A young girl in a school uniform is standing in a doorway, eating a snack. The doorway is framed by a dark wooden frame, and the wall is made of red bricks. The girl is wearing a patterned shirt and a purple skirt. She is holding a small, colorful object in her hands, which she is eating. The background is dark, suggesting an interior space.

Impact of the 2015 Nepal Earthquakes on Individual Children's Enrolment Situation Seeking 'High-quality Education'

Naruho Ezaki

Union Press

Impact of the 2015 Nepal Earthquakes on
Individual Children's Enrolment Situation:
Seeking 'High-quality Education'

Kwansei Gakuin University Subsidy for Book Publication, Vol. 229

Dedicated to the memory of my beloved grandparents.

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learned about education in Nepal, project management and implementation, team building, and more from her and her team members when I was an intern for the 'Project for Support for Improvement of School Management Phase II in Nepal'. It is no exaggeration to say that my research in Nepal could not have been successful without the constructive feedback and support of Professor Ishida.

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- Chapter 4 Ezaki, N. (2018). Nepal ni okeru 'shitsu no takai kyōiku' wo motomeru dainamizumu to sono haigo ni hisomu kage [Dynamism seeking 'high-quality education' and lurking shadows in Nepal]. In Sekiya, T. (Ed.), *Kaihatsu tojōkoku de manabu kodomotachi: Makuroseisaku ni shisuru mikurona shūgakujittaibunseki* [Children who are learning in developing countries: Micro-analysis of state of enrolment that contributes to macro-policies] (pp. 215–237), Kwansei Gakuin University Press.
- Chapter 5 Ezaki, N. (2020). A study of equality of educational opportunity in Nepal using logistic regression analysis. *International Journal of Comparative Education and Development*, 22 (4), 249–262. doi: 10.1108/IJCED-03-2020-0012
- Chapter 6 Ezaki, N. (2019). Enrolment patterns of individual children left behind in the trend towards 'quality education': A case study of primary education in Nepal. *Education 3-13, International Journal of Primary, Elementary and Early Years Education*, 47 (5), 520–533. Available online: <http://www.tandfonline.com>. doi: 10.1080/03004279.2018.1504100
- Chapter 7 Ezaki, N. (2021). Relation between educational qualifications and occupations/incomes in a globalised world: Focusing on Nepalese youth. *International Journal of Comparative Education and Development*. doi:10.1108/IJCED-12-2020-0088
- Chapter 8 Ezaki, N. (2018). Impact of the 2015 Nepal earthquakes on children's schooling: Focusing on individual children's enrolment flow. *Education 3-13, International Journal of Primary, Elementary and Early Years Education*, 46 (7),

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Last but not least, my heartfelt and eternal thanks to my parents, grandmother, and sister. Without the continuous understanding, support, and encouragement of my family, my research would have been impossible.

Foreword

Takeshi Sekiya

Various efforts have been implemented over the past twenty years towards achieving the ‘Millennium Development Goals’ (MDGs). Goal 2 among the MDGs aimed to ‘achieve universal primary education’. Education has attracted attention as an important resource in solving the problem of poverty. The United Nations (UN) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) published the ‘Millennium Development Goals Report’ and the ‘Global Monitoring Report’ annually since 2005 and 2002, respectively. In 2015, after the MDGs ended, the ‘Sustainable Development Goals’ (SDGs) were introduced as the successor of the MDGs. From 2015 onward, the UN and the UNESCO began publishing the ‘Sustainable Development Goals Report’ and the ‘Global Education Monitoring Report’, respectively. These reports have highlighted the progress made in enabling access to education worldwide in keeping with common development targets. However, these reports have focused on the state of education at the national level and not realities at the micro-level. Recipient countries working to solve problems in the field of education on ground level and international aid organisations that are professionally engaged as part of international cooperation are too busy. Therefore, it is not easy for them to understand the actual state of problems from an objective standpoint and to examine the causes for these problems based on scientific evidence.

Against this backdrop, my team members and I longitudinally inves-

tigated individual children's enrolment situations based on their school records in Central America and other areas. We identified how problems in the school context have changed over the years. With these research results, we drew up highly relevant policy recommendations. Based on the above, the Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (A), 'International comparison research of enrolment situation by true cohort method contributing to education policy plan for post Education for All' (Grant number: 26257114), which targets each region in the world, was adopted. Dr. Naruho Ezaki, the author of this book, joined the research team as a core member and studied the situations in countries such as Nepal, Myanmar, Indonesia, and Zambia. Upon receiving the Grant-in-Aid for the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Fellows, she applied and developed a micro-tracking method to examine the enrolment situation and worked on a detailed analysis that culminated in this book.

This study focuses on the actual state of children left behind from the movement seeking 'high-quality education' and the impact of natural disasters on individual children's enrolment situation in Nepal, which is an essential but under-studied issue. Three key points must be noted in this study. First, it focuses on individual children's school transfers and the impact of natural disasters on them. In recent years, there has been a large number of school transfers in developing countries. It has become an urgent task to understand the actual state of school transfers. However, it is difficult to understand this because transfer procedures are not performed properly, and transfer records are not maintained appropriately in some countries. Natural disasters cut off children's schooling immediately after they occur, and they affect vulnerable children more severely in developing countries. Therefore, a study of their impact is also extremely important. However, as data collection after a disaster is not easy, research remains scarce. This study clarifies the actual state of school transfers both before and after the earthquakes and the impact of the earthquakes by identifying transfer children based on the school records maintained at the target schools and combining these data with information drawn from semi-structured interview surveys with teachers. The author was able to frame and implement this research methodology because of her emphasis on 'research with a focus on the field'. She has visited the field many times in person to conduct detailed research.

Second, this study uses longitudinal data for the analysis of the actual state of individual children's enrolment patterns. Following the survey con-

ducted by the UNESCO Bureau of International Statistics in 1969, it has become a global trend to use cross-sectional data to study the educational situation in each country. This way, grasping the overall trend is easy and effective in enabling the formulation of macro-policies for national governments and aid-implementing agencies. However, the policy does not work if it does not consider microscopic realities that comprise macro-figures. This study focuses on individual children from a microscopic perspective and clarifies the actual state of enrolment of children who are excluded by cross-sectional data. It does so by longitudinally tracking their schooling trajectories. Longitudinal research requires a great deal of time and effort, but with her steady efforts, the author was able to shed light on the children who really need support in the SDGs that aim to leave no one behind.

Third, the issues are comprehensively examined by combining quantitative and qualitative analyses in a well-balanced manner in this study. Quantitative analysis is performed using longitudinal data based on a large amount of school records such as school registers and mark ledgers, and logistic regression analysis using information on children's attributes and family backgrounds. Qualitative analysis is performed by gathering data through school and home-visit surveys, and semi-structured interview surveys with principals, teachers, children, local residents, etc. In developing countries, especially in the suburbs and rural areas, it is not easy to conduct home-visit surveys as there are often no detailed addresses—information such as street addresses and house numbers are often missing. The author visited nearly 350 houses in the target area on foot to collect and confirm the data. This study was able to engage in the analysis by combining highly credible quantitative and qualitative data successfully.

Finally, this study clarified the actual state of children left behind from the movement seeking 'high-quality education' and the impact of natural disasters on individual children's enrolment situations, which is an important and under-studied issue, using original research methods. Therefore, this study can be considered a pioneering work in international educational development research. By focusing on the 'quality of education' and 'individuals' that are emphasised in the SDGs, it was possible to extract concrete and highly practical recommendations. The results and recommendations of this study will be useful not only for Nepal, but also for other developing countries and development aid agencies.

This book is a summary of the research conducted in Nepal by a Japanese female researcher. Nepal and Japan have traditionally enjoyed friendly

relations since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1956. They have both experienced major earthquakes such as the 2015 Nepal Earthquake and the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake. In recent years, the number of Nepalese students and workers in Japan has been increasing rapidly. Therefore, many Japanese people are interested in Nepal. This book offers an opportunity to learn about Nepal, the country, society, education, etc., and may promote cross-cultural understanding.

I am proud to introduce this book to the world. I recommend this book for a wide range of people including undergraduate and graduate students who seek to become technical cooperation practitioners and researchers in international educational cooperation, as well as young researchers in the field of international educational development or practitioners such as international volunteers, NGOs, and young experts and consultants. It is also a useful resource for practitioners engaged in disaster prevention and earthquake recovery, as well as experts, researchers, government officials, policymakers, and people who are interested in developing countries (especially South Asia and Nepal).

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

BHN	Basic Human Needs
BPEMP	Basic and Primary Education Master Plan
BPEP I	Basic and Primary Education Project I
BPEP II	Basic and Primary Education Project II
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CSS	Comprehensive School Safety
CI	Confidence Interval
DEBs	District Education Boards
DEO	District Education Office
DFID	Department for International Development
DoE	Department of Education
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
ECD	Early Childhood Development
ECED/PPE	Early Childhood Education and Development/Pre-Primary Education
EFA	Education for All
EFA NPA	Education for All National Plan of Action
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
HDI	Human Development Index
HE	Higher Education level
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSE	Higher Secondary Education level
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
ICT	Information and Communication Technology

LFPS	Low-Fee Private School
LKG	Lower Kindergarten
LSE	Lower Secondary Education level
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoES	Ministry of Education and Sports
MoEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MoHP	Ministry of Health and Population
MoLE	Ministry of Labour and Employment
NESP	National Education System Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OR	Odds Ratio
OVC	Orphan and Vulnerable Children
PDNA	Post Disaster Needs Assessment
PE	Primary Education level
PEP	Primary Education Project
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SE	Secondary Education level
SEE	Secondary Education Examination
SESP	Secondary Education Support Programme
SLC	School Leaving Certificate
SMAERC	Santwana Memorial Academy Educational Research Center
SMC	School Management Committee
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
SSDP	School Sector Development Plan
SSRP	School Sector Reform Programme
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
TPD	Teacher Professional Development
UKG	Upper Kindergarten
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Funds for Population Activities (United Nations Population Fund)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (United Nations Children's Fund)
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WCEFA	World Conference on Education for All
WEF	World Education Forum

CHAPTER ONE

Prologue

Research theme

Since the introduction of ‘Education for All’ (EFA) and the ‘Millennium Development Goals’ (MDGs) in 1990 and 2000, respectively, efforts toward universal primary education have strengthened, and the net enrolment rate in primary education worldwide has rapidly improved (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2015). In 2015, the ‘Sustainable Development Goals’ (SDGs), successors to the MDGs, were announced, and an educational goal of ‘inclusive and equitable quality education for all’ was launched. Given the shift from ‘quantity’ to ‘quality’ of education, children’s movement in pursuit of quality education is emerging worldwide, and the proportion of children attending private schools has been increasing in many countries (UNESCO, 2015).

One of the reasons behind this phenomenon is an educational gap between public and private schools, and previous studies (Harlech-Jones, Baig, Sajid, & ur-Rahman, 2005; Nishimura & Yamano, 2013; UNESCO, 2009) have noted both a decline in quality in public schools and a rapid growth in the number of private schools. While differences persist between countries, in general, public schools in many developing countries face a number of problems, including under-developed school facilities, poor quality of teachers, and poor performance on national standard examinations. On the other hand, private schools are seen to have strengths such as low student-teacher ratios, high performance on national standard examinations, and the delivery of teaching in English, the international *lingua franca*. Consequently, in their search for high-quality education, many par-

ents/guardians prefer to send their children to private schools. In response to this demand, the number of private schools has been increasing in many developing countries, and there is an emerging trend of seeking 'high-quality education', expressed as the flow 'from public to private schools' and the flow 'from suburban to urban schools'.

Those who can participate in this trend and have access to private schools are able to receive 'high-quality education' and enhance their possibilities by means of education; however, those who do not have access to private schools are unable to receive such an opportunity. As a result, the gap between those who have and those who do not have access to private schools will further widen, and the chain of poverty will be maintained. Fundamentally, education has been expected to break the chain of poverty and to rectify social disparity; however, in the face of the phenomenon described above, education itself may be contributing to the widening gap between the rich and poor.

On the other hand, in recent years, there have been many conflicts and natural disasters that threaten the lives of people in the world. Emergencies such as conflicts and natural disasters, are external shocks that destroy normally protective supports and increase risks to diverse problems at the individual, family, and community levels (Inter-Agency Standing Committee [IASC], 2007). They also tend to exacerbate existing problems, such as social injustice and inequality (IASC, 2007). Moreover, the damage tends to be more significant in countries and regions without surplus resources, such as developing countries. According to UNESCO (2011), approximately 28 million primary school-age children in conflict-affected countries are out of school, comprising 42 % of the world's out-of-school children. Conflict also has a formidable detrimental impact on children in school as it leads to higher dropout rates and lower completion rates. As for the damage from natural disasters, the reports are limited in number, but they indicate that natural disasters impede children's schooling, comparable to conflicts. For example, according to Jensen (2000), school enrolment rates declined by about 20 % in the regions that experienced adverse weather shocks. According to Janvry, Finan, Sadoulet, and Vakis (2006), natural disasters have a heavier impact on specific groups of children, including primary school children, indigenous children, children of agricultural workers, and girls.

Will external shocks, such as conflicts and natural disasters, obstruct children's movement seeking 'high-quality education'? Or will they sharply distinguish children who can go with the movement seeking 'high-quality

education’ and those who cannot, and then encourage the widening disparities observed before their occurrence? In the SDGs, which aim for ‘no one will be left behind’, it is an urgent task to clarify the actual conditions of children who are left behind by the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’.

Problem statements and research methods

There are two problems in the philosophies of the aforementioned global dynamism that seeks to achieve ‘high-quality education’. The first is that while the movement of children ‘from public to private schools’ and ‘from suburban to urban schools’ is emerging, there has been no investigation of whether or not education is currently achieving its original purpose, which is to break the chain of poverty and to rectify social disparity. The second is the lack of detailed research on the impact of external factors such as conflicts and natural disasters on regions where the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’ is becoming more vigorous.

Thus, in light of these two problems, this book aims to answer the following research questions:

- Has the function of education changed in the present? Has education itself encouraged the widening gap between the rich and poor?
- In regions where the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’ has taken hold and where people are confronting the dangers of a widening socioeconomic gap, when external factors like natural disasters are added to the mix, does the gap become more clearly defined, and does the problem worsen?

In response to the above research questions, this book focuses on the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal (hereinafter, Nepal), where the movement of children in the pursuit of ‘high-quality education’ is on the rise. The country also experienced huge earthquakes in 2015 (the 2015 Nepal earthquakes). This study aims to examine the changes in the function of education and the impact of natural disasters on children’s enrolment situation in Nepal. The study specifically aims to clarify the following points:

- The actual enrolment flow of individual children during peacetime;
- The characteristics of children left behind by the movement seeking

‘high-quality education’;

- The actual state of the enrolment pattern¹ of each child left behind by the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’;
- The differences in the occupations and incomes of individuals served and left behind by the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’; and
- The impact of the 2015 Nepal earthquakes on the attendance and enrolment flow of individual children.

Based on the findings, this book also provides concrete recommendations for the achievement of SDG 4.

Figure 1-1 shows an analytical framework that address the five concrete goals and help clarify the two research questions. This study uses five analytical methods.

- (1) This study analyses the flow of individual children from ‘public to private schools’ and ‘suburban to urban schools’ and thus examines the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’ by using school records such as registers and attendance records and interviews with teachers.
- (2) This study examines the characteristics of children left behind by the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’. Focusing on the attributes and familial backgrounds of these children, a logistic regression analysis is performed with the objective variable as the binary capability of attending a private school.
- (3) This study examines the actual state of enrolment for each child left behind by the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’. Using school records such as registers and mark ledgers and home-visit surveys, this study clarifies the enrolment patterns by tracking the schooling trajectories of individual children longitudinally.
- (4) This study examines the differences in the occupations and incomes of individuals served and left behind by the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’. Through interviews with teachers and home-visit surveys, the study gathers information on the occupation, monthly income, etc., of individuals from public and private schools and analyses the differences thereof.
- (5) This study examines the impact of the 2015 Nepal earthquakes on the enrolment situation of individual children. Using school records such as registers and attendance records and interviews with teachers, the study clarifies the attendance situation and enrolment flow among children

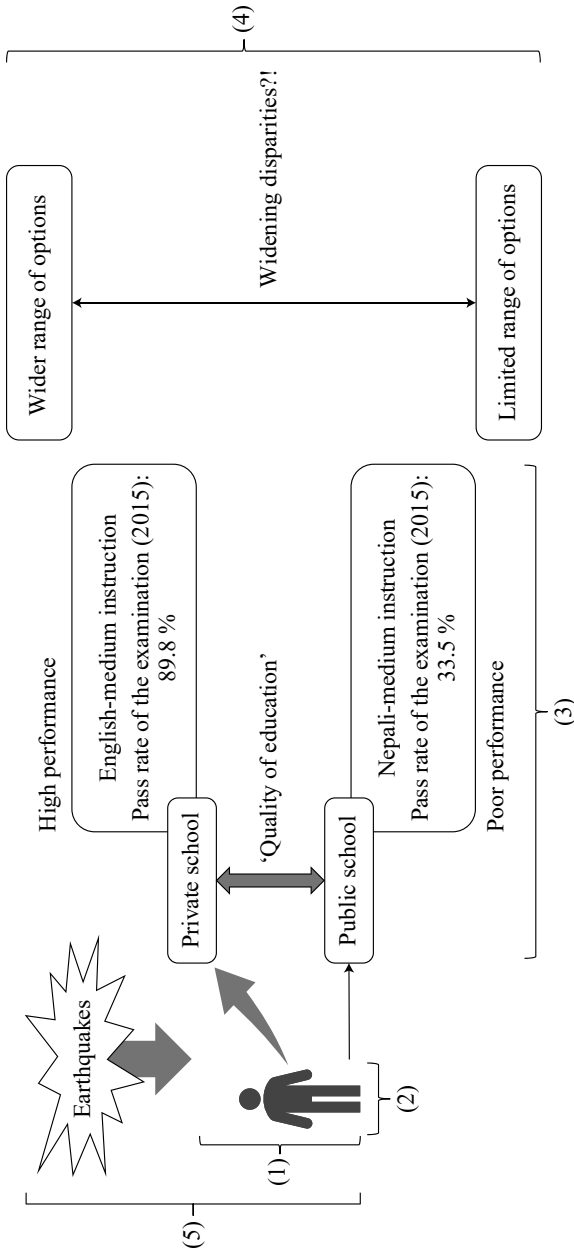


Figure 1-1 Research concept diagram

Source: Data on pass rates of the examination for 2015 were collected from the District Education Office (DEO).

under pre- and post-disaster circumstances and analyses the effects of the earthquakes on these factors.

Definition of movement seeking 'high-quality education'

'Quality of education' refers to a variety of areas that are intimately connected with the improvement of educational quality, such as educational goals, curriculum, teaching methods, academic achievement, and school management. However, it is quite difficult to define the term precisely, as its meaning and scope depends largely on the context in which it is used.

In Nepalese society, the issue of an educational gap between public and private schools continues to increase in severity, and it is well known that private schools can offer 'high-quality education' compared to public schools. This is readily apparent from the fact that parents choose private schooling for their children and indicate that they do so in pursuit of 'high-quality education' (Joshi, 2014; Subedi, Shrestha, Maharjan, & Suvedi, 2013). As parents frequently refer to classes in English and the results of the final examination administered to students in Grade 10, which used to be called SLC (School Leaving Certificate) examination,² while discussing the quality of education (Joshi, 2014), it can be deduced that both the language used for teaching and the concrete and readily apparent numerical results constitute the primary indices that help measure the quality of education.

While examining the location of schools, those located in urban centres have the following merits: (1) better transportation access, and therefore, better teachers, (2) advertisement through a variety of different media channels, and therefore, ease of ability to recruit children with a high desire to learn, and (3) better access to financial and informational resources. Further, as urban centres have more schools than suburban and rural areas, competition is severe, and each school must endeavour to better itself to remain open. As a result, it is not uncommon for schools located in urban centres to dedicate a great amount of care and ingenuity to the development of their curricula and the designing of their facilities. Consequently, parents/guardians believe that good schools are located in urban centres, rather than in suburban and rural areas. Valentin (2005) administered a survey in Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, and found that the vast majority of educational facilities in the capital were superior to those located elsewhere and that individuals who moved from rural areas to this urban centre, Kathmandu, believed that placing their children in urban education can help

them realise their dream of achieving higher socioeconomic status.

Based on the above, this study defines the enrolment flow seeking ‘high-quality education’ as the movement of children ‘from public to private schools’ and ‘from suburban to urban schools’.

Significance of this study

There are three points that highlight the significance of this study. The first is this study’s explanation of the actual state of school transfer of individual children in developing countries—that is, the flow of enrolment. Most of the existing research examining whether or not school transfer has any influence on factors such as school management and learning performance (Demie, 2002; Ream, 2003; Rumberger, Larson, Ream, & Palardy, 1999; Scherrer, 2013; South, Haynie, & Bose, 2007; Strand, 2002; Strand & Demie, 2006, 2007) has been conducted in developed countries such as the United States and England. In developing countries, the focus has been on improving access to education—studies focused on grade repetitions and dropouts abound, and research on school transfer remains comparatively limited. One reason for this may be the improper maintenance and management of transfer records. However, in recent years, research has begun to point out the rise in school transfers in developing countries.³ Thus, understanding the actual situation is urgently necessary. As a large movement seeking ‘high-quality education’ abounds, a proper understanding of the frequent and complicated movement of children from one school to another is of paramount importance to educators, researchers, and policymakers.

The second is this study’s clarification of the impact of natural disasters on the state of children’s enrolment in areas where the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’ has taken hold and where people have begun to confront the crisis of a widening socioeconomic gap. Natural disasters not only block children’s attendance immediately after their occurrence, but also negatively affect subsequent restoration processes. Therefore, research on the impact of natural disasters is critical. However, as data collection following a natural disaster is not easy, little research exists in this area. Reports such as Jensen (2000) and Janvry et al. (2006) have highlighted the impact of natural disasters on children’s attendance. However, these reports did not examine the recently burgeoning movement seeking ‘high-quality education’ and the flow of individual children. As it is with conflicts, the impact of natural disasters is assumed to be enormous. Investigating the

actual situations is important for framing prompt responses and for the formulation of mid- to long-term countermeasures.

The third is this study's use of longitudinal data—following individual children from matriculation to graduation or dropping out altogether—in the analysis of the actual state of child enrolment patterns. Research has been conducted on the actual state of schooling among children, however, these investigations have used cross-sectional data. These efforts merely consolidate data from various individuals and view them as reflective of the population at large. This study aims to throw light on the actual state of schooling among individual children, often overlooked by cross-sectional data, by paying attention to each child from a micro-perspective and longitudinally tracking their schooling trajectories.

This study investigates the changes in the function of education and the impact of natural disasters on the enrolment situation by focusing on individual children from a micro-perspective. It presents micro-level evidence, which is unobtainable from cross-sectional data, in pursuit of the achievement of SDG 4. The study uses these data to propose concrete recommendations for the achievement of SDG 4.

Structure of the book

This book is structured as follows: Chapter 1 presents the background, research questions, objectives, research framework, research methods, definition of movement seeking 'high-quality education', and significance of this study.

Chapter 2 discusses previously published research on changes in the educational function in the world, children's enrolment situation, and education in emergencies such as conflicts and natural disasters.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the 2015 Nepal earthquakes and discusses the extent of the disaster and the physical damage caused to the educational system.

Chapter 4 examines peacetime movement seeking 'high-quality education'. This study uses school records such as registers and attendance records, and draws upon interviews with teachers to clarify the actual state of enrolment flow of individual children.

Chapter 5 examines the characteristics of children left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education'. Focusing on the attributes and familial backgrounds of these children, this study performs a logistic

regression analysis with the objective variable as the binary capability to attend a private school.

Chapter 6 examines the actual state of the schooling of each child left behind by the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’. Using school records such as registers and mark ledgers and home-visit surveys, this study clarifies enrolment patterns by longitudinally tracking the schooling trajectories of individual children. It also analyses the trends in the data derived.

Chapter 7 examines the differences in the occupations and incomes of individuals served and left behind by the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’. Using interviews with teachers and home-visit surveys, this study gathers information on the occupation, monthly income, etc., of individuals from public and private schools and analyses the differences thereof.

Chapter 8 examines the effects of the 2015 Nepal earthquakes on the enrolment situation of individual children. Using school records such as registers and attendance records and interviews with teachers, this study clarifies the attendance situations and the enrolment flow of children under pre- and post-disaster circumstances. It analyses the impact of the 2015 Nepal earthquakes on these factors.

Chapter 9 presents the conclusion as an answer to the research hypotheses based by drawing upon the results of the preceding five analyses. From the conclusion, this study attempts to propose educational policy recommendations for primary education in Nepal. Finally, it outlines the limitations of this study and identifies areas for future work to explore.



Figure 1-2 View from a school and children



Figure 1-3 Taking a school bus to a private school



Figure 1-4 Results of the final examination administrated to Grade 10 students on a school wall

CHAPTER TWO

Education and natural disasters

Changes in the educational function in the world

Education provides individuals with knowledge and a means to end the cycle of poverty (Burnett, 2008). It is widely recognised in current times that education plays a vital role in economic, social, and human development. The importance of education for the international community has been clearly communicated through the 'Education for All' (EFA), the 'Millennium Development Goals' (MDGs), and the 'Sustainable Development Goals' (SDGs). However, in the rapidly changing international arena, does education really continue to fulfill its original purpose? In this section, this study will discuss previously published research on the global state of education and examine changes in the function of education.

The momentum generated by the EFA and the MDGs pushed the international community to strengthen its efforts towards improving primary education, and primary education enrolment rates skyrocketed worldwide. According to the 'Millennium Development Goals Report' published in 2015 (United Nations, 2015), the net enrolment rate of primary education in developing countries rose from 80 % in 1990 to 91 % in 2015. The improvement was most marked in sub-Saharan African countries where the enrolment rate was barely 52 % in 1990 but rose to 80 % by 2015. Burundi, Ethiopia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, and Tanzania achieved great progress in the net enrolment rate of primary education and in the reduction of gaps in gender enrolment and pay (UNESCO, 2015). Remarkable quantitative improvements were observed from 1990 to 2015.

However, several issues continue to remain with respect to the quality of

education. Thus, in the SDGs, the push to 'ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all' (SDG 4) (United Nations, 2015) was raised as a new goal in the field of education. That is, the focus of projects in the field of education shifted from 'quantity' to 'quality'.

In accordance with this shift, the movement to achieve 'high-quality education' came into being worldwide, and the number of children who entered private schools rose in many countries. This rise has been particularly rapid in sub-Saharan African countries including Congo, Gambia, and Guinea (UNESCO, 2015) and in South Asian countries such as India, Pakistan, and Nepal (Dahal & Nguyen, 2014).

The causal factor underlying this change is the gap in the quality of education between public and private schools, and previously published research (Harlech-Jones et al., 2005; Nishimura & Yamano, 2013; UNESCO, 2009) has pointed out the decline in the quality of public school education and a sharp rise in the number of private schools. Public schools in developing countries suffer from several problems, including inadequate school facilities, lack of teaching materials and tools, poor quality of teachers, high student-teacher ratio, and low performance in national standard examinations. Conversely, the strengths of private schools are generally thought to lie in their low student-teacher ratio, high performance in national standard examinations, and classes taught in English, among other things. Consequently, many parents/guardians in search of better learning conditions for their children continue to desire to place their children in private schools. In response to this trend, private schools are on the rise in many developing countries, and a large movement of children from 'public to private schools' and 'sub-urban to urban schools' in search of 'high-quality education' has begun.

Nishimura and Yamano (2013) investigated issues related to school choice, promotion, and transfer under policies that made primary schooling free for all using the panel data and school information of 1,712 children aged 6 to 15 years in rural areas of central and southern Kenya. They reported that the higher the mean student-teacher ratio in public schools—in other words, the lower the quality of education⁴—the more parents send their children to private schools or transfer them to other schools. Similarly, James and Woodhead (2014) analysed school choice among parents and school transfer among children in Andhra Pradesh, India. They found that parents were ready to make financial sacrifices to send their children to private schools. Even parents from extremely poor communities, for whom payment of private school fees is simply not possible, often seek to send

their children to good schools rather than local public ones.

While the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’ has continued, the creation of a widening inequality gap by education has become concerned. For example, in recent years, a new sort of private school, the low-fee private school (LFPS), has emerged rapidly in some countries in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia (UNESCO, 2017). Rather than providing completely free education, which is only possible through large subsidies and investments, the expansion of LFPSs is expected to enable the cheap and efficient spread of education (Tooley & Dixon, 2007; Tooley, Dixon, & Gomathi, 2007). However, it has been reported that despite the emergence of LFPSs, individuals from poorer classes and girls—socially vulnerable individuals—are not able to access private schools easily in the first place⁵ (Härmä, 2009, 2011; Nishimura & Yamano, 2013; Woodhead, Frost, & James, 2013). Limited access to private schools in areas where public schools are dysfunctional means that certain segments of the population are prevented from enjoying better educational conditions and are thus unable to expand their own possibilities through education. Private schools, resulting from poor government provision, can end up widening the inequality (UNESCO, 2016), and concerted action must be taken to regulate private schools in order to improve the equity (UNESCO, 2017).

Children’s enrolment situation

It is rather common to use cross-sectional data to understand the prevailing educational situation. For example, the figures presented in the ‘Global Education Monitoring Report’ published by UNESCO and the ‘Sustainable Development Goals Report’ published by the United Nations, such as the net enrolment, grade repetition, and dropout rates, are calculated using cross-sectional data.

The impetus that drove the idea of using cross-sectional data to outline educational situations was the international statistical research conducted in 1969 by the UNESCO Office of Statistics on ‘wastage’ (grade repetition and midway withdrawal). In this study, UNESCO distributed questionnaires on school attendance in primary and secondary education to 148 member countries and regions and asked for information on the number of children enrolled in school as well as the number of children repeating grades⁶ (The UNESCO Office of Statistics, 1972). Through the ‘Reconstructed Cohort Method’, they revealed the alarming state of grade repetition

in Africa and Latin America. As international statistical research had never treated grade repetition and midway withdrawal separately before, a great deal of valuable insights were gained through this study. However, the cross-sectional approach merely consolidates data from several individuals and views it as reflective of the population at large. Therefore, they cannot be used to glean information on the enrolment situation of individual children.

In recent years, research has been conducted using longitudinal data to focus on individual children (Ashida, 2018; Ashida & Sekiya, 2016; Ezaki & Sekiya, 2017; No, Taniguchi, & Hirakawa, 2016; Sekiya, 2014, 2018; Sekiya & Ashida, 2017). For example, Sekiya (2014) studied school records in Honduras, such as registers and teacher grade books filled out at the schools, to track the schooling trajectories of 1,377 children longitudinally. He analysed the enrolment patterns of these children from matriculation to graduation or dropout stages and found two major enrolment patterns: one in which a child experiences neither grade repetition nor temporary dropout and simply progresses straight to graduation; and another in which a child is schooled for a short period and subsequently withdraws. He pointed out that when data are bipolarised in this manner, extracting mean figures from cross-sectional data is not valid, and such mean figures cannot be used as a sufficient basis for the formulation of policy. Ezaki and Nakamura (2018) relied on Sekiya's research methods to analyse the enrolment situation of 100 secondary school students in Zambia. They found unheard of and alarming enrolment patterns, including students who repeatedly withdrew from and returned to school, or those who, after failing year-end evaluations, were not held back from going further, but were instead sent to a lower grade to be re-schooled. Kawaguchi (2018) examined the enrolment situation of secondary education in Malawi and reported a 'difficult-to-understand' enrolment pattern wherein a student who had withdrawn in Grade 1 returned four years later to resume her schooling in Grade 2. From this, it is evident that while policy formulation necessitates a macroscopic grasp of the situation, policy that is not based on actual microscopic data that makes up the macroscopic perspective ultimately does not lead to real solutions (Sekiya, 2014). These investigations highlight the importance of micro-perspective research.

Aside from the aforementioned alarming patterns among learners, another major issue is the fact that there are children who have not been able to even complete primary education. While the EFA, the MDGs, and related endeavours have greatly improved enrolment rates, school completion rates remain an issue. According to UNESCO (2016), school completion

rates were at 73 % in developing countries, and in low-income countries, these rates barely exceeded 50 %. A great deal of research has focused on factors that cause children to drop out of school from child-, family-, and school-related perspectives, among others. Some of these factors are female or overage children (child-related) (Keng, 2004; Lloyd, Mensch, & Clark, 2000), poor family (family-related) (Cardoso & Verner, 2007), and low-quality schooling (school-related) (Hanushek, Lavy, & Hitomi, 2008). However, research investigating the process by which children progress towards dropping out of school remains limited (Hunt, 2008).

Education and income are also known to be linked. An average taken across 139 countries indicated that the percentage increase in income per year of additional school attendance was 9.7 % (UNESCO, 2016). Thus, it is far more likely that the children described above will fall into poverty than children who complete primary school and maintain attendance. Therefore, it can be seen that these children have been left out of the efforts of the EFA and the MDGs and are truly the targets of the SDGs, whose goal is to ensure that ‘no one will be left behind’.

Education in emergencies

Through the 21st century, there have been several different conflicts across the world, including the war in Afghanistan, the Syrian civil war, and the Crimean crisis and the Eastern Ukraine dispute. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2014), the number of people who lost their homes because of conflict and persecution reached about 45 million by the end of 2012, the highest in 18 years. Natural disasters that threatened human life just as much as conflict also occurred, such as Hurricane Katrina (America, 2005), the Haiti Earthquake (Haiti, 2010), and the East Japan Great Earthquake (Japan, 2011). Nearly 200 million people are affected by such natural disasters annually (UNDP, 2014). Emergency situations like conflicts and natural disasters introduce several problems at different levels. Normal protective support is destroyed at the individual, home, and community levels, increasing the risk of exposure to various problems (IASC, 2007). In society, vulnerabilities such as poverty, inequality, environmental degradation, and weakness of governance are exacerbated further (UNDP, 2014), and existing problems become more serious. In countries and regions that do not have adequate preventive capabilities, the damage is even greater.

