

Master's Thesis

A STUDY ON FREED-BONDED LABOURER (MUKTA KAMAIYA) IN NEPAL

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ABSTRACT

Kamaiya system is the bonded labour system that used to prevail in the rural economy of western Tarai of Nepal. Kamaiya used to enter into contract with landlord (Jamindar) verbally for one year, but usually gets trapped in the debt called 'Saunki' to fulfill their family's basic needs, and become bonded labourer for generations. Kamaiya freedom was announced on 17 July 2000, and was made illegal in the country by "Kamaiya Labour (Prohibition) Act 2002". The rehabilitation of Mukta Kamaiya is still not completed after more than one decade. They are one of the socio-economically most disadvantaged people. This study assesses the socio-economic status of freed-bonded labourer (Mukta Kamaiya) and also analyzes the effect of Kamaiya freedom on farm management of landlords (Jamindars). A survey was carried out in 120 households of Kohalpur Village Development Committee (VDC) of Banke district and Kalika VDC of Bardiya district (60 households in each district) and 30 Jamindars from two districts from August till September 2010.

The average family size of Mukta Kamaiya was found higher (6.5) than the national (5.45) and district average (5.74 in Banke), but in case of Bardiya, it is slightly lower (6.52). The literacy rate was found to be 68% in Banke and 70% in Bardiya respectively, and it is higher than the district as well as national average. It is largely due to the contribution of informal education programme (28%). Formal education and literacy rate is higher in younger population, but limited in lower secondary level (8th grade).

Due to the extremely small size of land (0.088 ha), many Mukta Kamaiyas are drawn into a daily labouring work. Wage labouring is the basic livelihood strategy that employed

47% of households heads and contributed 68% of total annual income. In spite of several skill development trainings delivered to them, overwhelmingly large number of household-heads (85%) are involved in unskilled wage labouring. It is due to the less utilization of technical skill trainings learnt (44%). The second most important source of income is farming that contributed 12% of the total annual income. Average annual gross income (cash and non-cash) of a household is NRs. 98,354 and annual expense is NRs. 91,751 (1 USD = NRS 72). Food security is an alarming issue among the Mukta Kamaiya. Only 4% of the households have food self-sufficiency whereas more than 33% have less than 1 month food self-sufficiency. Based on the minimum calorie intake, a large fragment (36% of households) are in food insecure condition and their average calorie intake is quite low (<1400 KCal/AE/day) than the recommended (2,144 Kcal/AE/day) in Tarai region of Nepal.

Kamlahri form of child labouring is still prevailing in Mukta Kamaiya. It was found that 11% of households are sending their children as Kamlahri. Among the employed children, the larger proportion is working as Kamlahri (65%) and the majority of them are girls (67%). Twenty per cent Kamlahri are not getting opportunity to go school from the employers' house. The majority of the Kamlahris (70%) are working just for education and meal.

After the prohibition of Kamaiya system, Jamindars are managing their farming basically through share cropping. The animal power based farming is gradually substituted by farm machineries due to the decreased livestock size and labour shortage. According to Jamindar, yield of major crops (rice, wheat and maize) has not increased much due to inadequate management.

Physical infrastructure development, skill enhancement and educational support should be continued. This study suggests the creation of awareness by Mukta Kamaiyato deal with the root causes of this problem. Long term educational programme is necessary for the returned and rescued Kamlahris.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

Abbreviation and Acronym	Full Form
AAN	Action Aid Nepal
AE	Adult Equivalent
BASE	Backward Society Education
BS	Bikram Sambat, the official calendar of Nepal. It is (approximately) 56 years 'ahead' of the Gregorian Calendar from January to mid-April, and 57 years ahead of the rest of the year.
CBO	Community Based Organization
CBS	Census Bureau of Statistics
DADO	District Agriculture Development Office
DDC	District Development Committee
DLRO	District Land Reform Office
DLSO	District Livestock Service Office
FNC	Friends of Needy Children
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEFONT	General Federation of Nepalese Trade Unions
GoN	Government of Nepal
GRINSO	Group for International Solidarity
GTZ	German Technical Organization
ha	Hectare
HH	Household
HHH	Head of household
HKI	Hellen Keller International
I/NGO	International/ Non-Governmental Organization
IFAD	International Fund for Agriculture Development

Abbreviation and Acronym	Full Form
ILO/IPEC	International Labour Organisation/ International Programme on Elimination of Child Labour
INSEC	Informal Sector Service Centre
Kcal	Kilo Calorie
KCG	Kamaiya Concern Group (In Nepali: Kamaiya Sarokar Samuha)
Kg	Kilogram
LSU	Livestock Standard Unit
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MoLRM	Ministry of Land Reform and Management
MT	Metric Ton
n	Number of Cases in the Sample
n.d.	No Date
n/a	Not available
NEWAH	Nepal Water for Health
No.	Number
NRs	Nepalese Rupees
RKJS	Radha Krishna Tharu Jansewa Kendra
S.N./ S.No.	Serial Number
SLC	School Leaving Certificate (equivalent to 10 th grade)
SPACE	Society for Participatory Cultural Education
TMO	Transport Management Office
TU	Tribhuvan University
UN	United Nations
VDC	Village Development Committee

GLOSSORY AND TERMS

Word	Meaning
Ailani	Barren ‘unregistered’ land, under ownership of the government, also called Parti Jagga.
Bali Bigha [Sometimes called Bigha]	Land set aside for cultivation by the Kamaiya, from which the Kamaiya could take the full produce. Normally it was ten kattha. Though initially one bigha, it later became just half a ‘normal’ bigha.
Begari	In Jamindari system, there was compulsion to peasant farmers to provide free labour to public work and Jamindars. It varied 6 days per month with total 72 days in an annum. The system of begari in Tharu society existed earlier than Jamindari syste.
Bigha	Nepali system of land measurement equal to 0.67 of a hectare of land. Traditionally a Kamaiya would receive the produce of one bihga from the landowner as payment for his work during the agricultural year. The term has now come to mean any in kind payment made to a Kamaiya.
Birta	From the Nepali word meaning ‘hero’. Large area of land given by kings and Rana rulers to successful generals or nobles in order to secure their loyalty.
Budhan	New territory (Naya Muluk) of Nepal that regained from British East Inida Company. Budhan covers present Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts of Nepal.
Bukra	A hut provided by the Kamaiya lord to his Kamaiya for use only during the time the Kamaiya was bonded.
Bukrahi	Female member of the family working for the landowner with her husband or any male member of the family [earlier young bride].
Chaudhari	Originally tax collector in the Tarai, who supervised the tax collection in the <i>Praganna</i> . Subsequently, it applied to headmen of the Tharu ethnic group, now taken to mean any Tharu person, and frequently used as a last name by Tharu people.
Chaurwa	The person, normally from the socalled low caste, who works as a shepherd for landlords.
Desbandhya Guruwa	Tharu priest having responsibility to provide traditional rituals, traditional healing and shaman in more than one village.

Word	Meaning
Gardhuriya/Kisan	Head of the household who plays managerial role in the family in the Tharu society.
Guruwa/Gurau	Tharu priest who cure patient with his spiritual power of shaman and ethnomedicinal plants.
Haliya	Literally ‘ploughman’, used to refer to male agricultural labourers. It is associated with exploitative practices such as debt bondage and serfdom in Nepal and India.
Haruwa	A term synonyms with haliya (see above) used in certain parts of Nepal and India.
Jagir	A tenure system in Nepal in the past. <i>Raikar</i> lands alienated as emoluments of office to government employees were called <i>Jagir</i> lands.
Jamindar	In the past, Jamindars were the intermediaries between government agencies and tenants to collect land tax who owned vast area of land. So, Jamindars are synonymously known as landlords.
Jari	Fine charged to person who married other wife by luring or flying marriage in Tharu society.
Jhanga	Previously in Tharu tradion groom had to pay cash or kind to the parents of bride instead of getting their daughter.
Jirayat	Aplot of taxable land attached to a Jimidari holding as part of the Jimidar’s salary cultivated with unpaid labour.
Kamaiya	A system of bonded labour that existed in five districts in western Nepal. The term is also applied to the bonded labourers themselves.
Kamlahari	Female Kamaiya working for the landlord. Now the meaning is twisted for the unmarried girl laboring for domestic work.
Kattha	A traditional unit for land measurement in Tarai, Nepal. 1 <i>kattha</i> = 338.63 m ² .
Kipat	A form of communal tenure system in the past when existed in the eastern hills of Nepal. Only members of certain ethnic groups were permitted to hold land under this system.
Lal Mohar	The red colored royal seal order by the King of Nepal.
Maghi	A great festival of the Tharu in January. Later, during the

Word	Meaning
	Kamaiya period, they were bought and sold on this day.
Maseura	A payment in kind given by landlords to Kamaiya
Mauja	Mauja reflects the land area under Jamindari system of particular landlord. Several mauja comprised to form praganna, and several praganna comprised to tappa.
Mukta Kamaiya	Freed bonded-labourers, who were exploited under bonded system of labour in Nepal before 2000.
Organiya	Young unmarried girls who worked as bonded domestic servants in their landlord's house under the Kamaiya system.
Parbatiya/Pahari	Hill people'. The term refers to Nepali speaking people descended from the Khas.
Praganna	Administrative district comprising several villages under the supervision of the Chaudhari.
Raikar	The land that the state retains under its ownership while taxing the individuals who operate it or the land on which taxes are payable by the landholders to the official record.
Rakam	Unpaid and compulsory labour services due to government; abolished 1963.
Rana	The people who ruled Nepal under family based autocratic regime.
Rupees	Nepalese currency
Sanuki/Bhota	The debt that a Kamaiya takes on from landlords.
Shyah Mohar	The royal seal document which is written in black color.
Sukumbasi	Landless people
Tappa	Designation for a revenue collection area smaller than a praganna, used in the far western Nepal Tarai until the 20 th century.
Tharu	One of the ethnic groups of Tarai region of Nepal. Considered to be of law 'enslavable' status in the Nepali caste system, but not 'untouchable'. The vast majority of bonded labourers involved in the Kamaiya system of bonded labour are from the Tharu ethnic group.

CHAPTER – 01: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Kamaiya system is a bonded agricultural labour system in which workers enter into the system with verbal agreement with the landowner. The landowners were either descendent of Jamidars (landlords) or one who owns large amount of land, and workers usually the landless and poor peasants. Thus, Kamaiya are basically agriculture labourers who work for landlords. Though the contract basically was for a year, due to the lower wage payment, these Kamaiyas usually could not be able to feed their family (INSEC, 1992; Sharma & Thakurathi, 1998). Thus, Kamaiyas were indebted to the Jamindars and would be bounded to work until the repayment of debt called *Saunki*. The repayment of *saunki* was almost impossible and hence they fell into permanent debt bondage labour system for several years, and/ or even for generations. With debt bondage, it became extremely exploitative bondage labour system where labourer even indirectly sold from one landlord to another.

Kamaiya system is a traditional practice in Tharu communities namely Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts of western Nepal. It was considered a prestigious work and Kamaiya was considered as a member of the family. But, it became exploitive and inhumane with the involvement of hill immigrants (*Pahariya/ Parbatiya*) as landlords (Chaudhary, 2002; Dhakal et al., 2000). The Kamaiya were mostly from Tharu caste (*jat*) who are the aboriginal people of Tarai region of Nepal.

Though there were continuous movements of landless, squatters and Kamaiyas at grass root level agitating for their rights specially land right and freedom, the Kamaiya system became more of a public concern with the restoration of democracy in the country in 1991. Ultimately, the Government of Nepal (GoN), declared the freedom of Kamaiya on July 17, 2000, and enforced law making Kamaiya system illegal through the “Kamaiya Labour

(Prohibition) Act 2002” (GoN, 2002). Thereafter, Kamaiyas are known as Mukta Kamaiya (Nepalese parlance (freed-bonded labourer)). There are 32,509 Mukta Kamaiya households (HHs) identified by the GoN, of which 27,570 HHs are considered for rehabilitation since they did not have any land and house (MoLRM, 2009). Thus, Mukta Kamaiyas are mostly socially excluded and economically deprived segment of the society. They are the poorest of the poor having limited sources of income. This affects the social, economic, educational and health situation of their children and family members. It is the sole responsibility of the state to rehabilitate them. The major content of rehabilitation package undertaken by the state is the distribution of land, timber and cash for house construction and capacity development. However, this process is not yet completed.

Generally, the socio-economic status (SES) is the mirror of any household, community and society as a whole for their well-being. SES is particularly measured by the education, occupation and income. Additionally, consumption (food, non-food, durable and housing), wealth (assets and liabilities) and social capital are also considered as the attributes of socio-economic factors. SES has direct relation with education of offspring, social customs and traditions. Identification of socio-economic conditions in different interval of time (periodically) is crucial for knowing the real problem and appropriate interventions. With justified intervention in real context based problem, we can reduce the poverty and improve the quality of life of people like Mukta Kamaiya.

1.2 Research Problem

The actual number of Mukta Kamaiya is always debatable. It is often said that the declaration of freedom of Kamaiya was done without proper rehabilitation planning. Before freedom of Kamaiya, two studies were carried out by the government in two different political regimes. First one was carried out in 1985 during the Panchayat period (partyless autocratic

system ruled by the King). It indicated that there is no existence of bondage Kamaiya system, and recommended that Tharus have to improve themselves to improve their socio-economic conditions (MoLSW, 1985). The second one was in 1995 after the restoration of multiparty democracy system in 1991. This study confirmed that the Kamaiya system is exploitive and some Kamaiyas were bonded to landlords from three generations due to the debt called 'Saunki' (MoL, 1995). The latter one study was carried out due to the public attention drawn by the research carried out by Informal Sector Service Center (INSEC) in 1992, "Bonded Labour under the Kamaiya System". The GoN announced the rehabilitation package programme for the newly freed-bonded labourers. Land redistribution, house construction support and skill development are the major components of the rehabilitation programme. State land is to be a prime source of redistribution. The rehabilitation programme of government is supported by various governmental and NGOs. In spite of these efforts, the news in media and research reports showed that the socio-economic status of Mukta Kamaiya is still poor though it is better than under the Kamaiya system. A recent study carried out by Joshi (2006) in Dhangadhi municipality of Kailali and Bhatta (2010) in Magaragadhi, Dhadhawar and Kalika VDCs of Bardiya reflected that the condition of Mukta Kamaiya is very poor. They have large family size, poor education, poor housing, and deplorable living condition and food self-insufficiency. Similarly, Kvalbein (2007) concluded that an exclusively large numbers of Mukta Kamaiyas are engaged in casual labour and share cropping that improved the condition than the Kamaiya system, but the income is still volatile. Additionally, the rehabilitation process is too lengthy. The Government has decided to complete the rehabilitation by 15 June 2009 (end of Asar 2065 BS), but still, there are 25% Mukta Kamaiyas waiting for piece of land from a decade.

Due to the lengthy rehabilitation process of Mukta Kamaiyas, they must be involved in alternative survival means. Most of them have already started wage labour and *Bataiya* (share

cropping). School age going children are compelled to leave school and enter into the labour market. Children are employed in hotels, restaurant, agriculture, domestic work etc. Some of them are again bonded to work (Ban, 2002; Subedi et al., 2009). Kamlahri workers have increased after the freedom of Kamaiya (Ban, 2002), and it is strategy for getting land for share cropping and loan from the masters (Sharma, Basnyat, & G. C., 2001). Thus, after getting freedom from Kamaiya system, their children are again entering into other forms of exploitive system like Kamlahri.

It would be strange to the general reader that almost all Mukta Kamaiyas are from a particular caste (*Jat*) – Tharu. It is a fact that more than 85% of Mukta Kamaiya are from Tharu caste (MoLSW 1985; MoL 1995; INSEC 1992; Sharma & Thakurathi, 1998). A report presented by the representative of Backward Society Education (BASE) at United Nations (UN) conference in Geneva 2001 (Chaudhary 2001 cited in Cheria, Kandangwa, & Upadhyaya, 2005), 99 % of Mukta Kamaiyas were from Tharu. Before the 1950s, Tarai was heavily infected with malaria. At that time, Tharus were the people who cleared forest and rehabilitated the settlement. That is why Tharus are more precisely considered as “pioneer of civilization in the Tarai” (Chaudhary, 2003; Chaudhary, 2008; Panjiyar, 2000). After the eradication of malaria in Tarai, most of the Tharus of western Tarai were converted into landless and became Kamaiya of Pahari. It may be due to the cheating of Pahari, linkage of pahari with government officials, shy nature and innocent behaviour of the Tharus, and state policy (Chaudhary M., 2008; Benet 1978 cited in Guneratne, 2002).

The study on the impact of Kamaiya labour banning in the farm management of landlords can not be found. Jamindar and Jamindari system in Nepal was in function before the unification of Nepal (Panjiyar, 2000), but it became intense during the Rana regime with the introduction of new Jamindari frame work. During that time, most of the Jamindars were transformed into big landowners (landlords), and exploited Kamaiya as a labour input in

agriculture. The effect of the detachment of Kamaiya labourers from the agriculture economy of landlord is not understood. Jamindars are the key persons who are holding the significant agricultural land. It may change the farming system and farm management strategies of the landlords.

1.3 Rationale of the Study

There were some initiatives to enhance the capacity of Kamaiyas during the Kamaiya system, and soon after their freedom, various types of programme were being implemented by the government and non-governmental agencies as well. Huge amount of financial resources were invested (Ban, 2002; Sharma & Thakurathi, 1998) but the condition of Mukta Kamaiya is still not improving (Bhatta, 2010; Joshi, 2006; Kvalbein, 2007). There is no socio-economic study of Mukta Kamaiya after their freedom by the government agencies. The Government has been implementing the programme based on the information collected during 2000 whereas the NGOs implement projects either through their own generated data or government statistics. Information generated by the NGOs are mostly used for their own internal purpose. Some particular location specific research reports are also found regarding their socio-economic parameters of Mukta Kamaiya. As we know that socio-economy has dynamic characteristics, and it is the pillar for programme planning and implementation in any organizations. Thus, it is necessary to conduct a socio-economic study so that a broad picture of Mukta Kamaiya can be assessed in the present condition. It also tried to capture the perception of beneficiaries about the implemented programme and their preferred skills and activities for improving their livelihood.

After the prohibition of Kamaiya labour in agriculture economy, the other forms of labour arrangement in the market existed. Mukta Kamaiya entered into the wage labour

market whereas their children entered into child labour system business (hotel, restaurant etc.), domestic sector in the form of Kamlahri. It increased sharply after the Kamaiya freedom. Kamlahri system is residue of Kamaiya system. Several projects were implemented by the UN agencies like ILO/IPEC to eliminate child labour including kamlahri in the region. It is supposed to be continued even with the continuous effort from NGOs. An order of the Supreme Court prohibiting the use Kamlahris as child labour was issued in 2006. This study confirms and measures the Kamlahri child labours in the Mukta Kamaiya and tries to assess the situation of kamlahris.

Kamaiya system was an exploitive labour system in agriculture and the rural economy in terms of nature work, working hours, payment and freedom. The exploitation of the Kamaiya and making bondage labour was basically considered as a prestige culturally not tiller castes (Bahun, Chhetri, Thakuri) with few exceptions in Tharu landlords too. Generally, farmers (Kisan) also used to keep Kamaiya, who worked together and treated them as a member of household. But after the freedom of Kamaiya, all Kamaiya keepers (landlord and kinsan) were viewed negatively. Due to this reason, during the ten year (1996-2006) the Maoist conflict period, property of landlords were damaged, land was captured and landlords were internally displaced to city areas. There is no proper information about landlords and even kisan how they are managing their agriculture in the absence of Kamaiya labour. In the early freedom days, Mukta Kamaiya did not like to work for previous landlords (masters) even for attractive wages due to some prejudice and friction between them. As a result, the landlords started adopting some new technologies and machineries in the farming system. So, this study has tried to sketch out the key changes in agriculture farming system and farm management in connection with labour.

1.4 Objectives

The general objective of this study is to assess the status of Mukta Kamaiya and Jamindar after the abolishment of Kamaiya system

Specific objectives

- Assess education, income and employment of Mukta Kamaiya.
- Study prevalence of child labour in Mukta Kamaiya.
- Examine the implication of the abolishment of the Kamaiya system in farm management of Jamindars.

1.5 Motivation

This research is motivated by the need to improve the livelihood of Mukta Kamaiya, who spent their life in exploitive bondage labour from many generations. Mukta Kamaiyas are overwhelmingly from a particular Tharu caste. Tharu people have a great contribution to the conversion of marshy malarial Tarai into inhabitable region. They spent generation in the area that is why they have at least seven times more malaria resistance than the other people of Nepal (Modiano et al., 1991; Terrenato et al., 1988). Tharus are living in eastern as well as western Tarai they faced and still face problem of landlessness in varying degrees. The rate of losing land and facing disparity is greater in western Tarai of Nepal than other regions. Landlessness among the Tharu trapped them into Kamaiya system. Kamaiya system in Tharu society was traditional, it never became exploitive, feudal and bondage in nature within the same caste due to the close social-cultural ties. It is only due to the entry of new landlords specially the Pahari in the Tarai that it became exploitive. The land reform program is criticized to be largely ineffective and a failure in Nepal so there is no chance at all to benefit landless and tenant farmers of the Tharu society. Instead of providing land to the landless

Tharu people, it deprived them from theirland (Guneratne, 2002). Kamaiyaswer freed from slavery system and are in the last moment of rehabilitation process. Making access to the land and house is the major support packages. The land provided to the Mukta Kamaiya is very small with an approach of **“small people to small land”**. The land is not enough for food self-sufficiency and farming. Mukta Kamaiyas have good experience in agriculture but they do not have land. As an alternative, their profession is diverted to the non-farming sector. To improve their social and economic condition, not only the governmental agencies but other several I/NGOs are working for them. There is no doubt that the social and political consciousness is raised considerably, but economic improvement is still challenging. Several efforts are made for skill development, particularly in off-farm sectors. However, they are found to be of little success in the long run. Almost all political parties try to put Mukta Kamaiya in their manifesto. The situation of landlessness and Mukta Kamaiyas are recognized by the Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007. The constitution, in Article 33(i), obliges the state to be responsible for adopting a policy of ensuring socio-economic security and provide land to socially and economically backward classes, including landless, and Mukta Kamaiyas, tillers and shepherds (GoN, n.d.).

The motivation for this research is that it investigates the issues to be considered by the beneficiaries and development actors to improve the social and economic conditions of Mukta Kamaiya in Nepal.

CHAPTER - 02: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research method and approaches adopted to conduct the research and obtain the data to fulfil its objectives. A brief description of the method and approaches is made here to make conceptual clarity for the general reader and researcher himself. Research method is described in sub-section 2.2, the description of the study sites in 2.3, sampling in 2.4, approaches of designing questionnaire in 2.5, data collection method in 2.6, data processing in 2.7, limitation of the study in 2.8, and finally the concluding remarks in 2.9.

2.2 Research Method

A research method is a way of systemizing observation, describing ways of collecting evidence and indicating the type of tools and techniques to be used during data collection (Cavaye, 1996). There are different types of research methods such as survey, interview, case study, phenomenology, ethnography, action research, etc. According to the nature of this research, it needs both quantitative and qualitative information and hence mixed method has been chosen. For generating quantitative data, household survey was carried out. Similarly, interview and observation (participants and non-participants) was considered for generating qualitative information.

Mixed Method (Mix of Qualitative and Quantitative Method)

There is a debate over the use of qualitative and quantitative method of research. Researchers tried to point out the limitation of either method. Some, however, consider this kind of debate over and thus unproductive (Yin, 1993). Both research methods have great

importance in social science. Various authors try to distinguish these two approaches of study viz. qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative research is characterized as being ‘soft’ social science, interested in ‘mushy’ processes, and dealing with inadequate evidence. Quantitative research is considered hard-nosed, data-driven, outcome-oriented, and truly scientific. Most of qualitative data like perception and feeling etc. cannot be readily converted to numerical value, which the qualitative method deals with appropriately. However, qualitative research can also be hard-nose, data-driven, outcome-oriented, and truly scientific. Similarly, quantitative research can be soft and mushy and deal with inadequate evidence. These are attributes of good and poor research and not of a dichotomy between two types of research.

During the pre-1950s, qualitative and quantitative methods were used separately for study (mono-method studies). The mixed method comes under application with decades of debate (qualitative and quantitative) during 1990s. The mixed method is a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches to the research methodology of a single study or multiple studies. In mixed methods, qualitative and quantitative research can be carried out sequentially (qualitative then quantitative or vice-versa in different interval of time) and/or simultaneously/parallelly giving equal or dominating one of the approaches. In this method quantitative data may be converted into qualitative- “Qualitizing” and qualitative data into quantitative-“Quantitization” (Wonwuegbuzie & Dickinson, 2008).

2.3 Overview of the Study Districts

Banke and Bardiya lie in the mid-western development region of Nepal. The majority area of the districts is plain with some Churiya region (hills). These two districts, including Kailali and Kanchanpur, were known as *Naya Muluk* (New territory) when the area was regained by the East India Company in 1847 that was lost through Sugauli treaty of 1816. Nepalgunj is the district head quarter of Banke and is the biggest town of mid and far western

region of Nepal. It is one of the biggest custom offices. Politically Banke district is divided into 46 VDCs and one municipality, whereas Bardiya into 31 VDCs and one municipality (CBS, 2005a; CBS, 2006). By geographical area, Banke is slightly bigger than Bardiya where either district has more than 380 thousand population. Like in national scenario, it is dominated by Hindu religion (more than 75%) in both districts where as Muslims are significant in Banke (18.99%). Madhesi are dominating social group in Banke, whereas Tharu dominate in Bardiya district (52.61%). The population of Tharu in Banke is 16.42% (CBS, 2007a).

Two districts namely Banke and Bardiya are selected for this study (fig. 2.1 and 2.2). The reason behind this is to make the comparison between the two districts. Banke district is the oldest and largest city in the mid and far-western development region of Nepal. Large numbers of Mukta Kamaiya (43.5% of considered for rehabilitation) are living in the market center of Kohalpur Village Development Committee (VDC)¹. The Mukta Kamaiya of Kohalpur of Banke have easy access to labour market and other income generation opportunities. Bardiya district was selected because of the highest number of Mukta Kamaiya (44.60%), and is the least developed among the five Mukta Kamaiya districts (UNDP, 1998). These two districts constitute 52% of Mukta Kamaiya households.

In each district, one VDC is selected based on the highest number of households of Mukta Kamaiya (fig. 2). Kohalpur VDC of Banke and Kalika VDC of Bardiya were selected. In case of Bardiya, the Kalika VDC has second highest number of Mukta Kamaiya. However, it is going to be soon the largest because Mukta Kamaiyas are still being rehabilitated in this VDC due to the availability of government land (fallow land of Cotton Development Board).

¹ VDC is the lowest administrative unit in Nepal. Each VDC has nine wards, and in one ward there may be one or more than one settlement.

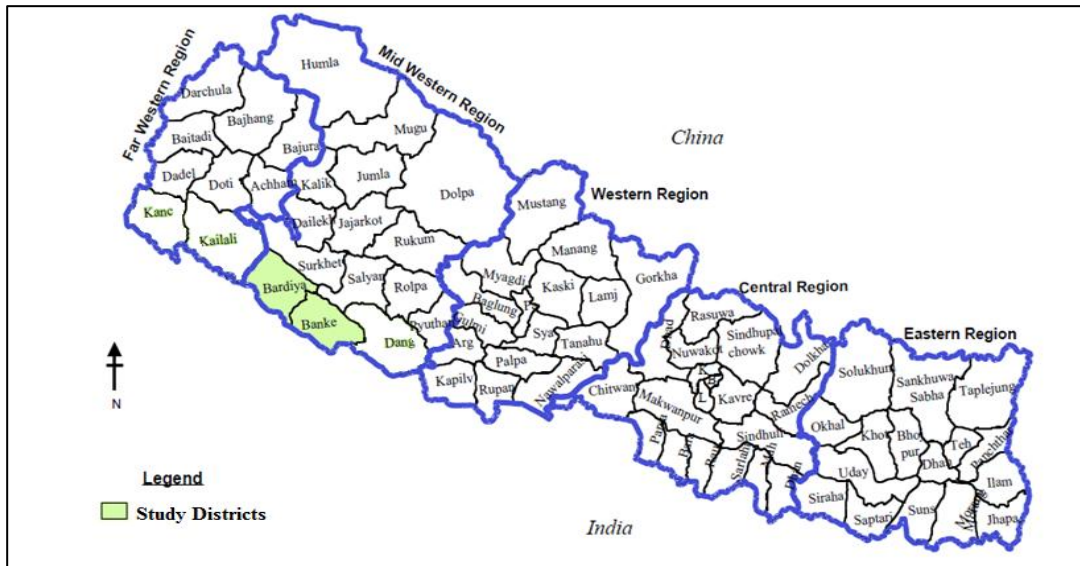
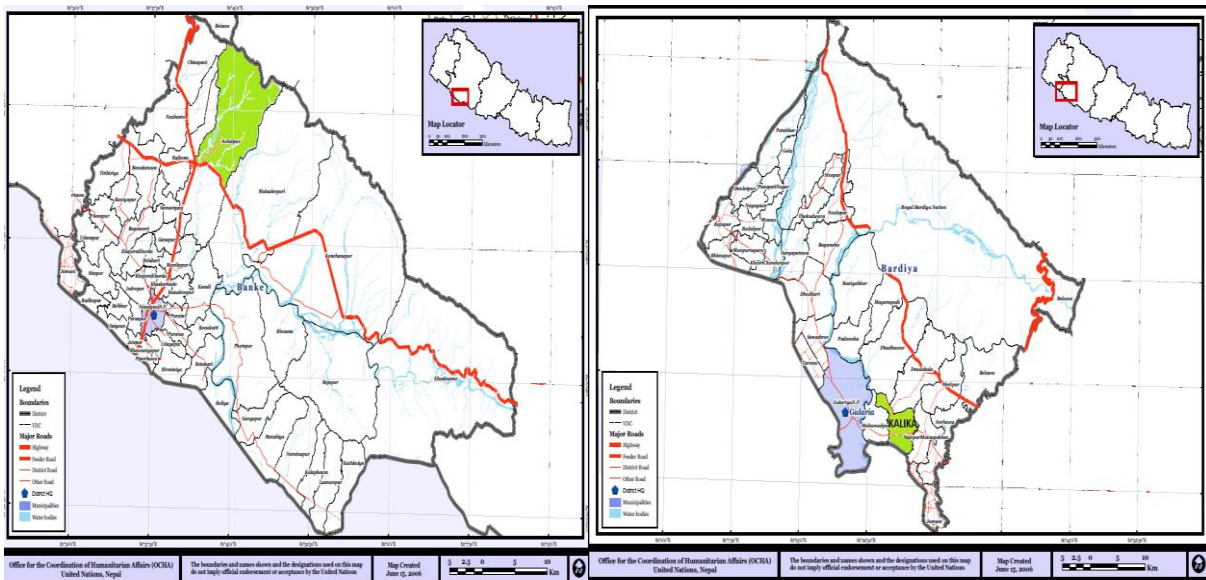


Fig. 2.1: Map of Nepal Showing the Study Districts.



Banke District

Bardiya District

Fig. 2.2: Map Showing Selected VDC for the Study

2.4 Sampling of Households (HHs)

Within the VDC, there are more than one Mukta Kamaiya settlements. There are three settlements (Loknagar, Ektanagar and Shantinagar) in Kohalpur VDC of Banke and four settlements (Tesanpur, Jantanagar, Prabhunagar and Shaktinagar) in Kalika VDC of Bardiya. Therefore HHs were selected from every settlement. Sixty HHs were randomly selected from

each district (from one VDC) with total of 120 HHs. The detail of sampling is shown in Table 2.1 below. HHs were selected through simple random sampling with lottery method. The name list of HHs who had received land (red and blue card holders) was obtained from respective District Land Reform Office (DLRO). However, I also purposively selected some HHs who havenot received land from DLRO (yellow and white card holders) who are living in the settlement and some left out Mukta Kamaiya too. I tried to cover all social groups (Tharu, Pahadi and Madhesi) for the survey. Sample is itself quite representative and inclusive. The sample constituted 7% Mukta Kamaiya households of Kohalpur VDC and 11 % of Kalika VDC. Overall, 9% of the Mukta Kamaiya households under my sampling has been considered for rehabilitation by the government.

