

**Socio-Economic Status of Freed Bonded Labour
(Mukta Kamaiya) in Nepal
(A Case Study in Rajapur-4, Bardiya District)**

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

This thesis entitled "**Socio-Economic Status of Freed Bonded Labour (Mukta Kamaiya)**". A case study of **Rajapur VDC -4 of Bardiya District** submitted by **Krishna Kumari Chaudhary** under my supervision. I hereby recommend this thesis for examination by the thesis committee as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of the Master of Arts in Rural Development.

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APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that the thesis entitled of "**Socio-Economic Status of Freed Bonded Labour (Mukta Kamaiya)**". **A case study of Rajapur VDC -4 of Bardiya District** submitted by **Krishna Kumari Chaudhary** to the Rural Development Department, Patan Multiple Campus Faculty of Humanities and Social Science, Lalitpur, Tribhuvan University, Nepal in Partial fulfillment of the Master of Arts in Rural Development has been satisfactory in scope and quality. Therefore, we accept this thesis as a part of the said degree.

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ABSTRACT

The present study attempts to explain the "Socio-Economic status of Mukta Kamaiya" analysis. The status of Mukta Kamaiya in Rajapur VDC of Bardiya district. Rajapur area almost at the centre of river island called Bhawara Tappu of Karnali River. The VDC comprised of 9 wards. After freedom Mukta Kamaiya come from different villages at Rajapur VDC's camp. Rajapur VDC lies east of Manpur Tapra, west of Karnali river, south of Bhimmapur and north of Tedhiya Gaun. Rajapur VDC ward no 4 there is 638 households of the Mukta Kamiya in among this households 99 households are taken as a sample to collect the required information.

The main objective of this research is :

To study and analyze status of Mukta Kamiya.

To find out the socio-demographic status of Mukta Kamaiya.

To describe the landholding size and annual income-expenditure pattern of Mukta Kamaiya's.

To analyze the religion, family structure and marriage system of Mukta Kamaiya.

Basically, the study is based on descriptive as well as exploratory. Descriptive research is design is used together information exploratory research. Research design is use for collecting information with respondents' view and ideas.

This research is based on both primary and secondary data which are collected from field survey, observation and interview. Primary data has been directly obtained from field survey. Secondary data collect from unpublished documents and published documents.

Kamaiya system is the bonded labour system that used to prevail in the rural economy of western Tarai of Nepal. Kamaiya used to enter into contract with landlord (Jamindar) verbally for one year, but usually gets trapped in the debt called 'Saunki' to fulfill their family's basic needs, and become bonded labourer for generations. Kamaiya freedom was announced on 17July 2000, and was made illegal in the country by "Kamaiya Labour (Prohibition) Act 2002". The rehabilitation of Mukta Kamaiya is still not completed after more than one decade. They are one of the socio-economically most disadvantaged people. This study assesses the socio-economic status of freed-bonded labourer (Mukta Kamaiya) and also analyzes the effect of Kamaiya freedom on farm management of landlords (Jamindars). A survey was carried out in 99 households of Rajapur VDC of Bardiya district.

Due to the extremely small size of land ((3-5 kattha), many Mukta Kamaiyas are drawn into a daily labouring work. Wage labouring is the basic livelihood strategy that employed 66.7% of households and contributed 32% of total annual income.

In spite of several skill development trainings delivered to them, overwhelmingly large number of household are involved in unskilled wage labouring. It is due to the less utilization of technical skill trainings. The second most important source of income is farming that contributed 67% of the total annual income.

Kamlahri form of child labouring is still prevailing in Mukta Kamaiya. It was found that 6% of households are sending their children as Kamlahri. After the prohibition of Kamaiya system, Jamindars are managing their farming basically through share cropping. The animal power based farming is gradually substituted by farm machineries due to the decreased livestock size and labour shortage. According to Jamindar, yield of major crops (rice, wheat and maize) has not increased much due to inadequate management.

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

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE.....	i
LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION.....	ii
APPROVAL SHEET.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLE.....	x
LIST OF FIGURE.....	xi
ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS.....	xii
GLOSSARY AND TERMS.....	xiii
CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 A Brief Introduction of Kamaiya	1
1.3 Statement of the Problem	2
1.4 Objective of the Study	3
1.5 Significance of the Study.....	3
1.6 Limitation of the Study	3
CHAPTER 2 : LITERATURE REVIEW	4
2.1. Meaning of Kamaiya	4
2.2 The Origin of Kamaiya System.....	5
2.2.1 How do the Kamaiyas Fall into the Deprivation Trap?.....	7
2.2.2 Division of Labour and the Life Cycle under the Kamaiya System.....	8
2.3 Kamaiya System before 1950's.....	11
2.4 Kamaiya System after 1950's.....	13
2.5 The Movement against Kamaiya System, the Abolition in 2000 and the Aftermath.....	15
2.6 Socio- economic status of Mukta Kamaiya.....	19

CHAPTER 3 : RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	21
3.1 Research Design	21
3.2 Nature and sources of Data.....	21
3.3 Rationale of the Selection of study area	21
3.5 Sample size and sample selection	21
3.6 Data collection techniques.....	22
3.7 Method of Data Processing, Analysis and Presentation	22
CHAPTER 4 : DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS	23
4. Socio-Economic information	23
4.1 Socio-Demography of the Study Area	23
4.1.1 Age of the respondents	23
4.1.2 Sex of the Respondents	24
4.1.3 Religion	25
4.1.4 Family Type.....	26
4.1.5 Linguistic Composition	27
4.1.6 Literacy and Educational Status of Mukta Kamaiya	28
4.1.7 Occupation.....	30
4.1.8 Marriage system	31
4.1.8.1 Marital Status of respondent.....	32
4.1.8.2 Age at Marriage	32
4.1.8.3 Type of Marriage system.....	33
4.1.8.4 Marriage Practice system.....	33
4.1.8.5 Child marriage practice	34
4.1.9 Practice of dowry system.....	34
4.1.10 Practise of Kamlari.....	35
4.2.11 Celebration of festival	36
4.2.12 Beverage Consumption	37
4.2.13 Making alcohol	39
4.1.14 Infrastructure.....	39
4.2 Health and Sanitation	40
4.2.1 Adoptions of Family planning	41
4.2.2 Types of Family planning	41
4.2.3 Using Family planning by Sex.....	42

4.2.4 Facility of Toilet.....	43
4.2.3 Having Toilet	43
4.2.5 Type of Toilet	43
4.2.6 Health Status.....	44
4.3 Economic Status	45
4.3.1 Land information	45
4.3.2 Type of land	46
4.3.3 Usage of other's land for cultivation	47
4.3.4 Sufficiency of food	47
4.3.5 Main source of income	49
4.3.6 Annual Income	49
4.3.7 Expenditure.....	50
4.3.8 Status of Livestock and poultry.....	52
4.3.9 Have you borrowed money?	53
4.3.10 Place where you borrow money.....	54
4.3.11 Annual expenditure saving	54
4.3.12 Type of house.....	55
4.3.13 Any support to build house	56
CHAPTER 5 : SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	58
5.1 Summary.....	58
5.2 Conclusion	59
5.3 Recommendation	59
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	61
APENDIX-1.....	64

