

CHAPTER – ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Kamalari Pratha was mostly practiced in the Tharu community. From the Tharu community in the western Terai district that is, Kailali, Kanchanpur, Dang, Bardiya and Banke. Tharu girls from 6-18 years of age were sent as Kamalari to work in landlord's (jamindar) house or to well off families in the cities. (K.C. 2078) In Nepal 12769 were victim of Kamalari system and still 3296 are not listed in the list of Kamalari. Till now only 4934 have got ID card. Due to lack of ID card many Kamalari are not able to grab the allowances and other facilities given by government. The Kamalari pratha is considered as a remnant of the kamaiya system, an agricultural bonded labor system officially abolished in Nepal in the year 2000 (Mottin 2012). But Nepal Government made Kamalari practice illegal in 2013 (NYF). Girls were sent as Kamalari for different reasons: because of their parent's debts (Saunki), it is requested by landlords in order to give them land to share crop because of poverty. After sending their daughter as Kamalari, they hope that she will get food, clothes and education which is rarely the case. The Kamalari experience was not conceptualized as 'work' but as 'life' normally people use the Nepali phrase *Kamalari basne* that can be translated as 'to live as Kamalari'.

Kamalari was a traditional system of bonded labor in western Terai Nepal. The word Kamalari refer to female worker and kamaiya refers to male worker. Kamalari pratha belongs to those people who are subservient toward only the owners, they do everything that their master wants. Kamalari was a type of domestic slavery that originated from the worst kind of bonded girl child labor, which was accompanied by a social structure that was unequal. This used to be a common practice among Nepal's impoverished Tharu community in the Terai belt of the country's mid and western regions (Fujikura 2013; Maycook 2015).

The Kamalari system became institutionalized in the Tharu society in Nepal's western Terai area when it was anchored structurally beneath the patron-client relationship. Kamalari were used mostly for home purposes, whereas kamaiya were used to work in the landlord's field. According to Lowe (2002), due to homelessness, illiteracy, poverty, bad health, landlessness,

unemployment, lack of awareness, ignorance, lack of means of subsistence, and societal truths such as caste system were main reasons of the creation of Kamalari.

Nepal's government passed a progressive land reform act in 1951 that centralized unregistered land. Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) was also used to eradicate malaria in the late 1950s and early 1960s. As a result, the migration of hilly populations to plain areas increased. The Tharu had their own administration territory before the Government of Nepal's actions, such as the Praganna system, which administered to carry out justice, development, religious, and ritual actions. In their lands, the Tharus had easy access to natural resources (Chaudhary 2019).

Nepal's rice basket is the Terai, or plains, region. The Western Terai region of Nepal was extremely productive, with 909,743 Tharu people living in six districts (Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Surkhet, Kailali, and Kanchanpur). These districts are home to half of the Tharu population. The Tharu indigenous people cultivated the lands in these districts. It is also the most productive and desirable agricultural land. Only Tharus lived in the area at that time, and other non-Tharu people came to the area during the winter season after fleeing the area during the summer. They put up with the malaria and wild animals of the jungle in exchange for plenty of land to live on. Senior Tharu citizens remember a time when a family moving to a new settlement could carve out as much land as they wanted from the jungle. The Tharus developed largely self-sufficient communities in and around the jungle in this environment, with distinct building styles, settlement patterns, religion, and agricultural practices. The Rana aristocracy, despite having legal ownership of parts of the land, had no desire to live there. Instead, the Rana regime used only countable Tharu people by appointing them as Chaudhary, or local village headmen, to collect revenue and send it to the Rana regime at the central level. The revenue collection agents, known as "Patwari," were also appointed. In practice, the land was free to cultivate, but the Rana Regime required payment of taxes (Chaudhary 2019).

The significant inflow of hill migrants marginalized historically landowning Tharu people by seizing their properties when malaria was eradicated in the terai region in the 1950s and 1960s. The settlers registered the land in their names, forcing the Tharus to work as agricultural laborers, despite the fact that the Tharus had no records of the land they were cultivating. The forced labor system known as Kamaiya/Kamalari, which in Tharu terminology is equivalent to

industrious hired farm labor, rapidly dominated the conventional practice of acquiring a "helping hand for family business."

The Terai is a plain region which is hotter than other regions, where Tharus, Danuwar, Yadavs, Telis, Sudis, Rajput, Brahmins, Chamars, Mushahars, Doms, Sarkis, etc live. Change is a universal and continuous phenomena found in all societies at all times. Along with change, people have adjusted their ways of earning for livelihood as per the changing situation. Change in the community can be seen through the development activities and its impact at their livelihood. Sometimes the change comes through the development and sometimes through modernization, globalization along with social and political movements. But every change does not only bring positive transformation on the lives of people and communities, but also brings negative impact on their lives and livelihood.

Livelihood simply refers to the people's economic, social, and physical strategies in their daily life. In other words, it is the outcome of how people organize and transform the natural environment to meet their needs by using labour, knowledge, available technology and social relations (Bebbington, 1999). The livelihood is expressed through their daily activities, livelihood assets, and entitlement through which an individual make a living. According to Chambers and Conway (1991:4), livelihood is defined as "Living means that include capacities, assets, and activities. A livelihood is sustainable when it can withstand and recover from stress and shocks, and when it can retain or improve its capabilities and assets today and in the future without jeopardizing the natural resource base". Choice of livelihood is primarily determined by their access to and combination of assets (Wisner et al., 2004). Furthermore, available environmental factors such as climate, soil, and landscape provide opportunities for a range of livelihood activities as well as a limitation for some activities.

Over time and space, every human community has undergone varying degrees of change. The Nepalese society is no exception. People are modifying their livelihood tactics to adapt with the change in time as modern civilization develops. People are being attracted to pursue new occupations while giving up their traditional occupations, such as traditional agriculture and forest-based economic activities, as a result of the influence of development operations. Modern development has had a negative impact on people's socioeconomic lives. As a result, people are forced to work low-wage jobs for a living, resulting in a variety of livelihood methods.

Livelihood activities are guided by their capability and available assets. Different livelihood activities can be found within a household such as land cultivation, herding, hunting, seasonal work etc. as their occupation. Capabilities and activities are considered as inherent merit of an individual whereas the surrounding environment and available assets shape it or, have influence on it.

In developing countries, population growth has exceeded the agricultural production. Since the land resources are limited, agricultural activities could not sustain the growing population. So it is natural to divert the growing population into the nonfarm employment. But due to low level of industrialization and other nonfarm activities, unemployment and underemployment are commonly occurring phenomena in the developing countries. The recent responses of the North to the problem of the Third World debt and worsening social crisis are population control and 'structural adjustment'. 'Structural adjustment' policies seek to improve loan recipients' foreign investment climate by eliminating barriers to capital expansion and international trade (Rajbanshi, 2009).

The sustainability of livelihoods becomes a function of how people utilize asset portfolios on both short and long-term basis. Assets, in this particular context, are defined as not only natural/biological (i.e. land, water, common property resources, flora, fauna), but also social and political (i.e. community, family, social networks, participation, empowerment, human (i.e. knowledge, skills), and physical (i.e. roads, markets, clinics, schools, bridges). Hence socio-economic aspect is also an integral part of sustainable livelihood of the poor and marginal population besides the natural or environmental resources. A socially sustainable livelihood is one that can cope with and recover from shocks and stresses while also providing for future generations (Chambers and Conway, 1991: i). The means in which rural people in developing countries earn a living appear to be exceedingly poor and unhappy, and so complex. People's lives and agricultural operations have not improved as promised; in fact, they are no longer able to support themselves only through agriculture. It makes no difference if they sell their surplus to improve their well-being and promote sustainability after lowering vulnerability and food insecurity (Chambers and Conway, 1991: 4).

1.2 Statement of the problem

The Kamalari system existed particularly in five districts, Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali, Kanchanpur and seems to be affected especially Tharu people. The Tharus are likely one of the Terai Nepal's oldest ethnic groupings. They frequently reside in or near extremely forested areas. A large number of Tharuwan communities are located in small clearings in the center of the forest. The majority of the Tharu communities are located in malaria-infested tropical malarial environments, which are home to wild animals such as elephants, rhinoceros, bears, tigers, and dangerous snakes. Areas that are easily accessible in the open are usually occupied by other individuals (Bista, 1967). "The Tharus are one of the oldest and distinctive indigenous tribal peoples spread all throughout the Southern foothills of the Himalayas from a long time ago," according to the worldwide scenario. The Tharus are culturally and linguistically distinct from other ethnic groups" (Bista, 1967). Kamalari were especially taken for domestic purpose, to pay the debt (Saunki) taken by their parents and to share the crops cultivated in the landlord's field by them. The declaration of freedom of the bonded labor by government on 17 July 2000, but Kamalari were bounded till 2013. Government legally declared it is illegal to keep Kamalari in 27 June 2013 (Sapkota 2018). Various agencies including the government of Nepal, INGOs and Civil society organizations have continued to extend helping hands to the Ex- Kamalari but they are still struggling to change their their life style. Although these Kamalari oriented institutions and programs continue to work on their conceptualization and knowledge building, this cannot solve the genuine issues facing by Kamalari in their daily survival. It is evident that they are still helpless and deprived of their citizen rights. Right and facilities provided by government, INGOs and NGOs are not enough to uplift their livelihood. Now a days they are not getting appropriate place in the contemporary society, despite the fact that they are skillful (KPUS 2010).

Moreover, Kamalaries are still in most vulnerable condition due to lack of basic livelihood opportunities. They are still struggling for their better settlement. They are neither able to have good health facilities, nutritious food and because of their poverty nor ensure that their children go to school. That is why they are still backward in Nepal. Previously many researches have been carried out in the issues of kamaiya's only. No one have tried to address the issues and challenges of Ex-Kamalari. So on this ground therefore, the study focuses on the current livelihood situation of Ex-Kamalari answering the following questions:

-) In what types of economic activities Ex-Kamalari are involved for their livelihood?
-) How these activities are contributing in enhancing their health, education and economic status?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

-) To describe the current activities of Ex-Kamalari for maintaining their livelihood.
-) To explain the health, education and economic condition of their resettled life.

1.4 Significance of the study

There are various caste and ethnic groups in Nepal. Each ethnic group has their own traditions, cultures, mother tongue and we feelings. The major criterion used in identifying it as ethnic group is own mother tongue. The participation itself is an awareness building process. Participation brings the power and unites other communities. It is an active process, which brings the persons initiatives and asserts them.

Different kinds of organizations and institutions were taken for evidence or supplementary documents in the field of related topic. It is expected that this study would be more useful for government authorities and other NGOs, INGOs acting in the developmental field. It can provide them a guideline to construct the developmental policies for disadvantaged communities. It might be a useful document for those who are interested to know about the Livelihood situation of Ex-Kamalari. And it is expected that this study will be useful in the field of sociology to know that how they have struggled in feudalism and how they are struggling in semi-capitalism to secure their livelihood. The result of the study will also be beneficial to formulate the plans and policies of related area.

This study also helps to identify the actual situation of Ex-Kamalari in livelihood of the study area and might be favorable for solving hidden issues like; unemployment, livelihood stagey, education, health and sanitation and so on.

1.5 Organization of the Study

This study is organized in five chapters. The first chapter deals with introduction of the subject, which includes background, statement of the problems, and objectives of the study, significance of the study. Similarly, the second chapter goes through various review of literature where

published and unpublished literatures. The third chapters describes the methods of research, which includes research design, rationales of the selection of the study area, sample size, nature and sources of data, data collection techniques, tools and analysis of the research, limitation of the study. At the same time, fourth chapter of this study includes the presentation and analytical views of data. And the fifth chapter describes the summary& conclusion.

