 9.427). Contrarily, a decrease in the log odd is observed with respect to school only condition of children without change in the structure of relationship (-2.184 to –4.502). Value of log odd as well as structure of relationship changes with respect to other child deprivation variables – school attendance, school and work condition, idleness and work only condition. Among the demographic variables, net effect of family size increases does not turn out to be significant whereas net effect of children's age is almost same as gross effect.

Table 7.5

Gross and Net Effect of Selected Variables on Child Labour Migration

S.N.	Variables	Gross Effect		Net Effect	
	Economic and Quality of Life Related Variables	**B**	***p***	**B**	***p***
1	Economic sufficiency	**-1.499***	**.000**	.070	.923
2	Land ownership (medium and large)	-2.114*	.000	-1.561*	.009
3	Non-agricultural sources of household income	-1.249*	.005	-.160	.780
4	Agricultural surplus	-.677	.071	.382	.483
5	Indebtedness due to economic insufficiency	1.622*	.000	.986	.147

6	Agricultural occupation of household head	.090	.834	.347	.509
7	Having Radio	-1.689*	.000	-1.392*	.002
8	Having TV	-1.804**	.033	-.720	.466
9	Having Electricity	-.983*	.008	-.205	.684
	Social Variables				
10	Caste/Ethnicity (Brahmin/Chhetri)	-.592	.126	.287	.586
11	Type of family (Nuclear)	.616	.096	.239	.614
12	Literacy of household head	-1.249*	.001	-.489	.336
13	Gender (male)	.795**	.023	1.363*	.002
14	Household level of child literacy (all children literate)	-.615	.063	-.500	.314
	Child Deprivation Variables				
15	School attendance	-.675	.023	9.493*	.003
16	Work participation	2.117*	.000	9.427*	.007
17	School only	-2.184*	.000	-4.502*	.002
18	School and work	1.093*	.000	-12.297*	.001
19	No school, no work (idleness)	-.258	.694	3.598	.127
20	Work only	1.157*	.005	-2.922	.178
	Demographic Variables				
21	Family size (small)	.246	.583	.506	.385
22	Age of children	.274*	.000	.266*	.001

* p<0.01 (highly significant), ** p>.01 and <=.05 (significant)

Attempt is also made to assess the problem of mulicolinearity among the significant predictor variables from the likelihood ratio test above. These variables are related to economic and quality of life, child deprivation, and demographic variables.

Two different models have been constructed by entering the predictor variables turn by turn in the Model (Table 7.6). This scheme provides an insight into the change in the likelihood of child labour migration due to intercorrelations among the between independent variables. Model I involves economic and quality of life variables such as land ownership, indebtedness and radio. Model II includes

child deprivation variable (work). The demographic variable, i.e. age is not included in the model because correlation between age and the selected economic and quality of life variables is not significant.

Model I is considered first in which only economic and quality of life variables have been included in the logistic function (Table 7.6). Likelihood estimates in the Model I indicate that changes in log odds with per unit change in the value of independent variables is significant. When child work variable is also included in the Model II, the significant levels of economic and quality of life variables do not change except small reduction in the value of log odd for the land ownership variable. Here, effect of work participation variable seems to be related with landownership variable. However, it appears to be quite independent of the other two variables - ownership of radio and indebtedness.

Table 7.6

Model Statistics and Odd Ratio from Bivariate Logistic Regression for the Significant Predictor Variables in the Likelihood Ratio Test

	Model I			**Model II**		
Economic and Quality of Life Variables	**Log Odd (B)**	***p***	**Odd Ratio**	**Log Odd (B)**	***p***	**Odd Ratio**
Land Ownership	1.686	.001	5.399	1.549	.003	4.707
Indebtedness	.949	.007	2.583	.972	.007	2.643
Radio	-1.368	.000	.255	-1.528	.000	.217
Individual Level Variables						
Work				2.110	.000	8.250
-2 Log Likelihood	283			253		
Improvement	54			83		
R^2	.179			.274		

* p< 0.01 (highly significant), ** p>.01 and < 0.05 (significant)

7.5 Two-Way Interaction Effects of Predictor Variables

The bivariate model in Section 7.2 examined the effect of single predictor variable on child labour migration. Assessment of effect through bivariate model does not provide insight about joint effect of predictor variables. The purpose of two-way interaction model is to examine the joint effect of two predictor variables on child labour migration. Interaction effects have been assessed by comparing likelihood estimates from multiple logistic functions with and without interaction.