Table 2.1: Overview of Random Sample of Mukta Kamaiya Households (HHs)

SN	Sample characteristics	Kohalpur	Kalika	Total	Per cent
1	Sample size	60	60	120	9
2	<i>Sample size based on classification of Mukta Kamaiya by GoN</i>				
2.1	Category 'A' /Red card holder	38	33	71	59
2.2	Category 'B' / Blue card holder	14	27	41	34
2.3	Category 'C' / Yellow card holder	2	0	2	2
2.4	Category 'D' / White card holder	1	0	1	1
2.5	Left out	5	0	5	4
3	<i>Ethnic view of sampled HH</i>				
3.1	Tharu	58	59	117	97
3.2	Pahari	1	0	1	1
3.3	Madhesi	1	1	2	2
4	<i>Sex distribution of Respondents</i>				
4.1	Male	38	35	73	61
4.2	Female	22	25	47	39

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Information regarding child labour and Kamlahri was obtained from the respective respondents of HH survey of Mukta Kamaiyas. On top of that, peer interview was made with six child labourers of which four were Kamlahris. All interviewed Kamalaris were from Tharu

caste, and were girls. The rest two child labourers were males, one was rickshaw puller and another was working in a hotel in Nepalgunj. A short discussion was also made with the rescued (returned) Kamlahris, who are now residing in the hostel for formal education in Gulariya of Bardiya.

Similarly, HHs survey of landlords was carried out to assess the implication of banning of Kamaiya system in the agriculture sector of landlords. For this objective, 30 landlords were purposively selected from Banke and Bardiya districts. All landlords were previously used to keeping Kamaiyas. Landlords were selected irrespective of district because landlords from both districts are mostly living in Nepalgunj. Particular attention was paid to select landlords from different social groups – Tharu, Pahadi and Madhesi. Thus, the sample constitutes 17 Tharu, 7 Pahadi, and 6 Madhesi landlords.

2.5 Approach of Designing Questionnaire

Questionnaires were designed for household survey of both Mukta Kamaiya and landlords. Questionnaire is an important tool for data collection. A well-designed questionnaire is important for quality data collection. Before designing the questionnaire, it is necessary to be acquainted to the data that should be included in it. The contents of the questionnaire were decided from the objectives mentioned above.

The next step for designing the questionnaire is selection of respondents. Since my general objective is to assess status of Mukta Kamaiya and landlords, the primary respondents are obviously Mukta Kamaiya and landlords. Additionally, I was also interested to know the situation of child labourers (Kamlahri). The general information was planned to be collected from the questionnaire for Mukta Kamaiya. However it was necessary to conduct direct interviews with Kamlahri to know their real situation. The next major respondents were landlords, who were previously used to keeping Kamaiya. This was done to know the effect of

the banning of Kamaiya system in farm management of landlords. Apart from this, discussion with civil society (NGO staff), social leader (village leader called Badghad/Mahatau), and local political leaders were conducted to know the socio-economic situation of Mukta Kamaiya. Government agencies are an important part of source of information both for primary and secondary. Brief information was also taken from the concerned government officials (District Agriculture Development Office, DADO; District Livestock Service Office, DLSO; District Land Reform Office, DLRO and Transport Management Office, TMO).

After identifying content of the questionnaire and group of respondents, the next step was to design the questionnaire. Questionnaires were designed for household survey of Mukta Kamaiya and landlord and interview (Kamlahri). Each group of respondents had separate questionnaire. Before designing the questionnaire, indicators for collecting data were defined, and based on the indicators, and questions were developed. Semi-structured type of questionnaire was made by providing possible alternative of the answers from the respondents. The questionnaire of Mukta Kamaiya is basically composed of two parts. Part A is composed of demographic, education, agriculture, livestock, income and expenditure and other information. Part B includes information regarding child labour (Kamlahri and others). It tries to capture the information on biography of child, reason for sending, working terms and condition, working environment, payment etc. Other two questionnaires i.e. for landlord and child labours interview were not grouped separately.

The designed questionnaire of Mukta Kamaiya and landlords were tested in the field before it was used. In case of Mukta Kamaiya, it was tested with two respondents whereas only one respondent was tested for landlord survey questionnaire. I myself was involved in the pre-testing of the questionnaire for good conformity and updating. Finally, slight adjustments were made and carried out for the HH survey.

2.6 Data Collection

This study is based on both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected through field visit from August 4, 2010 to September 27, 2010 (seven weeks). Field visit comprised of collection of both primary and secondary data including official reports, booklets and brochures, whereas desk research comprising collection and information related to Mukta Kamaiya and Tharu from different sources like journal, proceedings, books and internet etc. were used. A brief discussion is given below:

2.6.1 Primary Data Collection

Primary data collection includes the collection of first-hand information from the field. Primary information is collected through household survey, interview and observations.

a. Households Survey

For HH survey, semi-structured questionnaires were used. The advantage of semi-structured interview is that the possible responses of each question are included in the questionnaire so there is almost no chance in variation in response of respondents. There is very little flexibility in the way questions are asked or answered in the structured interview settings. Here, interviewer should develop “balance rapport”- sometime as friendly and sometime directive and impersonal (Frey & James, 1998). Face-to-face interview approach was applied to collect information through the questionnaire to get precise and correct information. The same process i.e. face-face-interview was also applied in case of landlords.

For HH survey, I was supported by two enumerators to collect information from Mukta Kamaiya. But, I interviewed all sampled landlords by myself. Enumerators were oriented on questionnaire and sent for data collection. Once the data collection process was completed then the filled questionnaire was reviewed and revisited to respondents again in case of incomplete and unclear information.

b. Interview

Basic information of child labour, specifically Kamlahri labour was though collected from the HH survey of Mukta Kamaiya, but the detail working terms and conditions and situation were directly collected by interviewing the concerned child. In every Tharu village, there is a tradition of using village leader called *Badghad/Mahatawa*. Normally, one badghad is found in a village and is annually selected by the villagers (head of household) through the participatory village meeting called *Khel/Jutela/Kachehari*. Badghad of each village were interviewed to know the general problem of the village and Mukta Kamaiya as a whole. Officials in the district as well as in regional level were also consulted to know the situation and condition of Mukta Kamaiya, Kamlahri, and other related issues. Officials of DLRO, Transport Management Office (TMO) and staff of NGOs (Friends of Needy Children/FNC, Kamasu Digo Bikas, Radha Krishna Jansewa Samaj/RKJS, Nirdhan Utthan Project and Bank etc.) were interviewed in specific issues related to the study. Unstructured open ended questions were asked and recorded. Field notes were made during key informants' interviews.

c. Field Observation

Field observation technique was used during the household survey and interview with Mukta Kamaiyas, Kamlahris, and landlordin the research area. The observation was focused on respondents, children, household physical condition, and physical accessibility during field work during the field study period. The observation did not confine only to observe the people concerned to the study, but it also included observation of social, cultural and household setting of the respondents (non-participant observation). The observed and discussed matters were noted as field notes.

2.6.2 Secondary Data Collection

Desk research is also very important in this study. Desk research is particularly based

on the secondary information. It is very important to conceptualize the research, choosing the appropriate research tools and method, having deeper understanding of the issues, and as a whole, making research more practical so that it contributes to the people for whom the research was conducted. Desk research is important in all stage of research i.e. before, during and after field work. Books, journal articles, proceedings and periodicals etc. were important sources of secondary data. Secondary data were also collected from the offices in the forms of reports (published and unpublished), brochures, leaflets etc. from the I/N/GOs during field visit and also from the internet.

2.7 Data Processing

Efficient and effective processing of raw collected data is important to get quality result. The approach that has been taken place is described briefly in following section. The data analysis and its assessment are discussed in chapter 4.

2.7.1 Quantitative Data Processing

Qualitative data were collected from the semi-structured and close ended interviews. The responses of the respondents were coded and entered in Microsoft Excel to create data base. The analysis was made as per the requirement to satisfy the research objectives. Descriptive statistics was used to analyse the data. t- Test was used to measure the significance of continuous data whereas chi-square (χ -square) is used for the discrete numbers to know the distribution of frequencies. Other analyses are made with the use of Microsoft Excel.

2.7.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative data were collected through open ended interviews and discussions with village leaders, official personnels, and literature reviews. The collected data were manually

processed since the data were manageable in volume.

2.8 Limitation of the Study

The main objective of this study was to know the current social and economic condition Mukta Kamaiyas who are considered the most disadvantaged and poor people of the region. This study also tried to assess the effect of the banning of the Kamaiya system in farm management of the previous Kamaiya keeper, i.e. landlords/ Jiamidars. This study tried to review and analyze the situation of Mukta Kamaiyas and their children; and landlord after the abolition of Kamaya system. It is a huge process to cover all the aspects and scenarios of the context. Thus, some of the issues are not considered in this study. This can be said to be limitation of this study, and summarized below:

- This study is based on the case study of one VDC from each district. Based on the findings of these two VDCs, it has tried to generalize the overall district context in the case of Mukta Kamaiya.
- In recent years, there have been numerous efforts to end the Kamlahri system in Tharu community and Mukta Kamaiya settlements too. NGOs are trying to rescue these Kamlahri from the masters. So, masters are reluctant with this type of activities. They are really not willing to introduce kamlahri to the outsiders. In this connection, I faced the same problem. I could not interview sufficient number of Kamlahris (I interviewed only four Kamlahris), those who are still working. The interviewed 4 Kamlahris, two responded that they are in better condition than when they were in their house. Kamlahris are both in good and bad conditions but most of them are in bad condition with low wage, excessive working hours, abuse etc. So, secondary information is considered to analyze the situation and arguing the issue.

- Only three non-Tharu Mukta Kamaiyas were interviewed in this study. Of them two represent the Madhesi and one Pahari. So, it is unwise to compare Tharu and non-Tharu Mukta Kamaiya due to the limited numbers.
- In the interview of landlords, the majority of them are managing their farming through share cropping. They argued that the production of major crops (rice, wheat and maize) has not increased due to the inadequate management from the share cropper. To conclude the efficiency and economics of share cropping without detail study, could misinterpret the existing share cropping institution and trend in the region.

2.9 Concluding Remarks

The approach followed for data collection is described in this chapter. Mixed method i.e. both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection are used in this study. Kohalpur VDC of Banke and Kalika VDC of Bardiya were selected for study in this research. The required indicators of the research were transformed in the questionnaire to conduct household survey of both Mukta Kamaiya and landlords. Similarly, interviews were applied to collect information from Kamlahris. Necessary literature and documents were collected for secondary data during field visit. Microsoft Excel is used for qualitative data processing whereas manual method is used to process qualitative data.

CHAPTER- 03: LITERATURE REVIEW

Kamaiya system is a typical Tharu tradition found in western Tarai of Nepal. To answer how the traditional system of Kamaiya changed into exploitive form, it becomes necessary to describe history of the Tharus of the Tarai region of Nepal. This chapter aims to review the historical perspective of Tharu from origin, tradition and culture of Kamaiya system. It also discusses the process of landlessness among the Tharu that ultimately trapped them into bondage labour system. This chapter gives indepth history of the Tharu society and Kamaiya labour system. It helps to conceptualize the theoretical background of the study. Literature review is concentrated in three specific issues. The first one is about the Tharus and landlessness process. It is covered sub-section 3.1, sub-section 3.2 is about slavery and Kamaiya system; Kamlahri child labor is discussed in section 3.3. The concluding remarks are found in the section 3.5.

3.1 Tharu People of Nepal

3.1.1 Origin and Distribution of Tharu

To describe the origin of Tharu, it is equally important to know nomenclature of Tharu, and how it was coined. There is different view regarding the origin of the term Tharu. Some say it is derived from the branch 'Stherbad' branch of Buddhism word 'Sther'. Other several versions like "Thalu" in local context leads Tharu; derived from the ancient Sanskrit word "Stharu"; after enlightenment of Lord Buddha Buddhist followere are divided into two branches; one of them were "Sthabir. Two Tharu scholars gave reliable evidence of this term. According to Panjiyar (2000) the term 'Tharu' is made up of '**Tha**' – **meaning Tarai** and '**Ru**'- **meaning permanent settlers**. It means Tharus are the indigenouse people of Nepal

living in Tarai. Similarly, Chaudhary(2008) argues that the word ‘Thau’ is coined from our own Tharu language having meaning ‘**Sthir**’. In the historical period, several peoples came into Tarai and were called ‘Tharu’ or staying people. Chaudhary further adds that this word is linked to ancient cultural songs. In the Sakhiya song “*Ek ban Naghal Dui Ban Chapal Teen Ban Raja bhaigael, **Thar***” Tharus used. Similarly, in the song of Krishan Ashtami “*Bhitarase nikaral Kanha bahari bhael **thar**; Bahari se nikaral Kanha Agana bhael **thar***” Tharus used. The meaning of the above first song is that the King crossed the first forest, started to cross second one and stopped (Thar) in the third forest. Likewise, the meaning of the second song Krishna – the goddess came out from house and stopped in balcony, again came out from balcony and then stopped in yard. Thus, it is believed that in the word ‘**Thar**’ suffix ‘**ru**’ is **added and word ‘Tharu’** is formed.

Tharu are the indigenous people of Nepal. Their main occupation is farming from immemorial. Tharus are the aboriginal people of Tarai and some inner Tarai part of Nepal extending from east Jhapa to west Kanchanpur of Nepal. The history of Tharu is believed to be so old. The origin of Tharu is initiated together with the human evolution period of Paleolithic period. Historical evidences prove the existence of Tharu in Tarai of Nepal. During the time of the Chinese pilgrims’ visit to India (5th to 7th centuries), the eastern area appeared have been much more cultivated than the western and central Tarai (Krauskopff, 2000). It is noteworthy that the oldest reference we have concerning the Tharu clearly associates them with *Mithila or Tirhut*. Hence, we read in the Muslim scholar Alberuni’s geographical presentation of India written in 1033: “Marching from Kanoj towards the East, you come to Bari...then Bihat. Further on, the country to the right is called Tilwat (Tirhut or Mithila), the inhabitants **Taru - people of very black colour like the Turks**. Then you come to the mountain of Kamu....Opposite Tilwat the country to the left is ...Nepal” (Sachau 1888:201 as cited in Krauskopff, 1999). According to Cox, ‘Tharu have lived in Nepal’s Tarai for over 600

years and were probably the first inhabitants of the region' (Cox 1990 as cited in Karki, 2002).

Tharus are often humiliated by being retreated to as the "People without history". There are still difficulties in concluding the origin of the Tharu since there are different views from scholars, and even different perceptions in Tharu community itself. Some of the views are as given below:

- Pradhan (1937) wrote that Tharus "originally lived in Ayodhya, the sacred place of Sree Ramchandra, the Hindu god and helped him searching his lost wife Sita in the jungle; or in another version: 'after the fall of the Buddhist dynasty of Kanauj, the Tharus descended from the hills and occupied Ayudhya".
- Some conventional scholars believe that Tharus originated in 'Thar' desert of Rajasthan, India. In 13th century, there was battle between Rajput and Allaudin Khilaji and Akbar, so women escaped to the jungle of Nepal with their servants. Most of Rajput male were killed so their women were married to their servants. The offspring were then called Tharu. This is applicable in case of the Rana Tharu of far-western Nepal where still Rana women give food to their husband by touching with foot and husband are not allowed to enter in kitchen during cooking. But, it is not realistic because, it is difficult to believe during escape, there were no male.
- According to Nepali scholar, Acharya (1954) argued that Tharu are not Rajput clan, but are from Kshatriya. The origin of Tharu is Mangolia from where they entered into the Himalayan region thereby Tarai of Nepal.
- D. N. Majumdar carried out an anthropometric and blood group survey among the Tharus. He concluded that Tharu are definitely Mangoloid tribes and they could not be placed in any other constellation of tribes and castes of the province Indo-Aryan or Austroloid. Majority of the Tharus possess 'B' and 'AB' blood group (Majumdar, 1942).

- Diwedi (1955) has stated five reasons of why Tharus can be regarded as the descendants of the ancient Sakyas of Kapilvastu. He mentioned the following points:
 - There is no other Sakyavansi Kshatriya in and around Kapilvastu, the kingdom of the Sakyas.
 - The Tharus are the only ancient tribe, which is found in greater numbers in Tarai, and are indigenous people. There are no other tribes or castes in the region that can claim to be the ancient tribe of Tarai.
 - After observing the current development of this tribe, it becomes clear that this tribe originated in and around Kapilvastu. They were compelled to migrate towards the northern hills and east and west due to the population pressure in the south; and today they have emerged as a new tribe or caste.
 - The remnants of the traditional rites and rituals of the Kshatriyas are still found among the Tharus.
 - The priests or Brahamins who have been performing the rites and rituals of the Tharus concur that they are Kshatriyas (warrior class).
- Most of the Tharu scholars (Chaudahry, 2003; Chaudhary, 1999; Chaudhary, 2008; Chaudhary, 2007; Singh, 1988; Singh, 2010) are trying to prove that Tharus are Mangoloid by genetically and offspring of Lord Buddha. The Suddhodhan (father of Buddha) is the king of Kapilvastu who is Tharu. Licchivi and Bajra in Magadh of India attacked and killed large numbers of Koliyas and Sakya. Sankracharya is the Hindu priest who pushed out several Buddhists from Nepal and started Hinduization in Buddhist people (Chaudhary, 1991). Tharus are still not fully adopted into Hindu culture and rituals. Even scholar like Singh (2010) tried to link Sen King of Palpa to the cousin of Lord Buddha, to imply Sen are also the Tharus and the title 'Sakya' is

derived from the Tharu word 'Sakhuwa/ Sak' *Shorea robusta* tree hugely found in Kapilvastu and Tarai region of Nepal.

So from the findings of different scientists and scholars, at least it can be conclude that the ***Tharu are not historyless people, but they are faceless in the history.*** Whatever and wherever the origins of Tharus, they are living in Tarai region of Nepal together with the Kathmandu valley domestication by Gopal Vanshi (Cow header) and Mahispal (Buffalo header), Sakya, Koliyas, Briji etc. people who lived in Tarai of Nepal, and are the ancestors of the present Tharus of Nepal.

It is difficult to establish interrelation to trace out the immigration of Tharu either from Nepal to India or vice-versa. Srivastava(1999) described that before the cultivation in present new territory of Nepal, there were some settlement of Rana Tharu in Nainital districts, and other Tharu in Champaran and Gorakhpur districts of India. Similarly, Panjiyar (2000) described during the early 19th century that some Tharu Jamindar moved to Indian Territory due to the appointment of new jimidar to exploit Tharus. Though the king ordered them to return by promising to respect customary right, most of headmen, Chaudhari, did not return from Rajpur, Gorakhpur, India. Even after the Sugauli treaty, the British government brought some Tharus from Dang to Gorakhpur to rehabilitate malarious area by seeing resistancy in Tharu people. Guneratne(2002)believed that whatever the cultural, linguistic and geographical difference of Tharus in borders of Nepal and India, the British authority in India and Nepalese state treated them as a single endogamous group. But it is at least clear, that the Dangaura Tharu (originated from Dang) and moved to new territory of Nepal after getting it from the East India Company during 1840s. Guneratne further stated that in part of Nepal, the existence of Tharu people in new territory of Nepal is not available. It is available only after 20th to mid-20th century. Large landowners in the far western Tarai district of Kanchanpur

were encouraging Tharu from Dang to settle in the district to provide them with. His justification is not valid because the Rana, Kathariya and Desauri Tharu were already settling in those districts. It may be valid in case of Dangaura Tharu who migrated from Dang to the further west because of extreme exploitation of landlords and food insecurity.

3.1.2 Identity of Tharu in Tarai

Tharu are distributed around Nepal and Bihar, Uttar Pradesh (UP) and Uttaranchal Pradesh (UA) of India. The distribution of Tharu in India and Nepal is shown in figure 3.1. The major settlement of Tharu in India is Champaran, Gorakhpur, Gonda and Nainital districts. Tharus were always settled in the Tarai (foot of mountains). Historically, immigration between India-Nepal and vice-versa was common. In late 18th century, the Nepalese government encouraged to immigrate Indian people in Tarai of Nepal for making Tarai inhabitable. This policy continued up to the mid 20th century. Guneratne noted that the Tharu of Gonda districts drastically reduced due to the immigration in Nepal after handed over Naya Muluk to Nepal (Benet 1978 cited in Guneratne, 2002). Similarly, there was battle during 1805; Chaudhari, along with Tharu tenants, moved to Gorakhpur due to the appointment of new revenue collector that disturbed 'customary right' of Chaudhari. Though the king withdrew his decision, most of the headmen, Chaudhari, did not return from Rajpur of Gorkhpur. Likewise, the British settled village in Binayakpur and Gyanpur of Gorakhpur, India, from Dang-Deokhari of Nepal in 1820 (Rankin, 1999). However, though the territory of the country was changed, the Tharus never left the Tarai. Guneratne (2000) believed that whatever the cultural, linguistic and geographical difference of Tharus in borders of Nepal and India, the British authority in India and Nepalese state treated them as single endogamous group. Tharus of India and Nepal having "We Feeling" that is reflected from the affiliation of the **Bharatiya Tharu Kalyan Maha Sangh**, based in Champaran, Bihar to the Tharu

Kalyankarini Sabha (TKS) of Nepal [Tharu Welfare Society, TWS]. **Rana Tharu Parishad [Rana Tharu Council]** based in Nainital district jointly sent representative to TKS.

The majority of the Tharus are living in 23 districts from eastern Jhapa to west Kanchanpur Tarai and inner Tarai districts of Nepal. According to the CBS of Nepal (2007b), Tharus people are in fourth position after Chhetri, Brahmin and Magar. Tharu constitutes 6.8% of the 28 million population of Nepal. Though the population census in Nepal started in 1911 A.D., before 1991, population was not defragmented on the basis of caste and ethnicity. Distribution of Tharu ethnic group in Nepal is shown in Table 3.1 and figure 3.1 below. There is substantial regional variation among the Tharu in terms of housing, language, culture and tradition from east to west. Tharu can be further divided into sub-caste/sub-group (*up-jati*). Mostly, Tharu are categorized based on their native habitat. People living in eastern part of Koshi River are called 'Kochila' probably considering the name of the Koshi River. Tharu of Sunsari, Morang and Jhapa are also called Lampuchiya/ Morangia Tharu. Similarly, Tharus of Parsa are called Lampuchuwa Tharu, and differ from Lampuchiya of Sunsari, Morang and Jhapa. Likewise, Tharu of Chitwan are called 'Chitawane Tharu' Tharu in and migrated from Dang and Deukhori valleys are called 'Dangaura Tharu'. Similarly, there are some specific Tharu sub-groups like Desauri found in western Tarai, Kathariya Tharu found across the Karnali river of Bardiya and Kailai districts. Regarding 'Kathariya Tharu' it is believed they were used to cut and transport timber for East India Company. Hence, it is believed that they are very limited in number and supposed to come from India (Srivastava, 1999). Rana Tharu are found in Kailali and Kanchapur districts of Nepal, and the plain part of Nainital district of India. It is believed that Rana Tharus originated from India. They are the offspring of Rajput female and servant male (Srivastava, 1999).

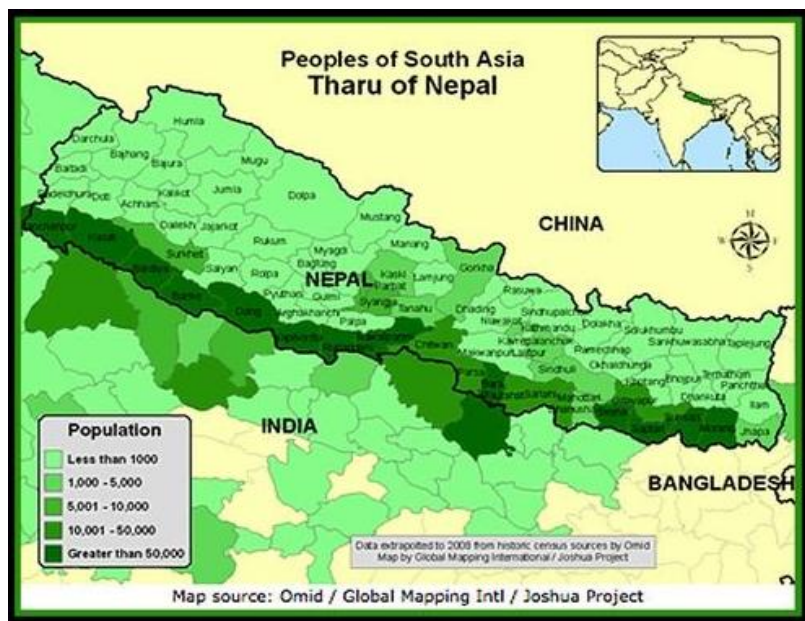


Fig. 3.1: Map Showing Distribution of Tharu in Nepal Including India.

Table 3.1: Tharu in the Censuses of Nepal, 1981-2001

District	1981 (Language)		1991 (Ethnicity)		2001 (Ethnicity)	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Jhapa	1,461	0.30	9,600	1.62	9,588	1.51
Morang	33,772	6.32	60,391	8.95	63,673	7.55
Sunsari	44,704	12.97	75,079	16.20	87,523	13.99
Udaypur	11,341	7.10	18,369	8.30	22,323	7.76
Saptari	35,511	9.37	61,640	13.24	73,161	12.83
Siraha	3,541	0.94	20,617	4.47	27,252	4.78
Dhanusha	33	0.01	1,697	0.31	3,909	0.58
Mahottari	1,144	0.32	7,522	1.71	9,025	1.63
Sarlahi	7,941	1.99	15,359	3.12	20,225	3.18
Rautahat	6,337	1.91	21,821	5.27	27,502	5.05
Bara	16,356	5.13	49,389	11.88	63,259	11.31
Parsa	246	0.09	32,701	8.78	40,970	8.24
Chitwan	31,179	12.01	45,392	12.80	60,121	12.74
Nawalparasi	15,710	5.09	73,494	16.85	92,779	16.48
Rupandehi	482	0.13	55,803	10.69	74,888	10.57
Kapilvastu	13,431	4.97	43,709	11.76	60,574	12.57
Dang	84,061	31.56	111,574	31.48	147,328	31.86
Banke	17,519	8.53	45,564	15.95	63,344	16.42
Bardiya	73,876	37.12	153,322	52.81	201,276	52.60
Surkhet	1,610	0.97	4,941	2.19	5,631	2.09
Kailali	120,534	46.74	206,933	49.52	269,521	43.70
Kanchanpur	22,369	13.24	70,544	27.35	88,155	23.33
Total	543,158	3.63	1,185,461	6.45	1,512,027	6.53

Source: CBS (1981 & 1991) cited in Guneratne (2000, p. 165) and CBS (2007b)

Note: The sum of Tharus in the districts listed in the table does not equal the figure for total Tharu, which includes those Tharus who have settled outside the Tarai in Kathmandu and elsewhere.

Tharus have no own separate language. It is mixed with whom they came in contact (Gautam & Thapa Magar, 1994). It is a mixture of Hindi, Khas, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi and even Urdu. Language variation among Tharu sub-group is according to the dominating population of the region. Maithili language is dominant in eastern Tharu (Sunsari, Morang, and Jhapa) whereas Bhojpuri is dominant in central region (Bara, Parsa). Chitwan Tharu have their own language. Similarly, Tharu of Nawalparasi, Rupandehi and Kapilvastu are inclined towards Awadhi. Likewise, Tharu of mid and far-western region of Nepal mostly speak, Dangaura language mostly mixed with Khas language. However, Kathariya and Rana Tharu have their own language that is inclined more towards the Hindi language. The connecting language of Tharu from east to west is either Nepali and/or Hindi. Though there is minor variation with the tharus of Nepal, the landlessness and backwardness has drawn the attention of Tharu elite throughout the country and increased feeling of caste/ethnicity (Guneratne, 2002).

The civilization of eastern Tarai has begun earlier than in western Tarai. The development of Tarai region of Nepal is faster due to the border attachment with India. The major old cities of Tarai Nepal say for Biratnagar, Birgunj, Bhairahwa, and Nepalgunj are situated in the border of India, and were developed as per the British interests. Nepalese east-west territory is linked only after the construction of bridges in the major rivers and opening Mahendra Highway (Mahendra Rajmarga) after 1950s. Mahendra Highway is only a single road that links Nepal from east to west, it was lastly completed around 1990s. The new territories of Nepal also called *Naya Muluk* (Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur) were regained by Nepal in 1846 from British East India Company. It was lost through the Sugauli treaty in 1816². During the period from 1816 to 1846, the current Naya Muluk was used for

² The sugauli treaty is an official agreement between the British East India Company of India and Rana government of Nepal. Through this treaty, Nepal lost its vast area to the British East India Company. The span of Nepal before that treaty is called 'The Greater Nepal'.

cattle and buffalo herding by Yadav and other Awadh people of India (Benet 1978 cited in Guneratne, 2002). In this context, the western part of Nepal (the present mid and far western region of Nepal) is always backward in terms of education, economy and infrastructural development.

In my case study districts, mostly Dangaura and Desauri Tharu are residing. Dangaura Tharus emigrated from Dang-Deukhuri valley whereas Desauri Tharus are considered to be aboriginal Tharu of the area and probably came from India. Thus, my study deals with a specific case of Dangaura and Desauri Tharu regarding their socio-cultural tradition, landlessness process and other issues rather than the whole Tharus of Nepal. Kamaiya and Kamlahri system was and still is found only in the Tharus of these five districts.

3.1.3 Tarai, Tharu and Landlessness

Tharus are nature friendly and have always been paying their due respect to nature. Tharu worship land as a “Bhuihar” deity. According to the traditional belief of Tharu, the land is created by *Gurbaba* (the first god of Tharu) as an ‘*Ammar Mati*’ (divine earth) and the god has gifted land to them. Therefore, Tharus never developed the notion of private ownership of land and believed it to be common property where the tiller reaps the benefits (Dhakal et al., 2000). There is no doubt that the Tharu are the pioneer and first settlers of Tarai region of Nepal. When tracing the history of Tharu and their relationship with land in Tarai, it goes beyond the unification of Nepal. Here, I am interested in the customary land right of Tharu particularly in eastern (Saptary, Udaypur), Central (Bara, Chitwan) and western (Dang) of Nepal. Before the unification of Nepal, Chaudhari were assigned from local Tharu people as Jimidar of the village to collect land tax (Regmi, 1977). At that time, the Chaudhari enjoyed land grants, wider ranges of facilities including judiciary power. The Chaudhari were loyal and responsive to the customary practice of the Tharu people. It is proved by the several land

rights granted to the Tharus of eastern Nepal. During the period of Sen Dynasty (Vijayapur), Shyaha mohar³ was issued to Ranapal Chaudhari by King Mahapati Sen. Several Tharus of eastern Nepal had received Royal sealed documents of granting land and were given responsibility to collect taxes, populated area and bring land under cultivation. Hem Chaudhari of Saptari district alone had received 21 lal mohar (red seal) during Shah Dynasty (Panjiyar, 2000). The central authority delegate its power not only to the Chaudhari, but also to the priest (*Gurau/Guruwa or Dhami*) to protect an area from epidemics, wild beasts and other threats linked to the Tarai ecosystem. In 1807, Tetu Gurau was granted rights to a village in Chitwan to protect the people from the threats of elephants, tiger, evil spirits, diseases and epidemics and to cultivate the land. Similarly, Ganesh Dhami of Udaypur in 1842, Prasuram Chaudhari of Dang-Deukhari in 1838 had granted land and local authority to manage the village. The central authority even gave Lal mohar to regional priest (desbandhya guruwa) in Dang who was responsible for the prosperity of the whole praganna (Guneratne A. , 2002).

During the Rana period, Chaudhari were subsequently replaced by hill migrants as a Jimidars with the land grants as birta⁴ and jagir⁵. Jimidari system became more intense after 1861 with the introduction of basic framework of Jimidari that allows Jimidar to one-tenth part of reclaimed land and tax free for 10 years. The Jimidari framework established hill migrants as Jimidars with the granting of one-tenth of land with 10 years tax exemption in the name of reclaiming waste and/ or forest land that is one day walk from the settlements and which peasants were unable to reclaim through their own labour and resources. If his offer was accepted, he was permitted to produce settlers from India, or else divert cultivators from *Birta* lands (Regmi M. C., 1977). It will be more clear and easy to understand historical attendance of Jimidari system, rehabilitation in Tarai after the eradication of malaria etc. In the

³ The royal seal document which is written in black color. The red colored royal seal order is called Lal Mohar.