List of Table

Table 1	Categorisation of Ex-Kamaiyas by the Government of Nepal in 2000.....	16
Table 2	Distribution of Ex-Kamaiya Households as of June 2002.....	17
Table 3	Land Distribution to Ex-Kamaiya (as of 15 June 2009).....	19
Table 4	Age Composition of Respondents.....	23
Table 5	Sex composition of respondents.....	24
Table 6	Religion of respondent.....	25
Table 7	Type of Family.....	26
Table 8	Language of Respondent	27
Table 9	Educational Status	29
Table 10	Occupation of respondent	30
Table 11	Information of Marriage practice	31
Table 12	Dowry system.....	34
Table 13	Practice of Kamlari.....	35
Table 14	Celebration Festival.....	37
Table 15	Consumption of Alcohol.....	38
Table 16	Facility of Mukta Kamaiya camp.....	40
Table 17	Information of Family planning.....	41
Table 18	Facility of Toilet.....	43
Table 19	Land Information.....	45
Table 20	Type of Land.....	46
Table 21	Land cultivation of other's.....	47
Table 22	Sufficiency of food.....	48
Table 23	Main Source of Income	49
Table 24	Annual Income.....	50
Table 25	Main expenditure item.....	51
Table 26	Information of Livestock and poultry.....	52
Table 27	Information of borrowed money.....	53
Table 28	place of borrow money.....	54
Table 29	Annual expenditure saving.....	55
Table 30	Type of house	55
Table 31	Support to build house.....	56

List of Figure

Figure 1 The Deprivation Trap of Kamaiyas.....	8
Figure 2 Division of Labor by Gender and Life Cycle under the Kamaiya System.....	10
Figure 3 Age Composition of Respondents.....	24
Figure 4 Sex composition of respondents.....	25
Figure 5 Religion of respondent.....	26
Figure 6 Type of Family.....	27
Figure 7 Language of Respondent.....	28
Figure 8 Literacy and Educational Status of Mukta Kamaiya.....	29
Figure 9 Occupation of respondent.....	30
Figure 10 Marital Status of Respondent.....	32
Figure 11 Age at Marriage.....	32
Figure 12 Type of marriage system.....	33
Figure 13 Marriage Practice system.....	33
Figure 14 Child Marriage Practice.....	34
Figure 15 Dowry system.....	35
Figure 16 practice of Kamlari.....	36
Figure 17 Celebration of Festival.....	37
Figure 18 Consumption of Alcohol.....	38
Figure 19 Making alcohol.....	39
Figure 20 Facility of Infrastructure.....	40
Figure 21 Adoptions of Family planning.....	41
Figure 22 Types of Family Planning.....	42
Figure 23 Sex adopts of Family Planning.....	42
Figure 24 Facility of Toilet.....	43
Figure 25 Type of toilet.....	44
Figure 26 Treatment.....	44
Figure 27 Land information.....	45
Figure 28 Type of Land.....	46
Figure 29 Land cultivation of other's.....	47
Figure 30 Agriculture feeds.....	48
Figure 31 Main Source of Income.....	49
Figure 32 Main expenditure item.....	51
Figure 33 Information of Livestock and poultry.....	52
Figure 34 Information of borrowed money.....	53
Figure 35 place of borrow money.....	54
Figure 36 Type of house.....	56
Figure 37 Support to build house.....	57

ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS

Abbreviation and Acronyms	Full forms
BASE	Backward Society Education
CDC	Cotton Development Committee
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INSEC	Informal Sector service
SLC	School Leaving Certificate
VDC	Village Development Community

GLOSSARY AND TERMS

Astamki	: Celebration of Krishna Janma Astahami
Begaari	: Unpaid labour
Begar	: Denoted porterage services to landlords and village officials.
Beth	: The supply of field labour to landlords and local officials.
Bhainsbar	: Buffalo herder
Bukrahi	: Wife of Kamaiya
Byana	: Hand made pankha by Bamboo
Chhatiya	: Handmade umbrella
Chhegrahawa	: Male shepherd
Dhakiya	: A kind of Basket
Guruwa	: Tharu priest who care patient with his spiritual power of shaman of ethnomedicinal plants.
Hulak	: The Hulak system was Jhara in relays, common in porterage services. Unpaid and compulsory forced labour were utilised for transportation of arms, salt-peter and other military supplies.
Jhara	: The general obligation to work for the government, which was compulsory and unpaid.
Kattha	: A traditional unit for land measurement in Terai Nepal. 1 kattha = 338.63m ²
Ladkakhelaiya	: Child herder
Organia	: Young unmarried who worked as bonded domestic servants in their landlord's house under the Kamiya system.
Sakuni	: The debt that a Kamaiya takes on farm landlords.
Tharu	: One of the ethnic group on Terai region of Nepal. The vast majority of bonded labors involved in the Kamaiya system are bonded labour are from the Tharu ethnic group.

Chapter 1 : Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Nepal is a landlocked country with an area of 147,181 square kilometers, shaped most rectangularly. It borders with the Tibetan region of the People's Republic of China in the north and India in the south, east and west. It stretches 145-241 kilometers north to south and 885 kilometers west to east. Topographically, Nepal is divided into three ecological zones running like long strips from east to west. These are the mountainous region along the north, the hilly region in the middle and the Terai region along the south. The mountain belt has an altitude ranging from 4877 meters above sea level to 8848 meters, which is the height of Mt. Everest. It occupies 15 percent of the total land area but only 7.3 percent of the country's population lives here. The hills, with the altitude ranging from 610 meters to 4876 meters, take up 68 percent of the area. 45.10 percent of the total population lives in this region. Administratively, Nepal is divided into five development regions, fourteen zones and seventy-five districts. There are 3912 village development committees and 58 municipalities. Nepal is a developing country with an agricultural economy. 80% of the people are engaged in agriculture. The main cereal productions are rice, wheat, maize and millet. Jute, sugarcane, tobacco and tea are the main cash crops of the country. Nepalese society is full of inequality and heterogeneity. Despite having the caste system, it is illegal in Nepal, but people still follow it. As a result, some traditions of Nepal remain inhuman and cruel. The Kamaiya system (bonded labor) is one of the causes of widespread poverty and the absence of alternative means of livelihood. The poor Tharu fully depend upon their bare hands as farm laborers. Farm workers are popularly known as Haliya, Haruwa, Charuwa, Kamaiya, Gothala, Bhaiaswar, Gaibar, and Chhegarahwa. The practice of the Kamaiya system is a residue of former slavery, which still exists especially in the mid and far western Terai districts.

1.2 A Brief Introduction of Kamaiya

The term "Kamaiya" is derived from the Tharu community at the structure of the joint family system. Earlier, almost all blood relations stayed under one roof as it served the purpose of providing surplus labor needed for farming and household activities. In such a system, the eldest son of the house, known as Ghardhuriya, is the sole decision maker though not necessarily the sole breadwinner. Besides, he is even responsible for performing all religious ceremonies. All other members, except the Ghardhuriya, are known as Kamaiyas in the case of male members or Kamlaharies for the female members. In short, a Kamaiya means a hard worker in their native language who sustains his life with full of his own physical strength and self-commitment for his own family and his society. However, afterward, it has been variously implied, misinterpreted and extremely exploited during the course of history by feudal groups in society where Tharus are the majority dwellers. They are very simple and strong workers for serving them. That is why Tharus are mostly Kamaiyas in Nepal (INSEC, 2001).