Comparing the effect of indebtedness alone, the joint effect of indebtedness and economic sufficiency status of household can have greater effect on child labour migration. Likewise, the likelihood of child labour migration might be greater in the households who own small size of land and indebted as compared to other variables. Taking the case of school attendance of children and their working status, likelihood of child labour migration is likely to be greater among children who do not attend schools but work (work only) than the households who attend schools but do not work (school only). Such interaction prevails between all the variables considered. The following 23 interactions are built and considered in the model (Table 7.7).

Table 7.7

Interactions between Independent Variables

1. Indebtedness and economic sufficiency	13. Caste and economic sufficiency
2. Land ownership and economic sufficiency	14. Literacy status of household head and school attendance status
3. Land ownership and indebtedness	15 Gender and work
4. Land ownership and having radio	16. Gender and school attendance status
5. Land ownership and agricultural surplus	17. Caste and school attendance status
6. Literacy of household head and household level of child literacy	18. Economic sufficiency and school attendance status
7. Family type and household level of child	19. Economic sufficiency and work

literacy	
8. Caste and literacy status of household head	20. Land ownership and work
9. Caste and household level of child literacy	21. Family size and land ownership
10. School attendance status and work	22. Family size and economic sufficiency
11. Economic sufficiency and household level of child literacy	23. Age and work
12. Caste and land ownership	

Table 7.8 presents likelihood estimates from multivariate logistic function without Model I and with interaction of Model II. Comparing likelihood estimates for two models, there is a great improvement in –2LL when interaction is included in the model. Value of R^2 also increases significantly from .373 (37.3%) in the Model without interaction to .481 (48.1%). This indicates that interaction of predictor variables does contribute much to the explanation of child labour migration. This situation encounters when there is low independent effects of explanatory variables. Here, much greater level of model improvement can be expected with higher order interaction.

Though there is a remarkable improvement in the model, out of 23 interactions, only one interaction, interaction between economic sufficiency and indebtedness has strong relationship to affect child labour migration. The negative value of log odd (-3.933) for the interaction confirms that as compared to the children from other households, the likelihood of child labour migration tends to be lower for those households who are economically sufficient and have no debt due to economic sufficiency (see coding scheme).

With the introduction of interaction terms in the Model II, the initial structure of relationship of the variables (in Model I) changes with change in the value of log odds. Land ownership and the gender variables as in single variable model (Model I) show a significant effect on child labour migration while it turns out to be insignificant when interaction model is introduced. This is again

due to low independent effect of the single determinant. Effect of these variables is largely captured by the interaction. Some other variables that have had negative effect on child labour migration (economic sufficiency, indebtedness, etc.) show complete change in structure of relationship from negative to positive when introduced interactions in the model. This may be attributed to low independent effect of these variables.

With the inclusion of interactions in the model, log odd for child labour migration with respect to work participation variable increases drastically without change in the structure of relationship. Similar change is observed in relation to age variable also but increase is not so large.

Table 7.8

Likelihood Estimates for Selected Predictors without Interaction (Model I) and with Interaction (Model II)

S.N	***Determinants***	**Model I**			**Model II**		
		B	*p*	Odd ratio	B	*p*	Odd ratio
1	Economic sufficiency	-.131	.841	.877	1.955	.216	7.062
2	Land ownership	-1.642*	.005	.194	1.073	.465	2.925
3	Nonagricultural sources of income	-.184	.740	.832	-.312	.610	.732
4	Agricultural surplus	.512	.319	1.669	.393	.564	1.481
5	Indebtedness	.774	.206	.461	.372	.601	1.450
6	Agricultural occupation of household head	.413	.418	.662	.464	.406	.629
7	Having radio	-1.474*	.001	.229	-1.306*	.012	.271
8	Having television	-.753	.442	.471	-.282	.792	.754
9	Having electricity	-.232	.633	.793	-.315	.566	.730
10	Caste/ethnicity	.195	.695	1.215	1.989	.152	7.307
11	Family type	.323	.472	1.381	-.089	.905	.915
12	Literacy of household head	-.488	.309	.614	.666	.615	1.946
13	Gender	1.228*	.002	3.413	1.415	.134	4.118
14	Household level of child literacy	-.565	.236	.568	.018	.986	1.019
15	School attendance status	.259	.609	1.296	-.345	.747	.708
16	Work participation	1.617*	.001	.198	5.619**	.049	.004

17	Family size	.349	.532	1.418	.801	.347	2.227
18	Age of children	.255*	.001	1.291	.344*	.000	1.411
	Interactions						
1	Economic sufficiency x indebtedness				-3.933*	.008	.020
2	Land ownership x economic sufficiency				-2.252	.276	.105
3	Land ownership x indebtedness				-1.031	.557	.357
4	Land ownership x having radio				-1.545	.338	.213
5	Land ownership x agricultural surplus				-1.160	.522	.313
6	Literacy of household head x household level of child literacy				-.407	.747	.666
7	Family type x household level of child literacy				.452	.664	1.571
8	Caste x literacy status of household head				.799	.518	2.224
9	Caste x household level of child literacy				-1.993	.108	.136
10	School attendance status x work				2.649	.216	14.144
11	Economic sufficiency x household level of child literacy				.156	.886	1.168
12	Caste x land ownership				.234	.886	1.264