⁴ Tax free land given by the Rana ruler to their family members and relatives. Birta system of land was abolished during the 1950s.

⁵ Land given to higher level civil servants and military forces by the Rana rulers instead of salary, this system of land was also abolished after the 1950s.

following sub-section, it is described briefly.

3.1.3.1 Jimidari System in Nepal

In the contemporary world including Nepal, land is considered as one of the most important productive resources that not only determine the economic aspect of people, but also determine the social hierarchy and political power (Karki, 2002; Lumsalee, 2002; Regmi, 1977). So the elite and rich people land always wanted to capture land in the history of Nepal especially in Tarai due to the productive land and accessibility to India. In early days, life in Hill was difficult due the accessibility and food deficit. Hill people wanted to migrate to Tarai, but due to the hot, humid and malaria, it became impossible for them.

Jimidars are the local intermediaries between land owners and institution concerned with collecting land tax (land revenue office) before and after the Rana regime. However, it was more prevalent during the Rana period. Jimidar were non-official persons and they had further intermediaries to assist them. Jimidars were concentrated in Tarai region whereas *Talukdar* in the hill region of Nepal. The Jimidari system in Tarai emerged in 1861-62, when the revenue administration system was recognized with the objective of extending its base to the village (Regmi M. C., 1999). The Talukdari system was similarly recognized in the hill districts between 1820 and 1837. Jimidars and Talukdars, thus, functioned as intermediaries between individual landowners and the official revenue administrative machinery at the district level.

Though, the terms Jimidar and Zamindar are used interchangeably in common use but historian Mahesh Chandra Regmi, tried to differentiate them. According to him, the term Jimidar is derived from the Arabic term *Jimmadar* or functionary, whereas the Indian term *Zamindar* is Persian origin and means a landowner. The term was used to denote landlords whose rights “extended over lands occupied by the number of persons” – that is the population of a village or township (Regmi, 1977). Though, the essence of Jimidar and

Zamindar is different in Indian context, it reflects the same meaning in Nepalese context. Historically, Jimidari system was considered as a big property because it can be inherited, sub-divided, sold, mortgaged, and fragmented like any other form of property. Apart from land revenue collection, Jimidars had also property rights over land and they used free labour for farming their own land. In Jimidari system, Jimidar were granted land as Jirayat. It means Jimidar were not only the intermediaries, but, at the same time, they established land ownership relation, hence Jimidar can also be considered as the Jamindar (landlord) in the context of Nepal. Regarding the authority and power of Zamindar, they also used free labour and utilize their power within their praganna⁶ and mauja⁷. In my research, I am treating Zamindar/Jamindar and Jimidar interchangeably. In the past, Jimidar had mostly two main functions. First one was to collect land revenue. Secondly as agriculture rural finance for peasant. **Jimidars must have to submit land tax to district revenue office by May 13 of each year;** the shortfall was made up by auctioning his Jimidari lands. Basically, Jimidar received 5 to 10% of cash from total collected land tax. But more importantly, he got Jirayat land as his personal demesne. Usually, Jirayat land was cultivated directly by Jimidar, but there was obligation to contribute free labor by every household of the village. During this period, peasant farmers used state owned land called Raikar for which they had to pay land tax. In addition to paying land tax, peasants had to pay unpaid compulsory labour to landlords and state structures. The unpaid labour was six days in months with total of 72 days in a year (Regmi, 1977).

3.1.3.2 Process of Landlessness in Tharu with Special Reference to Western Tarai

During Shah and Rana periods, Tarai was always colonized and viewed as a source of income. Tarai was an important source of income for Rana rulers. The revenue that the

⁶ Praganna is the administrative unit under Jamindari system. In a praganna, there might be several village/ mauja- the sub-unit of praganna.

⁷ Mauja usually refers to a village in the administrative structure of Jamindari system.

Nepalese state derived from the Tarai came from four sources: first and most important, land revenue paid by cultivators; second, duties imposed on the felling, sale, and export of timber to British India; third, sale of elephants; and last, fees paid by herdsmen who brought their cattle from India to graze on Tarai pasture during the dry season(Guneratne A. , 2002). In 1834, Brian Houghton Hodgson, the British Resident in Kathmandu, estimated Tarai revenue from these four sources at almost a million rupees (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Estimated Amount of Revenue in the Nepal Tarai in 1834 (NRs)

Land revenue	600,000
Timber	300,000
Elephant and Ivory	71,000
Pasturage and sundries	20,000
Total	991,000

Source: Guneratne (2002)

Malaria was the most threatening disease in the Tarai region of Nepal, and India. Sir Ronald Ross discovered that the Anopheles mosquito was the carrier of the dreaded malaria virus, leading to his Nobel Prize in 1902. It is reported that the annual death from malarial fever was 30,000/annum just before the implementation of malaria eradication project in India, Gorakhpur (border of Nepal) was considered as the most unhealthy part of the district. “The death due to fever during 1919-1921 was 84 % and 64 % in subsequent year” (Elliott, 1959 cited in Guneratne, 2002:24). Tharus were the only people who could thrive in Tarai. It was proved by L. Terrento and his colleagues who analyzed the records of Nepal Malaria Eradication Organization (NMEO). They concluded that the historical data and their epidemiological findings provide evidence for very substantial and peculiar ability of Tharu to resist mortality and morbidity from malaria. Tharus have at least seven fold lower incidence of malaria based on the past record (Modiano et al., 1991; Terrenato, et al., 1988). It proves that Tharus are the Bhumiputra (landlords) who civilized the area by reclaiming dense forest and wild lives like tiger, elephant, poisonous snakes etc. But the central authority during the

Shah and Rana periods hardly recognized their efforts. The King and Prime Minister regularly granted large tracts of land to themselves, their families and *Bhardars* (members of nobility). Simultaneously, the Rana administrators promulgated new frame work of Jimidari system in 1861 to increase revenue from land. This system gradually replaced Chaudhari and established new Jimidars mostly from hill people. Landlessness process in Tharu community started from Shah and Rana period that became more intense after eradication of malaria due to the high influx of land hungry parbatiya people from hills. Landlessness of Tharu is not in a particular region, but in the entire nation from east to west. However, more measurable and plight was in Chitwan, Dang and Nayamuluk. In my research, I focus mainly the context of Nayamuluk as my study districts Banke and Bardiya lies in the Nayamuluk. But, the history of landlessness in Tharu of Nayamuluk began from Dang since the majority of the people living in the area emmigrated from Dang. Tharus were and are being detached from their land systematically with state policy, programmes and several invisible means like cheating, fraud etc. In this sub-section, I list out some convincing facts and events that made Tharu land poor, and landless in their own cultivated land. For clear understanding, the time period is categorized into pre and post Rana period.

a) Rana Period

Before the eradication of Malaria in Tarai (1950s), the Rana governments encouraged the people from Hill districts of Nepal, and even from India to settle in Tarai. But the people from Hill were not interested to take land in the hot, humid, and malarial Tarai. The state took official policy to emigrate Indian citizen from the adjacent districts in 1768. It was not succeed in earlier days but was increased abruptly in late the 19th and early 20th centuries. Any Indian who came into Nepali territory along with his family was given a free allotment of agricultural land in addition to a home site and free supplies of building materials for

constructing a hut. Once he was settled in Nepal along with his family, he could be appointed as a Jimidar. This system was banned only during the 1920s(Guneratne A. , 2002). It reflects the scarcity of labour in Tarai since the Tharus were only the people living there. Tharus were semi-nomadic. They used to practice shifting cultivation due to the availability of sufficient land. Due to the following possible reasons the Tharu become gradually landless:

- Nepal had lost vast area through Sugauli treaty in 1816 after the Anglo-Nepal war (1814-1816). With this treaty, some people also believe that Nepal became ‘Semi-colonial’ by British ruler. The Rana ruler of Nepal used to accept the terms and conditions of British. Jung Bahadur, the first Rana prime minister of Nepal, received present Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts as a gift from the British East India Company during 1858 for helping the British to suppress the Indian army uprising against the British in Lucknow. Jung Bahadur sent 5,000 Gurkhali troops and they bravely suppressed the movement. After receiving the land, the King Surendra granted half of the nayamuluk to Janga Bahadur and the other half to his six brothers. Subsequently, the Rana rulers granted land in Tarai to their relatives and family members as Birta. Not only this, land was also granted as Jagir to high ranking army and government officials from whom mostly Rana, Thakuri and Brahmin benefited. The land grants were made without considering the local people who were cultivating it. The local people mostly Tharus were pushed out of their land (Chaudhary, 2008). Jamindars never came in their land due to the afraid of malaria before 1950s. They used to come from hill to Tarai in the winter season because of low severity of malaria in the winter. The Jamindars used their organs like Patwari, Kothar etc. to cultivate the land from the peasants. In this process, the Tharu became tenants from landowners. The tenants were excessively exploited in the name of *begari* (curvee labour) to construct state as well as personal property of landlord.

- When the land was surveyed in 1946-47, the landlords illegally claimed a majority of the land, and almost all the prime land. They left less than 20% to the tillers. They used the survey to legalize their claim to more land (Cheria, Kandangwa, & Upadhyaya, 2005).
- During the Rana period, the Jimidari frame work gave dual function to the Jimidar. The usual one is to collect land revenue and the additional one is acts as a source of loan/entrepreneur to the tenants for clearing new land i.e. startup cost of agriculture and before the production of crops. This system debt the illiterate and innocent Tharus. It was frequently said that the creditor would provide small loan but put some zero after taking thumb print(Guneratne, 2002).

b) Post Rana period

During the Rana period, Tarai was kept as natural boundary to protect Nepal. Rana ruler did not want to develop it. After the fall of Ranas in 1951, Nepal was opened for international support. International support from the USA, India and China were measurable. With the support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the World Health Organization (WHO), malaria was eradicated from Tarai. In Chitwan, with the implementation of Rapti Valley Development Project (RVDP) by the USAID along with the rehabilitation of natural disaster displaced people (1950s) of Hills in Chitwan and thereafter the local socio-political dynamics lead Chitwane Tharu land poor and landless (Shrestha, 2001 cited in Willy, Chapagain, & Sharma, 2009). Similarly, in Dang, large numbers of Tharu became landless and were pushed to migrate from their original habitat to *Budhan* (the new territory/ Nayamuluk or present Banke, Bardiya, Kailai and Kanchanpur districts of Nepal) due to the over exploitation by the landlords, and evicted tenants to escape from tenancy right

of land reform programme in 1964.

- Immigration into Nayamuluk increased after the eradication of malaria. The immigration of Tharus from Dang to Nayamuluk increased with the implementation of Land Reform Programme in 1964 during the period of King Mahendra. As this programme provisioned tenancy right and fixed upper ceiling level of land to Jamindars, the prevailing relationship between the landlords and the peasants was disturbed. When some of the peasants moved to acquire tenancy rights, the local landlords felt threatened. As a result, many Tharus were evicted and displaced from their native place, Dang, to further west Budhan i.e. Nayamuluk. According to Tomas Cox, about 15,000 Tharus were rendered completely destitute, and at least 6,000 migrated out of Dang to districts further west (Cox 1990 as cited in Guneratne 2002, p. 95). A number of factors (push-pull) were responsible for propelling the large-scale immigration that took place in 1967. The local “resettled Tharus” note that pull and push factors were responsible for their migration to Budhan area (Dhakal et al., 2000).

Table 3.3: Push-Pull factors for migration of Dangarura Tharus

Pulling Factors	Pushing Factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relative in Burhan • Plenty of wood supply • Hope of acquiring and owning land • Plenty of land available for the squatters • Lure of setting in the largely unregistered barren land • Resettlements programme of government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not able to pay the saving fund (dharma bhakhari)⁸ • Depletion of fuel wood supply • Loss of tenancy security • Depleting of land resources in contrast to increasing population pressure • Badly abused and exploited by the landlords • Separation with family members • Disputes with the landlords and hence frequent changing of landlord

Source: Dhakal et al. (2000, p. 41) .

⁸ Scheme initiated by the government along with the land reform programme as part of resource mobilization wherein surplus grain of each house in the village is set aside as storage for use during the lean season.

- After the eradication of malaria in the 1950s, the influx of Hill migrants in Tarai increased spontaneously. According to McDonaugh in Dang, “Whereas in the 1912 revenue settlement most of the landlords were Tharus, by the late 1960s ... In Dang by this date some 80% of the Tharus were tenants and the great majority of these tenants had little or no land of their own. Around 90% of the land cultivated by Tharus tenants belonged to Paharis”(McDonaough 1997 cited in Guneratne, 2002, p. 95).
- The Land mapping during the 1960s and 1970s in Western Tarai region, even did not recognize Tharus as having land. Thus, they had to leave their existing cultivating land (Wily, Chapagain, & Sharma, 2009).
- In 1964, the Panchayat government implemented Resettlement Company [Punarbas Company]. It distributed 4.5 bigha of land and other provisions like rice, oil and ghee to each family. Though not a preferred location, it did open the eyes of the others to the potential of the Tarai (Cheria, Kandangwa, & Upadhyaya, 2005). According to Karki, Punarbas Company targeted to resettle Burmese Nepalese evicted in 1962 and other returnees from Indian estates as well as Hill migrants. Under this project, 1504 landless migrants (Sukumbasi) were settled in 3,200 ha land in Nawalpur (Karki, 2002). This company benefited hill people without considering the local tenants, peasants, landless and Kamaiya Tharus.
- Land reform programme and policy did not benefit peasant and landless including Tharus. With the establishment of democracy in 1951, the land reforms laws and policies were promulgated in the country. Jagir land and Birta system of land was abolished. But in reality, it did not affect any Birtawala and Jagirdar landlord at the grass root level. Nepali congress led government was not interested to implement the land reform in massive way since most of the landlords also belonged to Nepali

Congress party. In 1961, King Mahendra suspended the Prime Minister, B. P. Koirala, and introduced partyless Panchayat system in Nepal. The Panchayat government implement land reform programme in 1964 (Bhumi Sudhar Karyakram, 2021 B.S.) in the Nepal. This land reform is considered one of the big land reform programme in the history of Nepal. The basic feature of the programme was land ceiling for both landlords and tenants, provision of tenancy right, control to land rent and compulsory saving of agriculture produces in government fund. For the details of the land ceiling under this act, see Annex 1. The land reform programme of Nepal is widely criticized and considered a failure by most of scholars (Zaman, 1978; Wily, Chapagain, & Sharma, 2009; Bhatta, 2010). The Government acquired only 3% cultivated land (50,000 ha) of which 1.5 % (22,000 ha) land was redistributed to 10,000 peasants by July 1972 (Regmi M. C., 1977). Most of them agreed on government could not acquire extra land above than ceiling; whatever received was not distributed to tenants, and could not secure the right of tenants. The ineffectiveness was due to the non-existence of land administration, lack of cadastral survey record, and inexperienced staff with unsecure job (Zaman, 1978). Rather than establishing the tenancy right, most of the Tharu not only lost their right over land, but had to leave their home and birth place. This land reform could not benefit tenants and landless Tharus. Most of Tharu tenants could not establish tenancy right over the land due to the unfamiliarity with administrative procedure, linkage of landlords with bureaucratic administration, threat from landlords and their own simplicity and ignorance.

- Tharus were mostly ignorant of government regulations concerning the registration of land. Some of the Parbatiya settlers took advantage of this ignorance, as well as of their own ties to government officials, to register and control land in their own names. One example quoted by Guneratne (2002, P. 95) shows “a Tharu farmer of Chakhaura

of Dang district, came under tremendous pressure from the Bahun landlord of neighbouring village to sell his land. The landlord threatened that if he did not sell his land voluntarily, he would take it without payment. So, that farmer sold his land to the landlord six or seven bigha of the eighteen or nineteen bighas he owned at that time". Even after the migration in Naya Muluk, Tharus were continuously cheated and fraud by Hill migrants. A study team of the Society for Participatory Cultural Education (SPACE), a national NGO, cited several such cases of Bardiya district like in box below:

Case 1

A Dhital landlord entered Sonpur-3, Dang-Deukhuri, Barawa Village with chuk, refined concentrated citrus juice. He then bartered this with a Tharu for some paddy and left the grains back to the Tharu's house. He had then asked the Tharus to put his thumbprint on a sheet paper. Dhital came back after four years and showed the paper stating that the Tharu had to pay him a huge amount of grains. He started pestering and threatening the Tharu that he would take him to the police if the grains were not returned. Since the Tharu had no grains to pay back he agreed to give land. This is how the Dhital appropriated land from the Tharu and is now a big landlord in Barawa village.

Source: Dhakal et al. (2000, p. 41)

Case 2

Another landlord in Kachila village in Urhari VDC in Dang district appropriated the land of the Tharu in the following manner. All the young people of the Tharu community had gone to the forest to bring back bankash, a kind of tall wild grass used to make rope. Going to the forest to get bankas is still a community activity where the able male members go to the forest for a couple of days to collect it. Later the female members also join them to help carry it back home. One of the current landlords' waited for this moment when only the old people were left in the community. He came over and intimidated them by saying that the government would confiscate their land because they had a lot of land. Fearing this, the elderly Tharu went together with the landlord to the land registration and revenue collection office and registered the land in the landlord's name.

Source: Dhakal et al. (2000, p. 42)

3.2 Slavery and Kamaiya system

3.2.1 Slavery System and Bonded labour

‘Nobody is free until everybody is free’, this is the saying of Vivek Pandit, the Indian anti-slavery campaigner. Slavery still exists in different forms in several parts of the world.

The first comprehensive definition of slavery is found in the League of Nation in slavery convention of 1926. It defined slavery as “the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised” (art. 1(1)). It further defined the slave trade as “all acts involved in the capture, acquisition or disposal of a person with intent to reduce him to slavery; all acts involved in the acquisition of a slave with a view to selling or exchanging him; all acts of disposal by sale or exchange of a slave acquired with a view to being sold or exchanged, and, in general, every act of trade or transport in slaves” (art. 1(2)) (Weissbrodt & Dottridge, 2002)

While today’s slaves are not legally ‘owned’ by slaveholders, they are held in captivity, often in remote areas and usually through force or violence. Today a slave is:

- Forced to work – through mental or physical threat
- Owned or controlled by an ‘employer’, usually through mental or physical abuse or threatened abuse
- Physically constrained or has restrictions placed on their freedom of movement

3.2.2 Forms of Slavery

Bonded labour, forced labour, worst forms of child labour, trafficking, prostitution, forced marriage and the slave wives are form of slavery that exist in different parts of the world. The bonded labour or debt-bondage is more prevalent in India, Pakistan, Nepal, Brazil and the Carribean. My research is about the former debt bondage labour. Therefore, I shall discuss about it and its existence in the context of South Asia.

Bonded labour/Debt bondage

A common understanding of debt-bonded labor is a laborer who agrees to work for the same employer for a long period in exchange for a loan in kind or in cash. The reason for the loan may be a sudden expense, such as at time of marriage, medical emergency or food shortage. The worker has to work for the same landlord until the debt is paid off, which is usually unrealistic because the remuneration is too low. As the debt accumulates over time, the laborer remains attached to the landlord in lifelong servitude.

Debt bondage and forced labour overlap in that debt bondage is often used as a means to force labour. The crux of bonded labour is a loan advance against work (the debt) resulting in a loss of control over labour conditions and terms of work. In other words all bonded labour is forced labour, but not all forced labours are bonded labors. Other means of coercion, such as violence, can also be used to force labor.

The majority of the forced labourers are in debt bondage. Debt bondage is defined in the UN Supplementary Convention on Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (1956) as: “the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined” (art. 1(a)).

There are 20 million people working as bonded laborers worldwide (Robertson & Mishra, 1997). This is particularly common in India, Pakistan, Nepal, Brazil and the Caribbean. Bonded labour is pre-dominantly found in agriculture (farming, livestock, tea state etc.), industries (brick & kiln industry, bidi factory, garment etc.) and domestic sectors as well in the south Asian context. The bonded labour in India, Pakistan and Nepal are similar in nature and even having similar nomenclature. The origin of bonded labour is linked to the hierarchical caste system and the creation of servile castes by the ancient *Brahminic* law-

givers. The practice continues to affect almost exclusively low-caste or 'tribal' groups. This is true even in Pakistan where Hindu 'scheduled' castes are badly affected.

Bonded labour in South Asia is a product of poverty, social exclusion and the failure of governments to act against the practice and its underlying causes. Those who are enslaved are desperately poor with no assets other than themselves to sell in times of extreme need. Those who are enslaved are also predominantly from scheduled castes and minority groups, with various studies estimating that around 90% of bonded labourers come from these groups (Upadhyaya, 2008). Contemporary forms of bonded labour are still found in India⁹, Pakistan¹⁰ and Nepal¹¹ though officially, it is prohibited by Acts. The bonded labour system changes forms from predominate agriculture to urban industries. While generational and family bonded labour has decreased, new forms of bonded labour have emerged. Bonded labour exists predominantly in the informal and unregulated economies. Around 90% of the work force in Nepal is in the informal economy that is higher than the average overall in Asia 1 75-85% (Upadhyaya, 2008).

India

The bonded labour system prevailed in UP, Bihar, MP, Gujrat, Orissa, Maharastra, Hariyana, Punjab, Rajasthan states of India. In Bihar, bonded labour is called "**Kamauti**" or **Kamiah/Harwahi/Kandh**. Similarly, Haris is called in Punjab and Maharastra. In India, the highest incidence of bonded labour is found in areas which are dominated by powerful upper-caste Hindus, and where a rigid caste system is enforced (Robertson & Mishra, 1997). It is also more prevalent in adivasi or tribal group.

⁹ In India, bonded labour is practiced in agriculture, silk farms and industries, rice mills, salt pans, fisheries, quarries and mines, forest work, match and firework industries, tea and cardamom farming, brick-kilns, shrimp farming, bidi (cigarette industry), domestic work, and textiles.

¹⁰ In Pakistan, it is widespread in agriculture, brick kiln work, cotton-seed production, and tanning, mines and carpet industries.

¹¹ In Nepal, it is found in agriculture, brick kilns, and domestic work.

States wise (e.g. Bihar and Orissa), little attempts were done to abolish bonded labour system. The most comprehensive attempt to address bonded labour was the bonded labour system (abolition) act, introduced by Indira Gandhi in 1976. However, the act failed its main objective of abolishing bonded labor. A study conducted by Gandhi Peace Memorial Foundation in 1989 showed that in just 10 of India's 22 states, there remained a total of 2.6 million bonded labourers. By the year 1990, some 200,000 bonded labourers were released (10 % of Indira Gandhi Peace Memorial survey) and 773 keepers of bonded labour had been arrested and even fewer were prosecuted (Marla, 1981 cited in Robertson and Mishra, 1997).

Pakistan

The situation of bonded labourer in Pakistan is worse than the Indian and Nepalese case. The bonded labourers are mostly from religious minority Hindu. In Pakistan, bonded labour system (abolition) act was adopted in 1992. However, bonded still exists. The bonded agricultural labour are called **haris** and prevalent in Sindh province, Punjab district. Majority of haris are from untouchable Hindu caste (Bheels, Kohils, and Meghwar). Bonded labour system was more acute in Pakistan that labourers were kept in landowners' private jail and even their working area was surrounded by electricity circulated fence (Human Right Commission of Pakistan as cited in Robertson & Mishra, 1997).

Nepal

It is believed that slavery system in Nepal existed since Licchavi period (circa 300-800 AD) and extended to medieval period (1200-1769) and the Shah, or pre-modern period (1769-1950). Historical evidence shows that slaves, known as *Kamara or Kamari*, were bought or sold to kings for the construction of bridges, irrigation canals, temples and other buildings, and for the transportation of goods within Nepal as well as to Tibet. Slaves were also used

throughout the pre-modern period to work land.

Slavery was eventually made illegal by Prime Minister Chandra Shamsheer in 1924. His Government set up an agency in 1925 to monitor the abolition of a system that reportedly enslaved 59,873 men and women. Appeals of land owners from the Prime Minister, and compensation amounting to 36.7 million rupees, led to the release of 4,650 bonded households. Most of the released slaves decided to join their relatives or friends at their will. A few of them who expressed unwillingness to move anywhere were settled by the government at Amlekhganj in Bara district (INSEC, 1992). But, the remnants of slavery system in Nepal continues in modern Nepal and even after the restoration of democracy in 1991. Kamaiya, Haliya, domestic servants etc. are some examples of slavery in Nepal. Kamaiya system of bonded labour was found particularly in Tharu caste of western Tarai whereas Haliya system of bonded and semi-bonded labour is found in the occupational caste in Hilly region of western Nepal. Kamaiya system is a debt bonded labour system where Kamaiya bonded with debt called *Saunki*. Debt was transferred to successive generation. But Haliya is not only due to debt but also social custom. The fundamental difference between the Haliya and the Kamaiya system is that the latter allows the buying and selling of one person by another. The debt attached to each Kamaiya not only bonds him to his landlord but, in effect, gave him a cash value in Nepali rupees. The Kamaiya, thus, represented tangible assets which the landlords can sell to others. The Kamaiya system was abolished in 2000 whereas the Haliya system was abolished in 2007. Similarly, Robertson and Mishra noted that Haliya nokar system are prevalent in eastern Tarai of Nepal where 'the rich keep poor labours at home to work as a tillers or herdsmen more or less as slaves'. It is more prevalent in Madheshi community where lower castes like Mushar are kept as a Haliya nokar (Robertson & Mishra, 1997). These all three types of labour system were found in Agriculture and domestic sectors. My research is Mukta Kamaiya (freed bonded-labourer).

3.2.3 Kamaiya System in Nepal

3.2.3.1 Introduction

As I mentioned in the earlier section, the Kamaiya system is bonded labour in agriculture sector of Nepal. Kamaiya were predominately from Tharu caste and majority of the landlords (masters) were from the so-called high castes; Bahun, Chhetri, Thakuris, and Madhesi. In this sub-section, Kamaiya system is discussed, in detail, to know the genesis, meaning, practice and Kamaiya-landlord relationship.

Kamaiya system is not directly related to the Kamara-Kamari system of Nepal. Kamaiya system may be systematized with the compulsory unpaid labour, called Jhara, Beth/Bethi, Begar and Rakam in the Birta, Jagir, Guthi etc. land tenure system. Anthropologist, Dor Bahadru Bista, firstly mentioned in his book "People of Nepal" the bonded labour system exist in the Kamaiya system in the Tharu of Dang-Deukhuri (Bista, 1967). A study carried out by the Government of Nepal in 1985 and 1995 and Informal Sector Service Center (INSEC) in 1992 confirmed the bonded-labour prevails in the Kamaiya system. The issue became more pertinent after the restoration of democracy in 1990 in Nepal. Landlessness, feudalistic society, food insecurity, unemployment, illiteracy, social rituals etc. were considered the main causes of Kamaiya (INSEC, 1992; MoL, 1995; MoLSW, 1985).

Kamaiya system is considered bonded system of labour in agriculture due to the following reason:

- Excessive works and work duration: Even during night in the peak agriculture working period upto 18-20 hours. Risky works
- Wages and facilities: Insufficient
- Capacity to enter into contract: Kamaiya could not bargain in verbal agreement process called 'Samjhauta'. There is domination of landlords.

- Level of control and freedom situation: No leave even in sickness, his family members, controlled by masters
- Use of coercion: Verbal, physical and sexual abuse to Kamaiyas and his family members.
- Trading of Kamaiyas

3.2.3.2 Definition and Meaning of Kamaiya

Nepali dictionary defines the word 'Kamaiya' as follows: “ a hard tiller of land, earner' mainly or obedient person; one who earns along with his family in other's land by borrowing in cash or kind from the land owner or a peasant equivalent to him”.

Sukumbais Samsya Samadhan Aayog, SSA (Squatter Problem Resettlement Commission) defined Kamaiya along with haliya as those 'bonded' agricultural labourers who are forced to provide hard physical labour without receiving the wage of his/her contribution to repay debt taken by him/herself or by family members at present or in the past.

Kamaiya had positive meaning in Tharu community, but its meaning shifted over the time particularly by the immigrants who did not respect the Tharu culture and tradition. Before the eradication of malaria (before the 1950s), most of the Tharus had land for farming so they used it to keep Kamaiya for agriculture work. In most cases, there is a kinship relationship and high degree of social tie from the same ethnic group. But after the eradication of malaria most of the Tharu became landless because of coming in of the Hill migrants with different fraudulent means such as close ties with government officials. It compelled Tharus to work as Kamaiya for Pahariya who did not respect the meaning and system of Kamaiya thereby converted it into the most exploitive and parasitic form. The popular Tharu saying, “*Kamaiya chhawa pahad phori*” means 'a Kamaiya son tears down a mountain' and “*kamlahridai baisal khai*” means 'the mother of a Kamlarhi (daughter) sits and eats, while the daughter perform all

domestic chores'. Both of them have positive connotations that with hard working (Dhakal et al., 2000).

The word *Kamaiya* is derived from *Tharu* word '*Kam*' that refers to 'work'. In Tharuparlance, the term is used as a synonym for hardworking hired farm labour. *Kamaiya* is a particular type of labour relationship. It particularly represents the matured male worker. Traditionally, Tharu live in extended joint family rather than the nuclear one. Usually, the first son of the household is called '*Gardhuriya /Kisan*' (the head of household) who divides the role and responsibility to the household members. The *Gardhuriya* is hereditary only to elder son. This system still exists in Tharu society. Obviously, there are different names of the person involved in *Kamaiya* system depending on the gender and age. All *Kamaiya* were not under bonded. There are two types of *Kamaiya* i.e. *Eksaro Kamaiya* and *Bukrahi Kamaiya*. *Eksaro Kamaiya* had their own home; usually he worked alone for masters whereas *Bukrahi* represents the whole family of *Kamaiya* (at least including wife and children) who used to live in small hut constructed in the land provided by the landlord. The whole family members of the *Kamaiya* had to work for the landlords, but payment was basically only to the *Kamaiya* (matured male worker). Most of the *Kamaiya* had large family size that could not sufficient to feed, meet social obligation, medical expenses and other contingency from the wage of *Kamaiya*. It compelled *Kamaiya* to take loan (kind or cash) from the masters and that was almost impossible to repay back due to the low wage and higher interest rate (one had to return 1.5 quintal rice after six month and it goes 250-300%) and even fraud by the master by adding additional zero in the loan taken after getting a thumb print. The loan, having high interest rate, is called '*Khaurahi*' which means expanding like 'Itch'.

Kamaiya's children, who were generally involved in animal herding, were called *Gaiwar* if they herded cattle and *Baisawarif* they herded buffalo. Similarly, the children involved in goat herding were known as *Chegrahwa*. The girls involved in domestic work of

landlord were called as *Kamlahri*. The landlord used to make an agreement with the laborer (*Kamaiya*) to work for a year to meet the obligation or compensation of the debt that he provided. It was traditionally done on a popular *Maghi* festival (during the mid of January) of each year. Theoretically, at that time, both parties may agree or refuse to enter the contract. They both have the choice to make the agreement, but in practice, bonded labourers did not have this freedom of choice. They were forced by social, economic, political and other compulsions to accept the agreement with any conditions dictated by their masters. The *Kamaiya* system also allowed landlords to buy and sell one or more *Kamaiyas*. The debt attached to a *Kamaiya* passes on to his son and grandson in case of his death prior to the complete repayment of the loan. According to INSEC, about 33% of the *Kamaiyas* were from four generations, 21% three generations and 28% two generations. For this reason, the word *Kamaiya* has become synonym with bonded labor (INSEC, 1992).

3.2.3.3 Origin of Kamaiya System

The origin of *Kamaiya* system can be traced back to a kind of forced labour system during the Licchabi dynasty between 100 and 800 AD. The system was reinforced during the King Jayasthiti Malla of Kathmandu (1380-1395), who legalised the caste system in Nepali society where labour were forced to work trade related activities. The forced and unpaid labour was introduced and institutionalized during the 18th and 19th centuries by the Gurkhali and Rana rulers in the form of *Jhara*¹², *Begari*¹³, *Rakam*¹⁴ (Regmi, 1977). Regmi further added that intermediaries (*Jimidars*, *Talukdars*) and landowners (*Birtawala*, *Raja*, *Jagirdars*) were formally authorized or informally used unpaid labour services from their tenants during the 19th and 20th centuries. State and ruling class considered peasants as the ‘golden goose’ that lay ‘golden eggs’ so they were careful not to kill the goose, but neither did to fatty the goose.

¹² *Jhara* meant the general obligation to work for the government, which was compulsory and unpaid.