Kamaiya system is mostly concentrated in mid and far-western development region as Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts. The system is also believed to be in practice in some of the pockets of Kapilbastu, Rupendehi and Nawalparasi district where the Tharu society is dominant. 98 percent of the total Kamaiyas belongs to the Tharu. In July 2000, government of Nepal declared the age-old Kamaiya system/bounded labour as illegal and punishable by law. A government survey has identified a total number of 19000 Freed Kamaiya families in 5 districts (Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali & Kanchanpur) of mid and Far Western Development Region of Nepal. Government survey reveals that Bardiya district has highest number of Kamaiya families. There are almost 7000 Freed Kamaiya families. For the Freed Kamaiyas, their living conditions have been still so difficult that they have had to send their children to work in hotel, domestic labour, brick factories, farms etc for food & to earn income for their families.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The issues of Mukta Kamaiyas can be considered as one of the gigantic phenomena to rehabilitate in the mid and far western districts of Nepal such as Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur as well as even in practice of some pocket areas of surkhet, Kapilvastu, Rupendehi, and Nawalparashi where Tharu Kamaiya's population is high. It is a burning issue in mid and far-west region of Nepal.

Especially in Magh month (approximately 14th January) between the landowner and an agricultural labour i.e. Kamaiya, labors are exchanged for payment in cashor kind. At that time, both parties may agree or refuse to enter the contract. They both had the choices to make the agreement. The Kamaiya did not have his freedom of choice rather he compelled to work socially, economically and other obligations commanded by the owners. Due to inhuman behavior, they could not bear such system and struggled against it. As a result, they became Mukta Kamaiya from feudal landlord groups but wondering as refugees settling down in temporary camps. As the Government declared the Kamaiya's as Mukta Kamaiya, it is legally good practice, it was not taken care of welfare and sustainable solutions. They are still settling down in the camp as birds. Some of them came to well as Kamaiya again with frustrated faces. However, the government gave the land for settling down but that is useless land and they had neither home nor way of fulfilling needs. Even the government shifted down them far from their own society resided on the camp.

As a result, the existing social relation was deserted cut off the chances of employment. Now the Mukta Kamaiya's are settling down at those places increased the scarcity of resources, means and opportunity. The Mukta Kamaiya people have not land for agriculture and cultivation. There seemed some social changes in Mukta Kamaiya community than in the past. However, the economic, education and health status of the community has not improved. Thus, the present study has attempted to investigate and describe some socio-economic component of Mukta Kamaiya's. Mainly the study will attempt to explore Mukta Kamaiya's education, religious, festivals marriage system and relationship with other caste under the social component. Likewise, it will also attempt to explore their occupation, sources of income, land holding size, housing type and annual income-expenditure pattern.

) How do the Mukta Kamaiyas sustain their livelihood in the camp ?

-) What are the problems faced by Mukta Kamaiyas in the camp ?
-) Did you find any difference in life while working as a Kamaiyas in Jamaindar's land and working in their own land or other work?
-) Why do Mukta Kamaiyas give more significant to Maghi festival previously?

1.4 Objective of the Study

The overall objective of the study is to investigate all socio-economic information of the freed Kamaiya's camp of Rajapur VDC ward no 4, Bardiya district and reveal their present status. However, considering the limitations of time and resources the specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- To find out the socio-demographic status of Mukta Kamaiya.
- To describe the landholding size and annual income-expenditure pattern of Mukta Kamaiya's.
- To analyze the religious, family structure and marriage system of Mukta Kamaiya.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This research motivate need to improve the livelihood of Mukta Kamaiya, who spend your life in exploitive boundage labour many generation. This study is important to give information regarding the socio-economic status of Mukta Kamaiya. It will also be useful for the policy makers, researchers, planner and social workers to know about their economic, education, social, lifestyle, etc as disadvantage community. Many researches and scholars have done the various research works in the terms of disadvantages groups. However, a few of them have done in the subject of socio-economic status of Mukta Kamaiya. It will also make clear that Kamaiyas are only Tharu. Somehow, it will also be helpful to NGOS/INGOS to conduct the Mukta Kamaiya management programs in the communities.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

This study will cover the small unit of Mukta Kamaiy's camp of the Rajapur VDC Ward no 4 of Bardiya district. The findings from the study does not represent the all Mukta Kamaiya community. The research information is also unable to explain the socio-economic status of Tharu caste. Due to the time constraints and resource, this study will not be able to cover all the information.

Chapter 2 : Literature Review

Kamaiya system typical Tharu tradition found western terai in Nepal. This chapter aims to review the historical perspective of Tharu from origin, tradition and culture of Kamaiya system. It also discusses the process of landlessness among the Tharu that ultimately trapped them in to bonded labour system. This chapter gives in depth history of Tharu and Kamaiya labour system.

2.1. Meaning of Kamaiya

The Nepali dictionary meaning of Kamaiya is "a hard tiller of land, earner, mainly (strong/courageous) or obedient person; one who is hired along with his family in other's land by borrowing in cash or kind from the landowner or a peasant equivalent to him". According to Turner (1992, cited in Subedi 1999:4), "the Kamaiyas are those courageous, bold, laborious and energetic labourers or so-called farmers who work with their families in the farms of landlords instead of getting some cash amount or grain".

These definitions are simplistic; they do not explain the element of exploitation and unequal social relations that force a person to give up their freedom. Karki (2001) addresses this lacking when he defines Kamaiyas as "rural labourers forced to work by an existing socio-economic and political relationship in demeaning conditions, and used as virtually unpaid labour for the cultivation of land and other domestic activities."

The term Kamaiya refers to a particular form of labour relationship. Within the system, there are other names that define a number of other roles specific to gender and age. Kamaiya is a farm labourer serving a master, a landlord in particular, in repayment of a loan taken in advance by himself or his forefathers. His spouse known as Bukrahi accompanies him in farm works. She is also responsible for domestic chores of the master. Since it is difficult to find a master without a Bukrahi (Karki 2001), a Kamaiya is expected to present his elder or younger sister, mother, brother's wife, or any female of the family as a Bukrahi. Therefore, in a common understanding, a male and associated female (as a pair) are counted as Kamaiya.

Kamaiya children, who generally work as animal herders, are known as Gaibar if they herd cattle. Those who herd buffalos are called Bhainsbar and those who take care of goats are called Chegar. Similarly, female children working as domestic servants of the landlords are known as Kamlahari (Sharma and Thakurathi 1998:1-3).

In addition to the Kamaiya system, researchers have identified other forms of bonded labour systems in construction and manufacturing industries such as the brick, carpet and garment industries (Karki 2001). The worst amongst them, and widely known and reported, is however the Kamaiya system prevalent in the agricultural system of Nepal.

On the surface, the Kamaiya system is a contractual agreement for a year contracted in Maghi (approximately on the 14th of January) between the landowner and an agricultural labourer, where labour is exchanged for payment in nominal cash or kind.

Theoretically, at that time, both parties may agree or refuse to enter the contract. They both have the choice to make the agreement, but in practice bonded labourers do not have this freedom of choice. They are forced by social, economic, political and other compulsions to accept the agreement with any conditions dictated by their masters. The Kamaiya system also allows landlords to buy and sell one or more Kamaiyas. The debt attached to a Kamaiya passes on to his son and grandson in case of his death prior to the complete repayment of the loan.