13	Caste x economic sufficiency		-.613	.595	.542
14	Literacy status of household head x school attendance status		-1.852	.188	.157
15	Gender x work		-1.808	.090	.164
16	Gender x school attendance status		.171	.879	1.186
17	Caste x school attendance status		-.865	.541	.421
18	Economic sufficiency x school attendance status		1.519	.282	4.568
19	Economic sufficiency x work		1.606	.147	4.981
20	Land ownership x work		-1.087	.599	.337
21	Family size x land ownership		1.993	.401	7.340
22	Family size x economic sufficiency		-.837	.478	.433
23	Age x work		2.787	.130	16.229
	Constant	-4.800	-6.446		
	-2LL	221.9	186.4		
	Improvement	114.5	150.1		
	R^2	.373	.481		

* p< 0.01 (highly significant), ** p>.01 and < 0.05 (significant)

Table 7.9 presents model summary from the stepwise logistic model for the single variables (determinants) as well as interactions. In this model, 18 individual predictors and 23 interactions were put in the stepwise logistic model together to identify a set of good

predictors of child labour migration. Stepwise model selected eight most significant predictors that explain 40.2 per cent of the total variation in child labour migration. Model improvement for each single variable and interaction term entered in the model is highly significant.

Interaction between indebtedness and economic sufficiency is selected in the first step in the model, and work participation of children in the second step. Each of the determinants explains about 10 per cent of variance in child labour migration. Ownership of radio, age, and an interaction between land ownership and economic sufficiency, an economic sufficiency, gender as single determinants, and an interaction between literacy status of household head and school attendance status of children are entered in the model in third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth step respectively.

The above shows the rank order of the relative importance of variable in affecting child labour migration, the most important being the joint effect of indebtedness and economic sufficiency. With the negative value of log odd (B), this interaction has negative impact on child labour migration. This implies that children from those households who are economically sufficient and are not indebtedness (coded with 1) due to economic sufficiency least likely to migrate for work. Here, some single determinants as well as interactions (economic sufficiency, interaction between land ownership and economic sufficiency, literacy status of household head and school attendance status of children) which were are not statistically significant in the analysis of interaction model (Table 7.8), has been observed to be significant in the rank order of score statistics in stepwise model (Table 7.9) implying their relative importance in explaining child labour migration.

After an interaction of economic sufficiency and indebtedness, work participation variable as a single determinant appears important variable in explaining child labour migration while working with interaction effects and ownership of radio appears to be the third important variable.

Table 7.9

Model Summary from the Forward Stepwise Logistic Regression for Selected Predictor Variables and Interactions

Steps	Variables Entered	B	-2 Log likelihood	Improvement	R^2 Square	Explained by New Variable
1	Indebtedness x economic sufficiency	-1.849*	307.114	29.343*	.099	.099
2	Work Indebtedness x economic sufficiency	2.092* -1.824*	276.756	30.358*	.199	.100
3	Having radio Work Indebtedness x economic sufficiency	-1.439* 2.143* -1.499*	260.728	16.027*	.250	.051
4	Having radio Work Age Indebtedness x economic sufficiency	-1.551* -1.551* .228* -1.572*	248.607	12.122*	.289	.039
5	Having radio Work Age Indebtedness x economic sufficiency Land ownership x economic sufficiency	-1.607* -1.484* .247* -.728 -3.073*	234.834	13.773*	.332	.043

6	Economic sufficiency Having radio Work Age Indebtedness x economic sufficiency Land ownership x economic sufficiency	2.884* -1.592* 1.482* .267* -3.498* -3.140**	227.411	7.423*	.356	.024
7	Economic sufficiency Having radio Sex of children Work Age Indebtedness x economic sufficiency Land ownership x economic sufficiency	2.928* -1.652* 1.174* 1.671* .263* -3.349* -3.209*	217.948	9.464*	.385	.029

8	Economic sufficiency Having radio, Sex of children Work Age Indebtedness x economic sufficiency Land ownership x economic sufficiency Literacy status of household head x school attendance of children	3.077* -1.558* 1.221* 1.634* .262* -3.296* -3.207* -1.101**	212.547	5.401**	.402	.017

* p< 0.01 (highly significant), ** p>.01 and < 0.05 (significant)

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

8.1 Summary

Despite long efforts of economic development, poverty/deprivation is a widespread phenomenon in Nepal which has several consequences in the lives of people. Among others, child labour migration from rural to urban areas is one. Child labour migration causes separation of children from their family, and deprives them of love, care and education. Being far away from home, they are highly vulnerable to exploitation in the place of work. Child labour migration is considered to be a social evil affecting national development in the long run.