CHAPTER-TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Reviewing literature is a way to develop the idea about the research thoroughly. In a research, literature comprises an important part. It helps a researcher to acquire knowledge about the topic, hypothesizes the research, to set the objectives and to design a research framework.

As I have mentioned in introduction that 'The Kamalari pratha is considered as a remnant of kamaiya system'. So let's introduce in short about kamaiya system due to which it will be easier to interpret the Kamalari system.

2.1 The Kamaiya System

The word Kamaiya originally derives from Tharu words designating a man in a position within intra-household of labor where he carries out physical demanding work like tilling the field and earns the living for the household (Fujikura, 2001:30). On the other hand (INSEC, 1992) defines Kamaiya as a worker but unlike a general worker who bonded on slavery system prohibited all over the world including Nepal. More over the Kamaiya system is a typical Tharu tradition that existed in the Terai region of Nepal. The alternation of the traditional system into an exploitative labor system of unequal power relation requires an understanding of historical events and policies those changed the people of the land to landlessness: trapping them into bonded labour.

The Kamaiya System is a long-term work contract between a Kamaiya laborer and a Kamaiya landlord. The landlord hires the Kamaiya on an annual basis to execute various tasks on the landlord's farm in exchange for in-kind payment. Masyaura and Bigha are the two types of payments. Masyaura is paid in the form of a specific amount of crops, most commonly paddy (but also lentils, oil, seeds, or salts). When the Kamaiya is paid in Bigha, he receives the productions of the plot of land that the owner has assigned to him (INSEC, 1998:2).

Furthermore, the Kamaiya system, as established as INSEC in 1992, refers to the exploitation of human power for agricultural and other related tasks. The way and forms of circumstances on which "saunki (Tharu word meaning debt)" is given and the way their account is kept are, nonetheless, critical elements of the Kamaiya system. The above mentioned description, which underpins the name Kamaiya's ostensibly pleasant connotation, reveals implicitly a story of

human exploitation and injustice, portraying a Kamaiya as a slave or bonded laborer (GEFONT, 2007).

The wives of Kamaiya's get fraction of payments that their husbands receive. And their children are often forced to hard work or as a servant for landlords and get usually get two times of meal in a day (BASE, 1995).

In the Tharu ethnic groups' language, the name "Kamaiya" denotes "hardworking man." The Tharus are a Nepalese ethnic group who live in the Terai region's southern strip, accounting for 6.6 percent of the country's overall population. They have a darker complexion and Mongolian features, with the majority of their people living in Banke, Bardiya, Kailali, Kanchanpur, and Dang (CNAS 1992 as cited by Budhathoki, 2012).

Only Tharus could survive in Terai before malaria was eradicated because they possessed the ability to fight malaria mortality and morbidity (Chaudhary 2011). However, after malaria was eradicated in the 1960s, Terai was also populated by people from the hills. The hill migrants had tight ties to the state's bureaucracy and rulers. The hill migrants were able to take a substantial chunk of territory that used to belong to the Tharus and make them landless with the support of the kings (Budhathoki, 2012).

Kamaiya is Tharu word, which means those who work for other. The word used as a synonym for hard working hired farm laborer. The Kamaiya system is a long-term labor relationship between landlord and landless Tharus. In this system landless Tharu had to perform his work in the land of landowner because of the poverty. Although existence of exact history of this practice is not clear but it is prominent only after the period of malaria eradication that is 1950. When hill migrants were come to contact with Tharus, they started to make Tharus people Kamaiya.

In the Tharu Dialect, "Kamaiya" refers to an agricultural worker or farmland tenant who works on the farm or in the house as a laborer under a verbal and written arrangement with a landowner in the terai area in Nepal's mid and far western development region. They are classified in five different classes.

- Kamaiya whose share of the crop is one third of product of land

-Kamaiya whose share of the crop of the assigned land

-Kamaiya receiving wages

-Kamaiya receiving fixed annual food grain and other materials

-Kamaiya on sauki (bonded situation, here in after called as Kamaiya) who receive loan (\$45-450) from land owner and works with him until he/she pays his/her loan or may change his/her master with all the family member at mid-January (Oli, n.d.).

2.1.2 The Kamalari System

Among Tharu communities in the Western rural districts of the Terai, girls from 6-18 years of age were sent as Kamalaris to work in landowners' houses or to well-off families in the cities. The Kamalari pratha is considered as a remnant of the Kamaiya system, an agricultural bonded labour system officially abolished in Nepal in the year 2000. Girls were sent as Kamalari for different reasons: because of their parents' debts, because it is requested by the landlords in order to give the parents land to sharecrop, because of poverty, in fact the parents receive between NRs. 4-5 thousand a year and hope the girl would get food, clothes and education, which is rarely the case. Some families send the girls as Kamalari because it is the common practice and the girl's mothers went before them. The Kamalari experience is not conceptualized as 'work' but as 'life' normally people use the Nepali phrase Kamalari basne that can be translated as 'to live as Kamalari (Mottin 2012).

Despite the fact that Nepalese society has never had slavery or a specific era of 'slaves,' a slavery system was established to institutionalize feudalism (Regmi 2002). However, in the context of South Asia, this is not the case (Upadhyaya 2004). Many forms of slavery, as well as bonded labor, occurred in Nepal, and were perpetuated by the intersection of class, caste / ethnicity, and gender. Following this, Kamalari developed as the worst sort of bonded girl child labor practice embedded within an uneven social structure as a domestic slavery system. This was a typical practice among the poor Tharu community in Nepal's Terai belt in the mid- and far-west area (Fujikura 2013; Maycock 2015). Poor Tharu parents send their daughters under the age of 18 to work for a minimum wage or in kind at the landlord's house and other wealthier families in their neighborhood or beyond, aiding in household and field work. The Kamalari system became institutionalized in both Tharu and non-Tharu groups in Nepal's western Terai area as a result of its structural roots in the patron-client relationship.

However, the Kamalari practice system included many features that were not limited to the Tharus' communal and regional jurisdiction. While it is a feudal practice politically, it has retained a socio-cultural component of the poor Tharus and the rest of society. Because the majority of Kamalari girls were or are under the age of 18, this practice deprives them of their child rights. Economically, it was a system that arose from people's poverty, inequality, reliance, and livelihood uncertainty. Despite the fact that the Government of Nepal (GoN) has passed a number of child rights legislation and is a signatory to international obligations, the Kamalari practice could not become a priority of government policies as a political discourse. Some academics (e.g., Chaudhary 2013; Dahit 2008; Rankin 1999) claim that it is a socio-cultural issue imposed by non-Tharus on Tharus, with political and economic stratification. These arguments are essentially founded on the fundamental principle of Tharu ethnicity. Critical Marxists, on the other hand, argue that Kamalari is a class-based issue perpetuated by the elite given society power systems (e.g., Mishra 2011; Sapkota 2014). These academics also contend that bound institutions in Nepali culture, such as the Kamalari system, disproportionately impacted impoverished households in compared to wealthier persons and groups. Slavery then migrated downward to the most disadvantaged populations in terms of caste/ethnicity. Thus, Marxist researchers approach the Kamalari question from a 'political economic' perspective.

Despite these contrary views, the Kamalari practice is largely seen as a form of bonded labor and a violation of children's rights. It's referred to as a 'movement method.' Following this, from 1990 onwards, non-state actors (NSAs) and social movement groups began to raise the problem, which became a political priority during the Maoist insurrection (1996-2006) and increased in the People's Movement (2006). Furthermore, for many development agencies, it became a common right-based concern. The system was declared outlawed by the Government of Nepal with the 10-Points Agreement on 7 June 2013 (Chaudhary 2017) and the following declaration of liberation on 27 June 2013 after a series of agitations and demonstrations. Despite the proclamation, neither all of the girls were rescued nor was a proper rehabilitation program for those that were. Furthermore, it was later revealed that some of the girls had vanished and they were unknown, while others had been bound in Nepalese towns as well as Indian markets and houses (Freed Kamalari Development Forum-FKDF 2018).

The Kamalari and Kamaiya systems continue to be two major socioeconomic challenges in the Tharu community (Fujikura 2013). Both systems have a long history of interdependence. The phrase 'Kamalari' is derived from the Tharu word 'Kam+Lahari,' which refers to work-assist labor that progressively gets linked to the service. As previously noted, poor Tharu parents used to send their daughters or sisters under the age of 18 to work in landlords' and other affluent families' houses in their local village or beyond for assistance in the home and field labor for a minimal salary (majduri) or remuneration in kind (food grains including rice and wheat). In most situations, the parent and employer had an agreement (though it was usually an informal contract) for the child to work as a Kamalari for one year. However, the employee was obligated to work for several years without official payment or substantial salaries. During the Maghi festival for decades, Kamalari brokers traveled to Western Nepal to acquire females to send them to labor. The girls were meant to be returned after a year, but few landlords ever voluntarily released them. Contrary to what was promised, Kamalaries were rarely permitted to attend school or engage in any social groups or public forums. The Kamalari system violated the rights of girls. Once the girl-child began her life as a Kamalari, she was frequently exposed to a high danger of physical and emotional exploitation (COLARP 2016). They did not have access to schooling or other outside activities in the past, and some ethnographic studies have revealed heartbreaking situations.

The truth is rather different. The majority of Kamalari girls were employed as slaves; they rarely live with their families and sleep on the floor in a separate room such as the kitchen. They work up to 14 hours a day on leftovers or rotting food. The girls had been beaten, neglected, denied medical care, barred from leaving the house, and sexually raped, according to reports (Kids Rights Report 2014, p. 3).

It is due to lack of land Tharu were compelled to become kamaiya and kamalari. After being free from kamaiya, due to lack of proper settlement they were unable to fulfill basic needs, so to fulfill basic needs kamaiya were compelled to send their daughter on landlord's house. Kamalari's relation was not only for individual job but it was related to whole family. Kamalari have to work a lot so they were unknown about outdoor activities and for them there awareness was very far from them. From very beginning Tharu were engaged in agriculture (Adhikari, 2068).

After being bounded as kamalari in early age they can't do anything according to their will and also can't leave the landlord's house minimum for 1 year. After the agreement it is compulsory to work either they like or not to work and stay in landlord's house. From landlord's house very rare kamalari were getting chance to go school, but due to lots of work they become tired and can't focus in study. Due to these reasons tharu girls were weak and backward in study. After being free from kamalari it was not easy for them to attain the school. Some were not allowed to get admission due to their age, they were not treated as other student by their teacher. It was totally new environment for them where they can't feel comfortable initially and they were not cooperated nicely by their teacher. They were not supported from their parents, daughters were not given priority in comparison to son, and girls were not supported by their parents in sending school. So due to all these reasons kamalari were facing problem in continuing their study (Adhikari, 2068).

2.2. Marxist Perspective

In the case of Kamalari system, it is easy to say that, it is the result of feudal mode of production, where within feudal mode of production land is the most valuable asset. Land determines the social, political, economic status of individual due to this reasons autocrats, rulers and political leaders desired to keep huge amount of land. In the favor of keeping land in their own assents, the ruler, political leader made uneven policies regarding unequal distribution of land polices, made a trends of land grants (Birta) where land tax were freed for rulers, local landlords where as local people were force to pay expensive land tax, which was more expensive than production. The trend of providing land grant (Birta) played crucial role in the emergence of Kamaiya/Kamalari system.

In the context of Nepal (Chaudhary 2019) have concluded that the reasons behind origin of Kamalari/ Kamaiya system firstly is the government's uneven policies, strategies, rules and regulations towards land ownership. Where those people had access to government could easily take hundred and thousand hectors of land and facilitated not to pay any land tax. On the other hand those who had not access to government and who turned sterile land into fertile land, fighting with malaria on the one hand and with wild animals on the other hand, were obliged to pay land tax. At that time period the productivity of land was negligible, and it was almost

impossible and very difficult to pay land tax from land productivity. It is the reason that people who made fertile land from sterile land did not want to take any piece of land, as a result they deprived from their land and forced to become as bonded labor.