The ‘World Development Report 2011: Conflict, security, and develop-

ment' published by the World Bank (World Bank, 2011), the 'EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011—The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education' published by UNESCO (UNESCO, 2011), and other published studies (Akresh & de Walque, 2008; Chamarbagwala & Morán, 2011; Shemyakina, 2011) have reported that the effects of conflict are enormous. In impoverished countries under the influence of conflict, 28 million children that have reached the appropriate age for primary school are unable to attend school, a number that constitutes 42 % of all individuals that do not attend school worldwide (UNESCO, 2011). In times of conflict, school facilities and buildings are destroyed or even turned into military bases, and the fear of kidnapping, rape, and being shot significantly reduces child motivation to attend school (Sommers, 2002). Conflict leads to non-attendance as well as high dropout and low completion rates, which results in a heavily negative influence on children's schooling. This negative influence affects girls in particular (Shemyakina, 2011; Sommers, 2002).

While the number is relatively limited, reports on the effects of natural disasters indicate that like conflict, they inhibit children from attending school. For example, according to Jensen (2000), in regions affected by bad weather, attendance drops by about 20 %. According to Janvry et al. (2006), natural disasters affect specific groups of children—those in primary school, those belonging to indigenous or farming families, and those that are female—far more strongly. Some children may fall into psychologically difficult situations owing to factors resulting from natural disasters such as death and injury, house and school collapse, forced displacement, and interruption of basic services (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2009), necessitating psychological and emotional care.

According to the IASC (2007), the various mental and psychosocial problems that arise after emergencies like conflicts and natural disasters can be divided into two categories: those of a social nature; and those of a psychological nature. Each of these can be divided further into: (1) pre-existing problems, (2) problems brought into being by the conflict or natural disaster, and (3) problems relating to humanitarian assistance.⁷

Thus, it is clear that conflicts and natural disasters cause much damage. Securing access to education in critical situations like these is important. By securing access to education, the following things become possible: (1) children with special needs can be found and supported, (2) children can be prevented from taking part in harmful activities such as forced labour, drug trafficking, and prostitution (Sinclair, 2002), and (3) children and their parents/guardians can have the opportunity to regain their normal, everyday lives.

CHAPTER THREE

The 2015 Nepal earthquakes

Overview of the earthquakes

On Saturday, 25th April 2015, a M7.8 earthquake occurred in Nepal. The epicentre was 76 km to the northwest of Kathmandu, in the Gorkha District, Gandaki Province. Approximately two weeks later, on 12th May, a second earthquake occurred, this time 83 km to the west of Kathmandu, in Dolakha District, Janakpur Province. According to the National Planning Commission (2015a), from the time of the first earthquake until 7th June, there were over 300 aftershocks higher than M4.0. Among these, four were over M6.0.

Damage situation

As of 2015, of the 75 federal districts in Nepal,⁸ 31 were affected by this disaster, and 14 were greatly affected: Dolakha, Sindhupalchowk, Gorkha, Nuwakot, Rasuwa, Dhading, Kavrepalanchowk, Ramechhap, Bhaktapur, Okhaldhunga, Sindhuli, Lalitpur, Kathmandu, and Makawanpur. At the time of publishing the Post-Disaster Needs Assessment report, there were 8,790 dead, 22,300 injured, and nearly a third of the country—approximately 80 million people—were estimated to have been affected by the disaster (National Planning Commission, 2015a). This was the first earthquake to cause such severe damage since the 1934 Bihar–Nepal Earthquake.

As a consequence of this great earthquake, many homes and historic buildings were destroyed. Geographic, gender, and income inequalities in

Nepal deepened. According to the National Planning Commission (2015a), the economically disadvantaged rural areas tend to have lower-quality construction and were therefore far more susceptible to the negative effects of earthquakes than were urban areas. Women were also more likely than men to have lost their lives in the disaster.

On the other hand, the fact that the first earthquake occurred on a Saturday (holiday) and during the day meant that many people were outdoors. This is thought to have saved many lives. Had it happened on a weekday, most children would have been at school, and had it occurred at night, most people would have been indoors. Given that many homes, historic buildings, schools, and other structures were either destroyed or damaged, it is easily imaginable that the damage would have been worse if the timing had been different.

Physical damage in educational field

According to the National Planning Commission (2015b), 8,242 public schools were affected, 25,134 classrooms were destroyed, and 22,097 classrooms suffered partial damage. As for private schools, 953 classrooms were totally destroyed, and 3,983 suffered partial damage. Further, 4,416 toilets and water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) facilities and 1,791 composite walls suffered damage. The total cost of damage and loss experienced by the educational system was estimated at pre-disaster prices to be Rs. 31,317.9 million (USD 313.2 million). Of this, damage to facilities and physical objects was Rs. 28,063.8 million (USD 280.6 million).

Owing to this situation, schools in disaster zones were mandated by the government to remain closed from 26th April to 30th May, 2015. Consequently, over 2 million children were prevented from receiving an education for more than a month (National Planning Commission, 2015b). During that time, teams comprising of employees from education clusters, Department of Education (DoE), and school management committees were dispatched to disaster zones to gather data on destroyed and damaged classrooms to determine which buildings were still usable and which were not (Poyck, Koirala, Aryal, & Sharma, 2016). Usable class buildings were marked with a green flag and unusable ones with a red flag. As red-flagged schools were forbidden from being used, temporary learning centres had to be used in their place, or children were sent to nearby safe schools. Owing to the insufficient number of temporary learning centres and schools,

some children could not resume their schooling even after the mandatory reprieve was lifted. Therefore, right after the earthquakes, it was concerned that the earthquakes might have had far-reaching negative consequences that included the loss of schooling environments, reduction in children's drive to learn, drop in academic performance, and an increase in non-schooling children accompanied by a drop in attendance rates and a rise in dropout rates (National Planning Commission, 2015b).



Figure 3-1 After the earthquakes in Nepal



Figure 3-2 A school that lost part of the second floor



Figure 3-3 Temporary learning centres

CHAPTER FOUR

What kinds of movement are occurring at the education site?

Educational administrative system and school education system

In 1951, the Rana rule crumbled, and modern school education began in Nepal. In the same year, the Ministry of Education was established under the provisional cabinet, and has continued to promote educational development in the country. The name of the Ministry of Education has been changed several times to date. It was changed in 2002 from 'Ministry of Education' (MoE) to 'Ministry of Education and Sports' (MoES), and was restored in 2008 to 'Ministry of Education'. In 2018, it was renamed 'Ministry of Education, Science and Technology' (MoEST).

Following the implementation of a seven-year national education policy known as the 'School Sector Reform Programme' (SSRP, 2009–2015) in 2009, the school education system in Nepal was changed from the 5/3/2/2 system to the 8/4 system. However, the development of laws was delayed, and the 8/4 system was legally recognised as a new school education system only after the revision of the basic education law in 2016. Eight years of basic education includes the primary level—Grades 1–5, for children aged 5–9 years—and the lower secondary level—Grades 6–8, for children aged 10–12 years—of the old system. As it is free and compulsory education, textbooks are provided free of charge and different scholarship systems targeting certain groups were also introduced. Four years of secondary education comprises the secondary level—Grades 9 and 10, for children aged 13 and 14 years—and higher secondary level—Grades 11 and 12, for children aged 15 and 16 years—of the old system. Examinations for each education level are administered at the exit years of Grades 8, 10, and 12.

To build a foundation for children and prepare them for Grade 1, Early Childhood Development (ECD)/Pre-Primary Classes (PPCs)⁹ are offered, which were also included within the scope of basic education. In ECD/PPCs, children play games and practice simple reading and writing. In recent years, in response to the needs of society and parents/guardians, English education has been incorporated into the curricula of certain schools.

Owing to problems including insufficiency of school facilities, quality teachers, teacher placement, etc., many primary schools that used to offer Grades 1–5 in the old system, have not been able to expand their classes up to Grade 8 yet. For instance, only 11,412 (43.5 %) out of 26,205 public schools providing basic education have been able to offer classes up to Grade 8 (Center for Education and Human Resource Development [CEHRD], 2018). Incomplete schools that can only accommodate a very small range of grades—Grade 1, Grades 1 and 2, or Grades 1–3—also exist.¹⁰

Schools can be broadly categorised into public (community), private (institutional), and religious (traditional) schools. Public schools can be divided further into four types: community-aided, community-managed, teacher-aided/partially-aided community, and un-aided community schools. Private schools can be classified into three types: private schools formed through public trusts, ones through private trusts, and ones registered under the company act. Unlike public schools, private schools depend on financial support from parents/guardians and are managed and owned by individuals, public utilities, or private trusts. Various religious schools exist, including Hindu (ashram/gurukuls), Buddhist (gumba/vihar), and Islamic (madrasas) ones.

The school year begins in mid-April with the new year according to the Vikram Samvat and ends the following March/April. As only Saturday is considered a weekend in Nepal, the school week is six days long, from Sunday to Friday. If children fail in the final evaluation, they cannot be promoted to the next grade and are held back in the same grade. Some children either temporarily or permanently dropout even from primary school.

As Nepal does not have a school district system, children can freely attend any school they wish to and can also transfer as they wish. However, there are regulations, and transfers during primary school are restricted according to the following guidelines.¹¹ In the case of public schools, children from Grades 1 to 3 are administered a test by the school into which they wish to transfer and must receive the destination school's permission. Children in Grades 4 and 5 must request their previous school to print a

report card and a transfer certificate that they must present to the school into which they wish to transfer. Certain schools also administer tests for children in Grades 4 and 5. In the case of private schools, regulations vary across schools.

The current state of primary education and challenges

As mentioned above, after the collapse of the Rana regime in 1951, modern school education began in Nepal. In 1950, at the twilight stage of Rana rule, there were only 321 primary schools in Nepal, with only 8,505 children, an enrolment rate of 0.9 % (Dharam, 1988), and a literacy rate of 2 % (Bista, 1991). However, over a half century has passed since then, and as of 2018, there were 34,667 primary schools in Nepal, 3,730,602 children, and the enrolment rate was at 96.6 % (CEHRD, 2018). As of 2011, the literacy rate had reached 65.9 % (Central Bureau of Statistics [CBS], 2012).¹² The number of primary schools has increased by a factor of about 108, children by a factor of about 439, and enrolment rate by a factor of about 107. In these past approximately 70 years, the spread of education has made incredible progress. One may say that the quantitative expansion of primary education is nearing achievement in Nepal.

In terms of internal efficiency (CEHRD, 2018; Department of Education [DoE], 2010), the promotion rate in primary school (Grades 1–5) has increased from 81.9 % in 2010/2011 to 89.3 % in 2018/2019, the grade repetition rate fell from 12.1 % to 7.0 %, and the dropout rate fell from 6.0 % to 3.8 %, over the same period. These improvements were the result of changes in attendance at Grade 1, which has long been at the lowest. The Grade 1 promotion rate was at 69.1 % in 2010/2011 but increased by more than 10 % to 82.4 % by 2018/2019. The repetition rate fell from 22.6 % to 12.8 %, and dropout rates fell from 8.3 % to 4.8 % over the same period, indicating a near twofold reduction. However, despite such great improvements, Grade 1 attendance is still less favourable than that of other grades. Additional efforts targeting Grade 1 attendance are necessary.

A large project currently addressing education in Nepal is aimed at narrowing the various longstanding gaps in society (caste/ethnic, regional, economic strata, and disability gaps, among others). Children from lower castes, rural areas, impoverished classes, and with disabilities are still at a disadvantage when compared to other children. The issue of an education gap between public and private schools has, in recent years, come under a

great deal of scrutiny. Especially, after democratisation, Nepal—where educational enthusiasm has been observed—witnessed a rise in the number of private schools, particularly in urban centres, and an attendant increase in the number of children enrolled in such institutions (Bhatta & Budathoki, 2013). According to the 2010/2011 National Living Standards Survey, the percentage of children enrolled in private schools more than tripled from 1995 to 2010, showing a rise from 7.5 % to 26.8 % (CBS, 2011).

It is said that in Nepal, a child's English ability and results in the final examination administered for Grade 10 students, which used to be called SLC (School Leaving Certificate) examination,¹³ will influence their life trajectory significantly. The pass rates of the examination in private schools are higher than those in public schools (Bhatta, 2004; Santwana Memorial Academy Educational Research Center [SMAERC], 2008; Thapa, 2015). While the language of instruction in public schools is almost always Nepali,¹⁴ in private schools, it can be English alone or a mix of English and Nepali. Consequently, people believe that private schools provide better education than public schools and wish to send their children to private schools. Subedi et al. (2013) conducted a survey in Sindhupalchok District and found that parents had specific attitudes towards public and private schools, which are summarised in Table 4-1.¹⁵ These perspectives convey just how highly parents respect private schooling.

Children from suburban and rural areas come to urban centres in search of better education. It is believed that schools in urban centres are of a higher quality than those in suburban and rural areas. Schools in urban centres have better access to transportation and financial and informational resources, and are located in an environment where it is easier to attract good teachers and motivated children. As urban centres have more schools than do suburban and rural areas, competition is stiff, and each school endeavours to better itself in order to stay open. Consequently, it is not uncommon for schools located in urban centres to devote a great amount of care and ingenuity to the development of their curricula and designing their facilities. For example, these schools may introduce second-foreign-language learning programmes in Japanese or Chinese, hold events such as Parents' Day, and often have the newest tools and materials. According to Valentin (2005), who administered a survey in Kathmandu, individuals who moved from rural areas to the urban centre, Kathmandu, dreamt that they could achieve a higher socioeconomic status by making their children receive education in an urban school.

Table 4-1 Characteristics of parents' perceptions of public and private schools

Public schools	Private schools
Nepali medium teaching	English medium teaching
Lower quality education	Quality education
Difficult to maintain discipline	Disciplined students
Not fully dedicated	Dedicated and qualified teachers
No frequent evaluation and feedback system	Frequent evaluation and feedback system
Parents do not take responsibility	Parents take responsibility for children's education
Teachers not accountable	Teachers accountable to students
More students per class room	Limited number of students per classroom
Attendance does not bring the family prestige	Attendance brings the family prestige
Few prospects of a bright future for children	Offers prospects of a bright future for children
No extra-curricular activities offered	Have extra-curricular activities
Highly politicised-unionisation of teachers, election of SMCs	Less politicised
Not conducive to learning because of the politicisation of schools	School environment is quite good
	Strong in math, science, and English

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Subedi et al. (2013, p. 45).

These trends indicate that there is a movement of children from 'public to private schools' and 'suburban to urban schools' in pursuit of 'high-quality education'. On the other hand, there are voices expressing concerns that public schools will become a place for the children of poorer classes, undergoing a de facto 'pauperisation' (Bhatta, 2009; Bhatta & Budathoki, 2013) in such situations. The educational gap between public and private schools in Nepal has grown more serious with each passing day.

Introduction

Hypothesis 1

The movement seeking 'high-quality education' has begun, and the flow from 'public schools to private schools in urban areas' is quite common.

The world has shifted its focus from the quantity to the quality of education, and the percentage of children attending private schools in pursuit of better education is on the rise. Against this background, there is also a decline in the quality of public school education and a sharp rise in the number of private schools. According to Nishimura and Yamano (2013), the lower the quality of education in public schools, the more parents send their children to private schools or have them transfer to other schools. In Nepal, where the issue of public school dysfunction is already rather dire, private schools have been on the rise in urban centres, especially after democratisation in 1990 (Bhatta & Budathoki, 2013). People who move from rural to urban areas dream of their children being able to access higher socioeconomic classes and believe that providing their children with education in urban schools is a means to achieve that dream (Valentin, 2005).

Target area and schools

This study set three conditions for selecting the target area for investigation, as follows:

- An area that has recently seen a rapid increase in the number of private schools;
- A relatively isolated area that allows tracing of the children's enrolment flow and patterns; and
- An area affected by the 2015 Nepal earthquakes.

Subsequently, Town A, which is located in the suburban area of Bhaktapur District, Bagmati Pradesh, around 12 kilometres away from Kathmandu, was selected for this study (Figure 4-1). In Bhaktapur District, there are more private schools than public schools (DoE, 2015), and the district has experienced a rise in the number of children entered in private schools in recent years (DoE, 2011). Town A is situated in a slightly elevated area with only one road providing access to the city centre, making the town rather isolated. For this reason, the children who commute from Town A to private schools in urban areas use a school bus. Moreover, Bhaktapur District is one of the 14 districts that were seriously affected by the earthquake disaster. The earthquake disaster destroyed many of the historical buildings and people's houses in the area. The death toll reached 333 people (118 males, 215 females), and 3,052 people were injured (National Planning Commission, 2015b).

As target schools, all five public schools in Town A were selected. The study also designated eight private schools, through which children's enrolment flow from/to the five target schools was confirmed, as 'related private schools'. One of these related private schools was the sole private school in Town A; the others were private schools in urban areas. Table 4-2 shows the basic information of each school, including school fees, medium of instruction, and 2014 passing rates of the final examination administered for Grade 10 students. As for the school fees, it is more expensive in private schools than public schools, and the gap is more than about ten times, even compared with the most inexpensive private school. The medium of instruction in public schools is Nepali, whereas that of private schools is English only or Nepali and English. In terms of the passing rate of the final examination administered for Grade 10 students, that of School 5, which is the only public school having classes up to Grade 12, is at 56.4 %, compared with that of the private school in Town A, which is 90.0 %; the pass rates of all private schools in urban areas are nearly 100 %.

Data collection

To explain the movement seeking 'high-quality education' in the target area, this study treats all schools (five public and one private) in the target area as target schools. The sources of data are school records such as registers and attendance records maintained by each target school. The study used records for the years 2013 and 2014. Two years' worth of data were

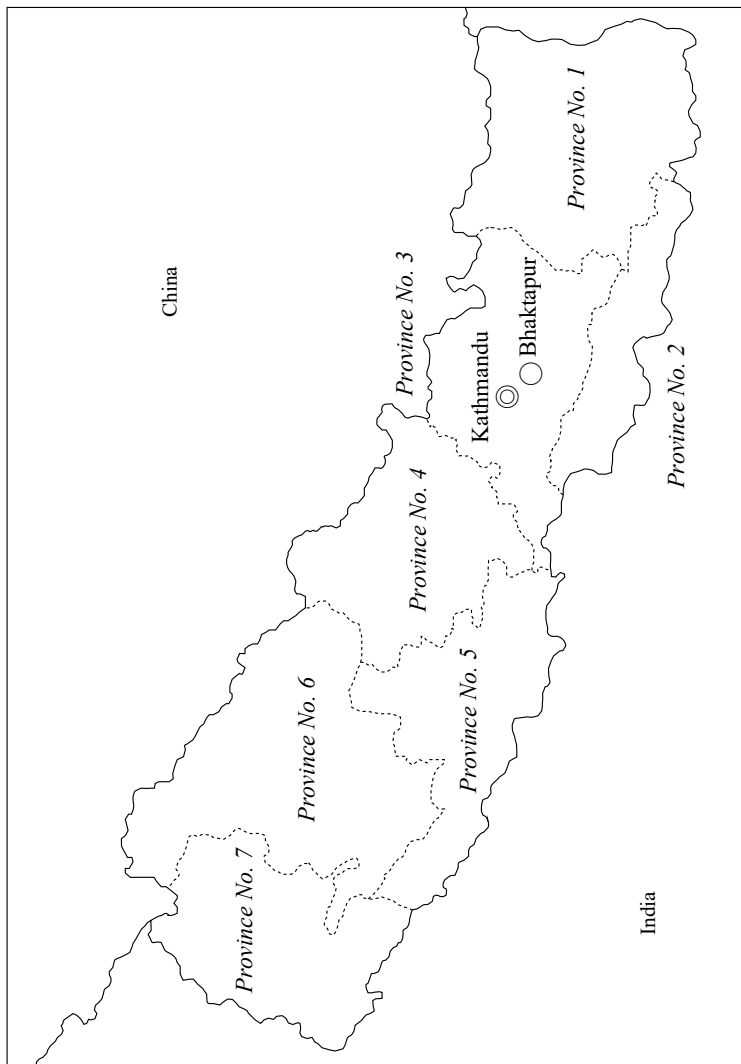


Figure 4-1 Location of Bhaktapur

Table 4-2 Characteristics of target and related schools

Target schools							
School	School type	Grade	Area	No. of children	School fee for GI*	Medium of instruction*	Exam result (pass %)**
School 1	Public	ECD-5	Suburb	25	Rs. 0	Nepali	–
School 2	Public	ECD-5	Suburb	28	Rs. 0	Nepali	–
School 3	Public	ECD-5	Suburb	17	Rs. 55	Nepali	–
School 4	Public	ECD-5	Suburb	73	Rs. 0	Nepali	–
School 5	Public	ECD-12	Suburb	328	Rs. 530	Nepali	56.4 %
Related schools							
School	School type	Grade	Area	No. of children	School fee for GI*	Medium of instruction*	Exam result (pass %)**
School 6	Private	ECD-10	Suburb	162	Rs. 15,750	Nepali/English	90.0 %
School 7	Private	ECD-10	Urban	234	Rs. 13,550	Nepali/English	100.0 %
School 8	Private	ECD-10	Urban	467	Rs. 24,700	Nepali/English	98.2 %
School 9	Private	ECD-12	Urban	973	Rs. 5,000	English	100.0 %
School 10	Private	ECD-10	Urban	140	Rs. 18,200	English	–
School 11	Private	ECD-10	Urban	123	Rs. 25,400	English	100.0 %
School 12	Private	ECD-10	Urban	223	Rs. 23,600	English	100.0 %
School 13	Private	ECD-10	Urban	637	Rs. 61,000	English	100.0 %

Source: Created by the author based on 2013 data from the Department of Education, information from each school*, and 2014 data from District Education Office**.

Notes: (1) Early childhood development (ECD) refers to a preschool attached to a primary school. (2) School fee includes yearly fee, monthly fee, exam fee, text book fee, bus fee, and others. (3) Medium of instruction is for primary education level. (4) Exam result shows the pass rate of the final examination administered to students in Grade 10. (5) Children at S10 started taking the examination from 2015.

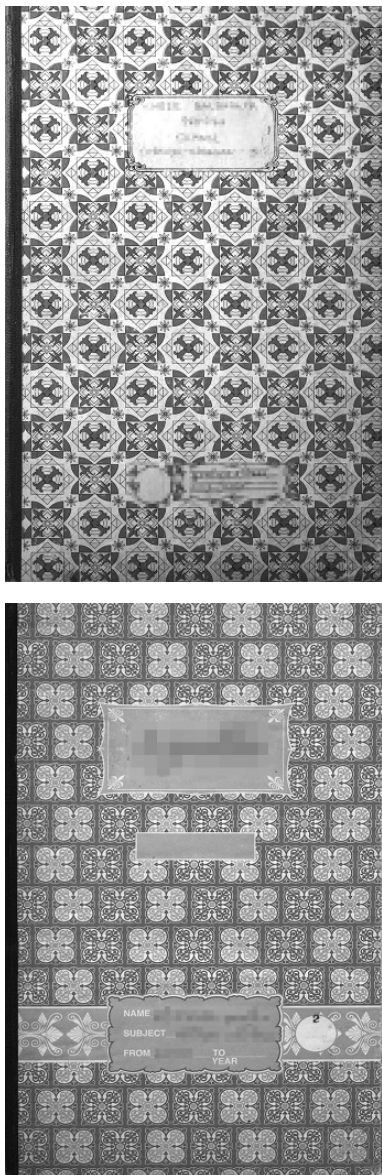


Figure 4-2 Samples of school records

used based on the assumption that parts of the records may have been lost as a result of the earthquakes and using an extra year's worth of data would augment any such losses. From these records, transfer children were identified, and interviews were conducted with teachers who knew these children well to understand each one's transfer destination and period.

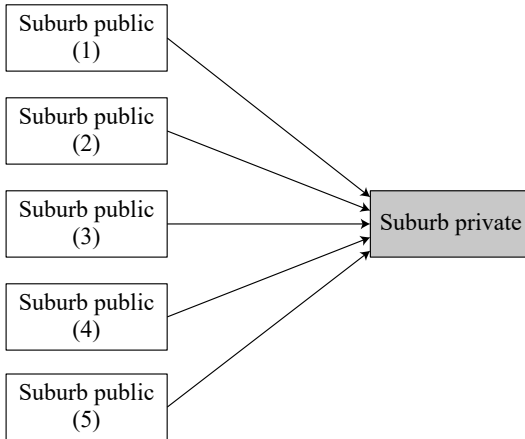
All data for this study were gathered with the approval of the Department of Education in Nepal, the Bhaktapur District Education Office,¹⁶ and the target and related schools. Interviews were conducted only after obtaining permission from target schools; each respondent was given sufficient explanation regarding the research such as its background, objective, significance, and methods in an easy-to-understand manner, and then their verbal consent was obtained. The author adhered to the obligation of maintaining confidentiality regarding information obtained through the surveys and continued to strictly manage the collected data at the author's research room.

Analysis method

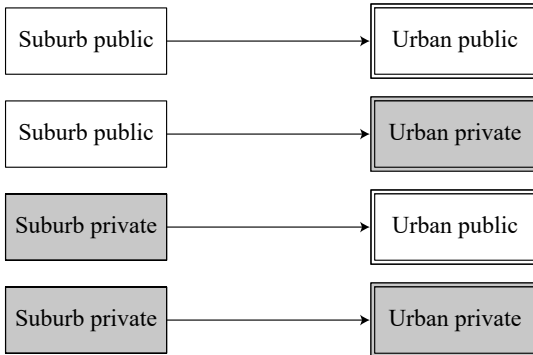
This study aims to explain the movement seeking 'high-quality education' by conducting a detailed analysis of the following intra- and inter-year flow patterns throughout the area: (a) flow from public to private schools, and (b) flow from suburban to urban schools (Figure 4-4).

First, with respect to (a), the study focused on flow from the five suburban public schools to the single private school (suburban private school) in the target area and clarified flow numbers and times of transfer. With respect to (b), the study focused on flow from suburban schools (five suburban public schools and one suburban private school) to urban schools (either public or private) and, as it was done with (a), clarified flow numbers and times of transfer. Next, in regions where a flow towards private schools exists, families first send their children to a public pre-school to acclimatise them to a school environment and subsequently transfer them to a private school once they are sufficiently prepared (Streuli, Vennam, & Woodhead, 2011; Vennam, Komanduri, Cooper, Crivello, & Woodhead, 2009). Thus, this study separated each type of intra- and inter-year flow into those between ECD and other grades and compared the number of children involved in each. Through a detailed comparison of each of these different types of flows, the study sought to understand the entirety of the movement seeking 'high-quality education'.

The target of this study is the range of grades between ECD and the last



(a) Flow from 5 suburban public schools to 1 suburban private school (Intra- and inter-year)



(b) Flow from 6 suburban schools to urban schools (Intra- and inter-year)

Figure 4-4 Schematic diagram of analysis method
Source: Recreated by the author based on Ezaki (2018a, p. 224).

year of primary school, Grade 5. The study focuses on the flow of children in the target area, so trans-district flow was beyond the scope of this study.

Movement seeking 'high-quality education'

Individual children's flow seeking 'high-quality education'

Table 4-3 shows the flow seeking 'high-quality education' from the target schools. In Table 4-3 (a), the flow from public schools (suburban public), which have 454 children in all,¹⁷ to the private school (suburban private) showed 27 transfers in all, comprising 16 intra-year and 11 inter-year transfers (No. 1-1, 1-1'). There are a few more individuals transferring during the school year than between school years.

In Table 4-3 (b), the flow from suburban public schools to urban public schools showed a total of one transfer, wherein there was only one intra-year transfer and no inter-year transfers (No. 2-1, 2-1'). On the other hand, in the flow from suburban public schools to urban private schools, there were 40 transfers in all, comprising 26 intra-year and 14 inter-year transfers (No. 2-2, 2-2'). There was nearly no flow of children into urban public schools in either the intra- or inter-year time periods, but there was quite a robust flow of children into urban private schools. It was particularly common for such flow to occur during the school year.

In the flow from the suburban private school—with 407 children in all¹⁸—there were no transfers whatsoever from this school to an urban public school, both during and between years (No. 2-3, 2-3'). Transfers from the suburban private school to an urban private school were also non-existent during the year (No. 2-4). However, in the inter-year period, 39 transfers were observed (No. 2-4'). In other words, no children transferred from the suburban private school during the school year. When children transferred between school years, they only went to a private school.

Children in ECD and in other grades

This study summarised the flow in which more than one child took part, with details on the number of ECD and other-grade children in each type of flow—namely, flow from suburban public to suburban private schools (Table 4-3, No. 1-1, 1-1'), from suburban public to urban private schools (Table 4-3, No. 2-2, 2-2'), and from suburban private to urban private schools in the inter-year period (Table 4-3, No. 2-4')—in Figure 4-5.

Table 4-3 Enrolment flow in search of 'high-quality education'

(a) Flow from public schools to private school

Intra-year		Inter-year	
No.	Enrolment flow	No.	Enrolment flow
1-1	Suburban public → Suburban private	1-1'	Suburban public → Suburban private
	16		11

(b) Flow from suburban schools to urban schools

Intra-year		Inter-year	
No.	Enrolment flow	No.	Enrolment flow
2-1	Suburban public → Urban public	2-1'	Suburban public → Urban public
2-2	Suburban public → Urban private	2-2'	Suburban public → Urban private
2-3	Suburban private → Urban public	2-3'	Suburban private → Urban public
2-4	Suburban private → Urban private	2-4'	Suburban private → Urban private
	Total		Total
	27		53

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2018a, p. 226).

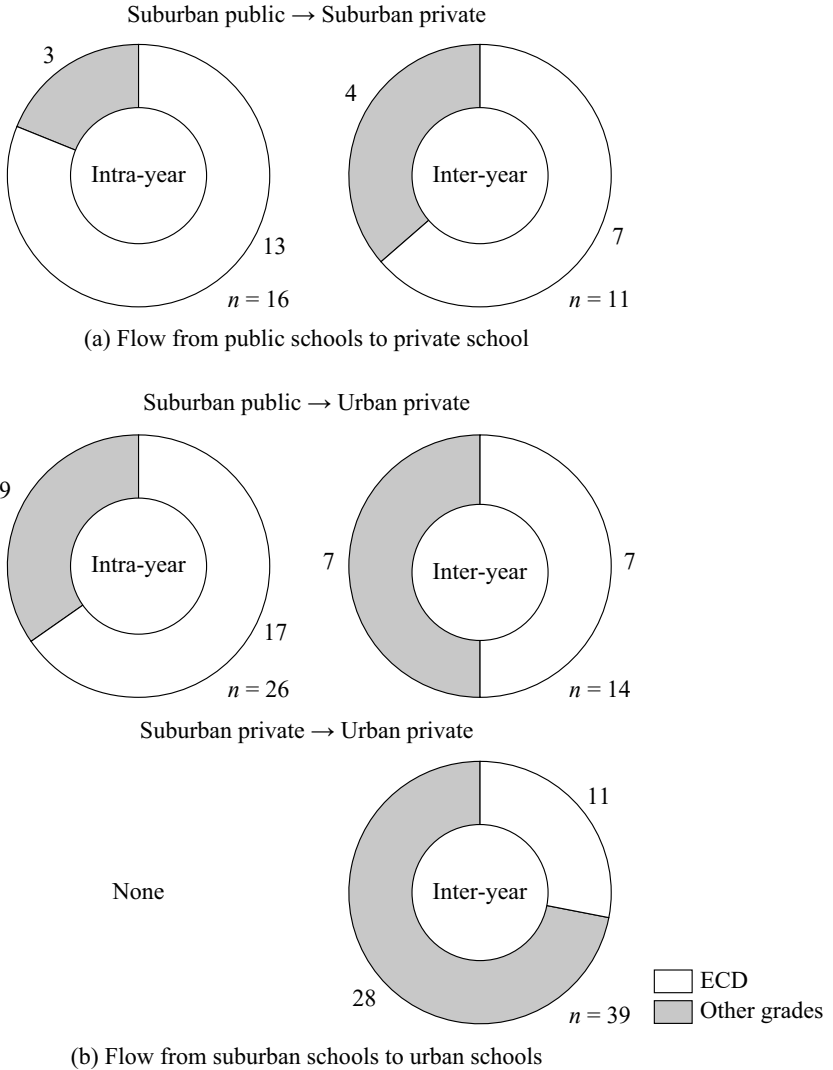


Figure 4-5 ECD and other-grade children participants in each type of flow

Note: 'Flow from suburban public to urban public' observed only one, so it is not shown in the graph above.

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2018a, p. 227).

As shown in Figure 4-5 (a), there were 13 ECD children and 3 children in other grades that transferred from public (suburban public) to private (suburban private) schools, in the intra-year period. There were 7 ECD children and 4 children in other grades in the inter-year period. In both time periods, ECD children outnumbered children in other grades. This trend was particularly marked in the intra-year period.

In Figure 4-5 (b), in the flow from suburban public to urban private schools, there were 17 ECD children and 9 other-grade children in the intra-year period. In the inter-year period, there were 7 ECD and other-grade children, each. However, despite the aggregate totals being the same, the other-grade total included children from Grades 1 through 5, and therefore, ECD transfers were more numerous than those of any other individual grade. In the flow from suburban private to urban private schools, there were 11 ECD children and 28 other-grade children in the inter-year period. This was a different pattern when compared to that of the suburban public to urban private school flow.

Structure of the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’ and the strategy of parents/guardians

In the previous section, a difference in the flow from both suburban public and private schools was explained (Table 4-3 and Figure 4-5). In this section, the two flows are separated and examined, and the structure of the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’ is discussed.

First, the study examined the number of children taking part in each type of flow. In the 2013 and 2014 school years, the total number of transfers comprising the flow of children seeking ‘high-quality education’ reached 107 (Table 4-3). The total number of children at the target suburban public schools in 2013 and 2014 was 454.¹⁹ The flow out of these suburban public schools involved a total of 68 transfers, indicating an overall transfer percentage of 15.0 %. On the other hand, the total number of children at the target suburban private school in 2013 and 2014 was 407.²⁰ The flow out of this suburban private school involved a total of 39 transfers, indicating an overall transfer percentage of 9.6 %. There was a more pronounced movement of children from suburban public schools to other schools in search of better education.

