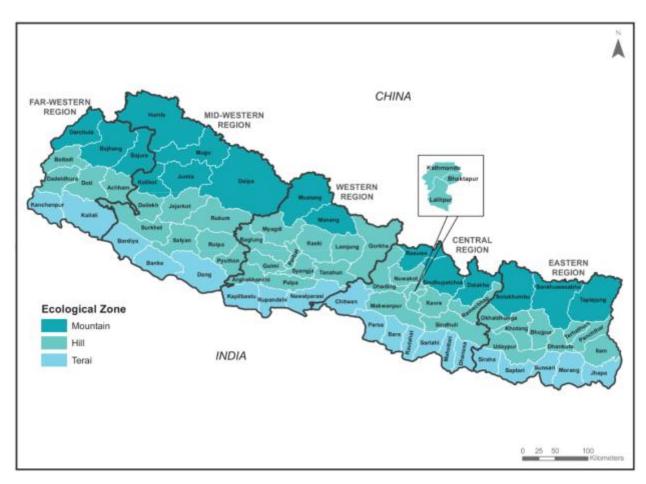


Nepal MICS 2014: Children's Care and Living Arrangements



WITH SUPPORT FROM





This report was written by Garazi Zulaika and Florence Martin.

This series of country briefs aims to provide an analysis of children's living and care arrangements according to the latest available data from **Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS)** or **Multiple Indicators Cluster Surveys (MICS)** at the time of publication.

Better Care Network is working with partner organizations to support more systematic use of existing household level data sets, particularly **Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS)** and **Multiple Indicators Cluster Surveys (MICS)**, to provide a better picture of the patterns and trends relating to children in households and their living and care arrangements. It does not seek at this stage to show how these various arrangements relate to particular outcomes for child well-being, although work is being carried out, to be able to do so as part of the Technical Working Group on Children and Care under the Child Protection Monitoring and Evaluation Reference Group (CP MERG). The content of these papers will evolve as a result, and feedback and suggestions are welcome on the content of the briefs as well as how they can be improved. Communications should be sent to Florence.martin@bettercarenetwork.org

The briefs are targeted to policy makers, researchers, and practitioners working to inform policy and programs for children's care and protection at country and international levels. In order to enable researchers and policy makers in the countries and regions to conduct further analysis, tables with the data extracted for the purpose of this brief have been included at the end of this report.

Source of data, unless otherwise noted is MICS implementing partners and UNICEF (2000-2015). Data extracted from MICS national household level datasets. Accessed from http://mics.unicef.org/.

Front cover map from Ministry of Health and Population (MOHP) [Nepal], New ERA, and ICF International Inc. 2012. Nepal Demographic and Health Survey 2011. Kathmandu, Nepal: Ministry of Health and Population, New ERA, and ICF International, Calverton, Maryland.

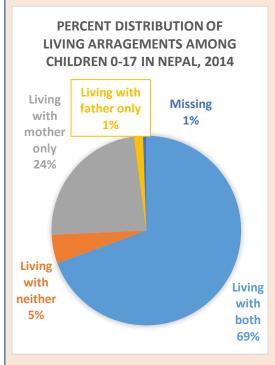
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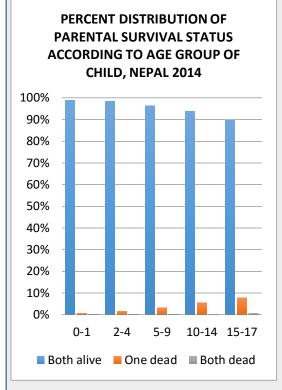
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY:

Children's Living Arrangements:



- In Nepal, 70% of children aged 0-17 are living with both biological parents. Of these children, 24% are living with only their mother and 1.5% are living with only their father. Nearly one in every twenty children in Nepal (4.9%) does not live with either biological parent.
- Variations in living arrangement are seen according to gender, age group, wealth quintile, rural-urban, and regional background characteristics.
- Boys are slightly more likely to live with both biological parents (70% vs. 69%). Girls are more likely to live with neither biological parent relative to boys (5.8% vs. 4%).
- At an early age, over half of all children still live with both biological parents; this declines with age for children 0-17 (from 71% at the youngest age to 67% at age 15-17). In Nepal, 25% of all children live with a single biological parent, and this arrangement is most common for children in the younger age groups, 0-1 (29%) and 2-4 (30%).
- While only 0.1% of infants 0-1 live with neither biological parent, before reaching 5 years of age this proportion jumps to 1.5% for children 2-4, 3.4% for children 5-9, 5.7% for children 10-14 and 12% for the oldest cohort of children, age 15-17.
- Wealth quintiles do not appear to clearly predict living arrangements for children in Nepal. It appears that households in wealthier quintiles more commonly have children living with neither biological parent and children in the poorest wealth quintile have a higher likelihood of living with both parents. Households in the middle quintiles see the highest percentage of children living with a single biological parent.
- Geographic areas with large urban centers and higher concentrations of wealth see higher rates of children living without a biological parent (7.7% vs. 4.4%) and higher rates of children living with both parents (70% vs. 69%) when compared to more rural areas of the country.
- With 70% of children 0-14 living with both biological parents in the South Asia Regional context, Nepal has the lowest percentage of children living with both their mother and their father followed by the Maldives (70%). Nepal also ranks first in the region for having the largest proportion of children living with a single biological parent, with 26% of all children living with only their mother or father.

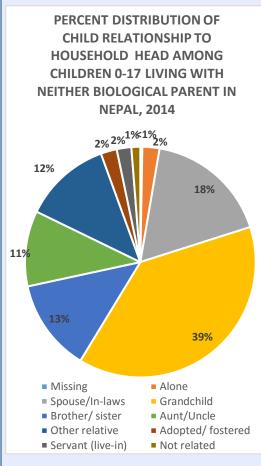
Parent Survivorship:



- By age 18, 4.1% of children in Nepal have lost one biological parent and 0.2% have lost both. Between birth and age 15, 3.4% of children have lost one biological parent and 0.1% have lost both.
- O Substantial diversity is seen in the regional distribution of parental death for children under the age of 18 within Nepal. The Western Mountains region, a rural region in the northern part of the county, has the highest percentage of children who have experienced orphaning at 0.7%.
- Household wealth does not appear to be associated with orphaning of children in Nepal.
 However, there is a negative association between household wealth and the death of a single parent, dropping from 6.3% in the poorest quintile to 2.7% in the wealthiest quintile.
- Between the 2006 DHS and the 2014 MICS in Nepal, there has been a decrease in single parent death from 4.9% in the 2006 DHS to 4.7% in the 2011 DHS to 3.4% among children 0-14 surveyed in the 2014 MICS.
- Regionally, Nepal has a similar prevalence of parental death and orphanhood as those of neighboring states. Nepal's prevalence of 0.1% double parent deaths (for children 0-14) is similar to the Maldives (0.1%) and lower than Pakistan and India (0.3%) and Bangladesh (0.4%) found in the South Asia for children 0-14.

Living Arrangements of Children Living with Neither Biological Parent:

- In Nepal, nearly 1 in every 20 children age 0-17 lives with neither biological parent (4.9%). Of these, 82% have two living biological parents and another 14% have one. Only 4% of children who do not live with a biological parent have no surviving parent.
- The rate of living outside of parental care appears to be decreasing in Nepal. In 2014, 3.5% of children 0-14 reported living with neither their mother nor their father, down from 7.2% in the 2006 Nepal DHS.
- The large majority of these children living with neither biological parent 94% live in households headed by a relative.
 - In the regional context, Nepal's prevalence of children 0-14 who live in households in which they are related to the household head is the highest in comparison to other South Asian countries at 97% among children 0-14 living in households outside of parental care. The Maldives is an outlier in the region with a low of 82% of children under age 15 reportedly living outside of family care.