Child labour migration prevailed in the history of today's developed countries of Europe. Today's developing countries of Asia including Nepal also share similar experiences with the process of industrialization and the growth of informal sector.

The theoretical explanation on child labour migration is extremely limited. However, the available theoretical arguments postulated that child labour migration is determined by structural forces (structural argument) and prevails in the pre-capitalist mode of production in which role of education is minimal. The other side of explanation tries to prove that the phenomenon of child labour migration is a survival strategy of the family. The essence of survival strategy framework is that, for many families, children are reserve workforce to be used when the adults cannot fulfill their economic functions. They argue that when the head of the household fails to find him a job he sends his wife and children out to work

The phenomenon of child labour migration in Nepal can be explained with the structuralism as well as survival strategy arguments where semi-feudal relation of production is prevailed, poverty in agrarian rural economy is rampant and the rural poor are unable to afford education of their children. With the contemporary development of industrial estates and growth of informal sectors, job

opportunities for migrant workers and children are easily available in urban centres, as the rural poor send their children to urban centres for work.

Given the nature of expanding urban informal sectors and current migration pattern with increasing level of urbanization, urban areas will continue to be the most attractive place for migrant child labourers in future.

Kathmandu valley attracts migrant labour including children from all parts of the country, but especially from its neighbouring districts with geographical proximity. Kathmandu valley will attract still many more migrant child labourers if problem of rural poverty is not adequately addressed. The major argument in this study is that child labour originates from rural areas with poverty and deprivation nexus and that the determinants of child labour can better be explored in the origin itself than in the destination.

Past research on child labour migration in Nepal was focused on child labour exploitation in urban destination, but failed to capture various push factors in determining child labour migration in the origin. The present study, therefore, examines differentials and determinants of child labour migration in five villages of Nuwakot district.

The main data for the study come from ABC/Nepal (1998) data set which contains information about 92 households acquired from a complete enumeration of households with child labour migration. A supplementary survey of 479 households without child labour migration was conducted in the same areas in 2000. A weight factor has been used on the basis of the prevalence rate of child labour migration to derive the aggregate estimates. All children aged 5-17 years in the sample households are included in the analysis.

8.1.1 Characteristics of Population and Child Labour Migration

There are a total of 3,282 populations in sample households and the average family size is 5.6. Children aged 5-17 years constituted about one third of the total population with an average of 1.9 per household. Altogether four per cent of households involved children for labour migration with an additional two per cent households being potential for child labour migration. Households differ in their involvement in child labour migration according to various socioeconomic characteristics. However, a significant difference is

observed according to the duration of economic sufficiency in a year with 28.6% for 0-5 months of economic sufficiency, 13.4 per cent for 5-11 months of economic sufficiency and 2.8% for economic sufficiency for the whole year. The size of household landholding indicated 9 per cent with no/small size of landholding and 1.9 per cent with medium and large size of landholding.

From 92 households, a total of 110 children aged 5-17 years have migrated for work. About two-fifths of the households send more than one child, and one-third of the migrant child labourers are female children. However, incidence of child labour migration for females is lower than for males (2.4% for males and 1.0 for female children). The incidence of child labour migration increases with age, 0.3 per cent, 1.9 per cent and 3.1 per cent for the age groups 5-9, 10-14 and 15-17 years respectively. Early age migration is two times higher for females than for males. Some parents do not know the whereabouts of their children.

About 63 per cent of migrant child labourers are literate, and 37 per cent were attending schools at the time of migration. Among child labour migrants, 39 per cent belong to hill ethnic group followed by Brahmin/Chhetri caste. Proportion of Dalit children among migrant child labourers is also quite high (12.7%). Highest proportion of children left home for work with the influence of relatives.

Overwhelming majority of the children who moved from study areas are reported to be in Kathmandu valley (87%) and some 8 per cent in India. Most of them are doing unskilled labour at the place of destination. About half of them are doing dish/cloth washing, cooking, cleaning home, and other works related to domestic chores. Overwhelming majority of female migrant child labourers are employed as domestic servants (78.8%). Many children are brought to work with false promises of education and apprenticeship. Poverty is the main reason for sending children elsewhere for work as 63 per cent of households reported that they sent their children for work elsewhere due to poor economic condition of the family, repayment of debt, economic insufficiency, and aspiration of better economic condition by supplementing the current family income. Three-fourths of householders of migrant child labourers do not feel good to send their children elsewhere for work, and half of the households feel improvement in the economic condition of the family with remittance from children.