The flow into urban private schools involved 79 transfers, while that into urban public schools involved only 1 transfer. This may have been the

result of problems with transportation and the degree of parents/guardians' interest and engagement in public schooling. Generally, public schools do not have school buses, meaning that suburban children that choose to go to urban public schools must walk or use regular buses. Despite the fact that urban public schools are situated in urban areas, as the prevailing attitude that public schools offer low-quality education still applies to urban public schools, there is relatively little incentive for parents/guardians to send their children to these schools.

The flow from suburban public schools occurred in both the intra- and inter-year periods, but the flow from the suburban private school occurred only in the inter-year period. As public schools are essentially free, children can transfer during the year to private schools without parents/guardians incurring any financial loss. On the other hand, parents/guardians who send their children to private schools have had to pay for registration fees and textbooks, meaning that if their child transferred mid-year to another private school, they would have to pay the registration fees and for textbooks at their destination school as well. This could be the reason for the difference in the timings of flow from suburban public and private schools.

The proportion of ECD children involved in the flow from suburban public to private schools in both time periods was higher than that involved in the flow from suburban public to urban private schools. This may have been caused by the effects of distance from home to these schools. In a follow-up interview with parents/guardians, it was found that they believed that there was simply too much risk involved in placing children too young to even understand exactly what school is in a bus and sending them off to urban private schools far away from home.²¹

Why, then, do ECD children comprise the majority of the flow from suburban public schools? Interviews with parents/guardians were conducted, and many of the responses received showed that this phenomenon had to do with learning English. English ability is incredibly important in Nepalese society. It is indispensable for those wishing to find high-income jobs, such as those at domestically located foreign companies and foreign aid organisations, as well as those seeking to travel and work abroad. Children who wish to study abroad and acquire better learning opportunities must also learn English. Thus, it is strongly believed that bright futures await children who can speak English. Many parents/guardians think that English education must start early on in order for their children to learn

the foreign language. Therefore, they seek to begin their children's private schooling as early as possible. However, rather than financial means being an issue, they also believe that while their children are in the ECD grades, where academic learning is not the primary focus, there is no need to pay the high fees that private schools charge. Therefore, they first send their children to financially and geographically accessible public schools to acclimatise them to a school environment. Once they are academically prepared, they transfer them to a private school, even during the school year.²² This strategy aligns with a similar one pointed out by previous research in India (Streuli et al., 2011; Vennam et al., 2009), a country neighbouring Nepal, in which dysfunctional public schools and a rise in private schools are also seen.

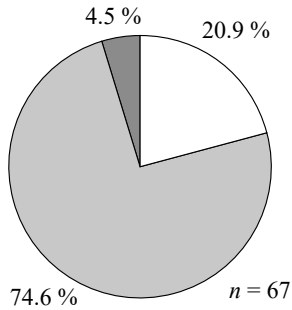
The number of ECD children that participated in the flow from the suburban private school to urban private schools, which was only observed in the inter-year period, was less than the number of children from other grades. Rather than being caused by financial difficulties, this pattern may be the result of the fact that parents/guardians capable of sending their children to private school at the start of their schooling do not have to worry about their children's English education, and therefore, do not need to transfer their child to an urban private school in a hurry.

With the emergence of the movement seeking 'high-quality education' worldwide, parents/guardians strategically consider ways to provide their children with as good an education as possible, and after considering factors like the financial situation of their household and the distance of a school from home, they proactively select the school they choose to send their child to.²³ In the process, public schools are considered 'stepping-stones' from which one can jump into the flow towards 'high-quality education'.

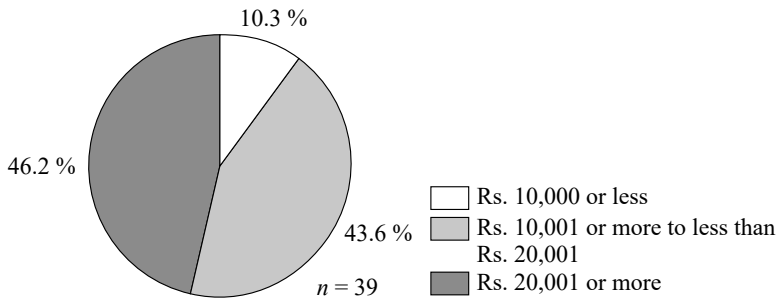
The shadow behind

Limited school access among children from suburban public schools

This section focuses on the different kinds of schools that these children transferred to. The study divided the set of transfer destination schools—the suburban private school into which the target schools fed and the related urban private schools—into three groups based on the school fees they charged: (1) Rs. 10,000 or less, (2) Rs. 10,001 or more to less than Rs. 20,001, and (3) Rs. 20,001 or more. The study then compared the percent-



(a) Children from suburban public schools



(b) Children from suburban private school

Figure 4-6 Transfer destinations for children from suburban public schools and private school

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2018a, p. 232).

ages of transfers from suburban public schools to those from suburban private school within each group (Figure 4-6). It found that children from suburban public schools most commonly transferred to schools charging mid-level fees, that is, (2) Rs. 10,001 or more to less than Rs. 20,001 (74.6 %). Children from suburban public schools transferred least into schools charging high fees, that is, (3) Rs. 20,001 or more (4.5 %). Children from suburban private school transferred in the greatest numbers to schools charging high fees ((3) Rs. 20,001 or more) and schools charging mid-level fees ((2) Rs. 10,001 or more to less than Rs. 20,001). In particular, 46.2 % of them transferred into high-fee schools. As for schools with the lowest fees, that is, (1) Rs. 10,000 or less, the percentage of transfers from suburban public schools was nearly double that of the transfers from suburban private school (suburban public schools: 20.9 %, suburban private school: 10.3 %). After examining these figures with statistical tests, the study found them to be significantly different at a threshold of 1 % ($\chi^2 = 27.01$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.01$).

Despite being part of the same flow—the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’—there is a difference in the transfer destinations of children from suburban public schools and children from suburban private school. Those from suburban public schools were unable to access high-fee private schools.

The fragile flow of children from suburban public schools

In this section, the study describes the backflow of children. The interviews conducted with teachers following the examination of school records showed that some children, after having transferred to a private school, ended up returning the following year to the suburban public school. Among these, even those who returned to suburban public schools within a few months of transferring were observed. According to the teachers at suburban public schools, although there are various circumstances that cause this return, including the ‘inability to keep up with English classes’ and the ‘inability to acclimatise to a new school’, the most common reason tends to be financial. As explained above, even the school fee of the most inexpensive private school is approximately ten times that of public schools; the school fees of suburban private and related urban private schools place a large burden on parents/guardians. Nevertheless, parents/guardians think of their children’s future, and send their children to private school when they have the financial means to do so. When they do not, they send them

to public school. This phenomenon has been identified in other regions of Nepal as well (Bhatta & Budathoki, 2013).

CHAPTER FIVE

Who are left behind from the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’?

Introduction

Hypothesis

In Nepal, socially vulnerable children—girls, children of low castes, poor families, etc.—are left behind by the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’.

In recent years, private schools have been on the rise in many developing countries, but opinions vary widely on the equitability of access to these private schools. While some²⁴ believe that the emergence of a new type of private school, the low-fee private school (LFPS), will enable the cheap and efficient spread of education, others²⁵ point out that socially vulnerable children such as girls and poor individuals tend to have few opportunities to access private schools. In Nepalese society, owing to misogyny and caste culture, female, low-caste, and poor children have been at a significant disadvantage.

Data collection

School records such as registries and attendance records were first accessed at the target public schools, and lists of children taking school buses to the schools from the target area were obtained at the related private schools in the urban area.²⁶ Using these two data pools, random sampling was performed to extract a subject group. The target subjects were children from ECD (early childhood development) to Grade 5.

Next, semi-structured interviews were conducted at the target public and related private schools with the subjects and teachers who knew the subjects well to gather information on the subjects' attributes and familial backgrounds. Specifically, a logistic regression analysis by Woodhead et al. (2013) was referenced, and subjects and teachers were asked about the following: (1) gender, (2) caste, (3) family structure, (4) number of siblings, (5) birth order, (6) father's occupation, (7) mother's occupation, (8) paternal literacy, (9) maternal literacy, and (10) number of possessions.

To understand the financial situation of the subjects' families, it would have been ideal to inquire about the salaries of the subjects' parents; however, asking for specific figures from the subjects and their teachers proved rather difficult. Instead, the families' financial situations were inferred from their occupations and possessions. Based on the National Population and Housing Census 2011, the following 10 possessions were tracked: radio, television, computer, internet, landline telephone, mobile phone, automobile, motorcycle, bicycle, and refrigerator (Central Bureau of Statistics [CBS], 2014).

Finally, to confirm the integrity of the information gained in the interviews, home-visit surveys were conducted for a subset of the subjects. The collected data were organised, and a database was created for each child's records.

Analysis method

First, each item of data gathered through interviews was analysed for trends by school type. For caste, the data were classified into upper castes (Brahmin/Chhetri) or ethnic groups (Janajati) and untouchable castes (Dalit), and for family structure, either nuclear family or extended family. Birth order was categorised as follows: eldest child, middle child, youngest child, or only child. In a family with three children, the children would be labelled eldest, middle, and youngest. In a family with four children, the second- and third-eldest children would both be labelled middle children. Parents' occupation was categorised with reference to the Nepal Standard Classification of Occupation: (1) physical work, (2) mental work, (3) military personnel, and (4) overseas migrant work.²⁷ As the work performed by military personnel varies based on rank, and the work performed by migrant workers varies depending on their contract with their employer, these occupations could not be categorised into either physical or mental work, and so they were separated into their own categories. Parental literacy was

categorised as either literate or illiterate.

Next, using the same data, a logistic regression analysis was performed using the ability or inability to attend a private school as the binary objective variable. The 10 data items polled by the survey were set as the explanatory variables. The statistical analysis software SPSS Version 25 for Mac was used for all statistical analyses, and the statistical significance threshold was set to less than 5 %.

Comparison of attributes and familial backgrounds between individuals served and left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education'

Through the field surveys, data were collected from 103 individuals in public schools and 89 individuals in private schools, for a total of 192 subjects. The survey response rate was 100 % and all subjects followed through with their participation. Table 5-1 presents the data of their attributes and familial backgrounds. To confirm the answers given during the interview sessions, home-visit surveys were conducted for a small subset (28 subjects, selected by random sampling) of the total subject pool. Data consistency was rated at 98.0 %.

The results of logistic regression analysis carried out using the binary objective variable of ability or inability to attend private school and the 10 data items gathered via interviews are given in Table 5-2. Of the 10 items set as explanatory variables in the model, the ones not meeting the 5 % statistical significance threshold were the following: gender, birth order, father's occupation, maternal literacy, and number of possessions. Below are the results for each significant item.

For gender, male children were more likely than female children to be able to attend private school (odds ratio [OR]: 5.04, 95 % confidence interval²⁸ [CI]: 1.98–12.80). For birth order, it was more common for the youngest children to attend private schools than it was for only children (OR: 0.19, CI: 0.04–0.86; comparisons for eldest and middle children were not significant). For father's occupation, children whose father's occupation involves mental work tended to attend private schools (OR: 10.95, CI: 2.57–46.69; comparisons of military personnel and overseas migrant work were not significant). For maternal literacy, children with literate mothers were more likely to attend private schools (OR: 5.51, CI: 2.06–14.76). For number of possessions, if a child's family owned more possessions on the specified

Table 5-1 Result of interview survey

Gender	Public-school subjects		Private-school subjects	
	Public-school subjects	Private-school subjects	Public-school subjects	Private-school subjects
Male	40 (38.8)	51 (57.3)	21 (20.4)	10 (11.2)
Female	63 (61.2)	38 (42.7)	18 (17.5)	27 (30.3)
Caste				
Upper castes	1 (1.0)	15 (16.9)	22 (21.4)	11 (12.4)
Ethnic groups/Dalit	102 (99.0)	74 (83.1)	42 (40.8)	41 (46.1)
Family structure				
Nuclear family	48 (46.6)	41 (46.1)	70 (68.0)	39 (43.8)
Extended family	55 (53.4)	48 (53.9)	3 (2.9)	29 (32.6)
Number of siblings				
None	21 (20.4)	10 (11.2)	12 (11.7)	9 (10.1)
1 sibling	42 (40.8)	50 (56.2)	14 (13.6)	11 (12.4)
2 siblings	19 (18.4)	20 (22.5)	4 (3.9)	1 (1.1)
3 siblings	12 (11.7)	2 (2.2)		
4 siblings	6 (5.8)	5 (5.6)		
5 siblings	0 (0.0)	2 (2.2)		
6 siblings	1 (1.0)	0 (0.0)		
7 siblings	1 (1.0)	0 (0.0)		
8 siblings	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)		
9 siblings	1 (1.0)	0 (0.0)		
Birth order				
Only child			21 (20.4)	10 (11.2)
Eldest child			18 (17.5)	27 (30.3)
Middle child			22 (21.4)	11 (12.4)
Youngest child			42 (40.8)	41 (46.1)
Father's occupation				
Physical work			70 (68.0)	39 (43.8)
Mental work			3 (2.9)	29 (32.6)
Military personnel			12 (11.7)	9 (10.1)
Overseas migrant work			14 (13.6)	11 (12.4)
No father			4 (3.9)	1 (1.1)
Mother's occupation				
Physical work			98 (95.1)	80 (89.9)
Mental work			1 (1.0)	7 (7.9)
Military personnel			0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Overseas migrant work			0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
No mother			4 (3.9)	2 (2.2)
Paternal literacy				
Literate			75 (72.8)	86 (96.6)
Illiterate			24 (23.3)	2 (2.2)
No father			4 (3.9)	1 (1.1)
Maternal literacy				
Literate			38 (36.9)	72 (80.9)
Illiterate			61 (59.2)	15 (16.9)
No mother			4 (3.9)	2 (2.2)
Possessions				
0 list item			5 (4.9)	0 (0.0)
1 list item			16 (15.5)	0 (0.0)
2 list items			40 (38.8)	27 (30.3)
3 list items			32 (31.1)	26 (29.2)
4 list items			8 (7.8)	24 (27.0)
5 list items			1 (1.0)	6 (6.7)
6 list items			1 (1.0)	2 (2.2)
7 list items			0 (0.0)	1 (1.1)
8 list items			0 (0.0)	3 (3.4)
9 list items			0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
10 list items			0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2020).

Table 5-2 Result of logistic regression analysis

Explanatory variable	Odds ratio	95 % confidence interval	Variable	Odds ratio	95 % confidence interval
Gender			Father's occupation		
Male	5.04*	1.98–12.80	Military personnel	1.37	0.40–4.78
Female	1		Overseas migrant work	1.93	0.56–6.71
Caste			Mental work	10.95*	2.57–46.69
Upper castes	8.96	0.88–91.11	Physical work	1	
Ethnic groups/Dalit	1		Mother's occupation		
Family structure			Mental work	8.67	0.46–164.50
Nuclear family	1.90	0.80–4.50	Physical work	1	
Extended family	1		Paternal literacy		
Number of siblings			Literate	5.19	0.94–28.65
	0.88	0.60–1.28	Illiterate	1	
Birth order			Maternal literacy		
Only child	0.19*	0.04–0.86	Literate	5.51*	2.06–14.76
Elderest child	1.96	0.68–5.63	Illiterate	1	
Middle child	0.79	0.21–2.96	Possessions		
Youngest child	1			1.77*	1.15–2.73

Note: * $p < 0.05$.

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2020).

list, the more common it was for the child to attend a private school (OR: 1.77, IC: 1.15–2.73). Put another way, this implies that children who were female, only children, whose fathers were physical workers, whose mothers were illiterate, and whose families did not own many of the specified possessions were highly unlikely to attend private school.

Characteristics of children left behind from the movement seeking 'high-quality education'

As can be seen in the results of the logistic regression analysis (Table 5-2), the factor that most affects children's ability to attend a private school is their father's occupation, with children whose fathers' occupations involve mental work being 10.95 times more likely to attend private schools than children whose fathers' occupations involve physical work. In Nepal, as with other countries, the salaries of mental work occupations tend to be higher than those of physical work occupations. In the region targeted in this study, the monthly salaries for various mental work jobs, according to teachers at the target public schools, were as follows: school teacher, approximately Rs. 5,000–35,000;²⁹ medical professional, approximately Rs. 20,000–50,000; and politician, approximately Rs. 20,000–100,000. However, the following were the monthly salaries for physical work jobs: subsistence farmer, approximately Rs. 3,000–15,000; carpet factory worker, approximately Rs. 5,000–10,000; and day worker, approximately Rs. 5,000–15,000. While these are only singular examples, it is readily apparent that the range of monthly salaries for mental work occupations is higher than that for physical work occupations. Additionally, the number of possessions owned by a household—an indicator of financial soundness, similar to parents' occupation—reveals that children from houses with more possessions were more likely to attend private school.³⁰ A glance at the details of possessions shown in Figure 5-1 reveals that most of the private-school subjects owned mobile phones and televisions (mobile phone: 100 %, television: 98.9 %), whose numbers were followed by those owning motorcycles (32.6 %) and refrigerators (32.6 %). On the other hand, among public-school subjects, a mobile phone was mostly owned (91.5 %), as with private-school subjects; however, regarding the ownership of a television, the percentage dropped to 75.4 %. The third most common possession was a radio (39.2 %), followed by other possessions (approximately 10 % or lesser). From this figure, it is obvious that the financial status of private-school subjects is better

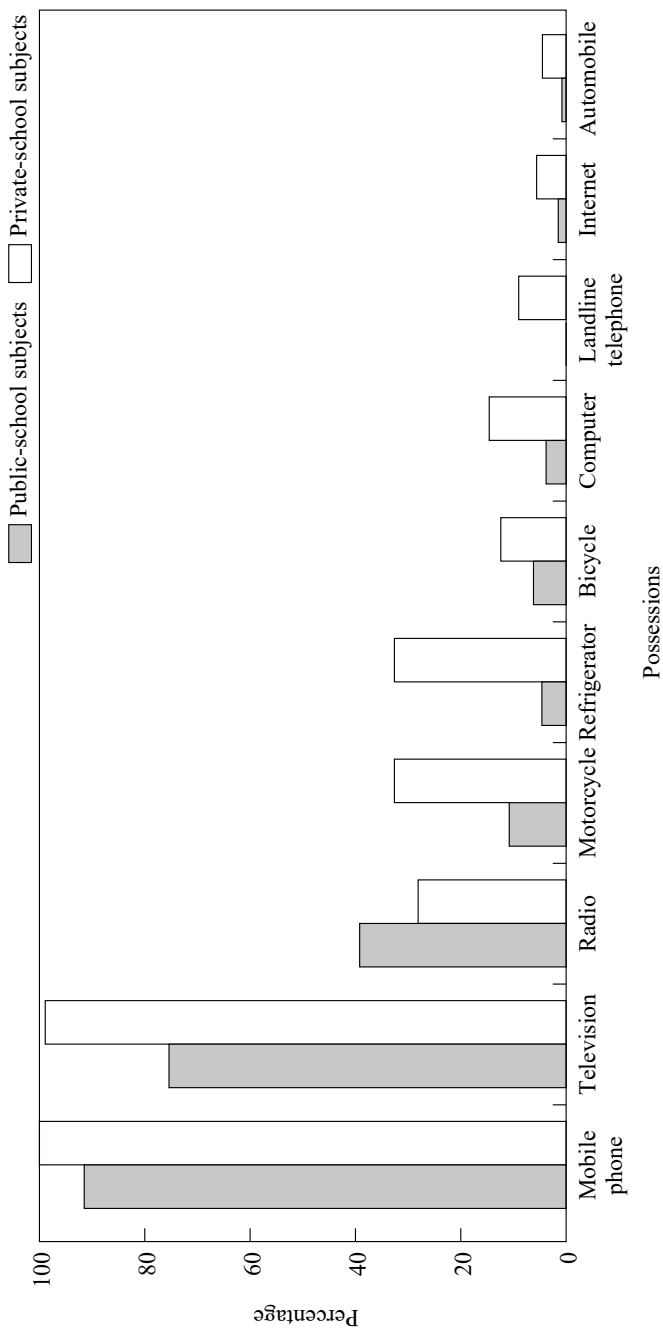


Figure 5-1 The details of possessions by school type

than that of public-school subjects.

Along with the rise in private schools in general, the number of LF-PSs has also increased, and LFPSs have also begun to appear in Nepal. In Bhaktapur, where private schools outnumber public schools,³¹ one of the target schools, School 9, is recognised by area residents as an LFPS. Its tuition is Rs. 5,000 per year, which, while certainly less than that of the other private schools studied, is still ten times that of public schools (Table 4-2). Clearly, sending a child to this school places a large financial burden on a parent.

Consequently, despite the existence of LFPSs, sending children to private schools remains difficult for families without some degree of financial latitude. The current study makes it clear that families with the financial ability—or at least the ability to make financial sacrifices—to divert the funds necessary to pay tuition fees are at an advantage. This result is in agreement with the results of analyses conducted in Nepal's neighbour, India (Härmä, 2009, 2011; Woodhead et al., 2013).³² In recent years, concern over a *de facto* impoverishment of the public school system in Nepal has intensified (Bhatta, 2009; Bhatta & Budathoki, 2013), and it would not be incorrect to state that the poorest citizens face barriers to accessing 'high-quality education'.

The next most significant factor was maternal literacy. Previously published research has described the relationship between maternal education and children's school attendance. It has been reported that mothers who received an education sent their children to school with greater frequency than mothers who did not (UNESCO Institute for Statistics/UNICEF, 2005) and that children with educated mothers had lower dropout rates (Lloyd, Mete, & Grant, 2009). From this, it can be inferred that mothers who have received an education better understand the importance of education than those who have not. Thus, the present analysis shows that literate mothers—that is, those who have received an education—value their children's education and send them to private schools in search of a better education. In contrast, illiterate mothers—mothers who have not received a sufficient education—tend to keep their children in public schools.³³

The third most significant factor was birth order. According to the results of the logistic regression analysis, the likelihood of attending private school was highest for the eldest child and decreased for the youngest, middle, and only children, in that order. A significant difference was found in the comparison of youngest children to only children, with youngest

children being 5.26 times as likely to attend private school. What might explain the fact that only children—who are generally doted on by their parents and whose parents are more likely to be able to spend money on tuition—appear to have the least opportunity to attend private schools? An answer can be found by observing the grade level of the public-school only children—approximately half were in ECD. This indicates that ECD children are more likely to be the eldest child in their families and not have siblings than children in other grades. Additionally, as explained in the previous chapter, some parents/guardians believe that for the ECD grades, where curricular content is not strictly academic, there is no need to send their children to private schools and pay the high tuition fees. These parents/guardians opt instead to send their children to public schools for ECD and acclimate them to the school environment. Once they are adequately prepared to learn, their parents/guardians transfer them to private schools, even in the middle of the school year. As some parents/guardians choose to put their children in ECD classes when they are as young as two years old, the number of ECD children in public school tends to be larger.³⁴ In other words, it is common for ECD children to be first sent to public school. This may explain the logistic regression analysis results that indicate that only children are least likely to attend private schools.³⁵

Finally, the fourth most significant factor is gender. Nepal is a male-dominated society, and women have suffered various forms of discrimination to date. These injustices extend to education. It has been customary for Nepalese families to prioritise the education of their sons—the ones who will care for their descendants—rather than that of their daughters, who will eventually marry into other households.³⁶ As a result, enrolment rates for female children have historically been lower than those for male children, a problem that has long been a concern in the educational system. Governmental initiatives to combat this issue have succeeded, and at present, the gap in enrolment rates between male and female children in primary education has been eliminated (DoE, 2015). However, there remains a difference in the types of schools that male and female children attend. Until recently, whether or not female children were able to attend school was a considerable problem, but at present, that problem has shifted to whether or not they can attend private schools. That is, it is likely that female children have been excluded from the movement seeking 'high-quality education'.

Thus, the present study found that the common characteristics of children who face barriers to private-school access are having a lower eco-

nomic status, having mothers who are illiterate, being only children, and being female. Since the introduction of the 'Education for All' (EFA) and 'Millennium Development Goals' (MDGs) initiatives, various studies have been conducted on the relationship between access to education and factors such as economic status, parents' educational background, birth order, and gender. Through these initiatives, poor children and female children were particularly recognised as being in a vulnerable position in terms of educational access; hence, they have been the focus of attention of relevant efforts worldwide. The present study clarifies that such children are still left behind even after the introduction of the 'Sustainable Development Goals' (SDGs), when the focus has shifted to demands for high-quality education.

Change in people's awareness in the Nepalese society

From caste to economic status

Various caste-related problems in the field of education have been reported in previously published research (Bhandari, 2016; UNICEF, 2007), including low attendance rates and high dropout rates for low-caste children. The results of this study also indicate that, when it comes to access to private schools, ethnic groups and untouchable castes are at a disadvantage compared to upper castes. However, this difference is not statistically significant; instead, economic factors such as father's occupation have a greater effect.

The reasons for this include the modernisation and globalisation of Nepalese society and changes in caste culture.³⁷ Following the democratisation movements of 1990, movements in Nepal aimed at identity recovery have emerged, and the social status of the Parbate Hindu upper caste—which has to date ruled politically, culturally, and linguistically—became threatened. The appearance of Western culture, thought, and knowledge has led to an emphasis on English as an international language, and many people have started prioritising English education. Further, globalisation and the emergence of a market-oriented economy have brought the opportunity for economic success to individuals who are not from upper castes. Because of these changes, unease and dissatisfaction with upper castes continues to surface, and in lower castes, modernisation and globalisation have positively influenced some individuals. For example, according to Nagaoka (2018), among the Khadgi people—a caste that traditionally engaged in the slaughter and butchery of livestock and the selling of meat—the increase in meat

consumption has led to a rise in the number of young Khadgi returning to their ancestral occupation in search of economic profit. Similarly, for the Pode people, who have traditionally been involved in cleaning and maintenance, the advancement of tourism policies aimed at securing foreign currency, which has led to the building of hotels and offices in city centres, has opened up new employment opportunities (Nagaoka, 2018).

Thus, the modernisation and globalisation of Nepalese society are bringing about the dissolution of long-standing caste-based hierarchical structures. Nowhere is this phenomenon as noticeable as in the capital, Kathmandu. According to Liechty (2003), whether or not a child can attend private schools located in Kathmandu depends mostly on the family's economic power, and peer groups in school are no longer based on caste and ethnicity but are instead now forming around economic status.

The shadow of caste culture has begun to fade, and people have come to emphasise economic status much more. For the middle class, which possesses neither much land nor vast fortunes, education is widely recognised as the key to advancement. These people are ready to suffer financial sacrifices if it means being able to send their children to private schools.

Better education and family planning

According to the Nepal Demographic and Health Survey Report 2011, the birth rate declined from 4.6 in 1996 to 4.1 in 2001, 3.1 in 2006, and 2.6 in 2011 (Ministry of Health and Population Nepal [MoHP], New ERA, & ICF International, 2012). The results of the interview surveys of this analysis also indicate that among both public- and private-school subjects, the percentage of children with only one other sibling is highest and comprise approximately half of all the subjects (Table 5-1).

The most prominent reasons behind this include a decline in death rates among new-borns and expectant and nursing mothers due to improvements in hygiene and medical care, awareness campaigns on the radio and television, and improvements in female school attendance (Ministry of Health and Population Nepal [MoHP], Partnership for Mental, Newborn, & Child Health, World Health Organization [WHO], World Bank, & Alliance for Health Policy and Systems Research, 2014). Meanwhile, teachers at the target public and private schools had the following comments:

Parents believe that two children is the ideal number. Any more than that and it becomes difficult to provide them with a good education.

That is because these parents want to send their children to private schools if they have the chance (male, fifties, public-school teacher).

Parents want to provide their children with a good education. So, they want to send them to private school. Unfortunately, that costs money. For this reason, they believe that having two children is exactly the right amount. I am also a parent of children in primary school, but I only have two. I do not need any more (male, forties, private-school teacher).

The data, collected by additional interviews with the teachers, demonstrate that in urban centres and surrounding areas—where the number of private schools is on the rise—in addition to a decline in the death rates of newborns and expectant and nursing mothers, changes in awareness regarding ‘high-quality education’ have influenced and will continue to influence family planning.

CHAPTER SIX

How is the enrolment status of children? Focusing on children left behind from the movement seeking 'high-quality education'

Introduction

Hypothesis

Children left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education' do not have any incentive to expand their choices by education, and therefore fall into grade repetition, temporary dropout, and unfavourable completion rates.

It is widely believed that private schools in Nepal offer better education than do public schools, and parents wish to send their children to private schools (Bhatta & Budathoki, 2013; Subedi et al., 2013). There are concerns that public schools may become places for poor children only, thus causing a de facto 'pauperisation' of the public school system (Bhatta, 2009; Bhatta & Budathoki, 2013). Although conducted in a different region, research using longitudinal data has showed alarming enrolment patterns among individual learners, including the repetition of the same grade six times, despite the child not being ill (Sekiya, 2014), and repeated cycles of temporary dropping out from and returning to school (Ezaki & Nakamura, 2018). Children from poorer families (Cardoso & Verner, 2007) or those that attend low-quality schools (Hanushek et al., 2008) are far more likely to drop out.

Data collection

The subjects of the current study comprised 473 children who had entered the target public schools between 2003 and 2007 and who had either gradu-

ated or dropped out by 2014. Data were collected from school records kept by the target schools, including registers and mark ledgers. Following the methods of Sekiya (2014), each individual child was traced longitudinally by collecting information about his/her registration, dropout, transfer, and end-of-year assessment by teachers. This information was used to create a database. In order to ensure the consistency of the data, the subjects were extracted by random sampling and were visited at their homes. During the home-visit surveys, information about the children, the background of their enrolment status, and so forth, was also collected. When necessary, interviews with principals and teachers of the target schools were also conducted.

Analysis method

First, in order to obtain an overall picture of enrolment status, the numbers of children who had graduated and dropped out from all target schools were calculated based on the survey of school records and home-visit surveys to obtain a completion rate. Next, the focus of analysis shifted to the enrolment status of each child; various enrolment patterns were ordered in descending order of frequency and the discovered trends were then analysed. Since many developing countries, including Nepal, face challenges in education, such as the gender gap and overage children,³⁸ the children's enrolment status was analysed with reference to (1) gender and (2) age at first entrance to school.

Enrolment status at target schools

Overall enrolment status in target schools

Figure 6-1 shows the results of the survey of school records and the home-visit surveys. First, in reference to the enrolment status of each child, the analysis of the school records retained by the target schools showed that out of all subjects (473 children), 189 had graduated from school and 284 had dropped out (Figure 6-1 (a)). Of these 473 children, 100 subjects were extracted by way of random sampling, and home-visit surveys were conducted (Figure 6-1 (b)). The home-visit surveys revealed that 10 children had transferred to private schools during the primary education level, which meant that 90 children had remained in public schools.³⁹ Furthermore, 6 out of those 90 children were simultaneously registered in two of the five

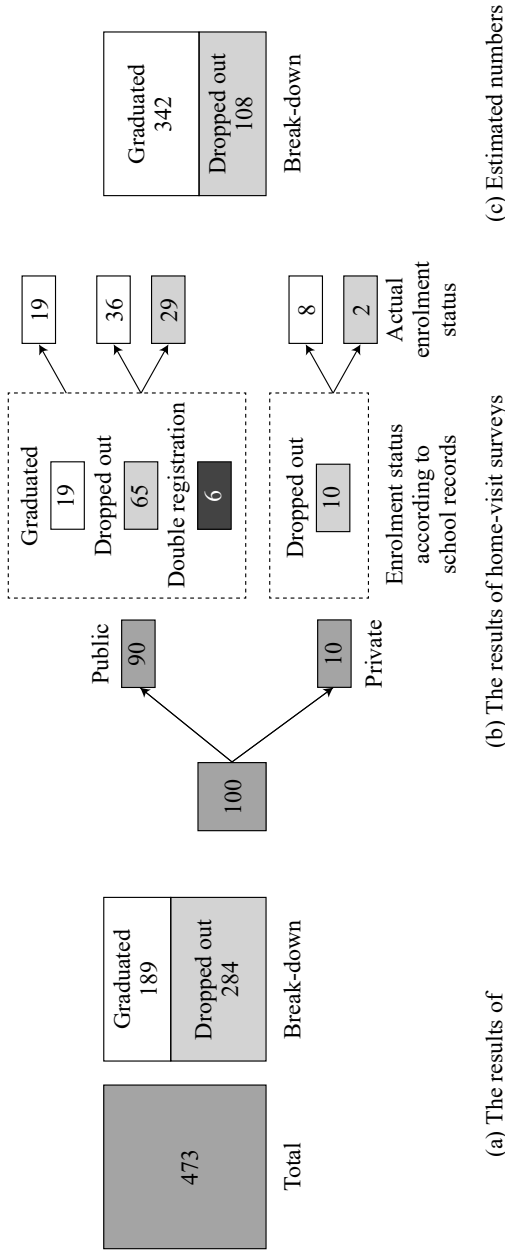


Figure 6-1 Results of the survey of school records and home-visit surveys
 Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2019).

target schools. Based on this discovery, the study checked to see if there were more doubly registered children amongst the original number of 473 children by interviewing teachers, the study subjects, and their families, and found that in addition to the 6 children already mentioned, 17 other children were also doubly registered (23 children in total).

The study then focused on the total of 84 children (90 children in public schools minus the 6 who were doubly registered) (Figure 6-1 (b)). The analysis of school records suggested that of these 84 children, 19 had graduated from primary school, while 65 had dropped out. The home-visit surveys were conducted to verify the consistency of that enrolment pattern. The homes of the 19 children who were recorded by schools as having graduated confirmed that the record was correct. On the other hand, of the 65 children who were recorded as dropouts by the schools, 29 were found to indeed be dropouts in accordance with the records, but the remaining 36 had in fact graduated. Two reasons for this discrepancy between the record and reality were discovered: (1) children frequently changed schools and the procedures of their transfer between schools were not properly implemented; and (2) some children had dropped out temporarily but then returned. In these cases, it became difficult to trace the children's enrolment status longitudinally based on school records.