¹³ Compulsory unpaid labour for public structure, landlords and village officials.

¹⁴ Unpaid labour provided to landlord instead of cultivating landlord’s land in Nawalparasi, Rupandehi and Kapilbastu districts during Rana regimes.

(Regmi, 1999).

There are no specific written evidences that show how and in which context the Kamaiya system originated. The available evidences suggest that the Kamaiya system originated among the Dangaura Tharu as a measure to ensure regular supply of labor for farming. One plausible explanation relates it to the lack of male labor in the family. In the pre 1951 period, when a working male of a family died hiring a male worker from another family compensated. The hired man would barter his labor with the landlord in lieu of food, housing and agreed payment in cash or kind for his own family. The Kamaiya system developed from the customary practice of obtaining a “helping hand for a family business” as well as public work. In Tharu community, there are traditional norms that every household have to serve free labour (2-3 days in a year) to the village headman (*Badghad/Mahtawa*) and *Desbandhya Guruwa* (village priest). Additionally, the Tharu do not wait for the government support for development work in their village mostly infrastructure like road, irrigation etc. So, in the village, there was *Begari* (unpaid labour) and *Jharali* (one member from each household for community works). With seeing this Pahari, particularly Bahun, Chhetri landlords used it as an exploitative form for their own work. Guneratne exactly noted that even after 1991, the tenants had to provide curvee labour (*begari*) in Dang valley for the landlords. The duration of curvee labour in a year is a minimum of 36 days. In western Dang, the curvee included agricultural work of every kind: house construction, work on village road and bridge at the behest of the landlord, and even work as porters to carry a palanquin when a member of the landlord’s family wished to travel to a neighbouring village or bazar. Refusal to perform curvee labour exposed Tharus tenants to violence by the landlords, harassment by the police, harassment and non-cooperation by government officers, and some cases loss of access to land (Guneratne, 2002, pp. 97-98).

Some authors like Gautam and Thapa-Magar found that Kamaiya system was

accelerated by the social tradition of marriage – *Jhanga*. In marriage engagement, ceremony groom have to pay cash to the parents of bride. If groom could not pay, he has to work in bride house in free to compensate Jhanga. This process may also have accelerated the Kamaiya system (Gautam & Thapa Magar, 1994). Tharu activists and organizations working for the welfare of the Tharu society stressed that Kamaiya system had changed its form ‘helping hand’ to ‘patron-client’ relationship after the eradication of malaria in Tarai due to increased influx of Hill migrants in Tarai. Thereafter a large segment of the Tharu lost their land to the Hill migratns and forced to work as Kamaiya.

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that the system evolved through landowner-agricultural workers relations and was induced by state interventions on land ownership. There is no doubt that the history of Kamaiya system is long; and that it can be synchronized in the span after eradication of malaria. Kamaiya system has relations to the forced labour used since the 17th century.

3.2.3.4 Terms and Condition of Work Under Kamaiya System

Terms of Work

Generally, the Tharu people entered into Kamaiya system mostly through verbal contract between Jamindar and Kamaiya for one year. The process of finding Kamaiya is called *Khojni Bhujni* and the agreement is called ‘*Samjhauta*’. The samjhauta took place during the month of Magh (Jan 15 to Feb 15). The Eksaro Kamaiyas had more freedom to choose and change landlords after the termination of contract since they did not have Saunki (loan). But most of the Bukhari Kamaiya had saunki. They were not free to leave or change master without repaying back of saunki. In strict and real sense, they were bonded and they were sold between the landlords. Kamaiya were kept not only by the landlords, but also by the peasant farmers (kisan). The difference was that Kisan have small size of land and worked together with Kamaiya, but landlords did not engage in agricultural work and typically have

large land holding. Ethnically, Kamaiya were mostly from Tharu caste that used to work both for Tharu and Pahari. Mostly Kamaiya and tharu landlord had sound relation because of same caste, kinship relationship and supporting social nature but it became more exploitative in Pahari Jamindar as they did not understand and respect the Kamaiya system (Rankin, 1999).

Kamaiya were mostly responsible for agricultural work. However, he had to perform any other task ordered by Jamindars. Kamaiya were obliged to do any work ordered by their Jamindars- in their fields, household, mill, factory or any other enterprises. Some tasks assigned to Kamaiyas posed considerable risk, such as collecting firewood illegally from state forests, offense for which the Kamaiya (not Jamindar) would have at least to pay a heavy fine and serve a jail term if caught. Not only Kamaiya, the gender and age specific task was also assigned to the family members of Kamaiya like Kamlahri, Chhegrahwa, Bhaisawar, Gaiwar etc. The duration of work of Kamaiya depended on the season and size of land of Jamindars. The normal working hours was not less than 12 hours, and it went to 18 hours in peak agriculture season. They did not get any leave except in Maghi festival. When absent, he had to send his other family members otherwise wage was deducted from the annual payment.

Payment

The method and amount of payment to Kamaiya varies not only from districts to district but also within the district. Kamaiyas were paid by mainly three ways viz. land for cultivation, kind and cash. Payment made to Kamaiyas was said Masaura/Bali Bigha/ Bigha. Wage payment through providing fixed area of land to cultivate Kamaiya is an older practice. Under this practice, during the Rana regime, and even in the Panchayat period, Kamaiya were provided roughly with 1 bigha as payment of wage. It was subsequently limited up to 10 katta of land only by seeing higher production. In some cases, the Kamaiya were allowed to cultivate three mun paddies (60 kg) in the field. But Kamaiya had to cultivate and harvest his

field only after completing the plantation and harvesting of landlord resulting in lower production. This system of wage payment in kind to Kamaiya is called **Balibigha** (Cheria, Kandangwa, & Upadhyaya, 2005). Payment in kind was another method of payment. The annual annual basis payment in kind was called **Maseura/Bigha**. In this method, wage was a fixed amount of paddy equivalent. Apart from paddy, other basic crops like pulse, oilseed, salt etc. were also provided to Kamaiyas. Those Kamaiya who did not eat meal in their master's house were paid additional paddy equivalent to their food. The amount of payment varied from one place to another. The measurement of payment was in Bora (gunny sack) equivalent to 75 kg. The general payment during the early and mid- 1990s was Bardiya 700-900 kg, Kailali 400-800 kg and Kanchanpur 400-650 kg per annum. Additionally, Wheat 65 kg, Pulse 20-25 kg, edible oil 10-12 liters and salt 10 kg annually was given to Kamaiya (MoL, 1995).

Similarly, family members of Kamaiya might get land for share cropping from the landlords. This was feasible in case of Kamaiya having some portion of land and extended family members. Share cropping locally called **Bataiya**, was often in the share of 50:50 produces with the landlord. Generally in this system of wage payment, sharecropper invested all the production inputs including human labour. They shared the harvest equally. This later degenerated to the landlord keeping 75% of the produce and all the Kamaiya families sharing the other 25% (**tikur bataiya**). Since many Kamaiya families worked on the land of the same landlord, the share of each Kamaiya family was a pittance. But in the current context, the share cropping arrangement is changing. There is equal contribution of production inputs like seeds, fertilizers, pesticides.

Payment in cash was a limited practiced for those who were without family, who came from distant villages. Payment in cash seems lower than payment in kind. In general, NRs 1200-4,800 per annum was paid (INSEC, 1992; MoL, 1995; Sharma & Thakurathi, 1998, p. 45). A Government survey revealed that the Tharu landlord paid higher wages as compared to

Pahari landlords (MoLSW, 1985).

3.2.4 Concluding Remarks

Tharus are the aboriginal inhabitants of Tarai region of Nepal. They turned marshy, malarious and dense forested area into arable land. But with different socio-political reasons, Tharus became landless in their own land, and this process continues. Tharus were always viewed as brave cultivators so they were treated just as labour force. Chaudhari and Mahatau (village headmen) were strategically substituted by dominant and clever Bahun, Chhetri and Thakuri. The land grants as Birta and Jagir to the relatives and high level government officials detached Tharus from their farming land. Increased migration of Hill people after the eradication of malaria, and the resettlement of parbatiya under different programmes in Tarai are some major incidences that lead Tharus into landlessness. Illiteracy, political powerlessness, exclusion from army/ police and less understanding of government bureaucratic administration, further limit Tharus from holding land thereby leading to landlessness. The landlessness compels Tharus to work as tenants, and is trapped under the permanent agriculture labour of Kamaiya system. It is a fact that during the Rana regime land survey (1946-47) and even during the Panchayat regime (1963-64), the Tharus were reluctant to register land in their name due to the fear of taxation, but the Government did not take special consideration for the Tharus who reclaimed the Kalabajar. The other major reason of Tharu being landless is the failure to grasp the significance of the administrative and social changes that were taking place during 1964 land reform. Other factors obviously were/are the cheating, fraud and exploitation of the illiterate Tharus' by Parbatiyas. Among various factors, landlessness is a major one that led to the Tharu to enter into the Kamaiya system of bonded labour. The Kamaiya system of bonded labour in Nepal originated in Tharu society as a form

of helping each other in ritual tradition. It became parasitic and feudalistic in the modern period of Nepal mostly because of coming of the outsiders (hill migrants) in Tarai. Kamaiyas were exclusively from Tharu caste who worked for peasants (kisan) and landlords (Jamindars) of both Tharu and non-Tharu (Pahari). The relation between the Kamaiya and Tharu Kisan/ Jamindar was better than the Pahari Jamindar due to the kin relationship, endogamy ethnicity and social understanding of the Kamaiya system. The payment method to Kamaiya was largely kind in annual basis rather than cash. Kamaiya system was abolished in Nepal in 2000. Thereafter the Kamaiya became Mukta Kamaiya.

3.3 Child Labour in Kamlahri System

3.3.1 Introduction

Children are the basic foundation of any nations, but child labour is still a serious problem in many countries like Nepal. This sub-chapter deals with the meaning, situation and provision to control of child labour in Nepalese context. The main aim is to review this subject so as to acquire a broader knowledge on child labour and the Kamlahri system of child labour in Nepal. Kamlahri system is considered a remnant of the Kamaiya system. Previous researches and studies conducted in this sector further help to formulate my research concept. The field work findings to this issue are discussed in chapter 4.

3.3.2 What does Child Labour imply?

Child labor refers to the children who are engaged in an 'economic activity'¹⁵, and who are below the minimum legal age of employment in a given country. The International Labour Organization's Convention of Minimum Age, 1973 (ILO C138) is considered as a

¹⁵ 'Economic activity' includes both paid and unpaid, casual and illegal work as well as work in the informal sector, but excludes unpaid domestic services within own household.

basis for fixing minimum age for employment. The ILO C138 constructs **three age categories**. In the youngest category (6-12) work is prohibited, but individual countries can make exceptions for light work in family undertakings and work in the household, including domestic work. In the 13-14 age categories, only light work is allowed, i.e. work outside school hours and not beyond the physical and mental ability of the child. Fourteen hours per week is regarded as the maximum labour time per week. In the category of adolescents (15 and above or after compulsory schooling), regular work is permissible, but not in sectors that could be harmful to health, such as the mining or the chemical industry. The ILO C138 concedes that not all countries have the same level of economic and social development and that leniency should be applied when setting the minimum age of employment. Countries with a lower compulsory school age are permitted to opt for a lower age (12) at which light work is allowed, and the minimum age for full employment can be lowered accordingly to 14 (from 15).

Child labour and ‘working children’ are two different concepts. The term ‘working children’ is a broader concept that encompasses most production activities undertaken by children, whether for the market or not, paid or unpaid, for a few hours or full time, on a casual or regular basis, in the organized or unorganized (formal or informal) sector, and whether the activities are legal or illegal. It excludes household chores undertaken in the child’s own household, and activities that are part of schooling. For being the employed, children should work for at least an hour on any day during the seven-day reference period (ILO, 2008).

Despite the fairly liberal wording of ILO C138, many countries, particularly in South Asia, have decided not to ratify the convention: India, Bangladesh and Pakistan have not done so (Lieten et al., 2010). In Nepal, people below the age of 16 years are considered as children, and children below 14 years are not allowed to involve in economic activities. From the age of

15 to 18, a child can do regular work except hazardous and worst forms of child labor.

The ILO defined hazardous work and worst forms of child labour. **Hazardous Work** is defined as works that affect physical, mental and emotional development of child. Each country has to enlist hazardous work before ratifying the ILO C182. Hazardous work under the Child (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 2000 of Nepal is enlisted in annex 2. Under the **Worst forms of Child Labour**, any person under the age of 18 is to be protected from employment in the worst forms of child labour. In 1999, the ILO adopted the worst forms of child labour convention (ILO C182). As per article 3, the worst forms of child labour include:

- Slavery or practices similar to slavery including debt bondage, sale of children, serfdom, and forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflicts,
- The use, procuring, or offering of a child for prostitution or for pornography,
- The use of children for illicit activities – particularly within the drug trade, and
- Work that is likely to endanger the health, safety, or morals of children.

3.3.3 Magnitude of Child Labour

Globally, the number of child labour is steadily decreasing, particularly in hazardous form of child labour. However, there were still 217.7 million child labours by the 2004. It is still a serious problem in many developing countries. Of all child labour in the world, 60% is said to occur in Asia, 23% in Sub-Saharan Africa, 8% in Middle and Latin America and 6% in North Africa (Lieten et al., 2010, p. 7).

According to Nepal Labour Force Survey report of 2008 published in 2009 by Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), the intensity of child labour decreased from 40.9 % by 1998/99 to 33.9 % in 2008. But there are still nearly 3 million children of aged 5-14 involved in work. Table 3.4 below reflects that there are 6,229 thousand (6.2 million) children of aged 5-14 in Nepal. About 2,111 thousand children aged 5 to 14 years are classified as economically active.

Among them, 398 thousand were aged 5 to 9 years and 1713 thousand were aged 10 to 14. From the same Table 3.4, economically active children are vastly higher in rural areas (2000 thousand) than urban areas (111 thousand). The labour force participation of girls is higher than boys in both urban and rural areas (NLFS, 2009). The agriculture, hunting and forestry sector employes an overwhelming majority (89 %) of children (Table 4.5).

Table 3.4: No. of Economically Active Children of Age between 5-14 Years, 2008 (in '000).

Age	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total number of children aged 5-14									
Total	6229	3200	3029	775	410	365	5453	2790	2663
5-9	2978	1510	1468	355	191	163	2624	1319	1305
10-14	3250	1690	1561	421	219	202	2830	1471	1359
Children economically active									
Total	2111	966	1145	111	54	57	2000	912	1088
5-9	398	169	229	15	7	8	383	161	222
10-14	1713	797	916	97	47	50	1617	750	866

Source: NLFS (2009, p. 135)

Note: Total no. of children aged 5-14 are 6,229 thousand of which 3,200 thousand male and 3,029 thousand are female.

Table 3.5: Sector Wise Involvement of 5 to 14 Years Aged Children, 2008 (in '000)

Types of work	Male	Female	Total*	In %
Agriculture, Hunting and Forestry	852	1010	1861	88.75
Manufacture	12	17	29	1.38
Construction	6	0	6	0.29
Wholesale & retail trade	21	13	33	1.57
Hotel and Restaurant	13	8	20	0.95
Private HH with employed person	1	2	3	0.14
All other categories	55	89	144	6.87
Total	960	1138	2097	100

Source: NLFS (2009, p. 139)

* Total column may not be equal to the sum of given categories due to rounding and decomposition process.

Note: Total no. of children aged 5-14 are 6,229 thousand of which 3,200 thousand male and 3,029 thousand are female.

Kamlahri system of child labour is one of the exploitative and residues of Kamaiya system. After banning the Kamaiya system in the country, the kamlahri forms of child labour increased for survival purpose. According to Sharma, Basnet and G.C. (2001), keeping

domestic child labour became the prestige and fashion in wealthier family of city areas. But it is not limited only to wealthier families, but also extended to middle-class and even low-middle class families. The source of this child labour majorly from the Tharu and recently freed Kamaiya. They found that most of the Kamlahris are bonded child labourers. In Mukta Kamaiya, 30% children (23,506) are working as child labourers. Of total employed 23,506 child labourer in freed Kamaiya 43 per cent were working without pay and 70 % children working excessive hours i.e. beyond 8:00 pm.

3.3.4 Kamlahri: A Worst Form of Child Labour

Kamlahri system of child labour is interlinked with Kamaiya system. In Kamaiya system, the female member of Kamaiya (wife, mother, sisters) who worked for Jamindars is commonly, referred to as Kamlahri. Nowadays, the common understanding of Kamlahri is little bit twisted. Now, Kamlahri means unmarried girl (preferably 5-14 years) who work as child caretaker and work as domestic servants. The nomenclature of Kamlahri is based on gender. Female girl child worker is called Kamlahri whereas Kamlara is for boy child worker. This Kamlahri system is localized in western Tharu of Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Surkhet, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts. The preference to keep Kamlahri is higher than keeping boys so these of the term Kamlahri in common. The reason behind that is girls are sincere and more suitable for domestic works. Kamlahri has to perform diversified work like childcare, house cleaning, meal preparation, washing dishes and dresses, and others.

Like in Kamaiya system, Kamlahri enters into contract after Maghi festival (mid-January). The agreement is verbal mostly between the parents of Kamlahri and employers or intermediaries mostly for one year. However, once Kamlahri enters into the system, she has to work until master needs. This system is institutionalized with the involvement of middlemen who sends children from village to city areas. In this deal, the parents of children are not in

position to know the condition of their child. Thus, middlemen only know the situation of the Kamlahri. This makes the condition of Kamlahri worse and sometimes involves physical violence and sexual abuse. The Kamlahri system differs with other domestic child labour system in the sense that most of all Kamlahris are from the Tharu ethnic group. The agreement takes place in the same way the Kamaiya system worked and Kamlahri bonded to work for their masters.

Though the bonded child labour system is found in the whole of Tharu community of mid and far-western Tarai region of Nepal, children of Mukta Kamaiya are more vulnerable. Both boys and girls both are found under child labour system in Mukta Kamaiya. Like all Kamaiya were not bonded in Kamaiya system, neither all Kamaiya children are bonded, nor can all of them be said to work in the worst forms of child labour. According to the spirit of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) as that of the ILO Conventions Nos. 29, 138 and 182, the worst form of domestic child employment exists if:

- the child is sold,
- is bonded,
- works without pay,
- works excessive hours,
- works in isolation or at night,
- is exposed to grave safety or health hazards,
- is abused,
- is at risk of physical violence or sexual harassment and

The children of Mukta Kamaiya are used as collateral for loans taken by their parents or still required to work for the same employers as their parents under exploitative sharecropping arrangements (Sharma, Basnet, & G.C., 2001). Children are bonded to work

foremployers until the debt is repaid. During the working period a minimum wage is paid and s/he have to work excessive hours even during the night. Thus, the present child labour system in Tharu community of mid and far-western region of Nepal is ‘bonded child labour system’.

There is no single authentic data regarding the number of Kamlahri in the region. The Government has not taking record of Kamlahris. The number of child labourers and Kamlahri in Tharu community and Mukta Kamaiya is based on the sample survey and estimation. According to journalist, Suman Pradhan, there are 20,000 to 25,000 Kamlahris in Tharu community of Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur(Pradhan, 2006). A rapid assessment of child labour in Mukta Kamaiya was carried out by Sharma, Basnyat and G.C.(2001) for ILO/IPEC. They estimated that the average child (5 to 18 years) per household is 2.9 in the Mukta Kamaiya. With this average, it can be estimated that there are almost 80,000 children ofwhich 23,506, or about 30 % of them are working in various sectors and forms in the five mid and far western Tarai district (see Table below 3.6). Similarly, an NGO called Friends of Needy Children (FNC) working forKamlahris carried out a survey in the above mentioned six districts. It found 11,043 Kamlahris (FNC, 2008). So, it can be roughly said that there are 11,000 to 25,000 Kamlahris under this system.

Table 3.6: Estimated Number of Wage Child Labour Aged 5-18 in Mukta Kamaiya, 2001

District	Mukta Kamaiya HH	Children aged 5-18 per HH	Children of aged 5-18 (estimated)	% of children attending school	% of children working in own homes	% of employed children
Dang	705 (3%)	3.6	8,698	32.8	40.6	26.6
Banke	1,921 (7%)	2.2	2,952	33.8	23.2	43.0
Bardiya	11,551 (42%)	2.9	20,152	30.1	37	32.9
Kailali	8,975 (33%)	2.6	16,455	28.6	35.7	35.7
Kanchanpur	4,418 (16%)	2.6	7,350	43.6	41	15.4
Total	27,570 (100%)	2.9	57,603	33	37.6	29.4

Source: Sharma, Basnyat & G.C. (2001)

3.3.5 Causes of Kamlahri Child Labour

According to Sharma, Basnet and G.C.(2001), the prevailing three types of bonded child labour relationships in Nepal were identified and characterized.

Social exclusion is a central cause, and poverty is a common feature of bonded labour and other types of forced labourers. Worldwide, indigenous and tribal peoples are socially excluded communities such as hierarchically lower castes, religious minorities, uneducated etc. They remain subject to forced labour and other form of exploitative labour.

Although the Supreme Court of Nepal banned the Kamlahri system in September 2006, the practice may still prevail, particularly in the Western and Far Western Region of Nepal. Poverty, improper rehabilitation of Kamaiya, illiteracy etc. are the main causes of bonded child labour in Mukta Kamaiya. Some specific causes indicated by Sharma, Basnet & G.C. (2001), and my own experience are as follows:

1. **Remnant effect of Kamaiya system:** In kamaiya system, children worked with their parents for the landlords. In most cases, child had to work free. It means the child had to work in the wage of Kamaiya. Children were working just for the meal and one pair of dress. Depending on the nature of work, child workers are known by different names- *Gaiwar* for cow herder, *Bhaisawar* for buffalo herder, *Chhegarwar* for goat/sheep herder, *Kamlahri* and *organi* for domestic works etc. Kamaiya and other sorts of labour arrangements in agrarian society became a livelihood option for poor Tharu and Mukta Kamaiya. It was like social traditions that peasant farmers and Mukta Kamaiya still do not deny the request of their previous landlords thereby sending their children to work. In spite of the above fact, the Tharu and Mukta Kamaiya are socially depressed and politically powerless that makes them psychologically poor and low in status than people of other castes. That is why not only the poor but also middle-class family sends their children to work.

2. **To obtain land for Sharecropping:** The Government of Nepal banned the Kamaiya labour system in 2000. Initially this creates labour shortage in agriculture labour arrangement system. Later on, Mukta Kamaiya turned into sharecroppers of the landlords. On one hand, there is a difficulty to get land for sharecropping and on other hand, the landlords have no domestic worker, so landlords ask Mukta Kamaiya to send the child to ensure land for share cropping. Nearly, 20% of children are working for landlords as his/her father is sharecropper of landlords (Sharma, Basnet, & G.C., 2001). Ek Raj Chaudhary, a development activist, raised the issue of share cropping. He argues that it had just changed the form of exploitation of Kamaiya system (Chaudhary, 2002)
3. **Children pledge for credit:** According to Sharma, Basnyat and G.C. (2001), due to the lack of access to the financial institutions, most Mukta Kamaiya were taking loans from the masters and committed to send their daughter and son to work as Kamlahri. It is clear that they are putting their children as collateral. It applies both to getting loan and land for share cropping.
4. **Dreaming better life of children:** By human nature, every parent wants to see the bright future of their children. Mukta Kamaiyas are facing difficulties to feed and educate their children. In this situation, Mukta Kamaiyas see educated and better life of their children in city areas. Thus, parents send their children in city without knowing the employers and working conditions. In most cases, the situation is opposite, 90% of Kamlahri are never sending to school (Pradhan, 2006) and work for several years. Poor Mukta Kamaiya neither know the employers nor can go there hence, once Kamlahri is sent to city, she has to work as the employer likes.
5. **The Maoist insurgency:** The ten years Maoist conflict (1996 to 2006) is another factor contributing to child labour in Nepal. It also affected Mukta Kamaiya and their

children. In the rural areas, many families sent their children to urban areas for fear of them being caught in the cross-fire, or becoming victims of the security forces or Maoists fighters. As a result, these children entered the child labour market and very often ended up in the worst forms of child labour.

3.3.6 National Legislation Against Child Labour

Section 22 of the Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2063 BS (2007) seeks to ensure child right as a fundamental right. It secures child's own identity. It notes that the exploitation of child is punishable and prohibited. The employment in factories, mines or any other such hazardous works like army, police or in conflicts is prohibited for children. Similarly, Section 29 regarding the 'right against exploitation' clearly prohibits human trafficking, slavery or serfdom (sub-section 3), and the prohibition of any forms of forced labour (sub-section 4) (Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007 [2063 BS], n.d.). Apart from the interim constitution, the following three laws make important provisions for the protection and advancement of the interests of children and child labourers:

The Children's Act 1992: This Act was enacted to protect the rights and interests of Nepalese children and to ensure their physical, mental, and intellectual development. It also contains a number of provisions on child labour. It has recently been amended to make the Act more abuse-specific, especially in relation to sexual abuse. The Act defines a child as a person below the age of 16 years, and states that a child who has not attained the age of 14 shall not be employed in any work as a labourer. It is clearly mentioned that a child shall not be engaged in begging except during observing religious or cultural traditions. It is also restricted to shave the hair of a child for the purpose of making *Sanysi*, *Bhikchhu* or *Fakir* (Children's Act, 1992; section 13, sub-section 1 & 2). Whoever commits any offence in contravention to

section 13, or abets others to commit such offence or attempts to commit so, he/she shall be liable to a punishment with a fine up to three thousand rupees or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three months or with both (Children's Act 1992, section 53, sub-section 1) (Children's Act 1992 [2048 BS], 1992).

The Labour Act, 1992 (2048 BS), and Labour Rules, 1993 (2049 BS), contain specific provisions for the prohibition of employment of children below the age of 14 years and prohibits admission to hazardous work for minors (aged between 14 and 18 years) (MoLTM, 1992).

The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 2000 (2056 BS): The Act prohibits engaging child below the age of 16 years in work. In addition to that a child neither be engaged in any risky business or work referred to in the annex-2 nor be engaged against his/her will. Using child below 14-yearsold is liable to punishment of imprisonment of a maximum of three months or a fine of Rs. 10,000/- maximum or both. Using children in risky business and against their will is liable to a punishment of an imprisonment of a maximum of one year or a maximum fine of fifty thousand rupees or the both [sub-section 1 & 2 of section 19, Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 2000 (2056 BS)] (MoWCSW, 2000).

This Act also limits the working duration of child. According to the Act a child shall not be engaged in work for a period after six o'clock in the evening to six o'clock in the morning. The Act has fixed six hours in a day and thirty-six hours in a week as maximum working hours for the children involved in work. A Child must receive half an hour rest after three hours of continuous work and one day holiday in a week [section 9, Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 2000 (2056 BS)].

Nepal is a signatory to the:

- ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182);
- UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989 (UNCRC).

- ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138);
- ILO Forced or Compulsory Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29).

3.3.7 Concluding Remarks

Child labour particularly worst form of child labour is a serious problem in South Asia including Nepal. It is deep-rooted in the rural areas of western Nepal among Tharu society. Bonded child labour (Kamlahri) is still prevailing in the Tharu community and more severe in the Mukta Kamaiya of this region even after the order of the Supreme Court which banned the system in September, 2006, and the enactment of ‘Kamaiya Labour (prohibition) Act, 2002’. It is estimated that 15,000 to 25,000 Kamlahris are working as domestic servants in hotels and in urban and city areas of Nepal. In recent years, programme focussing on Kamlahri are being implemented. However, long term rehabilitation and education programmes are must for the sustainable elimination of the inhumane Kamlahri system from the community and nation.

3.4 Development Intervention: Before and After Kamaiya Freedom

Though the Kamaiya were liberated at the end of the 20th century, the movement against various types of forced labour has a long history in Nepal. However, limited literatures were published about the upraising of Kamaiya and landless movement before 1950. Movements against the Kamaiya system started after political changes in 1950, and intensified only after the restoration of multi-party democracy in 1990. Many organizations have been involved in the campaign against the Kamaiya system: United Nations agencies, bilateral donors, international and local Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs), Trade Unions, Political Parties, Government agencies and *Kamaiyas* themselves. A detail movement for land rights by landless including Kamaiya in Nepal especially in context of Bardiya district was published by Arjun Karki of which Kanra movement is long and major one that contributed

even in overthrowing the partyless panchayat system in Nepal, and influenced party politics in Bardiya district (Karki, 2002)

With continuous efforts of Kamaiya themselves, civil society and political parties; ultimately the Government of Nepal announced, the freedom of Kamaiya on July 17, 2000. In 2002, the Government promulgated the Act “The Kamaiya Labour (Prohibition) Act 2002”. Thereafter, the Kamaiya became Mukta Kamaiya (freed bonded labourers). Several efforts were made by various agencies before and after the Kamaiya freedom. The interventions are categorically discussed in two intervals i.e. before the Kamaiya freedom and after their freedom. It is difficult to review the individual programmes and projects of individual organizations involved in this sector. So an attempt is done to group the implemented projects/ activities of organizations into some prominent sectors; what I shall refer to as sector-wise development interventions.

3.4.1 Before Kamaiya Emancipation

3.4.1.1 Enumeration and Study of Kamaiya

Before 1990, the Government of Nepal did not accept that slavery system existed in Nepal. In 1989, the King’s appointed commission concluded that there was no slavery system in mid and far-western Tarai. One member of the commission simply commented that the Tharu Kamaiya were ignorant, some are lazy and drunkards. If they want to better their life they should work harder (Skar, 1991). Then the Ministry of Labour and Social welfare conducted a study on Kamaiya in 1985 (2041/42 BS). It was the first time in Nepal that it was officially confirmed that bonded labour exists in Kamaiya system in the Tharu community. A study indicated that unemployment, food insufficiency, illiteracy, social rituals, illiteracy etc. are the main causes of bonded Kamaiya. In Sarki caste groom have to pay cash to bride’s family and feeding members of marriage ceremony are also major causes of taking loan from

landlords (MoLSW, 1985).

After the restoration of multiparty system in Nepal in 1990, INSEC, Informal Sector Service Center, a national NGO, conducted a study in Kamaiya bonded labour system in Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur. This report drew attention of national and international arena. So, the Ministry of Labour (MoL) again conducted the social and economic conditions of Kamaiyas in the same three districts in 1993-94. It again proved that the Kamaiya are being sold from one landlord to another due to the debt called Saunki (MoL, 1995). The Department of Land Reform and Management made census of Kamaiya in 1995. It identified 15,152 HHs (83,375 people) of Kamaiya in five districts viz. Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur. Similarly, Sukumbasi Aayog under the department of housing and physical planning, Ministry of Physical Planning and Works (MoPPW), identified 17,435 Kamaiya families with total 25,762 members under the Kamaiya system. So, there was controversial figure of Kamaiya within the government report.

3.4.1.2 Land Distribution

District Kamaiya Settlement Committee (*Jilla Kamaiya Basovash Samitee*) was formulated from the ministerial decision of Nepalese government in 1996 (2053 BS). This committee distributed 21-8-10 bigha land to 143 families ranging from 2-5 kattha in Dang, Bardiy, Kailali and Kanchanpur (see Table 3.7). The main feature of this land distribution is that it was brought by respective district committee and distributed to Kamaiyas (MoLRM, 2009).

Table 3.7: Land Distributed to the Kamaiya in 1996.

District	No. of family	Distributed land (bigha-kattha-dhur)
Dang	40	5-0-0
Bardiya	42	5-0-2
Kailali	21	6-8-8
Kanchanpur	40	5-0-0
Total	143	21-8-10

Source: MoLRM (2009).

3.4.1.3 House Construction

In 1995 (2052 BS), the Government of Nepal formulated Kamaiya Settlement Construction Consumers Committee (Kamaiya Awas Nirman Upbhokta Samiti) but it could not succeed in its objective; thereby it was dissolved in 1996 (MoLRM, 2009) .

3.4.1.4 Advocacy and Education

With the joint effort of INSEC and BASE, a first national level Kamaiya conference was organized in Nepalgunj from Jan 24-26, 1996. This conference was addressed by former Prime minister and chairperson of UML, Mr. Manmohan Adhikari, Nepali congress Mr. Shushil Koirala, Swami Agnivesh (leader of Indian Bonded labour liberation front), and Shushil Koirala others political leaders, human rights activists and representatives of I/NGOs. The major outcome of this conference was the formation of “*Kamaiya Mukti Manch*” (Kamaiya Liberation Forum/KLF) under the chairmanship of former Member of Parliament (MP), Kashi Ram Tharu (from Bardiya), and Secretary, Mr. Suresh Chaudhary (from Banke). At the same occasion, Kamaiya movement activities were also decided. Later on, KLF was registered under the umbrella of GEFONT.