8.1.2 Characteristics of Poverty and Deprivation among Families of Child Labourers

One-fourth of the child labourers' families are ultra-poor families (economic sufficiency just for 5 months), and another 46 per cent can support up to 11 months. Ultra-poor family with child labour migration comprised of about 4 per cent. The majority of families with migrant child labourers own very limited assets without alternative sources of income, or rely on wage labour to supplement family income.

Child labourers' families have two times lower access to land than those without child labour migration. Households' economic insufficiency is drastically reduced with increased size of landholdings. About 83 per cent of landless households are economically deficient. Families with limited access to land cannot subsist their family and hence child labour migration.

Households with child labour migration are characterized by high level of illiteracy and low level of educational attainment. Incidence of child illiteracy, school nonattendance and work are remarkably higher among families with child labour migration than those without it. A higher incidence of child deprivation in the families with child labour migration is associated with the higher incidence of household poverty, and non-education of family members and household heads.

8.1.3 Differentials of Child Labour Migration by Poverty and Deprivation

8.1.3.1 Economic and Quality of Life Variables

Economic deprivation of households brings significant variation in child labour migration with positive effect on child labour migration. This indicates that the incidence of child labour migration increases with economic deprivation. For instance, child labour migration increases by 7.7 percentage points among more deprived group with 5 months of economic sufficiency, 21.5 percentage points among landless, 3.2 percentage points among deprived group with agricultural income status, 6.5 percentage points among deprived group with indebtedness due to economic insufficiency, and 1.9 percentage points among more deprived group with agricultural surplus status.

Child labour migration also significantly increases with deprivation in terms of quality of life variables. Incidence of child labour migration tends to increase by 7.1 percentage points among more deprived group without radios and 2.7 and 3.4 percentage points without TV and electricity respectively.

8.1.3.2 Social Variables

Social deprivation also tends to increase child labour migration. Incidence of child labour among Dalits is 10.1 percentage points higher than that prevailing among less deprived groups. Households with illiterate households (4.8%) and with all children illiterate (6.2%) shows significantly higher incidence of child labour migration as compared to the households with literate heads (1.5%) and with all children literate (2.5%). Incidence of child labour migration is more than two times higher among males than the female children.

8.1.3.3 Child Deprivation Variables

Incidence of child labour migration is lower among households with schooling attendance of children. As a more deprived group, the magnitude of school attending children among more deprived group is 2.3 percent higher than that among the less deprived group. Incidence of work migration increases with work participation of children at home by 5.9 percentage points, but decreases by 7.7 percentage points with school attendance without work participation.

8.1.3.4 Demographic Variables

Incidence of child labour migration is higher (7.3%) among children 15-17 years than aged 5-14 years (1.9%). Differential analysis with the three-way classification of variables shows the highest incidence of child labour migration for those children who are Dalit and have work participation (most deprived group). One-fifth of the children (20.0%) from this category of households have work migration of children. Contrary to this, as the least deprived group, only 5.4 per cent of Brahmin children who do not participate in work have child labour migration.

Incidence of work migration for the other most deprived groups of Dalit children who are from the households who own no land/small size of landholding, who do not have economic sufficiency, whose head of the household is not literate, and who do not attend schools is very high, 10.9 per cent, 15.5 per cent, 16.1 per cent and 12.8 per cent respectively. Brahmin/Chhetri children who have own medium/large size of landholding, who have economic sufficiency, whose head of the household is literate, and who attend schools constitute 0.4 per cent, 0.9 per cent, 1.4 per cent and 1.5 per cent respectively.

Likewise, a poverty/deprivation group in relation to landlessness/small size of landholding and economic insufficiency also shows quite high incidence of child labour migration. The most deprived groups of landless/small size of landholding and economic deficiency, no ownership of land, school nonattendance of children, and children's work participation demonstrate child labour

migration of 7.8 per cent, 12.8 per cent, 7.3 per cent and 10.2 per cent respectively. Contrary to this, only a small fraction of children migrates for work among the least deprived group of children (0.2% to 1.9%).

8.1.4 Determining the Role of Predictor Variables: Hypothesis and Model Testing

The correlation analysis identified the nature of relationship between dependent and independent variables. The phenomenon of child labour migration is inversely correlated with seven of the economic and quality of life variables: economic sufficiency (-0.138), land ownership (-0.142), non-agricultural income status (-.087), agricultural surplus (-.053), ownership of radio (-0.162), TV (.071), and use of electricity facility (-.079). The correlation coefficients for these variables are significant at 0.05 levels. On the other hand, child labour migration is positively correlated with economic variable: indebtedness (.154).