Since some children's enrolment patterns could not be traced accurately by means of surveying school records, the estimated numbers of graduates and dropouts were calculated based on the figures obtained from the home-visit surveys. The estimated number of children who had graduated was 342, while that of dropouts was 108 (Figure 6-1 (c)). Consequently, the estimated completion rate in the target schools was 75.9 %.

Individual children's enrolment patterns

Table 6-1 shows the enrolment patterns of 84 children based on the survey of school records and the home-visit surveys in descending order; it shows patterns that apply to two or more children.⁴⁰ The numerical figure in the pattern represents the grade, while the alphabet letter represents the end-of-year evaluation. 'P' stands for 'pass', 'F' for 'fail', and 'D' for 'dropout'. '/' denotes absence for a year, in other words, temporary dropout.

There were 38 enrolment patterns in total. Among them, there were only 9 patterns that apply to two or more children, and the remaining 29 patterns apply to only one child. This means that there was a wide range of enrolment status.

Table 6-1 Frequently observed enrolment patterns

Rank	Enrolment pattern	No. of children	Ratio	No. of registered years
1	1P2P3P4P5P	26	31.0	5
2	1D	6	7.1	1
2	1P//2P3P4P5P	6	7.1	6
4	1F1P2P3P4P5P	4	4.8	6
4	1F1F1P2P3P4P5P	4	4.8	7
6	1P2P3P4P5D	3	3.6	5
7	1P2P3P4D	2	2.4	4
7	1P2F2D	2	2.4	3
7	1P2D	2	2.4	2
Total		84		

Note: P = pass, F = fail, D = dropout, // = one-year dropout.

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2019).

The most frequent pattern is '1P2P3P4P5P', which means the children entered Grade 1 and progressed through to Grade 5, the final year in the primary education level, without repeating (26 children). Thus, they graduated without interruption. This 'straight graduation' pattern is the most ideal pattern in enrolment patterns, but the proportion of straight graduation remains at 31.0 %, which is approximately one-third of the total. Two patterns were found to be the second most frequent; one is '1D', indicating children who entered Grade 1 but dropped out within a year, while the other is '1P//2P3P4P5P', in which children had a one-year dropout after passing Grade 1 and then returned to school, before progressing to graduation without any further problems (6 children each, 7.1 %). The '1D' pattern is the least ideal of the enrolment patterns. This was followed by two further patterns, which are the fourth most frequent; one is '1F1P2P3P4P5P', in which the children had to repeat Grade 1 and then progressed to graduation without any problems, while the other is '1F1F1P2P3P4P5P', in which the children repeated Grade 1 twice but then progressed to graduation without any further problems (4 children each, 4.8 %). In the patterns from the second to the fourth position, children faced a problem during Grade 1 or after completing Grade 1 regardless of graduation or dropout. In Table 6-1, dropout patterns continued from the sixth position, but there was only one

pattern which included an 'F' ('1P2F2D') (2 children out of 15 children), and others suddenly dropped out of school without experiencing repetition or temporary dropout.

Children's enrolment status by gender and age at first entrance

The enrolment patterns of 84 children were divided into five groups by gender and age at first entrance: (1) straight graduation, (2) graduation pattern including repetition in Grade 1 (1F), (3) other graduation patterns, (4) other dropout patterns, and (5) pattern of dropout within a year (1D). First, when examining enrolment status by gender (Figure 6-2), girls' total graduation rate, which is a sum of (1), (2), and (3), was found to be higher than that of boys (boys: 62.1 %, girls: 68.0 %). Furthermore, the proportion of girls who

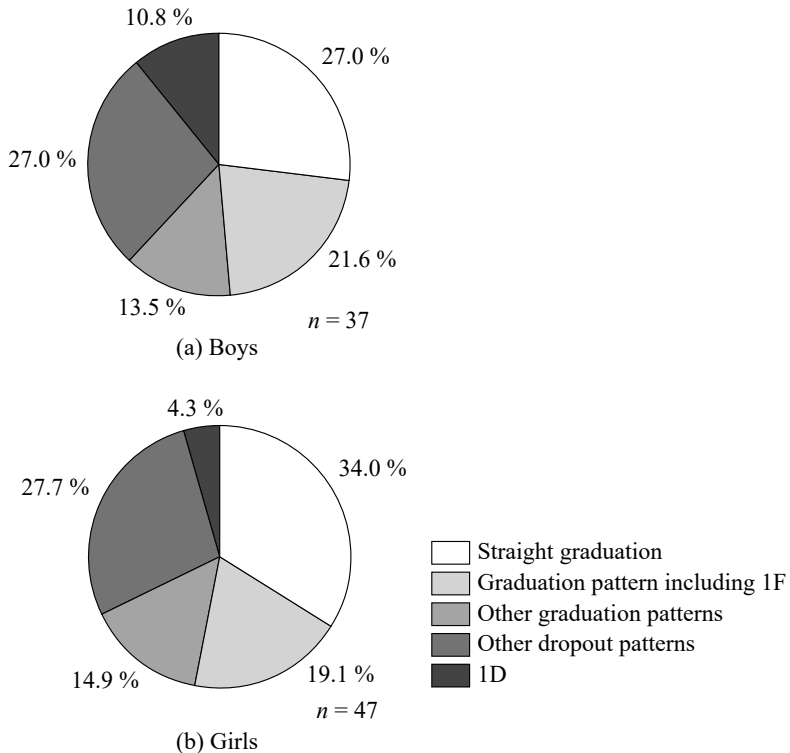


Figure 6-2 Enrolment status by gender

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2019).

followed the most ideal pattern, 'straight graduation', was also higher than that of boys (boys: 27.0 %, girls: 34.0 %). On the other hand, for '1D', the least ideal pattern, the proportion of girls was lower than that of boys (boys: 10.8 %, girls: 4.3 %). Therefore, the analysis has shown that girls' enrolment status is better than that of boys, but no statistically significant difference was found between boys and girls ($\chi^2 = 1.67$, $df = 4$, $p = \text{NS}$).

Regarding the analysis of enrolment status by age at first entrance, children were divided into four groups: (1) 4 years old or younger, (2) 5 years old, the official age of first entrance, (3) 6–7 years old, and (4) 8 years old or older (Figure 6-3).⁴¹ First, when examining the total graduation rate, groups of 4 years old or younger, 5 years old, and 6–7 years old had more than 85 %, but that number declined to lower than one-third for the group of 8 years old or older (31.3 %). As for straight graduation, the group of 6–7 years old has the highest rate (55.0 %), whereas the groups of 4 years old or younger and 5 years old have a rate of only 14.3 %. In these groups of 4 years old or younger and 5 years old, the proportion of graduation pattern including repetition in Grade 1 (1F) was high, especially in the group of 4 years old or younger, at 71.4 %. The difference of distribution in the four groups was significant ($\chi^2 = 50.05$, $df = 12$, $p < 0.01$). Thus, if children's age at first entrance was more than three years older than the official entrance age, the possibility of completing primary education dramatically declined, and under-age children can manage to complete primary education but the internal efficiency tends to be low.

Characteristics of children who cannot complete primary education

The analysis shows that children's age at first entrance had a stronger influence than did gender, and the possibility of completing primary education dramatically declines if children's age at first entrance is more than three years older than the official entrance age (Figures 6-2 and 6-3). This problem of overage children has also been pointed out in previous studies (Sabates, Hossain, & Lewin, 2013; Sekiya, 2014; UIS/UNICEF, 2005; Wils, 2004). Among them, Sekiya (2014) reported that children's enrolment status worsens as their age at first entrance increases. In this study as well, when dividing the group of 8 years old or older into 8 years old, 9 years old, and 10 years old or older, the graduation rate declined from 46.2 % to 37.5 % and then to 27.3 %.

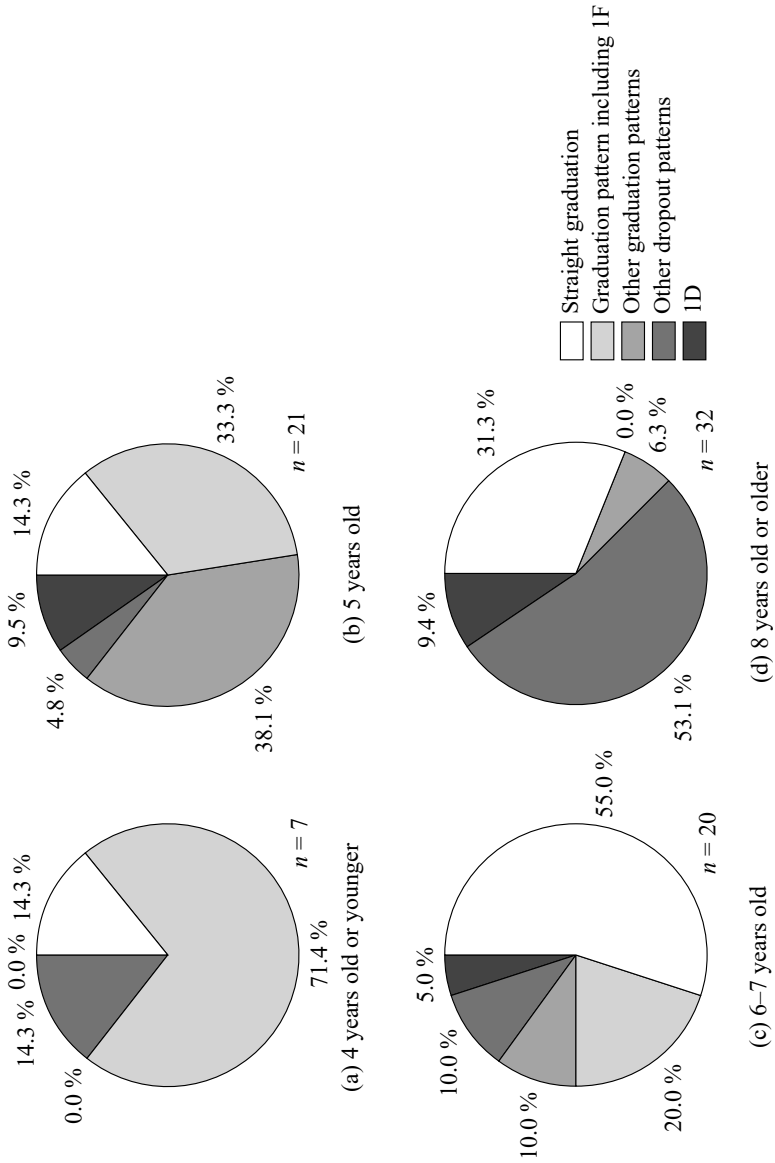


Figure 6-3 Enrolment status by age at first entrance
 Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2019).

Apart from gender and age at first entrance, other peculiar patterns have been found, as shown in Table 6-2. These patterns include temporary dropout. According to Hunt (2008), temporary dropout is one of the processes and precursors to complete dropout. However, because it is difficult to trace the enrolment patterns of those who have temporarily dropped out, little is known about it. Consequently, the identified patterns of temporary dropout were examined in detail in this study. For example, Child No. 2 twice failed the Grade 1 end-of-year evaluation, and then dropped out for a year. She returned to school in the following year, but then failed the Grade 1 end-of-year evaluation once more. In her 5th year of school, she registered in Grade 1 once more, but during that year, she dropped out entirely (1F1F//1F1D). Child No. 6 dropped out for a year after passing Grade 1. He returned to school in the following year and progressed to Grade 5 without any problems but then dropped out during Grade 5 (1P//2P3P4P5D).

An examination of all the patterns shows that the majority of children who experienced temporary dropout did so in Grade 1. The length of temporary dropout was either one or two years, which suggests that if a child is away from school for three or more years, the likelihood of him/her returning to school is reduced. The home-visit surveys and interviews with teachers identified five major reasons why children temporarily drop out: (1) taking up work due to economic difficulties; (2) lack of interest or care on the part of parents/guardians; (3) lack of motivation on the part of the child; (4) illness; and (5) other. While (1) and (4) are difficult to avoid, (2) and (3) suggest an environment in which children are free to either attend or with-

Table 6-2 Temporary dropout patterns

No.	Enrolment pattern	No. of children	Timing of temporary dropout	No. of years of temporary dropout
1	1-////1D	1	Grade 1	2
2	1F1F//1F1D	1	Grade 1	1
3	1F1-////1P2D	1	Grade 1	2
4	1F1P//2F2F2D	1	After passing Grade 1	1
5	1-2P3-////3D	1	Grade 3	2
6	1P//2P3P4P5D	1	After passing Grade 1	1
Total		6		

Note: P = pass, F = fail, D = dropout, // = one-year dropout, - = no end-of-year evaluation.

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2019).

draw from school. As in the cases of Child No. 2 and Child No. 6 described above, if children withdraw for one to two years, it becomes difficult for them to re-adapt to school because they are behind on their learning (Hunt, 2008). Thus, temporary dropout incurs a danger of encountering future problems in learning.

Six of the 84 children demonstrated this temporary dropout pattern, a number that is not necessarily small. The enrolment status of these children is more likely to be missed in cross-sectional data. However, given the 'Sustainable Development Goals' (SDGs) promise that 'no one will be left behind', surely these are the very children who truly need support.

Enrolment status of children who cannot graduate smoothly

The analysis of the enrolment patterns of each child has shown that the proportion of 'straight graduation', the most ideal enrolment pattern, was 31.0 %, or approximately one-third of the total (Table 6-1). This begs the question: Why do so few children regularly progress and graduate? This section examines the factors that prevent children from straight graduation from three perspectives: (1) repetition, (2) temporary dropout, and (3) transfer, by focusing on 29 children who could not progress smoothly out of 55 children who completed primary education.

Repetition

Out of 29 children who had problems progressing, 18 experienced repetition. The number of repetitions ranged from one to three, and two repetitions was the most common (Figure 6-4). As for the repeated grade, many children repeated Grade 1, as also seen in Table 6-1. This trend is the same for the 29 children, and their repetition rate in Grade 1 was 86.7 % (Figure 6-4).⁴² Moreover, underage children in particular most frequently experienced repetition in Grade 1, and children who entered school at the official entrance age experienced this type of repetition the second most frequently (Figure 6-3). One possible reason for this could be that the ECD (early childhood development) class had not expanded to the study site at the time of the study.⁴³

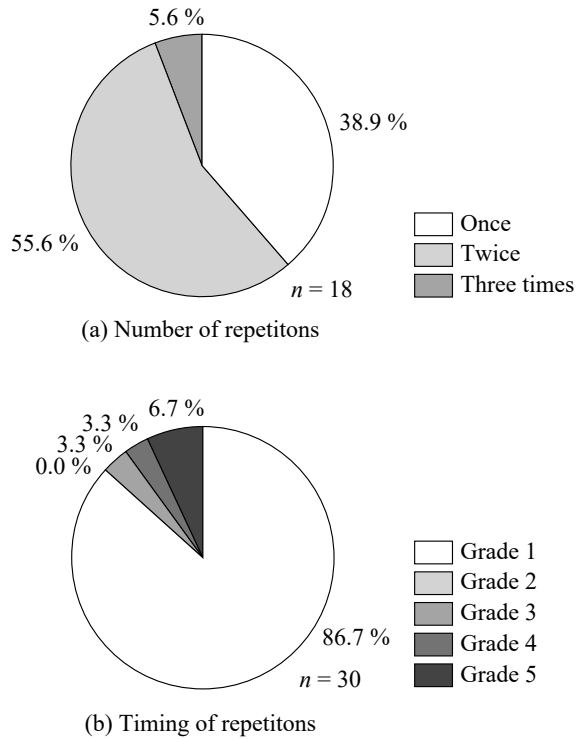


Figure 6-4 The number and timing of repetitions

Temporary dropout

Among the 29 children, 8 experienced temporary dropout (Table 6-3). A detailed analysis of the enrolment patterns of these 8 children has revealed that all of them dropped out of school for one year after completing Grade 1 and returned to school the following year. It was also found that all of them entered School 1 in 2003. Follow-up interviews with teachers who worked at School 1 at that time have revealed that this was caused by internal confusion in the school due to the impact of the civil war in Nepal between 1996 and 2006.⁴⁴

Unlike in the frontline areas, the study site did not experience the kidnapping or killing of teachers and children by Maoists, and no school was closed; this indicates that the civil war did not directly influence these schools. However, at School 1, teachers influenced by Maoists were divided

Table 6-3 Temporary dropout patterns of children who completed primary education

No.	Enrolment pattern	No. of children	Timing of temporary dropout	No. of years of temporary dropout
1	1P//2P3P4P5P	6	After passing Grade 1	1
2	1F//1P//2P3P4P5P	1	After failing and passing Grade 1	2
3	1P//2P//3P4P5-03P1P3P7P	1	After passing Grades 1 and 2	2
Total		8		

Note: P = pass, F = fail, D = dropout, // = one-year dropout, - = no end-of-year evaluation.

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2019).

by their political views, and the principal of the school was forced to resign. A new principal of school was appointed, and the school management committee was also renewed. These events occurred from 2003 to 2004, and parents/guardians who felt uneasy about these occurrences at the school were reluctant to send their children there. As a result, multiple children dropped out of the school temporarily in 2004. Afterwards, following persuasion by the school, the parents/guardians' mistrust was resolved, and the children returned to the school in the following year (2005).

Previous studies (Bhandari, 2016; Joshi, 2014) have identified politically active teachers as a negative factor in public schools, but no detailed report has been conducted on their influence on children's enrolment status. By longitudinally tracing each child's enrolment pattern, this study has shown that confusion within the school stemming from politically active teachers made it difficult for children to attend school for a period of time.

Transfer

Figure 6-5 (b)–(h) shows extraordinary patterns of enrolment due to school transfer. These represent patterns in which, when children transferred from the target school to another school, or when they returned to the target school after transferring to another school, their grades in the transferred school were either lower or higher than those in the original school. In Figure 6-5, the vertical axis shows grades, while the horizontal axis shows the number of years for which they were registered. 'T' indicates when the school transfer took place. In the bottom right-hand corner of each figure, (1)

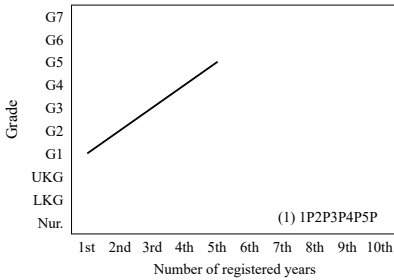
the enrolment pattern, (2) changes in grades, and (3) types of school before and after school transfer are recorded. As a subject of comparison, graph (a) shows the 'straight graduation' pattern.

An examination of the eight graphs shows that in contrast to the 'straight graduation' pattern that is represented by a line rising to the right (Figure 6-5 (a)), extraordinary school transfer patterns are represented in graphs containing a steep drop or steep rise, and they are skewed (Figure 6-5 (b)–(h)). While in the 'straight graduation' pattern, the number of registered years is five, as expected, in extraordinary school transfer patterns, the number of registered years exceeds five, and the longest period is 11 years (Figure 6-5 (h)).

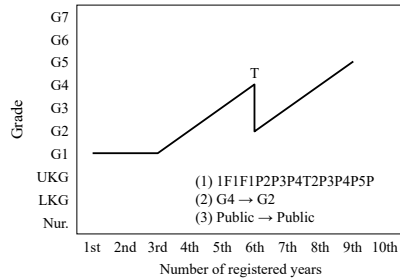
These patterns can be divided into the following three groups: (1) the pattern in which the grade is lowered (Figure 6-5 (b)–(d)); (2) the pattern in which the grade is increased (Figure 6-5 (e)); and (3) the pattern in which the grade is first lowered and then increased (Figure 6-5 (f)–(h)). For example, Child (c) transferred to another school after passing Grade 3. Since he had already passed Grade 3, he should have been placed in Grade 4 in the school to which he transferred, but in reality, he was placed in Grade 2 (1P2P3PT2P3P4P5P). Child (e), on the other hand, transferred to another school during Grade 1, so she should have been placed in Grade 1 in the school to which she transferred; however, in reality, she was placed in Grade 3 (1F1F1T3P4P5P).

The reason for the lowering of the grade was because the child's academic ability did not meet the standards required by the school to which he/she transferred and this is, in a sense, a rational judgement. On the other hand, when the grade is increased by two or three years, there is a possibility for continuity in learning to be lost. In particular, in the case of Group 3, when children transferred from a public school to a private school, their grades were lowered, and when they transferred from a private school to a public school, their grades were increased. While it is generally accepted that private schools maintain higher standards than public schools, the learning content for each grade is the same for both public and private schools. Therefore, it is highly likely for continuity of learning to suffer due to school transfer in subjects in which systematic learning is important, such as mathematics and science. Following the adoption of the SDGs in 2015, the aim is to achieve qualitative improvement in education; however, still in the 2000s, there is a surprising reality regarding enrolment status, as described above.

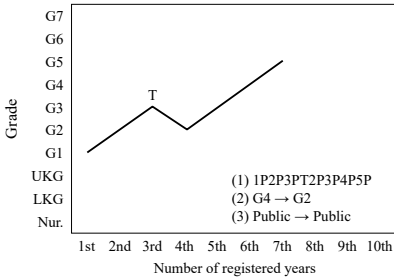
Legend: — Enrolment tracing Temporary dropout



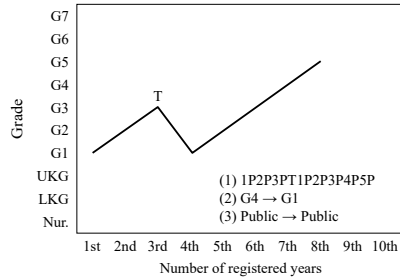
(a) 'Straight graduation' pattern



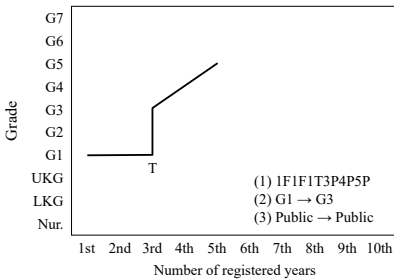
(b) Pattern in which the grade was lowered



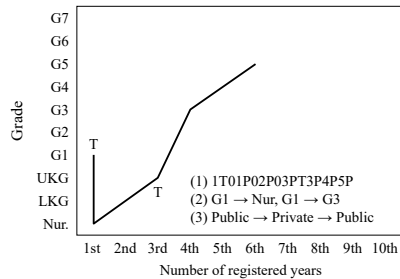
(c) Pattern in which the grade was lowered



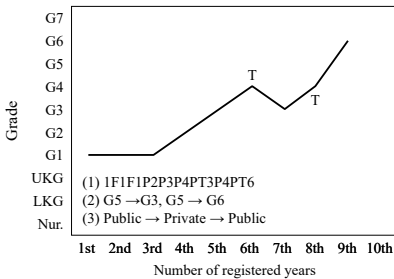
(d) Pattern in which the grade was lowered



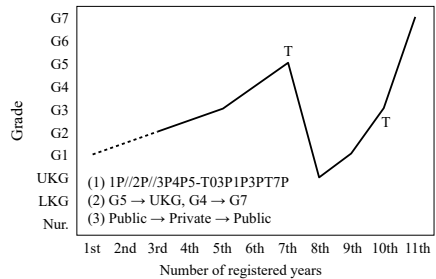
(e) Pattern in which the grade was increased



(f) Pattern in which the grade was lowered and then increased



(g) Pattern in which the grade was lowered and then increased



(h) Pattern in which the grade was lowered and then increased

Figure 6-5 Extraordinary school transfer patterns

Note: In general, private schools have three pre-primary classes: Nursery (Nur.), Lower kindergarten (LKG), and Upper kindergarten (UKG). Sometimes, they also have 'Play Group' before Nursery. Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2019).

Under these circumstances, children are unable to keep up with classes, and it may be difficult for them to develop their academic abilities. Nevertheless, these children managed to complete primary education. The discussion of the results so far has pointed to lax school management, as seen in double registration and temporary dropout, and the same may be the case here. The author has been visiting the study site since 2014 and has witnessed that in small schools, classes often did not take place during school hours. The local community also complained that ‘teachers do not turn up on time’ and ‘classes are not delivered’, while no supplementary classes are provided for children who are struggling academically.

Comparison of enrolment status in the target schools

In order to comparatively examine the enrolment status in the target schools, a comparison was made with the enrolment status in target schools in the Republic of Honduras (hereinafter, Honduras) which has a similar ranking to Nepal in the Human Development Index.⁴⁵ Furthermore, children’s enrolment patterns in Honduras (Ashida & Sekiya, 2016) have been identified using a similar research method as that used in this study (Table 6-4). In Honduras, primary education lasts for six years from Grades 1 to 6, and the enrolment status in the target schools was examined in three time periods: those who entered primary education in the second half of the 1980s; those who entered in the first half of the 1990s; and those who entered in the second half of the 1990s. Comparison is made in regard to: (1) completion rate, (2) proportion of ‘straight graduation’, which is the most ideal enrolment pattern, and (3) proportion of ‘ID’, which is the least ideal enrolment pattern.

Regarding the overall completion rate in target schools in Honduras, it improved from 54.9 % to 65.1 % and to 72.4 % from the second half of the 1980s to the second half of the 1990s. The completion rate of the target schools in this study was 75.9 %; this is slightly higher than that for those who entered primary education in the second half of the 1990s in target schools in Honduras. The proportion of ‘straight graduation’ in Honduran target schools improved smoothly from 26.6 % to 37.7 % and then to 42.0 % from the second half of the 1980s to the second half of the 1990s, while in the Nepalese target schools, the proportion was only 31.0 %. In other words, the proportion of ‘straight graduation’ in the target schools in this study was approximately the same as that between the second half of the

Table 6-4 Comparison of enrolment status in target schools in Nepal and Honduras

	Nepal		Honduras	
	Entrance between 2003–2007	Entrance in the second half of the 1980s	Entrance in the first half of the 1990s	Entrance in the second half of the 1990s
Primary education stage	Grades 1–5		Grades 1–6	
Number of subjects	As a whole: 450; as individual: 84	601	621	467
Overall completion rate	75.9	54.9	65.1	72.4
Proportion of 'straight graduation'	31.0	26.6	37.7	42.0
Proportion of '1D'	7.1	7.8	8.4	5.6

Source: Findings about the target schools in Honduras are taken from Ashida and Sekiya (2016).

1980s and the first half of the 1990s in Honduras. Thus, the Nepalese figure is approximately the same as the figure that had pertained 15 years previously in Honduras. As for '1D', in Honduran target schools, this increased from 7.8 % for those who entered primary education in the second half of the 1980s to 8.4 % for those who entered in the first half of the 1990s, and dropped to 5.6 % for those who entered in the second half of the 1990s. The proportion in Nepalese target schools was 1.5 % higher than that for those who entered primary education in the second half of the 1990s, and close to the figure for those who entered in the second half of the 1980s in Honduras.

While this comparison with schools in a regional city of a Latin American country, Honduras, is limited, it shows that in the Nepalese target schools, while the number of children who ultimately graduated from school was relatively high, the proportion of 'straight graduation' was lower and dropout immediately after entrance was relatively higher. This suggests that there are currently many children who repeat grades or dropout, which in turn suggests low internal efficiency. As public and household spending for education in Nepal is limited, this problem of low internal efficiency needs to be improved.

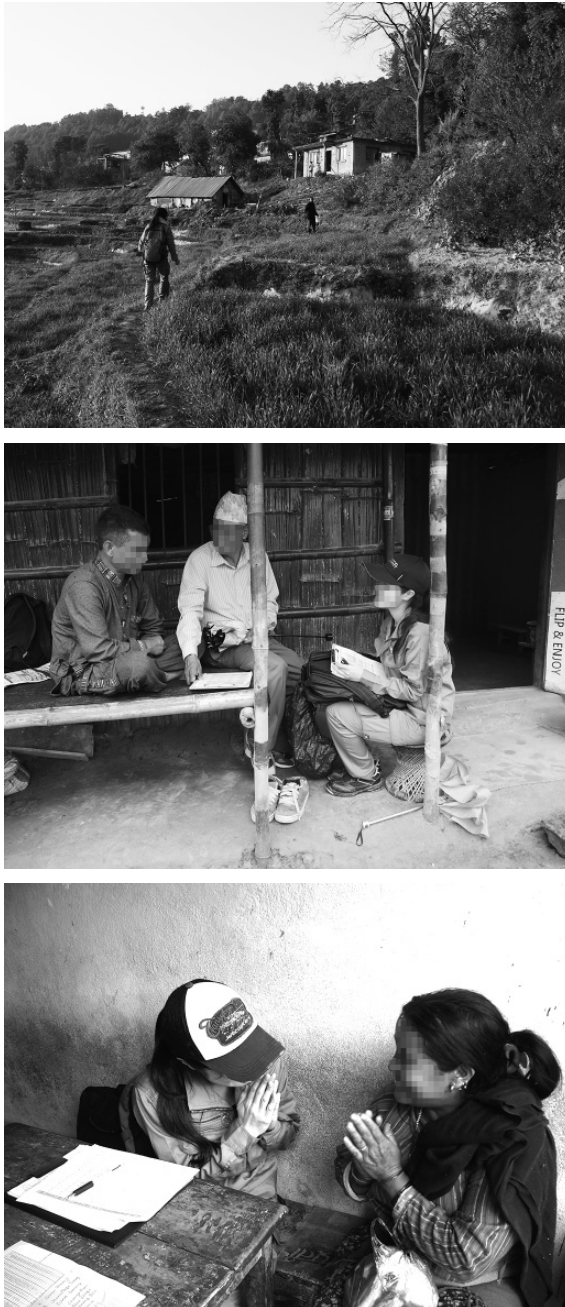


Figure 6-6 Home-visit surveys

CHAPTER SEVEN

Does children's enrolment situation influence their future?

Introduction

Hypothesis

A difference in the occupations and incomes of individuals served and left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education' has risen, and the social gap between these two groups continues to widen.

According to UNESCO (2016), education and income are linked, and an average taken across 139 countries indicated that the percentage increase in income per year of additional school attendance was 9.7 %. In Nepal, a child's English ability and the results of the final examination administered to Grade 10 students will influence their life trajectory significantly. The examination pass rates of private schools are higher than those of public schools (Bhatta, 2004; SMAERC, 2008; Thapa, 2015). While the medium of instruction in public schools is almost always Nepali, in private schools, it can be English alone or a mixture of English and Nepali. Thus, it is assumed that individuals from private schools have a great advantage in terms of job placement and access to higher education than do individuals from public schools.

Data collection

The study targeted professionals aged between their 20s to early 30s at the time of the survey. This age group was deemed appropriate because the survey focused on the occupations and incomes of the subjects from the viewpoint of educational attainment. Specifically, individuals born in the

target area between the late 1980s and the early 1990s from: (1) target public schools, and (2) related private schools were selected as subjects.

Data were gathered via the following method. First, school records, such as school registers, mark ledgers, and the results of the final examination administrated for Grade 10 students, were collected at the target public schools and the related private schools.⁴⁶ When the final examination results were not available at schools, they were collected at the District Education Office (DEO). Subjects were extracted using the random sampling method, and a list of subjects was created. On the basis of such a list, the study then conducted interview surveys with teachers familiar with the subjects. Furthermore, home-visit surveys with the subjects were carried out and information, such as educational attainment, current occupation, and monthly income, were recorded.

Analysis method

The study aimed to clarify whether or not a difference in occupations and incomes exists between those who benefited from the movement seeking 'high-quality education' (individuals from private schools) and those who were left behind (individuals from public schools). Furthermore, the study compared occupations and incomes by gender and educational attainment. According to the principals of the private schools, 'there are almost no children who drop out before the secondary education level in our school'. Therefore, only the higher secondary education level and higher education level are targeted for learners from private schools. Educational attainment was classified into the following levels:

- Primary education level (PE), Grades 1–5
- Lower secondary education level (LSE), Grades 6–8
- Secondary education level (SE), Grades 9–10
- Higher secondary education level (HSE), Grades 11–12
- Higher education level (HE), Bachelor's –Doctor's degree

For analysis, the occupations and incomes of individuals from public schools (PE to HE) were first compared, and the presence or absence of differences in groups by educational attainment was analysed. Next, the study compared the occupations and incomes of those from public and private schools in the HSE and HE and analysed the differences as in the previous analysis. By categorising occupations and incomes into groups, the study

examined the observable trends at each education level.