2.3. Livelihood Related Studies

A livelihood is composed of the skills, assets (both material and social), and activities that are required to make a living. A livelihood is sustainable if it can withstand and recover from stresses and shocks, while also maintaining or improving its capabilities and assets without endangering the natural resource base (Chambers and Conway, 1991). The Department of Land Reform has been launching Kamaiya livelihood programs since 1995 with the objective of empowering and rehabilitating Kamaiya. The overall objective of this program is to build and strengthen the capacity of Kamaiya to improve their social, cultural and economic condition, but the issue of Kamalari was not addressed as like kamaiya.

Pandey (1987) had carried out a research under win rock international project and has gone through the livelihood of landless peasants. He has studied about the agriculture farming, nutrition and health condition of women, children, human resources, renewable resources and food policy in Nepal. He concluded that the small portion of land provided by government of resettlement to the migrants, which could not support them. The highest sector of employment opportunities for them was agriculture labor but its seasonal nature and the small area of farmland owned by their clients left them with limited opportunities. So, the peasant has been increasing there.

According to Blackie, Canon, Wisner, and Davis (1993), livelihood is the command and control that a person, family, or other social group has over income and / or bundles of resources that may be utilized or transferred to meet its needs. Livelihood strategies are defined as "the range and mix of actions and choices that people undertake in order to attain their livelihood goals, or the method of combining and utilizing assets" (DFID, 2002 quoted in Wyss, 2003). The sustainable livelihood strategy places development at the center. It aims to provide a true image of people's assets and capital endowment and to figure out how to transform them into favorable livelihood outcomes. Papola (1999) had analyzed Himalayan people's livelihood and

adjustments, found food crop based subsistence agriculture and dependence on local natural resources as a major strategy. However, the author also noticed the importance of remittances from temporary and seasonal out-migration as well as off-season farming as the other livelihood supportive alternatives to fulfill the limited needs of the Himalayan people.

2.3.1. Sustainable Livelihood

A livelihood is sustainable if it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or improve its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and if it contributes net benefits to other livelihoods in the short and long term at the local, national, and global levels.

In the context of livelihoods, sustainability relates to self-sufficiency and self reliance, which is "the ability to preserve and develop livelihoods while maintaining or enhancing the local and global assets and skills on which livelihoods rely".

The Brundtland Commission on Environment and Development initially proposed the notion of sustainable livelihood as a method to connect socio-economic and ecological considerations in a policy-relevant structure (WCED, 1987). Later, in 1992, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) broadened the notion by including it into Agenda 21 and promoting sustainable livelihood as a broad aim of poverty eradication. The term "livelihood strategies" refers to "the variety and mix of actions and choices that individuals make in order to attain their livelihood goals," according to DFID's sustainable livelihoods definition. How people associate their income-generating activities; how they utilise their assets; which assets they choose to invest in; and how they manage to maintain current assets and income are all examples of livelihood strategies. Members of a household, for example, may live and work in different areas, engaging in a variety of activities, either temporarily or permanently. Individuals may rely on a variety of income-generating activities at the same time" (DFID 2001).

2.3.2. Livelihood Assets

The people are at the core of the livelihood strategy. As a result, having an accurate and consistent grasp of people's strengths (assets or capital endowment) is critical in determining how individuals attempt to transform their assets into positive livelihood outcomes. As a result,

livelihood assets are at the heart of the livelihood framework. People need a variety of assets to obtain a favorable livelihood outcome; no single capital is sufficient to produce the better lifestyle outcomes that people desire. This is especially true for the impoverished, who have very restricted access to any given category of assets. As a result, they must find new ways to nurture and combine the assets they do have in order to assure their existence (DFID, 2002).

2.3.3 Livelihood Strategy

People's livelihood strategies are a collection of activities they choose to engage in in order to achieve their livelihood objectives. Productive activities, financial methods, and reproductive choices are among them. People combine activities to fulfill their changing demands in a dynamic process called strategy selection (www.eldis.org.np). Households' livelihood strategies refer to the variety and combination of activities and decisions (including production and investment) they make in order to survive and add to their economic capital (www.peacebuildingdata.org).

2.3.4. Livelihood Outcomes

Livelihood outcomes are the results of livelihood strategies such as increased income, improved well-being, decreased vulnerability, increased food security, and increased sustainability. They show what motivates stakeholders to act in the way they do and what their priorities are. They may provide insight into how individuals will react to new opportunities and which performance measure should be used to assess support activity. Livelihood results have a direct impact on assets and dynamically change the shape of the pentagon, providing new points for additional methods and outcomes (DFID, 2002).

2.3.5. Vulnerability Context

The context of vulnerability refers to the shocks, seasonality, and patterns that impact people's livelihoods. It focuses on variables that local people cannot alter in the short or medium term. Many impoverished individuals face ongoing vulnerability or livelihood insecurity as a result of these circumstances.

The external world in which humans reside is the vulnerability context frames. People's livelihoods and asset availability are profoundly impacted by such context (trends, shocks, and seasonality) over which they have little or no control. Trends (i.e. demographic trends, resource

trends, trends in governance) shock (i.e. human, livestock, crop health shock, natural hazards like floods or earthquake, economic shock, conflicts in the form of national and international war) and seasonality (i.e. seasonality prices, product or employment opportunity) are such external factor, which affect livelihood or the people through vulnerability context. But these should be viewed as an incomplete list. All these factors affect the people's livelihood by influencing capital assets and option; people have to pursue beneficial livelihood outcome. Shock trend, and seasonality should not always be considered negative. They can move towards favorable directions, diseases can be eradicated and new technologies may be very valuable to poor people (DFID, 2002).

Livelihood capitals and peoples' capabilities are related in livelihood system (Bebbington, 1999). Capitals help to increase peoples' capability to act. Capability simply refers to peoples' ability to perform livelihood activities (ibid). A household with vulnerable livelihood system neither have enough assets nor the capabilities to access them (Niehof, 2004). Peoples' capabilities are influenced by social and familial constraints. Some social capitals are built through family, kin, caste, ethnic group, community, belief system that helps to develop peoples' capabilities (Ellis, 1998). The capabilities are further developed by skill and knowledge acquired within household that passed from generation to generation as indigenous knowledge and this further flourished by education.

2.4. Empirical Studies of Kamalari System in Nepal

Many researches had been conducted in Kamaiya system or some kind of bonded labor in Nepal. Maelanny (2012) studied about practice of Kamaiya bonded child labour in entitled "The Prevalent Practice of Kamaiya Bonded Child Labour in the Mid and Far Western Terai of Nepal," and found that a decade after the end of the Kamaiya system, the practice of Kamaiya bonded child labor in the mid and far western Terai is still commonly prevalent. The purpose of this study was to better understand the various elements that lead to the widespread practice of kamaiya boned child labor in Nepal's mid and far western Terai. This study demonstrates that, despite the existence of multiple legal and policy frameworks pertaining to the relevant issue, implementation remains a significant barrier.

Giri (2010) studied about The Bonded Labour System in Nepal and explores the Haliya and Kamaiya children's life world. He derives the conclusion that due to the Anti-kamaiya law 2002,

it is difficult to hire adult Kamaiya for the Kisan, and they may bargain for higher payment. So kisan hire Kamaiya's children and make promise to give education for them. And nowadays generational family-based Haliya, Kamaiya agreement has increasingly shifted towards children.

Giri's (2012) empirical study presents an alternative perspective by taking in to account of the ethnic Musahar and Tharu Children's understanding of the positive and negative aspects of their life world. This paper shows a rather complex picture of bonded labor than the ones presented by various advocacy group, and in particular, it echoes the voice of research participants that unless better alternative are available, a completely abolitionist stance actually puts their immediate livelihood strategies in serious jeopardy.

Budhathoki (2012) studied about Kamalari entitled "Tharu Girls in Bonded Labor (Kamalari servitude in the Era of Post Socio-Cultural and Political Revolution in Nepal: A case study of Dang District". She examined the plight of Tharu women who worked and still working as Kamalari in Dang district of Nepal. She uncovered the some vulnerable and specific of the Kamalaries issues. When Kamaiya system was abolished in 2000, Kamaiya were liberated form their landlords but Kamalari entered into more bonded labour relationship.

Moreover Fujikura 2001 studied about kamiaya entitled "Emancipation of Kamaiya: Development, social movement and Youth Activism in post-jana Andolan Nepal" and contended about how kamaiya movement started from Kailai district, how they get emancipation, what was the role of BASE in movement that means how the BASE mobilized Tharu youth during kamaiya movement and what was the role and status of these kamiyas in jana- Andolan and post-jana Andolan?

Similarly Sharma et all. (2001) studied about Kamaiya's children entitled" Bonded Labour among Child of Kamaiya System: A rapid Assessment". And concluded that there is an excessive incidence of child wage labour among Kamaiya families. The child labor problem among Kamaiya children appears to be mostly related to huge family sizes and landlessness. In an agricultural community, a shortage of land ensures and deepens poverty. As one of the primary techniques for coping with poverty and indebtedness, Kamaiya households send their children to work. Furthermore, the working circumstances of Kamaiya children include aspects

of "the worst from child labor: work without compensation, long working hours, night work, and employment at a young age".

2.5. Policy Review on the Kamaiya and Kamalari System

Kamaiya system was eradicated legally in the 2000, and the contemporary government made some legislation regarding this system. Some important laws and policies formulated by the government regarding the Kamaiya system is generally discussed in the below.

His Majesty Government has declared the emancipation of Kamaiya from today. From this declaration around 16 thousands Kamaiya households and nearly 70 thousands Kamaiya get freed from their master. Speaking at the parliament the Land Reform and Management minister Siddha Raj Ojha has presented the decision of parliament regarding Kamaiya emancipation that from today it is supposed to be illegal and strictly prohibited to force any person to work in the name of Kamaiya in any sector or part of Nepal kingdom. From this date Kamaiyas were declared free, and their debts to their landlords were cleared (Gorkhapatra, 2057 BS).

During that time around 70,000 Kamaiyas were liberated from the western region (Fujikura 2001). The government also promised to provide a reimbursement of 10 *katthas* (0.338 hectares) of land and a reimbursement of 10,000 Nepalese Rupees (USD125) in cash for each Kamaiya family. Debt bondage and bonded labour were considered a human rights issue and were declared unconstitutional in 1990 in Nepal. The present Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007 has made the following statements against bonded labour.

“Art. 29. Right against Exploitation:

- (1) Every person shall have the right against exploitation.
- (2) Exploitation on the basis of custom, tradition and convention or in any manner is prohibited.
- (3) Traffic in human beings, slavery or serfdom is prohibited
- (4) Forced labour in any form is prohibited.

Provided that nothing in this clause shall prevent enacting a law allowing the citizen to be engaged in compulsory service for public purposes.

Art. 30. Right Regarding Labour:

(1) Every employee and worker shall have the right to proper work practice.

(2) Every employee and worker shall have the right to form trade unions, to organize themselves and to perform collective bargaining for the protection of their interest in accordance with law” (GoN, 2007: 15 as cited by Budhathoki, 2012:21).

Nepal has enacted many other provisions such as the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 2000, which makes the Kamalari practice illegal. The Bonded Labour Prohibition Act, 2002 also includes Kamalari¹ in its definition of bonded labourers as it says that “Bonded labourer means person who is working as a bonded labourer in the name of *Bhaisawar*², *Gairwar*³, *Bardikar*⁴, *Chekkarwar*⁵, *Haruwa-Charuwa*⁶, *Hali*, *Gothlo*, *Kamalariya* or by any other similar name” and states that Kamalari practice is unlawful. According to this law if a person employs anyone as a bonded labourer, the authority shall impose a fine on him/her of between 15,000 to 25,000 thousand Nepalese Rupees; and shall provide the two-fold amount of the minimum wage as determined pursuant to this Act for the each day of employment to the victim from such employer (GoN, 2002: 7 as cited by Budhathoki).