- Among children living with neither biological parent, the child's age is a clear determinant of who children are most likely to live with. In the youngest age groups the prevalence of children living in households headed by grandparents is nearly 100% for children aged 0-1 and 72% for children aged 2-4, while only 12% for the oldest age group of 15-17. Conversely, the younger age groups have a smaller proportion of children living in households headed by other (non-grandparent) relatives, while in the older age group the likelihood of living with these relatives becomes more common than living with grandparents (77% vs. 12%).
- Differences across gender can be observed when looking at living arrangements in Nepal. Boys are more likely to live with their grandparents than girls (44% vs. 35%), while girls are more likely to live with other relatives than boys (60% vs. 49%). A higher proportion of boys live outside of family care compared to girls (7% to 4.8%).
- •Only 5.7% of surveyed households report hosting a child 0-17 living outside of family care.
- •Households in wealthier quintiles have a higher likelihood of hosting unrelated children and these children are generally in the older age groups.
- The Western Mountains region sees a strikingly high proportion of children living in unrelated care (27%), more than twenty times higher than the country-wide average and almost three times higher than the next closest region.

"The family being the fundamental group of society and the natural environment for the growth, well-being and protection of children, efforts should primarily be directed to enabling the child to remain in or return to the care of his/her parents, or when appropriate, other close family members."

- The Guidelines for the Alternative Care of Children (2009) II.A.3

Over the last 30 years there has been a growing understanding of the critical importance of the family and a family environment for children in terms of their development and well-being. This realization is at the core of the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* adopted in 1989, and more recently, of the *Guidelines for the Alternative Care of Children* welcomed by the United Nations General Assembly in 2009.1

A major body of empirical research in psychology, neuroscience, social work, and other disciplines has demonstrated the importance of investing in children's early years to support this critical period of child development.² Findings about the negative impact of emotional deprivation and institutionalization for younger children have further reinforced the critical importance of parental care and a family environment.³ As a result, reforms of child protection and alternative care systems for children deprived of parental care, or at risk of being so, have been ongoing in virtually all regions of the world, with a particular focus on moving away from the use of residential care and strengthening the capacity of parents and families to care for their children.⁴

These reforms have also been informed by research that has shown that the vast majority of children in residential care are not placed there because care is genuinely needed or that they are without parental or family care, but rather because their families are facing a range of challenges in their capacity to care, including poverty, lack of access to social services, discrimination and social exclusion, as well as a result of personal or social crises and emergencies. As a result, governments and other stakeholders in these reform processes have recognized that a major focus of this shift away from the use of residential care for children is not simply about reducing the number of institutions and removing children from these institutions, but also about establishing better preventive and family support services to reduce child-family separation and stop children from going into alternative care in the first place.

Understanding better the situation of children in 'care vulnerable situations', including those outside of parental care, has become crucial not only for HIV prevalent countries but for all countries seeking to strengthen their responses and systems for children facing a range of care and protection risks. A number of organizations and initiatives have drawn attention to the need for more systematic data on children's

¹ UN General Assembly, Guidelines for the Alternative Care of Children: resolution adopted by the General Assembly, 24 February 2010, (A/RES/64/142). Available at: http://www.bettercarenetwork.org/docs/Guidelines-English.pdf

² National Research Council and Institute of Medicine (2000) *From Neurons to Neighborhoods: The Science of Early Childhood Development*. Committee on Integrating the Science of Early Childhood Development. Jack P. Shonkoff and Deborah A. Phillips, eds. Board on Children, Youth, and Families, Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

³ For a review of the evidence, see for example Williamson, J, & Greenberg, A. (2010). Families, not orphanages. (Better Care Network, working paper). Retrieved from http://www.bettercarenetwork.org/docs/Families%20Not%20Orphanages.pdf; Browne, K. (2009). The Risk of Harm to Young Children in Institutional Care. Better Care Network and Save the Children Working Paper). Retrieved from

http://www.bettercarenetwork.org/docs/The_Risk_of_Harm.pdf; Csaky (2009) Keeping Children Out of harmful institutions, Save the Children UK. Retrieved from http://www.bettercarenetwork.org/BCN/details.asp?id=21471&themeID=1003&topicID=1023

⁴ For documentation of these reforms, go to Better Care Network online Library of Documents at: <u>www.bettercarenetwork.org</u>

⁵ Williamson, J, & Greenberg, A. (2010). Families, not orphanages. (Better Care Network, working paper). Retrieved from http://www.bettercarenetwork.org/BCN/details.asp?id=23328&themeID=1003&topicID=1023;

care situations, including family arrangements, parental status, care practices, and their impact on child well-being.

National household surveys provide critical data to monitor population-level patterns and trends in relation to key socio-demographic indicators at national and sub-national levels that can also be used to draw important comparisons between countries at both regional and international levels. These surveys provide particularly rich data sets through which changing household compositions and living arrangements, fertility and marriage, health and nutrition, literacy and access to education, poverty and deprivation, and other key indicators of child and family well-being are being gathered on a five yearly basis for a nationally representative sample of households. Initial analysis of this data for a small number of countries has shown how critical this data can be to understand the care situations of these children, but also to highlight potential indicators of vulnerability associated with different care and living arrangements. 6

Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) have been conducted in low- and middle-income countries by national statistical agencies with support from USAID since the mid-1980s in over 90 countries. The DHS has now entered its Phase 7 (2013-2018). The survey includes three main questionnaires (household, woman's, and man's questionnaires) and provides nationally-representative data on health and population, including fertility, maternal and child survival, immunization, water and sanitation, education, and living arrangements, among others. In addition, the DHS has included questionnaire modules on a range of topics such as domestic violence, female genital mutilation (FGM), fistula, and out of pocket expenditures.

Multiple Indicators Cluster Surveys (MICS) have been conducted with support from UNICEF since the mid-1990s in more than 100 countries, tracking progress and trends on more than 20 indictors relating to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and other major international commitments relevant to the situation of women and children. MICS has entered its fifth phase, MICS 5 (2012-2014). The survey includes a household questionnaire, a questionnaire for women 15-49 years of age with or without birth history, a questionnaire on children under 5 years of age administered to the mothers or caretaker of these children, and a questionnaire for men 15-49 years of age. The questionnaires cover a wide range of issues, including education, child labor, child discipline, water and sanitation, maternal and newborn health, marriage and union, FGM, birth registration, early childhood development, breastfeeding, sexual behavior, fertility, and tobacco and alcohol use, among others.

Both DHS and MICS have also increasingly gathered data on attitudes and beliefs on some critical social issues such as child care practices, attitudes towards HIV/AIDS, domestic violence, and child discipline.

Better Care Network is working with partner organizations to support more systematic use of existing household-level data sets, particularly DHS and MICS data, to provide a fuller picture of the patterns and trends relating to children in households and their living and care arrangements. In collaboration with members of the Child Protection Monitoring, Evaluation Reference Group (CP MERG) and its Technical Working Group on Children Without Adequate Care, and with support from Save the Children, Better Care Network is developing a series of country briefs using the latest available data set from DHS or MICS for

⁶ See for examples, Family For Every Child and INTRAC (2012) Context for Children and Policy situation paper, Roby (2011) Children in Informal Alternative Care, UNICEF; Child Frontiers (2012) Family support services and alternative care in Sub-Saharan Africa: Background paper; Better Care Network (2013) Analysis of DHS data (Ghana, Liberia, Rwanda, Jordan, Sierra Leone); Save the Children (2013). Save the Children Research Initiative: Understanding and Improving Informal Alternative Care Mechanisms to increase the care and protection of children, with a focus on Kinship care in West Central Africa.

the country and presenting the data and analysis of the trends, when data is available, regarding children's living arrangements and care situations. It does not seek at this stage to show how these various arrangements relate to particular outcomes for child well-being, although work is being carried out to be able to do so and the content of these papers will evolve as a result. This brief is targeted to policy makers, researchers, and practitioners working to inform policy and programs for children's care and protection at country and international levels.