Occupations were classified according to the Nepal Standard Classification of Occupation, which groups various professions into 11 categories.⁴⁷ The study also considered 'overseas migrant workers' as an occupation because many Nepalese workers are engaging in labour abroad. Therefore, the study added 'overseas migrant workers' as the 12th category as follows:

- (1) Elementary occupation
- (2) Subsistence agricultural workers
- (3) Market agricultural workers
- (4) Craft and related trades workers
- (5) Plant and machine operators and assemblers
- (6) Armed forces
- (7) Service workers and shop and market sales workers
- (8) Clerks/office assistants
- (9) Technicians and associate professionals
- (10) Professionals
- (11) Legislators, senior officials and managers
- (12) Overseas migrant workers

Next, incomes were classified into the following groups based on the average monthly income of the entire country in 2017/18 (Central Bureau of Statistics [CBS], 2019),⁴⁸ which the study used for income analysis in the chapter:⁴⁹

- (a) Less than Rs. 10,000
- (b) Rs. 10,000 or more to less than Rs. 15,000
- (c) Rs. 15,000 or more to less than Rs. 20,000
- (d) Rs. 20,000 or more to less than Rs. 25,000
- (e) Rs. 25,000 or more to less than Rs. 30,000
- (f) Rs. 30,000 or more

Comparison of occupations and incomes by educational attainment among individuals left behind from the movement seeking 'high-quality education'

The study collected data from 78 males and 79 females for a total of 157 people from public schools, whereas data for 37 males and 17 females for a

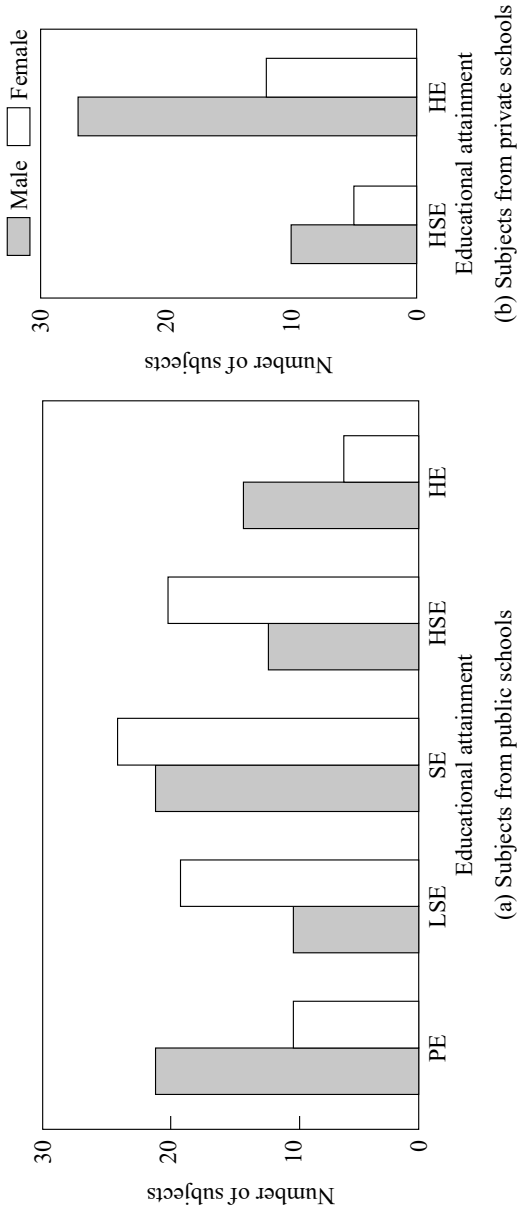


Figure 7-1 Number of subjects by educational attainment and school type

Source: (a) was reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2021).

total of 54 people from private schools were obtained. According to educational attainment (Figure 7-1), there were more females than males from the LSE to HSE for those from public schools. Conversely, the opposite is true for HE for individuals from public schools and for HSE and HE for those from private schools. This finding indicates that investment in education tend to favour males more than females.⁵⁰ However, an exception is individuals with PE from public schools. Given that males outnumbered females, the study inferred that the dropout rate of males was high.⁵¹

Cases of males from public schools

Table 7-1 depicts the males' occupations by educational attainment. First, in terms of occupational diversity (i.e., number of occupational categories), between 5 and 7 of the total of 12 categories were observed at all education levels (PE: 6, LSE: 5, SE: 7, HSE: 5, HS: 6). No significant difference in occupational diversity was found between the educational levels. The highest proportion of occupations for each education level was as follows: (4) craft and trade related workers for PE, (12) overseas migrant workers for LSE and HSE, (6) armed forces for SE, and (10) professionals for HE, which accounted for 30 % or more (PE: 33.3 %, LSE: 30.0 %, SE: 33.3 %, HSE: 41.7 %, HE: 35.7 %).

Except for 'overseas migrant workers', whose type of work vary depending on the contract with companies and the 'armed forces' whose type of work differ depending on class, occupations in Nepal can be divided into two major categories: physical work (blue-collar) and mental work (white-collar). The Concise Oxford English Dictionary defines white-collar as 'relating to the work done or people who work in an office or other professional environment' (Stevenson & Waite, 2011, p. 1646). Based on this definition, the study designated (1)–(5) as physical work and (7)–(11) as mental work.

Therefore, the study first focused on the ratio of physical workers in the country (the sum of the ratios of (1)–(5)), which decreased from PE to HE (PE: 61.9 %, LSE: 50.0 %, SE: 28.6 %, HSE: 16.6 %, HE: 0 %). Conversely, the ratio of mental workers in the country (total of (7)–(11)) decreased to 25 % or less for PE to HSE (PE: 19.0 %, LSE: 0 %, SE: 23.8 %, HSE: 8.3 %). However, the ratio reached 85.7 % for HE. Overseas migrant workers were noted in all education levels; they were highest for HSE at 41.7 %. A statistically significant difference was found at the 1 % level in the distribution of physical workers, mental workers, armed forces, and overseas migrant

Table 7-1 Occupations by educational attainment (males from public schools)

	PE (%)	LSE (%)	SE (%)	HSE (%)	HE (%)
(1) Elementary occupation	19.0	20.0	9.5	8.3	0.0
(2) Subsistence agricultural workers	4.8	20.0	4.8	0.0	0.0
(3) Market agricultural workers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
(4) Craft and related trades workers	33.3	10.0	9.5	8.3	0.0
(5) Plant and machine operators and assemblers	4.8	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0
(6) Armed forces	0.0	20.0	33.3	33.3	0.0
(7) Service workers and shop and market sales workers	19.0	0.0	23.8	8.3	14.3
(8) Clerks/office assistants	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3
(9) Technicians and associate professionals	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3
(10) Professionals	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	35.7
(11) Legislators, senior officials and managers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1
(12) Overseas migrant workers	19.0	30.0	14.3	41.7	14.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Recreated by the author based on Ezaki (2021).

workers for each education level ($\chi^2 = 48.33$, $df = 12$, $p < 0.01$).

The study then compared incomes by education attainment. Table 7-2 shows that from PE to HSE, the ratio of (c) Rs. 15,000 or more to less than Rs. 20,000 was highest (PE: 28.6 %, LSE: 40.0 %, SE: 42.9 %, HSE: 50.0 %), whereas the ratio of less than Rs. 15,000 (total of (a) and (b)) decreased from PE to HSE (PE: 42.8 %, LSE: 30.0 %, SE: 14.3 %, HSE: 8.3 %). Conversely, the highest income bracket, namely, (f) Rs. 30,000 or more, was particularly high for HSE (41.7 %) and HE (35.7 %). However, as mentioned above, the incomes of the remaining 58.3 % of people with HSE were less than Rs. 20,000, which indicates that people with HSE were polarised into low- and high-income brackets. At HE, the ratio of (e) Rs. 25,000 or more to less than Rs. 30,000 was high (21.4 %) after (f) Rs. 30,000 or more. In summary, the study posited that people with HE are more likely to gain a high income than those at other education levels. When the difference in the distribution of income for each education level was statistically processed, a difference was found at the 5 % level of significance ($\chi^2 = 32.35$, $df = 20$, $p < 0.05$).

Cases of females from public schools

Table 7-3 shows the females' occupations by educational attainment. The occupational diversity was found to be much lower for females than for males; only 2–4 of the 12 categories were observed at all education levels (PE: 2, LSE: 4, SE: 4, HSE: 4, HS: 3). However, in congruence with the results for males, no substantial difference could be discerned in occupational diversity between educational levels. The highest occupation percentage for each education level was computed as follows: most females with PE to HSE worked as (2) subsistence agricultural workers, which accounted for 60 % or more (PE: 70.0 %, LSE: 73.7 %, SE: 87.5 %, HSE: 60.0 %), whereas most of the females with HE worked as (10) professionals (50.0 %).

The ratio of physical workers in the country (total of (1)–(5)) accounted for more than 80 % from PE to SE (PE: 100 %, LSE: 84.3 %, SE: 91.7 %). For HSE, the ratio decreased to 60.0 % but is more than half of the total. Conversely, at HE, the ratio of physical workers is less than one-third of that of the ratio of HSE (16.7 %). Next, the ratio of mental workers in the country (total of (7)–(11)) accounted for less than 20 % from PE to SE (PE: 0 %, LSE: 15.8 %, SE: 8.4 %) and 40.0 % for HSE, whereas it accounted for 83.3 % for HE. Armed forces and overseas migrant workers were not observed for all education levels. A statistically significant difference was

Table 7-2 Incomes by educational attainment (males from public schools)

	PE (%)	LSE (%)	SE (%)	HSE (%)	HE (%)
(a) Less than Rs. 10,000	23.8	10.0	0.0	8.3	7.1
(b) Rs. 10,000 or more to less than Rs. 15,000	19.0	20.0	14.3	0.0	7.1
(c) Rs. 15,000 or more to less than Rs. 20,000	28.6	40.0	42.9	50.0	14.3
(d) Rs. 20,000 or more to less than Rs. 25,000	9.5	10.0	23.8	0.0	14.3
(e) Rs. 25,000 or more to less than Rs. 30,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	21.4
(f) Rs. 30,000 or more	19.0	20.0	19.0	41.7	35.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Recreated by the author based on Ezaki (2021).

Table 7-3 Occupations by educational attainment (females from public schools)

	PE (%)	LSE (%)	SE (%)	HSE (%)	HE (%)
(1) Elementary occupation	30.0	5.3	4.2	0.0	0.0
(2) Subsistence agricultural workers	70.0	73.7	87.5	60.0	0.0
(3) Market agricultural workers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
(4) Craft and related trades workers	0.0	5.3	0.0	0.0	16.7
(5) Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
(6) Armed forces	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
(7) Service workers and shop and market sales workers	0.0	15.8	4.2	20.0	0.0
(8) Clerks/office assistants	0.0	0.0	4.2	5.0	0.0
(9) Technicians and associate professionals	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3
(10) Professionals	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.0	50.0
(11) Legislators, senior officials and managers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
(12) Overseas migrant workers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Recreated by the author based on Ezaki (2021).

found at the 1 % level when processing differences in the distribution of physical and mental workers at each education level ($\chi^2 = 22.20$, $df = 4$, $p < 0.01$).

Next, the study compared the females' incomes by educational attainment (Table 7-4), where the proportion of the lowest income, namely, (a) less than Rs. 10,000, was highest for PE to HSE (PE: 60.0 %, LSE: 57.9 %, SE: 54.2 %, HSE: 50.0 %). The ratio of (b) Rs. 10,000 or more to less than Rs. 15,000 ranked second (PE: 40.0 %, LSE: 36.8 %, SE: 45.8 %, HSE: 30.0 %). The total ratio of both accounted for 80 % or more for all education levels from PE to HSE. For HE, however, the total ratio of (a) less than Rs. 10,000 and (b) Rs. 10,000 or more to less than Rs. 15,000 remained at 50.0 % (less than Rs. 10,000: 33.3 %; Rs. 10,000 or more to less than Rs. 15,000: 16.7 %). An income bracket of (e) Rs. 25,000 or more to less than Rs. 30,000 accounted for 16.7 %, which was unobserved for other education levels. The highest income, (f) Rs. 30,000 or more, was not applicable to all education levels.

In other words, even if females continued schooling until HSE, most earned only less than Rs. 15,000. The proportion of less than Rs. 15,000 decreased at HE, whereas the proportion with a high income, such as Rs. 25,000 or more, was low. Statistically, the difference in the distribution of income at each education level reached a significant difference at the 5 % level ($\chi^2 = 26.43$, $df = 16$, $p < 0.05$).

Comparison of occupations and incomes between individuals served and left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education'

Cases of males from public and private schools

Table 7-5 shows the results of occupations by school type for males. With regard to occupational diversity, between 4 to 6 of the 12 categories were observed at HSE and HE for both public and private schools (public schools: HSE: 5, HE: 6, private schools: HSE: 4, HE: 6). No significant difference in occupational diversity was found among them. The highest occupation percentage for HSE was (12) overseas migrant workers for individuals from both public and private schools (public schools: 41.7 %, private schools: 50.0 %). Meanwhile, the highest proportion of occupations for HE was (10) professionals for people from both public and private schools, but

Table 7-4 Incomes by educational attainment (females from public schools)

	PE (%)	LSE (%)	SE (%)	HSE (%)	HE (%)
(a) Less than Rs. 10,000	60.0	57.9	54.2	50.0	33.3
(b) Rs. 10,000 or more to less than Rs. 15,000	40.0	36.8	45.8	30.0	16.7
(c) Rs. 15,000 or more to less than Rs. 20,000	0.0	5.3	0.0	15.0	16.7
(d) Rs. 20,000 or more to less than Rs. 25,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	16.7
(e) Rs. 25,000 or more to less than Rs. 30,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7
(f) Rs. 30,000 or more	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Recreated by the author based on Ezaki (2021).

Table 7-5 Occupations by school type (males from public and private schools)

	HSE, public (%)	HE, public (%)	HSE, private (%)	HE, private (%)
(1) Elementary occupation	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
(2) Subsistence agricultural workers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
(3) Market agricultural workers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
(4) Craft and related trades workers	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
(5) Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
(6) Armed forces	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
(7) Service workers and shop and market sales workers	8.3	14.3	30.0	7.4
(8) Clerks/office assistants	0.0	14.3	10.0	3.7
(9) Technicians and associate professionals	0.0	14.3	10.0	7.4
(10) Professionals	0.0	35.7	0.0	55.6
(11) Legislators, senior officials and managers	0.0	7.1	0.0	3.7
(12) Overseas migrant workers	41.7	14.3	50.0	22.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

the ratio was higher for ones from private schools (public schools: 35.7 %, private schools: 55.6 %).

The proportion of physical workers in the country (the sum of the proportions of (1)–(5)) was found only for people with HSE from public schools, which reached 16.6 %. Meanwhile, as for the proportion of mental workers (total of (7)–(11)), HSE of individuals from public schools accounted for only 8.3 %, whereas the HSE of those from private schools accounted for 50.0 %, which was exceedingly higher than that of individuals from public schools. At HE, the proportion of mental workers was dominant for people from both public and private schools (public schools: 85.7 %, private schools: 77.8 %). The percentage of overseas migrant workers was higher in terms of HSE than HE and higher for people from private schools than those from public schools (public schools: HSE: 41.7 %, HE: 14.3 %, private schools: HSE: 50.0 %, HE: 22.2 %). Statistical analysis of the difference in the distribution of physical workers, mental workers, armed forces, and overseas migrant workers at each education level revealed a significant difference at the 1 % level ($\chi^2 = 37.38$, $df = 9$, $p < 0.01$).

Table 7-6 depicts the results of males' incomes by school type. The highest income reached by people with HSE from public schools was (f) Rs. 30,000 or more, which accounted for 41.7 %, whereas the remaining 58.3 % gained less than Rs. 20,000. In other words, as previously mentioned, this group was polarised into low- and high-income brackets. For people from private schools with HSE, an income of (f) Rs. 30,000 or more was highest (50.0 %) followed by (e) Rs. 25,000 or more to less than Rs. 30,000 (10.0 %) and (d) Rs. 20,000 or more to less than Rs. 25,000 (10.0 %), which indicated that the income composition of the two groups differed. In terms of HE, the ratio of Rs. 25,000 or more (sum of the ratios for (e) and (f)) accounted for more than half regardless of school type (public schools: 57.1 %; private schools: 77.8 %). However, the rate of (f) Rs. 30,000 or more of people from private schools (74.1 %) was approximately twice than those from public schools (35.7 %). Notably, the ratio of (f) Rs. 30,000 or more of people from public schools with HE (35.7 %) was lower than people from private schools with HSE (50.0 %). Based on this result, the study inferred that people from private schools earn higher incomes than those from public schools ($\chi^2 = 24.61$, $df = 15$, $p < 0.1$).

Table 7-6 Incomes by school type (males from public and private schools)

	HSE, public (%)	HE, public (%)	HSE, private (%)	HE, private (%)
(a) Less than Rs. 10,000	8.3	7.1	0.0	0.0
(b) Rs. 10,000 or more to less than Rs. 15,000	0.0	7.1	20.0	7.4
(c) Rs. 15,000 or more to less than Rs. 20,000	50.0	14.3	10.0	7.4
(d) Rs. 20,000 or more to less than Rs. 25,000	0.0	14.3	10.0	7.4
(e) Rs. 25,000 or more to less than Rs. 30,000	0.0	21.4	10.0	3.7
(f) Rs. 30,000 or more	41.7	35.7	50.0	74.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Cases of females from public and private schools

Table 7-7 shows the results of females' occupations by school type. The occupational diversity was found to be lower for females than for males; 3–5 of the 12 categories were observed at HSE and HE for both public and private schools (public schools: HSE: 4, HE: 3, private schools: HSE: 3, HE: 5). However, the same as the results of males, no substantial difference was found in the results of females. As for HSE, the highest occupation percentage for individuals from public schools was (2) subsistence agricultural workers (60.0 %), which was more than a half. For people from private schools, it was (10) professionals and (12) overseas migrant workers (40.0 % respectively), indicating a huge difference between individuals from public and private schools. As for HE, the highest proportion of occupations was (10) professionals for people from both public and private schools (public schools: 50.0 %, private schools: 33.3 %).

The proportion of physical workers in the country (sum of the proportions of (1)–(5)) accounted for more than half for people from public schools with HSE (60.0 %), whereas this rate remained at 20.0 % or less for people from public schools with HE and those from private schools with HSE and HE. Conversely, the ratio of mental workers in the country (the total for (7) to (11)) reached 40.0 % for people with HSE from public and private schools. People with HE from public schools reached 83.3 %, whereas those from private schools reached 58.3 %. Overseas migrant workers were not included among people from public schools, but a few overseas migrant workers with HSE (40.0 %) and HE (25.0 %) were noted among people from private schools. For this reason, the proportion of mental workers from private schools was the same as or lower than that of those from public schools. The group of armed forces was unobserved for both schools. A statistically significant difference was found at the 5 % level ($\chi^2 = 15.50$, $df = 6$, $p < 0.05$) when differences in the distribution of physical workers, mental workers, and overseas migrant workers at each education level were examined.

Table 7-8 shows the results of females' incomes by school type. For females from public and private schools with HSE, the proportion of the lowest income, (a) less than Rs. 10,000, was 50.0 % and 40.0 %, respectively. The ratio of (f) Rs. 30,000 or more was not applicable to females from public schools, but reached 40.0 % for females from private schools. Findings show that the composition of incomes in both groups largely differed. A similar tendency was noted for HE, with the lowest income, (a) less than

Table 7-7 Occupations by school type (females from public and private schools)

	HSE, public (%)	HE, public (%)	HSE, private (%)	HE, private (%)
(1) Elementary occupation	0.0	0.0	20.0	16.7
(2) Subsistence agricultural workers	60.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
(3) Market agricultural workers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
(4) Craft and related trades workers	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0
(5) Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
(6) Armed forces	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
(7) Service workers and shop and market sales workers	20.0	0.0	0.0	16.7
(8) Clerks/office assistants	5.0	0.0	0.0	8.3
(9) Technicians and associate professionals	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0
(10) Professionals	15.0	50.0	40.0	33.3
(11) Legislators, senior officials and managers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
(12) Overseas migrant workers	0.0	0.0	40.0	25.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 7-8 Incomes by school type (females from public and private schools)

	HSE, public (%)	HE, public (%)	HSE, private (%)	HE, private (%)
(a) Less than Rs. 10,000	50.0	33.3	40.0	16.7
(b) Rs. 10,000 or more to less than Rs. 15,000	30.0	16.7	0.0	25.0
(c) Rs. 15,000 or more to less than Rs. 20,000	15.0	16.7	0.0	0.0
(d) Rs. 20,000 or more to less than Rs. 25,000	5.0	16.7	0.0	0.0
(e) Rs. 25,000 or more to less than Rs. 30,000	0.0	16.7	20.0	16.7
(f) Rs. 30,000 or more	0.0	0.0	40.0	41.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Rs. 10,000, being higher among those from public schools (public schools: 33.3 %, private schools: 16.7 %) and (f) Rs. 30,000 and above was observed only for those from private schools (41.7 %). Notably, no person from public schools with HE reached high-income brackets, such as (f) Rs.30,000 or more; this bracket accounts for 40 % of people from private schools with HSE. In other words, although people from public schools had higher educational attainment than those from private schools, their income tended to be overwhelmingly low ($\chi^2 = 23.48$, $df = 15$, $p < 0.1$).

Disparity between individuals served and left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education'

Differences in occupations and incomes

For people from public schools, occupations and incomes in terms of educational levels from PE to HE were analysed by gender. The study confirmed that the proportion of mental workers and high income increased with HE, which indicates a different tendency from that of other education levels (Tables 7-1 to 7-4). In other words, a wide range of vocational options remains limited unless one continues and completes higher education, without which it is unlikely that one will be able to work in mental work or high-income jobs.

This phenomenon was more strongly observed in females than males. For instant, among males, the higher the educational attainment, the lower the percentage of physical workers, such as elementary occupation workers and farmers, which remained at 16.7 % for HSE (Table 7-1). In contrast, more than half of the females were physical workers even with HSE (Table 7-3). This difference was clearly noted in income, where the proportion of low income, such as less than Rs. 10,000, was higher for females than males in all education levels. Moreover, no females earned within the high-income brackets, such as Rs. 30,000 or more (Tables 7-2 and 7-4). This finding suggests that huge gender disparities⁵² exist in employment and income.⁵³

In addition, such disparities exist between people from public schools and those from private schools particularly for incomes (Tables 7-6 and 7-8). Comparing males and females with the same education level, the proportion of people in the low-income brackets, such as less than Rs. 10,000, was higher for those from public schools, whereas the proportion of people

within high-income brackets, such as Rs. 30,000 or more, was higher for those from private schools. Moreover, findings show that the proportion of people with HSE from private schools was higher than people from public schools with the HE in terms of incomes. This result suggests that earning a high income is more difficult for people from public schools than those from private schools, despite achieving a degree and studying for a longer period.

Impact of caste

Nepal's past consisted of a caste system, whose impact continues to the present, although it is currently prohibited by the constitution. In the caste system, a 'craftsman caste' exists, which constitutes of basic occupations, such as blacksmithing, leather-crafting, sewing, and being a musician. Therefore, the study discussed caste from the context of public and private schools. Castes were analysed according to and grouped into three categories, namely, (1) upper castes (Brahmin/Chhetri), (2) ethnic groups (Janajati), and (3) untouchable castes (Dalit).

Ethnic groups (Janajati) accounted for 80 % or more of people from public schools with HSE (81.3 %) and HE (95.0 %). Conversely, upper castes (Brahmin/Chhetri) accounted for 65 % or more of people from private schools with HSE (66.7 %) and HE (79.5 %), and a statistically significant difference was confirmed at the 1 % level ($\chi^2 = 45.78$, $df = 3$, $p < 0.01$) (Figure 7-2).⁵⁴

In this book, the study conducted a logistic regression analysis in Chapter 5 entitled '*Who are left behind from the movement seeking "high-quality education"?*' using the binary value of whether or not children can attend a private school as an objective variable. Explanatory variables also included caste, which indicates that people from upper castes were more likely to go to private schools. However, no statistically significant difference was found.

In the analysis of caste, the study inferred that the reason why a statistically significant difference was confirmed in this chapter and an obvious difference was further observed in the chapter compared with the result of the logistic regression analysis in Chapter 5 is that the subjects of this chapter who were born during an earlier generation (1985–1995) were older than the target population of the logistic regression analysis (estimated 2005–2010). The caste system was banned in Nepal by the new MulkiAin, enacted in 1963, and it is presumed that this age overlaps from the childhood



Figure 7-2 Caste of individuals from public and private schools

to the adolescence of the parents/guardians of the subjects in this chapter.

Therefore, although the caste system was banned by the new Mulki Ain at that time, it is likely that its culture still remained strong and influenced the occupations and incomes of parents/guardians and the education of children (whether they could go to private schools or not). From the results of this study, it was clarified that the impact extends to the occupations and incomes of children and, as a result, it leads to the disparity in occupations and incomes between those who are from public schools and those who are from private schools.

However, most of the HSE of those from private schools, who tended to earn more than the HE of those from public schools, did not have jobs related to caste.⁵⁵ Focusing on their occupations and incomes, all high-income people, earning Rs. 30,000 or more, were 'overseas migrant workers'. In other words, they do not go to caste-based occupations, but rather go abroad to seek an occupation with a higher income.⁵⁶

In addition, almost all overseas migrant workers in other education levels earned Rs. 30,000 or more. From this, it can be seen that overseas migrant workers are earning a high income regardless of educational attainment and caste. Therefore, in the next section, this study focused on this 'overseas migrant workers'.

Differences found in 'overseas migrant work'

Overseas remittances in Nepal accounted for 32.2 % of its gross domestic product (GDP) in 2015, which is the highest among 188 countries (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2016).⁵⁷ Remittances by overseas migrant workers are now an integral part of the country's economy. A popular destination for Nepalese people is an English-speaking country such as Australia, the United States, and England; however, travelling to these countries requires high English language skills, specialised skills, and so on. Only a limited number of people can actually go to these countries because they need economic power to acquire these skills. In recent years, the number of migrants to Japan has increased, but the largest number is to Malaysia and the Gulf countries, which need lower travel costs than English-speaking countries and Japan. In terms of specific figures, Malaysia accounts for 29.88 % and the Gulf countries account for 55.10 % (Qatar: 21.57 %, Saudi Arabia: 20.37 %, Arab countries: 10.62 %, Kuwait: 2.54 %) of the overseas migrant workers in Nepal between 2008/2009 and 2016/2017 (Ministry of Labor and Employment [MoLE], 2018). In addition,

many overseas migrant workers travel to India, which is a neighbouring country, because there are no document-checks or cross-border permits required for movement between the two countries.⁵⁸ Moreover, India is a travel destination that is easy for people with no education and dropouts because they are rarely charged for travel, and educational background is often not required. As can be seen, overseas migrant work cannot be bundled together because the hurdles vary depending on the destination.

Therefore, here, this study focused on the overseas migrant workers and considered what kind of difference was seen between people from public schools and those from private schools. First, focusing on the number of overseas migrant workers, the total number of people from public schools was 17 (17 males and 0 females) (10.8 %) and the total number of those from private schools was 16 (11 males and 5 females) (29.6 %). In terms of proportion, that of people from private schools is approximately three times higher than that of those from public schools, indicating that those from private schools could travel overseas more than those from public schools.

Next, this study focused on the destinations of overseas migrant workers. Here, referring to the classification of countries in the 'World Economic Situation and Prospects 2018' (United Nations, 2018) issued by the United Nations, this study classified destination countries as: (1) developed economies and (2) countries other than developed economies (economies in transition and developing economies). Consequently, the number of destinations of those from public schools was higher in countries other than developed economies than in developed economies (developed economies: 17.6 %; countries other than developed economies: 82.4 %). The reverse trend was seen for those from private schools; the number of developed economies was higher than that of countries other than developed economies (developed economies: 68.8 %; countries other than developed economies: 31.3 %) (Figure 7-3). Furthermore, by education levels (Figure 7-4), among those from public schools, there were no migrants to developed economies from PE to SE, and after HSE, there were migrants to developed economies. In addition, it can be seen that there are many people from private schools who travel to developed economies, especially among males in the HE. Specific destinations are shown in Table 7-9.

Living environments, wages, etc. are all different in developed economies and other countries. Developed economies have well-established lifelines such as water, gas, and electricity, and wages are higher than those of Nepal and countries other than developed economies. As it has been seen,

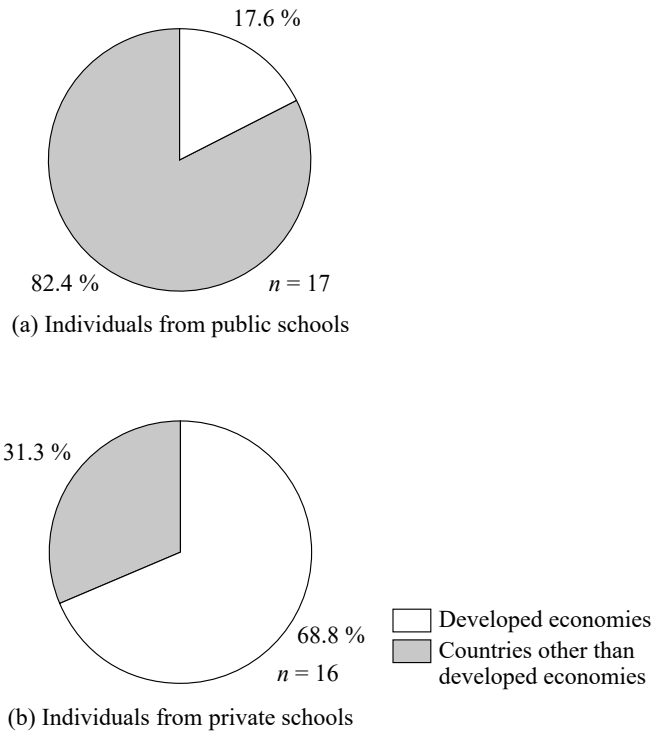


Figure 7-3 Destination by school type

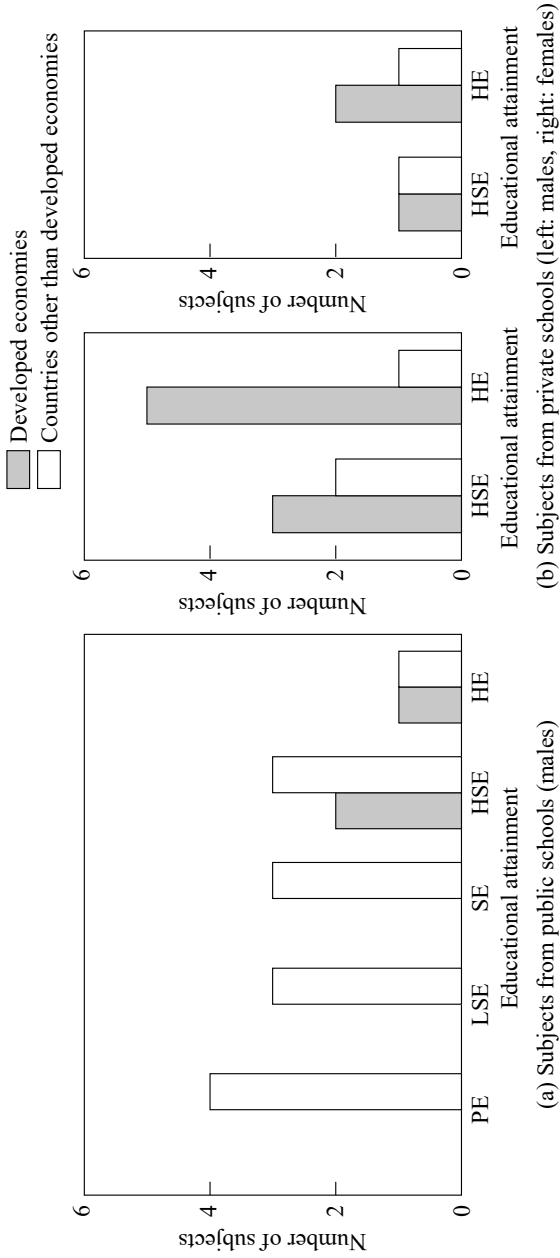


Figure 7-4 Destination by educational attainment, gender, and school type

Table 7-9 Specific destination of overseas migrant workers by school type

Individuals from public schools		Individuals from private schools	
Name of country	No. of people	Name of country	No. of people
Gulf countries	5	Australia	8
Dubai	5	Dubai	3
Malaysia	2	United States	2
United States	2	Gulf countries	2
Afghanistan	1	Japan	1
India	1		
Australia	1		
Total	17	Total	16

Rs. 30,000 or more is regarded as a high income in Nepal; however, for example, the monthly income of overseas migrant workers in Dubai is approximately Rs. 40,000–50,000. In addition, in the developed economies such as Australia and Japan, it will be more than twice or three times the monthly income of Dubai. In the home-visit surveys, the following comments were received from the subject who has been working as a migrant worker in Dubai and had temporarily returned to Nepal at the time of the survey: 'I'm working in Dubai now, but I want to go to Canada next time. I think that because Canada is a developed country, I can earn more and live a better life than I am now. I'm saving money now because I have to pay more money to a broker to go to Canada'. In this way, it is clear that overseas migrant workers aim to raise their economic status by engaging in labour at destinations with better conditions.

From the above, it was clarified that it was not possible to collectively describe overseas migrant work, there is a big difference between people from public schools and those from private schools, and there was a tendency that those from public schools cannot access to developed economies as those from private schools. Young individuals in Nepal will be able to earn a high income by going abroad to work; however, it can be seen that the disparity between people from public schools and those from private schools has not been resolved even when going abroad.

Background of disparity in occupations and incomes of individuals left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education'

Up to this point, this chapter discussed the disparities seen between people from public schools and those from private schools, but even among those from public schools, there was an interesting tendency. That is, in both male and female, the proportion of mental workers and high income increased in the HE, which was different from the other education levels (Tables 7-1–7-4). This means that one must continue schooling until completion of the HE, otherwise he/she cannot have a wide range of vocational options and the possibility of having mental work or high-income jobs will be low. Therefore, some people, who even completed up to the HSE (Grades 11 and 12), have no choice other than physical work such as elementary occupation and agriculture. Ashida (2015, 2018), who examined the relationship between educational attainment and current professions in Honduras located

in Central America, found that even among those who have advanced to secondary education, a limited number of people are engaged in aspirational professions while some are engaged in occupations similar to those who have not completed primary education and who are unemployed. This phenomenon was similar to this study. In such a situation, it can be seen that the person's educational attainment and the occupation commensurate with it are not linked. This section focuses on people from public schools and discusses the background behind this situation.

Impact of caste and overseas migrant work

What is behind in the tendency that only the HE is different from other education levels? In the previous discussion (*'Impact of caste'*), the effect of caste was confirmed. Therefore, castes by educational attainment were shown in Figure 7-5. As a result, the ethnic groups (Janajati) accounted for 75 % or more in all education levels (PE: 77.4 %, LSE: 82.8 %, SE: 80.0 %, HSE: 81.3 %, HE: 95.0 %); the result did not show that the proportion of upper castes was high only in HE as those from private schools and also there was no statistically significant difference ($\chi^2 = 4.34$, $df = 4$, $p = NS$).⁵⁹

In addition, in the previous discussion, it was found that high income and overseas migrant work were linked, but in the case of females from public schools, there were no overseas migrant workers,⁶⁰ and for males, there were overseas migrant workers in all education levels and most of them were in the HSE, not in the HE. Therefore, the high proportion of high income at the HE cannot be attributed to migrant work abroad.

From this, it became clear that it is difficult to cite caste as a background showing the tendency that only the HE is different from other education levels and that high income cannot be linked to overseas migrant work. Other factors that could be considered include the person's ability, academic ability, birth order, parental awareness, etc., but they are outside the scope of this study and should be addressed in the future.