Similarly, the *Muluki Ain* of Nepal also gives the basis against the bonded labor and slavery practice. *Muluki Ain* is Nepal's first codified law, originally promulgated in 1864, is a collection of administrative procedures and legal frameworks for interpreting civil and criminal matters, revenue collection, landlord and peasant relations, inter-caste disputes, and marriage and family law. In sub section three⁷ of section eleven, part four, the *Muluki Ain* states the following,

"No person shall make any other person a Kamara, Kamalari (sub-servant), slave or bonded labor. A person who makes another person a sub-servant, slave or bonded labor shall be liable

¹ Young unmarried bondage Tharu girl.

² Young Tharu boy assigned the duty of care of buffaloes and land lord (Basnet, 2016).

³ Young Tharu boy assigned the duty of care of cow and landlord (Basnet, 2016).

⁴ Young Tharu boy assigned the duty of care of oxen and lord (Basnet, 2016).

⁵ Young Tharu boy assigned the duty of care of goat and lord (Basnet, 2016).

⁶ The system is practiced in the hill region of Nepal which is similar with Bhaisawar, Gairwar, Bardikar, and Chekkarwar *in some extent*.

⁷ This sub section has been amended by some Nepal Act Amended Act, 2048 (1991). (Budhathoki, 2012:22).

to the punishment of imprisonment for a term ranging from Three years to Ten years, and the court may issue an order for the provision of a reasonable compensation by the offender to the victim” (GoN, 2020: 381 as cited by Budhathoki, 2012:22).

Further Budhathoki (2012) writes about the issue of Kamalari where NGOs and INGOs have played significant roles in addressing the Kamalari issues after liberation. The non-governmental organizations have played a significant role in addressing the Kamalari issue. Organizations like Society Welfare Action Nepal (SWAN), Friends for Needy Children (FNC), Nepalese Youth Opportunity Foundation (NYOF), and Freed Kamalari Development Forum (FKDF) in support of Plan Nepal have emancipated around 6000 Kamalaris and provided them support in terms of health, education, and income generating training programs.

Similarly, according to Kattel 2000 government made following three legal provisions in declaring Kamaiya liberation as

-) The engagement of kamaiya labor is illegal.
-) The kamaiyas are emancipated outright.
-) Any written or verbal contract made between the landlord and kamaiya or a family member is null and void and its enforcement punishable by law, and should not be paid back.

2.6 Research Gap

In past studies only the issues and problem of kamaiyas was focused, issues of Kamalari were not addressed by the researcher. Though kamaiya were emancipated in 2057 B.S. but till now all kamaiya are not completely settled by Government and kamalari were emancipated in 2070 B.S. and kamalari are not equally compensated as kamaiya, from here it is obvious that kamalari are facing more challenges than kamaiya for their livelihood. Kamaiya were given land and money to make house. As we know that Kamalari were also the victim of that Kamaiya Pratha and they have also faced a lot of discrimination by landlords during that period. They were compelled to become the victim of that system because they don't have any other option for their livelihood. So I am going to do research about their current livelihood of Ex- Kamalari. After the emancipation of Kamalari many NGOs, INGOs and Nepal Government have organized different

programs for their resettlement. Are those activities are able to improve their livelihood for their quality life?

2.7. Conceptual Framework of the Study

This study is concentrated to address the issues of Ex-Kamalari and it will focus about the current livelihood condition of Kamalari. As we know that Kamalari system is remnant of kamaiya system and government have focused for the resettlement of the kamaiya by providing land and money to make house. Kamalari were also victim at the same time but they were not equally treated as kamaiya. So after being free from Kamalari, how is the condition of their livelihood, in which activities they are involved for their daily life? So I have focus here about their current livelihood.

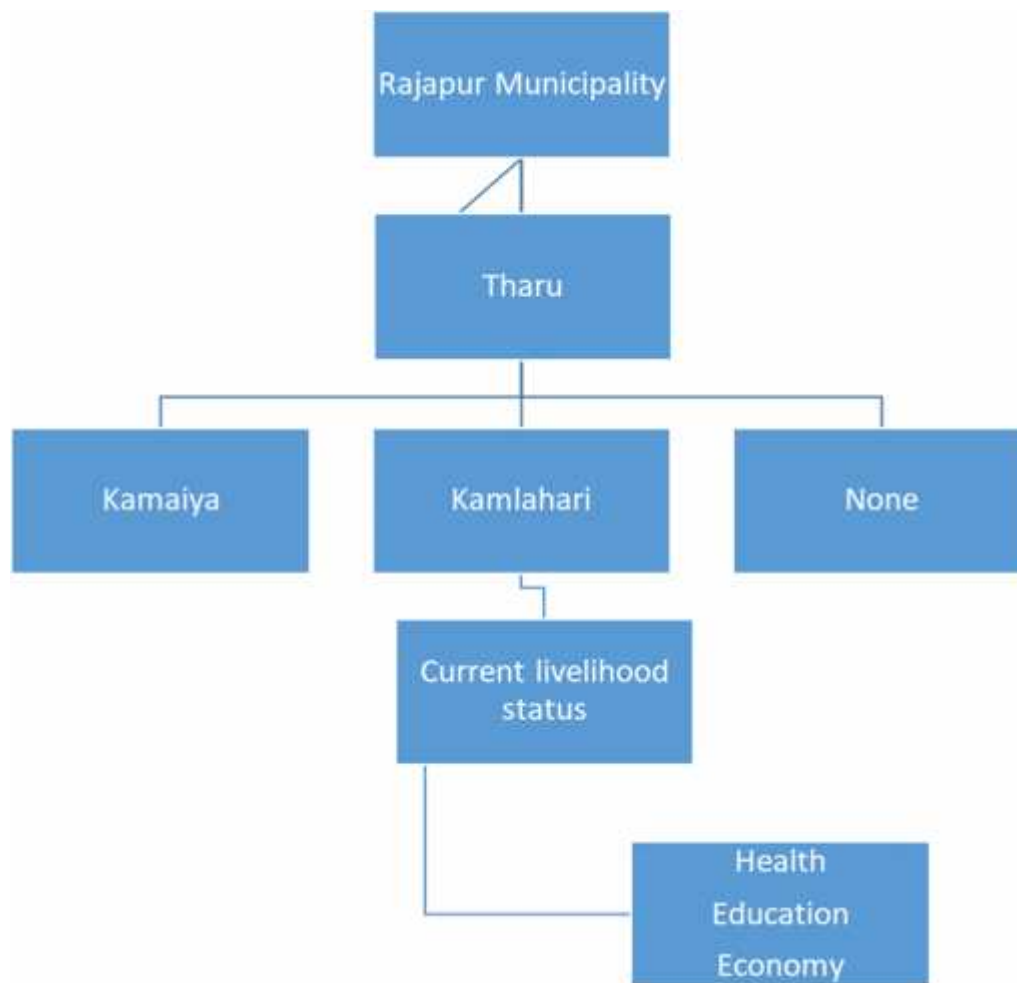


Figure 1: Conceptual Frame work

CHAPTER-THREE RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Rationale of the Selection of the Study Area

Tharu is one of the major Indigenous groups of Nepal, who are supposed to be descent, gentle and obedient. Tharu are settled entirely west to east region of Terai Nepal, and their majority can be found especially in five districts of Terai Nepal i.e. *Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailai, and Kanchanpur*. In these five districts, there used to exist "*Kamalahari system*" that was some kinds of bounded-labor or socio-economic institution where maximum level of exploitations was in

practice. And it is always triggered in my mind exploitation faced by them. There was no any other option for their livelihood and also they were compelled to become the Kamalari. Most of the Tharu people are marginal and backwardness from different types of services and benefits. The sufficient development activities are not seen for the Ex-Kamalari at present. However, other community or people have better condition than Kamalari. No study of Ex- Kamalari has been carried out in this area. I also belong to Tharu community and I'm resident of this municipality. I am well familiar with this area, language and people. I can easily collect data and information needed for this study.

3.2 Research Design

A research design is a strategy for gathering and analyzing data. It's a framework for determining the answers to research questions. The primary purpose of research design is to describe how the researcher will come up with a solution to the research question. The main purpose of this research is to find out the current livelihood situation of Ex-Kamalari living in Rajapur Muninicity ward no. 4 through the analysis of their livelihood activities. Descriptive research design was applied to accumulate adequate information concerning the nature of the subject matter of the research. Descriptive research design enables the researcher to assess the opinions and characteristics of selected population, without manipulating the environment, and to describe the situation and events occurring during the research work.

3.3 Nature and Sources of Data

For this research two types of data was used i.e. Primary and Secondary data. Primary data was collected from the field with the help of interview. The sources for the secondary data are organizational records, reports and publications. The related data were collected from governmental as well as non-governmental organizations, local development agencies, books, journals, newspapers and research reports and dissertations. Data available online were employed as well. This study was in both quantitative and qualitative in nature but mostly in quantitative.

3.4 Universe and Sample of Kamalari

For the sample I have selected Shangharsha Nagar village where maximum number of Tharu girls live who used to become Kamalari in the past. At first I made contact with Barghar (Raju Chaudhary) of that village. He helped me a lot during field visit. He helped me by addressing their problems more clearly which they were facing. There was no exact data of Ex-Kamalari in that village as well as with local government and till now most of them have not got Kamalari ID card. So, I selected 30 respondent by purposive sampling method. I used this method for the selection of respondent because through this method I can select the real victims of Kamalari pratha with the help of Barghar and can extract the exact information from the respondent.

3.5 Data Collection Techniques and Tools

There are different methodologies which can be used for data collection and analysis. All most all the methods are based around the core set of basic tools. For this research I have used interview method for collection of primary data.

3.5.1 Interview

To collect primary data, the semi-structured interviews method was applied. An interview is a conversation in which information is gathered. Sets of questions were designed to obtain information like household and individual, which helped to obtain the information about background and activities of the respondents. In the questions sets I have mostly focused about their health, education, economic condition and occupation.

3.6 Method of Data Analysis

The data was analyzed with the help of simple statistical tool like tables for data analysis and the descriptive method is used for both qualitative and quantitative data.

3.7 Limitations of the Study

The study is very specific and limited to the Kamalari of ward no. 4 of Rajapur Municipality, so the conclusion drawn from the study is conclusive. The study had tried to identify their

livelihood situation of Ex-Kamalari. Below some of the limitations of the study are listed as follows:

-) This study is limited to the academic purpose only.
-) The study area of this research Sangharsha Nagar village which is located in ward no. 4 and which is nearer to Rajapur Municipality of Bardiya district.
-) This study mainly focuses about the current livelihood of Ex-Kamalari.

CHAPTER-FOUR

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

4.1 THE SETTING OF THE STUDY AREA: BARDIYA

The study area is situated in Bardiya district, which is the most important district of Bheri zone, located in Mid-western development region of Nepal. It covers 2025 square kilometers and lies west of Banke district, south of Surkhet district, east of Kailali district. To the south lies. Uttar Pardesh,India; specially the Lakhimpur and Bahraich district of Awadh. The temperatures is 20°C - 30°C and an altitude is below 2,000m above the sea level. It lies between 28°18' to 36°84' north latitude and 81°25' to 40°43' east longitude.

Politically the district is divided into 2 constituencies, 6 municipalities and 3 Village Development Committees (VDC). Gulariya is the headquarters of Bardiya district bordering India about 5 km from the study site of this research. Almost all the governmental and nongovernmental offices are situated in the headquarters. The total population of the district is 426,576 (Census, 2011).