The DHS and MICS core questionnaires contain a number of indicators in relation to children's living arrangements, survivorship of parents, and relationship to the head of the household. This data is collected in some countries for children under 15 years of age in a household, and in other countries for children under 18 years of age. The data on survival status of parents is collected under the HIV/AIDS section of the questionnaire and while it is collected systematically in countries with high HIV prevalence, other countries do not always collect it. This data is key to understanding the extent of parental loss (single/double orphans) but also the extent to which parental loss is a significant factor in children's living arrangement as well as a number of outcome indicators.

A core question asked by all DHS/MICS questionnaires relates to the relationship between children in a particular household to the head of the household. Although there are slight variations in the range of relationships provided as possible responses, there is general consistency as far as the key categories are concerned (grandchild, niece/nephew, foster child, and unrelated, for example). This data is systematically collected but rarely extracted and analyzed in the national reports, despite its clear relevance to children's care situations. Although that data is not a perfect proxy indicator for caregiving arrangements, as it does not provide actual information as to who the legal or *de facto* caregiver for a particular child is in that household, it is nonetheless a clear indicator of whether a child is living within or outside of family care. This information is key to understanding the extent and patterns of informal alternative care, particularly kinship care, in a given country. This is critical to inform policies seeking to strengthen parental care, prevent harmful separation, and support adequate family care and family-based alternative care.

The DHS and MICS data has huge potential to inform child protection policy and programming; however, currently this potential is not being realized. A key barrier is that in most cases the data that would be useful, such as data on children's care and different living arrangements, is not extracted and presented in national reports. Furthermore, awareness of this potentially useful DHS and MICS data among child protection practitioners is very low. Given the scarcity of national monitoring data on child protection issues in many contexts, it is important that the sector explores the potential of the DHS and MICS data and is better informed of what it could offer and how it could be used to support better policies and interventions targeting at risk children and families. It is hoped that these country briefs can contribute to this.

NEPAL 2014 MICS:

The data presented in this report come from the 2014 Nepal Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey⁷ (MICS) that was carried out by the Nepal Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) with support provided by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in Nepal. MICS is a UNICEF led project that provides technical support in the implementation of country-wide surveys across the world. Funding for this effort came from the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Nepal.

The primary objective for this data collection effort is to provide country-wide information on demographic characteristics, health conditions and behaviors, and indicators around mortality. The child well-being indicators reported here come from the MICS Household Questionnaire. This questionnaire is used to list all individuals who spent the previous night in a selected household. It collects basic information of each member listed, including name, sex, age, education, relationship to the head of household, and disability status. Additionally, for children under the age of 18, survival status of parents is also recorded.

During the 2014 Nepal MICS data collection effort, a total of 12,405 households were interviewed and 56,539 household members were listed. Of these, 22,862 individuals were under the age of 18 and 19,341 children were under the age of 15. The household questionnaire retained a response rate of 99%. All figures reported here have accounted for sample weights; none are unweighted. No exclusion criteria has been applied – the data presented below represent the entire sample of individuals present in the dataset. Data were analyzed using the statistical software package SAS 9.4. To measure statistically significant levels of association, chi-squared tests and t-tests were run using a 5% alpha level.

To understand Nepal in its regional context and compare across other South Asian states, data was pulled from nationally-representative MICS surveys that were most recently run in these neighboring countries. The South Asia Region has available MICS or DHS data for the following countries: Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Nepal, and Pakistan. Given that many of these countries collected data for the 0-14 age range until recently, for cross-country comparisons, under 15 age groups will be used. The previous MICS and DHS surveys conducted in Nepal are also represented in this report to look at any significant changes that have occurred within the country over the last decade. Lastly, all country-level development statistics were pulled from the Human Development Report 20148.

⁷ Central Bureau of Statistics, 2015. *Nepal Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2014, Final Report*. Kathmandu, Nepal: Central Bureau of Statistics and UNICEF Nepal.

⁸ United Nations Development Program 2014. Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience. Human Development Report 2014. Tokyo.

BASIC STATISTICS:9, 10

Country

- Total population (2015): 28,100,000
- Gross Domestic Product per capita (2011): \$2,172.80
- Human Development Index: .548 (Rank 145)
- Population living below \$1.25 a day: 23.7%
- Life expectancy at birth: 69.6 years
- Median age: 23.1 years
- Urban vs. rural distribution: 18% of the population is urban, 82% rural
- Under-5 mortality rate: 39.7 per 1,000 under five children.
- HIV/AIDS prevalence: 0.2%
- Birth registration of children (% under age 5):
 58% (HDR reports 42% in 2015).
- Child labor (age 5-17): 37% (HDR reports 34% for ages 5-14 in 2015)

Households

- Mean household composition: 4.6 members
- More than a third of all individuals in Nepal (34%) are under the age of 15.
- Female-headed households: 29%
- Urban vs. rural distribution: 20% of sampled households were urban; 80% rural
- Educational attainment is low in Nepal: with 33% of new mothers having no education.
 Additionally, only 62% of women with a primary school education were considered literate in the 2014 MICS, highlighting the major shortcomings in the quality of schooling in the country.

Marriage:

- Early marriage: 15.5% of women were married before the age of 15 and 49% before the age of 18. Currently, 25% of all young women age 15-19 are married.
- 4.1 percent of all married women are married to men who are in a polygamous union
- Spousal age difference: 6.3% of girls 15-19 are married to a spouse older by 10+ years.
- Domestic violence: 43% of women believed that a husband was justified in hitting his wife if (1) wife neglects the children, (2) wife went out without telling husband, (3) wife argued with husband, (4) wife refuses to have sex, or (5) wife burns the food.

Fertility

- Total Fertility Rate: 2.3 children
 - Fertility for women living in rural households is nearly double those living in urban areas (2.5 vs. 1.4)
 - Adolescent fertility: 71 births per 1,000 girls age 15-19. (HDR reports 73.7/1000). This rate is over twice as high among girls in rural areas of Nepal as compared to rural areas (80/1,000 vs 33/1,000 girls age 15-19 years. The highest rate is found in the Mid-Western Mountain Region at 123/1,000 and lowest in the Central Hills region (29/1,000).
 - 14% of women age 15-19 are already mothers or currently pregnant with their first child.
 - 21% of all Nepalese women report having given birth prior to age 18; rural girls were twice as likely as urban girls to have given birth prior to age 18 (18% vs 8%).

⁹ United Nations Development Program 2014. Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience. Human Development Report 2014. Tokyo.

¹⁰ Central Bureau of Statistics, 2015. *Nepal Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2014, Final Report.* Kathmandu, Nepal: Central Bureau of Statistics and UNICEF Nepal.

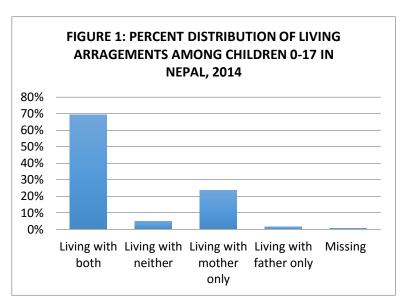
CHILDREN'S LIVING ARRANGEMENTS:

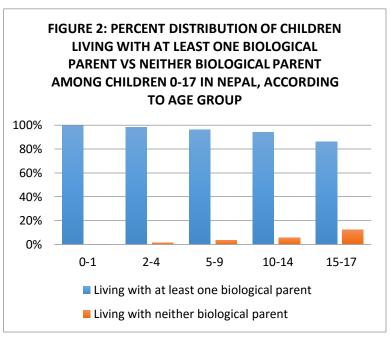
In Nepal, 70% of children under the age of 15 live in households with both biological parents. While they represent the largest group of children living in households, Nepal's proportion of children living with both parents is among the lowest found in the South Asia region. In Bangladesh, 86% of all children under the age of 15 live with both biological parents, as do 83% in Pakistan and 82% in India among children age 0-14.