Shrestha (1990) studied land in Nepal has assigned to individuals, certain tribal groups, and religious institutions, but the ultimate property rights have been vested in the state. Chaudhary (1999) has revealed the Kamaiya's are these courageous, bold, laborious and energetic labourers or so called farmers who work with their families in the farms of landlord instead of getting some cash amount or grain. It indicates that Kamaiya's are poor persons who do not have their own land for cultivation. They are working as slave to the landlord's house. Subedi (1999)

Studied the social and economic condition of Kamaiya's examined their decision practice and analyzed the process of landlessness of Tharu Kamaiya. He also explained about their housing and settlement pattern. He concluded that chicanery and fraud were the main causes of the landlessness of the Tharu. Religious-cultural belief and practice of Tharu Kamaiya's, analyzed their socio-economic characteristics and Kamaiya system in relation to socio-economic condition of Tharu using interview, observation, case studies and focus group meeting.

INSEC (2001) states the modern meaning of the Kamaiya is bonded labour. There are different kinds of bonded labour in Nepal. Kamaiya is probably the most exploitative form. It is practiced not in Nepal of movies and mountaineers, but in the western part of Nepal's lowland Terai plains.

Lowe (2002) states Tharu are honest, but other people played tricky role to control the land from the ownership of Tharu. Kamaiya sold the land in a very minimum cost. Then Tharu again remained as farm labour, Kamaiya. Paudel (2002) states that Man's three basic needs to live, to learn, and to know why the quotes are fitted to the freed Kamaiya's, because till 2001, freed Kamaiya's did not have basic requirements both they had shelter, nor schooling the children, and they were not aware that why and how they are bonded. Likewise in the same book also expressed Kamaiya as person who cultivates the land for others. Chaudhary (2005) presented, in many African, Asian and Latin American countries bonded labour system was prevailed. The present Caribbean of South American also carried as a farm labour for the English people. As the time passed by many social revolutions occurred and people became free from the bonded labour. After the restoration of democracy, people in Nepal also organized and put their voice against such system. As the consequence, bonded labours freed and settling processing for freed Kamaiya took place.

2.2 The Origin of Kamaiya System

The origin of the Kamaiya system of bonded labour can be traced back to a kind of forced labour system that existed during the rule of the Lichhabi dynasty between

100 and 880 AD (Karki 2001). The system was re-enforced later during the reign of King Jayasthiti Malla of Kathmandu (1380–1395 AD), the person who legitimated the caste system in Nepali society, when labourers used to be forcibly engaged in work relating to trade with Tibet and other neighbouring countries.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Gorkhali and Rana rulers introduced and institutionalised new forms of forced labour systems such as Jhara, Hulak, Beth and Begar (cited in Karki, 2001). The later two forms, which centred on agricultural works, soon evolved into such labour relationships where the workers became tied to the landlords being mortgaged in the same manner as land and other property. These workers overtimes became permanently bonded to the masters.

The Kamaiya system was first noticed by anthropologists in the 1960s (Robertson and Mishra, 1997), but it came to wider public attention only after the change of polity in 1990 due in major part to the work of a few non-government organisations. The 1990s can be credited as the decade of the freedom movement of Kamaiyas. Full-scale involvement of NGOs, national as well as local, with some level of support by some political parties, in launching education classes for Kamaiyas and organising them into their groups culminated in a kind of national movement in 2000. This forced the government to declare the system illegal. But the declaration did not give Kamaiyas intended freedom.

In fact, slavery and practices akin to slavery—such as the Kamaiya system—have been abolished at least three times in Nepal: in 1926 by the decree of the then Rana Prime Minister Chandra Sumsher; in 1990 through Article 20 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal and in 2000 through the cabinet decision. But these efforts have had little effect on giving real freedom to the Kamaiyas—as the subsequent sections expose—although after 2000 cabinet decision and the subsequent Kamaiya Labour (Prohibition) Act 2002 making the practice of Kamaiya (bonded labour) illegal, hence non-existent.

It is so even to speak in terms of international humanitarian law. His Majesty's Government of Nepal has ratified almost all international human rights instruments that prohibit slavery and bondage. Nepal is also the State Party to all major international human rights treaties that promote and uphold 'human rights for all', and protect peoples from degrading and inhumane treatment. Despite these legal bans—internationally and domestically—bonded labour systems and practices are reportedly in existence in various forms. (Sharma and Thakurathi, 1998; Robertson and Mishra, 1997; Karki, 2001).

The term Kamaiya descends from the dialect of the Tharu ethnic group. According to local wisdom, the word 'Kamaiya' originates from 'Kam', which refers to 'work'. In a Tharu parlance, the term is used as a synonym for hardworking hired farm labour. There is a claim that before the eradication of malaria in the Tarai (pre-1951 period), cultivable lands were abundant and population was relatively small. During those days, when a working man or woman of a family would die, there was a trend of hiring a man or woman from another family to compensate the loss of labor. Over time, this genial practice changed into the forced labour system called Kamaiya. But, according to BASE (1995), the large influx of hill migrants into the Tarai following the eradication of malaria in the Tarai region, marginalized traditionally land owning

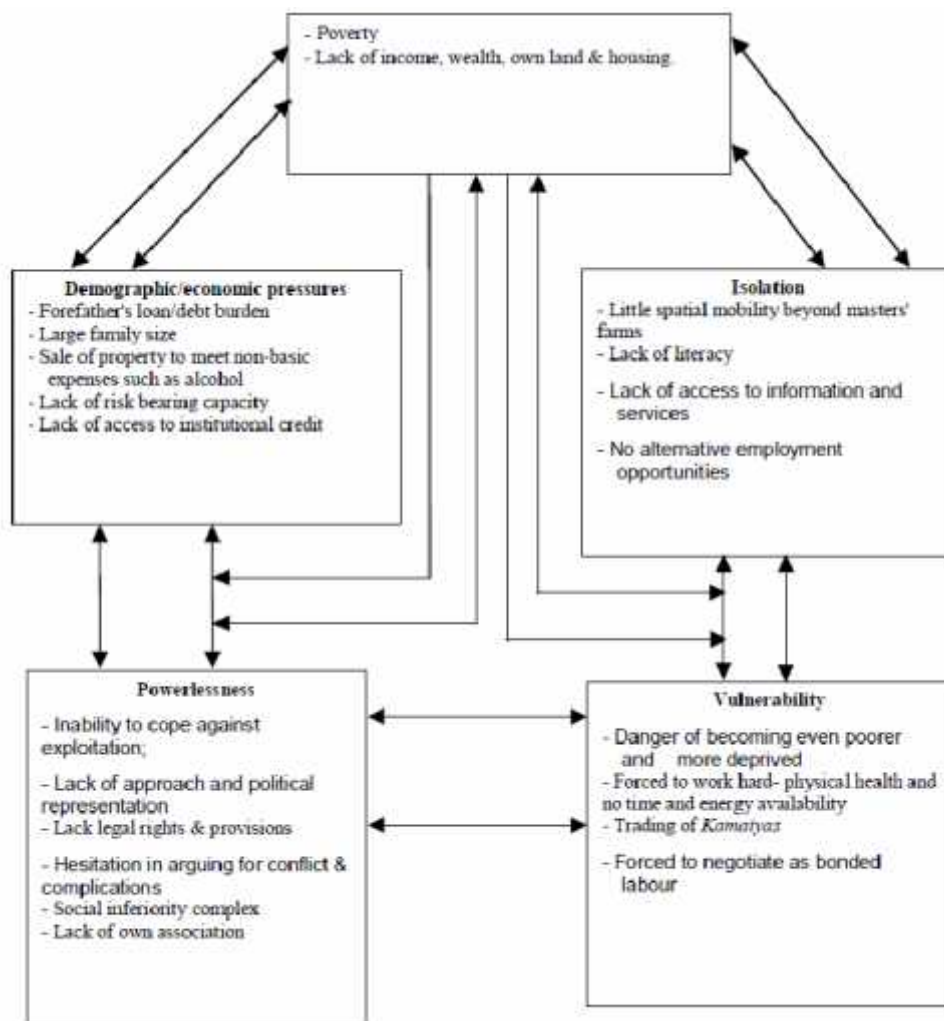
Tharu people by occupying their lands. The Tharus lost the land-resources they had nurtured to the migrants who used to maintain a close tie with the then power centre of the state. The Tharus had no records of the land they were cultivating. Using their political power, the new commers registered the land—the land of Tharus—in their name forcing the original masters to work for their newly captured land. According to a Tharu village elder (cited by Karki 2001), the Kamaiya system developed from a customary practice of obtaining a "helping hand for family business" that was gradually replaced by a 'patron-client' relationship as state-led land grants were intensified. This is how inequality became structured, with one person as the Jamindar and the other as Kamaiya bonded labourer, bonded by indebtedness to the landowner and bonded by unequal social relations to sell labour in lieu of the loan taken for sustaining a minimum livelihood. Over time the social relations of production and reproduction helped develop the Kamaiya system in its present form, in the form of 'pure' bonded labour (Paudel and Niraula 1998).