Table 3.8: NGOs Working in the Kamaiya Issues During the Mid 1990s.

NGOs	District covered	Number of VDCs	Types of Programme	Beneficiary
Group of Interanation Solidarity (GRINSO)	Five districts	6	a) Research b) Literacy & awareness c) Training and income generation	375 Kamaiya, 1248 women
Informal Sector Service Center (INSEC)	Five districts	40	a) Research b) Literacy and awareness c) Non-formal, formal and vocational education	1310 children, 1396 women, 732 Kamaiya (1993-97)
Rural Reconstruction Nepal (RRN)	Bardiya	6	a) Literacy and awareness b) Functional education and skill training c) Food security and micro-credit support	750 women and children (1996-97)
Lutheran World Federation/Water & Sanitation Programme (LWF/WSP)	Kailali	4	a) Literacy and formal education b) Income generation programme	1945 women and 1905 men
South Asia Partnership (SAP/Nepal)	Bardiya	1	a) Literacy and awareness b) Support for income generation	271 Kamaiya, 118 children, 153 Kamaiya family members
Plan International	Banke	3	a) Education and training, b) Health c) Livelihood	Ground work started
Backward Society Education (BASE)	Five Kamaiya districts and Salyan district	72	a) Education support b) Women development & income generation c) Kamaiya support	1427 Kamaiya, 26 children, 251 Kamaiya wives
Society for Participatory Cultural Education (SPACE)			a) Action Research b) REFLECT Centers c) NFE and awareness d) Kitchen gardening	40 Female member of Kamaiya families
Action Aid Nepal (AAN)	Kanchanpur	5	Advocacy Intervention	
General Federation of Nepalese Trade Union , GEFONT/Kamaiya Liberation Front	Five districts	5	Peaceful movement	All Kamaiyas

Source: Sharma and Thakurathi (1998, pp. 25-26)

The BASE started its programme through non-formal education and civil right. At that time its core objective was 'education for transformation'. BASE had never compromised its fundamental commitment to the 'Tharu emancipation through Tharu leadership'. The movement targeted the most oppressed Kamaiya who had saunki and living in houses provided by landlord (Odegaard, 1999). The INSEC had awareness raising and informal education programme. Similarly, RRN had child education and literacy class to Kamaiya. Apart from these, several local and regional NGOs had been working in the sector of Kamaiya. There are several bilateral agencies, INGOs and NGOs working in this sector. Sharma and Thakurathi (1998) noted that there were more than one dozen of NGOs during the mid 1990s. Some NGOs have Kamaiya related programmes from their own internal sources too as shown in Table 3.8. Major programmes of the NGOs were in advocacy for freedom, land rights, human rights and education for children and adult.

3.4.1.5 Skill Development and Income Generation

The Department of Land Reform (DLR) started the Kamaiya loan eradication programme (*Kamaiya Rin Mochan Tatha Britti BikasKaryakram*) in 1997 through the District Kamaiya Loan Eradication Fund (*Jilla Kamaiya Rin mochan Kosh*). The fund was established in Rural Development Bank and worth NRs. 100 thousand for one fiscal year (MoLRM, 2009). This programme was also not a success because Kamaiya could not access the fund. After the freedom of Kamaiya the Government often tried to adopt Gramin Bank model (Rural Development Bank). For instance, to provide credit to poor women like Kamlahari, who lack collateral, but demonstrate entrepreneurial initiative. In practice, because the bank is staffed entirely by Paharis, many of whom themselves come from Jamindar households with abusive Kamaiya practices, its efforts remain concentrated in areas settled by poor Paharis who have recently migrated from the Hills, and overlook neighbouring Tharus' villages (Rankin, 1999).

Several skill development and income generation programme were launched by the

government for improving economic conditions of the Kamaiya. Rehabilitation of children of Kamaiya and skill development trainings like tailoring, plumbing, press composing, electric fitting, weaving, haircutting and carpentry were also launched by government. The Ministry of Labour launched the *Kamaiya Mahila Shiksha Bikas Talim Karyakram* focusing on the Kamaiya women. This programme was implemented through organizing Kamaiya into groups. Group saving mobilization, revolving fund support, entrepreneur development programme etc. are major programmes under this.

3.4.2 After Emancipation

Just after the freedom, Kamaiya were supported by the Government and NGOs for short term relief and rehabilitation. After Kamaiya freedom, all most all NGOs who were working in the districts directly or indirectly are supporting Mukta Kamaiya. The NGO having special focus programmes in Mukta Kamaiya are listed in Table 3.15 below with major types of programmes and tentative beneficiaries, as per the information provided in their publication and websites.

3.4.2.1 Kamaiya Enumeration

The Kamaiya record taken in 1995 was updated by the district level Kamaiya Rehabilitation and Coordination Committee (DKRCC) after the freeing of Kamaiya in 2000. The DLROs of respective districts updated the data of Kamaiya and identified 18,400 Mukta Kamaiya, categorized them and distributed identity cards accordingly as shown in Table 3.9 below:

Table 3.9: Categorization of Mukta Kamaiya by the Government of Nepal in 2000

Class	Description	Card Type
Class 'A'	The households having no land at all and residing at the house provided by the corresponding landlord	Red
Class 'B'	The households occupying informal land with a house for living but having no registered land	Blue
Class 'C'	The households having less than 2 <i>kattha</i> of registered land and having own house	Yellow
Class 'D'	The households having more than 2 <i>kattha</i> of registered land and having own house	White

Note: 30 kattha = 1 ha. = 1.5 bigha

There were strong arguments that large numbers of Mukta Kamaiyawere left out in Mukta Kamaiya census of 2000 hence, once again, application was invited from the left out Mukta Kamaiya in 2002. From 20,756 applicants, 14,109 (68%) applicants were considered as category 'A' and 'B' Mukta Kamaiya and included in rehabilitation programme. Now, the total number of Mukta Kamaiya households as authenticated by the Government of Nepal is 32,509 (table 3.12) of which 27,570 (85%) HHs having red card (A) and blue card (B) are considered as feasible to receive land and house construction supports from the government.

Table 3.10: Distribution of Mukta Kamaiya Households as of June 2002.

District	Red Card Holder (A)	Blue Card Holder (B)	Yellow Card Holder (C)	White Card Holder (D)	Total
Dang	302	403	397	324	1,426
Banke	1,118	803	135	260	2,316
Bardiya	6,469	5,082	1,115	1,833	14,499
Kailali	3,758	5,217	189	598	9,762
Kanchanpur	3,923	495	33	55	4,506
Total	15,570	12,000	1,869	3,070	32,509

Source: MoLRM (2009)

3.4.2.2 Land Distribution

The Government of Nepal also tried to support Mukta Kamaiya to buy land through 'Land Bank Programme' (Bhumi Banks Karyakram). The main objective of the programme

was to provide loan to landless to buy agricultural land. For this purpose, the Government had allocated NRs.50 million in 2005. This fund was deposited in Agriculture Development Bank (ADB). The characteristics of the programme were providing long term loan (15 years) in low interest rate (3%) of the maximum amount of NRs. 150 thousand. This programme was not only targeting the Mukta Kamaiya, but all the landless people of Nepal. In 2006, this programme was tested in Mukta Kamaiya of Banke and Kailali in which 115 Kamaiya took loan NRs 17.282 million and purchased 35-04-04 bigha land (MoLRM, 2009). This programme was not successful, and was criticized by most of the Mukta Kamaiyas.

Table 3.11: Basis of land Determining to be Distributed to Each Household of Mukta Kamaiya

S.N.	Location	Area of land per household
1	Land within municipality or adjacent to highways	Max. 1 <i>Kattha</i> (338.63 sq. m.)
2	Land around highways	Max. 2 <i>Kattha</i> (677.26 sq. m.)
3	Land in rural areas	Max. 5 <i>Kattha</i> (1,693.15 sq. m.)

Source: MoLRM (2009)

The source of land to be redistributed to Mukta Kamaiya is mostly state land. River bank, forest land with little or no forest, land allocated to company and board and industry, but are in closed conditions etc. are the major source of state land to be redistributed. The maximum size of land distribution to individual household is based on the location of land. It has decided to provide a maximum 1 kattha in municipality and adjacent to highway, maximum 2 kattha around the highway and maximum 5 kattha in rural areas (see Table 3.11). Three quarters of Mukta Kamaiya families (20,651 HHs) have distributed 4206-10-0 bigha land by the end of June 15, 2010 (see table 3.12). Though the Government has targeted to rehabilitate all the Mukta Kamaiya by the end of June 2009 but 6,922 HHs (25%) are still waiting for a piece of land after one decade since their freedom. The redistributed land to Mukta Kamaiya is restricted to sell for one generation.

Table 3.12: Land Distribution to Mukta Kamaiya (as end of 15 June 2010)

District	Eligible HHs to receive land	Total Rehabilitated HH	Distributed Land (Bigha)	HH yet to be distributed
Dang	705	705	126-1-12	0
Banke	1,921	1921	223-10-6	0
Bardiya	11,551	7,451	1647-13-13	4,100
Kailali	8,975	6,153	1217-18-10	2,822
Kanchanpur	4,418	4,418	991-15-19	0
Total	27,570	20,651	4206-10-0	6,922 (25%)

Source: DoLRM (2009, p. 43).

3.4.2.3 House Construction and Infrastructure Development:

The Government of Nepal agreed to support 35 cubic feet timber and NRs. 10,000 cash to homeless freed Kamaiya to construct houses. According to a record, 11,786 HH received NRs. 110.294 million cash support, and 2,728 HHs received 90407.78 cubic feet timber to construct house by the end of June 2009 (see Table below 3.13).

Table 3.13: Cash and Timber Support to Construct House (as of June 2009)

a. Cash Support

District	Landless Mukta Kamaiya (HH)	HH received cash	Cash Received (NRs '000)
Dang	705	329	3,300
Banke	1,921	1,024	8,750
Bardiya	11,551	3,112	28,734
Kailali	8,975	3,685	34,312
Kanchanpur	4,418	3,636	35,198
Total	27,570	11,786	110,294

Source: MoLRM (2009, p. 26)

b. Timber Support

District	Timber support	
	Household	Quantity (Cubic feet)
Dang	413	6,195
Banke	129	4,515
Bardiya	883	30,905
Kailali	598	24,117.78
Kanchanpur	705	24,675
Total	2,728	90,407.78

Source: MoLRM (2009, p. 26)

House construction is supported by the Government and NGOs. In initial phase, it was supported by consortium project of the Ministry of Local Development (MoLD), World Food Programme (WFP) and German Technical Cooperation (GTZ). The Freed Kamaiya Food Security Programme (FKFSP) project was implemented in the five districts for three years (2000 to 2003). The WFP provided rice; MoLD provided construction materials and implementation parts; and GTZ provided technical assistance and social mobilization. The major objective of the project was to increase the access to food security of the newly freed Kamaiya having no land and house (category A and B). Community infrastructure (village roads, houses, schools, irrigation canals, fish ponds etc.) were constructed through which. In two years period, 633 houses were constructed. Sum total 1,883 MT rice was distributed to 5,975 households with annual average of 321 kg rice per HH (MoLRM, 2009). Additionally, Mukta Kamaiyas were also supported for income generation activities.

It is criticized that many ex-Kamaiya in camps got only three kilograms of coarse rice for a day's work - much below the minimum wage of 60 rupees per day (Sharma, 2001). The technical design of houses supported by GTZ/FKFSP was also not considered culturally suitable for the Tharu households. It was a two-room design with bricks and roof. Once they constructed the house according to the design, the project would give the ex-Kamaiya an additional 250 kilograms of rice. The cultural practices of Tharu housing were different. Tharu houses must face either the north or the south. They need at least three rooms. This is both for religio-cultural needs, and for sheer practicality: they have large families. In the present design, suitable only for four-member families, some have to sleep in the kitchen. The average family size was six (Cheria, Kandangwa, & Upadhyaya, 2005). Most of the constructed house had tin roof with incompatible with climatic condition of the area.

Table 3.14 House Constructed for Mukta Kamaiya

District	Landless and Homeless Mukta Kamaiy (HHs)	No. of house constructed
Dang	705	
Banke	1,921	
Bardiya	11,551	
Kailali	8,975	945 by KPUS/LWF, AAN/CCS: 56
Kanchanpur	4,418	AAN/NNSWA: 100
Total	27,570	633 by GTZ (2001-2002) AAN 610 LWF 945 Total: 2,188

Source: Extracted from website and reports of respective organization (2011)

Later on, house construction of Mukta Kamaiyawas supported by other INGOs like Action Aid Nepal (AAN), Lutheran World Federation (LWF) etc. With the support of LWF, 945 houses were constructed in Kailali districts (Mikkola & Thakali, 2008). The AAN supported the construction low of cost housing type to Mukta Kamaiya. Six hundere and ten houses were constructed by the AAN by the end of 2009 (AAN, 2008). These two organizations also supported the construction of community building, school etc. in the Mukta Kamaiya settlements. Similarly, Building with Books (BwB) and Room to Read (R2R) support school building construction in the districts including in Mukta Kamaiya settlements.

3.4.2.4 Education

UNICEF, Save the Children etc. implemented Early Childhood Development (ECD) and child clubs in the settlements. Similarly, with the assistance of ILO's DDC some classes were implemented. However, these classes were far below the total need. The government launched two three-year programmes specifically for the ex-Kamaiya children. The Outreach School Programme is for the six to eight age groups and the flexible school programme is for the eight to twelve age groups. The ILO/IPEC has been working in Nepal from 1995 targeting 15,000 worst forms of children. However, the ILO really started to work for children of Mukta Kamaiya from 2003 with its education programme with local NGOs in all settlements of the

five districts. The BASE has implemented Early Child Education (ECD), Child Club, Child Friendly Village (CFV), Scholarship Support etc. programme in the five Mukta Kamaiya districts that certainly benefited children of Mukta Kamaiya along with others. Under education and child development programme, some schools are supported for classroom construction, repair and maintenance and education material supports. Child labourers were rescued by children in CFV. Though the programmes have good initiatives and progress, it has still not reached all the five districts, and is far much below than the demand (BASE, 2009). Now, some NGOs like Room to Read (R2R) and Friends of Needy Children (FNC) are supporting education of the rescued Kamlahari girls. From 2010 (Fiscal Year 2066/67 BS), the Government has started to allocate some money for education and rehabilitation of kamlahari in six districts (five districts and additionally Surkhet).

Educating the children needs long term programmes and scholarships should cover at least the educational expenses of a child. The amount of scholarship is nominal, and not fixed it does not ensure the education of children. The Government is providing scholarship of worth NRs. 1,000; 1500, 1700 and 5000 in primary, lower secondary, secondary and higher secondary per annum to the Kamlahris (Interview with FNC staff Mr. Jagat Ram Tharu, Sep. 12, 2010).

3.4.2.5 Health and Sanitation

This sector is supported by both the Government and non-governmental agencies. From the Government side, it is supported from health centers and district hospitals. The DDC had a toilet and drinking water programme in collaboration with International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and Western Terai Poverty Alleviation Project (WTPAP). The NGOs are particularly involved in awareness raising, distribution of hand pump for drinking water, toilet construction and distribution. Helen Keller International (HKI) has implemented food security and nutrition programme targeting to women and children in

Kanchanpur district. The BASE had implemented School Health and Nutrition (SHN) programme in Kailali district. Under this programme albendazole tablet for deworming and Iron tablet is distributed to school children (BASE, 2009). Nepal Water for Health (NEWAH) has drinking water and sanitation programme in selected settlements of Mukta Kamaiya.

3.4.2.6 Skill Development and Income generation

For capacity development and income generation programme, the Government has formulated, group in Mukta Kamaiya settlements. As per the record of the Government, 817 groups were formed having 16,176 members. These groups are involved in saving-credit activities, and the Government supports revolving fund (NRs 3,000 to 30,000) to each groups. For income generation activities, a fund is established in DLRO from where interested entrepreneurs can take loan by following specified processes. Under this programme very small fragment of Mukta Kamaiya (587) had taken loans.

The Government of Nepal provided 26 types skill developments training to the Mukta Kamaiya, but the application of training was found to be less. In 2008/09, the Government assessment showed that 44.22 % trainees were engaged in their own enterprise and received jobs in the market (MoLRM, 2009, p. 58). Employment Contact Centre was established in each district to link skilled Mukta Kamaiya to the employers. In 2009, 1,462 peoples succeeded receiving job through this centers (MoLRM, 2009, p. 59).

Table 3.15: Efforts of NGOs to Improve the Livelihood of Mukta Kamaiya

Name of organization	Geographical Coverage	Types of programme	Beneficiary	Reference
BASE	Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur	-Education and child development -Health and sanitation -Income generation -Disaster Preparedness and Response (DPR)	Children: 9,116 Income generation: Women & Adolescent: 583 (in 2009)	(BASE, 2009)
KPUS/LWF	Kailali 12 VDCs	Advocacy, Income generation, house construction, Drinking water and irrigation	140 groups with 2,142 freed Kamaiya households from 2003-2007.	(Mikkola & Thakali, 2008)
AAN	Five districts	Low cost housing, Access to community forest (CF), Income generation and Advocacy	610 low cost housing CF: 13,952 HHs accessed over CFs 8 agro-based cooperative (646 former Kamaiya households)	(AAN, 2009; AAN, 2007)
ILO/SEBL (1999 to 2005)	Nawalparasi, Rupandehi, Kapilvastu, Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur	-Education (formal, non-formal and vocational/skill training) -Rescuing children from exploitative work -Income generation	-Formal Schooling 6,116 children -Out of school programme 2812 children -Basic Literacy to 3,512 adults -Vocational/skills training to 641 -withdrawing 153 girls from exploitative work -Income generating activities to 17	(ILO/IPEC, n.d.)
Friend of Needy Children (FNC)	Five districts	-Awareness raising against Kamlahari system -Rescuing Kamalari -Formal Education support -Vocational and Skill training	Vocational training: 940 girls Rescued Kamlahari-10,386 Hostel for study- 294 girls	(FNC, n.d.)
Society for Participatory Cultural Education (SPACE)	Bardiya	-Awareness raising and leadership -Education (informal and formal)	Community Empowerment and sustainable livelihood program , 2009-2013	http://www.awonepal.org.np (home page)
Plan/Nirdhan	Dang, Banke, Bardiya	-Cooperative and Saving -Income generation	Freed Kamaiya Livelihood Project (2008-2013): 7,500 freed Kamaiya families	Plan Nepal homepage

Source: Based on the website and reports of respective organizations (2011)

LWF/N has implemented second phase project entitled 'freed Kamaiya rehabilitation project' from 2003-2007 in 12 VDCs of Kailali covering 140 groups. Mukta Kamaiya were organized into 140 groups constituting 2,142 HHs (32 % Mukta Kamaiya of Kailali i.e. 9,100 households). The major components of income generation programme were semi-commercial vegetable farming, small livestock farming (goat, pig, and fishery) and off-farm based skill developments (Mikkola & Thakali, 2008). Similarly, the AAN also continuously implement Mukta Kamaiya rehabilitation programme. Mukta Kamaiyas are supported to organize agro-based cooperative for income generations. By the end of 2007, there were 8 agro-cooperative benefiting 646 former Kamaiya households. Likewise, accessibility to community forest by Mukta Kamaiya increased. Thus, 13,952 former Kamaiya households have access to community forestry (AAN, 2007).

3.4.2.7 Conclusion

After the establishment of multiparty democracy in 1990, the Kamaiya system became the issue of bonded labour where government, non-government and international society played crucial role for their liberation in Nepal. Before the liberation, the programme mostly targeted awareness raising, education and advocacy. After their freedom, the interventions of the Government and the NGOs sectors shifted to rehabilitation, formal education, skill development and income generation. Land distribution and house construction, which are considered major rehabilitation programme to Mukta Kamaiya are still not complete. Nearly one quarter of Mukta Kamaiyas had not received land. The house construction support still falls below the number of Mukta Kamaiya families. The low cost housing support by the NGOs is very limited. The skill development and enterprising training of Mukta Kamaiyas is less utilized by them due to the lack of business startup capital, follow up and monitoring.

Education support to children of Mukta Kamaiya should be extended to higher education. Thus, an overall the support to Mukta Kamaiya from the government and the NGO is incredible but limited in number and coverage. The Mukta Kamaiya rehabilitation commission should develop a comprehensive plan in consultation with donor agencies to rehabilitate the Mukta Kamaiya rather than the individual projectized approach of the NGOs.

CHAPTER- 04: STATUS OF MUKTA KAMAIYA AND JAMINDAR

4.1 Introduction

In chapter 2, the data collection methodology is described. This chapter analyzes the data collected from the field survey, and the results are used to determine the present status of Mukta Kamaiya and landlords. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section deals with the socio-economic situation of Mukta Kamaiya; the second section describes the Kamlahri form of child labour, and the final section explains the implication of the banning of the Kamaiya labour in farm management of the landlords.

4.2 Overview of Mukta Kamaiya

Slavery system existed for the second time in the form of Kamaiya system in the history of Nepal after the eradication of Kamara-Kamari system in 1924. Kamaiya system is a forced and bonded form of slavery. It was founded in one of the indigenous nationalities called Tharus of western Nepal namely; Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts. In this system, not only Kamaiya, but, more often, the whole household of Kamaiya, was bonded with landlord to perform different types of agricultural and domestic works. The people working under this system are known as Kamaiyas (bonded labourers). This system was in existence openly until 2000 before the declaration of Kamaiya freedom by the cabinet on July 17, 2000. Thereafter, the Kamaiya system became illegal. Since then, the freed-bonded labourers/ ex-Kamaiyas are widely called Mukta Kamaiya in Nepali.

It became a big headache for the government to settle this problem after their freedom. The information of Kamaiya was updated in 2000 and 2002. In each succeeding enumeration, there was increased number of Mukta Kamaiyas. The first enumeration in 1995 recognized 15,152 households as Kamaiyas. The number in the second enumeration in 2000 reached to 18,400, and for the third time in 2002, it reached to 32,509. The detail information based on

the final enumeration is presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Status of Mukta Kamaiya Rehabilitation as of June, 2010.

Description	District					Total
	Dang	Banke	Bardiya	Kailali	Kanchanpur	
Total Households	1,426	2,316	14,499	9,762	4,506	32,509
Family need not to be rehabilitated (having land)	721	395	2948	787	88	4,939
Family need to be rehabilitated	705	1,921	11,551	8,975	4,418	27,570
Households rehabilitated	705	1,921	7,451	6,153	4,418	20,648
Remaining households to be Rehabilitated	0	0	4,100	2,822	0	6,922 (25% of 27,570)
Distributed land (ha)	84.05	149.01	1098.46	811.95	661.20	2804.33

Source: MoLRM (2009); RKJS (2010).

The conditions of households were so poor and vulnerable that 85% did not have land and 52% were homeless as well. To address the problem, the Government arranged organizational setup and started a rehabilitation programme. The single most important component of the rehabilitation programme is the land redistribution and the house construction support. Other components are skill, employment and enterprising. As a first step in 2000, the government categorized Mukta Kamaiya into four categories (A, B, C, and D) and provided Red, Blue, Yellow and White colored identity card respectively. The categorization is based on the land and house ownership (for details see the literature review section). Class A and B (Red and Blue card holder respectively) have no registered land; hence they are considered for the rehabilitation programme. The categorization and provision of identity card is made to make the rehabilitation process easy, and to avoid the land redistribution benefiting the land owning class of Mukta Kamaiya. All together, 27,570 households were/are considered for land redistribution. The progress in terms of land

redistribution is presented in Table 4.1. By the end of June 2010, 75% households (20,651) received land ranging from 0.40 to 5 kattha per HH based on the location and market value of the distributed land. The land redistribution was officially completed in three districts (Dang, Banke and Kanchanpur) out of five districts. However there is still voices from the lefts out Mukta Kamaiyas enumeration.

Those Mukta Kamaiya who had own registered lands (C and D category) were resettled in their respective places. But the landless Mukta Kamaiya from the whole district are resettled in a certain place forming village/settlement. So in this study, I tried to cover all the four categories of Mukta Kamaiya to draw their actual socio-economic situation. In the following sub-section, the detail socio-economic parameters are dealt with separately.

4.3 Social and Economic Condition of Mukta Kamaiya: Data from the field

Socio-Economic Status (SES) is mainly determined by the family structure, education, income and expenditure. Apart from these major indicators, several allied indicators are discussed here to reflect the status of Mukta Kamaiya in the studied area.

4.3.1 Family and Occupation:

Average family size of the sampled households (HHs) is higher than the national as well as the district average except in Bardiya. In Bardiya, the family size of Mukta Kamaiya is slightly smaller than the district family size (Table 4.2). Average family size in the sampled household (HH) is found, 6.5; whereas the national average is 5.45. The district average family size is 5.74 in Banke and 6.42 in Bardiya (CBS, 2005a; CBS, 2007a). The family size is slightly higher in the case of Banke (6.85) than in Bardiya (6.15), but it does not differ

significantly. Overall family size in terms of adult equivalent (AE¹⁶) is 5.60, 5.89 in Banke and 5.31 in Bardiya. Average family size in terms of number and AE is comparatively higher in Banke than in Bardiya. The Majority of the Mukta Kamaiya have small family size (less than 5 family members) followed by medium and very few large family size (see Table 4.2).

Dependency ratio shows the proportion of depended members in the family. It is viewed by two ways: by age and economically active members. Dependent members in the family may be children and elderly people. Hence, it can also be viewed in terms of child and elderly dependency ratio. An Internationally accepted age to elderly people is above 65 years. However, it differs from one country to another and the nature of work. In Nepal, 58 to 60 years age is considered as elderly age. Therefore, I considered 60 years as elderly age in this study. Economically active population is defined as the population of age 10 plus involved in the economic activities in any length of time within a year (Shrestha, 2003). Students, domestic chores, child care, collection of wood and drinking water etc. are not considered as economic activities (NLFS, 2009). In the studied HHs of Mukta Kamaiya, the dependency ratio, both in terms of age and economically active members, is below 1. Dependency in terms of economically active member is slightly higher than the category of age. It reflects the unavailability of job and increasing consensus on child labour. Likewise, dependency ratio both by age and economically active members is slightly higher in Banke than Bardiya, but it is not significantly different.

¹⁶ AE is aggregate measures of family size that standardize consumption unit within the household taking age, and sex of household members into account. Detail conversion is shown in Annex 3.

Table 4.2: Major Socio-economic description of sampled household in the study districts

Attribute	Banke (n=60)	Bardiya (n=60)	Overall (n=120)	P-value
Average family size per HH (in number)	6.85	6.15	6.50	0.258
Average family size per HH-Adult Equivalent (AE)	5.89	5.31	5.60	0.243
Family size by category				
Small (<5)	30 (50.0)	35 (58.3)	64 (53.3)	0.573
Medium (5 to 10)	25 (41.7)	22 (36.7)	48 (40.0)	
Large (> 10)	5 (8.3)	3 (5.0)	8 (6.7)	
Dependency ration				
Average dependency ratio per HH by Age group ¹⁷	0.43	0.40	0.42	0.656
Average dependency ratio per HH by Economic activities ¹⁸	0.95	0.88	0.91	0.684
Child dependency ration (below 16 years) ¹⁹	0.67	0.62	0.65	0.712
Elderly dependency ratio (above 60 years) ²⁰	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.818
Sex of the HHH				
Male	49 (81.7)	45 (75.0)	94 (78.3)	0.375
Female	11 (18.3)	15 (25.0)	26 (21.7)	
Average age of HHH (years)	41	38	40	0.154
Primary occupation of HHH				
Daily wage labour	34 (56.7)	22 (36.7)	56 (46.7)	0.091*
Farming	20 (33.3)	28 (46.7)	48 (40.0)	
Business/Enterprise	5 (8.3)	4 (6.7)	9 (7.5)	
Salaried job in Nepal	0 (0.0)	3 (5.0)	3 (2.5)	
Working abroad including in India	1 (1.7)	3 (5.0)	4 (3.3)	
Primary occupation of all HH member²¹	n=303	n=280	n=583	
Daily wage labour	110 (36.4)	65 (23.2)	175 (30.1)	0.006***
Farming including domestic chores	78 (25.8)	103 (36.8)	181 (31.1)	
Business/Enterprise	15 (5.0)	8 (2.9)	23 (4.0)	
Salaried job in Nepal	6 (2.0)	7 (2.5)	13 (2.2)	
Working aboard including India	12 (4.0)	13 (4.6)	25 (4.3)	
Student/ Studying	81 (26.8)	84 (30.0)	165 (28.4)	

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Values in parenthesis are in per centage

* and *** represent significant at 10% and 1% level of significance respectively.

¹⁷ Dependency Ratio by Age group is the number of children (below the age 16) plus elder (above the age 60) divided by the number of people aged between 16 to 60 years.

¹⁸ Dependency ratio by Economic Activities is the ratio of economically non-active members to economically active members (involved in any sorts of income generating activities)

¹⁹ Child Dependency Ratio is calculated by dividing number of children below age 16 years to the number of people aged between 16 to 60 years.

²⁰ Elderly Dependency Ratio is calculated by dividing the number of elderly people (aged above 60 years) to the number of people aged between 16 to 60 years.

²¹ Population between 10-60 years is considered for economic activities

Household head (HHH) represents the chief person in a household who has decisive role. Nepa still have dominant patriarchal structure of family where women are less privileged. It was found that only one-fifth (21.7%) of house was headed by female, and it is higher in Bardiya than in Banke. In terms of districts comparison, it does not differ significantly. This figure is higher than the national average i.e. 14.99 (UNFPA, 2002). Age of the HHH is also important in terms of maturity and having experience to manage the household activities. Average age of the HHH was found to be 40 years, and it varies slightly between two districts.

Primary occupation is the major occupation in terms of devolution of time and the proportion of income. From Table 4.1, majority of HHH's primary occupation is daily wage labour (46.7%), followed by farming (40.0%) and others. Significantly, a higher number of HHH is depend on daily wage labour in Banke, but it is not so in case of Bardiya. In Bardiya, majority of HHH (46.7%) depend on farming followed by wage labour (36.7%). The reason of higher number of HHH involved in wage labour in Banke is due to the location advantage. The study area (Kohalpur VDC) of Banke district is in the heart of Kohalpur market center (Kohalpur is the second biggest market center in Banke). But the study area (Kalika VDC) of Bardiya district is far from the district head quarter (approx. 7 km) and market center (approx. 4 km). There is less opportunity to get daily wage labour. So, a large number of HHHs have farming occupation. The findings are supported by Kvalbein(2007) who found casual labour as a dominant occupation followed by share cropping in Mukta Kamaiya. In terms of primary occupation of members of household follows the almost same pattern as in case of head of the household. It was found that 30.1% population depend on daily wage labour. But slightly higher numbers of members (31.1%) depend on farming as compared to the daily wage labour due to the inclusion of domestic chore workers in this category. There is more than one quarter (28.4%) of people having their main occupation as students. The primary occupation

between the two districts is highly significant.

4.3.2 Physical Assets of Mukta Kamaiya

Physical asset is one of the most important livelihood elements in developing countries including Nepal. It provides security to the household by providing income and maintains social prestige in the society. I have considered land, livestock, house ownership, telephone/mobile, bicycle and radio/television as the physical assets in the study area. The latter three assets, namely telephon/mobile, radio/television and bicycle are also considered as basic services for the community and hence are discussed in successive sub-topics (Table 4.4).