As shown in Figure 1, among children age 0-17 in Nepal, 69% live with both biological parents, 24% live with only their mother, and 1.5% live with only their father. One in every twenty children under 18 years of age in Nepal – 4.9% - lives with neither biological parent.

When disaggregated by background characteristics, factors such as gender, age, and geographic region appear to significantly influence living arrangements among children in Nepal. Girls in Nepal more commonly live with neither biological parent (6%) as compared to boys (4%). Conversely, boys are slightly more likely to live with both biological parents compared to girls (70% vs. 69%).

Variations in living arrangements across age groups are evident in Nepal. The proportion of children living with both biological parents declines slightly as children age. Where 67% of children in the oldest age group live with both of their biological parents, 68% of children ages two to four and 71% of children under two live with both biological parents. As children age, proportionally fewer children live with their mother only, while more live with their biological father only. Part of





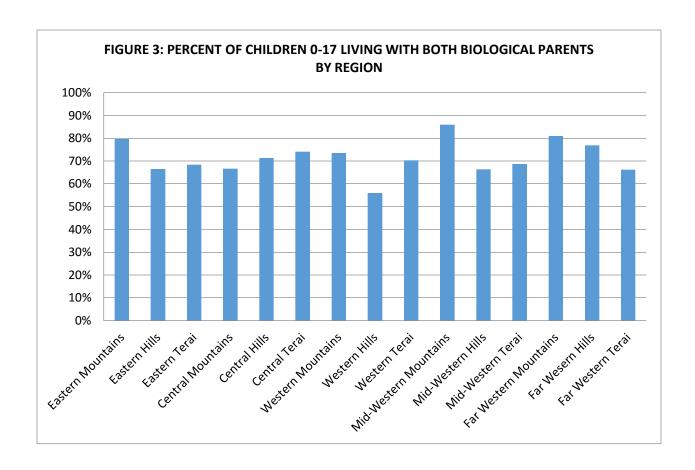
this can be explained by the death of a biological parent. Since more children experience the loss of a parent as they get older, the proportion of children living with their only surviving parent increases with age; only 0.6% of children in the youngest age group live with their mother only after their father has died, while 4.6% of children age 15-17 do the same. A similar but less pronounced trend is seen for children

living with only their father after their mother has passed. However, among children living with a single biological parent when their other parent is still living, the proportion living with their mother only decreases with age, while the proportion living only with their father increases during this same time. While fewer than 0.2% of children under age 2 live with only their father, 0.6% of children age 5-9, and 1% of children age 10-14 live with only their father when their mother is still living. Conversely, while 28% of children under age 2 live with only their mother when they have a living biological father, 23% of children age 5-9 and 12% of children age 15-17 maintain this living arrangement. More research is needed to understand why this decreasing trend occurs.

Simultaneously, the likelihood that a child will live with neither biological parent increases with the child's age. While less than 1% of children under age 2 live with neither biological parent, there is a sharp increase in children living with neither biological parent, reaching 3.5% for children age 5-9 and 12% for children age 15-17 (as seen in Figure 2 above).

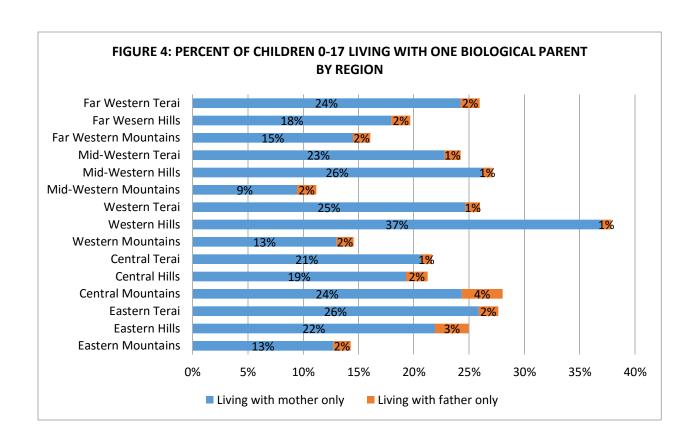
Children in urban regions of Nepal more commonly live with both biological parents compared to children living in rural households (70% vs. 69%). Additionally, among those under 18 years of age, more children living in urban areas (7.6%) live with neither biological parent compared to children living in rural households (4.5%) – nearly one in every fourteen children living in urban centers lives without either biological parent.

The 2014 MICS covers Nepal's regions defined as: Eastern Mountains, Eastern Hills, Eastern Terai, Central Mountains, Central Hills, Central Terai, Western Mountains, Western Hills, Western Terai, Midwestern Mountains, Mid-Western Hills, Mid-Western Terai, Far Western Mountains, Far Western Hills, and Far Western Terai. Regional data is presented here to understand the regional diversity found within the country. As Figure 3 shows, children living in the more rural Western Mountains region are much less likely to live with both biological parents compared to the rest of the country. The neighboring Mid-Western Mountains region sees the highest proportion of children living with both biological parents at 86% - nearly 9 of every 10 children living in this province.

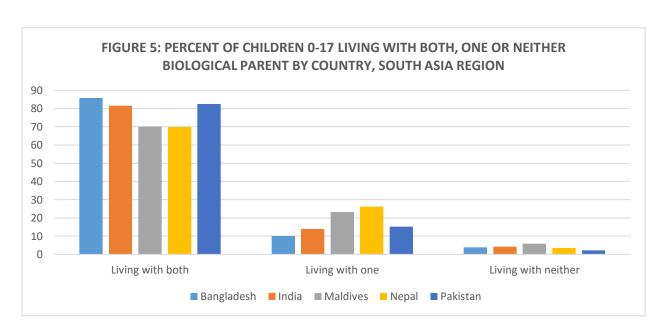


Higher household wealth quintile appears to be positively associated with the likelihood of children living with neither biological parent. This may be due to richer households wielding more resources to support unrelated children or being more likely to employ domestic workers. In the poorest households, proportionally more children were found to live with at least one biological parent (95%) when compared to households in the richest quintile (82%). In Nepal, slightly more children appear to be hosted by wealthier households when living away from both biological parents.

When it comes to children living with only one biological parent, however, a varied regional landscape is seen across Nepal. The Western Hills region sees the highest percentage of children living with only one biological parent in the country (38%). This region also has the lowest percentage of children living with both biological parents in Nepal. The Mid-Western Mountains region, meanwhile, has the lowest proportion of children living with only one biological parent (11%) across the nation, but enjoys the highest percentage of children 0-17 living with at least one biological parent at 97%.



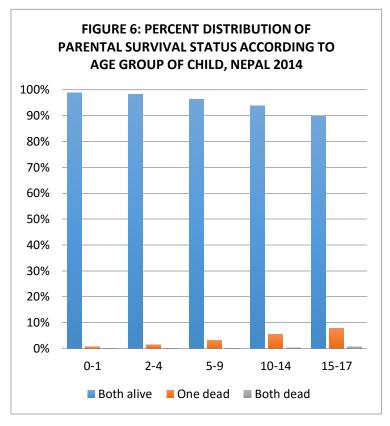
Regionally, Nepal has the highest percentage of children living in households with a single biological parent (26%). Among the five countries in the South Asia region with recent DHS and MICS data, only the Maldives had a comparable rate of children 0-17 living with a single biological parent at 23%. As seen in Figure 5 below, over one in five children in Nepal lives with only one parent even when the other is still living.