Limitation of the labour market in the target area

Analysis of occupations by educational attainment revealed that no relationship between educational attainment and occupations necessarily exists for males and females (Tables 7-1 and 7-3). Such mismatches between educational attainment and occupations have been also confirmed in other developing countries. Previous studies⁶¹ pointed out that the causes of such

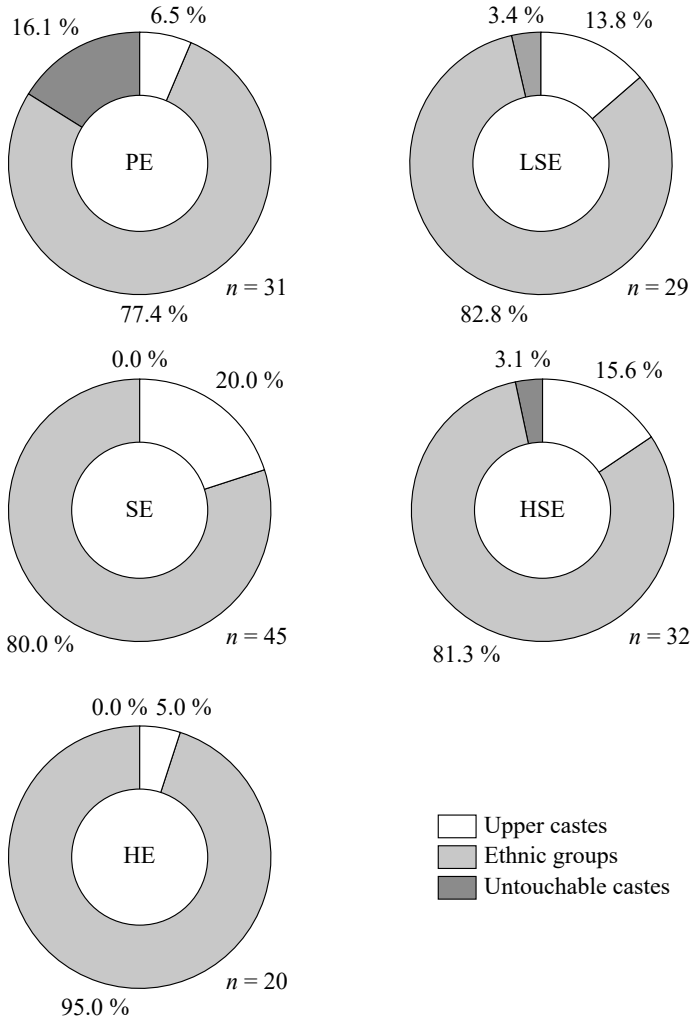


Figure 7-5 Caste of individuals from public schools by educational attainment

issues in the labour market are the insufficient number of jobs and lack of occupational diversity. People living in areas with such problems tend to leave for areas with more attractive labour markets in search of jobs that are commensurate to their educational attainment. Therefore, the study focused on the work place of the subjects and examined the differences induced by gender and educational attainment.

Work places were classified into (1) target area, (2) the capital, Kathmandu, (3) other areas in the country, and (4) foreign country (Figures 7-6 and 7-7). For males, the higher the educational attainment, the lower the tendency to work in the target area (PE: 57.1 %, LSE: 40.0 %, SE: 33.3 %, HSE: 16.7 %, HE: 14.3 %). In other words, males with higher levels of education were more likely to leave the target area to follow professions suited to their educational qualifications. Among them, the proportion of workers migrating to other countries was highest at the HSE,⁶² whose educational attainment is not low but the range of occupational options is limited in the country. However, individuals with HE rarely leave the country for work as they have more opportunities to find suitable employment even within the country. They rather tend to move to Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, where companies, information, and varied opportunities are concentrated.

However, the ratio of working females in the target area with education levels between PE and HSE was around 30 % or less (PE: 10.0 %, LSE: 31.6 %, SE: 20.8 %, HSE: 30.0 %). This ratio grew to a very high 66.7 % at HE, the highest education level.⁶³ The Nepalese culture, especially in suburban and rural areas, promotes the practice of females moving into the husband's home and engaging in housework upon marriage. Therefore, if the husband lives in another city, the wife is obligated to leave the city where she was born and raised. During the home-visit surveys, the parents/guardians of the subjects interviewed mainly disclosed that their daughters were married and currently live in different districts. Therefore, the study considered that the proportion of females with PE to HSE outside the target area was high.

Conversely, individuals with HE were academically excellent students who passed the final examination for Grade 10 students, which local people call 'iron gate', and the final examination for Grade 12 students. Therefore, they have a positive reputation as evidenced by teachers from their alma mater. In turn, such students tend to work as teachers at local schools after obtaining a degree. In fact, four out of six people who have completed HE

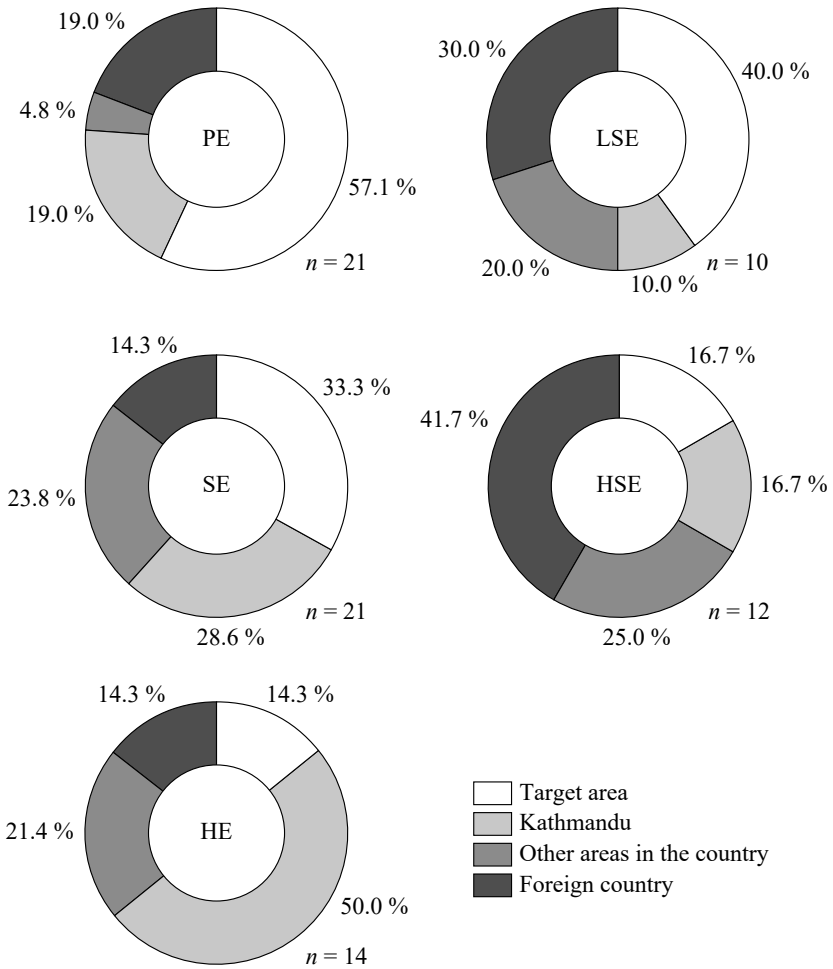


Figure 7-6 Work place by educational attainment (males from public schools)

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2021).

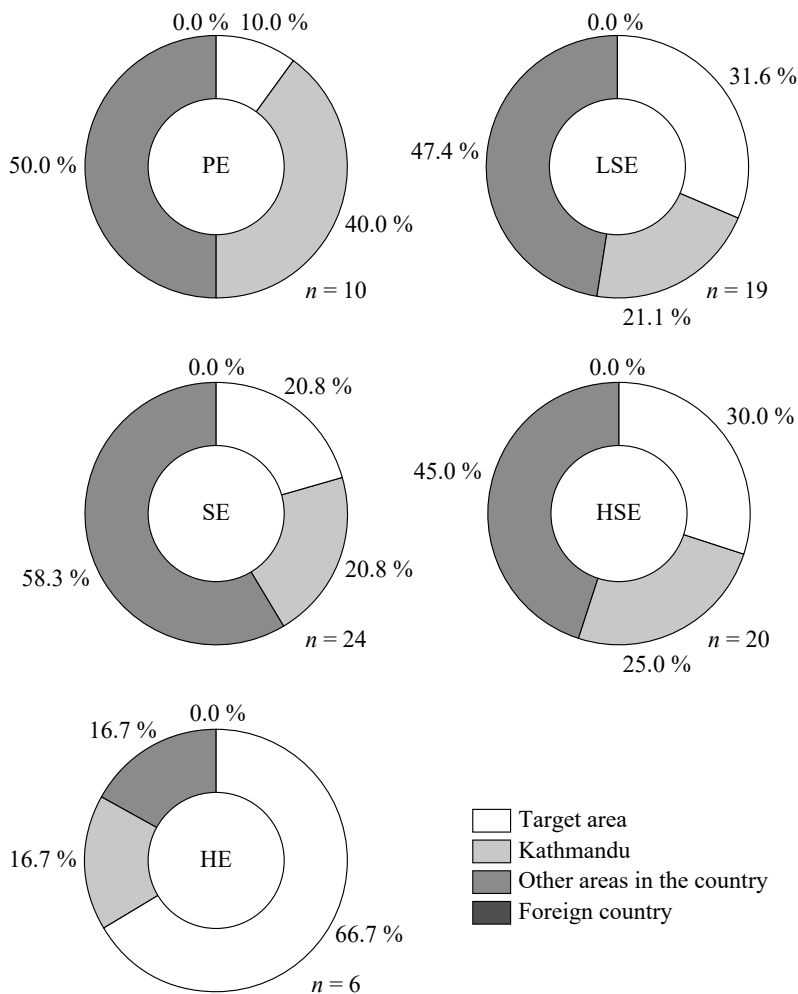


Figure 7-7 Work place by educational attainment (females from public schools)

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2021).

are working as teachers at schools located in the target area. However, the limited number of study subjects prevents such generalised presumptions to stand testing.⁶⁴

CHAPTER EIGHT

How was the impact of the Nepal earthquakes?

Focusing on children's attendance and enrolment flow

Introduction

Hypothesis

Following disasters, only very few children are able to attend private schools, and the social gap widens further.

Natural disasters are known to prevent children from attending school. For example, according to Jensen (2000), in regions affected by bad weather, attendance drops by approximately 20 %. During disasters, normal protective support systems are destroyed, and pre-existing problems like social unfairness or inequality are magnified (IASC, 2007). Natural disasters have a heavier impact on specific groups of children: those in primary school, those belonging to indigenous or farming families, and those that are female (Janvry et al., 2006).

Data collection

As data sources, the study used: (1) the school records of the target public schools for the years 2013 to 2015, including attendance records, registers, and transfer records, and (2) results of interviews with teachers from the target schools, target children, and local residents. The collection of school record data and interviews with teachers and target children were conducted at each target school. The study implemented interviews with local residents by visiting their houses.

Analysis methods

Method 1: Impact of the earthquake disaster on the target area

To ascertain the disaster situation in the target area, the study conducted field visits to all villages in Town A and analysed collected information from teachers working at the target schools and random sampled local residents.

Subsequently, the study compared the trends in the monthly number of attendees before and after the earthquakes. The attendance records of target schools for the years 2013 and 2014 were used as data source for the time before the earthquakes. As analysis in Chapter 4, two years' worth of data were used based on the assumption that parts of the records might have been lost as a result of the earthquakes, and using an extra year's worth of data would augment any such losses. Meanwhile, the attendance records for 2015 were used as a source of data for the time after the earthquakes. For the monthly number of attendees, the mean number of attendees for the third Tuesday and Wednesday of each month of the Vikram Samvat was used.⁶⁵ Regarding attendance before the earthquakes, where attendance data were available for both years, the mean for both years was used, but where available data covered only one year, the figures for that year were used. As for the selection of Tuesday and Wednesday, children in Nepal go to school for six days a week and take Saturdays off; therefore, Tuesday and Wednesday lie in the middle of the school week. Attendance tends to be lower than usual before and after the day off; thus, the days near the mid-point of the week were selected.

Next, the study categorized children at the target schools into three groups based on attendance rates (Group 1: attendance rate of $\geq 50\%$, Group 2: attendance rate of 25% to 49%, Group 3: attendance rate of 0% to 24%) to analyse the relationship between access to education and the physical damage on their houses caused by the earthquake disaster. Subjects were then extracted from each group using random sampling. These subjects, as well as teachers⁶⁶ who were familiar with them, were then interviewed on the damage to houses and familial backgrounds. To corroborate the interview data, home-visit surveys among a number of the target children were conducted.

Methods 2 and 3: Individual children's flow from public to private schools before and after the earthquakes

To compare with the data from the time after the earthquakes, the study clarified all flow of children who transferred out to a different school from

the target schools and transferred into the target schools from a different school within a school year before the earthquakes.⁶⁷ The data sources used were the school records of the target schools for the years 2013 and 2014. From these data, transfer children were ascertained, and semi-structured interviews were conducted with teachers who were familiar with the children regarding the school the children transferred from, school transferred to, and reason for the transfer. As for the children's flow after the earthquakes, the school records of 2015 were used and clarified using the same methods. Flow from/to other districts is not examined in the study, as the research focused on children's flow in the target area.

Impact of the earthquake disaster on the target area

Disaster situation in the target area

Town A, the target area of this study, has a population of approximately 6,000 in 1,500 households. According to the field visits and interview results, many of the houses were damaged by the earthquake disaster. Right after the earthquakes, international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and donors came for emergency assistance; they implemented search operations of people in need of rescue and distributed humanitarian supplies, including tents, blankets, and meals. Two people in Town A perished in the disaster. A number of people lost their houses and were forced to live in a temporary shelter or tent.

The following comments were stated by local residents: 'I lost all my domestic animals, such as chickens and goats'; 'Water in a well has dried out, so now we have to walk a long distance to draw water from a different place'; 'Water in a well has dried out, so now we have to depend on rainwater'; 'Specialists helped me build a temporary shelter, but all the costs was covered by me'. These comments indicate that not only were their houses damaged but their lives and economic situation were affected by the earthquake disaster.

According to the teachers working at the target schools, of the schools in Town A, one small school (School 1) was significantly damaged by the earthquakes, with two of its three buildings rendered unusable. No children in the target schools lost family members, but a number of children reported damage to their houses. In addition, the target schools received some children of the earthquake victims who evacuated from other districts to Town A after the earthquake disaster.

Children's attendance situation

Figure 8-1 shows the overall trends in the monthly total number of attendees at the target schools before and after the earthquakes. Post-earthquake data are shown separately; the line with squares represents data on children from Town A and children from other districts, and the line with triangles, on children from Town A only.

Before the earthquakes, the number of attendees was low at the beginning of the school year, picked up in the second month, and then fluctuated for the rest of the year. The number of attendees was lower than usual on days before and after holidays, particularly long holidays. Meanwhile, after the earthquakes, when the schools reopened (Jesth), the number of attendees was below half that of the time before the earthquakes, with only 64 children attending school. However, by the following month, the number of attendees had recovered to the pre-earthquake level, with more than 150 children in attendance, even excluding children from other districts. For the rest of the school year, the number of attendees ebbed and flowed in a similar fashion to the corresponding period before the earthquakes, but the numbers in attendance were slightly higher by comparison.

Damage on houses and access to education

The study focused on the period when the number of attendees was dramatically low, or the 'emergency period',⁶⁸ and then divided the children at the target schools into three groups based on their attendance rate during this period (Group 1: $\geq 50\%$, Group 2: 25% to 49%, Group 3: 0% to 24%). A total of 158 children were in Group 1, 40 in Group 2, and 22 in Group 3. The numbers of children interviewed during the period of the field surveys were as follows: 90 children from Group 1, 26 from Group 2, and 14 from Group 3. To corroborate the statements of the interviewees, visits were scheduled to the homes of 19 interviewees, which revealed 97% data consistency.

According to the results of the interviews (Figure 8-2), in Group 1, 27 (30.0%), 40 (44.4%), and 23 (25.6%) children reported that their house was completely destroyed, partially destroyed, and not damaged in the earthquakes, respectively. In Group 2, 4 (15.4%) children reported complete destruction of their home in the earthquakes, 17 (65.4%), partial destruction, and 5 (19.2%), no damage. In Group 3, 7 (50.0%) and 7 (50.0%) children reported that their house was completely destroyed and partially destroyed in the earthquakes, respectively.

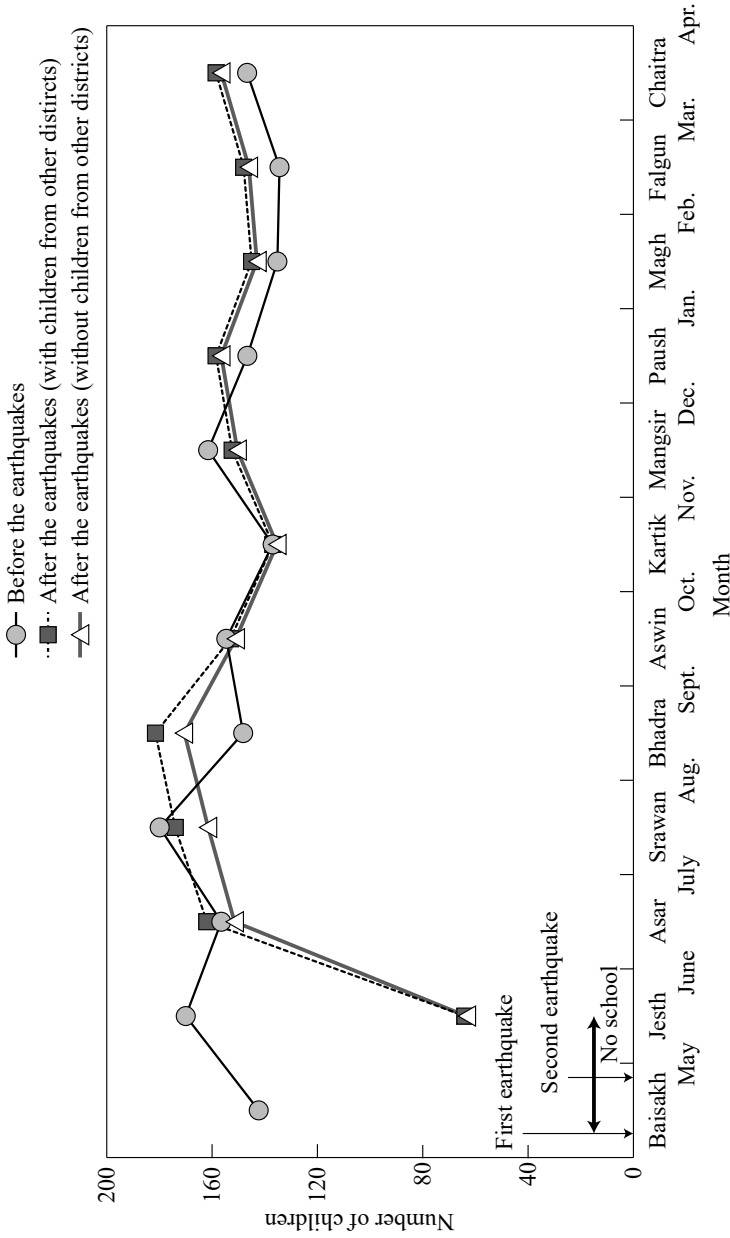


Figure 8-1 Trends in the monthly number of attendees before and after the earthquakes

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2018b).

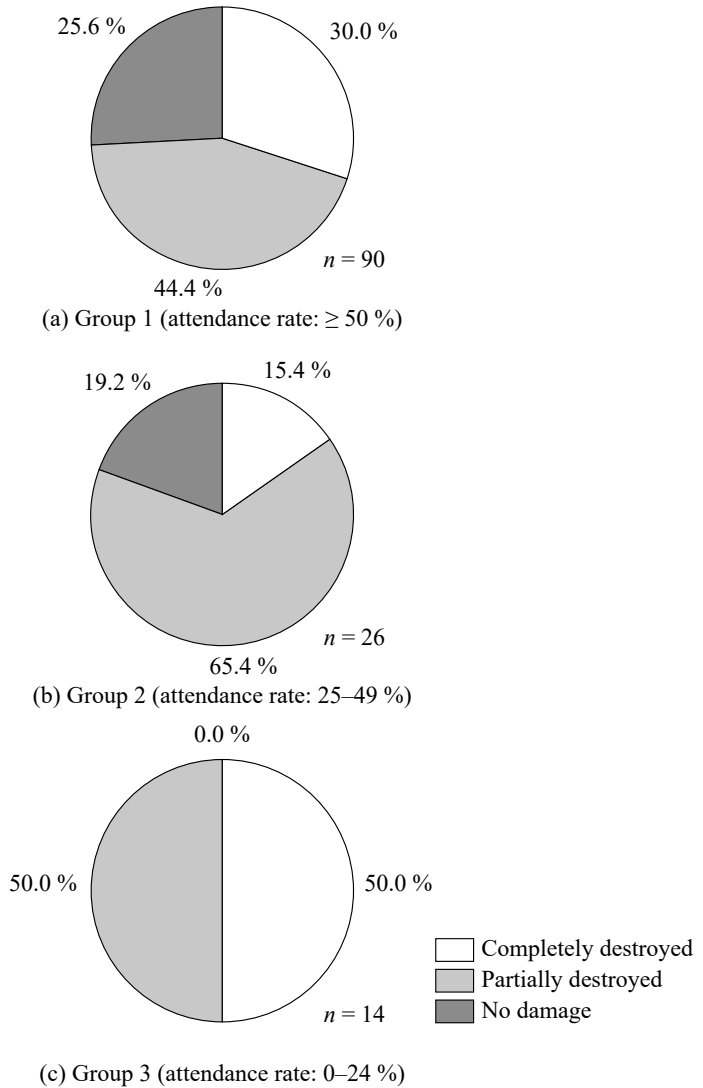


Figure 8-2 Extent of damage to houses in earthquakes

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2018b).

Of the three groups, the proportion of children with non-damaged homes was highest in Group 1. Meanwhile, the proportion of children with damaged (completely and partially destroyed) homes was 74.4 % in Group 1 and 80.8 % in Group 2. In Group 3 (100 %), none of the children answered that their home escaped damage. This finding suggests that the extent of damage to a children's house tended to be negatively correlated with attendance rate.

Children's detailed attendance situation before and after the earthquake disaster

This section verifies the schooling situation before and after the earthquakes to discuss the impact of the earthquakes in detail. First, Figure 8-3 presents a breakdown by grade of the overall monthly number of attendees (as seen in Figure 8-1). Throughout the year, the number of attendees was lower among lower grades, except for the ECD (early childhood development) level.

Meanwhile, the number of attendees in the ECD level, the lowest grade, was as high as that in the upper grades, which had the highest number of children among all grades. Figure 8-4 presents the trends in the monthly number of registered children by grade. As with the case of the number of attendees, the ECD level was the exception to the overall trend, as it reported the highest numbers of registered children compared with the other grades as well as monthly increases. Many of the ECD children were too young to go to school unaccompanied. However, even in such cases, once a child reached a certain state of development, the parents/guardians arranged for the children to go to school with other children. This practice explained the increasing attendance in the ECD level even within the same year whereas attendance in other grades did not.

As the number of children in the area did not change significantly in recent years (DoE, 2012), it can be assumed that the number of ECD children in the previous year was approximately the same. If this is the case, then the sudden decline in the number of Grade 1 children (Grade 1 being the grade after ECD) is unnatural. The attendance rate in the ECD level is the lowest among all grades, taking into account both attendance and registration figures. Thus, the sharp decline in the number of Grade 1 children might imply that many ECD children withdrew from the five target schools during the year or when the time came to advance to Grade 1. In Chapter 4,

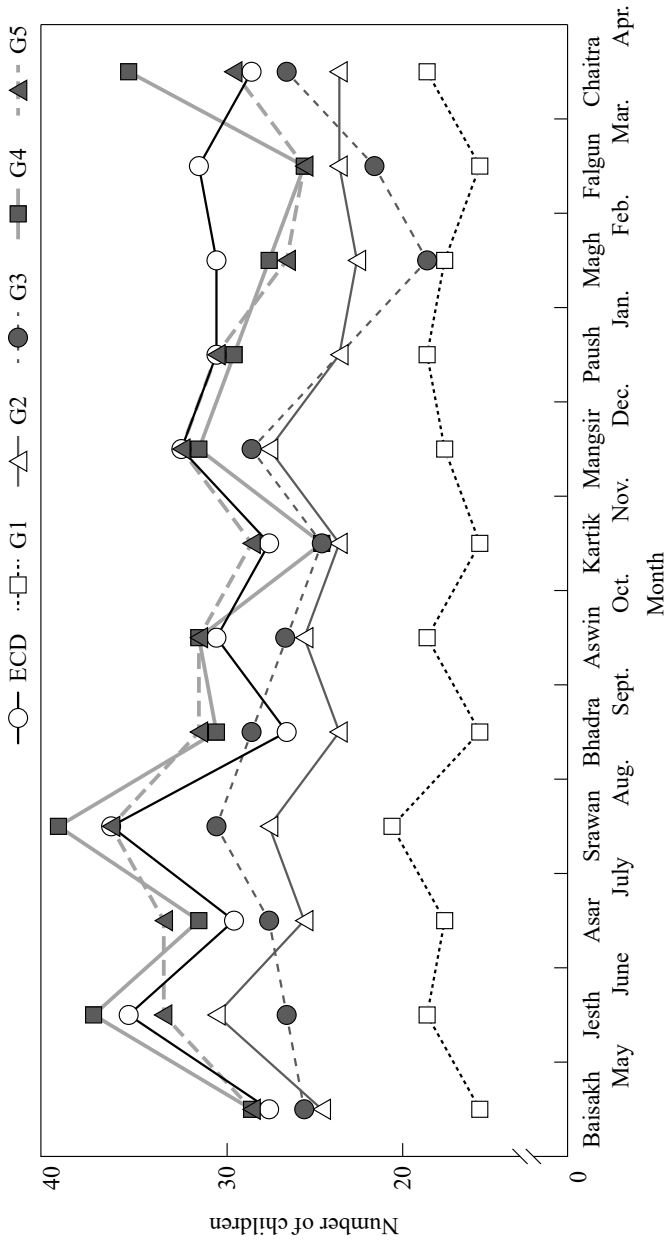


Figure 8-3 Trends in monthly number of attendees in the public schools before the earthquakes (breakdown by grade)

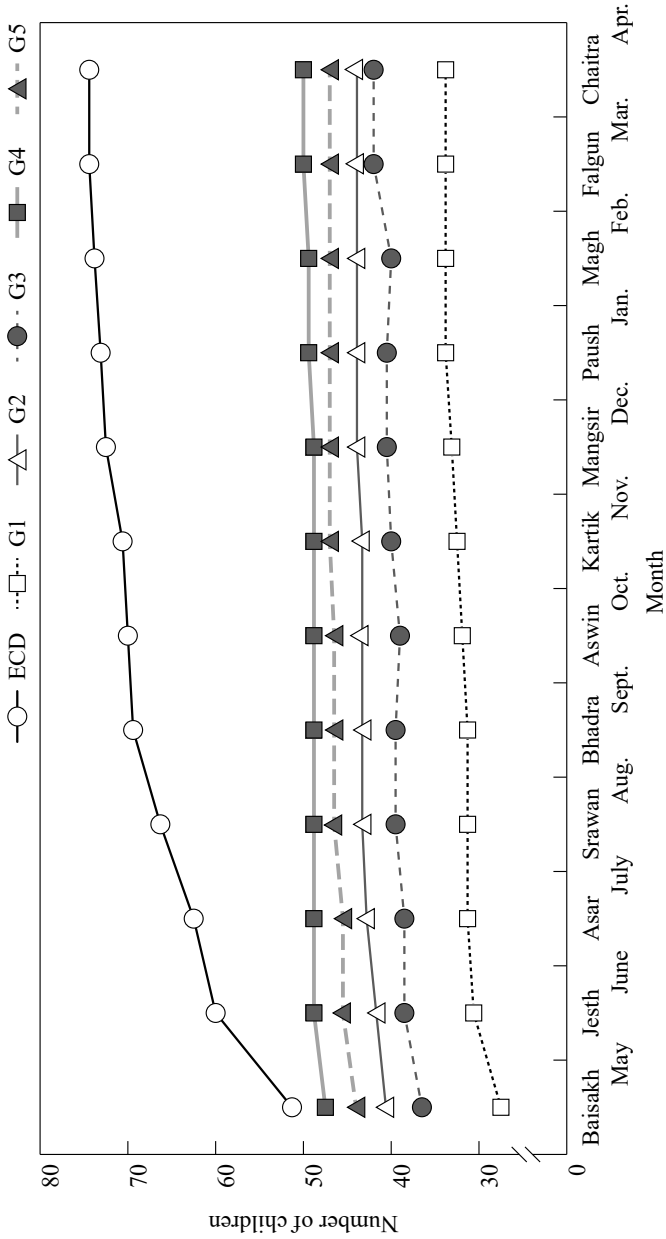


Figure 8-4 Trends in monthly number of registered children in the public schools before the earthquakes (breakdown by grade)

it was revealed that ECD children occupied most of the flow from the five target schools to private schools. Therefore, many ECD children are considered to have transferred to private schools.

Figure 8-5 shows the trends in the monthly number of attendees by grade after the earthquakes. Before the earthquakes, Grade 1 had the lowest number of attendees throughout the year, but after the earthquakes, its number of attendees was greater than that of Grades 2 and 4, respectively. This finding demonstrates that the number of attendees in Grade 1 increased greatly after the earthquakes. The trends in monthly number of registered children (Figure 8-6) mirror this phenomenon. Before the earthquakes, a large portion of ECD children transferred to private schools midway through the year or when the time came to advance to Grade 1, resulting in Grade 1 having the lowest number of registered children. After the earthquakes, however, Grade 1 had the largest number of children until Srawan, after which it was again overtaken by the ECD level. Thus, after the earthquakes, children who would have transferred to private schools under normal circumstances were unable to do so, which would explain the higher number of registered children in Grade 1 after the earthquakes compared with that before the earthquakes (Figure 8-7).

Moreover, the number of registered ECD children failed to increase throughout the year to the same extent as before the earthquakes (Figure 8-8). Of course, it was not only children who experienced the terror of the natural disaster, adults did too. It is not easy to shake off the fear that another earthquake could occur at any moment. It might be the case that this lingering fear and unease made parents/guardians hesitant about sending their children even to public schools.

In terms of attendance and number of registered children, the attendance rate was lower among the lower grades. This finding might imply that the parents/guardians were unwilling or unable to send small children to school or unable to take care of them. For instance, people were busy trying to put their lives back following the earthquakes, and may not have had the time to drop off and pick up their children. Many of the parents/guardians of the surveyed children were engaged in farm work. For farming families, the busy season would have started from Jesth (mid-May to mid-June), immediately after the earthquakes, until Aswin (mid-September to mid-October), so this might also have had an influence on their ability to send their children to school.