Map of Bardiya District

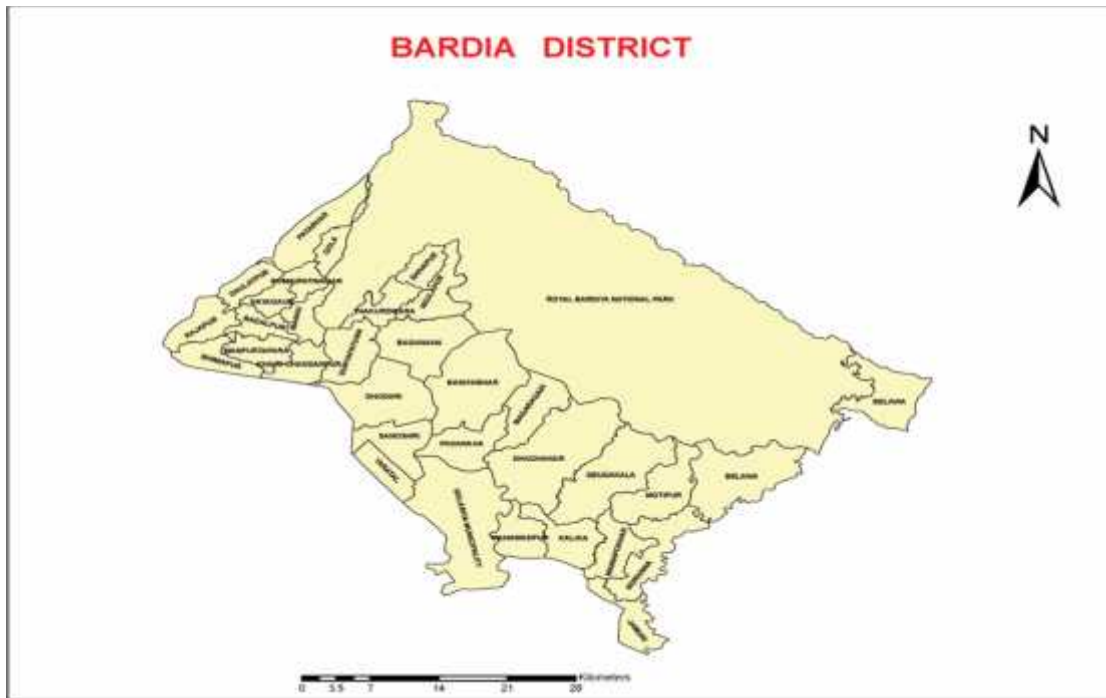


Figure 2: Bardiya District

4.1.1 Rajapur Municipality: Physical Setting of the Study Area (Location)

Rajapur Municipality is situated in the Eastern part of Bardiya district and northwest of headquarter. It is surrounded by the Kailali district of Tikapur Municipality in east, Madhuban Municipality in the west, Gaurewa Rular Municipality in the north and in the south lies Uttar Pradesh, India. It includes 10 wards. Rajapur is the main market and administrative area of the Municipality. The total population of this Municipality is 59,553 and it occupies 127.08 square kilometers. Tharu are indigenous people of this Municipality and other caste people like Brahman, Chhetri, Dalits, Badi, Madeshi, Muslim, Sonaha, etc live together in this municipality. The Tharu occupy about more than 82% and other caste occupy 18% of total population (Municipality Profile, 2078).

4.1.2 Landscape and Land use Pattern

All the land in Rajapur is in Terai region so it is plain. It has a total area of 127.08 square kilometer. Agriculture is the main occupation of local people. Basically Paddy, Wheat, Maize, Mustard, Lentil, Pea etc. are cultivated. As the vegetables, Onion, Cauliflower, Cabbage, Pumpkin, etc. are cultivated. Mango, Jackfruit, Banana, Guava is major fruits. In village, there is a wide probability of professionalism in agriculture but lack of technical education, lack of irrigation, way of traditional farming and unawareness have put them at risk in terms of livelihood.

4.2 General Information of Respondent

Kamalari is a traditional system of bonded labor system in southern Nepal. Kamalari are those girls who were sent to work in landlord's house for household works or to well-of families in the cities. Girls were sent as Kamalari for different reasons: because of their parent's debts, it is requested by landlord in order to give them land to share crop because of poverty.

4.2.1 Age of Respondents

The age of the respondent shows that their ability and maturity and the different age group of respondent also indicates their activeness and smoothness to run family as desired but it depends

upon their achievements from social and economic activities on behalf of accessibility. The distribution of respondent's age is mentioned below:

Table No. 1
Distribution of Respondents by age group

S.N.	Age	Number	Percentage (%)
1.	20-24	8	26.66%
2.	25-29	14	46.66%
3.	30-34	6	20.00%
4.	35-40	2	6.66%
	Total	30	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

According to the field data of 2021, the data shows that 26.66% of the respondent belong to the age group 20-24, 46.66% of the respondents belongs to the age group 25-29, 20% of the respondents belongs to the age group 30-34 and 6.66% of the respondent belongs the age group 35-40. From the data we can say that the maximum number of the respondents are in between 25-29 years age and minimum number of respondents are 35-40 years age.

4.2.2. Marital Status of Respondents

Marriage is an institutional formation that admits man and woman in a family and is called the social bond that allows them to live together in the society. According to field visit, most of the Ex-Kamalari are following love marriage and some of them have done arrange marrigae. Marriage system arranged between both sides by mutual agreement or understanding. But in the Tharu culture of western Nepal, dowry system is not found. Tradition of the study area is to get married and bear the children early. The respondents of the study area have been found belonging to different marital status, which is shown below.

Table No. 2

Marital Status of Respondents

S.N.	Status	Number	Percentage (%)
1.	Married	26	86.66%
2.	Unmarried	2	6.66%
3.	Widow	2	6.66%
	Total	30	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

According to field data 2021, the majority of the majority of the respondents are found married in the study area, which is around 86.66% of the total. Similarly two Kamalari i.e. 6.66% were found unmarried who were well educated and well skilled by taking cosmetic training and enhancing their family and fulfilling basic needs of the family and they were unmarried because they were aware of bad effects in health due to early marriage. 6.66% of the respondents were widows. According to them their husband were died due to lack of proper treatment due to poverty. From the above data we can say that in Tharu community early marriage system is still in practice.

4.2.3. Education Status of Respondents

Education is the primary source of knowledge, skill, attitude, and ideas, and it is a key indicator of a community's and nations socioeconomic growth. It is a powerful tool for improving the lives of society's most vulnerable citizens. Education is also important for a better living because it aids in the management of all types of businesses. It not only assists individuals in their personal growth, but it also provides knowledge and skills that encourage a community to join in nation-building activities. However, almost all Kamalari are literate, indicating that they recognize the importance of education and the future. As a result, they are drawn to formal and non-formal education, and the new generation of children is attending school. Somehow they are able to send their children in the non-governmental and governmental both types of schools.

After 2013 AD when they got freed from bonded labor system, they got different kinds of opportunities from various types of technical and non-technical (hotel, cosmetic, tailoring training etc.) supports from government and non-government organizations or institutions. Some uplifted themselves but some did not. Lack of education, skills and finance hindered their progress as the time passed, but many of the Kamalari understand about their future life and family. Educational status of the respondents are shown in the table below:

Table No. 3
Educational status of Respondents

S.N.	Educational Status	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1.	Literate	19	63.33%
2.	Illiterate	7	23.33%
3.	SLC	3	10%
4.	+2	1	3.33%
	Total	30	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

According to the field data of 2021, 19 i.e. 63.33 % of the respondents were literate. Most of them were under SLC so they are able to read and write. Most of them have only continued their study up to 5-8 class. They were compelled to drop out their academic career because of poverty. 23.33% of the respondent were illiterate, 10% respondent had got education up to SLC and only one respondent had god education up to +2. So from this table we can say that most of the Kamalari can read and write i.e. they are literate due to which they have understood the importance of edsucation and they are sending their children to the government and private school which was not in practice in their own time. One of the respondent Sapna Tharu argues that

"It is due to lack of education our parents were made landless, they could not understood the conspiracy of landlord due to which they were compelled to become kamaiya in landlord's house, work as slaves in their own land and we were sent as kamalari in landlord's house in the demand of landlord. Due to these reasons we want make our children well educated and we all are sending our children to school for education".

In 2013 when they got freedom from bonded labor system legally though before that also they are rescued by some non-governmental organization like NYF. Initially they were supported by government and non-governmental organization by providing different kinds of opportunities like education, technical training etc. but it was not continued for long time and they could not continue it in their own strength due to which they were compelled to dropout their education because of poverty. They continued their education till they were supported by the government and non-governmental organization. They have argued that they could not continue their academic career because of poverty. So most of them got engaged in wage labor for their livelihood and to fulfill their basic need and education was limited to school level only.

4.2.4. Structure of the Family

Family is a group of people who form a basic and universal social structure that meets the requirements of its members, such as protection, integration, and continuity. Families are found to be both nuclear and joint in the study area. A nuclear family is made up of a married couple and their unmarried offspring, but a joint family is made up of brothers who live together and share the same kitchen, residence, and property. Many families are nuclear in the research region, Shangharsha Nagar village, due to a lack of awareness or education about the future, a lack of property, poverty, and quarrels or a separate system. The structure of family is shown below on the table.

Table No. 4

Types of Family

S.N.	Family type	Household number	Percentage (%)
1.	Nuclear	19	63.33%
2.	Joint	11	36.66%
	Total	30	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

According to the data of 2021, 19 (63.33%) respondents were living in nuclear family and 11(36.66%) respondents were belonging to joint family. After analyzing this table we can say that most of the household were belonging to nuclear family because of awareness or education

about the future, poverty, quarrel and we can say that individualism have influenced in the Tharu community also. In past all most all Tharu people used to live in joint family.

4.2.5. Family size of the Respondents

Social capital refers to networks of mutual support that exist within and between households, extended family, and communities, which people can mobilize to access. For example, loans, childcare, food, accommodation and information about employment and opportunities. Social capital is an increasingly used term, but also one which is difficult to define, especially in a commonly agreed manner and even more difficult to identify and access. In the sustainable livelihood framework, social capital is intended in the widest sense as social resources (such as networks, memberships of formal groups, trust and reciprocity, etc.) upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objective. In fact, it is useful to think of social capital as a product of these structures and processes, though this over-simplifies the relationship. Structures and processes might themselves be products of social capital; the relationship goes two ways and can be self-reinforcing. For example, when people are already linked through common norms and sanctions they may be more likely to form new organizations to pursue their interests; and strong civil society groups help people to shape policies and ensure that their interests are reflected in legislation (DFID, 2002:2.3.1).

The both inter and intra household relation is considered vital aspect of social capital in urban environment. The structure, composition and cohesion of the households are related with intra household characteristics, which determines its ability to mobilize labor, and for sharing both expenditure reducing and income generating strategies and are considered one of the important assets in the social life framework. The household's relation refers both sharing same residence and multi spatial with a relatively high proportion of active adults found, which has been able to diversify their income sources more widely than small households. The family structure of the Kamalari is presented in the table below:

Table No. 5

Family Size

S.N.	No. of Person	No. of House	Percentage (%)
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1.	1-3	6	20%
2.	4-7	20	66.66%
3.	8-11	4	13.33%
	Total	30	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

According to the field data of 2021, household size shows that 20% of respondent had 1-3 members in the family, 66.66% of respondents had 4-7 members in the family and 4% of respondents had 8-11 members in the family. Further this table indicates that most of the respondents i.e. 66.66% were holding 4-7 members in their members in their family. It is due to the influence of individualism most of them are living separately with their brother and parents. And most of them have two children and very few of them have single children so there is only 20% household having family 1-3. Relatively it is less members in family than the family members of past because they have become aware about the family planning.