However, Kamaiya activists believe that the system has evolved through landowner agricultural workers relations and has been induced by state interventions on land ownership. That the Kamaiya system has a long history is no doubt, and it is not only limited to the Pahari (hill migrants)-Tharu socio-economic relationships developed after malaria eradication. The system instead has the legacy of various forms of forced labour and bondsman systems that existed since the 17th century and remained in the patron-client relationship as the Kamaiya system in western Tarai in Nepal. It may also be the case, as researchers argue, that the degree and forms of exploitation of Kamaiyas might have worsened after the eradication of malaria and the influx of pahari in the Tarai increased. This is because, after the eradication of malaria, the land area under cultivation increased and limited numbers of Kamaiyas were responsible for agricultural works.

2.2.1 How do the Kamaiyas Fall into the Deprivation Trap?

The debt incurred from the employer, binds Kamaiyas and deprives them of basic human freedoms: the freedom of mobility, freedom of choice and the freedom of decision making about their work. Excessive work, low wages, and the requirement of family labourers to be engaged with the same employer constrain the Kamaiyas making their exit from the system impossible. The proportion of indebted Kamaiyas has increased substantially along with their average debt. Saunki gradually downgrades the relatively better off Kamaiyas into bonded Kamaiyas as they work more and more years within the system (Sharma and hakurathi, 1998). Whatever food and cash crops the Kamaiya get as Bigha and Masyoura, it is not enough for subsistence, let alone any saving to pay back Khuwai (small but high-interest loans taken from lenders/merchants for occasional household needs). This is how a poverty trap is produced and reproduced under the Kamaiya system. The diagram given below shows the dynamics of Kamaiya's deprivation trap.

Figure 1
The Deprivation Trap of Kamaiyas



Source: Poudel and Niraula (1998:10) (Revised by Karki: 2001:86)

Widespread poverty, social exclusion and resultant powerlessness force *Kamaiya* to continue to exist in isolation under myriad forms of vulnerabilities. Once households lose their parental properties such as land, and start borrowing money or food grain from the landlords to meet their daily needs, the existing social system pushes *Kamaiya* into the deprivation trap. The system then perpetuates itself and continues from one generation to another.

2.2.2 Division of Labour and the Life Cycle under the Kamaiya System

There is a marked division of labour within the Kamaiya system, determined by a combination of traditional social relationships, production demands and the reproduction systems in western Nepal. Women are given different positions according to their work responsibilities. Women involved in household work and other farm works are called Kamlahri. Women who are fully involved in agricultural and household work with male partners are called Bukrahi and the women who are

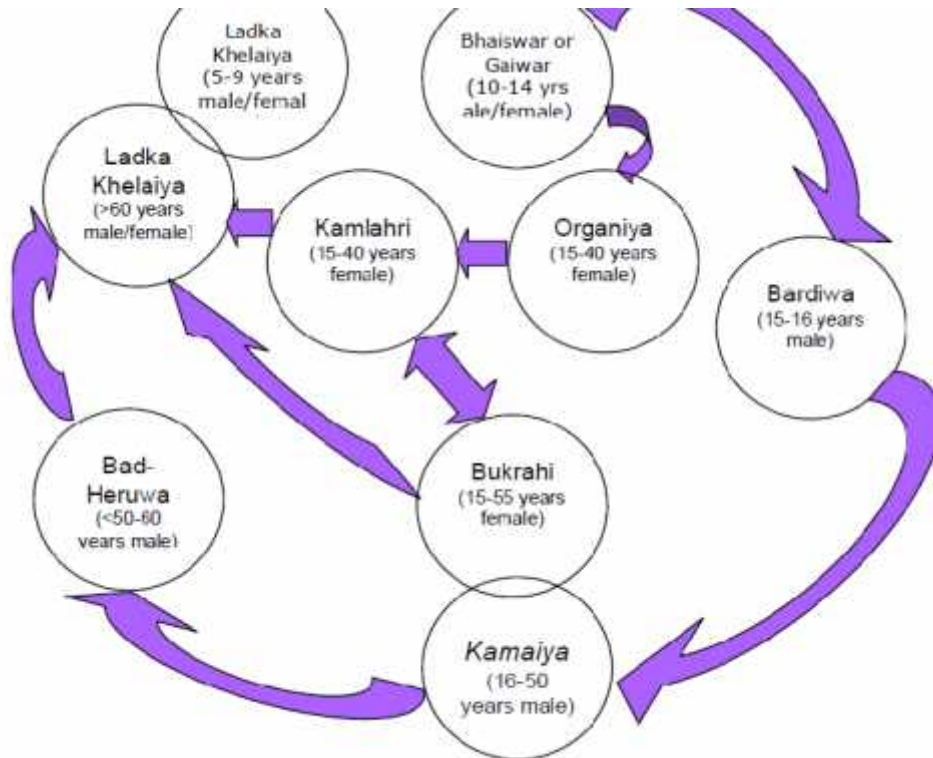
totally involved in such work without a male partner are called Organiya (Chaudhari 1996:38). Whatever the position and names, all types of female Kamaiyas have to be ready for any kind of work their landlords/masters ask them to do.

Kamaiya children are required to work as animal herders and domestic servants. Female children generally work as domestic servants while male children look after the livestock as animal herders. Working for the master amounts to apprenticeship training for children to ensure that they become effective Kamaiyas as they grow older. There are about 13,000 children working under the Kamaiya system in the five districts (Sharma and Thakurathi 1998). A large proportion of them was unaware of any wage payments system and did not get paid at all. They are not paid either due to debt incurred by the parents, or because their work is appended to the adult family labours, or they simply work in exchange of food and clothing. The division of labour among the Kamaiyas depends upon the age and sex of the Kamaiyas. The following table presents the nature of work and division of labour within the Kamaiya system.