According to the National Planning Commission (2015b), the earth-

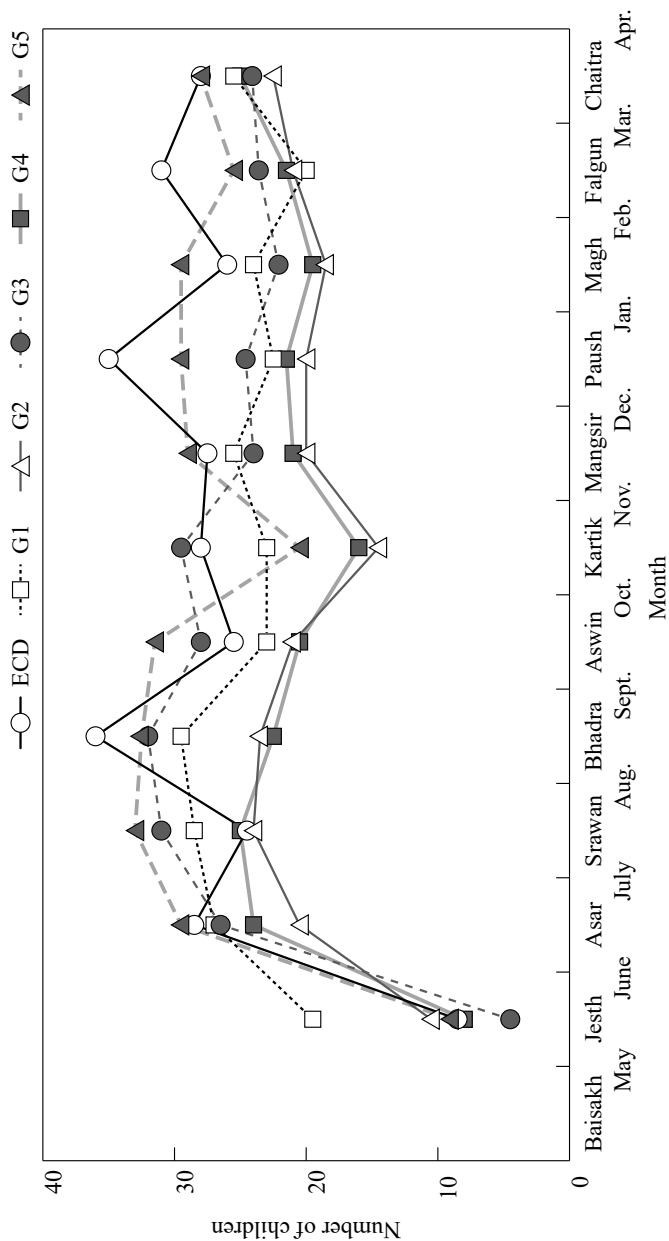


Figure 8-5 Trends in monthly number of attendees in the public schools after the earthquakes (breakdown by grade)

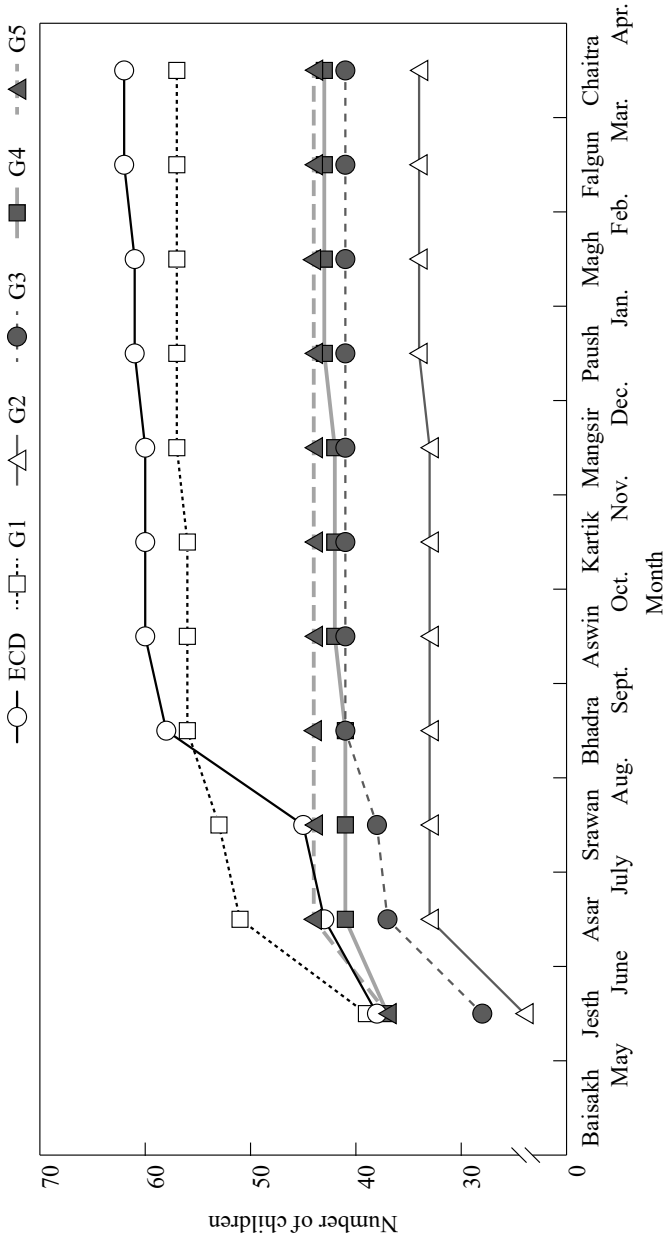


Figure 8-6 Trends in monthly number of registered children in the public schools after the earthquakes (breakdown by grade)

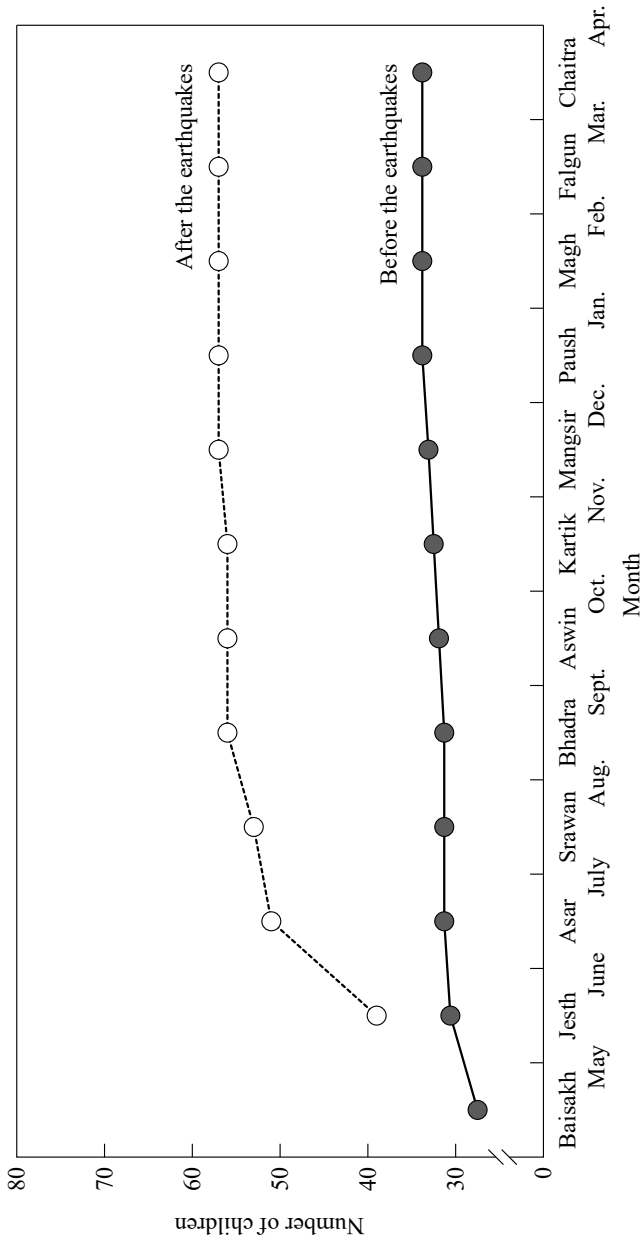


Figure 8-7 Monthly number of registered Grade 1 children before the earthquakes compared with after

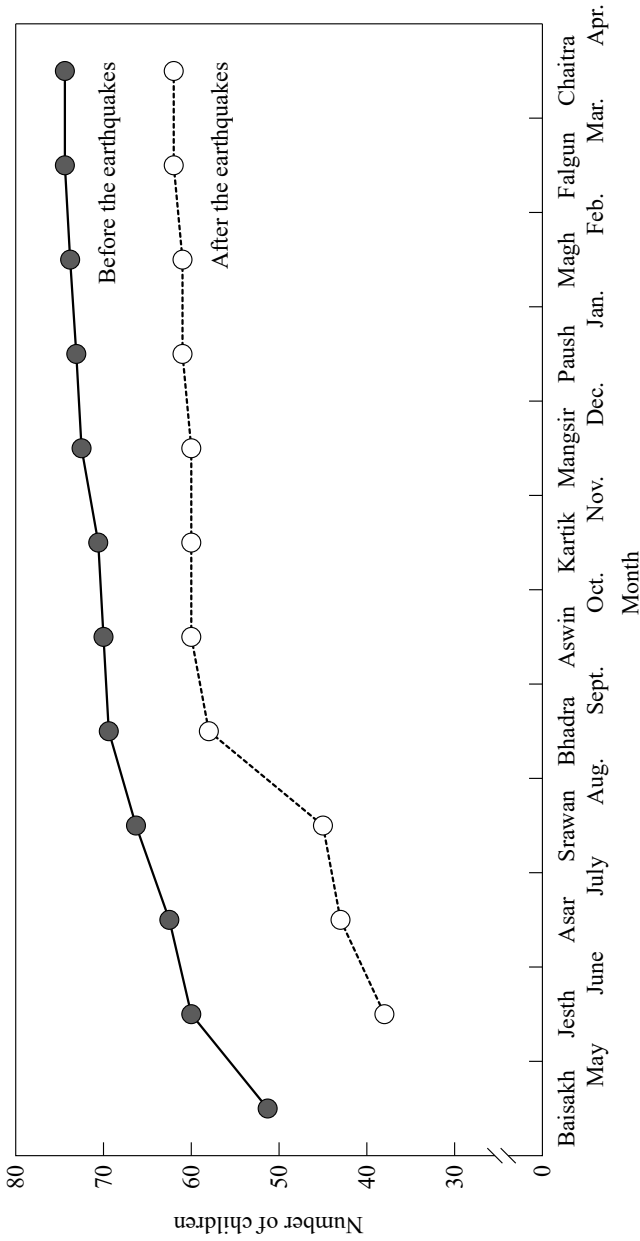


Figure 8-8 Monthly number of registered ECD children before the earthquakes compared with after

quakes increased the amount of time women spent engaging in productive, reproductive, and community work to a greater extent compared with men. In Sindhupalchowk and Kavrepalanchowk, for example, after the earthquakes, women were spending around four to five hours a day clearing debris or retrieving furniture or construction materials from the debris. In addition to these tasks, the women had to spend time for housework, watering plants, and looking after children. Accordingly, the average time for going to bed was set back from 8:00 pm to 10:00 pm. In the target area of this study, most of the mothers were in charge of dropping off and picking up their children to and from school. In light of the above surveys, it seems that mothers had a heavier workload due to the earthquakes and during the restoration process. Such circumstances would explain why the number of children registered did not increase throughout the year to the same extent as before the earthquakes, and why attendance among children in lower grades was unstable, resulting in low attendance rates.

Impact of the earthquake disaster on children's enrolment flow

Individual children's flow before the earthquakes

Table 8-1 shows the flow of children before the earthquakes in order of frequency. The total number of school transfers for 2013 and 2014 was 74 cases. The most frequent type of flow was from a public school to an urban private school (26 children, 35.1 %). The next most frequent type was flow

Table 8-1 Individual children's enrolment flow before the earthquakes

Rank	Enrolment flow	No. of children	Ratio
1	Public → Urban private	26	35.1
2	Public → Public	21	28.4
3	Public → Suburban Private	16	21.6
4	Suburban Private → Public	5	6.8
5	Public → Unknown	4	5.4
6	Public → Other public	1	1.4
6	Urban Private → Public	1	1.4
Total		74	

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2018b).

from one public school to another (21 children, 28.4 %). The third most frequent flow was from a public school to a suburban private school (16 children, 21.6 %).

In summary, 42 cases (56.7 %) of children's flow from public to private schools occurred before the earthquakes, or more than half of the total number of children (74 children). Conversely, for the flow from private to public schools, the number of children was at 6 in total (8.2 %).

Individual children's flow after the earthquakes

The time after the earthquakes was subdivided into the 'emergency period' (when the number of attendees was markedly low) and the post-emergency period.⁶⁹ A total of 60 transfers were recorded: 36 during the emergency period and 24 during the post-emergency period (Table 8-2). For the emergency period, the most frequent type of flow was from one public school to another (14 children, 38.9 %). The next most frequent form of flow was from a suburban private school to a public school (10 children, 27.8 %). The third most frequent flow was from a public school to a suburban private school (6 children, 16.7 %). As for the post-emergency period, the most frequent type of flow was from one public school to another (7 children, 29.2 %). The next most frequent form of flow was from other public schools⁷⁰ to a public school in Town A and flow from a public school to an urban private school (both cases, 4 children, 16.7 %).

In sum, flow from public to private schools after the earthquakes was seen in 8 children (22.3 %) in the emergency period and 5 children (20.9 %) in the post-emergency period. Conversely, 12 (33.4 %) and 5 (20.8 %) children transferred from private to public schools in the emergency and post-emergency periods, respectively.

Impact of the earthquake disaster on children's flow towards private schools

Before the earthquakes, there were 42 children for the flow from public to private schools, which was more than a half of the total flow. As previously described, the results showing considerable flow from public to private schools correspond with those in a prior study conducted in India (James & Woodheard, 2014), where the dysfunction of public schools and rise of private schools are pointed out.

When this flow from public to private schools before the earthquakes is

Table 8-2 Individual children's enrolment flow after the earthquakes

Emergency period				Post-emergency period			
Rank	Enrolment flow	No. of children	Ratio	Rank	Enrolment flow	No. of children	Ratio
1	Public → Public	14	38.9	1	Public → Public	7	29.2
2	Suburban Private → Public	10	27.8	2	Other public → Public	4	16.7
3	Public → Suburban Private	6	16.7	2	Public → Urban private	4	16.7
4	Urban Private → Public	2	5.6	4	Suburban Private → Public	3	12.5
4	Public → Urban private	2	5.6	5	Urban Private → Public	2	8.3
6	Unknown → Public	1	2.8	5	Public → Other public	2	8.3
6	Public → Unknown	1	2.8	7	Public → Suburban Private	1	4.2
Total			36	Total			24

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2018b).

converted into a flow for one year, the result is 21 children. After the earthquakes, this number decreased to 13 children (8 children for the emergency period and 5 children for the post-emergency period), which suggests that this flow was impeded by the earthquake disaster. Thus, those 8 children (subtract 13 children after the earthquakes from 21 children before the earthquakes), or about 40 % of children who were wishing to transfer to a private school, had to give up their intention to do so. From a different point of view, about 60 % of children wishing to transfer to a private school could do so despite the harsh external shock of the earthquakes.

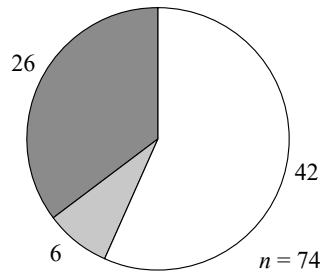
Regarding the backflow from private to public schools, the number of children decreased from 12 children in the emergency period to 5 children in the post-emergency period, but it actually increased 5.7 times compared with the cases before the earthquakes (3 children, when converted into flow for one year). According to the interviews with teachers, most of these children's parents/guardians were no longer able to afford the expensive private school fees as a result of the earthquake damage, forcing them to transfer their children to a public school.

Statistical processing on the distribution of: (1) flow from public to private schools, (2) flow from private to public schools, and (3) other flow in the three periods (before the earthquakes, during the emergency period, and during the post-emergency period) revealed that they were statistically significant at the 1 % level ($\chi^2 = 21.57$, $df = 4$, $p < 0.01$) (Figure 8-9).

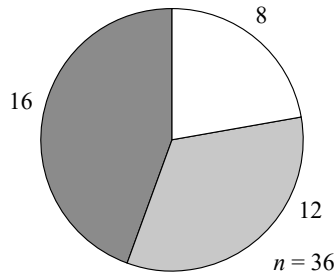
These children who had to give up their transfer to or attendance at a private school are those from the demographic that was only starting to make the flow towards private schools, the number of which is rising globally; these are families that are not necessarily wealthy but are trying to send their children to a private school for their children's bright future. In this way, the earthquake disaster sharply distinguished children who can go to a private school and children who cannot do so.

Children most affected by the earthquake disaster in terms of flow towards private schools

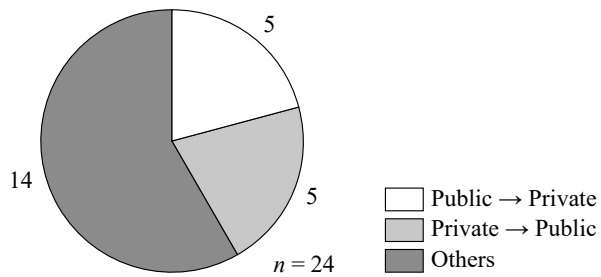
In the section, 'Children's detailed attendance situation before and after the earthquake disaster', impact of the earthquake disaster especially on ECD children was observed. Thus, the flow of children at the ECD level was extracted from the overall pre-earthquakes flow and shown in Table 8-3. As for the flow towards private schools before the earthquakes, 30 out of 42 children were from ECD level (71.4 % of the total). As mentioned in Chap-



(a) Before the earthquakes



(b) Emergency period



(c) Post-emergency period

Figure 8-9 Three types of flow before and after the earthquakes

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2018b).

Table 8-3 Enrolment flow of ECD children before the earthquakes

Rank	Enrolment flow	No. of children	Ratio
1	Public → Urban private	17	50.0
2	Public → Suburban Private	13	38.2
3	Public → Public	4	11.8
Total		34	

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2018b).

ter 4, many parents/guardians wished to send their children to a private school from as early a stage as possible. However, it is too much of a risk to send small children, who do not yet even understand what happens at school, to a faraway urban private school by bus. Therefore, they first send their children to a public school where the access is easy in terms of both distance and economic situation, and then transfer them to a private school when they are prepared. This finding indicates that location, academic quality, and financial considerations are important factors for parents/guardians in school choice, corresponding with the results of a prior study (Joshi, 2014).

Next, the flow of ECD children was extracted from the overall post-earthquakes flow and shown in Table 8-4. For ECD children, no flow was observed in the emergency period; 13 cases were observed in the post-emergency period. As for the flow towards private schools, there were 13 children in total for the overall flow (8 children in the emergency period and 5 children in the post-emergency period), but there were only 3 ECD

Table 8-4 Enrolment flow of ECD children after the earthquakes

Rank	Enrolment flow	No. of children	Ratio
1	Public → Public	5	38.5
2	Public → Urban private	3	23.1
3	Suburban Private → Public	2	15.4
4	Other public → Public	1	7.7
4	Unknown → Public	1	7.7
4	Public → Other public	1	7.7
Total		13	

Source: Reproduced by the author based on Ezaki (2018b).

children observed in the post-emergency period (23.1 % of the total).

In other words, ECD-level children accounted for 71.4 % of the flow towards private school before the earthquakes, but this figure dramatically decreased to 23.1 % after the earthquakes, or one-third of the flow before the earthquakes. Meanwhile, children from other grades transferred to a private school even during the emergency period, but no ECD children did so. Parents/guardians may have become more worried and hesitant to send small children to a private school in urban areas owing to the impact of the earthquake disaster. Therefore, ECD-level children are considerably the most affected by the earthquake disaster.

Cases where the earthquakes impeded children's access to education

Until this section, the focus has been on children who were unable to transfer to or attend a private school. However, there were some children who could not continue their schooling even at a public school. In this section, these children's backgrounds are shown, based on the interview survey results.

Focusing on the 14 children with attendance rates of 24 % or less during the emergency period (children from Group 3 in '*Damage on houses and access to education*'), in other words, non-attending children, 6 reported one of the following: having no parents, only one parent, a sick mother, or indifferent parents/guardians. According to the teachers from the target schools, these children had more absences than other children even before the earthquakes; the teachers had to pay attention to these children regularly. However, their attendance situation became more unstable after the earthquakes. A number of them remained absent from school for over three months or scarcely attended at all.

According to IASC (2007), unaccompanied children and children without carers are at greater risk of facing various problems in diverse emergencies. In this study, the children in this group were small in number (14), but about half of them were in a highly vulnerable situation from the outset. Thus, it is fair to say that the earthquakes pushed these vulnerable children into an even more drastic situation.

School forced to be closed down

Through this analysis, the study showed that the 2015 Nepal earthquakes reduced the flow of children seeking 'high-quality education' and destabilised the attendance of children with no parents, only one parent, sick mothers, or indifferent parents/guardians. Natural disasters exert a negative influence on the schooling of children and drive highly vulnerable children into even more critical situations. This influence has even extended to the public school, which has been facing declining registration and uncertain continued management while the movement seeking 'high-quality education' has been underway in recent years.

In the section titled '*Disaster situation in the target area*', this study described how, at School 1, two of the three buildings were rendered unusable by the disaster. Both buildings housed the classrooms for children in Grades 1 through 5. Consequently, all children in those grades had to transfer to other schools, and only ECD children were left in School 1. However, the author visited School 1 the following year, and upon interviewing the principal, found that all the ECD children had also transferred to other schools, and the school had closed down (as of 28th July 2016). The principal hoped to see the school rebuilt, but that dream remained unfulfilled. As of August 2020, the school remained closed.

As described above, the movement seeking 'high-quality education' has emerged in Nepal, and many children, if they have the chance, transfer into private schools. Driven by a profit motive, private schools have begun to run school buses both in urban and suburban areas, and consequently, children living in suburban areas are able to attend private schools in urban centres. While some public schools can withstand this fierce inter-school competition, there are vulnerable schools like School 1 that now face dire circumstances. These schools are susceptible to the negative effects of natural disasters and are likely to be driven into yet more severe circumstances.

CHAPTER NINE

*Epilogue**Conclusion and recommendation*

How were the children's movement seeking 'high-quality education' and the impact of the natural disaster on children's enrolment situation?

Summaries of hypotheses investigations

By investigating the five hypotheses, this study sought to answer the following research questions:

- Has the function of education changed in the present? Has education itself encouraged the widening gap between the rich and poor?
- In regions where the movement seeking 'high-quality education' has taken hold and where people are confronting the dangers of a widening socioeconomic gap, when external factors like natural disasters are added into the mix, does the gap become more clearly defined, and does the problem worsen?

First, this study used school records such as registers and attendance records and interviews with teachers to clarify the enrolment flows of individual children and to examine the movement seeking 'high-quality education', to investigate Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 1:

The movement seeking 'high-quality education' has begun, and the flow from 'public schools to private schools in urban areas' is quite common.

In the target schools, the flow of children seeking 'high-quality education' involved 107 transfers in all in 2013 and 2014. The study found that the public schools located in the suburban area had a transfer rate of 15.0 %, while the private school had a transfer rate of 9.6 %. Flow from public to private schools located in urban centres was most common, and much of that comprised children in pre-school levels of learning.

Second, this study focused on child attributes and familial backgrounds and performed a logistic regression analysis with the objective variable as the binary capability of attending a private school. The study used this logistic regression analysis to examine the characteristics of children left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education' and to investigate Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 2:

In Nepal, socially vulnerable children—girls, children of low castes, poor families, etc.—are left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education'.

The logistic regression analysis revealed that children left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education' were those from a lower economic status, those with illiterate mothers, only children, and girls. Previous research (Bhandari, 2016; UNICEF, 2007) has pointed out the existence of a caste problem in education, and this study's results show that ethnic groups and untouchable castes are at a disadvantage when compared to upper castes. However, the study did not observe a statistically significant difference, and found that factors measuring financial situation (father's profession) had a greater influence.

Third, the study used school records such as registers and mark ledgers and home-visit surveys to clarify enrolment patterns by tracking the schooling trajectories of individual children longitudinally. The study analysed trends in the data to examine the enrolment situation of each child left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education' and to investigate Hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 3:

Children left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education' do not have any incentive to expand their choices by education, and therefore fall into grade repetition, temporary dropout, and unfavourable completion rates.

An estimated 75 % of children had completed primary school. However, only 31 % of these children made it straight through to graduation without any repetition or temporary dropout. The study also found some alarming enrolment patterns: children experiencing temporary dropout for 1 or 2 years, children being dropped 2, 3, or more grades while transferring from a public school to a private school, and children being advanced 1, 2, or more grades while transferring from a private school to a public school.

Fourth, using interviews with teachers and home-visit surveys, this study gathered information on the occupation, monthly income, etc., of individuals from public and private schools and compared the data. Using this comparison, the study examined the differences between individuals served and left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education' and investigated Hypothesis 4.

Hypothesis 4:

A difference in the occupations and incomes of individuals served and left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education' has risen, and the social gap between these two groups continues to widen.

There was a gap between the occupations and incomes of individuals from public and private schools, and it was particularly clear while comparing their monthly incomes. While comparing at the same level of educational attainment, a higher percentage of individuals from public schools had low salaries such as less than Rs. 10,000, and a higher percentage of individuals from private schools had high salaries such as Rs. 30,000 or more. Notably, the study found that the higher secondary education level of people from private schools comprised more of the high-earning pool than did the higher education level of people from public schools.

Fifth, this study examined the impact of the 2015 Nepal earthquakes on the enrolment situation of individual children. Using school records such as registers and attendance records and interviews with teachers, the study clarified the attendance status and enrolment flow of children under pre- and post-disaster circumstances and investigated Hypothesis 5.

Hypothesis 5:

Following disasters, only very few children are able to attend private schools, and the social gap widens further.

The earthquakes physically damaged not only homes and property but also people's lives and finances, dividing children rather sharply into two groups: those who could attend private school, and those who could not. Flow from public to private schools dropped from 21 before to 13 after the disaster and flow from private schools to public schools (backflow) grew from 3 before to 17 after the disaster, indicating a 5.7-fold increase. Children who had no choice but to give up their transfer to or entrance into private school lost their chance to receive what the local people believed to be 'high-quality education'.

Thus, except for a small part of Hypothesis 2, all of the hypotheses were supported.

Conclusion

This study analysed the following five points: (1) the actual enrolment flow of individual children during peacetime, (2) the characteristics of children left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education', (3) the actual state of the enrolment pattern of each child left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education', (4) the difference in the occupations and incomes of individuals served and left behind by the movement seeking 'high-quality education', and (5) the impact of the 2015 Nepal earthquakes on the attendance and enrolment flow of individual children. In doing so, it examined changes in the function of education and the impact of natural disasters on children's enrolment situation.

First, from the examination of the actual state of the enrolment flow in peacetime, this study found that among 861 subjects, 107 had taken part in the flow towards 'high-quality education' by transferring schools. The flow from 'public schools to private schools in urban areas' was especially common, and the study saw that a large portion of this flow was located in the pre-school levels of learning. These individual transfers of children together make up the overall movement towards 'high-quality education'. Against this backdrop, parents/guardians consider the best way to provide their children with better education and deploy the following strategy. They first send their children to financially and geographically accessible public schools to acclimatise them to a school environment. Next, once their child has been deemed to have been sufficiently prepared for academic learning, they transfer them to private schools, where classes are taught in English, even during the school year. By doing so, they aim to teach their children English, a language that will afford their children advantages while pro-

ceeding to the next level of education and/or employment. Thus, it appears that public schools function much like ‘stepping-stones’ that children can use to transfer into private schools in pursuit of ‘high-quality education’.

Next, by performing a logistic regression analysis to examine the characteristics of children left behind by the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’, this study found that children who came from poor families, had illiterate mothers, were the only children of their parents, and were girls were left behind. The modernisation and globalisation of Nepalese society are changing people’s values, and while the longstanding caste culture in society has begun to fade, the effect of the financial means of a household only grows larger, and it has been indicated that this financial situation exerts a great deal of control over the sort of education a child can receive.

Then, by analysing the enrolment situation of individual children, this study found that while an estimated 75 % of children had finished primary school, only 31 % of them went straight through to graduation without repetition or temporary dropout. The study also observed some alarming enrolment patterns, including the following: children experiencing temporary dropout for 1 or 2 years, children being dropped 2, 3, or more grades while transferring from a public to a private school, and children being advanced 1, 2, or more grades while transferring from a private to a public school. In spite of the fact that private schools are generally considered better than public schools, the academic content covered in each grade is the same for both public and private schools. Consequently, in subjects like mathematics and science, where cohesion in instruction is of special importance, the placement of children in grades where the validity of the transfer itself is suspect is quite possibly capable of destroying the continuity of their learning process. In addition to this sort of enrolment pattern, political chaos within schools, double registration of children, and other symptoms of sloppy school management were made quite apparent. Children left behind by the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’—children from poor families, children whose mothers are illiterate, only children, and girls—have no choice but to be placed in such an educational environment, where they are far more likely than those who are swept up in the movement towards ‘high-quality education’ to fall into alarming enrolment patterns.

Primary education is often called the first step in a child’s educational career, and their schooling experience during this important time affects their future path and eventual occupations. After examining the differences in occupations and incomes between individuals served and left behind by

the movement seeking 'high-quality education', this study found a wide gap. This gap was particularly pronounced while comparing salaries. While comparing with the same level of academic achievement, a higher percentage of individuals from public schools were found to have low salaries such as less than Rs. 10,000, and a higher percentage of individuals from private schools were found to have high salaries such as Rs. 30,000 or more. The study found that the higher secondary education level of people from private schools comprised more of the high-earning pool than did the higher education level of people from public schools. From these findings, it is clear that even if an individual from a public school studies for longer than one from a private school, and even goes as far as getting their diploma, they will still find it hard to earn more than someone from a private school.

From the above, it is abundantly clear that there is a movement seeking 'high-quality education'. Whether or not someone can go to a private school—where classes are taught in English and children perform well on the final examination administered to Grade 10 students—dictates the sort of schooling trajectory that they will follow. This affects the sort of future (place of employment and salary, etc.) that a child will have, thereby controlling their destiny significantly. In other words, it was implied that education has been unable to realise its original function and has instead become a place where societal gaps widen further.

Finally, by examining the effect of the 2015 Nepal earthquakes on the attendance and enrolment flow of individual children, this study found that despite the fact that attendance at the target schools returned to pre-disaster levels within two months, the flow to private schools was inhibited, and children in pre-school levels of learning suffered the most damage. The earthquakes clearly separated those who could attend private school from those who could not, and inhibited children in vulnerable positions—orphans and children with sick mothers—from even accessing public school. From this, it is clear that gaps seen in society during peacetime only became more pronounced following the involvement of an external factor like a natural disaster.

The results of the analyses of this study revealed many commonalities with previous research on other countries, including the following: girls and children from poorer classes, internationally recognised as being vulnerable, are truly at a disadvantage; and natural disasters damage children's ability to attend school. In recent years, the rise of private schools, including low-fee private schools (LFPSs), has been seen in South Asian

and African countries, and an educational gap between public and private schooling in South Asia in particular has attracted a good deal of attention. The resolution of these issues has become a pressing matter. Perhaps there are other regions and developing countries that are either already undergoing or are quite likely to undergo phenomena such as the emergence of the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’ or widening societal gaps.

If these phenomena accelerate in the future, as in this study, many people will travel abroad—to developed countries in particular—in search of even better education. This will affect the higher education environment in developed countries and may even heighten global competition. On the flip side, in developing countries where talented young individuals—a valuable resource—end up travelling abroad, the country itself may fall further behind its planned developmental trajectory. Given these possibilities, governments that aim to improve the educational status of their nations and actors involved in furthering international cooperation are needed in larger numbers than ever before to implement flexible approaches. As natural disasters only deepen the inequalities that are already present in society, it is all the more necessary for modern societies to strengthen their ability to withstand and respond to natural disasters, especially in contemporary times, where natural disasters appear to grow ever more frequent.

Practical policy recommendations for achievements of SDG 4

Based on the results of this study, in pursuit of the achievement of SDG 4, and to slow down the widening of the educational gap between public and private schools, public schools should discover ways to convince parents/guardians that they are also capable of providing children with good educational opportunities. In order to do this, an enhancement in the quality of education through an improvement in the enrolment situation of children at public schools is indispensable. As natural disasters can place vulnerable children into even more compromised situations, it is critical that the following elements be present after a natural disaster occurs: rapid responses, mid- to long-term countermeasures, situational understanding aimed at implementing restorative policies and support for children in vulnerable positions.

For the improvement in the enrolment situation of children in public schools, this study offers some ideas for the following three groups of children: (1) those who are unable to complete primary education, (2) those

who cannot graduate smoothly, and (3) all children.

Improvement in the enrolment situation of children who are unable to complete even primary education

This study explained in Chapter 6 that household factors, including labour to offset economic hardship or a lack of care or interest in education by parents/guardians can affect children strongly. To improve the enrolment situation of such children, it is important that their issues with grade repetition and temporary dropout be addressed. Thus, the study offers the following ideas:

Educational activities for parents/guardians:

To resolve the problems of grade repetition and temporary dropout, the level of understanding that parents/guardians have of education itself must be deepened, making educational activities for parents/guardians a highly desired possible solution. Many private schools in Nepal hold events such as Parents' Day or home-visits to ensure proactive interactions between the school and parents/guardians. This study finds that it is important for public schools to implement such initiatives and to use schools as a means to directly enlighten a child's parents/guardians.

Establishment of a support system for vulnerable children:

There are a large number of vulnerable children orphaned by illnesses such as HIV/AIDS in Zambia in sub-Saharan Africa. The country has developed and implemented a support system for these children. Each school makes an orphan and vulnerable children (OVC) list every month and submits it to the District Education Boards (DEBs).⁷¹ Thus, school teachers constantly pay close attention to the children they teach, and the government, international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), churches, etc., can support these children. While not in the same region as Nepal, Zambia is a good example to follow. If a similar system can be implemented in Nepal, children in vulnerable positions with issues at home can receive the attention and support they need and may perhaps be better equipped to complete their primary education.

Improvement in the enrolment situation of children who are unable to graduate smoothly

Chapter 6 indicated that school factors, including the lack of ECD facilities, intra-school chaos, and sloppy school management, affect children strongly. Thus, this study offers the following ideas:

Expansion and enrichment of ECD facilities:

Grade repetition is one of the issues that children who cannot directly pass through school deal with. Children in Grade 1 face this problem most. Thus, by expanding and enriching ECD facilities, children can be made ready for higher levels of education by engaging with pre-school education, and thus, this problem may be resolved. Currently, the target schools in this study have ECD facilities, but some do not have properly equipped facilities yet. Thus, efforts to address this issue should be undertaken with these schools in mind.

Reviewing and tightening transfer regulations:

As described in Chapter 4, 'Educational administrative systems and school education systems', the following regulations apply to transfers during primary education. In the case of public schools, children in Grades 1–3 are administered a test by the school into which they wish to transfer and must receive the destination school's permission. Children in Grades 4 and 5 must request their previous school to print a report card and a transfer certificate, which they must present to the intended destination school. Certain schools also administer tests for Grades 4 and 5. For private schools, regulations vary from school to school.

However, this study found that these regulations were not strictly adhered to in the target area. There were also cases in which children's grades were lowered or increased by one or more years at the time of transfer. It is highly likely that such transfers destroy the continuity of the child's learning process, particularly for subjects such as mathematics and science, where cohesion is very important. Now that the high frequency of school transfer in developing countries has been pointed out (Ezaki & Sekiya, 2017; James & Woodhead, 2014), it may be necessary for a review of school transfer regulations, and perhaps a tightening thereof as well. For example, the prohibition of transfer into grades where the validity of the transfer itself is suspect may be a good start.

Reconsideration of primary school official entrance age:

By focusing on the most desirable path through school—a straight shot to graduation—this study found that the highest proportion of children that made it through school with this pattern were not those who joined school at the regulated age of 5 years, but instead the overage children that were 6 or 7 years at the time of joining. Many countries world over have set the school-entrance age as 6 years, and one year makes a huge difference for children of that age. It is difficult to think that setting the official entrance age at one year younger than other countries is a reasonable system without any academic confirmation that Nepalese children are physiologically precocious. This is perhaps the reason for the high repetition rate for children aged five years. This has a negative effect on the internal efficiency of schools as well and stretches the already scarce educational resources even thinner. Therefore, reconsidering the official age of entry for primary school may be one method of improving the enrolment situation.

Improvement in the enrolment situation of all children

The following ideas address making improvements in the enrolment situation of all children.