DEATH OF A PARENT (SINGLE AND DOUBLE "ORPHANHOOD"):

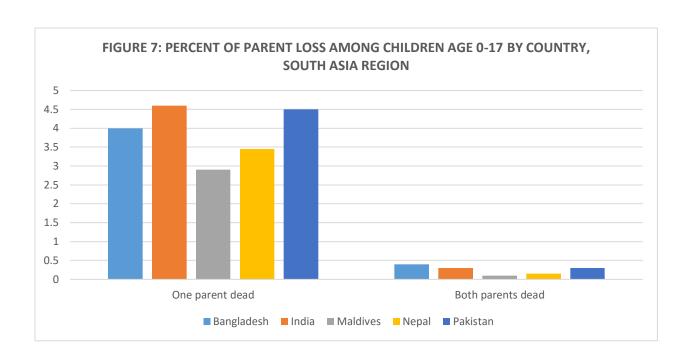
In Nepal, orphanhood is experienced by 0.2% of all children age 0-17, and 0.1% of all children age 0-14. As can be expected, loss of a single parent is more frequent: 3.4% of children lose one parent before age 15 and 4.1% of children lose one parent by age 18. Parental loss is positively associated with age: almost all children living in households under the age of two have two living parents (99%), while 7.8% of children age 15-17 have lost one biological parent and 0.6% have lost both (as seen in Figure 6.) The overall percentage of single parental death has dropped in Nepal since the 2006 DHS, from 4.9% in 2006 to 3.4% in 2014 (among children 0-18).

Gender, wealth quintile of the household, and rural-urban distributions do not clearly correlate with the likelihood of losing both parents among



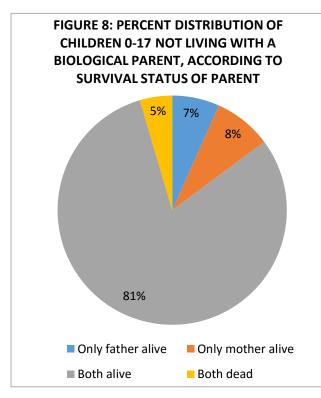
children in Nepal. However, when disaggregated by geographic region, distinct regional variations are seen in orphanhood. The Western Mountains region has the highest percentage of orphanhood, with a proportion of children who have lost both parents (0.7%) which is more than triple the national average. Additionally, 6.2% of children living in the Western Mountains region have lost one parent before age 18, third highest among the fifteen regions. The Central Hills region, the major urban center and capital of Nepal, has a comparatively low rate of parental death with 0.2% of children orphaned and 4.4% who have lost one parent. More research is needed to understand if underlying urban-rural differences may characterize the distribution of parent survival in Nepal, or if these living arrangements might shift after experiencing the death of a parent.

In the South Asia context, Nepal is comparable to its regional neighbors in the level of both single parent loss (3.4%) and double parent loss/orphaning (0.1%) among children age 0-17. Nepal's percentages of single parent loss are lower than those found in India (4.6%) or in Bangladesh, where 4% of all children have experienced the death of a mother or a father before age 15.



CHILDREN LIVING WITH NEITHER BIOLOGICAL PARENT:

As stated previously, nearly one in twenty Nepalese children under the age of 18 lives with neither biological parent. Because this proportion is quite small, the findings in this section must be interpreted with caution given the small samples sizes in each subgroup.

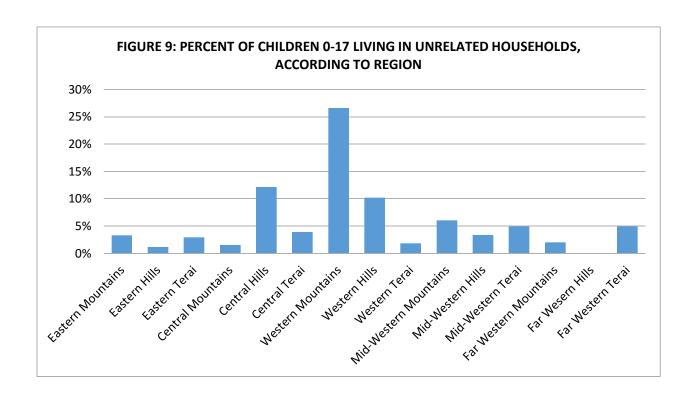


In Nepal, the vast majority of children living with neither biological parent still have both parents living, the effect of events such as civil war, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and access to anti-retro viral therapy for HIV can remain hidden. Therefore, variations in the proportions of children who have lost both biological parents are largely unseen because of the large percentage of children living outside of parental care who continue to have living biological parents.

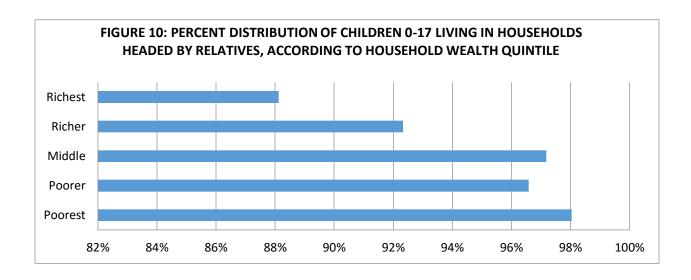
According to the 2014 MICS, the vast majority of children in Nepal living with neither biological parent had both biological parents still living (81%), 8% had a living mother, 7% had a living father, and 5% had lost both parents¹¹. This reality underlines that orphanhood is *not* the primary factor explaining children not living with their biological parents, and highlights the need to better understand the true drivers behind children not living with their parents.

The overwhelming majority of children in Nepal under the age of 18 who are not living with a biological parent remain in family care, residing instead in households with their grandparents, aunts, uncles, siblings, and other relatives. Nationwide, 94% of children aged 0-17 live in family care, with only 6% of children living in households headed by an unrelated person. Slightly more girls than boys live in related care (93% of boys vs. 95% of girls) as do children living in rural households in Nepal (88% of urban children vs. 96% of rural children). As can be expected, differences in household work contribution, child migration for education, or work opportunities impact the age at which children move out of living in family care. Living in family care seems to be negatively associated with age, with the oldest age group of children having a higher likelihood of living in a household headed by a non-relative. Older children are also more likely to work as live-in servants in Nepal with 3% of all children 15-17 living in this arrangement. Nonetheless, given the small sample sizes of children living outside of parental care in Nepal, caution must be employed in interpreting these findings.

¹¹ According to the World Bank, in 2014 34% of the total population (28.17 million) in Nepal was between the ages of 0-14. Therefore, approximately 335,000 children under the age of 15 live with neither biological parent, of which an estimated 14,000 children have lost both biological parents.



In Nepal, marked regional differences are seen in the distribution of children living outside of family care. The Western Mountains region has more than four times the prevalence of children living in households where they are unrelated to the household head (27%), compared to the national average (6%). However, given the small sample sizes in each sub-region, caution must be employed when interpreting these findings. More research is needed to highlight and understand these regional differences.



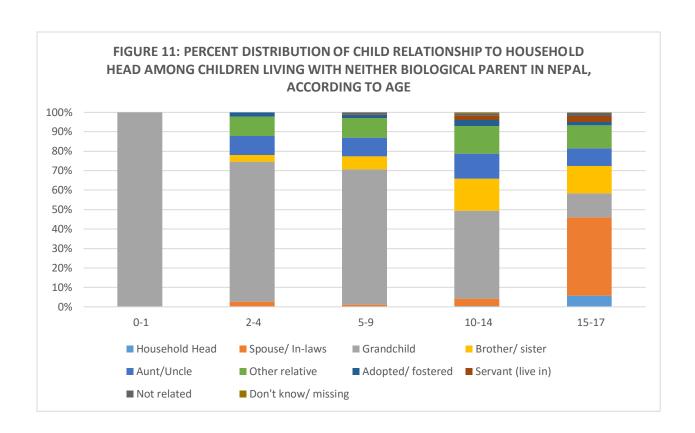
In Nepal, there is a positive association between wealth index and households hosting unrelated children who are not employed as a live-in servant. While close to 0% of children living in households in the poorest wealth quintile report being "not related" to the household head, in households belonging to the richest quintiles, the percentage is 2.6%. Similarly, while 0% of households in the poorest wealth quintile report housing live-in child servants, 6.5% of households in the richest quintile report a live-in child servant in the home. This reflects that wealthier households managing more resources are more likely to provide opportunities such as boarding for school or employment to unrelated youth. Further research is needed in this area to better understand these dynamics.