The responsibility of Chhegrahawa and Chhegrinya is to take care of goats in landlords' farms. The role of Bardiwa and Bardinya is to take care of oxen and Bhiswar/Bhisarniya and Gaiwars is to take care of buffalos and cows respectively.

Figure 2

Division of Labour by Gender and Life Cycle under the Kamaiya System



(source : Karki, 2001)

Those who are in the age group of 15-55 are considered fully economically active and called Kamaiya in case of male and Bukrahi or Kamlahri in case of female Kamaiyas. The eldest son or daughter (more than 16 years old) is called Ghardhuriya/Ghardhurinya. All the activities within the household of Kamaiyas are taken care of under the leadership of Ghardhuriya/Ghardhurinya. The responsibilities of the Kamaiyas who are more than 55 years old are the same as the role of children between 10-15 years old. Karki (2001:80) illustrates the division of labour and life cycle of Kamaiyas in the following diagram developed in the light of his intensive interaction with the local people during a fieldwork in Bardiya in 2001.

As the life cycle shows, a person enters into the cycle of bondage as Ladkakhelaiya as young as 5-9 while taking care of masters' children, who are normally younger than Ladkakhelaiya. As they grow, the assignment continues to change. At ten, they turn to Bhaiwar or Gaiwar. At around 15, they may be given responsibilities of taking care of oxen and other farm responsibilities. The role takes other forms when a Kamaiya becomes older, generally more than 50 years, assigned to take care of plants at the homestead and is called Badheruwa. Sometimes, older Kamaiyas are also assigned to take care of cattle and buffaloes, and are also called Gaiwar and Bhaiwar. Similarly, those older Kamaiyas (both males and female) who take care of masters' children are also called Ladkakhilaiyas.

2.3 Kamaiya System Before 1950's

There is no agreement on the origin of Kamaiya system. Many studies have traced it to the 'sharecropping' or 'long-term farm labour' practice in the South Asia during the Moghul empire (ca. 1500-1700 AD). A patron-client relationship between the landowner and the sharecroppers/farm labourers has been preserved since that era. (Lieten and Breman in Giri, 2009: 602; OMCT, 2006: 4). Some argue that labour arrangements involving a Kamaiya as a yearly agricultural worker existed in the traditional Tharu society, but it did not take the form of lifetime bondedness prior to the 20th century (Lowe, 2001).

As Rankin (1999) puts it, such traditional labour system involved a peasant cultivator (kisan) and a labourer (the Kamaiya), whereby in exchange for the latter's labour, the cultivator undertook to feed, clothe, and house him and his family. Kisans and their Kamaiyas were traditionally linked by a shared ethnicity and often ties of kinship, and both participated in common moral economy. Relations between a Kamaiya and his patron were often mediated by debt. The Kamaiya was not necessarily landless; on occasion, a Tharu man entered into a Kamaiya contract in order to obtain a loan. He was obliged to work for his master until the loan was repaid, but members of his family did not automatically become Kamaiyas, and were free to work to raise the money to repay the loan. They were also opportunities for a Kamaiya to repay his debt and end his Kamaiya status (Rankin in Guneratne, 2002: 96).

The traditional labour system was distorted by certain actions taken by the Nepali state. When present-day Nepal was founded in 1768 by absorbing dozens of small kingdoms or principalities, the practice of land grants as various forms of personal rewards started to become institutionalized. As a payment, reward or compensation, the monarchist governments offered large tracts of land to military officials, noble members or the defeated chiefs of the principalities (Rankin, 1999; Lowe, 2001). Those who received the land rented it out to tenants under adhiya and kut systems in which tenants would have to contribute at least half of their products to their landlords (Robertson and Mishra in Giri, 2009: 603).

Particularly in the Terai region, appointed Tharu headmen, known as chaudhari (tax collectors) were granted domain over particular territories to extract agricultural surpluses from the peasantry through revenue farming (Robertson and Mishra, 1997; Giri, 2009). However, the use of chaudharis was gradually replaced by zamindars (landlords) 'as a means of extending a land-based system of patronage as well as expanding the areas of land under cultivation' (Rankin, 1999: 34). Zamindars were increasingly drawn from high-caste Nepali-speaking people from the hills who had connection at court (Robertson and Mishra, 1997: 16). Certain zamindars were responsible for paying a certain amount of collected land tax to the government. Since zamindars had the authority to provide property ownership certificates, they used their administrative power for their personal benefit and gradually established their property ownership on wide areas of land through such practices, and become big landlords who provided a support base for the Rana regime (Karki, 2001: 7).

In addition, large tracts of land in the Terai were given away by the King as rewards to favoured courtiers or generals to ensure their loyalty to the Crown (Robertson and Mishra, 1997: 16). The land granted in this way called *birta* land and the recipients called *birtawalas*. They had power to collect revenue from the Tharu people who worked the land and in return they paid tribute to the Crown. This system was operated during the Shah kings and then later the Ranas. In 1952 this system accounted for about 700,000 hectares of land or 36 per cent of the total cultivable area of Nepal (Robertson and Mishra, 1997: 34)

When Jang Bahadur Rana came to power in mid-19th century, he started a family based oligarchy system, and sought an active policy to isolate Nepal from external influence. By doing so, the extended Rana families could enjoy the extravagant lifestyle from the land tax revenue (Rankin, 1999). During Jang Bahadur and his family's 104-year-long reign, the land grant system and taxation rights were consolidated, leading to 'the "process of feudalisation" of agrarian relations and strengthening the private landowners' economic capacity by diverting revenue away from the state treasury.

For a long time, this policy was essential to satisfy the local chiefs, warrior class and to finance the war with Tibet and British India (Rankin, 1999). When the expansionary drive of Nepali rulers was halted by British India in 1818, the whole land policy was geared towards extracting revenues for the ruling elites while allowing landlords to reign freely in the villages. This feudal system rendered extensive powers to landowner over the peasants who cultivated their lands and were able to set whatever levels of rent suited them. The villagers living on their land had the status of serf and the landlords could demand unpaid labour and other services from them (Robertson and Mishra, 1997).

Revenue collection policies during late 19th and the early 20th century had created a new landlord class —jamindar and birtawal— very unlike the peasant cultivators (*kisan*) who had provided a livelihood and a degree of security to their *Kamaiyas* (Rankin in Guneratne, 2002: 96-97). The introduction of jamindar and the granting of *birta* lands showed an expansion of the farmed area of the Terai and depletion of the Tharu's traditional forest lands. The growing number of landless Tharu who were used as labour to clear this land and make wider cultivation possible (Robertson and Mishra, 1997: 16).

Until the first half of the 20th century, it is further argued, Nepal's most productive and sought after agricultural land lying in the Terai region was still rather sparsely cultivated (Rankin, 1999). Because of a malaria epidemic, hill people were unable to settle on a large scale in the region inhabited by the indigenous Tharu community, who could tolerate tropical diseases and wild animals all year round (Rankin, 1999). The collapse of Rana regime in 1950s was followed by malaria eradication programme supported by the World Health Organization (WHO). It subsequently led to mass migration from the adjacent hills (Robertson and Mishra, 1997: 16). Powerful landed families from the hills were able to increase their holdings in the newly opened forests and further marginalize the Tharu, which has been living in the Terai for the last 600 years. Although a small portion of Tharu became landlord

themselves, and adopted the ways of the majority high-caste society, the vast majority of the Tharu were left in an increasingly vulnerable position and ripe for exploitation (Robertson and Mishra, 1997: 17).