4.3. Kamalari Phase: Duration they stayed as Kamalari

Because of their parents' debts, to share the crops, girls were sent as Kamalari in landlord's house. It was requested by the jamindar (landlord) in order to give the parents land to share crop, because of poverty (in fact, the parents receive between NRs. 4-5000 a year) and the hope that the girl would receive food, clothing, and education, which is rarely the case. And for many years, these innocent girls were held as Kamalari.

Table No. 6

Duration kept as Kamalari

S.N.	Years	No. of Kamalari	Percentage (%)
1.	1-3	6	20%
2.	4-6	16	53.33%
3.	Above	8	26.66%
	Total	30	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

According to the data of 2021, 20% girls were made Kamalari for 1-3 years, 53.33% girls were made Kamalari for 4-6 years and 26.66% girls were made Kamalari for more than 6 years in the house of landlord's. Here on the basis of data we can see that most of the girls were made Kamalari for 4-6 years, very few girls were made for 1-3 years 26% girls were made Kamalari for more than 6 years which is very long duration in childhood which hamper them physically and mentally to them.

4.3.1 Age of Respondents when they were sent as Kamalari

The age of the respondent show their ability and maturity and the different age group of respondents also indicates their activities and smoothness. From the interaction with the Ex-Kamalari almost all were sent to landlord's house in the early age. The age in which they should spent with their parents and in school, they were sent to the landlord's house to well-off them. The early age of the respondents in which they were sent as Kamalari is presented in the table below:

Table No. 7

Age of Respondent when they were sent as Kamalari in Landlord's house

S.N.	Age	No. of Kamalari	Percentage (%)
1.	7-10	18	60%
2.	11-14	10	33.33%
3.	Above	2	6.66%
	Total	30	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

According to the data, out of 30 respondents 18 of them were sent as Kamalari at the age of 7-10 years which is too early age, 10 respondents were sent at the age of 11-14 years and only 2 respondent were sent above the age 14 years in landlord's house to well of them.

From the above data we can say that maximum girls were sent in landlord's house in the early age and they are not physically and mentally matured for any kinds of work or activities. According to the respondents they were released from landlord's house at the age of marriage or after getting married and after their marriage their place was fulfilled by their sister or by another girl.

4.3.2 Land with their Parents when they were sent as Kamalari

Land is an area of ground especially one that is used for a particular purpose such as farming or housing. In the context of Nepal as we know that Nepal is land lock country so, in past land was used only for agricultural and housing purpose only. (Chaudhary 2019) It is the feudal mode of production, where within feudal mode of production land was the most valuable assets. Land determines the social, political, economic status of individual due to this reasons autocrats, rulers and political leaders desired to keep huge amount of land. In the favor of keeping land in their own assent, the ruler, political leaders made uneven policies regarding unequal distribution of land policies, made a trends of land grants (Birta) where land tax were freed for rulers, local landlords where as local people were force to pay expensive land tax, which was more expensive than production. The trend of providing land grant played crucial role in the emergence of kamaiya system and landlessness.

Table No. 8

Land with their parents when they were sent as Kamalari

S.N.	Land (Kattha)	No. of Kamalari's Parents	Percentage (%)
1.	0	15	50%
2.	1	9	30%
3.	2	4	13.33%
4.	3	2	6.66%
	Total	30	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

According to the data of 2021, 50% of the Kamalari's parents were landless, 30% of them were having 1 kattha land, 13.33% of them were having 2 kattha and 6.66% of them were having 3 kattha of land when they were living Kamalari life. As we know that in feudalism mode of production all Tharu people were dependent in agricultural occupation and from above data we can imagine that how much they have struggled for their livelihood in that period.

4.3.3 Reasons of being Kamalari

In this section I have focused on what things were forcing to the respondents to become Kamalari and why did not escape from the Kamalari system even there was so many changes occurred in their live. Most of the respondent's answers were similar with each other. And their main answers were role of poverty.

The role of poverty in flourishment of kamaiya system, Gorkhapatra 2057 (one of the oldest magazine of Nepal) describe how Tharu people get trapped in the vicious cycle of kamaiya/Kamalari system and could not escape from it. Thapa Chaudhary, from Geta Kailali seems around forty five years old, and had come Kathmandu to support kamaiya liberation movement. He has been working as a kamaiya to the landlord (Siddha Nath Panta) from same village. His debt (Saunki which was given to his grandfather) was increasing day by day and became 98 thousand. He doesn't know even what amount of money was given to his grandfather. He remembers seven members of his family already had worked in the landlord's house but instead of decreasing it was increasing day by day. Another Kamaiya Rajesh Chaudhary has same plight. He looks about 35 years old and working as a kamaiya for one quintal paddy. He also lost his sister in the scarcity of medicine and says we are living very low level of lives even worse than animals (Gorkhapatra, 2057).

In the case of Thapa Chaudhary and Rajesh Chaudhary, they were not able to escape from vicious cycle of poverty. Poverty was the one of the most important things that forcing them to live their lives as a slave which was worse than any animal life. My respondents has also faced the same problem of Rajesh and Thapa Chaudhary. As we know that Kamalari system is remnant of kamaiya system so in the same question, what was the reason behind being Kamalari? One of the respondent (Former Kamalari) states of being Kamalari:

"My father was already kamaiya He could not manage to feed us. There was scarcity of food in our home and not any small piece of land in any part of Nepal. To survive from the starvation, I was sent in landlord's house to become Kamalari".

Another respondent from the same village Krishni Tharu, 29 years states same reasons of being Kamalari that,

"When I was around 9 years old, my father took me to landlord's house and kept me as Kamalari. It is because of the insufficiency of food and wearing clothes. For survival land was only one option for us which we don't have so landlord used to demand us as kamalari in case of giving land for sharing crop".

All most every respondents give me the same reasons of being Kamalari in their lives that is poverty. Here again another respondents Manju Tharu 34 years old, states in the same question of why you become Kamalari?

"At that time, what to say? Not much food were used to available for feed, because we were landless, so our family was compelled to work in landlord's field and I used to work as Kamalari in landlord's house. I was sent as kamalri in the demand of landlord so we could get land to share crop".

From the above statement we can say that Kamalari system is related to the economic condition where these respondents were forced to become Kamalari due to poor economic condition that is scarcity of food, clothes and sustain their daily livelihood. Another most important thing is Kamalari system is ownership of land. Young girls were forced to become Kamalari due to lack of land. In the feudal society or let say agricultural type society land was the most important asset to the people which determines social, economic and political status. In the scarcity of minimum piece of land, which was the main source of sustaining livelihood forced the Tharus to become Kamalari and kamaiya.

4.3.4. Life of Kamalari in landlord's house

The Kamalari experience is not conceptualized as 'work' but as 'life'. Normally people use Nepali phrase 'Kamalari basne' that can be translated as to live as Kamalari. On the basis of experience of ex-Kamalari they were forced to live their life as a slave which was worse than any animal life. All most all Kamalari were made engaged in household works likes kitchen work, cleaning house, washing clothes, caring their children, feeding the domestic animals etc. They were

compelled to do work up to 12-14 hours every day which was very hard to do in early age. They never got chance to go to school from landlord's house. All most all of them used to stay Kamalari without any wage. From these experience of ex-Kamalari we can say that their life was worse than any animal life.

4.4. After being free from Kamalari

Nepal Youth Foundation (NYF) began a campaign in 2002 to eradicate the practice of Kamalari, a form of indentured servitude in which girls from impoverished households are sold into domestic slavery. Over 12000 girls were rescued and returned to their homes under the guidance of NYF, and the government of Nepal officially abolished the Kamalari system in 2013. Members of the Tharu community, particularly members, collaborated with NYF staff to develop a strategy to provide a viable alternative to the long-held cultural practice of keeping their daughter at home and sending her to school. Each family was given a piglet, which they could rear for a year and sell for around Rs. 5000. NYF also provides financial assistance to the families.

During the interaction with the respondents most of them shared their experience which was almost common with each other. One of the respondent 'Rabina Tharu' says that,

"Really our life was worse than the life of animals, we have faced lots of physical and mental torture in landlord's house. But after being freed from landlord's house initially we were enhanced by the organization and we were able to maintain our life style that is education, health and fulfill all the basic needs and it was continued till the organization supported us. But after few years different organization stopped the donation for Kamalari due to which again we were compelled to do labor work and very few friends were able to continue their higher studies. Though still we are struggling for our livelihood but biggest thing is that we are living and doing work according to our own will, we are independent and now we are living without interference of any one. So for us freedom is the biggest thing in our life".

From here we can say that it was due to weak economic condition that is scarcity of food, clothes, lack of land etc. due to which they were force to become Kamalari and again it was due to lack of enhancement of their economic status after being freed from landlord's house they could not upgrade their life style and livelihood.

4.4.1 Occupation of the Respondents

The stock of information, habits, social and personal attributes, such as creativity, that are embodied in the ability to do work in order to generate economic value is referred to as human capital. It also refers to the knowledge, skills, labor capability, and good health that enable people to follow diverse livelihood strategies and fulfill their objectives (DFID, 2002:2:3:1).

The value of this cannot be overstated, as it directly improves livelihood outcomes while also encouraging the strengthening of other assets. People who are in better health, have increased skills, and have the necessary information may have greater work and earning options, resulting in better livelihood outcomes. As a result, many people believe that bad health or a lack of education are key aspects of poverty.

Labor is most important asset for the poor people, basically in urban and peri-urban setting. If one has adequate skill, s/he has better chances for the job. It is also likely to have more income. On the contrary, manual labor that does not have necessary skill is paid less. Most of the members of Kamalari family sell their labor to derive livelihood. This includes households who use it as primary occupation and those who use it as secondary occupation. However, all the labor of the study area is not equipped with required skill. The table below categorizes the occupation of the Ex-Kamalari:

Table No. 9
Occupation of the Respondents

S.N.	Occupation	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1.	Agriculture	3	10%
2.	Wage labor	21	70%
3.	Business	6	20%
	Total	30	100%

Source: Field Survey 2021

According to the data 2021, 10% of the respondent were engaged in the agricultural work i.e. poultry farm, vegetable farming and goat farm, 70% of the respondent were engaged in wage labor work like road construction, house construction and seasonal work in agricultural field and 20% of the respondent were engaged in small scale business like cosmetic shop, small hotels and tailoring etc. 70% of the Kamalari which is very high number of Kamalari who were surviving their family by working as daily wage labor. From here we can say that most of them were unskilled labor due to which they struggling hard for survival and to fulfill their basic need. Most of them work 10-12 hour per day which is physically very painful. One of the respondent 'Radhika Tharu' expressed her experience in very sad mood:

"Though we are working even more than men, but we are not equally treated while giving wage. We are paid only Rs. 400 per day but gents are paid Rs.500 per day. We are discriminated on the basis of gender."

From the above statement it is clear that Ex-Kamalari are in double marginalization in the study area. Though they used to do even more work than men but they were paid only Rs. 400 per day. Which was less than men. And in the study area availability of job of daily wage work was seasonal, so most of time they were workless due to which they were unable to maintain their economic status. So most of them were economically weak.

Out of 30 respondent 3 respondents were engaged in agricultural occupation like paddy, wheat, etc. plantation and farming like poultry farming, vegetable farming in modern way 6 respondents were engaged in small business like cosmetic shop, small hotels and tailoring. They were engaged in these business after taking training about these work. And out of 30 respondent 21 respondent were engaged in wage labor which is very high number who were struggling to enhance their economic status. They were not having opportunity of regular work only seasonal work were available. Due to which they were workless most of the time. Comparatively those who were engaged in small business they were economically stronger than wage labor. They were able to fulfill most of the basic needs of their family. Due to their occupation which they started after taking training, have enhanced their life style. They have maintained better economic status and they are independent, experiencing more freedom and they are able to send their children in school but those who are involved in wage labor are not able to do so.