Of the five social variables, literacy of household head (-.098) and gender (.067) have strong correlation with child labour migration. The other social variables like caste/ethnicity (-.045), level of child literacy among households (-.055), and type of family (.049) have no significant correlation with child labour migration.

Of the six child deprivation variables, child labour migration is inversely related with school attendance status, school only condition of children and their idleness (no work and schooling condition). However, only the correlation coefficient for school only condition is statistically significant. The remaining three child deprivation variables - work participation of children, their school and work, and work only conditions have positive correlation with child labour migration. Correlation coefficients for all the three variables are statistically significant.

8.1.4.1 Hypotheses Testing

Hypothesis testing is carried out by using bivariate logistic regression analysis in order to explain gross effect of independent variables on dependent variable. Altogether 22 hypotheses are tested – nine are related to economic and quality of life variables, five are social variables; six are related with child deprivation conditions and two with demographic conditions.

8.1.4.1.1 Economic and Quality of Life Variables

Log odd for child labour migration significantly decreases with change of households' economic status from insufficiency to sufficiency (-1.499). Similar decrease is observed in relation to increase in the size of landholding (-2.114), households' non-agricultural sources of income (-1.249), agricultural surplus (-.677), ownership of radio (-1.689), TV (-1.689), and use of electricity facility (-.983). On the other hand, agricultural occupation of household head and indebtedness due to economic deficiency shows positive effects on child labour migration. The log odd for child labour migration increases to .090 with agricultural occupation, and the corresponding increase in log odd with respect to indebtedness is 1.622. However, the increase in log odd with respect to agricultural income is not significant.

8.1.4.1.2 Social Variables

Among the five social variables, log odd for child labour migration decreases with respect to caste hierarchy (-.592), literacy of household head (-1.249) and household level of child literacy (-.615). However, decrease in the log odd is statistically significant only with respect to literacy of household head. As expected, log odd for child labour migration significantly increases to .019 for male children. Effect of nuclearization of family on child labour migration appears to be insignificant. Therefore, only the hypotheses that incidence of child labour migration significantly decreases with literacy of household head, and male selectivity is accepted.

8.1.4.1.3 Child Deprivation Variables

Log odd for child labour migration decreases with school attendance of children (-.675), and school only condition (-2.184). However, the decrease in log odd with respect to school attendance of children is not statistically significant. Similar decrease in log odd for child labour migration is found with idleness of children (-.258). But the decrease is not statistically insignificant. Therefore, only the hypothesis that incidence of child labour migration significantly decreases with school only condition of children is accepted. As expected, log odd for child labour migration significantly increases with respect to work participation of children (2.117) and their

work only condition (1.157) and the hypothesis that incidence of child labour migration increases with respect to these variables is accepted. Similar increase in log odd is also found with respect to school and work condition of children. Idleness of children tends to increase incidence of child labour migration is rejected.

8.1.4.1.4 Demographic Variables

Family size does not appear to be significant variable to affect the incidence of child labour migration. However, as expected, log odd for incidence of child labour migration significantly increases with respect to age of children (.274). Therefore, the hypothesis that child labour migration significantly increases with age is accepted.

8.1.4.2 Model Testing and Identifying Good Predictors

Among the 22 independent variables, stepwise logistic regression analysis entered only six variables in the model - work participation in the first step, ownership of radio in the second step, landholding, gender, age and indebtedness in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth step respectively. Model improvement with all the variables is highly significant and these six variables explain 34.7 per cent of total variance in child labour migration.

8.1.4.3 Interaction Model

Altogether 23 interactions among independent variables have been calculated and their effect on child labour migration has been tested with 22 single determinants. With the introduction of interactions in the model, explanatory power of the model improved significantly from R^2 = 37.3 per cent to 48.1 per cent.

An interaction between economic insufficiency and indebtedness is the most influential in affecting child labour migration. Work participation appears to be the second most important factor in the model *with* interaction in affecting child labour migration. As a single determinant, ownership of radio occupies the third position in terms of the selection of variables in the model.

8.2 Conclusions

8.2.1 The phenomenon of child labour migration is a structural issue

The phenomenon of child labour migration needs to be perceived in relation to the structure of a society. The incidence of child labour migration is higher in the pre-capitalist society where value of schooling/education is minimal. In such a society, child labour migration is a normal phenomenon. Furthermore, structural arguments posit that incidence of labour migration is largely due to capitalist penetration, which encourages the monetization of economy. With monetization of economy, cash requirement of the households is greater and it is fulfilled with the labour migration. Child labour migration is also viewed in this respect. This argument is highly relevant to explain the dynamics of child labour migration in the context of Nepal where rural economy of Nepal is largely an agrarian and poverty is rampant, schooling of children is undermined, children are essential part of family labour, and where monetization of economy is taking place.