2.4 Kamaiya System After 1950's

There is some evidence to suggest that the Kamaiya system developed initially from a survival strategy used by the Tharu people to help insure against the risk of sedentary farming. Over the years, the hill–Terai migration not only displaced the Tharu people, but also drastically changed the demographic and ecological settings, not to mention converted the system into a highly exploitative one (Robertson and Mishra, 1997: 17). In fact, the Tharu people who are thought to be the first inhabitants of Terai region, were the first group of people to start falling into the system of debt bondage (Rankin, 1999). In 1912, for instance, the great majority of landowners in the mid- and far-western Terai area were believed to be Tharu people, but by the late 1960s, some 80 percent of the Tharu people were tenants, and 90 per cent of the landlords they worked for were mostly settlers from the hills (Lowe, 2001).

Given the widespread disparity in the land ownership, the King, with pressure from donor agencies, introduced Land Reform Act in 1964 (Robertson and Mishra, 1997: 35). In the beginning, it was thought that a revolutionary policy would positively reduce economic inequalities in rural areas, particularly in the Terai region. The Act had some success in protecting the rights of the tenant farmers, but the large landholders continued to take advantage of several loopholes in the law (Robertson and Mishra, 1997). The zamindars reportedly made a clever move to transfer the rights of their land to their extended family members in order to freed themselves from the control of land reform policy. For instance, only 1 per cent of 600,000 hectares of land reserved for redistribution was distributed, and no more than 300,000 farmers received tenancy rights certificates out of 1.8 million eligible (Robertson and Mishra, 1997). In 1966, the zamindar system itself was abolished but its power structure, so firmly established over the centuries, continues even today. As a result, within a few generations, around ten thousands of Tharu peasants became Kamaiya workers cultivating other people's land; women became bukrahi (or helper) and children worked as kamlahari (maids or domestic workers) until they were old enough to take over their parents' work (Lowe, 2001).

According to Sharma and Thakurathi (1998:12) very little was known about the socio-economic conditions of Kamaiyas at the national level. INSEC (1992:86) claimsthat, in fact, not all Kamaiyas were bonded labour. They could be classified into twocategories; Kamaiya with saunki (debt) and Kamaiya without saunki. The Kamaiyas withsaunki were more vulnerable than Kamaiyas without saunki. This was because they couldbe bought and sold for the saunki by their masters whereas in some cases Kamaiyaswithout saunki might have at least the freedom of choosing their masters at the Maghifestival. Another classification was whether the Kamaiya owned his own house or patch ofland on which it was built. The most exploitative cases occurred when the Kamaiya wasboth in debt and without land of his own, which in such case he was obliged to live on the landlord's property (Robertson and

Mishra, 1997: 19). However, researchers argue that both types of Kamaiyas were forced to work as bonded labour by the socio-economic conditions of their society and family. This was because no matter whether they had saunki or not, once they came into contractual agreement with their landlords they fell into a vicious circle of bonded labour system which had been providing bare subsistence for generations (OMCT, 2006: 4).

In most cases, the debt owed by a Kamaiya was relatively small, below NR 2,000(US\$36.00), but with no cash income, it was virtually impossible to repay. The debt was inherited and passed down from father to son (Robertson and Mishra, 1997: 19). The Kamaiya system allowed the selling and buying of one person to another. The Kamaiya, thus, represented a tangible asset which the landlord could sell to others. These transactions were often carried out between landlords during the traditional time of the Maghi Festival (Robertson and Mishra, 1997: 18). The debt increased to pay for medicine, additional food and any other necessities. Often the landlords inflated the debt still further and charged the Kamaiya for any day's work which they missed through sickness or any damages to a piece of equipment or domestic animal for which the Kamaiya was held responsible was added to the debts, often without the Kamaiya's knowledge (Robertson and Mishra, 1997: 18).

The wage or remuneration for the Kamaiya was too low to meet the need for asquare meal for a family, around 9 to 12 sacks of rice, a sack being equivalent to 75 kilograms. Consequently, a Kamaiya was compelled to borrow from the landlord to cover expenses for food, medical expenses, social obligations, and other unusual circumstances.

These additional borrowings added to the debt (GEFONT/ASI, 2007). The Kamaiyas were usually given a payment in rice after the harvest; this payment was known as bigha. In addition they were given a portion of other grains, salt and oil, again handed over in one lump sum to supplement the rice (Robertson and Mishra, 1997: 18). The total amount was gauged to be just enough for survival and sometimes slightly less. Besides, the Kamaiyas were often forced to borrow food and money to deal with socio-cultural obligations from the master. Once they borrowed money and food grain from the landlords, the Kamaiyas fell into the trap of a debt-bonded labour system (ILO, 1995: 14).

In practice, most Kamaiyas did not have freedom of choice. They were forced for various reasons to accept the terms and conditions dictated by their masters (OMCT, 2006: 9). The Kamaiyas did all the ploughing and heavy field work. They usually worked for a 12-hour continuous period receiving meals in the field. During harvest and ploughing periods, however, they often continued through the night working 20-hour per day for weeks at a time. In the off-season they were either given work or were loaned or hired out to their landlord's friends or relatives (Robertson and Mishra, 1997: 20). They were not free to work for wage labour elsewhere. Landlords used verbal threats and humiliation to intimidate the Kamaiyas. Although the Kamaiyas were reluctant to report physical abuse, it is clear that violence was also used (Robertson and Mishra, 1997; Lowe, 2001).

2.5 The Movement against Kamaiya System, the Abolition in 2000 and the Aftermath

The movement against the Kamaiya system intensified in 1990 (OMCT, 2006: 13). One of the factors stimulating a concerted Kamaiya movement is the restoration of multiparty democracy and the open political environment that existed in the country after 1990.

The Kamaiyas managed to get external support from NGOs, IGOs and some political parties (OMCT, 2006: 27). The Kamaiya movement before the 1990s can be seen as amorphous, poorly organised, and spontaneous collective behaviour and action (Karki 2001:123). However, there were series of sporadic resistances and uprisings in the region before 1990 as well. Most of them were localised and isolated from the broader movements for socio-economic and political transformation (OMCT, 2006: 13). Most of these movements met a tragic end suppressed by government forces with the support of local ruling elites and feudal (OMCT, 2006: 27)

Until 1990, none of the state-led land and reform policies and programmes considered the Kamaiyas as a potential target group, evident by the fact that they were never be the beneficiaries of the Land Tenancy Rights, Landless People Resettlement Programmes and the like (Karki, 2001: 74). The Government of Nepal acknowledged the existence of the Kamaiya bonded labour system only in 1995 (GEFONT/ASI, 2007: 37).

By accepting the Kamaiya system as a bonded labour system in 1995, the Ministry of Land Reform and Management of Nepal prepared a household list of 15,152 Kamaiya families from five districts in 1996 (GEFONT/ASI, 2007: 37). This census was heavily criticized by NGOs, claiming that the figures underestimated the number of Kamaiyas (OMCT, 2006: 5; Kvalbein, 2007: 60). It then was revised to 18,400 in the year 2000 (GEFONT/ASI, 2007: 37). However, not much was done by the government at that time to rehabilitate the Kamaiyas. Consecutively, different entities continued to pressure the government to end the system.