In my studied households, 89% has received land from the government's redistributive land reform programme. The proportion of land received per household is significantly higher in Bardiya than in Banke. The average size of land received by individual household is small in size. Large segments (47% HHs) of Mukta Kamaiya have 2-5 kattha sized land or even less than 1 kattha (38% HHs). The size of land ownership is significantly different between two districts. More than 75% of HHs in Banke have 1-2 kattha land whereas 93% HHs in Bardiya have 2-5 kattha land. The variation in land holding is due to the government policy of land redistribution based on the economic value and accessibility of distributed land. The Government of Nepal has decided a maximum of 0.5 kattha in the market center, 1 kattha in municipality and adjacent to highway, and 5 kattha in rural areas to each household (MoLRM, 2009). In national scenario, 75% households of Mukta Kamaiya received land. Land redistribution has been completed in Banke, Dang and Kainchanpur districts; whereas it is on going in Bardiya and Kailali districts. Thirty-six per cent HHs (4,100) in Bardiya and 32% HHs (2,822) in Banke districts have still not received land from the government (Table 4.1). There are remarkable numbers of Mukta Kamaiyas left out of the government enumeration. It is due to the exclusion from the government identification, left out to submit application due

to the Maoist insurgency in the country. The situation was unsafe and difficult particularly to youngsters and middleaged people from either side. That is why some of the people temporarily moved to India during the Mukta Kamaiya identification in 2000 and 2002 respectively. This issue is politicized. The given land is just sufficient to make house and kitchen gardening. That is why majority of Mukta Kamaiya are shifting their occupation from farming to daily wage labour and off-farm activities (skill labour and business). But middle aged people (generally more than 45 years) are still interested in farming since they have spent their whole life in agriculture. It is reflected by involvement of Mukta Kamaiyain share cropping. In my study area, 24% HHs are involved in share cropping. Districtwise, 30% households in Banke and 18% HHs in Bardiya are involved in this profession as their major source of livelihood. In the share cropping, produce is equally distributed between the share cropper and the landowner. Except production inputs like chemical fertilizers and pesticides, all other inputs and labour should be invested by the share cropper.



Eighty-six per cent of Mukta Kamaiyas have temporary-types houses, and just 14% HHs have concrete- types of houses. Nearly, all Mukta Kamaiyas (97%) have temporary-types houses in Banke, and this is significantly higher than in Bardiya (75%). Strictly speaking, the

huts are small and are in poor condition. Size of hut is generally 1.5-2 meter height with 5-10 meter width (see Fig 4.1). It is thatched by locally available materials. It hardly protects from heavy rain and risky during storm. The Government has supported timber and cash for house construction to the homeless Mukta Kamaiya. By the end of June 2009, nearly 43% HHs received cash support and 19% households received timber support. Ten thousand Nepali Rupees and 32 cubic feet timber were supplied to individual households (MoLRM, 2009). The low cost housing (concrete type) programme is implemented in the settlements by the INGOs. It is two roomed with balcony and roofed by cement tile (see photo 4.2). In the study sites in Bardiya, Mukta Kamaiyas were rehabilitated earlier than in Banke, so the house construction programme was implemented by the INGOs. But in case of Banke, the land distribution in the settlement was recently completed and, hence no one house has been constructed by the INGO. The large numbers of households are waiting to get support for the house construction.

Most of the Mukta Kamaiyas were newly rehabilitated (onward 2001), and so, they do not have woody trees and fruit plants. They have planted some common fruit plants like Mango, guava, papaya etc. in their homes but most of trees are not in fruiting stage. Regarding the rearing of livestock, it is also not so common in commercial scale. Most of the households keep small livestock like poultry, goat and pig. Pig is socially and culturally preferred meat in Tharu community and most of them have pigs. Seventeen per cent of Mukta Kamaiya HHs do not have any livestock. Those who have livestock have them small in numbers. More than three-quarter (77%) HHs have <5 AE livestock. The livestock size is significantly different in two districts. The average size of livestock holding per household is 1.62, and it is significantly higher in Bardiya (1.91) than in Banke (Table 4.3). The higher number of livestock per household in Bardiya is due to the rural based economy, i.e. farming rather than casual labour.

Table 4.3: Physical Assets with Mukta Kamaiya Household in Studied Area

Physical Asset	Banke (n=60)	Bardiya (n=60)	Overall (n=120)	P-value
Land ownership				
No. of HH having land	50 (83.3)	57 (95.0)	107 (89.2)	0.040**
No. of HH without land	10 (16.6)	3 (5.07)	13 (10.8)	
Land holding by category	0.9	4.36	2.63	0.000***
No land	10 (16.7)	3 (5.0)	13 (10.8)	0.000***
<1 kattha ²²	46 (76.7)	0 (0.0)	46 (38.3)	
1-2 kattha	2 (3.3)	1 (1.7)	3 (2.5)	
>2-5 kattha	0 (0.0)	56 (93.3)	56 (46.7)	
> 5 kattha	2 (3.3)	0 (0.0)	2 (1.7)	
HH involved in Share cropping	18 (30.0)	11 (18.3)	29 (24.2)	0.136
Type of house				
Temporary (hut/mud)	58 (96.7)	45 (75.0)	103 (85.8)	0.001***
Concrete with cemented tile	2 (3.3)	15 (25.0)	17 (14.2)	
Average Livestock holding per HH (LSU²³)	1.32	1.91	1.62	0.093*
Livestock holding by category				
No livestock	18 (30.0)	2 (3.3)	20 (16.7)	0.000***
Small (< 5 LSU)	37 (61.7)	55 (91.7)	92 (76.7)	
Medium (5-10 LSU)	5 (8.3)	3 (5.0)	8 (6.7)	

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Values in parenthesis are in per centage

*, ** and *** represent significant at 10%, 5% and 1% level of significance, respectively

4.3.3 Access to Basic Facilities

Physical access of the studied households over some basic services like all season road (graveled or black topped), drinking water, government health post and agriculture service center was found satisfactory. Bicycle is the most common means of transportation for the rural poor in Tarai and, hence more than 80% HHs have bicycle for short and medium distance travel (usually one day bicycle travel). The accessibility/ownership of radio/television, telephone/mobile, Community Forest (CF) and electricity is poor. The

²²Kattha is a local land measurement unit prevalent in Tarai region of Nepal. It is equivalent to 20 dhur=1 kattha, 20 kattha = 1 bigha, 1.5 bigha = 1 ha.

²³ LSU is aggregates of different types of livestock kept at household in standard unit calculated by using equivalent in Annex 4.

accessibility to radio/television is slightly above 50%, but the accessibility to other over three services i.e. telephone/mobile, CF and electricity is below 50%. There is no significant difference in accessibility of radio/television, telephone/mobile and bicycle between the two districts. But the accessibility to CF and electricity is significantly higher in Bardiya than Banke. Thirty eight per cent of households have accessibility to electricity in Bardiya, but it is just 8% in Banke. Similarly, 50% HHs have accessibility to CF in Bardiya but it is just 23% in Banke districts (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Access of Interviewed Household to Basic Facilities in Studied Area

Basic Facilities	Banke (n=60)	Bardiya (n=60)	Overall (n=120)	P-value
All season road (gravel or black topped)	60 (100.0)	45 (75)	105 (87.5)	0.000***
Drinking water (Tube-well)	60 (100.0)	60 (100.0)	120 (100.0)	1.000
Health services center	60 (100.0)	60 (100.0)	120 (100.0)	1.000
Agricultural and livestock services center	60 (100.0)	45 (75.0)	105 (87.5)	0.000***
Bicycle	54 (90.0)	50 (83.3)	104 (86.7)	0.282
Radio/Television	32 (53.3)	37 (61.7)	69 (57.5)	0.355
Telephone/mobile	23 (38.3)	22 (36.7)	45 (37.5)	0.850
Community Forest	14 (23.3)	30 (50.0)	44 (36.7)	0.002***
Electricity	5 (8.3)	23 (38.3)	28 (23.3)	0.000***

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage

*** represent significant at 1% level of significance

The Difference inaccessibility of basic services is basically due to the progress of rehabilitation process. I have already mentioned above that the studied settlements of Bardiya were settled earlier (just after 2001) but in Banke, though land distribution process is complete, householdshave not been settled in their respective lands. More importantly, it is noteworthy to mention that the accessibility to services like health post, agriculture and livestock service center is good, but the quality of services is still questionable. In governmental health post, medicine is always inadequate so patients hardly get prescribed medicine. Similarly, the coverage area of agriculture and livestock service centers are

larger, but with limited staff. So technicians can not visit the farmers' field. There are measurable numbers of private firms providing these services, but for most Mukta Kamaya can not access due to the economic problem. That is why they either depend on *Gurau/Guruwa* (traditional healer and Shaman) or take loan for medical treatment. It should be noted that not a single HH has access to tap water (to drink). They are all relying on tube-well for drinking water.

4.3.4 Education

The educational status of Mukta Kamaiya and their family members is described in this sub-section. The education situation of head of the household of Mukta Kamaiya is depicted in Table 4.5. The high per centage of illiteracy persists in HHH of Mukta Kamaiya who manages the household. It is more than 50% in case of Banke and 37% in Bardiya, all together 44%. Additionally, large proportions, having informal education, feel difficulties in writing and simple calculation. So when informal education combines with illiteracy per centage it goes beyond 70% in total, though slightly lower in Bardiya. The attainment of formal education is decreasing with the level of education, and the majority of them have primary education (Table 4.5). There is no statistical difference in education between HHH of the studied districts.

The educational situation of sampled population is depicted in Tables 4.6 and 4.7. The illiteracy rate is 31% in Banke whereas is 28% in Bardiya. The informal education is significantly low in Banke (14%) than in Bardiya (16%). Primary education contributed the highest per centage (33 %) of the literacy rate of the sampled population followed by informal education (15 %) in both districts (Table 4.6 and Fig. 4.3). The per centage of literate people is inversely proportional to the level of education i.e. the higher the level of education, the lower is the per centage of people. No one has Bachelor's level of education in Bardiya

whereas there was only 1% in case of Banke. The different levels of education within the districts are highly significant. Similarly, when we observe the literacy rate in different age group (Table 4.7), it is clear that the literacy per centage is highest among the youngsters. Literacy rate is also inversely proportionate to the age i.e. matured and old aged population have low literacy rate. The overall literacy rate in aged 6-14 years is 98 % whereas it was only 48% in 25-60 years age group (Table 4.6 and Fig. 4.4). This clearly indicates that formal education has started since their liberation in 2000 and, hence the lower age groups have better literacy than the matured and old aged population. The literacy rate and school attendance is found encouraging in children with aged group 6-14 years. This is reflected in Table 4.8. The school dropout was 7%. It was higher in girls (11%) than in boys (2%) and particularly at primary level. It might be due to the entry age of children in particular domestic labour system called Kamlahri. The issue of Kamlahri child labour is dealt with the sub-section 4.4.

Table 4.5: Education Level of Head of household (HHH) of Sampled Mukta Kamaiya

Education of HHH	Banke (n=60)	Bardiya (n=60)	Overall (n=120)	P-value
Illiterate	31 (51.7)	22 (36.7)	53 (44.2)	0.415
Informal	16 (26.7)	18 (30.0)	34 (28.3)	
Primary (1 to 5 grade)	9 (15.0)	12 (20.0)	21 (17.5)	
Lower Secondary (up to 8 grade)	2 (3.3)	1 (1.7)	3 (2.5)	
Secondary (up to 10 grade)	1 (1.7)	5 (8.3)	6 (5.0)	
Higher Secondary/ Intermediate (up to 12 grade)	1 (1.7)	1 (1.7)	2 (1.7)	
Bachelor	0 (0.0)	1 (1.7)	1 (0.8)	
Total	60 (100)	60 (100)	120 (100)	

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage

The overall literacy per centage was 70%, of them Bardiya has slightly higher (72%) than Banke (68%). The literacy rate is significantly different by gender. Female has

significantly lower literacy rate than the male in both districts. Male literacy was 74% whereas female was 63% (Table 4.7). The literacy rate of sampled population was found to be higher than the district as well as national average. Literacy rate of Banke, Bardiya and national average is 58%, 46%, and 54% respectively (CBS, 2005a). The higher literacy rate is due to the contribution of informal education, educational programmes by different organizations and time period difference (CBS 2001 data already become 10 years old). The contribution of informal education is 14% in Banke and 16% in Bardiya. The literacy per centage of the district is also one decade old because in Nepal, National Census takes place in ten years interval. The socio-economic study of Mukta Kamaiya was conducted before their liberation. Studies conducted by INSEC (1992) and Sharma & Thakurathi (1998) in three districts namely Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur showed more than 75% illiteracy among Mukta Kamaiya including their family members. The major reason for not accessing education was due to the poor economic condition and necessity to be involved in work. Similarly, a recent study by Bhatta (2010) conducted in Bardiya showed that literacy is 46%. Likewise, a study conducted by Joshi (2006) in Dhangadhi municipality of Kailali showed 58% literacy. So the findings contradict with my findings. It is due to the limitation of this study that I could not confirm whether the people having informal education can read, write and compute (simple calculation) to satisfy the definition of education. So, it needs further investigation in this issue to know the exact difference between the formal and informal literate persons.

Table 4.6: Education Level by Age Group of Sampled Population of Mukta Kamaiya

District	Age group	Level of Education							Total	P-value
		Illiterate	Informal education	Primary (up to 5 grade)	Lower secondary (6-8 grade)	Secondary (9-110 grade)	Intermediate or equivalent (11-12 grade)	Bachelor level or above		
Banke (n=360)	6-14 year	3 (3.3)	0 (0.0)	74 (81.3)	13 (14.3)	1 (1.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	91 (100.0)	0.000***
	15-18 year	2 (4.0)	7 (14.0)	14 (28.0)	14 (28.0)	8 (16.0)	5 (10.0)	0 (0.0)	50 (100.0)	
	19-24 year	9 (19.6)	7 (15.2)	8 (17.4)	9 (19.6)	8 (17.4)	3 (6.5)	2 (4.3)	46 (100.0)	
	25-60 year	85 (54.8)	35 (22.6)	22 (14.2)	6 (3.9)	5 (3.2)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	155 (100.0)	
	>60 year	15 (83.3)	2 (11.1)	1 (5.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	18 (100.0)	
	Sub-total	114 (31.1)	51 (13.9)	119 (32.5)	42 (11.5)	22 (6.0)	9 (2.5)	3 (0.8)	360 (100)	
Bardiya (n=328)	6-14 year	1 (1.2)	0 (0.0)	65 (77.4)	15 (17.9)	3 (3.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	84 (100.0)	0.000***
	15-18 year	2 (5.0)	0 (0.0)	12 (30.0)	9 (22.5)	15 (37.5)	2 (5.0)	0 (0.0)	40 (100.0)	
	19-24 year	6 (12.5)	8 (16.7)	17 (35.4)	5 (10.4)	8 (16.7)	3 (6.3)	1 (2.1)	48 (100.0)	
	25-60 year	70 (49.0)	43 (30.1)	12 (8.4)	8 (5.6)	7 (4.9)	2 (1.4)	1 (0.7)	143 (100.0)	
	>60 year	12 (92.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (7.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	13 (100.0)	
	Sub-total	91 (27.5)	51 (15.5)	107 (32.6)	37 (11.3)	33 (10.1)	7 (2.1)	2 (0.6)	328 (100)	
Overall (n=688)	6-14 year	4 (2.3)	0 (0.0)	139 (79.4)	28 (16.0)	4 (2.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	175 (100.0)	0.000***
	15-18 year	4 (4.4)	7 (7.8)	26 (28.9)	23 (25.6)	23 (25.6)	7 (7.8)	0 (0.0)	90 (100.0)	
	19-24 year	15 (16.0)	15 (16.0)	25 (26.6)	14 (14.9)	16 (17.0)	6 (6.4)	3 (3.2)	94 (100.0)	
	25-60 year	155 (52.0)	78 (26.2)	34 (11.4)	14 (4.7)	12 (4.0)	3 (1.0)	2 (0.7)	298 (100.0)	
	>60 year	27 (87.1)	2 (6.5)	2 (6.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	31 (100.0)	
	Total	205 (29.8)	102 (14.8)	226 (32.8)	79 (11.5)	55 (8.0)	16 (2.3)	5 (0.7)	688 (100)	
	P-value	0.936	0.019***	0.178	0.503	0.725	0.499	0.709	0.872	

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage

*** represents significant at 1% level of significance

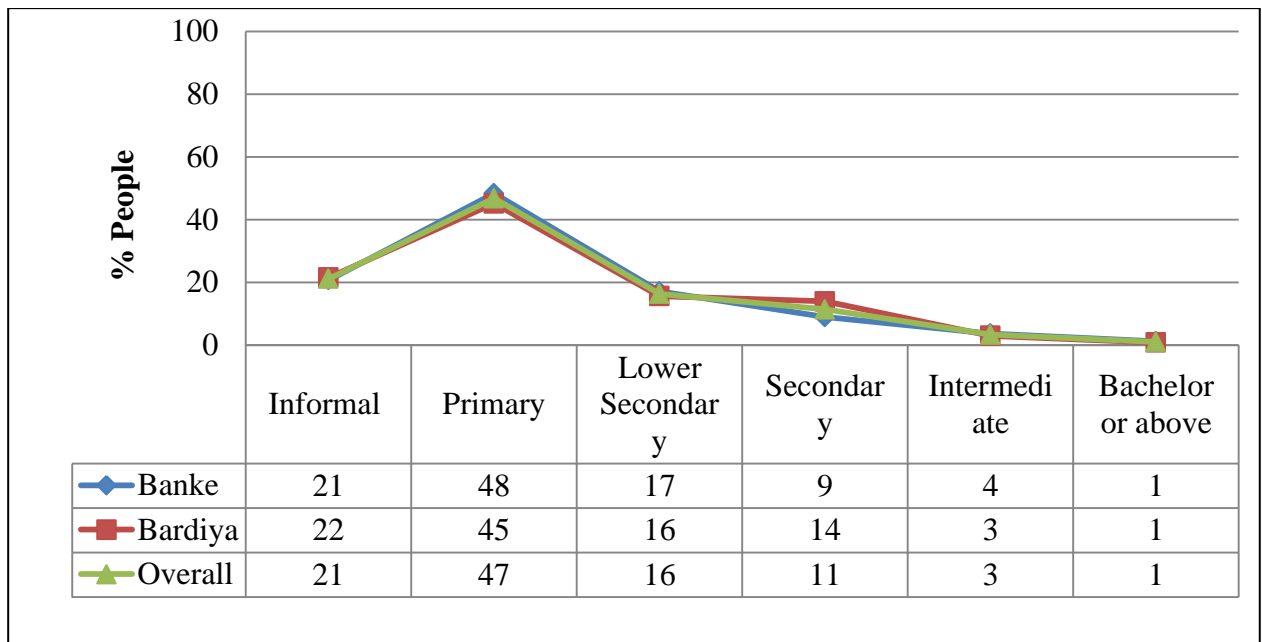


Fig. 4.3 Level of Educational Attainment of Literate People of Aged 6 Years and Above

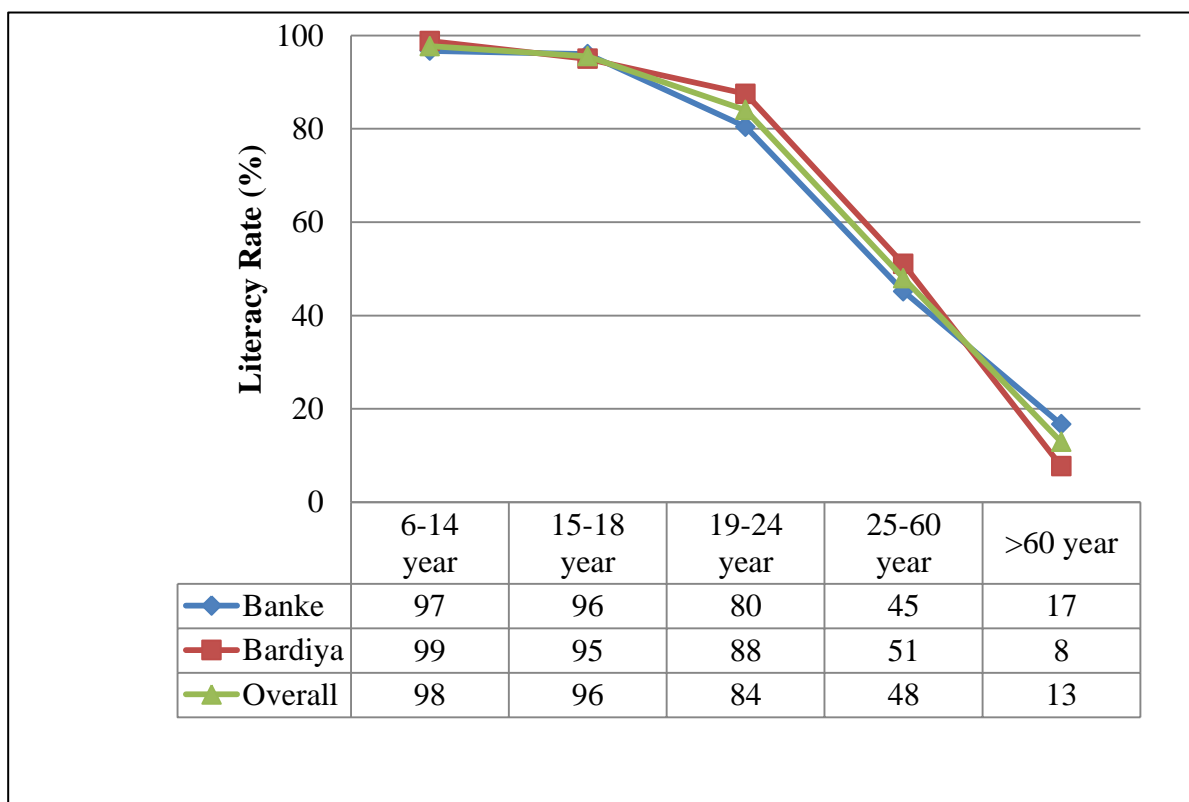


Fig. 4.4 Literacy Rate by Age Group in Mukta Kamaiya Family Members

Table 4.7: Educational Level by Sex of Sampled Population of Mukta Kamaiya in the Study Districts

District	Sex	Level of Education							Total	P-value
		Illiterate	Non-formal	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	≥Bachelor		
Banke (n= 360)	Male	51 (26.8)	14 (7.4)	75 (39.5)	27 (14.2)	15 (7.9)	6 (3.2)	2 (1.1)	190 (100.0)	0.000***
	Female	63 (37.1)	37 (21.8)	44 (25.9)	15 (8.8)	7 (4.1)	3 (1.8)	1 (0.6)	170 (100.0)	
	Sub-total	114 (31.7)	51 (14.2)	119 (33.1)	42 (11.7)	22 (6.1)	9 (2.5)	3 (0.8)	360 (100.0)	
Bardiya (n= 328)	Male	42 (24.3)	18 (10.4)	62 (35.8)	24 (13.9)	21 (12.1)	4 (2.3)	2 (1.2)	173 (100.0)	0.024**
	Female	49 (31.6)	33 (21.3)	45 (29.0)	13 (8.4)	12 (7.7)	3 (1.9)	0 (0.0)	155 (100.0)	
	Sub-total	91 (27.7)	51 (15.5)	107 (32.6)	37 (11.3)	33 (10.1)	7 (2.1)	2 (0.6)	328 (100.0)	
Overall (n=688)	Male	93 (25.6)	32 (8.8)	137 (37.7)	51 (14.0)	36 (9.9)	10 (2.8)	4 (1.1)	363 (100.0)	0.000***
	Female	112 (34.5)	70 (21.5)	89 (27.4)	28 (8.6)	19 (5.8)	6 (1.8)	1 (0.3)	325 (100.0)	
	Total	205 (29.8)	102 (14.8)	226 (32.8)	79 (11.5)	55 (8.0)	16 (2.3)	5 (0.7)	688 (100.0)	
	P-value	0.839	0.393	0.435	0.957	0.728	0.696	0.361	0.993	

Source: Field Survey (2010); Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage *** represent significant at 1% level of significance

Table 4.8: School Enrollment and Dropout Rate of Children (6-14 years old) in Mukta Kamaiya

District	Schooling situation	Level of Education									Total		
		Primary			Lower Secondary			Secondary			Both Sexes	Boys	Girls
		Both Sexes	Boys	Girls	Both Sexes	Boys	Girls	Both Sexes	Boys	Girls			
Banke (n=88)	Enrolled	74	38	36	13	6	7	1	0	1	88	44	44
	Drop out	7 (9.6)	1 (2.6)	6 (16.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	7 (8.0)	1 (2.3)	6 (13.6)
Bardiya (n=83)	Enrolled	65	34	31	15	9	6	3	3	0	83	43	37
	Drop out	4 (6.5)	1 (2.9)	3 (9.7)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (4.8)	1 (2.3)	3 (8.1)
Total (n=171)	Enrolled	139	72	67	28	15	13	4	3	1	171	86	81
	Drop out	11 (8.1)	2 (2.8)	9 (13.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	11 (6.6)	2 (2.3)	9 (11.1)

Source: Field Survey (2010); Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage

4.3.5 Saving and Credit Situation

Kamaiyas were organized in community groups and supported for income generation activities even before their emancipation. The programme was not so effective since the Kamaiyas were controlled by their landlords. This approach still continues after their freedom by the Government and NGOs. Most of the Mukta Kamaiyas are now directly or indirectly affiliated to different types of groups. Most of these groups are registered in DLRO formed by the same organization. There are some groups that are affiliated to some NGOs, but are not registered in government agencies. In recent years, cooperatives were formed by combining these groups or members. According to the information by an NGO called Radha Krishna Tharu Jansewa Kendra (RKJS), 1472 HHs of Mukta Kamaiya are organized under 15 cooperatives of which four lie in Bardiya and one in Banke (Table 4.9). These cooperatives are mostly in old settlements of the Mukta Kamaiya.

The savings and debit situation of sampled HHs of Mukta Kamaiya is presented in table 4.10. This savings include group as well as saving in other financial institutions like cooperatives and commercial banks. More than three-quarter HHs (82%) are involved in saving in Bardiya whereas it is only just above one quarter in case of Banke (28%). But the amount of saving per HH is higher in Banke (NRs. 10,112) than Bardiya (Rs. 7,073). Overall, the households are in debt which is higher in Banke. The higher number of households involved in savings in Bardiya is due to the group saving credit and cooperative programme.

Table 4.9: Cooperatives and Saving in Different Districts in Mukta Kamaiya

District	VDC, Municipality /Settlement	Name of Cooperative	No. of HH	Fund collected (NRs)	Year of Registration
Dang	Sirsaniya/Chhoti Sisaniya	Parakhee Agri. Coop.	27	55,000.00	2009
Banke	Rajhena-4/Loknagar	Kamaiya Majdur Coop.	30	212,000.00	2009
Bardiya	Gulariya/Tepari	Barabigha Agri. Coop.	25	358,000.00	2008
	Kalika/Jantanagar	Jyoti Agri. Coop.	62	75,000.00	2009
	Gulariya Na. Pa./Rampurtole	Ojrar dagar Agri. Coop.	40	50,000.00	2009
	Kalika/Tesanpur	Lauwajuni Agri. Coop.	78	156,000.00	2009
Kailali	Tikapur/Bijaynagar	Bijayanagar Coop.	389	300,000.00	2007
	Tikapur/Shivanagar	Shivanagar NTFPs Coop.	343	30,000.00	2008
	Kotatulsipur/Nauniya	Jayalaxmi Coop.	104	720,000.00	2009
	Chaumala/Kuchani	Raji Agri. Coop.	46	117,000.00	2008
	Thapapur/Masamkham	Srijana Coop.	24	136,800.00	2009
	Lalbojhi/Sirdahani	Mukta Kamaiya Coop.	112	638,400.00	2009
	Lalbojhi/Didibahini	Didibahiniya Coop.	28	159,600.00	2009
Kanchanpur	Shreepur/Shovatal	Shovatal Coop.	104	258,118.00	2005
	Dekhatbhuli/Aandraj ala	Milan Coop.	60	232,795.00	2008
	Total	15	1,472	3525713.00	

Source: Radha Krishana Jansewa Kendra (2010).

Table 4.10: Saving and Credit Situation in Sampled Households of Mukta Kamakya

District	Description	Saving	Debit
Banke (n= 60)	No. of HH	17 (28.3)	32 (53.3)
	Amount (NRs)	171,902	419,900
	Amount/HH	10,112	13,122
Bardiya (n=60)	No. of HH	49 (81.7)	42 (70.0)
	Amount (NRs)	346,582	327,800
	Amount/HH	7,073	7,805
Overall (n=120)	No. of HH	66 (55.0)	74 (61.7)
	Amount (NRs)	518,484	747,700
	Amount/HH	7,856	10,104
	P-value for amount	0.318	0.707

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage.

4.3.6 Training and Skill Development

The land holding size of Mukta Kamaiya is very small. The average landholding is 2.36 kattha per HH. It is 0.9 Kattha per HH in Banke and 4.36 kattha per HH in case of Bardiya (Table 4.3). So farm based occupation of Mukta Kamaiya is subsequently transforming into off-farm ones. It is reflected from Table 4.2 that 47% household head and 30% population of Mukta Kamaiya are involved in daily wage labour. Casual labourers are involved in both agriculture and non-agriculture activities and more than three-quarter labourers (81%) are involved in unskilled work.

In this regard, there was no option for the government and NGOs except highly focusing on off-farm based skill development, employment and enterprises (small and medium sized micro-enterprises²⁴). Various types of trainings were delivered to Mukta Kamaiyas and their family members. Trainings having demand in local, national and even abroad were included in the training programme. Training that utilizes local resources, self-employment and enterprising were selected based on the labour market, participants needs and future market too. Carpentry, masonry, welding, electricity wiring, house painting, motor driving, tailoring etc. are some of the trainings targeted for employment in the labour market. Similarly, cycle/rickshaw repairing, agro-based training like off-season vegetable farming, mushroom cultivation, and small livestock raising (poultry, goat and pig) are providing self-employment as well.

In my study areas, types of trainings, number of participation and its uses is presented in Table 4.11 below. The success of training is considered based on whether they are applying or not for their income generation activities.

²⁴ Small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) include enterprises and business less than NRs. 200,000 of total investment.

Table 4.11: Utilization of Trainings by Sampled Population of Mukta Kamaiya

Types of training	Banke (n=44)			Bardiya (n=47)			Overall (n=91)		
	No. of participants	No. of person using it	% success	No. of participants	No. of person using it	% success	No. of participants	No. of person using it	% success
1. Off-farm based									
Carpentry	6	1	16.7	5	4	80	11	5	45
Masonry and cement block	4	1	25.0	5	3	60	9	4	44
House wiring	7	2	28.6	3	0	0	10	2	20
House painting	1	1	100.0	1	0	0	2	1	50
Mechanical (cycle, rickshaw and motorbike repairing, and hand pump boring)	7	2	28.6	11	1	9	18	3	17
Tailoring	3	2	66.7	3	2	67	6	4	67
Hair cutting	2	0	0.0	2	0	0	4	0	0
Driving (tractor and car)	2	0	0.0	1	0	0	3	0	0
Snacks and sweet	4	0	0.0				4	0	0
Cultural goods (leaf plate, dori, dhakiya)	2	2	100.0	1	1	100	3	3	100
Sub-total	38	11	28.9	32	11	34.4	70	22	31.4
P-value	0.155			0.064*			0.021**		
2. Farm based							0	0	
Vegetable farming	4	4	100.0	7	7	100	11	11	100
Small livestock raising (goat, poultry, pig)	2	2	100.0	8	5	63	10	7	70
Sub-total	6	6	100.0	15	12	80	21	18	86
P-value	1			0.113			0.05**		
Grand Total	44	17	39	47	23	49	91	40	44

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage.

*, ** and *** represent significant at 10%, 5% and 1% level of significance respectively

The use of training delivered to the sampled population of Mukta Kamaiya varied according to the type of training and district (access to the market). It was found that training related to agriculture has higher success rate than the non-agriculture sector. The overall success per centage of agriculture related trainings was 86% whereas it was only 31% in non-farm sector. Within the agriculture sector, vegetable farming has significantly higher success per centage. In off-farm, the top three successful trainings were tailoring (67%), house painting (50%), and carpentry (45%). It was found that no one has been using skills obtained from training like motor driving and hair cutting in the studied households. Success rate of off-farm based trainings are found higher (34%) in Bardiya compared to Banke (29%). There is significant difference in the use of different types of trainings (success %) within the district in case of Bardiya.