In Nepal, among children age 0-17 living with neither biological parent, 39% live with their grandparents, 11% live with their aunt/uncle, 13% live with siblings, 12% live in households headed by other relatives, 2.3% live with adopting or fostering families, 2% are live-in

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF CHILD RELATIONSHIP TO HOUSEHOLD HEAD **AMONG CHILDREN 0-17 LIVING WITH NEITHER BIOLOGICAL PARENT IN NEPAL,** 2014 2%^{2%^{1%}<1%}2% 12% 18% 39% Missing Alone Spouse/In-laws Grandchild Aunt/Uncle Brother/ sister Other relative Adopted/ fostered ■ Servant (live-in) ■ Not related

servants in households, 2.4% report living alone, and 1.2% live with other unrelated household heads. Nearly 18% of children age 0-17 live with their spouses or in-laws.

Children ages 0-17 have a higher likelihood of living with their grandparents at 39%, rather than with other relatives. However, living with grandparents seems to be negatively associated with the age of the child, becoming less likely as children get older, while living with other relatives and with unrelated household heads becomes more common as children age. Children under age 2 have the highest likelihood of living with their grandparents, with nearly all (99%+) of children under 2 who live with neither biological parent living in households headed by their grandmother or grandfather. A significant decrease is seen in this proportion as children age, with a prevalence of only 12% for children age 15-17. In the oldest age cohort, there is a higher likelihood that a child age 15-17 living with neither biological parent will live in a household headed by a sibling (14%) or by a spouse or in-law (38%) compared to living with a grandparent (12%). This indicates that in Nepal, by the time children reach age 18, nearly 40% are married and living with their partner. This is congruent with the differences seen in the spousal age in Nepal whereby 6% of girls 15-19 and 8% of young women 20-24 are currently married to a man at least 10 years their senior.



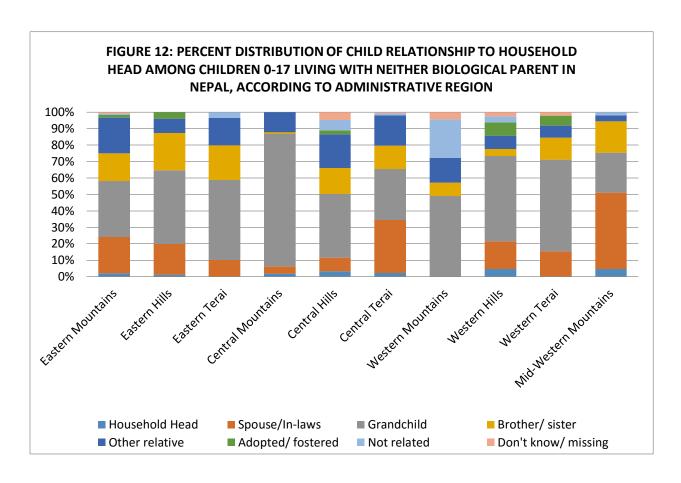
Gender also seems to play a role in determining whom children living outside of parental care live with. More boys age 0-17 live with their grandparents compared to girls (44% vs. 35%) and are twice as likely to live with their siblings than girls (18% vs 9%). Boys also more often live with "other" relatives compared to girls (14% vs. 11%) or their aunts and uncles (14% vs 8%). Girls on the other hand, are markedly more likely to live with their spouse or in-laws (1.7% and 27% respectively compared to nearly 0% for boys).

Possible explanations might include different reproductive and economic life phases of older and younger generation family members and how these realities intersect with the need for assistance in the house, for example with childcare or manual labor. Boys have a higher likelihood of living in households outside of family care (7%) compared to girls (5%) even though more girls report living as live-in servants than boys (2.2% vs 1.8%). There is a positive association between the age of a child and the likelihood they will be found as a live-in servant in a household reaching 3.1% of children 15-17 in Nepal who report living in households as live-in servants. Caution should be employed when interpreting these findings due to the small samples of children in Nepal fitting these criteria.

When disaggregated by geographical characteristics, significantly more children age 0-17 in rural areas live in households headed by their grandparents compared to children living in urban centers (42% vs. 27%). The opposite is true for children living in households headed by their siblings (24% urban vs 10% rural) and "other" relatives (20% urban vs 10% rural). Three times as many children in rural areas live with their spouses or in-laws in rural areas compared to children living in households in urban areas (6%). More live-in servants live in households located in urban centers (4.6% vs 1.4%) as do more children living out of family care (12% vs 4%). Nearly all adopted children live in households located in rural areas. However,

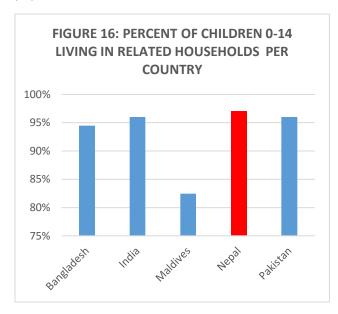
as stated previously, due to small sample sizes in these subgroups, caution is needed when interpreting these findings.

Clear differences are again seen among Nepal's different regions. As seen in Figure 12, the Mid-Western Mountains region maintains the lowest proportion of children not living with a parent who are in households headed by the grandparents at 22%, and the highest proportion of children living with other spouse (15%). Conversely, the Central Mountains region has the highest prevalence of children age 0-17 living in grandparent-headed households at 72%. In the Western Hills region, one in every thirteen children (7.7%) lives in adopting and fostering households, the highest in the country.



Adoption and fostering appears to be weakly related to gender in Nepal, with slightly more boys (2.5%) being adopted or fostered compared with girls (2.1%). There does not appear to be a strong association between children's age and the likelihood of adoption and fostering. However, sample size limitations do not allow for any significant findings in this subgroup. Additionally, caution must be employed when analyzing figures in these categories given the ambiguous definition of fostering within the MICS program. The MICS program defines fostering as "children under age 18 living in households with neither their mother nor their father present." Nonetheless, as seen throughout this report, most children living with neither biological parent are not categorized as "fostered." Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain which children would be classified as "fostered" in the field. Additionally, in many of these settings formal adoption and fostering is quite limited; therefore, these categories may capture some children in informal

foster care and adoption arrangements, but the data might be a significant underestimation of the total population of children in those care situations.



Regionally, Nepal's prevalence of children age 0-17 who are not living with either parent but live in households in which they are related to the household head (family household) is high compared to other South Asian countries. In Nepal, 1% of all children age 0-14 live in households headed by an unrelated person, while 97% live in family care. India and Pakistan see a comparable prevalence of children living in related households among children under age 15 not living with either biological parent at 96%. Meanwhile, the Maldives has the lowest percentage of children living in related care at 82% of children 0-14 living out of parental care.

LIMITATIONS:

The data presented here represent children who were residing in households at the time of data collection. This analysis does not include the most vulnerable cohort of children ages 0-17 who are not living in households. These data look at the relationship between the child and the head of the household; they do not provide information on the primary caregiver of the child. Moreover, it does not capture multigenerational households among children not living with a biological parent; therefore, it is possible that a child who is reported as the grandchild of the household head is also cohabitating with an aunt or uncle, sibling, or other relative. In addition, the available questionnaire categories that capture a child's relationships to household head do not distinguish between maternal and paternal relatives, an area that may warrant closer attention in further data collection efforts.