Encouragement of research and investigation into school transfer:

The prevalence of school transfers in developing countries has been pointed out in this study. Research on school transfers is relatively limited, and transfer rates and transfer-related data are not shown in the yearly reports published by international organisations such as in the 'Global Education Monitoring Report' by UNESCO. Thus, it is important from the perspective of the enrolment situation of all children to focus on school transfer and to research and investigate its effects.

Economic development in the community:

One of the shortcomings of the target area was the lack of a variety of job opportunities. This study found that men in search of opportunities more in line with their educational attainment tend to leave the target area for areas with more attractive labour markets. In such situations, it is difficult to incentivise continued education for either parents/guardians or the children themselves. It is important for the community to develop professional pursuits that are attractive to both parents/guardians and children, and thereby incentivise continued education.

Making Japanese official development assistance more flexible:

Official development assistance is generally provided by the government of Japan to public agencies alone. Thus, in the field of education, only public schools are capable of receiving aid. However, as this study clearly indicates, public schools that ought to have received large amounts of aid experience sloppy management, including intra-school political chaos and double registration of children. In the future, development assistance should not only directly approach public schools, which have a host of issues that they need to address. Instead, it should also implement private-school-driven education improvement projects that support private schools, as well as other projects that take a flexible approach to the provision of aid.

Implementation of rapid response, mid- to long-term countermeasures, and situational understanding aimed at restorative policy

Immediately after the occurrence of a natural disaster and during the subsequent acute period, emergency support, including the distribution of humanitarian aid assets, is provided extensively. This is incredibly important to and effective for individuals that have sustained lifestyle, financial, and household damage. However, as described in this study, when total attendance numbers returned to pre-earthquake levels within two months of the disaster, there is a trend wherein people assume that the problems associated with a natural disaster have been nearly resolved once the acute period passes. Once this assumption is made, support is withdrawn. Unfortunately, this study saw that even after the acute period passed, enrolment flow, for example, remained affected. Thus, it is important to investigate the damage caused by natural disasters closely and to conduct long-term situational monitoring.

Support for children in vulnerable positions

After a natural disaster, children who are unable to even attend public school should be found quickly, their mental and physical health should be addressed, and they should be monitored so that they do not slip through the cracks in the school education system. Principals and teachers need to make constant efforts to understand which children need care, and a system through which they can cooperate with education offices, NGOs, etc., needs to be established.

These efforts also should be made towards children that have left their disaster-affected hometowns and have evacuated to another region. For example, one of the districts in Bagmati Pradesh, sustained heavy damage during the 2015 Nepal earthquakes. Children who were unable to even attend public school were found in a tent-camp housing over 500 victims despite the fact that school reopened approximately a month before that.⁷² The district education office⁷³ did not sufficiently understand the number of children that lived in that tent-camp and made no effort to conduct surveys to identify the number of children that went to each school. From the people living in the tent-camp, the author heard the following comments: 'We tried to obtain admit permission from several different schools, but all of them were over capacity and refused us'. Such a situation causes vulnerable children to slip through the cracks in the school education system.

Limitations of this study and future projects

The following points may be raised as limitations of this study.

First, the study focused on a limited region. As the results are derived from a case study analysis of a specific region in Nepal, they do not describe the whole country. Thus, a possible future project is for this same research to be carried out in a region with different characteristics for inter-regional comparison.

Second, 'high-quality education' is limited. Defining the quality of education is quite difficult, and the reference and scope of the term depends on the context. This study considered the education that local inhabitants consider good as 'high-quality education', and defined the movement seeking 'high-quality education' in terms of flow from 'public to private schools' and 'suburban to urban schools'. Future research should focus on the teaching and learning processes at the core of 'education quality' and conduct a comprehensive analysis of the nature of 'education quality' in public and private schools. If those factors that differentiate high-performance schools from low-performance schools can be successfully identified and understood, these factors can be reproduced in low-performance schools and grounded and concrete educational improvement might be achieved.

Third, the examination of the widening gap has limitations. Though this study clarified the existence of a gap between individuals from public and private schools, it relied on individuals who had already become working adults by the time it was conducted. These individuals were born between 1985 and 1995, and some of them received higher secondary education in

the royal age of the 2000s, and even during the People's War (1996–2006). In addition to the fact that attendance and employment situations, unemployment rates, etc. at the time at which these individuals were hired or were going through school are not the same as they are now, those who attended private school in this group did so when private schools were far less common, and therefore must have come from households with significant financial capacity. In the present day, LFPSs have appeared and the situation is gradually changing. Future research should track those children among whom enrolment flow has been studied and examine the occupations and incomes that they achieve.

Fourth, despite the fact that the aforementioned analysis revealed that the higher education of individuals from public schools exhibited a different pattern than did their other levels of education, the factors motivating this difference were outside the scope of this study. Therefore, the study was unable to investigate them. In the future, a survey and examination of these background factors is recommended.

Finally, SDG 4 indicates that in addition to primary education, the completion of secondary education should be considered a goal for development. Thus, future projects should not be limited to primary education and should instead include secondary education within the scope of their analyses.



Figure 9-1 At tent-camps after the earthquake disaster

Notes

- 1 As this part aims to analyse the enrolment process of these children—promotion to subsequent grades, grade repetition, temporary dropout, etc.—and not their access to schooling, it uses the phrase ‘enrolment pattern’ rather than the word ‘attendance’.
- 2 In recent years, educational administration reform was conducted in Nepal, and the final examination conducted for students in Grade 10 was renamed the ‘Secondary Education Examination’ (SEE) from ‘School Leaving Certificate’ (SLC). The SLC is now administered as the final examination for Grade 12 students. The results of the final examination conducted for Grade 10 students have been noted as having a great influence on a child’s future. However, it is expected that the reform will show a different trend.
- 3 In particular, the high frequency of school transfer in countries in Africa and Asia—nations that have experienced recent meteoric rises in private schools—has been pointed out. For example, cases in countries such as Zambia (Ezaki & Sekiya, 2017) in Africa and India (James & Woodhead, 2014) in Asia have been reported.
- 4 In this study, the quality of education was measured using mean student-teacher ratio, with higher percentages indicating lower quality education (Nishimura & Yamano, 2013).
- 5 However, with respect to gender, some reports (see for example, Srivastava, 2006) indicate that girls are no less incapable of accessing private schooling than boys, meaning that there is room for debate in this area.
- 6 Among these, 58 countries responded with data capable of withstanding analysis (The UNESCO Office of Statistics, 1972).

- 7 Examples of each type in the category of social problems are as follows: (1) pre-existing problems: extreme poverty or discrimination, social ostracism and political oppression, (2) problems brought into being by conflict or natural disaster: familial separation and disruption of social networks, and (3) problems related to humanitarian assistance: weakening of community structures or support frameworks (IASC, 2007). Examples of problems of a psychological nature are as follows: (1) pre-existing problems: severe mental illness and alcohol abuse, (2) problems brought into being by conflict or natural disaster: anxiety disorders, including non-pathological stress, depression and post-traumatic stress disorder, and (3) problems related to humanitarian assistance: anxiety caused by insufficient information on food distribution (IASC, 2007).
- 8 In recent years, the educational administration was changed, and now there are 77 districts in Nepal.
- 9 Due to change in the educational administration in recent years, ECD is now called ECED (Early Childhood Education and Development) and PPCs called PPE (Pre-Primary Education).
- 10 Children attending incomplete schools must transfer midway through their schooling to other schools.
- 11 From interviews conducted with teachers at target schools in January 2016.
- 12 This literacy rate reflects literacy in people aged above 5 years. The literacy rates for males and females were 75.1 % and 57.4 %, respectively (CBS, 2012).
- 13 See Note 2.
- 14 Following the surge in English education in Nepal, some public schools have begun conducting classes in English (Joshi, 2016).
- 15 These perspectives on public and private schools are those of parents alone, and do not necessarily reflect reality.
- 16 In recent years, the educational administration was changed; the Department of Education (DoE) was reorganised as the Center for Education and Human Resource Development and District Education Offices (DEOs) were dissolved.
- 17 This is the number of children who attended suburban public schools at the beginning of the 2013 and 2014 school years.
- 18 This is the number of children who attended the suburban private school at the beginning of the 2013 and 2014 school years.
- 19 As explained before, this number reflects the total number of children at

- the beginning of both school years.
- 20 Ibid.
 - 21 However, when a child has siblings, parents/guardians do not hesitate to send a child with their sibling to an urban private school even if they are young.
 - 22 Perhaps in response to this common worry and strategy on part of parents/guardians, many private schools have established ‘Play Group’ classes before ‘Nursery’ to prepare children for school attendance. These classes are offered every year between December and February. Some schools set their fees for these classes lower than normal in order to recruit children early on and to ensure that they formally enter school once the school year begins.
 - 23 However, as community ties are quite strong in Nepal, it is important to remember that there are some parents/guardians who sent their children to private schools because their neighbours did so. These parents/guardians moved with the flow around them.
 - 24 See, for example, Tooley and Dixon (2007) and Tooley et al. (2007).
 - 25 See, for example, Härmä (2009, 2011), Nishimura and Yamano (2013), and Woodhead et al. (2013).
 - 26 Children commuting to private schools in the urban areas use a school bus.
 - 27 For more details, see Chapter 7 and Appendix.
 - 28 Values such as odds ratios and 95 % confidence intervals have been rounded to the third decimal place.
 - 29 In this book, Rs. means Nepalese rupee (NPR). According to the website of the Nepal Rastra Bank (2020), purchase rate is 1 USD = 121.05 NPR, whereas sale rate is 1 USD = 121.65 NPR as of 13th June 2020.
 - 30 Number of possessions was the 5th-largest factor.
 - 31 The number of schools in the Bhaktapur District in 2015 was 131 public schools and 217 private schools (Department of Education, 2015).
 - 32 However, in the research of Woodhead et al. (2013), household wealth was the 2nd-largest factor, and its effect decreased from the oldest cohort (born 1994–1995) to the newest cohort (born 2001–2002) (the odds ratio for the poorest to the least poor group in the oldest cohort was 6.7, while that of the newest cohort was 4.6).
 - 33 In the home-visit surveys, when illiterate mothers were asked why they had not learned to read or write, they gave responses such as the following: ‘My family was very poor, so I could not go to school’; ‘At the time,

girls did not have a chance to attend school'.

- 34 In fact, the total number of ECD children was the highest among all grades in the target public schools.
- 35 However, there is another perspective that parents do not want their only child to go because they only have one. Child health in Nepal is comparatively low (World Bank, 2012), and the country experienced a civil war from 1996 to 2006. Consequently, it is not uncommon for parents to worry for their child's safety (Joshi, 2014). As a result, it is possible that parents of only children would tend to be overprotective and therefore refuse to let them attend private schools in urban areas.
- 36 This tendency, according to James and Woodhead (2014), can also be seen in India; parents think that the elder son is the one deserving of an education since he will take care of them in the future.
- 37 The constitution has outlawed the caste system, but it remains deeply rooted in Nepalese society and culture, so it continues to be a problem.
- 38 'Overage' children refers to those who are older than the official entrance age when they enter school. For example, the official entrance age for Grade 1 in Nepal is 5 years old. A child who enters school at the age of 6 or older would thus be considered overage.
- 39 Among the 90 children, some transferred to private schools during the primary education level but subsequently returned to the target schools.
- 40 The subjects included children who changed schools, but the timings when transfers occurred are not indicated here.
- 41 Since it was not possible to verify the age at first entrance for 4 children out of the 84, they were excluded from this analysis.
- 42 The children who repeated a grade more than twice are counted in the relevant grade.
- 43 According to teachers of the target schools, the ECD class was introduced at the study site in 2006 approximately.
- 44 The civil war was fought between the Nepalese army and the Maoist faction of the Nepalese Communist Party.
- 45 Nepal ranked 114th and Honduras 130th in the Human Development Index (UNDP, 2016).
- 46 Among the five target public schools and the eight related private schools, some schools have a relatively short history, and were not established yet when subjects reached a school age. Therefore, the study conducted the data collection mainly at School 5 and 13, which have the longest history among five target public schools and eight related private

- schools, respectively.
- 47 In the Nepal Standard Occupational Classification listed in the Appendix (Annex D) of the report of the Nepal Labor Force Survey, ‘market agricultural workers’ and ‘subsistent agricultural workers’ are placed into ‘skilled and semi-skilled agricultural and fishery workers’. However, the same report presented them separately in its survey results (CBS, 2009).
 - 48 The average monthly income of the entire country in 2017/18 was Rs. 17,809 (CBS, 2019).
 - 49 See Note 29.
 - 50 The result that more males than females entered private schools matches the result that males are more likely to study in a private school than females, as revealed by the logistic regression analysis in Chapter 5.
 - 51 DoE (2015) cites that the dropout rate of each grade in PE was slightly higher for males than females.
 - 52 One of the reasons is that in South Asian countries, girls are frequently married off at an early age (Center for Reproductive Rights, 2013). In Nepal, girls are prematurely married, especially in rural areas (Center for Reproductive Rights, 2016; Choe, Thapa, & Mishra, 2005), and the idea that girls move into their husband’s homes and engage in household chores after marriage remains mainstream. In many cases, girls do household chores while engaging in agriculture.
 - 53 However, even in Nepal, where the culture of predominance of males over females remains strong, various efforts by the government have succeeded. At present, there is nearly no gender disparity in the net enrolment ratio from the primary to higher secondary education levels (DoE, 2011). Therefore, there is a possibility that the gap between male and female will narrow even in employment in the future.
 - 54 Since the number of untouchable castes was small, the statistical processing was performed for the difference between the distribution of the upper castes and the other distributions (ethnic groups and untouchable castes) at each education level.
 - 55 Of the 15 people in the HSE from private schools, only one inherited the occupation of a parent/guardian.
 - 56 Some view it as ‘there is no choice but to go abroad to work due to lack of employment opportunities in the country’. In addition, some of these overseas migrant workers are planning to go on to higher education institutions in Nepal or overseas using the funds and human networks

- gained through the overseas migrant work. They do not just go abroad for a high income, but they also have a long-term plan and consider overseas migrant work as a step and connect it to the next step.
- 57 The second highest ratio is Liberia with 31.2 %, the third is Tajikistan with 28.8 %, and that of the world is 0.8 % (UNDP, 2016).
- 58 Because of this, there are no official statistics of people traveling to India.
- 59 As in the previous discussion, since the number of untouchable castes is small, statistical processing was done for the difference in distribution between the upper castes and the other (ethnic groups and untouchable castes) at each education level.
- 60 Although this result was seen in this study, it should be noted that some females, even those from public schools, are engaged in migrant work abroad as maids.
- 61 See for example, Ashida (2015, 2018).
- 62 Some among those who travel abroad for work after graduating HSE plan to save enough money at their overseas destinations to advance to HE after their return to their home country.
- 63 However, there was no significant difference in the distribution of four areas at each education level for both males and females (males: $\chi^2 = 17.31$, $df = 12$, $p = \text{NS}$, females: $\chi^2 = 8.12$, $df = 8$, $p = \text{NS}$).
- 64 Although financial burden exists as a barrier to entering or completing HE, if one is from a public school, they can apply for a scholarship from the government of Nepal. Cases confirm that several students continue schooling with scholarships. Others attend university in the morning and work part-time in the afternoon. They continue to attend school by paying for tuition through their salaries.
- 65 In most Nepalese public schools, school records are based on the Hindu calendar Vikram Samvat. The first month is Baisakh, which corresponds to mid-April. Thus, the third Tuesday and Wednesday of the month in the Vikram Samvat correspond to the end or beginning of a month in the Western calendar.
- 66 The teachers selected for interviews resided in Town A and were familiar with the area. In interview surveys, interviewees might find it hard to answer certain questions (particularly personal questions). Interviewing third parties can offer more objectivity due to their detachment from certain issues.
- 67 In Chapter 4, in order to elucidate the dynamism of movement seeking

'high-quality education', the study focused on the intra- and inter-year enrolment flow in pursuit of 'high-quality education', namely flow from public to private schools and flow from suburban to urban schools. Although the study in this chapter continued to focus on the flow in pursuit of 'high-quality education', clarifying the impact of the earthquakes on children's attendance and enrolment flow was the main object. Therefore, the study conducted a comprehensive analysis, including enrolment flow other than flow in pursuit of 'high-quality education'. Moreover, since the earthquakes occurred at the beginning of the year, that is, within the year, the study paid attention to the enrolment flow within the year.

- 68 The emergency period spanned from roughly one and a half month from the schools' reopening day to the end of Asar.
- 69 The post-emergency period covers roughly nine months from Srawan to Chaitra (the final month of the school year).
- 70 'Other public school' means a public school outside Town A but located in Bhaktapur District.
- 71 More specifically, each school submits their OVC list to the representative school in their zone, and that school then submits the OVC lists of all schools in their zone to DEBs.
- 72 Confirmed by a survey conducted in July 2015.
- 73 See Note 16.

Appendix

Changes in Nepalese educational policies: Focusing on primary and basic education

The period after the establishment of modern school education (1951–1989)

In the years before 1950, the despotic Rana clan ruled Nepal. Access to education was granted only to members of the Rana family and upper castes and was denied to all others. In 1950, the twilight of Rana rule, there were only 321 primary schools in Nepal, with only 8,505 children enrolled, resulting in an enrolment rate of 0.9 % (Dharam, 1988) and a literacy rate of 2 % (Bista, 1991). The modern school education system of Nepal rose after the collapse of Rana rule in 1951.

In 1951, the caretaker government established the Ministry of Education, and the expansion of education proceeded rapidly. However, at the time, primary schools followed no standardised curriculum or teaching language. To address this, the Education Board and the Nepal National Education Planning Commission were established in 1953 and 1954, respectively, and discussions on the ideal state of national education began. They decided that the standard language of instruction would be Nepali, and that schools would follow a 5/5 system (five years each of primary and secondary education).

In the 1960s, King Mahendra introduced the Panchayat System, and the national organisation of Nepal changed significantly. In 1961, the All-Round National Education Committee was established. It decided to em-

phasise loyalty to the State and the King, promote religious tolerance, and introduce Sanskrit in the upper grades of primary school.

In the 1970s, the National Education System Plan (NESP), a new educational plan, was implemented; the duration of primary school was changed from five to three years, and Nepali was decreed as the only permitted medium of instruction. In 1977, primary school was made free of charge, and in the following year, textbooks were also made free of charge. On the other hand, the NESP endorsed the view that the economic growth of a nation lay in human investment and emphasised on vocational education. However, this rapid introduction of vocational education failed because of the lack of employment opportunities, poorly trained teachers, etc. In 1978, the NESP curriculum was abolished. This was accompanied by a shift in the focus of the Nepalese educational development policy from vocational to primary education. This shift coincided with the emergence of the Basic Human Needs (BHN) development theory from the 1970s to the 1980s.

In 1980, primary school was restored to a five-year system, followed by two years of lower secondary education and three years of higher secondary education, making the overall system a 5/2/3 one. With the help of foreign aid, plans emphasising primary education, including the 'Seti Education for Rural Development Project' and the 'Primary Education Project' (PEP) were implemented. The movement to emphasise primary education gathered momentum following the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) in 1990.

After democratisation (1990–1999)

The Panchayat System, which had lasted approximately 30 years since the 1960s, collapsed in 1990. A parliamentary democracy with a multi-party system emerged. In 1991, the National Education Commission was established, and discussions on an educational system befitting the new democratic era began.

Looking ahead to the 21st century, the Basic and Primary Education Master Plan (BPEMP 1991–2001) was formulated. Based on this master plan, the Basic and Primary Education Project (BPEP I 1993–1998) was drafted and implemented. BPEP I had three primary objectives: expansion of access to primary education, improvement of the quality of primary education, and reinforcement of the efficiency of the management.

The subsequent BPEP II (1999–2003) was executed with the following three goals in mind: expansion of access and improvement in enrolment

rates, improvement in academic achievement, and empowerment at the national, district, and community levels.

After the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (2000 onward)

Following the declarations under ‘Education for All’ (EFA), the Nepalese government strove to universalise primary education and improve literacy rates through BPEP I and II. However, at the World Education Forum (WEF) held in Dakar, Senegal in 2000, it was revealed that for many developing countries including Nepal, the achievement of the EFA goals by 2015 would be difficult. Thus, the ‘Dakar Framework for Action, Education for All’ was adopted. Based on this framework, the Nepal government formulated the EFA National Plan of Action (EFA NPA 2001–2015) and identified the ‘achievement of the universalisation of primary education’ and the ‘rectification of the gender gap in education’ as national goals (Ministry of Education and Sports [MoES], 2003).

After that, the Secondary Education Support Programme (SESP 2003–2007) and the EFA Programme (2004–2009) were implemented in pursuit of the aforementioned goals. Following these, the School Sector Reform Programme (SSRP 2009–2015) was formulated. The goal of the SSRP is ‘to contribute to socio-economic development through a continuous development of its human resources capacity’, and the purpose of the SSRP is ‘to facilitate that all citizens have opportunity to become functionally literate, numerate, and develop the basic skills and knowledge required to enjoy a productive life’ (Ministry of Education [MoE], 2009, p. 101). This goal has eight components: (1) early childhood education and development (ECED), (2) basic and secondary education, (3) literacy and life-long learning (continuing education), (4) technical and vocational education and training (TVET), (5) teacher professional development (TPD), (6) capacity development, (7) monitoring and evaluation, and (8) aid management; each of these components has individual goals (MoE, 2009).

Following the steady increase in enrolment rates in primary education, the SSRP expanded basic education to include three years of lower secondary education in addition to the previously recognised five years of primary education, encompassing a total of eight years. Various other efforts to expand basic education further were undertaken. Consequently, the net enrolment rates in primary and lower secondary school rose from 93.7 % and 63.2 %, respectively in 2009 (Department of Education [DoE], 2009) to 96.6 % and 77.7 %, respectively in 2015 (DoE, 2015). Significant growth

was especially observed in enrolment in lower secondary school. On the other hand, regional, caste/ethnic groups, and learning achievement gaps, as well as improvement in quality of education, remain unaddressed (Poyck et al., 2016).

Against this backdrop, the government of Nepal has identified the development of the educational sector as one of the primary strategies for the reduction of poverty in its 14th Three-Year Plan (2016/2017–2019/2020). The successor to the SSRP, the School Sector Development Plan (SSDP 2016–2023) began in 2016. The mission of the SSDP is ‘for Nepal’s school education to produce the needed human resources to elevate Nepal’s status from a Least Developed Country by 2022 and to reach the status of a middle-income country by 2030’, and the goal of the SSDP is ‘to contribute to socioeconomic development and reduce disparities in the country through the continuous and inclusive development of its human resources capacity by facilitating all citizens with opportunities to become functionally literate, numerate, and to develop the basic life skills and knowledge required to enjoy a productive life, taking into account the diversity of context and needs and with regards to the forthcoming federalization of the country’ (MoE, 2016, p. 17). In the SSDP, in addition to improvements in the quality of education, reduction in regional and caste/ethnic gaps, and improvements in educational fiscal management, the strengthening of school-level disaster management and resilience aimed at the safe and secure construction of school buildings through comprehensive school safety (CSS) and disaster risk reduction (DRR) were enumerated as concrete goals (MoE, 2016). Various efforts are underway, centred primarily on the following: (1) teacher professional development and management, (2) governance and management, (3) institutional capacity development, (4) monitoring and evaluation, (5) examination and assessment, (6) information and communication technology (ICT) in education, (7) disaster risk reduction and recovery, and (8) health and nutrition (MoE, 2016).

Presentation of analysis results to research co-operators

The presentations are intended to explain the results and findings of analysis to various stakeholders who cooperated with the implementation of the study, including principals and teachers of the target and related schools. Specifically, we first carried out an interim report to the people involved in the target schools at the community centre located in the target area in July



Figure App.-1 Interim reports to related persons

2016. Next, in a meeting room of a local hotel, we presented an interim report to the people involved in the related schools and other related persons. At the time, we reported the characteristics of children left behind from the movement seeking ‘high-quality education’ and the impact of the 2015 Nepal earthquakes on their enrolment situation. We held final debriefing sessions in February 2019 to report the remaining findings and final conclusion of the study. We obtained valuable comments from the participants and their comments are featured in the discussion section.

General information note about Nepal

- Population, total: 28.09 million
- Population growth (annual %): 1.7
- GDP (current USD): 29.04 billion
- GDP growth (annual %): 6.7
- Inflation, GDP deflator (annual %): 6.3
- Human Development Index (HDI): 0.579

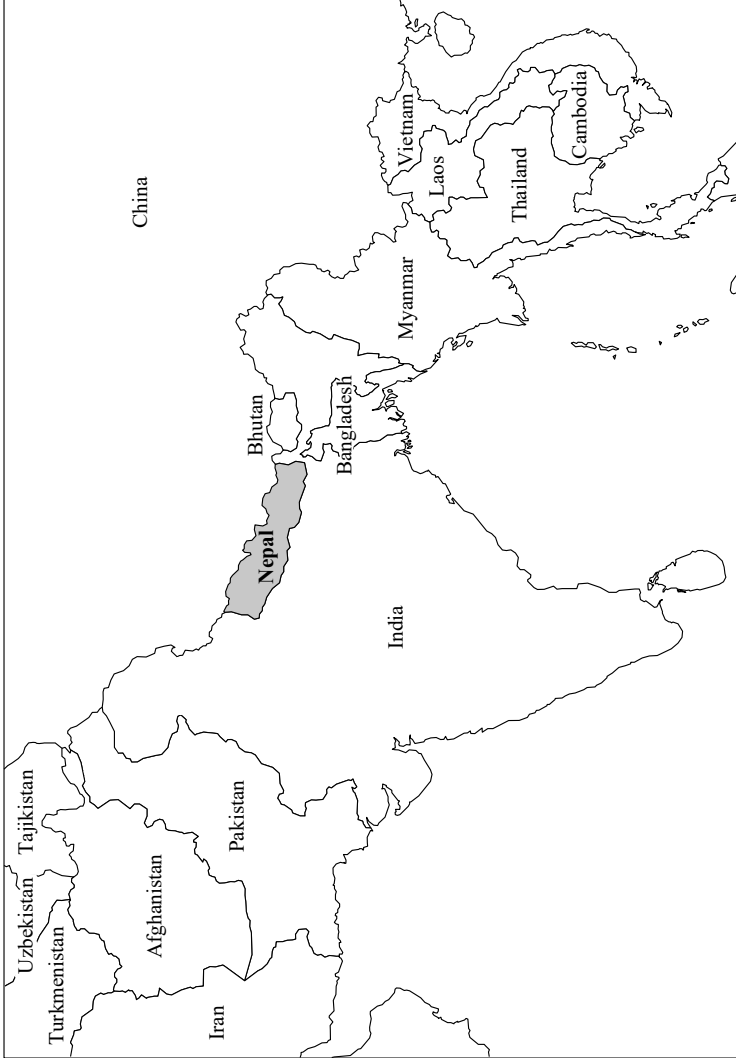


Figure App.-2 Map of South Asia

- Life expectancy at birth (years): 70.5
- Expected years of schooling (years): 12.2
- Means years of schooling (years): 4.9
- Gross National Income (GNI) per capita: 2,748
- Gender inequality index (value): 0.476

* All numerical data is for 2018.

Sources:

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Nepal Standard Classification of Occupation

1. Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers

- 111 Legislators
- 112 Government officials
- 114 Officials of special interest organizations
- 121 Directors and chief executives
- 122 Production and operations department managers
- 123 Other department managers
- 131 General managers/managing proprietors

2. Professionals

- 211 Physicists, chemists and related professionals
- 212 Mathematicians, statisticians and related professionals
- 213 Computing professionals
- 214 Architects, engineers and related professionals
- 221 Life science professionals
- 222 Health professionals, except nursing
- 223 Nursing and midwifery professionals
- 231 College, university and higher education teaching professionals
- 232 Secondary education teaching professionals
- 233 Primary and pre-primary education teaching professionals
- 234 Special education teaching professionals
- 235 Other teaching professionals
- 241 Business professionals

- 242 Legal professionals
- 243 Archivists, librarians and related information professionals
- 244 Social science and related professionals
- 245 Writers and creative or performing artists
- 246 Religious professionals

3. Technicians and Associate Professionals

- 311 Physical and engineering science technicians
- 312 Computer associate professionals
- 313 Optical and electronic equipment operators
- 314 Aircraft controllers and technicians
- 315 Safety and quality inspectors
- 321 Life science technicians and related associate professionals
- 322 Modern health associate professionals, except nursing
- 323 Nursing and midwifery associate professionals
- 324 Traditional medicine practitioners and faith healers
- 331 Primary education teaching associate professionals
- 332 Pre-primary education teaching associate professionals
- 333 Special education teaching associate professionals
- 334 Other teaching associate professionals
- 341 Finance and sales associate professionals
- 342 Business services agent and trade brokers
- 343 Administrative associate professionals
- 344 Customs, tax and related government associate professionals
- 345 Police inspectors and detectives
- 346 Social work associate professionals
- 347 Artistic, entertainment and sports associate professionals
- 348 Religious associate professionals

4. Clerks/Office Assistants

- 411 Secretaries and keyboard-operating clerks/assistants
- 412 Numerical clerks/office assistants
- 413 Material-recording and transport clerks/office assistants
- 414 Library, mail and related clerks/office assistants
- 419 Other office clerks/assistants
- 421 Cashiers, tellers and related clerks/office assistants
- 422 Client information clerks/office assistants

5. Service Workers and Shop and Market Sales Workers
 - 511 Travel attendants and related workers
 - 512 Housekeeping and restaurant services workers
 - 513 Personal care and related workers
 - 514 Other professional services workers
 - 515 Astrologers, fortune-tellers and related workers
 - 516 Protective service workers
 - 521 Fashion and other models
 - 522 Shop salespersons and demonstrators
 - 523 Stall and market salespersons

6. Skilled and Semi-skilled Agricultural and Fishery Workers
 - 611 Market-oriented gardeners and crop growers
 - 612 Market-oriented animal producers and related workers
 - 613 Market-oriented crop and animal producers
 - 614 Forestry and related workers
 - 615 Fishery workers
 - 621 Subsistence agricultural and fishery workers

7. Craft and Related Trades Workers
 - 711 Miners, shotfirers, stone cutters and carvers
 - 712 Building frame and related trades workers
 - 713 Building finishers and related trades workers
 - 714 Painters, building structure cleaners and related trades workers
 - 721 Metal moulders, welders, sheet-metal workers, structural-metal preparers
 - 722 Blacksmiths, tool-makers and related trades workers
 - 723 Machinery mechanics and fitters
 - 724 Electrical and electronic equipment mechanics and fitters
 - 731 Precision workers in metal and related materials
 - 732 Potters, glass-makers and related trades workers
 - 733 Handicraft workers in wood, textile, leather and related materials
 - 734 Printing and related trades workers
 - 741 Food processing and related trades workers
 - 742 Wood treaters, cabinet-makers and related trades workers
 - 743 Textile, garment and related trades workers
 - 744 Pelt, leather and shoe making trades workers

8. Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers
 - 811 Mining and mineral-processing plant operators
 - 812 Metal-processing plant operators
 - 813 Glass, ceramics and relative plant operators
 - 814 Wood-processing and papermaking plant operators
 - 815 Chemical-processing plant operators
 - 816 Power-production and related plant operators
 - 817 Automated assembly-line and industrial-robot operators
 - 821 Metal and mineral products machine operators
 - 822 Chemical products machine operators
 - 823 Rubber and plastic products machine operators
 - 824 Wood products machine operators
 - 825 Printing, binding and paper products machine operators
 - 826 Textile, fur and leather products machine operators
 - 827 Food and related products machine operators
 - 828 Assemblers
 - 829 Other machine operators and assemblers
 - 831 Locomotive-engine drivers and related workers
 - 832 Motor vehicle drivers
 - 833 Agricultural and other mobile plant operators

9. Elementary Occupations
 - 911 Street vendors and related workers
 - 912 Shoe cleaning and other street services elementary occupations
 - 913 Domestic and related helpers, cleaners and launderers
 - 914 Building caretakers, windows and related cleaners
 - 915 Messengers, porters, doorkeepers and related workers
 - 916 Garbage collectors and related labourers
 - 921 Agricultural, fishery and related labourers
 - 931 Mining and construction labourers
 - 932 Manufacturing labourers
 - 933 Transport labourers and freight handlers
 - 997 Household work (special code)
 - 998 Student (special code)
 - 999 Not working (special code)

0. Armed Forces
 - 011 Armed forces

Source: CBS (2009).



Figure App.-3 Different kinds of occupations in Nepal

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Dr. Naruho Ezaki is an assistant professor at Kwansei Gakuin University, Japan, from which she received her Ph.D. During her doctoral studies, she performed research work under the Research Fellowship for Young Scientists of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. From then until now, she has been engaged in academic field research in several countries including Nepal, Myanmar, Indonesia, and Zambia. Concentrating on 'research with a focus on the field', she has been working hard to collect data from research fields and analysing them from micro perspectives that constitute macro viewpoints. She is also an expert on international educational development in Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. Her current research interests include educational disparity, quality of education, school transfer, school choice, etc. Furthermore, she has been contributing to international cooperation in the field of education by conducting relevant projects.

Commendations for this book

While privatisation and diversification in education is expanding, children's movement seeking 'high-quality education' is accelerating in many developing countries. This book uses Nepal as an example and reveals the challenges faced by children left behind by the movement in pursuit of quality education. This book clarifies the impact of the 2015 Nepal earthquakes on individual children's enrolment situation. Using an original research method based on data from school records, Dr. Ezaki has shed light on the actual state of children living in the contemporary SDGs era by analysing their school transfers in Nepal. This issue has been obscure thus far, and the extent of damage caused by natural disasters has remained under-researched.

In the formulation of public policy, including the field of education, a microscopic perspective based on scientific evidence as shown in this book is essential. However, this area has not been sufficiently examined in educational research in developing countries. This book presents a pioneering study in the field of international educational development. Many children in developing countries are now attending school, and their access to educational opportunities is steadily improving. On the other hand, the issue of educational disparity continues to exist in some countries, along with the frequent occurrence of natural disasters. These issues have been recognised widely, and have international importance. I am convinced that this book will be useful not only for Nepal, but also for other developing countries and development aid agencies.

Yuto Kitamura
The University of Tokyo



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