Livelihood situation is the complex relationship between human and environment in a particular space and time. The livelihood situation of ex-Kamalari of the study area has shifted from agricultural and household work to non-agricultural sector. After being free from landlord's house, now they are not limited to only household works, kitchen work, rearing domestic animals like goat, sheep etc.

For the most part, they rely on wage labor to fulfill their basic needs. A livelihood is made up of the skills, assets (both material and social resources), and activities that are required to make a living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with stress and shocks while maintaining or improving its capabilities and assets. People's livelihood strategies are based on the materials and social tangible and intangible assets that they possess. Using an economic metaphor, such livelihood resources can be thought of as the capital base from which various productive streams are derived and livelihood is built.

The livelihood situation of ex-Kamalari is very challenging because they are struggling very hard for their survival. Five katthas of land which is provided to kamaiya family (especially to kamaiya) by government is not sufficient for their livelihood. Till now Nepal Government have not provided any type of facilities to the ex-Kamalari. All most all the Kamalari are literate that is they can read and write so skill developing training would be effective because they can learn it easily and can enhance their life style or they can overcome the poverty.

4.4.2 Training Status of Ex-Kamalari

Trainig is the process of learning the skills that we need for a particular job or activity or in other word we can say that training is a process of value addition and developing skills and knowledge in oneself and in others to capability, aptitude, competence, productivity, efficiency and performance. Training has specific goal of performance and to change its behavior and direction in a positive and constructive manner.

Table No. 10

Training Status of Ex-Kamalari

S.N.	Training	No. of Kamalari	Percentage (%)
1.	Got Training	9	30%

2.	Trainingless	21	70%
	Total	30	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

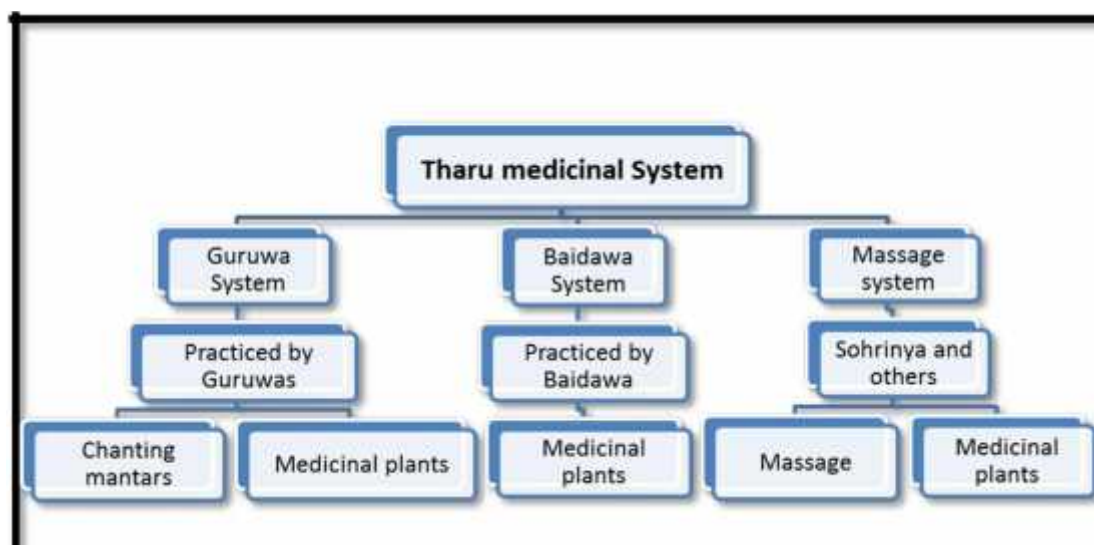
According to the data out of 30 Kamalari only 9 i.e. 30% of Kamalari have got training in different works like cosmetics, tailoring, vegetable farming, cookman etc. and 70% Kamalari have not got any training. So most of the Kamalari are unskilled due to which still they are struggling for their livelihood.

4.5 Health and Sanitation

Health and sanitations are the important factors for wellbeing. The World Health Organization (WHO) defines Health as “a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity”.

Shangharsha Nagar village of Rajapur municipality lies just 1.5 km far from Hulaki sadak and only one health post lies in the Shangharsha Nagar village where semi health facilities are available but in the distance of 2 km in Rajapur bazar health post with more advanced facilities is located. Most of them go in that health post when they get sick. All of them have toilets at the initiative of the municipality’s policies and norms.

Most of the Kamalari are aware of their sanitation and health as they rear goat, hen and ducks they have made separate house for those pets. When they become sick or ill, they used both kinds of treatments by Guruwa and Health Assistance (H.A.) or doctors. Indigenous Tharu people have deep, wide and long belief on Tharu mantar (chanting shamans) practices. The Guruwa system or Tharu Medical System does these practices. Tharu medical system is classified into three practices these are as follows:



Source: Dahit: 2009/edited by author

Figure 3: Tharu Medical System

The above table mentions that the traditional healers like Guruwa, baidawa, Sohrinya and other practitioners use the medicinal plant traditionally. In Guruwa system the guruwa used both mantars (chanting) and as well as jadibuti (medicinal plants) to cure various disease and ailments. In Baidawa system, Baidawa is a professional user of medicines to cure sick people and cattle. Sohrinya is a lady practitioner who facilitates during the child delivery and takes care of mother and child. She uses medicinal plants for both mother and child. In most cases, they involve certain rituals with spells and charms along with the application of herbal medicines. The Kamalari's lack the pure drinking water. They usually use their drinking water from the hand pump or pump set.

By observing the table no. 5 it is obvious that Ex-Kamalari are aware about family planning. Most of them are having only 2 children. One of the respondent Saraswati Tharu argues that

"Giving birth to many children is not good for health and economically also we can't afford the education, good health of our children". From here we can say that they are very much aware about family planning.

In past in the Tharu community, when people used to get sick firstly they used to go in Guruwa's house for treatment. But now it is changed though they still believe in manters, but firstly they go to hospital for treatment and then Guruwas house. According to the data all most all of the respondents go to the health post for the treatment and some of the respondent and their family members are suffering from critical health problem and they are unable to do treatment in good hospital because of their weak economic condition. They are compelled to tolerate the pain of such critical diseases and they have argued that their local government is not responsible towards

them. Government should must play role to enhance the economic condition of Ex-Kamalari, so they will be able to maintain good health.

4.6 Annual Income and Expenditure of Ex-Kamalari

The different source of income of Ex-Kamalari include wage earning, vegetable farming, poultry farming and small scale business like cosmetics shops and hotels etc. According to field data most of the Kamalaries were dependent in wage labor for their income and their expenditure was more than that of income. But those who were involved in business and in farming they were satisfied from their income.

To illustrate the further economic characteristics of Ex-Kamalari their annual income was estimated. Most of the respondent couldn't say their exact annual income. They were not aware of keeping record about their income and expenditure. But most of them said that their expenditure is high than their income. However the total annual income is calculated in terms of money. Beside agriculture income, there is other income from service, wage labor, animal husbandry, business etc.

Table No. 11

Estimated Annual Income of Kamalari

S.N.	Income (NRs)	No. of households	Percentage (%)
1	50000-150000	10	33.33%
2	150000-250000	13	43.33%
3	250000-350000	4	13.33%
4	Above 350000	3	10%
	Total	30	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

According to the data of 2021 the estimated annual income shows that 33.33% of the respondent annual income was in between 50000-150000, 43.33% of the respondents annual income was in between 150000-250000, 13.33% of the respondents annual income was in between 250000-350000 and only 10% of the respondents annual income was above 350000. Further this table indicates that most of the respondents (43.33%) annual income was in between 150000-250000

and most of the respondents have said that this amount of income is not sufficient to fulfill their all the basic needs in such an expensive time.

Table No. 12

Estimated Annual Expenditure of Households

S.N.	Expenditure (NRs)	No. of Households	Percentage (%)
1	50000-150000	4	13.33%
2	150000-250000	21	70%
3	250000-350000	3	10%
4	Above 350000	2	6.66%
	Total	30	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

According to the data the estimated annual expenditure shows that 13.33% of the respondent annual expenditure was between 50000-150000, 70% of the respondent annual expenditure was between 150000 -250000, 10% of the respondent annual expenditure was 250000-350000 and 6.66% of the respondents annual expenditure was above 350000. Further this table indicates that most of the respondents (70%) annual expenditure was in between 150000-250000.

From the above income and expenditure table we can see the differences in income and expenditure. Annual household expenditure is more than their annual income. 10 household annual income is 50000-150000 but only 4 household annual expenditure is 50000-150000 i.e. 6 household expenditure is more than 150000. According to the data most of the respondent's (70%) annual expenditure was in between 150000-250000.

One of the respondent "Ramita Tharu" in the question how much do you save per month and are you happy from current income? Answers as:

"From the current income it is not possible to save money. We don't have regular work, we are compelled to do work in low wage and every things we have to buy from the bazar (market) which is too expensive and increasing day by day. So our expenditure is high than our income. It is very hard to fulfill all the needs of our family in case of lack of money we take loan from microfinance and Aama Samuha in which we are member and pay after some month after earning money. In this way we are fulfilling our needs".

From the above statement of the respondent and analyzing the table we can say that out of 30 respondent very few of them are satisfied from their income, have good income and are able to save some income rest of them are struggling to fulfill their basic needs of the family. Those who are engaged in small scale business like poultry farm, hotels, cosmetics, tailoring, vegetable farming etc. have good income and they are able to save some money from their income. Most of them are engaged in wage labor and they are not able to save income and fulfill the family needs.

4.7 Sufficiency of Food Grains

All most all the households of kamaiya family have at least 5 katthas of land which is distributed by government. The land distributed by government is quite small which is not sufficient for their subsistence and distributed land is in there husband's name. The food grains which is cultivated in that land is not sufficient. The food grains which is cultivated in that land was not sufficient for their livelihood, so they are still struggling for their livings. The food grains which is obtained from cultivated land is only sufficient for few months only and rest of the months they have to struggle hard for their livings by doing different works like wage labor, foreign employment (mostly India) and so on. The sufficiency of food grains is shown in the table below:

Table No. 13

Sufficiency of Food Grains

S.N.	No. of Months	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1.	1-3	17	56.66%

2.	3-6	7	23.33%
3.	6-9	4	13.33%
4.	9-12	2	6.66%
	Total	30	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

According to the field survey of 2021 the sufficiency of food grains shows that 56.66% of the respondents had to survive food grains 1-3 months, 23.33% of the respondents had to survive 3-6 months, 13.33% of the respondents had to survive 6-9 months and only 6.66% of the respondents had to survive 9-12 months. Further this table indicates that most of the respondents (56.66%) had to survive only 1-3 months that is maximum number of the respondents had food grains to survive for maximum three months only which shows the worse condition of the Kamalari. This is one of the top most important basic needs for which they were struggling to fulfill it by doing wage labor work. If they were unable to earn money most of them used to take loan from "Aama Samuha" and from microfinance to fulfill their basic needs. This reflects their weak economic condition. And only 6.66% of the respondents were able to survive whole year from their own production which is very low number of respondent out of thirty respondents.