Another limitation found in this report is the inflexibility of the structured household survey. Flows of communication, individuals, and funding that build the networks of each individual household remain hidden. The data cannot uncover whether children living with neither biological parent who have living biological parents communicate with them, are visited by them, or are supported financially by them. It does not capture the stability of the household composition, leaving unknown the timing of when a parent left or whether the parent comes and goes routinely. These limitations highlight areas of study that require additional data in order to uncover children's care structures in Nepal.

Nepal, 2014	Table 1. Percent dist	ribution of chil	ldren under age 18	by living arrange	ment and surviva	status of parents,	according to back	ground character	istics, Nepal 2014	TOTAL N=22862							
									Missing								
	Living with both Living with neither					Living with n	nother only	Living with	father only	information	Total Count	Summary Figures					
	69.4%	69.4% 4.9%			23.0	5%	1.	5%	0.6%	100.0%							
												Not living with			Number of	Number	
		Only father	Only mother						/	1 1		a biological	Both parents	One parent	children 0-	of children	
		alive	alive	Both alive	Both dead	Father alive	Father dead	Mother alive	Mother dead			parent	dead	dead	14	0-17	
Sex																	
Male	70.2%	0.3%	0.3%	3.2%	0.2%	21.4%	2.5%	0.8%	0.8%	0.4%	100.0%	3.9%	0.2%	3.8%	9680	11462	
Female	68.6%	0.4%	0.5%	4.7%	0.2%	20.8%	2.6%	0.5%	0.9%	0.7%	100.0%	5.9%	0.2%	4.4%	9660	11400	
Age																	
0-1	70.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	27.7%	0.6%	0.2%	0.0%	0.4%	100.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.7%	2197	2197	
2-4	68.1%	0.1%	0.1%	1.3%	0.0%	28.8%	1.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	100.0%	1.5%	0.0%	1.5%	3518	3518	
5-9	70.3%	0.3%	0.2%	2.8%	0.1%	22.6%	1.9%	0.6%	0.7%	0.3%	100.0%	3.5%	0.1%	3.2%	6332	6332	
10-14	70.1%	0.4%	0.6%	4.4%	0.3%	18.4%	3.3%	1.0%	1.2%	0.4%	100.0%	5.6%	0.3%	5.5%	7293	7293	
15-17	66.5%	0.6%	0.9%	10.2%	0.6%	12.2%	4.6%	0.9%	1.7%	1.7%	100.0%	12.4%	0.6%	7.8%	0	3522	
Residence																	
Urban	70.0%	0.2%	0.4%	6.7%	0.4%	18.4%	2.1%	1.0%	0.4%	0.5%	100.0%	7.6%	0.4%	3.0%	2542	3149	
Rural	69.3%	0.3%	0.4%	3.5%	0.2%	21.5%	2.6%	0.6%	0.9%	0.6%	100.0%	4.5%	0.2%	4.3%	16799	19713	
Region																	
Eastern Mountains	79.7%	0.2%	0.5%	4.7%	0.3%	10.7%	2.0%	1.0%	0.5%	0.3%	100.0%	5.7%	0.3%	3.3%	280	332	
Eastern Hills	66.5%	0.3%	1.3%	5.5%	0.5%	18.7%	3.2%	1.0%	2.0%	0.9%	100.0%	7.7%	0.5%	6.9%	990	1215	
Eastern Terai	68.4%	0.1%	0.1%	2.6%	0.6%	23.2%	2.7%	0.8%	1.0%	0.6%	100.0%	3.4%	0.6%	3.8%	2777	3238	
Central Mountains	66.7%	0.3%	0.6%	3.5%	0.1%	22.6%	1.7%	3.2%	0.5%	0.8%	100.0%	4.5%	0.1%	3.0%	361	430	
Central Hills	71.3%	0.7%	0.4%	5.8%	0.2%	17.0%	2.3%	1.0%	0.9%	0.2%	100.0%	7.2%	0.2%	4.4%	2250	2770	
Central Terai	74.2%	0.1%	0.2%	3.2%	0.1%	18.8%	1.9%	0.4%	0.6%	0.6%	100.0%	3.6%	0.1%	2.7%	3954	4539	
Western Mountains	73,5%	0.0%	0.0%	7,5%	0.7%	8.3%	4.7%	0.0%	1.5%	3.7%	100.0%	8.3%	0.7%	6.2%	6	7	
Western Hills	55.9%	0.4%	0.5%	4.9%	0.0%	34.5%	2.4%	0.5%	0.5%	0.4%	100.0%	5.8%	0.0%	3.7%	2093	2462	
Western Terai	70.3%	0.5%	0.3%	2.8%	0.0%	21.8%	2.9%	0.7%	0.6%	0.2%	100.0%	3.5%	0.0%	4.2%	1657	1982	
Mid-Western Mountains	85.9%	0.1%	0.2%	1.8%	0.4%	4.5%	4.9%	0.1%	1.6%	0.4%	100.0%	2.5%	0.4%	6.9%	339	386	
Mid-Western Hills	66.4%	0.8%	0.6%	4.1%	0.2%	24.0%	2.2%	0.2%	0.8%	0.8%	100.0%	5.7%	0.2%	4.3%	1493	1725	
Mid-Western Terai	68.6%	0.5%	1.0%	4.8%	0.2%	20.5%	2.3%	0.7%	0.8%	0.6%	100.0%	6.5%	0.2%	4.7%	1106	1353	
Far Western Mountains	80.9%	0.1%	0.0%	2.1%	0.2%	11.1%	3.4%	0.3%	1.2%	0.5%	100.0%	2.5%	0.2%	4.8%	421	483	
Far Wesern Hills	76.9%	0.0%	0.4%	2.1%	0.4%	14.2%	3.7%	0.2%	15%	0.4%	100.0%	3.0%	0.4%	5.7%	751	884	
Far Western Terai	66.2%	0.2%		6.3%	0.1%		3.4%	0.7%	1.0%	1.1%	100.0%	6.8%	0.1%	4.8%	862		
Wealth Index																	
Poorest	72.3%	0.5%	0.5%	3.0%	0.3%	17.1%	3.9%	0.5%	1.3%	0.6%	100.0%	4,4%	0.3%	6.3%	4541	5291	
Poorer	68.8%				0.2%		2.7%	0.3%		0.5%	100.0%	4.0%	0.2%	4.7%			
Middle	69.5%			3.0%	0.1%		1.4%	0.5%		0.6%	100.0%	3.6%	0.1%	2.5%			
Richer	65.4%	0.3%		5.0%	0.3%	24.1%	2.2%	0.9%	0.9%	0.6%	100.0%	5.9%	0.3%	3.8%	3681		
Richest	70.8%	0.2%		6.7%	0.3%	17.8%	2.0%	1.3%	0.2%	0.5%	100.0%	7.5%	0.3%	2.7%	2836		
	7 - 1	-				27.07					300.0.0	1.0.0				-	
Total < 15	69.9%	0.3%	0.3%	2.8%	0.1%	22.7%	2.2%	0.6%	0.7%	0.3%	100.0%	3,5%	0.1%	3.4%	19341	19341	
Total < 18	69.4%	0.3%		4.0%	0.2%	21.1%	2.5%	0.7%	0.9%	0.6%	100.0%	4.9%	0.2%	4.1%	19341	22862	