The higher success rate of agriculture based training is due to fewer numbers of participants and it could be used even just for their household consumption. It will be wrong to say that there are greater opportunities in agro-based trainings. Though some initiative have been started like leasehold farming by the NGOs, there are still various challenges like cooperative and group approach farming, responsibility bearing and management. It was found that approx. Fifty-three per centage of HHs (64 HHs, 32 in each districts) have received skill tranings, but remaining half of HHs have not got any skill development trainings. It is reflected in their preference of occupation that is dealt in the next sub-section. The higher use of off-farm based training in Bardiya is due to the older settlement that the NGOs are working on more actively. But in case of Banke (Loknagar), the rehabilitation process is still on going, so there are limited interventions by the NGOs. It is noteworthy to say that training like carpentry, masonry, house painting are good even with lesser success per centage in the studied sample. Though in my study are it was found that no one was using hair cutting and motor driving training, in reality, there are some people who are involved in this

profession. The hair cutting as an enterprise is adopted by very limited people. The participants used their skill in informal sector in the village free of cost, as helping each other. Additionally, hair cutting is highly skillful job and need sincere care of the customers and there is high competition among Madhesi²⁵ barbers. For the better utilization of training, it should be participant needs based, skill upgrading, linking to labour market, credit and enterprising. A report produced by the Ministry of Land Reform and Management (MoLRM) in 2009 indicated that 44% Mukta Kamaiya, who received training after their freedom are using the skills obtained. The utilization rate is highest in Kailali, followed by Kanchanpur, Dang, Bardiya and Banke as shown in Table 4.12 below:

Table 4.12: Utilization of Training by Mukta Kamaiya (as end of FY 2008/09)

District	No. of Mukta Kamaiya received training	Utilization of training by recipients (%)
Dang	1,624	41.0
Banke	1,541	17.45
Bardiya	3,137	37.0
Kailali	3,233	62.75
Kanchanpur	2,347	62.91
Total	11,882	44.22

Source: MoLRM (2009)

4.3.7 Preferred Livelihood Option

The preference of respondents particularly based on the head of the household is depicted in table 4.13. The most preferred skill and occupation is business (32%) followed by skilled wage labour (27%), agriculture (24%) and so on. The preference of Mukta Kamaiya varied significantly according to the district. The most preferred occupation in Banke is business (45%) whereas in Bardiya is wage labour (37%). But, the most three preferred livelihood options in both districts were business, skilled labour and agriculture (Table 4.13). The specific preference is also enlisted in the same table.

²⁵ The term Madhesi denotes people living in the plain part of Nepal (Tarai), having similar socio-culture with Indian and mostly originated from India.

Table 4.13: Preferred Skill and Occupation of Respondents in Studied Area.

SN	Preferred occupation	Banke (n=60)	Bardiya (n=60)	Total (n=120)	P-value	Specific preference
1	Agriculture	12 (20.0)	17 (28.3)	29 (24.2)	0.026**	Traditional farming, Vegetable
2	Livestock	6 (10.0)	7 (11.7)	13 (10.8)		Goat , buffalo, poultry
3	Skilled wage labour	10 (16.7)	22 (36.7)	32 (26.7)		Tailoring, carpentry, Masonry, machinery works, Driving
4	Unskilled wage labour	2 (3.3)	1 (1.7)	3 (2.5)		
5	Business	27 (45.0)	11 (18.3)	38 (31.7)		Retail and wholesale general store, Vegetable shop, Hair cutting, Cycle and motorbike repairing, Nasta pasal and restaurant
6	Don't know	3 (5.0)	2 (3.3)	5 (4.2)		
	Total	60 (100)	60 (100)	120 (100)		
	P-value	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***		

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage.

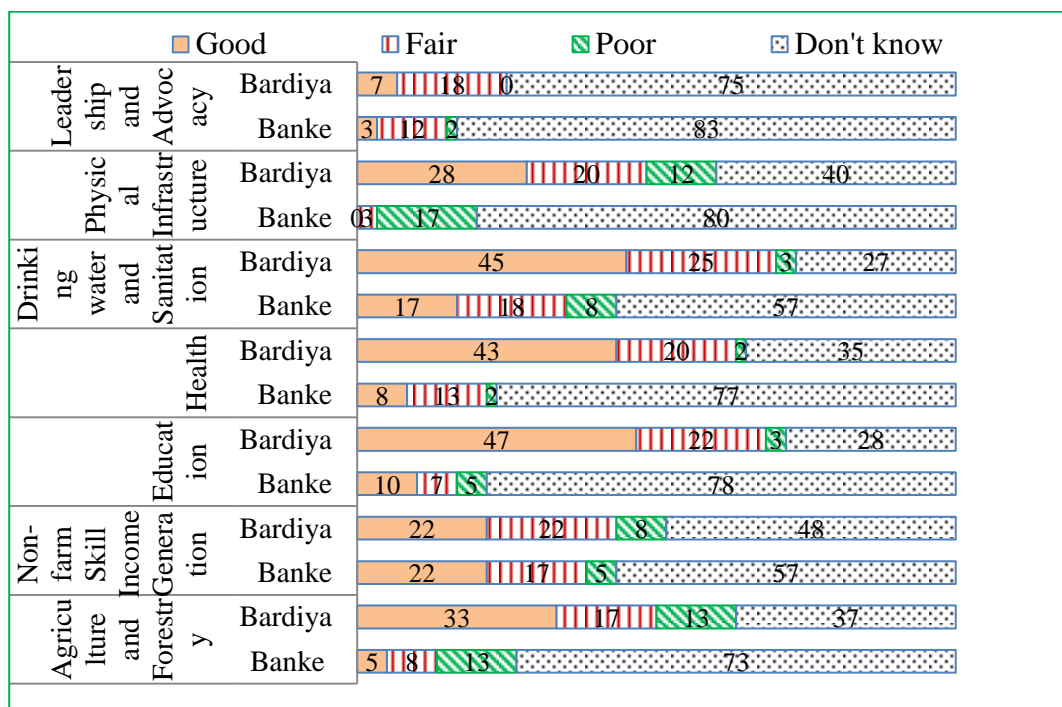
** and *** represent significance at 5% and 1% level of significance respectively.

The higher preference of business in Banke district is due to the locational advantage. Loknagar settlement of Banke is situated in Kohalpur market which is in center of the district. Some of the Mukta Kamaiyas are involved in retail shop, restaurant (Nasta shop) in settlements and on the side of highways as well. But in Bardiya, the scope of such business is limited; hence they are interested to skill development and farming. There is still need for skill development and capacitation training for Mukta Kamaiya. As I mentioned above, there are still 50% HHs among Mukta Kamaiya that did not receive any skill development training.

4.3.8 Programme Evaluation by Mukta Kamaiya

An attempt was made to sketch the perception of Mukta Kamaiya on the development interventions carried out by different government organizations and the NGOs in the settlement. This is based on perception of respondents. The development interventions are categorized into seven broad sectors and the perceptions are measured qualitatively in four

ranks i.e. good, fair, poor and don't know. Good indicates beneficiaries are known, aware and satisfied with the programme. Similarly, poor indicates people know about the programme, but are not satisfied with the programme, and fair fall in between these two. Figure 4.5 show that a large proportion of Mukta Kamaiya do not know about the development interventions in their settlements and it is more intense in case of Banke. The overall situation of sector-wise programme is better in Bardiya compared to Banke. A remarkable per centage of respondents were aware and seemed satisfied with the development activities in their settlement. The situation of drinking water and sanitation, health, education and agriculture and forestry is comparatively better than other sectors in Bardiya.



Source: Field Survey (2010)

Fig. 4.5: Evaluation of Sectoral Programme by Mukta Kamaiya (% Respondents)

The reason behind why most of the people did not know about the programmes implemented in Banke may be due to the limited interventions, and did not care about the implemented programmes. In fact, few programmes are implemented in Banke due to the ongoing rehabilitation process. The land distribution to Mukta Kamaiya of Loknagar was made

late. There are still internal problems that some households are not living in their own received land. It makes difficult to implement the physical infrastructure programmes like house construction, toilet distribution and others. The other reason is due to short term involvement of the NGOs in the village so they could not remember the programme and the intervention made. In case of Bardiya, the settlements (villages) land was redistributed early, so the house construction, road, electrification, drinking water, distribution of toilet etc. are comparatively better than in Banke.

4.3.9 Income and Expenditure

This section discusses the income and expenditure of sampled households of Mukta Kamaiya in Banke and Bardiya districts. As discussed in the previous sections, Mukta Kamaiyas have very small land holding size and this diverted them towards wage labour, mostly unskilled one. Nearly, all households are involved in farming and wage labour activities (see Table 4.14). The average annual income per household is nearly NRs. 100 thousand. Income of Banke district is significantly higher (NRs. 110,024/HH/annum) compared to Bardiya (NRs. 86,685/HH/annum). Wage labour is the single most prominent source of income for Mukta Kamaiya, It contributed 79% and 54% of total income of Banke and Bardiya respectively (see Table 4.15). Average household earning from wage labour is significantly higher (NRs. 94,949) in Banke thanin Bardiya (NRs. 49,586). It is due to the location specific advantage that regular availability of work, higher payment, regular income are possible (like rickshaw pulling) than in case of Bardiya.

The second most important source of income is farming. Even though having small size of landholding, al most all households are involved in farming. Nearly one quarter (24%) of households are doing farming under share cropping management. But the contribution of farming in total income is 12%. Mukta Kamaiya of Bardiya district are earning significantly

higher amount (NRs. 15,311) than of Banke (NRs. 8,087). It is due to the fact that Mukta Kamaiya of Bardiya districts are living in the rural area so they received larger size of land (4-5 kattha/HH), but the Mukta Kamaiya of Banke district are living in urban area so the individual households have received less than 0.5 kattha of land.

Table 4.14: Gross Annual Income (Cash and Non-cash) per HH by Source (NRs)

Source of Income	Banke (n=60)		Bardiya (n=60)		Overall (n=120)		P-value for Income
	No. of HH	Income/HH	No. of HH	Income/HH	No. of HH	Income/HH	
Farming	55 (91.7)	8,087	60 (100.0)	15,311	115 (95.8)	11,856	0.004***
Wage labour	55 (91.7)	94,949	57 (95.0)	49,586	112 (93.3)	71,863	0.000***
Business	5 (8.3)	38,100	6 (6.7)	24,000	9 (7.5)	37,167	0.704
Remittance	1 (1.7)	204,000	5 (8.3)	156,800	6 (5.0)	164,667	0.151
Salaried job	7 (11.7)	38,286	7 (11.7)	75,429	14 (11.7)	37,714	0.966
Govt. welfare	3 (5.0)	8,000	0 (0.0)	0	3 (2.5)	8,000	0.1003*
In total	60 (100)	110,024	60 (100)	86,685	120 (100)	98,354	0.041**

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage.

*, ** and *** represent significance at 10%, 5% and 1% level of significance respectively.

Salaried job and remittance stands as 3rd and 4th important source of income of Mukta Kamaiya in both districts, but it does not differ significantly. The contribution of salaried job is 8% in Banke and 10% in Bardiya. Most of the salaried job holders are in police force, NGOs and private sectors (school, company) in junior level position. Only six people are employed in Gulf countries (Saudi Arabia and Qatar), but it contributed as a 4th important source of income. All abroad employees are men.

Table 4.15: Contribution of Different Income Source in Total Income of Mukta Kamaiya

Sector	Banke	in %	Bardiya	in %	Total	in %
Farming	444,759	6.7	918,657	17.7	1,363,416	11.6
Wage labour	5,222,195	79.1	2,826,417	54.3	8,048,612	68.2
Business	190,500	2.9	144,000	2.8	334,500	2.8
Remittance	204,000	3.1	784,000	15.1	988,000	8.4
Salaried job	516,000	7.8	528,000	10.2	1,044,000	8.8
Government welfare	24,000	0.4	0	0.0	24,000	0.2
Total	6,601,454	100	5,201,074	100.0	11,802,528	100.0

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Table 4.16: Gross Annual Expenses in Different Sector in Sampled Households (NRs.)

Expense head	Banke (n=60)		Bardiya (n=60)		Overall (n=120)		P-value for expense	% Expense
	No. of HH	Expense/ HH	No. of HH	Expense/ HH	No. of HH	Expense/ HH		
Food Item	60 (100.0)	68,919	60 (100.0)	35,848	120 (100.0)	52,384	0.000***	60
Agri. inputs	50 (83.3)	2,403	52 (86.7)	3,549	102 (85.0)	2,987	0.279	2
House utilities	56 (93.3)	4,735	54 (90.0)	3,467	110 (91.7)	4,113	0.185	4
Clothes	59 (98.3)	10,975	51 (85.0)	8,778	110 (91.7)	9,956	0.009***	9
Life-cycle activities	25 (41.7)	9,093	5 (8.3)	19,500	30 (25.0)	10,828	0.113	3
Health	58 (96.7)	14,205	51 (85.0)	11,669	109 (90.8)	13,018	0.066*	12
Education	46 (76.7)	8,230	52 (86.7)	5,401	98 (81.7)	6,729	0.263	6
Transport and Communication	59 (98.3)	4,133	47 (78.3)	4,781	106 (88.3)	4,420	0.650	4
In total	60 (100)	11,4027	60 (100)	69475	120 (100)	91,751	0.000***	100

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage.

* and *** represent significance at 10% and 1% level of significance respectively.

Annual expenditure per household in different heading is shown in Table 4.16. Annual average expense per household in sampled households is found near to NRs. 92,000. In overall, average annual income per household is about 98 thousand. It seems there are some savings (NRs. 6,000/HH/annum). Per household expense is the highest in food item (NRs. 52,384) whereas the lowest in house utilities (NRs. 4,113). Likewise, health, life-cycle activities, clothes and education sectors are ranked 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th respectively according to the household yearly expense. But the total amount of money expended in the sector slightly differs than the pervious proportion of ranking. Based on the total amount of money spent, food items shared the highest amount (60%) followed by health (12%), clothes (9%), and education (6%) and so on. Mukta Kamaiya of Banke spenta significantly higher amount than in Bardiya in the food items, clothes, health etc. In overall, Mukta Kamaiya of Banke have significantly higher earning and higher expense than in Bardiya. Higher expense of

Banke district is due to the higher income and living in urban area (market center). All the materials are readily available, so they mostly bought food items on daily basis. Expenses in beverages (alcoholic and non-alcoholic) are also found higher in Banke. It is also due to the effects of market where these items are easily available at cheaper price.

4.3.10 Food Self-sufficiency and Food Security

In this section, I discuss food security, food self-sufficiency and coping strategies of the household during the time of food unavailability. Food security situation of the households is described in Table 4.17, and coping strategies in Table 4.18. Food security is one of the major determinants of health condition and poverty. If people have food to eat, they remain safe from hunger, malnutrition and other diseases. Food security and food self-sufficiency are two different things. According to the World Food Summit (1996), food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to enough, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy lifestyle. Here, I assessed food security of households based on their daily calorie intake. Calorie content of individual food items consumed by households is calculated through conversion factors (Annex 4, 5, 6 & 7). Total calorie requirement of each household is obtained by minimum calorie requirement multiplied by the number of adult household members. Similarly, average calorie intake of food secure and insecure household is calculated by simply taking calorie intake of households. In strict sense food self-sufficiency is the total calorie available for consumption to households from their own farm production. Food sufficiency does not ensure the nutritional fulfillment for the given period of time.

Table 4.17: Food Self-sufficiency and Food Security Scenario of Sampled Households

Parameter	Banke (n=60)	Bardiya (n=60)	Overall (n=120)	P-value
Average food-self-sufficiency per HH (months)	2.3	3.9	3.1	0.002**
Food self-sufficiency in month (no. of HH)				
< 1 month	37 (61.7)	3 (5.0)	40 (33.3)	0.000***
1- 3 months	14 (23.3)	38 (63.3)	52 (43.3)	
4-6 months	6 (10.0)	11 (18.3)	17 (14.2)	
7 -9 months	2 (3.3)	2 (3.3)	4 (3.3)	
10 - 12 months	1 (1.7)	6 (10.0)	7 (5.8)	
No. of HHs meeting minimum daily Calorie requirement#				
Food secure HHs	39 (65)	38 (63.3)	77 (64.2)	0.849
Food insecure HHs	21 (35)	22 (36.7)	43 (35.8)	
Average Cal/AE/day				
Food secure HHs	3,063.7	3,105.1	3,083.0	0.651
Food insecure HHs	1,159.2	1,569.9	1,357.3	0.558
P-value	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	

Source: Field Survey (2010)

** and *** represent significance at 5% and 1% level of significance respectively.

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage.

Minimum daily Calorie requirement for the Tarai is 2144/AE/day (Subedi B. , 2003)

Food self-sufficiency of sampled households of Mukta Kamaiyawas found very critical. Only six per cent of HHs are food self-sufficient from their own production. More than 75% of HHs have only three month food self-sufficiency. Severity of food self-sufficiency is more pronounced in Banke that 62% HHs have less than one month food self-sufficiency (see Table 4.17). Average food self-sufficiency of HHs is 2 months in Banke whereas it is 4 months in Bardiya making it significantly better. The higher food self-sufficiency in Bardiya is due to relatively larger size of land (4.36 kattha/HH) whereas it is only 0.9 kattha per HH in Banke. In fact, most of the Mukta Kamaiyas have food deficit throughout the year. However, the situation is more chronic during the end of the rainy season, July-August. The reason for chronic food deficit during this period is due to the less availability of work, reduced working condition in rainy season, and falling sick. It does not mean that all food self-sufficient households are in food insecure condition. Food insecure

households are lesser than the food self-insufficient HHs. There is slightly higher numbers of food secure HHs in Banke than in Bardiya though it does not differ significantly. Sixty five per centages HHs in Banke are food secure whereas it is 63% in Bardiya. The comparatively in Banke is due to the fulfillment of food items from other source of income, mostly wage labour. It should be kept in mind that the income from wage labour is uncertain and volatile due to less availability and seasonal nature of most of the wage labour work. Among the food secure households, the average calorie intake is about 3,000 KCalorie/person/day and it is slightly higher in Bardiya. Food insecure households have significantly low amount of calorie intake (1,357 KCal/AE/day) as compared to food secure households. The minimum calorie requirement in Tarai region of Nepal is 2,144 KCal/AE/day. Similar finding is also reported by Joshi (2006) who conducted his study in 60 HHs of Tharu Mukta Kamaiya in Dhangadhi municipality of Kailali. He found none of the households had more than six month food self-sufficiency where majorities, (85% HHs) had three katthas of land each.

Table 4.18 shows the different coping strategies adopted by the food self-insufficient households in the studied areas of Mukta Kamaiya. From the above discussion, we came to know that 94% of households are in food self-insufficient condition, and it is slightly higher (98%) in Banke than Bardiya (90%). This study shows that a significantly higher number of households (68%) procures food from wage labour during the food deficit period. As majority of Mukta Kamaiya are involved in wage labour, it contributes the highest proportion of the total income. The dependency on wage labour to cope with food deficit is significantly higher in Banke (82%) than Bardiya (68%). Wage labour includes both skill and unskilled, but the latter is more dominant. Skilled wage labour includes carpentry, masonry, plumbing, driving etc. Likewise, unskilled labourers involve any sort of farming and off-farm based activities including rickshaw pulling. The second most practiced way to cope with food deficit is cash loan, salaried jobs and enterprises. Cash loan are taken from employers, relatives, neighbours

and friends. Overall, 22% of households were found taking loan for buying food. It is significantly higher in Bardiya (38%) compared to Banke (5%). Most of the loan is taken without interest. They commit to work for the money lender when they need labour work. Interest rate in community and group level was found high, ranging from 2 to 5% per month. Salaried job and enterprises contributed 22% to households' coping strategies. It is significantly higher in case of Bardiya (38%) compared to Banke (5%). Similarly, less eating, eating less preferred food and food borrowing are other ways to cope with food deficit by the Mukta Kamaiya. Less eating is not frequently practiced by the households. The adults (parents) are the ones who have to eat less in the family. Similarly, eating less preferred food is most commonly practiced by them. Less preferred food includes low quality rice, rice kanika (small piece of broken rice), maize and wheat to some extent. Food borrowing is mostly from shop keepers and work providers. It is taken without interest. Shop keeper gives certain amount in credit and has to be paid within specified time period. Similarly, the work provider gives grain in advance so that he secures the labour during peak working period like rice transplanting and harvesting.

Table 4.18: Response of Different Coping Strategies Adopted to Overcome Food Self-insufficiency

Coping strategies (no. of HH)#	Banke (n= 58)	Bardiya (n= 57)	Overall (n= 115)	P-value
Wage labour	49 (81.7)	32 (53.3)	81 (67.5)	0.001***
Cash loan	3 (5.0)	23 (38.3)	26 (21.7)	0.000***
Less eating	10 (16.7)	14 (23.3)	24 (20.0)	0.334
Less preferred food	7 (11.7)	15 (25.3)	22 (18.3)	0.052**
Food borrowing	15 (25.0)	5 (8.3)	20 (16.7)	0.016***
Others (job, enterprise)	3 (5.0)	23 (38.3)	26 (21.7)	0.000***
P-value	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage.

*, ** and *** represent significance at 10%, 5% and 1% level of significance respectively.

Total sum of the response is not equal to the total no. of households due to multiple responses

4.3.11 Family Planning and Sanitation

The use of male and female sterilization to check the undesired pregnancy is shown in Table 4.19. It was found that most of the respondents heard and knew about temporary (condom, pills, Sangini injection) and permanent sterilization means. The use of family planning devices was found quite increasing and they are becoming aware about reducing the number of children being born. Overall, 67% married couple were using sterilization measure and the use is significantly higher in Bardiya (83%) than Banke (50%). Female are the main users and permanent female sterilization is the most practiced method. No male were found with permanent sterilization. Female are using 38% permanent and 23% temporary sterilization devices. The use of devices in either district was not found to be significantly different. Similar findings were also reported by Sharma and Thakurathi (1998). Their study showed that the knowledge of family planning in the three districts (Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur) increased from 37% in 1992 to 53% in 1998. It also showed that the users of family planning method in the same period increased from 8% to 26%.

Table 4.19: Use of Sterilization by Respondent Couple in the Studied Mukta Kamaiya

Particular	Banke (n=60)	Bardiya (n=60)	Total (n=120)	P-value
Use of family planning means	30 (50.0)	50 (83.3)	80 (66.7)	0.025**
Permanent Sterilization Female	18 (60.0)	27 (54.0)	45 (37.5)	0.760
Temporary Sterilization Female	9 (30.0)	19 (38.0)	28 (23.3)	
Temporary Male Sterilization	3 (10.0)	4 (8.0)	7 (5.8)	

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage.

*, ** and *** represent significance at 10%, 5% and 1% level of significance respectively.

Sanitation is very poor in the settlement, and at the household level of Mukta Kamaiya. In case of drinking water, no house was using tap water. It means all houses

were using tube-well for drinking water. Most of the tube-wells are supported by the NGOs and government agencies. It was found that only 33% of households have toilet in their homes. In Banke, none of the families have toilet in their home. However, it was 65% in case of Bardiya; with a significant difference (Table 4.20). All the toilets are of general type (3-4 rings and cover plate). Most of the toilets are distributed by the development organizations in the settlement where households are settled in their own respective land. But in case of Banke, this process is still ongoing. So none of the households had received the toilet support. The households having toilets are also not using their toilet on regular basis. In response to not using the toilet, it was found inconvenient structure and not habitual to use. Those who do not have toilet said they are unable to invest in the toilet, but they will use after being constructed.

Table 4.20: Household Having Toilet in Mukta Kamaiya

Household having toilet	Banke (n=60)	Bardiya (n=60)	Overall (n=120)	P-value
Yes (no. of HHs)	0 (0.0)	39 (65.0)	39 (32.5)	0.000***
No. (no. of HHs)	60 (100.0)	21 (35.0)	81 (67.5)	

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage.

*** Significant at 1% level of significance

Most of the Mukta Kamiays are unaware about transferable diseases like diarrhoea and others. They overlook the precaution measures that have to be taken. Children are found bare foot and playing in the dust without care. Proper hand washing before and after toilet is poorly practiced specially in case of children. That is the reason why during summer humid season, family members become sick, often resulting in the higher per centage of their income spent in medicine and treatment. The per centage spent in medicine was 12%.

4.3.12 Concluding Remarks

This chapter focused on two main contents; results and analysis of the data of Mukta Kamiaya, Kamlahri form of child labour, and finally the impact on farm management of

previous Kamaiya keepers (mostly landlords/Jamindars). This part especially dealt with the socio-economic status (SES) of Mukta Kamaiya in Banke and Bardiya based on the sample household survey.

The household survey carried out for this research has shown that the socio-economic status (SES) of Mukta Kamaiya is still poor and vulnerable. The received small piece of land is hardly enough to feed their family for one month. It pushed them towards wage labour. They are heavily depended on wage labour, and an overwhelmingly larger proportion of them are in unskilled labour inspite of continuous effort for skill development and capacity building by the Government and the NGOs. The households hardly save from their income. S alrge proportion of their income is spent on food items, but more than one-quarter households are food insecure with extremely low calorie intake. The literacy rate and awareness on family planning was found encouraging. The education is limited to lower level, with countable people in higher education. The access to basic infrastructure like road, electricity, and telephone is quite poor. Majority of them are not aware and are unsatisfied with the development programme in their settlements. They prefer skill based employment, business and farming to better their livelihoods.

4.4 Kamlahri Child Labour

4.4.1 Introduction

This section deals with the peculiar type of child labour called “Kamlahri” solely found in the Tharu caste of western Nepal. As it is interlinked with the Kamaiya system (bonded labour system), it obviously prevails in the same districts (Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur) where Kamaiya system used to exist. This section starts with general background information of child labour (sub-section 4.4.2) and proceeds into the main issue

of Kamlahri (sub-section 4.4.3), and the findings from the field survey are found in sub-section 4.4.4.

4.4.2 Background

Child labour is still a big issue and remains a problem in many parts especially developing countries. It is estimated that there are more than 217.7 million child labourers in the world, and a major part (60%) is in South Asia including India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal (Lieten et al., 2010). In Nepal, 2.1 million children aged 5-14 years are economically active in which majority are in the rural areas, and are girls (NLFS, 2009). The majority of economically active children are employed as child labourers. According to a study carried out by Child Workers in Nepal (CWIN), it was estimated that 2.6 million children (below 18 years age) were working as child labourers (Sattaur, 1993). The majority of children are employed in agriculture, manufacturing, hotels, restaurants and domestic sectors.

Nepal is a signatory to the ILO conventions of worst form of child labour (ILO C182), minimum age (ILO C138) and other UN convention regarding child labour. Nepal Labour Act 1992 and Children's Act 1992 defined person below 16 years as a child, and it prohibits employing child below 14 years outside their house. From the age of 15 to 18, a child can do regular work except hazardous²⁶ and worst forms²⁷ of child labour. According to the spirit of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) as that of the ILO Conventions Nos. 29, 138 and 182, the worst form of domestic child employment exists if:

- the child is sold,
- is bonded,
- works without pay,

²⁶Hazardous Work is defined as work that affects physical, mental and emotional development of child.

²⁷ILO Convention 182 listed Slavery or practices similar to slavery (debt bondage, sale of children, serfdom), use of child in armed conflict, prostitution, pornography, drug trade, endangerment to health, safety and moral of children as a worst form of child labour.

- works excessive hours,
- works in isolation or at night,
- is exposed to grave safety or health hazards,
- is abused,
- is at risk of physical violence or sexual harassment and

Most of the Kamlahris work excessive hours from early in the morning to the late night, are isolated from their parents, and there are several cases of physical and sexual abuse. Some components of the worst form of child labour is found in Kamlahri, hence it is also considered as the worst form of child labour.

4.4.3 Kamlahri System of Child Labour

Kamlahri system is remnant of Kamaiya system. In Kamaiya system, the female family members of Kamaiya (mother, wife and young sister) were known as Kamlahri. Kamlahri had to work mostly without wage i.e. just for a square of meal in the house of landlords. They were involved in all types of agricultural and domestic work. Child employed for animal herding is called Gaiwar (cattle herder), Bhaiswar (buffalo herder), Chhegrawar (goat/sheep herder), and *Organi* (domestic worker). Now, the meaning of Kamlahri is little bit twisted. It represents the children aged (5-14 years, preferably unmarried) who are involved in child care taking and work as domestic servants. The nomenclature of Kamlahri is based on gender. Female girl child worker is called Kamlahri whereas Kamlahra is for a boy child worker. This kamlahri system is localized in western Tharu of Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Surkhet, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts. The preference to keep kamlahri is higher than boys so the use of term Kamlahri is more common. So, in my research, Kamlahri is representing both boys and girls. Kamlahri has to perform all domestic chores including child caring. Kamlahri

has to work long hours (from early morning to the late night), with minimum or no pay, abused (verbal, physical and sexual), bound for unlimited period of years and inferior food and living conditions. Hence, it is often termed as bonded and worst form of child labour in Nepal by ILO Nepal and other organizations (BASE, FNC). Like in kamaiya system, Kamlahri enters into contract after Maghi (mid-January). The agreement is verbal, mostly between the parents of Kamlahri and employers or intermediaries mostly for one year. However, once Kamlahri enters into the system, s/he has to work until master's desires. Kamlahri are solely from Tharu community, and are mostly employed by non-Tharus. Office workers, teachers, businessman, army, police, big landowners etc. are the major social group who are keeping Kamlahri.

4.4.4 Incidence of Kamlahri in Mukta Kamaiya

There is no exact number of Kamlahri statistics in the districts. The number varies with the sources and year. In "Nepali Times" newspaper, Pradhan(2006) reported that there are about 30,000 kamlahris in six districts (Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Surkhet, Kailali and Kanchanpur). Friends of Needy Children, an NGO, working solely in the sector of Kamlahri labour conducted detailed surveys of Kamlahris in the above mentioned districts in 2007/08. It identified 11,043 Kamlahris (FNC, 2008). By the end of June, 2010, this organization has rescued and returned 10,036 Kamlahri. This organization has been supporting the returned kamlahris through school scholarship, vocation and other skill development training and income generation programme to the Kamlahri's families. A report especially dealing with child labour and Kamlahri problem in Mukta Kamaiyas was carried out by Sharma, Basnet & G.C.(2001) for the ILO International Programme on Elimination of Child Labour (ILO/IPEC). According to this report 17,000 children (29%) of Mukta Kamaiyas were working for employer outside the household work (see Table 4.21). It showed that the severity of

kamlahri was highest in Banke (43%) followed by Kailali (33%) and so on. They also pointed out poverty, collateral for loan and getting land for share cropping and residues of Kamaiya system as the main causes of kamlahri system in Tharu and Mukta Kamaiya households.

Table 4.21: Estimated Number of Wage Child Labour Aged 5-18 in Mukta Kamaiya in 2001.

District	Ex-Kamaiya HH	Children of Kamaiya aged 5-18 (estimated)	% of children working in own homes	% of employed children
Dang	705 (3%)	25,38	40.6	26.6
Banke	1,921 (7%)	42,26	23.2	43.0
Bardiya	11,551 (42%)	33,498	37	32.9
Kailali	8,975 (33%)	23,335	35.7	35.7
Kanchanpur	4,418 (16%)	11,487	41	15.4
Total	27,570 (100%)	79,953	37.6	29.4

Source: Sharma, Basnyat and G.C. (2001)

A recent study conducted by Subedi et al.,(2009), for Nepalgunj municipality of Banke, showed that 2,941 children aged 14 years are employed in Nepalgunj and adjoining VDCs, of which per centage are employed in the domestic sector (61%). It should be noted down that Nepalgunj is the largest city in mid and far-west development region of Nepal. The majority of children are working in the houses, hotels, and restaurants. They are from Tharu community and ofcourse from Mukta Kamaiya. So, it can be concluded that the number of Kamlahris in these districts ranges from 10-30 thousand, of which a large proportion were returned through various organizations like BASE, FNC and others. The households sending their children ino Kamlahri system have still not yet stopped. Based on the above data, if 10,000 Kamlahris were rescued, there are at least 50% remaining to be rescued. Proper management of the returned Kamlahri is equally important to shape their education, life and livelihoods.

4.4.5 Kamlahri Child Labour in Mukta Kamaiya: Finding From the Field

This sub-section tries to reflect the situation of Kamlhari based on the analysis of field level data and interview with Kamlahris in case of Banke and Bardiya districts. The incidence of Kamlahri is presented in Table 4.22 below. It was found that 11% households are still sending their children to work as Kamlahris in major cities of Nepal. There is higher number of households in Banke (15%) than Bardiya (7%) who are sending children as Kamlahris. Kamlahris are employed in Gulariya, Nepalgunj, Dhangadhi, Surkhet, Butwal and Kathmandu cities of Nepal.

Table 4.22: Incidence of Kamlahri Labour in the Sampled Households

Household sending child as Kamlahri	Banke	Bardiya	Overall
Yes	9 (15.0)	4 (6.7)	13 (10.8)
No	51 (85.0)	56 (93.3)	107 (89.2)
Total	60 (100.0)	60 (100.0)	120 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage.