8.2.2 Child labour migration in Nepal demonstrates some unique characteristics

Incidence of child labour migration in Nepal is less than 2 per cent mostly migrating to urban areas. More than 90 per cent of the child labourers in the cities of Kathmandu valley are migrants, highly vulnerable to exploitation, deprive of parental love, care and education.

The demand for migrant child labourers in the productive activities of rural areas might have been constrained by three factors. Firstly, the rural economy is largely agro-based where the family itself is capable of supplying the required amount of labour. Secondly, children's hands are not fit for the heavy agricultural works like ploughing and digging. Third and the most important reason perhaps is the mode of payment. Urban economy is generally characterized as cash economy and child labourers move to more urbanized areas because of opportunities in getting direct cash earning jobs in urban informal sectors.

Male children have higher propensity to migrate for work than female children. Employment data for migrant child labourers show that work migration of female children is proportionately higher for domestic work.

In general, the incidence of work migration of children increases with age. Age and sex distribution of migrant child labourers at the time of move indicates that propensity of work migration is two times higher at early ages among female than male children. This implies that work migration of female children is age selective favouring early ages. This situation particularly signifies high demand for early-age girls for domestic services. The general tendency is that girls of early ages are preferred for domestic services until physical maturity to puberty and marriage.

Literacy and school attendance of migrant child labourers at the time of move is considerably low. Overwhelming majority of children leave home with the influence of others particularly with the influence of relatives and neighbours. Many of the families send their children elsewhere for work with false promise of education and skill trainings. This indicates that some sort of fraudulence is involved in the case of child labour migration.

8.2.3 Families of migrant child labourers in Nepal are one of the economically marginalized and most deprived groups of society

Income poverty is more widespread among households with child labour migration. Household economy of migrant child labourers is mostly below subsistence level as well as indebted with limited assets. Most of them rely on wage labour to supplement the family income. This suggests that migrant child labourers' families are one of the most marginalized and extremely poverty-stricken economic groups in the society. In this sense, child labour migration may be taken as one of the indicators of household poverty and child deprivation.

8.2.4 Incidence of child labour migration is significantly higher for economically and socially deprived groups

Incidence of child labour migration is significantly higher among more deprived groups. This implies that conditions of poverty and deprivation encourage child labour migration. The incidence of child labour migration is more concentrated (20%) among Dalit children who have work participation at home.

8.2.5 Incidence of child labour migration is more strongly correlated with economic and child deprivation variables than the social variables

Among the social variables, only the literacy of household heads is strongly correlated with child labour migration. This implies a weak correlation of child labour migration with social variables but strong correlation with economic and quality of life, and child deprivation variables. This further implies that the phenomenon of child labour migration is more related to economic and deprivation factors than social factors.

8.2.6 Household poverty is the most frequently reported reason for child labour migration

About two-third of work migration of children in the study area is associated with the poverty related factors such as 'poor economic conditions of the family', 'repayment of debt', 'economic insufficiency of the family', 'hope for future improvement of economic condition of the family/children', 'hope for supplementing family income' and 'education of the children'. Low agricultural productivity in traditional agriculture, lack of resources and opportunities, lack of utilization of development potentials, and lack/failure of poverty-focused programme are the major causes of poverty and deprivation in the study area.

Poverty as a main reason for child labour migration implies that the supply of migrant child labour comes from poor families. However, it may be said that children from all the poor households do not migrate for the purpose of employment. The attitude of parents and children, knowledge about the workplace, availability of jobs, medium of contact with the employer, distance to migrate, and mode of transportation perhaps affect households' decision on work migration of children.

8.2.7 Hypothesis testing with bivariate logistic model indicates that the likelihood of child labour migration significantly increases with the situation of household and child deprivation

The bivariate logistic regression analysis shows that log odd for child labour migration significantly decreases with respect to less deprived categories of the selected variables. The decrease is particularly significant with respect to six of nine economic and quality of life variables: economic sufficiency against insufficiency, medium/large size of landholding against holding of no/small size, non-agricultural sources of income against agricultural sources, ownership of radio and television against no ownership of such equipments, and use of electricity against nonuse; one of the social variables: literacy of household head against illiteracy; and one of the child deprivation variables: schooling only condition of children against all others. Therefore, the incidence of child labour migration significantly increases with respect to more deprived categories of children like economic insufficiency, landlessness or holding of small size of land and agricultural sources of income. Besides these, work participation of children at home as a child deprivation variable and indebtedness as economic one are the two other significant positive variables explaining child labour migration.