	_																						
Nepal, 2014																							
Nepal, 2014	Table 2. Living arrangements among children under age 18 not living with a biological parent - the percent distribution of survival status of parent and the percent distribution of relationship to head of household, according to background characteristics, Negal 2014 TOTAL No University With neither Relationship to head													AL N= 1121									
		Living with	neither						_				telationship	to head					+				
						Both				Sen/								Don't		Total not	Total number of		Total number of
	alive	Only mother alive	Both silve	Both dead	Total	perents	Only one dead	Head	Wife/ husband	daughter-in-	Grandchild	Brother/ sister	Aunt/Uncl	Other	Adopted/ fostered	Servant (Ilve- in)	related	know/ missing	Total in family care	in family	children 0-14	weighted children 0-17	children 0-17
Sex	ane	anne	sour anne	Both dead	Total	UESU	nean	meau	meswario	iaw	Granecine	sisvei	•	reame	rosvereu		revalued	missing	ranney care	care	Children 0-14	Gildren 0-17	Unidien 0-17
Male	7.2%	6.7%	81.1%	5.0%	100.0%	5.0%	11.9%	1.4%	0.0%	0.2%	41.6%	10.3%	14.0%	14.1%	2.5%	1.0%	1.0%	0.2%	92.0%	7.0%	310	449	455
Female	6.4%	9.1%	80.3%	4.2%	100.0%	4.2%	15.5%	1.7%	1.7%		35.3%	9.3%	8.3%	11.0%	2.1%	2.2%	0.9%	0.3%	94.9%	4.8%		671	673
Age																					-		
0-1	0.0%	0.0%	98.9%	1.1%	100.0%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	3	3	3
2-4	4.0%	4.3%	90.6%	1.0%	100.0%	1.0%	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%	72.1%	3.4%	9.8%	10.0%	2.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	51	51	49
5-9	9.3%	6.7%	79.9%	4.2%	100.0%	4.2%	15.9%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%	69.7%	6.6%	9.6%	10.2%	1.6%	0.1%	1.2%	0.0%	98.7%	1.3%	220	220	233
10-14	7.7%	10.1%	77.6%	4.7%	100.0%	4.7%	17.8%	0.3%	0.1%	3.7%	45.4%	16.5%	12.7%	14.2%	3.2%	2.2%	1.1%	0.6%	95.0%	3.6%	409	409	394
15-17	4.8%	7.6%	82.5%	5.1%	100.0%	5.1%	12.4%	5.8%	2.6%	37.7%	12.3%	14.0%	9.2%	11.8%	1.7%	3.1%	1.6%	0.2%	89.3%	10.5%		437	449
Residence																							
Urban	2.8%	5.3%	87.2%	4.6%	100.0%	4.6%	8.1%	5.6%	0.8%	6.0%	26.9%	24.3%	9.8%	19.9%	0.1%	4.6%	2.1%	0.0%	87.8%	12.2%			
Rural	7.7%	0.9%	78.8%	4.5%	100.0%	4.5%	16.7%	1.5%	1.1%	19.2%	41.0%	9.0%	10.8%	10.2%	2.8%	1.4%	1.0%	0.4%	95.7%	3.5%	546	880	826
Region																							
Eastern Mountains	4.3%	9.0%	81.4%		100.0%	5.3%	13.3%	1.8%	0.0%		31.5%		6.5%	20.0%	1.5%	0.8%	0.8%	1.3%		3.3%	12		
Eastern Hills	4.1%	17.3%	71.6%		100.0%	7.0%	21.4%	1.2%	1.2%	16.1%	41.6%		7.1%	8.0%	3.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		1.2%			
Eastern Terai	2.1%	2.7%	78.2%		100.0%	17.1%	4.7%	0.0%	1.6N		41.0%		15.8%	11.9%	0.0%	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%		3.0%			
Central Mountains	6.6%	12.3%	78.8%	2.3%	100.0%	2.3%	18.9%	1.6%	0.0%	4.1%	71.6%		11.0%	10.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		1.6%	16 123		
Central Hills Central Terai	10.3%	6.3%	80.7% 90.2%	2.6%	100.0% 100.0%	2.8%	16.5%	2.7%	0.0%	6.3% 20.5%	33.0% 29.4%		14.6% 5.4%	17.6%	2.0% 0.0%	1.3%	0.5%	0.0%	87.8% 96.1%	12.2%	98		
Western Mountains	0.0%	0.0%	90.9%	9.1%	100.0%	9.1%	7.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	46.8%		4.7%	14.3%	0.0%	22,4%	4.2%	0.0%		26.6%		162	23
Western Hills	6.5%	7.9%	84.7%	0.8%	100.0%	0.8%	14.5%	4.4%	0.0%	16.1%	49.1%	4.1%	5.1%	7.7%	7.7%	3.5%	2.3%	0.0%	89.8%	10.2%	87	142	
Western Teral	13.5%	7.3%	78.3%		100.0%	0.9%	20.8%	0.0%	0.0%		49.6N		11.1%	6.4%	5.5N	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%		1.8%			
Mid-Western Mountains	3.0%	8.8%	70.8%		100.0%	17.4%	11.9%	4.3%	15.3%		22.1%		9.1%	3.2%		1.7%	0.0%	0.0%		6.1%	5		
Mid-Western Hills	13.3%	11.2%	72.0%	3.5%	100.0%	3.5%	24.5%	3.4%	2.1%	27.5%	35.1%		8.9%	10.8%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.2%	93.5%	3.4%	52		
Mid-Western Terai	7.9%	15.8%	73.7%		100.0%	2.5%	23.7%	4.5%	1.4%	19.4%	38.1%		13.6%	4.5%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%		5.0%	50		
Far Western Mountains	5.8%	1.7%	84.1%	5.4%	100.0%	8.4%	7.5%	0.0%	0.0%	19.2%	44.7%	1.7%	14.5%	17.9%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	98.0%	2.0%			
Far Wesern Hills	0.0%	14.6%	70.7%	14.7%	100.0%	14,7%	14.6%	0.0%	7.4%	19.5%	44.0%	5.0%	8.3%	15.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	12	26	
Far Western Teral	2.3%	3.5%	93.2%	1.0%	100.0%	1.0%	5.8%	3.5%	0.0%	11.2%	33.3%	18.8%	18.3%	12.4%	1.2%	0.8%	0.6%	0.0%	95.1%	4.5%	45	71	
Wealth index																							
Poorest	12.3%	12.3%	67.8%	7.6%	100.0%	7.6%	24.6%	0.6%	2.5%	26.6%	40.8%	7.1%	11.5%	7.9%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	98.0%	0.6%	128	231	299
Poorer	9.3%	11.5%	75.5%	3.7%	100.0%	3.7%	20.8%	2.3%	1.1%	20.4%	50.0%	6.7%	6.3%	7.5%	4.3%	0.2%	0.9%	0.0%	96.6%	3.4%			
Middle	5.6%	7.3%	84.0%	3.2%	100.0%	3.2%	12.9%	1.8%	0.9%	23.2%	40.9%	13.6%	5.8%	11.8%	1.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	97.2%	2.8%	113		
Richer	4.4%	6.4%	84.7%	4.6%	100.0%	4.6%	10.8%	4.2%	0.7%	12.5%	36.8%	16.3%	12.4%	12.0%	1.6%	1.5%	2.0%	0.0%	92.3%	7.7%	162		
Richest	2.8%	4.2%	89.5%	3.4%	100.0%	3.4%	7.1%	2.8%	0.0%	3.7%	28.3%	18.9%	14.3%	20.2%	2.6%	6.5%	2.6%	0.0%	88.1%	11.5%	148	261	238
Total < 15	7.9%	8.5%		4.2%	100.0%	4.2%	16.4%	0.2%	0.0%	2.8%	55.4%		11.4%	12.5%	2.6%	1.4%	1.0%	0.3%	97.1%	2.6%	682	684	
Total < 18	6.7%	8.2%	80.6%	4.6%	100.0%	4.6%	14.8%	2.4%	1.0%	16.4%	38.6%	12.9%	10.6%	12.3%	2.3%	2.0%	1.2%	0.3%	94.0%	9.7%	684	1121	1128