In 120 sampled households, 286 children aged 5-18 were found, of which 8% (15 children, girls: 10 and boys: 5) are employed outside of their home and 5% are employed as Kamlahri. It means that within the employed children, the majority are working as kamlahri (65%) as shown in Table 4.23. The percentage of girls employed is higher than the boys in both districts.

Table 4.23: Intensity of Kamlahri Labour in the Sampled Households

Description	Banke	Bardiya	Overall
Total no. of children aged 5-18 years	155	131	286
No. of employed children	14 (9.0)	9 (6.9)	23 (8.0)
No. Kamlahri among employed children	10 (71.4) Girls: 7 (70)	5 (55.6) Girls: 3 (60)	15 (65.2) Girls: 10 (66.7)

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage.

This finding shows that the intensity of Kamlahri child labour has been decreasing since the emancipation of Kamaiya. Sharma, Basnet & G.C.(2001) found 29% Kamlahri in Mukta Kamaiya in 2001, but now, it is only 5%. The decreasing number of Kamlahris is due to the awareness and Kamlahri rescue programme by different organizations like ILO/IPEC, BASE, FNC and others in the area after the freeing of Kamaiya.

Among the 10 employed Kamlahris, 5 are below 14 years (33%) and the remaining are 15-18 years old. Twelve Kamlahris (80%) were found to be going to school. Eleven Kamlahris (73%) were working just for the getting school education in masters' house. The payment to Kamlahri was found to range from Rs. 1,000-1,500 per month for those not going to school. Only one Kamlahri is getting payment including education support. She receives NRs. 4,000 per annum (NRs. 333/ month).

I interviewed six child labourers during my field visit. I also visited the hostel where rescued kamlahris are residing. Among the four interviewed Kamlahri, I found that two are in good condition and the other two are in worse situation. Kamlahri in good condition shared that they are treated members of the household. They received the same food. The sleeping room has fan and mosquito net during summer season. Their master does not restrict them to go to school. They get books and stationary as per the need. One Kamlahri said her master has opened bank account in her name so she is depositing her income in the account. She is empowered too. She said "I have been working here for the last 10 years, I have behaved well. If I am abused and restricted to go to school, I shall discontinue and return to my home" (Interviewed on Sep. 15, 2010). Both of the Kamlahri shared that they got rest and medical treatment when sick. They feel the working place is like their own home. However, they missed their family members and playing like other children.

But this type of good situation of Kamlahri is rarely found. There are several reported cases that Kamlahri are beaten, kept without food, raped, aborted and even gave birth and

rescued from the home. Of the two interviewed Kamlahri, the situation is worse condition. The first one is working in the house of a nurse who is the employee of Nepalgunj Medical College. She has one daughter and she is employing 10-years-old girl from Kohalpur. Kamlahri girl has to take care of the six years old daughter and perform all domestic work like room cleaning, cooking, dish cleaning and clothes washing. She is also admitted in government school nearby her house, but she said, most of the time she gets late since she has to prepare and send the master's daughter first to school. She said she is mostly abused verbally and frequently beaten by pulling her hair. She said with moistened eyes, "I cannot cry, who will help me". She added "I got to eat at last, got little or no meat; I have to sleep in the floor" (Interviewed on Sep. 16, 2010). The next Kamlahri has even worse situation. She is not allowed to talk with outsiders. I briefly talked with her when she was going to school. She is working in one of the house of Chhetri in Nepalgunj for the last three years. Masters have six family members. She has to perform all the domestic work as I mentioned above. Additionally, she has to work in kitchen garden and wash clothes of all family members. So she hardly gets any time to study in house. She shared her bitter experience like verbal abuse, beating (showing the old sign in her face), not getting chance to go home, working in sick condition etc. She took long breath and said "Anyway here I am getting chance to go to school if I go to my home, the door of education is also closed. I am unlucky that I was born in a poor family" (Interviewed on Sep. 18, 2010).

During interview of households who have sent their children in Kamlahri system replied that it is due to poverty, food insecurity and for educating the children. Though the Government education policy says education is free up to secondary level (grade 8), there are several fees such as admission, examination and others. So Mukta Kamaiyas think safe landing is to send their children as Kamlahri.

Table 4.24: Comparison of Characteristics of Households Sending Child in Kamlahri System to Other Mukta Kamaiya

Characteristics	Overall in Mukta Kamaiya	Mukta Kamaiya-sending Kamlahri
Average family size/HH (in number)	6.5	7.7
Average Child dependency ratio/HH	0.84	1.4
Economic Dependency ratio/ HH	0.91	1.4
Literacy of HHH (%)	55.8	15.4
Primary occupation-Wage & Agri. (%)	86.7	100.0

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage.

The socio-economic comparison of household sending their children into Kamlahri system to other general Mukta Kamaiya is shown in Table 4.24. It showed that Mukta Kamaiya who are sending Kamlahris, have larger family size (7.7 per household), higher child dependency and economic dependency ratio (1.4 per household), lower literacy rate and solely dependent on wage and farming (100% households).

4.4.6 Concluding Remarks

Child labour is a serious problem in Nepal where about 3 million children of aged 5-14 years are economically active and majority of them are working in agriculture, manufacture and domestic sectors. Kamlahri child labour is exploitative, worst and bonded form of child labour due to the employment of below minimum working age, excessive working hours, minimum or no wage payment and bonded for indefinite period. It is more severe and intense among the Tharu community of Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts. Among the Tharu society, it is more chronic in Mukta Kamaiya which has the remnant of Kamaiya system. Kamlahri are also sent as collateral for loan and getting land for share

cropping. The intensity of Kamlahri system reduced from 29% in 2001 to 5% in 2010 in the Mukta Kamaiya. The proportion of girls in the system is larger (65%) than boys. More than three-quarter (80%) of Kamlahris are going to school and 73% Kamlahri are working without wage i.e. just for schooling and food. The exploitation and plight of Kamlahri depend on their masters. In general it is exploitative and abusive. I also found two Kamlahri (girls) are in poor condition. Households sending Kamlahri have large family size, higher child and economic dependency, wide illiteracy and over dependency in wage and farming.

4.5 Landlord (Jamindar)

4.5.1 Background information

In the past, Jamindars were the local intermediaries between farmers and institutions concerned with collecting land tax (land revenue office). Jamindars were non-official person and they had further intermediaries to assist them. Jamindars had to submit committed amount of land tax in each year to the government officials (*Subba* in district level and *Badahakim* in regional (Regmi, 1977)). Jamindars received land through Jirayat²⁸ and land grants. Similarly, the land was granted to relatives, high level military and government officers as *Birta*²⁹ and *Jagir*³⁰ by the Rana rulers and the ShahKing. Thus, Jamindars, Birtwal, Jagirwal become big landlord, commonly known as Jamindars. Jamindari, Birta and Jagir system was abolished during the 1950s.

Jamindari system was officially abolished in the state, but the Jamindars remained important persons who continued Jamindari like system, except for collecting land tax. It

²⁸ Jirayat is the land received by Jimidars instead of reclamation and bringing land under cultivation. In this type of land villagers had obligation to pay unpaid labour. Usually, 1/10th of cultivated land was given to the Jamindar as Jirayat land.

²⁹ Tax free land granted to the relatives by the Rana rulers and the Shah King during Rana regime.

³⁰ Land provided to government officials instead of salary during the Rana regimes

remained common during the Panchayat regime, and its remnant still continues in the society. In this study, the term Jamindar is used to imply both for the previous Kamaiya keeper and landlords. In changing context, the meaning of landlord has also changed. Those who are not involved in farming and farm management, use intermediaries to manage the land are known as Jamindars (landlords). All Kamaiya keepers were not Jamindars; some of them are farmers (*Kisan*) too. Kamaiya were the sole agriculture labour force of landlords in the Kamaiya system. The Kamaiya system was made illegal through an Act and the Kamaiya moved from the house of Jamindars. The Mukta Kamaiyas are settled in cluster approach forming the village. This created labour shortage and has impact on farm management of landlords. So, in this section, changes in the agriculture sector of landlords are assessed. Jamindars are further classified into three social groups i.e. *Tharu*, *Pahadi*³¹ and *Madhesi*³².

4.5.2 Socio-economic Status of Jamindars

The socio-economic characteristic of the sampled households of Jamindar is presented in table 4.25. Overall, the average family size per household is 9. Madhesi Jamindars have the largest family size (13 members/family) where as it is the lowest among Pahadi Jamindars (7 member/family). Thehead of the households (HHH) is male dominated (93%) whereas no female headed household was found in Tharu and Madhesi community, and it was 29% in Pahadi community. All household headswere found literate in Pahadhi and Madhesi community, whereas it was 94% in case of Tharu. Similarly, the literacy per centage of household including head of the household is found highest in Pahadi (98%) and the least in Tharu (91%). In totality, the literacy rate is found to be 94%. The lower literacy rate in Tharu and Madhesi population compared to Pahadi population is due to low literacy rate of female. In the past, female education was less emphasized. The other fact is that the Tharu and

³¹ Hill originated people, later on migrated to Tarai

³² Nepalese living in Tarai of Nepal, originated and/or migrated from India

Madhesi communities are over depended in agriculture. So, they emphasized less on education. The over dependency of Tharu Jamindar on agriculture is also reflected in Table 4.25. Sixty seven per centages of Madhesi and 59% of Tharu household heads are depended in farming whereas it is only 29% in case of Pahadi Jamindars. The involvement of Pahadi Jamindar was found to be more in social works and politics (43%), but it is low in others.

Table 4.25: Socio-economic Aspects of Sampled Jamindars in Banke and Bardiya Districts

Characteristics	Tharu (n=17)	Pahadi (n=7)	Madhesi (n=6)	Overall (n=30)
Average family size in number	8.59	6.86	12.5	8.97
Sex of HHH				
Male	17 (100.0)	5 (71.43)	6 (100.00)	28 (93.33)
Female	0 (0.00)	2 (28.57)	0 (0.00)	2 (6.67)
Literacy % of HHH	94.12	100	100	96.67
Literacy % including family members	91.24	97.78	95.45	93.55
Primary Occupation of HHH				
Farming	10 (58.82)	2 (28.57)	4 (66.67)	16 (53.33)
Business	2 (11.76)	2 (28.57)	0 (0.00)	4 (13.33)
Salaried job	2 (11.76)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (6.67)
Social work and politics	3 (17.65)	3 (42.86)	2 (33.33)	8 (26.67)
Land holding size (no. of HH)				
Average land holding per HH (bigha ³³)	9.50	12.63	19.67	12.26
Small (<5 bigha)	1	0	0	1
Medium (5-10 bigha)	11	2	1	14
Large (>10 bigha)	5	5	5	15
Livestock holding- LSU³⁴ (no. of HH)				
Average livestock-LSU per HH	4.05	1.94	3.57	3.46
No livestock	2 (11.76)	3 (42.86)	1 (16.67)	6 (20.00)
Small (<5 LSU)	11 (64.71)	3 (42.86)	3 (50.00)	17 (56.67)
Medium (5-10 LSU)	2 (11.76)	0 (0.00)	2 (33.33)	4 (13.33)
Large (>10 LSU)	2 (11.76)	1 (14.29)	0 (0.00)	3 (10.00)

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage

³³ 1.5 bigha= 1 ha

³⁴ LSU is aggregates of different types of livestock kept at household in standard unit calculated by using equivalent in annex 4.

Average landholding was found highest in Madhesi Jamindar (20 ha) followed by Pahadi (13 bigha) and Tharu (10bigha). The majority of the Jamindars from the Madhesi and Pahadi communities have larger land size (more than 10 bigha) whereas large proportions of Tharu Jamindars have medium size of land holding (5-10 bigha). The larger size of land holding in Madhesi is due to the joint family and dependent on farming or farm based business. The land Act of 1964 allowed 10 bigha of land holding for farming and one bigha for residential purpose to each family. Hence, the land is transferred accordingly to family members so that it did not cross the upper ceiling of landholding permitted by the law. In case of livestock holding, majority of the households are keeping small sized livestock (57% have less than 5 LSU). The average livestock holding is 3.46 being highest in Tharu community.

4.5.3 Effect of Kamaiya Labour Prohibition in Farm Management

The declaration of Kamaiya freedom by the government did not oblige the Kamaiya to payback their debt. Landlords were expected to get payment from the government. This situation did not satisfy the landlords for losing their financial claim remained due with Kamaiya. Some landlords tried to protest this decision through “*Kisan Hakhit Samrakchan Manch*” (Farmers right Protection Forum) –an informal institution of landlords in Kalilali (Cheria, Kandangwa, & Upadhyaya, 2005). However, ultimately, landlords accepted the cancellation of debt, but some Kamaiya repaid their debt (Kalvein, 2007). Kamaiya freedom was declared in the rainy season of rice transplanting (July). So the Government announced that Mukta Kamaiya should not be evicted immediately from their hut and can work for one season. Thus, Mukta Kamaiya gradually left the landlords and moved to the temporary camp and later on, they received land from the government. This broke decades of long Kamaiya institution and labour arrangement in the agricultural economy of landlords. The Jamindars had four options to manage their land. The first option was to give land to the

share croppers, the second was to employ daily wage labour, third was to introduce farm machinery (tractor, harrow, thresher), and fourth was the selling of land and initiate other businesses. During my working period in Kailali and Kanchanpur districts for about four years (2006 to 2009) and during my field visit too, I never heard the penalties to the landlords against keeping Kamaiya. I found some Jamindars were interested in keeping Kamaiya, but they said no one is interested to work under the Kamaiya system. One Jamindar added that he has to employ them as daily labourers in main agricultural operation (like transplanting and harvesting).

The effect of banning of Kamaiya in farming by the landlords is depicted in Table 4.26. The share cropping is the most prevalent arrangement for farm management by landlords. Share cropping has increased almost by two folds. It was 37% during the Kamaiya system, but now it has increased to 70%. The increment of share cropping was found highest in Tharu landlords (increased by more than four times) and Pahadi landlords (increased by 30%), but decreased by half in the Madhesi landlords (Table 4.26). The size of land given to share cropper has decreased than the Kamaiya system of Tharu and Madhesi Jamindars, but it has doubled in case of Pahadi Jamindars. In aggregate, the size of land per household given to share cropper has decreased from 7 ha to 5 ha. A study by Kvalbein (2007) also showed that share cropping was the most dominant arrangement in Mukta Kamaiya after the abolition of Kamaiya system. He found that 41% of Mukta Kamaiyas were involved in share cropping. My study showed that the major reason of giving land to the share cropper is uncertainty of labour (67%). The other reasons are internal displacement due to Maoist insurgency (19%), and farming is not lucrative (14%) as shown in Table 4.27. The decreased size of land per household given for share cropping is due to decrease in the landholding size of landlords. The decreased number of Madhesi landlords to involved in share cropping out is due to large family size (13), agri-based livelihood and afraid of tenancy right. One Madhesi Jamindar of

Banke said that “I just scatter handful amount of pigeon pea seeds in field rather than giving land to the share cropper. It is hard to believe the share cropper, once they get the land, they do not leave it easily” (interviewed on Aug.27, 2010). The Land Act states that tenancy right cannot be claimed onward 1998 (2054 BS).

There are several controversies and debates on the share cropping and its institutional arrangement. Scholars like Chaudhary and Maitra (n.d.) argued that share cropping is inefficient method of farming as there is no sole responsibility of sharecroppers and produce has to be shared with the landlords. They further added that profitability of share cropping to the share cropper depends on the sharing of agri-inputs like seeds, fertilizers and pesticides, and the opportunity of wage labour to the share cropper. Risk sharing during the natural calamities between the two parties is also one of the important aspects of share cropping. In my experience, landless and small peasants are more responsive to share cropping than the small farmers because share cropping is the only means of livelihood for them.

Table 4.26: Effect of Kamaiya Labour Prohibition in Farm Management of Jamindar

Particular	Social group	During Kamaiya System (Before 2000) (n=30)	After Ban of Kamaiya System (After 2000) (n=30)
HH share cropping out	Tharu	3 (17.65)	13 (76.47)
	Pahadi	4 (57.14)	6 (85.71)
	Madhesi	4 (66.67)	2 (33.33)
	<i>In Aggregate</i>	<i>11 (36.67)</i>	<i>21 (70.00)</i>
Land under share cropping/ HH (ha)	Tharu	5.10	4.00
	Pahadi	5.00	10.16
	Madhesi	10.00	6.00
	<i>In Aggregate</i>	<i>6.85</i>	<i>5.47</i>
Avg. livestock holding/HH (Cattle AUE)	Tharu	36.39	4.31
	Pahadi	45.75	3.40
	Madhesi	35.92	4.28
	<i>In Aggregate</i>	<i>39.27</i>	<i>4.33</i>
HH having tractor	Tharu	3 (17.65)	5 (29.41)
	Pahadi	2 (28.57)	3 (42.86)
	Madhesi	3 (50.00)	5 (83.33)
	<i>In Aggregate</i>	<i>8 (26.67)</i>	<i>13 (43.33)</i>

Source: Field Survey (2010); Note: Figures in parentheses are in per centage

Previously, Jamindars were powerful. They used to keep large numbers of Kamaiyas (normally 5-10). Generally, big landlords (Jamindars) were involved in political party politics and social organizations. They influenced the villagers. It seems that the size of landholding is also one of the important factors that enable the power of landlords. Nowadays, the land holding is becoming small and they are less involved in political party politics and social institutions. It is due to the suspicion by villagers. It was also badly affected by the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN-Maoist) insurgency in the country during 1996 to 2006. In the sampled landlords, the majority of them were affected and faced hard conditions during the Maoist insurgency period. Four Jamindars migrated from villages to the city area of Nepalgunj, Banke and Gulariya, Bardiya.

Livestock holding of landlord has drastically reduced after the freedom of Kamaiya. The average livestock holding before Kamaiya freedom was 39 but now it is just 4 (9 times lesser). In Kamaiya system, Jamindars used to keep herder for different livestock herding. Previously, farming was solely livestock manure based, and draft power was mostly animal based. Animal were used for tilling land, pulling carts for transportation and threshing crop. But now generally, landlords are keeping one or two milching cow or buffalo and goats and poultry for their own domestic use. Animal draft power is subsequently replaced by machineries. Tractors are used for farm ploughing and transporting agricultural produce and thresher for threshing maize, rice, lentil etc. The ownership of tractor among landlord has increased from 27% before 2000 to 43% in 2010 (Table 4.26). The highest ownership of tractor is found in the Madheshi landlords (83%) followed by Pahadi (43%) and least in Tharu (30%). Tractors are not only used for their own farming, but are also used as external source of income. They are rented for carriage in locally available works. It was found that the majority of the landlords used tractors only for 50% time in farming. The increased number of

tractors in the districts is also verified by the statistics of zonal TMO, Banke. In Bheri zone, 3,978 tractors & power tiller are registered and 439 tractors were introduced in fiscal year (FY) 2009/010 (TMO, 2010). According to the verbal information of TMO, 80% of tractors and power tillers are in Banke and Bardiya districts.

Table 4.27: Reason for Giving Land to the Share Cropper by Landlords

Reason	Tharu	Pahadi	Madhesi	Overall
Irregularity of Labour	11 (84.6)	2 (33.3)	1 (50.0)	14 (66.7)
Displaced from Maoist	1 (7.7)	2 (33.3)	1 (50.0)	4 (19.0)
Not Profitable	1 (7.7)	2 (33.3)	0 (0.0)	3 (14.3)
Total	13 (100)	6 (100)	2 (100)	21 (100)

Note: Figures in the parentheses are in per centage.

According to the landlords, the negative effect of share cropping and decreased livestock is observed in the production of major crops like rice, wheat and maize. According to them, the production of crops has become low due to the inappropriate crop management and low use of farm yard manure (FYM). The slight increase in the yield is only due to the improved crop varieties. The current rice, wheat and maize yields are 3 MT for rice and wheat and 1 MT for maize. In the past, the yield of rice and wheat was 2 MT and 0.7 MT for maize. The use of chemical fertilizer in agriculture has increased than before due to the unavailability of FYM. The supply of chemical fertilizer is not timely, and many depend on illegal Indian border market that also affects the production of these crops.

4.5.4 Concluding Remarks

Kamaiya served as the sole agriculture force in landlord's agricultural economy in the Kamaiya system. With the freedom of Kamaiya, they moved from the landlords control and entered into the wage labour market. It created labour shortage for landlords. The hiring of daily wage labour did not secure regularity of labour. It compelled landlords to manage their farming through some other sorts of arrangements like share cropping, mechanized farming

and even selling of agriculture and investment in other sectors like business. Share cropping is the most dominant alternative way of farm management for landlords. But they argued that the yield of crop under this system is not satisfactory due to the inadequate agricultural management practices.

CHAPTER- 05: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter summarizes the findings of the research and makes conclusions based on those findings for policy implication, programme planning and implementation as well as for further research.

5.1 Conclusion

This research was carried out with the objective of assessing the status of freed-bonded labourer (Mukta Kamaiya) and landlords (Jamindars) after the abolishment of the Kamaiya system in Nepal. The main objective is supported by three sub-objectives. The achievement of this research under each sub-objective is summarized as under:

The first sub-objective: *to assess education, income and employment of Mukta Kamaiya*

Literacy rate was found encouraging in Mukta Kamaiya and their family members. This is largely contributed by informal education conducted by different government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Formal education is recent movement of Mukta Kamaiya after their freedom that is reflected from the higher literacy rate in younger age group (below 18 years). The educational level is mainly concentrated in primary level. Extremely low numbers of people have received higher education.

Most of the Kamaiya were landless and homeless in the Kamaiya system. So, the Government rehabilitation package basically considered land redistribution and house construction support for them. Most of the Mukta Kamaiyas have received land, but the size of land is very small which is not enough to sustain their livelihood. It led them to enter into the labour market. Daily wage labour in farm and off-farm sectors is the major occupation of Mukta Kamaiya and their family members. Labour productivity can be increased through different types of skill based training. However, the majority of the labourers are depended on unskilled labour due to lack of training, insufficient skill, limited labour market, lack of credit provision and business skills. Farming, including share cropping, is the second most

prominent source of income of Mukta Kamaiya. Share cropping is based on 50:50 output sharing. The income of Mukta Kamaiya looks better than Kamaiya system, but the saving is minimal and even large proportions of Mukta Kamaiyas are still indebted. Income from daily wage labour is mostly volatile. Major part of income is being spent on food items because average food self-sufficiency is only for three months. Large portions of Mukta Kamaiya are in food insecurity situation, having quite below daily calorie intake compared to what is standardized for Tarai region. To improve their livelihood, Mukta Kamaiya preferred skill based employment, business and farming.

The second sub-objective: *to study the prevalence of child labour in Mukta Kamaiya*

The incidence and intensity of kamlahri form of child labour is decreasing in Mukta Kamaiya in the studied area. It is basically due to the programme implemented by NGOs. But still one-tenth of households are sending their children under Kamlahri system. Entry age of children under the system is small (even from 5 years) and mostly last up to teenage before marriage. Both boys and girls enter into the Kamlahri system, but the proportion of girls is overwhelmingly high due to the preference of masters to girls as child care takers and for domestic works. The trend of attending school by Kamlahri has improved, but there are still nearly one quarter of Kamlahri, who are not getting education. Most of the kamlahri are working just for education, meal and a pair of dress. The working duration of Kamlahri is long there still exists inequality in food rations, and frequent verbal and physical abuse. The reason for sending kamlahri is due to poverty as a result of large number of family size, higher child and economic dependency and even lack of awareness about the exploitative nature of the Kamlahri system.

The third sub-objective: *to examine the implication of Kamaiya System abolishment in farm management of Jamindar*

With the abolishment of the Kamaiya system, Jamindar faced regular agriculture

labour shortage. They are shifting their farm management to share cropping. The number of landlords giving land to the share cropper has increased after the freedom of Kamaiya. It is more intense in Tharu and Pahadi landlords, but has decreased in the Madhesi landlords. The reason of decreased share cropping system among Madhesi Jamindar is due to the larger number of family size, fear about land tenancy right and the introduction of farm machineries. The land under the share cropping by the landlord has decreased due to decrease in landholding size. The livestock holding size of the landlords has drastically reduced after Kamaiya freedom due to lack of animal herder system. Most of the Jamindars are keeping one or two milching cow or buffalo and small livestock for their domestic use. With decreased livestock holding, animal based farm power is gradually substituted by farm machineries like tractos and threshers. The use of chemical fertilizer has increased in farming due to less availability of compost and farm yard manure. The landlords believe yield under share cropping has not increased as proportionate to the high yielding crop varieties used due to the insufficient crop management and decreased use of farm manures in agriculture.

5.3 Recommendation

The following recommendations have been proposed for policy implication and further research:

- Empowerment through education should be focused for improving lives of Mukta Kamaiya and kamlahri. Education programmes like informal education has well contributed to the out of school Mukta Kamaiya and their family members. Formal education is new momentum among the children of Mukta Kamaiya. It should be supported with scholarship and long term educational support programmes. The

support programme should be expanded to all children of Mukta Kamaiya rather than just supporting the Kamlahris.

- Awareness raised against Kamlahri system has good impact on reducing the supply of kamlahri child labour, and it should be continued. But sending child into Kamlahri system has not stopped, and some returned or rescued kamlahri are again entering into the system. So Kamlahri should be returned or rescued by confirming the working condition. The household of returned Kamlahri should be supported with need-based income generation programme.
- Share cropping is the most dominant form of farm management practice for the Jamindars. Mukta Kamaiya and small peasant farmers are the share croppers. The output is shared equally between the producer and the landowner. The proportion of sharing the produce was fixed about half-century ago during the land reform programme in 1964. There are conflicting opinions about share cropping mechanism. Some say there is exploitation, and Kamlahri are kept as collateral to get the land for share cropping whereas some advocate that it is better than wage labour system. So, further research is needed in this regard.

5.4 Issues Related to Mukta Kamaiya

- *Identification of left out Mukta Kamaiya.* Though this issue is politicized, there is still some Mukta Kamaiya who were left during the enumeration. There are several reasons for not getting proper identification of the Mukta Kamaiya among them is the Communist Party of Nepal (CPM Maoist) insurgency, and probably the most important one.
- *Equity in land distribution with the Mukta Kamaiya.* The C (yellow cardholder) and D (white cardholder) Mukta Kamaiya may have less land than the land distributed to

the category A (red cardholder) and B (blue cardholder). The rehabilitation programme is also more focused to A and B categories of Mukta Kamaiya.

- Kamlarhi system is also a remnant of Kamaiya system. Identification of Kamlahri labourer and/or authentication of Kamlahris by the concerned agencies (probably by government) and long term rehabilitation programme to those Kamlahri and their families are needed.

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APPENDICES

Annex 1: Maximum Ceiling of Land Holding in Nepal Under the Land Reform Act, 1964

SN	Geographical Region	Provision from 2021/8/1 to 2058/4/31 BS in The Land Act 1964 (per HH or Adult Person)			Fifth amendment in The Land Act 1964 (onward 2058/4/32 BS) (per HH or Adult Person)		
		Agriculture Land	Residential Land	Total	Agriculture Land	Residential Land	Total
1	Maximum land holding throughout the Nepal	25 bigha*	3 bigha	28 bigha	10 bigha	1 bigha	11 bigha
2	Tarai and Inner Tarai	25 bigha	3 bigha	28 bigha	10 bigha	1 bigha	11 bigha
3	Kathmandu valley	50 ropani	8 ropani	58 ropani	25 ropani	5 ropani	30 ropani
4	Hill and Mountain except Kathmandu valley	80 roapani	16 ropani	96 ropani	70 ropani	5 ropani	75 ropani

Source: The Land Act and Land Administration Working Procedure (n.d.; n.d.)

*1.5 bigha = 1 ha

Annex 2: Risky Business or Works Cited in Child (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 2000

1. Business relating to tourism including tourism, residence, motel, hotel, casino, restaurant, bar, pub, resort, skiing, guiding, water rafting, cable car complex, Pony trekking, mountaineering, hot air ballooning, parasailing, golf course, polo, horse riding and so on;
2. Service-oriented business such as workshop, laboratory, animal slaughterhouse, cold storage and so on;
3. Public transport and construction business;
4. Works relating to manufacture of cigarette, *biri*; carpet, weaving, dying; wool cleaning; fabrics weaving, dying, washing and printing strips; leather tanning; cement manufacturing and packing; production, sale and distribution of matches, explosives and other flammable materials; production of beer, liquor and other drink items; production of soap; production of bitumen; production of pulp and paper; production of slate, pencil, insecticides, lubricating oils; collection of garbage; processing and electroplating; photo processing and works relating to rubber, synthetic, plastic, lid and mercury;
5. Works relating to water resources, air, solar power, coal, natural oil or gas, bio-gas or the like works relating to producing energy and its transmission and distribution;
6. Works relating to mines, mineral substances, exploration, processing and distribution of natural oil or gas.
7. Works relating to rickshaw and carts pulled by human beings.
8. Works relating to cutting machine.

9. Works to be done in underground, under water or in excessive height.
10. Works to be done having contact with chemical substances and
11. Other risky works or business prescribed by the prevailing laws.

Annex 3: Conversion Factor to Compute Adult Equivalents (AE)

Age group	Adult equivalent	
	Male	Female
Under 1 year	0.33	0.33
1-1.99	0.46	0.46
2-2.99	0.54	0.54
3-4.99	0.62	0.62
5-6.99	0.74	0.70
7-9.99	0.84	0.82
10-11.99	0.88	0.78
12-13.99	0.96	0.84
14-15.99	1.06	0.86
16-17.99	1.14	0.86
18-29.99	1.04	0.80
30-59.99	1.00	0.82
60 and over	0.84	0.74

Source: Gamba (2005) as cited in Joshi (2008)

Annex 4: Conversion Factor to Compute Livestock Standard Unit (LSU)

Animal	LSU equivalent to cattle	Description
1 Cow, Buffalo	1	1 matured cow, buffalo = 1 Cattle
1 Calf	0.75	1 calf = 0.75 cow
1 Goat, Sheep, Pig	0.2	5 matured goat/sheep/pig = 1 Cattle
1 Lamb, Kids, Piglet	0.1	10 Lam/Kids/Piglet = 1 Cattle
1 Poultry	0.1	10 Poultry = 1 Cattle

Source: CBS (2001/02) and Butter field and Savory (2006)

Annex 5: Calorie Content per 100 grams of Edible Portion of Food

Food item	Calorie	Food item	Calorie	Food item	Calorie
Cereals and grains		Spice and Condiments		Livestock product	
Rice	345	Garlic	300	Buffalo milk	67
Wheat	341	Ginger	300	Cow milk	61
Maize	342	Green chilli	40	Ghee	900
Barley	350	Dry chilli	324	Poultry	138
Pulses		Coriander	300	Goat meat	161
Soybean	416	Cumin	300	Pig meat	165
Lentil	343	Turmeric powder	341	Buffalo meat	138
Pigeon pea	335	Vegetable oil	900	Fish	97
Black gram	347	Mustard	900	Egg	158

Food item	Calorie	Food item	Calorie	Food item	Calorie
Pea	341	Salt	0	Other	
Chickpea	356	Fruits		Honey	550
Green Vegetables		Mango	74	Biscuit	360
Leafy vegetable	26	Banana	116	Alcohol	0
Potato	97	Apple	59	Tea/Coffee	0
Tomato	20	Citrus	48	Sugar	398
Onion	50	Papaya	52	Tobacco	0
Radish	16	Guava	68		
Cauliflower	25				
Cabbage	24				
Brinjal	24				
Okra	31				
Cucurbit	26				
Colocasia	112				

Source: Calorieking (2011); Joshi (2008)

Retrieved June 12, 2011 from http://www.elkusa.com/Buffalo_meat_nutrition.html

Annex 6: Conversion Factors Between Important Primary and Secondary Agricultural Commodities

Commodity	Conversion Factor
Rice (cleaned) production	0.6175 (2/3 of Paddy Production)
Sesame	
Oil to seed crushed	40%
Cake to seed crushed	60%
Rapeseed and Mustard	
Oil to seeds crushed	33%
Cake to seed crushed	67%
Linseed	
Oil to seed crushed	33%
Cake to seeds crushed	67%

Source: MoA (n.d.)

Annex 7: Nepal, Food Quantity Conversion From Units to grams

Unit	Gram
Eggs	60
Bananas	127
Pineapple and Papaya	500
Citrus and Apples	175
Mangoes	400

Source: CBS (2005b)