4.8. Housing Pattern

The traditional Tharu houses are single storied, rectangular but made of straw, woods branches of bamboo and other bush products. Most of the Kamalari's houses are made in a traditional ways, which are made up of wood, muds, bamboo and reeds having thatched roofs at the studied area. The walls are made of bamboo, wooden flakes usually supported by grain straw and reeds; some of houses are made of bricks and cemented as well as in a modern ways. Their houses are small narrow, which do not have enough rooms. They usually have same room for cooking and sleeping. The houses are scarcely ventilated i.e. windows are rare. They use baranda for their guest and their daily functional works. They design their houses in such a way that they put some space for their domesticated animals like goat, hen, and duck. They do not allocate special rooms for bed and kitchen. Thus the whole house seems dirty and darkened by the kitchen smoke

but few houses have wide and separate room and kitchen made of bricks and cement, bricks and mud with tin (zinc sheet) roof. The housing pattern of Kamalari's house are shown in the table:

Table No. 14

Types of Respondent's house

S.N.	Types of houses	No. of Houses	Percentage(%B)
1.	Bricks and mud with tin (zinc sheet) roof	8	26.66%
2.	Mud and straw with tin roof	16	53.33%
3.	Cemented with tin roof	4	13.33%
4.	Mud and straw with thatched roof	2	6.66%
	Total	30	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2021

According to the data the types of house of respondents were made different materials in which 26.66% of houses were made of bricks and mud with tin (zinc sheet) roof, 53.33% of houses were made of mud and straw with tin roof, 13.33% of houses were made of cemented with tin roof and 6.66% of houses were made of mud and straw with thatched roof. Further this table indicates that the most of the (53.33%) houses were built from mud and straw with tin (zinc) roof. From the above data we can say that all respondent has their own house and land and their houses are built in different pattern and material according their financial status and the number of family members too.

CHAPTER – FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

The present thesis "Current Livelihood of Ex-Kamalari of Shangharsha Nagar Village of Rajapur Municipality Bardiya Nepal" basically focus to explore about the current activities in which they are involved for their livelihood and to analyze about their health, education and economic condition after their resettled life.

Legally Nepal Government announced liberation of kamaiya in 2000 A.D. but Kamalari were legally emancipated in 2013 A.D. After 13 years they were made free, it shows that they were not given equal priority as kamaiya that is they were not treated equally as kamaiya. After being free from landlord's house initially they were helped by some non-governmental organizations like Nepal Youth Foundation (NYF), Freed Kamalari Development Forum (FKDF) by providing education, economic sources and other technical training. Kamalari were not focused by government as kamaiya. According to land reform of Gulariya branch kamaiya were given 5 kattha land as their relief and Rs. 10000 per HHs for making house.

In this contemporary world economy matters in every sectors. Initially they were helped by non-governmental organizations by providing education, training and other facilities but it was not

continued for long time and from their own economic strength it was not possible to continue for their further study though almost all become literate that is they can read and write and the education made change in their thoughts and in life, they have understood the importance of education due to which they are struggling very hard to provide quality education to their children. Everyone send their children to the school for education. In the same way they are aware of their health and sanitation. They have maintain their house and surrounding neat and clean.

For their livelihood maximum number of Kamalari are engaged in wage labor like road construction, house construction and in field work. As it was not possible to continue their education and training due to which they were compelled to do wage labor work to fulfill their basic needs. But who could continue training and education they were able to maintain better life style by doing their own business and agricultural work like poultry farming, vegetable farming etc.

After being free from Kamalari in 2070 B.S. they got different opportunities such as non-technical and technical support from NGO and INGO but very few of them only uplifted themselves but some of could not. Due to lack of their higher education, skills and financial problem they were not able to progress in satisfactory way but they have understood about the importance of these things and also freedom in life. Over the past eight years they are living their life freely without any interfere by other and little bit they have changed their standard and life style.

Kamalari is a traditional system of bonded labor in western Nepal. Kamalari are those Tharu girls who were sent to the house of landlords as slaves to pay back the loan obtained by the family or to share the crops cultivated by them in landlord's land. Girl children of Tharu family used to send to the landlord's house as bonded labor for reducing family's loan and obtaining land to cultivate. Such girls were either paid low wage or not paid at all. In some cases the girls have to work just for two times meals and a pair of clothes to cover their body. So Kamalari are the young girls from Tharu community who were forced to work as slaves in landlord's house. (K.C., 2078) In Nepal 12769 were victim of Kamalari system and still 3296 are not listed in the list of Kamalari. Till now only 4934 have got ID card. Due to lack of ID card many Kamalari are not able to grab the allowances and other facilities given by government. Though some Kamalari

have become member of constitution assembly, lawyer and some have completed sgraduation but it is very rare in number.

The main objectives of the study is to analyze the current livelihood of ex-Kamalari. The main income source of ex-kamalri is wage labor and very few are engaged in small scale business and poultry farming, vegetable farming and goat farming. Source of income is less than their expenditure though they are able to manage their economic balance. Currently they are free from bonded labor, enjoying their life without any interfere by other. They have enhanced their life style and their livelihood situation though still physically they are working very hard but mentally they have become stronger than before.

Before 2070 B.S. they were compelled to live worse life in landlord's house as slaves, they did not got freedom though their parents were emancipated in 2057 B.S. that is only kamaiya were made free by government. In landlord's house Kamalari were exploited physically, mentally, sexual harassment and have to do work as a working machine. Now after being free they have no any restriction by other in their life, they can do whatever they like and they are living their life as their will. Nowadays they are supported by different organizations, institution and government but still the helping hands have not reached in the door of every Kamalari's house. Though from their own strength they have enhanced little bit their life style. Now they have become more aware about the importance of education, health and income generating sources.

5.2. Conclusion

Livelihood is defined as a set of activities involving securing food, water, medicine, shelter, clothing and the capacity to acquire above necessities working either individually or as a group by using endowment (both human and material) for meeting the requirements of the self and her/his household on a sustainable basis with dignity. In the context of ex-Kamalari they have adopted livelihood strategy in different way. The current livelihood of ex-Kamalari of the Shangharsha Nagar village is totally changed, that is they have shifted to non-agricultural sector, but before the abolition of Kamalari system they were only limited to household and agricultural work but now it is not so. Fews Kamalari are engaged in agricultural occupation but in modern way. After being free from Kamalari system, Kamalari's life style is enhanced than before. Recently almost all Kamalari are settle in their own house. Before the emancipation they were avoided from all their basic rights and opportunities.

After the emancipation from Kamalari system on 2070 B.S. there is little bit positive change in the Kamalari's life because they were supported by institution, organization and government in the beginning but before 2070 B.S. they were compelled to live slavery life, they don't have their own land and house. They were totally dependent to their landlord but nowadays they are free from the bonded labor they have their own land, house, they are independent and they are able to live their life freely. Most of the Kamalari are engaged in wage labor like in house building, road construction and in field work. Few number of Kamalari are involved in small scale business like cosmetic shop, small hotel, poultry farming and vegetable farming. Most of them are shifted to non-agricultural sector for their livelihood.

The education status of the respondent is not bad. Almost all Kamalari are able to read and write that is they are literate. After being released from Kamalari they were supported by INGO and NGO for their education but could not exit for long time and it was not possible to continue it from their own economic strength. But they have understand the importance of education so every ex-Kamalari are sending their children to the school. On the other hand they have become more aware about health and sanitation. They are maintaining their house and surrounding neat and clean. All of them have made toilet also. When they become sick they use both kinds of treatment that is by going hospital and to the Guruwa but nowadays at first they go to the hospital and then to the Guruwa's house. From the data obtained, it shows that they are well known about the family planning also. Most of the Kamalari have 2 children. In the case of serious diseases they are unable to go to the big hospitals due to weak economic condition but they have become more aware about their health than past.

In the past traditional house of Tharu people was made by mud and straw with thatched roof. But now it is not so, almost all Kamalari have their own house with tin (zinc sheet) roof which is common in every house. But the wall of the house is made with different materials that some have made with from bricks and mud, cemented but most of them have made from mud and straw. From here we can say that they are able to regulate their economic status. From the data most of the Kamalari i.e. 43.33% were earning Rs.150000- 250000 in a year but 70% of the Kamalari's annual expenditure was Rs.150000-250000. Nowadays most of Kamalari are member different microfinance where they deposit money and utilize it or take loan from the microfinance in case of insufficiency of money. It means their life have become better than past.

Physically still they are struggling hard but they are happy because it is due to freedom in their life and from the interaction I found that freedom was the most biggest and precious thing in their life. Because of all these reasons current livelihood of ex-Kamalari have changed their life style and my research finds that they have become more better and more aware about their health, education and economic condition than past.

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Current Livelihood of Ex-Kamlahari of Shangharsha Nagar Village
Rajapur Municipality, Bardiya, Nepal

Questionnaire

A. General information of respondent

- I. Name of respondent.....
- II. Age.....years
- III. Religion.....
- IV. Marital status
- a) Married b) Unmarried
- c) Widow c) Divorced
- V. Education level of respondent
- a) Literate b) Illiterate
- c) SLC d) Above

B. Family Information

SN	Name of Family members	Relation	Age	Sex	Education	Marital Status	Occupation	Migration
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								

C. During kamlahari stage

- i. What was the reason of being kamlahari for you?

-
-
- ii. How much land your parents had, when you were kamlahari?
kattha
- iii. What was your age when you were sent as kamlahari in landlord's house?
years
- iv. For how many years you were made kamlahari?
years
- v. Did you used to get payments from landlords?
 a) Yes b) No
 If yes, Money food grains
- vi. Did you get chance to go school?
 a) Yes b) No
- vii. What type of work you had to do in landlord's house?
 a) Households work b) Field Work
 c) Both
- viii. For how many hours did you used to work?
 Hours

D. After being freed from kamlahari

- i. Which occupation you have adopted?
 a) Agriculture b) Wage labor (daily wage)
 c) Business d) Others
- ii. Have you got any type of training?
 a) Yes b) No
 If yes, what type of training you have got?
 a).....
 b).....
 c).....
 d).....
- iii. Is your training helping for the betterment of your life?
 a) Yes b) No
 If yes, how

If
no,how.....
.....
.....

- iv. Generally how many hours do you work for your earnings?
.....hours
- v. For your earnings what kinds of difficulties do you have?
 - a).....
 - b).....
 - c).....
 - d).....
- vi. Availability of job or daily wage work.
 - a) Easily available
 - b) Scarcity
 - c) Perennially
 - d) Seasonal

E. Economic condition

- I. How much is your family income? Rs...../month
- II. How much do you save? Rs...../month
- III. How much is your family expenditure?...../month
- IV. How much land do you have?kattha
- V. How long do you survive from your own production?
 - a) Whole year
 - b) Less than 9 Months
 - c) Less than 6 months
 - d) less than 3 months
- VI. If you do not survive for whole year how do you manage?
 - a) By taking loan
 - b) By own income
 - c) Others
- VII. If you are involved in daily wage work than how much wage do you get?
 - a) 500
 - b) 600
 - c) 700
 - d) 800
- VIII. Which type of house you have made for shelter?
 - a) Bricks and mud
 - b) Zinc sheet and Mud
 - c) Mud and straw
 - d) others
- IX. Are you given allowances from government?
 - a) Yes
 - b) NoIf yes, how much? Rs.....

F. Health

- i. Where do you go when you and your family members fall sick?
 - a) Doctor
 - b) Witch doctor
 - c) Both

ii. How far is the health post?

a) Less than 1 km

b) 1 km

c) Less than 2 km

d) very far

iii. Are you or your family members have faced or facing any critical health problems?

a) Yes

b) No

If yes, are you able to do treatment in good hospital from current economic sources?

a) Yes

b) No

.....Thank you very much.....

Tribhuvan University
Kathmandu, Kirtipur

Current Livelihood of Ex-Kamlahari of Shangharsha Nagar Village
Rajapur Municipality, Bardiya, Nepal

Questionnaire

A. General information of respondent

- X. Name of respondent.....
- XI. Age.....years
- XII. Religion.....
- XIII. Marital status
 a) Married b) Unmarried
 c) Widow c) Divorced
- XIV. Education level of respondent
 a) Literate b) Illiterate
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B. Family Information

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- xi. What was your age when you were sent as kamlahari in landlord's house?
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.....hours

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a).....

b).....

c).....

d).....

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