8.2.8 Work participation of children at home is the most important determinant of child labour migration

Results from the stepwise logistic model indicated that six of the 22 predictor variables such as work participation, ownership of radio, size of landholding, gender, age and indebtedness are important determinants of child labour migration. Among the six variables, work participation of children related to child deprivation is the most important determinant of child labour migration.

8.2.9 Effect of economic and social variables is largely captured by work participation variable

Comparing net effect of the predictor variables against gross effect reveals that net effect for most of the economic and social variables decreases with increase in the effect of child deprivation variables. The effect increases without change in structure of relationship with respect to work participation and work only condition of children. This suggests that work participation variable has high correlation with other economic and social deprivation variables and captures the effect of economic and social deprivation variables. Most effect of socio-economic deprivation factors on child labour migration is through work participation of children at home. This implies that socio-economic poverty and deprivation determine work participation and, in turn, work participation determines child labour migration. This reveals a special mechanism through which economic and social variables exert effect on

child labour migration, and implies that economic and social poverty/deprivation of household cause work participation of children at home vis-à-vis child deprivation. Child work that signifies child deprivation appears to be a consequence of household poverty and deprivation.

8.2.10 School attendance of children is not significant factor for controlling child labour migration but schooling only condition is a significant factor

School attendance of children is not a significant factor for controlling child labour migration. Child labour migration decreases with school attendance with no significant decrease. This finding is contrary to general expectation that school attendance of children controls work migration among children. Ineffectiveness of schooling in the prevention of work migration among children implies that work migration of children at the cost of school attendance is a normal phenomenon. This situation arises when education system is less effective, and it cannot attract children and retain them in schools. The existing educational system is also equally responsible for this as the existing educational system is generally thought to be crude (weak) that reinforces parents as well as children's unwillingness for education. Here, household poverty/deprivation also plays an important role. The poor households are not able to afford educational costs for their children, and when work opportunities for children are available, they send their children elsewhere for work. They do not care about educating their children. This conclusion is further supplemented by the fact that about 37 per cent of the migrant child labourers were attending schools at the time of migration. This means that these many children dropped schools and left home for the purpose of employment. In other words, it may be said that 37 per cent of the children prefer work migration at the cost of school attendance.

From this, it can be concluded that retention of children in school is not much possible where abject poverty prevails in the society, people perceive education system as crude, and ample job opportunities exist in nearby areas. Naturally, in such a situation, the poverty-ridden families prefer work migration of their children for supplementing family income rather than loose money by sending children to schools.

However, child labour migration significantly decreases with school only condition of children. This implies that school attendance of children appears to be significant factor for the prevention of child labour migration if work is not associated with school attendance. The school only condition is a characteristic of better off families in which children attend schools but they do not have to participate in work. In such a situation, incidence of child labour migration significantly decreases.

On the other hand, it is evident that incidence of child labour migration significantly increases among those children who combine school with work. Work participation of children implies use of child labour by the family and it is a situation of child deprivation. Here work migration of children is strongly correlated with exploitation of child labour by the family. Role of school attendance for the prevention of child labour migration is minimal if exploitation of child labour at home is associated and a compelling socioeconomic condition of households to exploit child labour is changed into an environment conducive to child education without exploitation of child labour.

8.2.11 Among the poverty and deprivation related factors, economic insufficiency of households and their indebtedness is the main in explaining child labour migration

The interaction between economic sufficiency and indebtedness is the most important determinant of child labour migration. This finding is fairly consistent with the reported reason that poor economic condition is the main reason for sending children elsewhere for work. With this finding, it is concluded that poverty and deprivation means joint effect of economic sufficiency and indebtedness due to economic deficiency. It implies that likelihood of child labour migration is the highest among those who are economically deficient and are indebted due to economic deficiency. In fact, this group of population is the most economically marginalized group who cannot subsist family with their income and have to borrow money for survival. This supports the general proposition that households are sending their children elsewhere for work for the survival of family and repayment of debt.

8.3 Future Directions for Research

1. Data for the present study were collected in two time frames and procedures– complete enumeration of households who involve child labour migration called as main survey, and sample survey of households who do not involve child labour migration called as supplementary survey. For arriving aggregate estimates, data from both sources had to combine using appropriate weight factor. Use of weights for deriving aggregate estimate is essential in a situation of over sampling since in many cases, over sampling and use of weight factors are essential. However, a single survey capturing household both with and without child labour migration is suggested.

2. This study is primarily an empirical with quantitative data. Future research may combine qualitative techniques to supplement the quantitative information.

3. Further study in this area would also be viable by combing studies on child labour migration in both origin and destination.

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