Karki (2001) classifies the movement against the Kamaiya system into three broad categories, they are, movement from within, movement from above, and culmination of both movement within and above. The movement from within was marked by various resistances and strikes by the Kamaiya families which scattered all over mid- and far western Terai. This movement was small in its size, highly localised, and lacks support.

The movement from above entailed a wide range of campaigns against the Kamaiya system and interventions to address the Kamaiya problem, conducted by national and international agencies. These agencies advocated for an open national governance system, influence national policies, mobilised financial resources both at the national and international level (for example bilateral and multi-lateral donors) and government departments which could help the Kamaiyas. The culmination of the movement happened in 2000. Intense and prolonged pressure from the Kamaiyas, national and international human rights groups, civil society actors and

others finally led the Nepalese parliament to declare the system of Kamaiya illegal and all Kamaiya were to be liberated (Upadhyaya, 2008: 25). All previous contracts between Kamaiya and their landlords were declared null and void, and debts cancelled (GEFONT, 2007: 31).

Immediately after the government declaration of the Kamaiya liberation, the government formed a national committee to deal with problems associated with the Kamaiyas at the central level and sub-committees in Kamaiya-majority districts to identify and rehabilitate the liberated ex-Kamaiyas (GEFONT, 2007: 37-38). The committee then updated a survey of Kamaiya households, which was taken in 1995 (Kvalbein, 2007: 60).

The ex-Kamaiya households were grouped under four categories in light of the possession of huts and land (OMCT, 2006: 25).

Table 1
Categorisation of Ex-Kamaiyas by the Government of Nepal in 2000

Group	Category	Total Household	Card Type
A	Homeless and landless families	8022	Red
B	Families with a house and a small plot of unregistered land	5428	Blue
C	Families with a house and a plot of registered land of up to 2 kattha	1877	Yellow
D	Families with a house and more than 2 kattha of registered land	3073	White

(Source: Ministry of Land Reform and Management (MoLRM) in GEFONT, 2007; OMCT, 2006)

The government promised to give up to five kattha of land to landless Kamaiyas of category A and to register the land for Kamaiyas of category B. Distribution of land had taken place, but there were many still waiting while living in temporary camps (Kvalbein, 2007: 60). Many liberated Kamaiyas, particularly those who were homeless and landless, spent months in filthy camps, facing difficulties coupled with sickness and lack of bare necessities (GEFONT, 2007: 43).

The slow response to rehabilitate liberated Kamaiyas was seen by many observers as the lack of ability— or a political will — of the government (OMCT, 2006: 24). The movement then took a different turn from February 2001. According to Kathmandu Post on 4 February 2001, at least 7,000 Kamaiyas forcibly occupied public land

including the land owned by the Cotton Development Committee (CDC) of the government in Bardiya.

However, more than 300 riot police cordoned off the area forcing the ex-Kamaiyas to leave. Soon after the ex-Kamaiyas were chased away, the riot police set fire to their huts and the CDC tractors destroyed the crops they had planted to make sure that the exKamaiyas would not dare to occupy the land again (Kathmandu Post, 4 February 2001 in OMCT, 2006: 25).

In 2002, the government undertook another round of registration for ex-Kamaiya after being criticised that many ex-Kamaiyas were left out in previous census. In June 2002, Nepal's Ministry of Land Reform and Management released a new data of Ex-Kamaiya households.

Table 2
Distribution of Ex-Kamaiya Households as of June 2002

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

(Source: MoLRM, 2009 in Buddhi Ram, 2011: 74)

Also in 2002, the Kamaiya Labour (Prohibition) Act, prohibiting some Kamaiya forms of bonded labour was finally adopted. Prior to the Act, courts were reluctant to take action on bonded labour, despite some recognition that it existed. However, since 2002, no one has been prosecuted for the use of bonded labour (Upadhyaya, 2008: 27). The Act does not provide mandatory rehabilitation and some parts of the act, such as monitoring through national and district level committees, have not yet been implemented (Upadhyaya, 2008: 22).

The rehabilitation process has been beset by widespread anomalies. As of February 2003, 7,801 labourers had received three to five katthas of land while 2,986 had received less than three katthas of land 7 (Upadhyaya, 2008: 23). It was found that many Kamaiyas have got land certificates, but no land at all (OMCT, 2006: 25).

Moreover, the Ministry of Land Reform and Management coordinated a programme with NGOs and government agencies to rehabilitate Kamaiyas, to allocate land, to distribute timber for house construction and to provide vocational training. Timber for house construction was given to 161 families, and over 7,900 families received the government's housing grant of Rs 8,000 (approximately US \$107), provided to all

ex-Kamaiyas identified as landless. The Kamaiya Labour (Prohibition) Act 2002 provided that, upon completion of housing construction, the government would provide an additional grant of Rs 2000 (approximately US \$27) for income generating activities, The Nepal Ministry of Land Reform estimates that a minimum of three katthas of land is required for one family's subsistence.⁸ According to news commentary published in the Nepal Samacharpatra of 18 September 2004, of the 868 Kamaiya families residing in a captured airport in Kailali, 104 have had land certificates, but not land. Also see, Lamichhane 2003:90 which included chicken, goat or pig farming. As of December 2004, in Kailali district only 74 out of 2,436 households had received the money for income-generating activities (Upadhyaya, 2008: 23).

Although widely hailed as one of the most progressive decisions of the governments formed in the 1990s, it was made without proper arrangements for housing, food security and other arrangements required for rehabilitation (OMCT, 2006: 24). The biggest challenge to the government and IGOs, and NGOs involved in the campaign against the Kamaiya system was to create an environment in which alternative rural livelihoods could be ensured. Weaknesses in the rehabilitation phase, including the length of time between release and the receipt of rehabilitation and the fact that bonded labourers were released without empowerment support, has left former Kamaiyas vulnerable to entering into new forms of exploitative working practices including bonded labour (Upadhyaya, 2008: 24). Some have reportedly entered into exploitative share-cropping arrangements while others have pledged the free labour of their children for access to tenancy (GEFONT, 2007: 42).

Despite the release of large numbers of Kamaiya bonded labourers, measures taken by the government have been undermined by poor coordination between government departments, corruption, and a lack of policy coherence (GEFONT in Upadhyaya, 2008: 24). Rehabilitation efforts have not reached all released Kamaiyas. Though the government targeted to distribute the land to all ex-Kamaiyas by the end of June 2009, based on a survey conducted by Districts of Land Reform and Management, in 2009 there were still around 6,922 Kamaiya households (25%) who did not receive land which had been promised more than a decade after their freedom.

Table 3
Land Distribution to Ex-Kamaiya (as of 15 June 2009)

District	Eligible HHs to receive land	Total Rehabilitated HHs	HHs haven't received land
Dang	705	705	-
Banke	1,921	1,921	-
Bardiya	11,551	7,451	4,100
Kailali	8,975	6,153	2,822
Kanchanpur	4,418	4,418	-
Total	27,570	20,651	6,922 (25%)

Source: DoLRM, 2009 in Buddhi Ram, 2011: 76

However, there were also many positive results. Labourers who did receive adequate land and support for houses around urban centres, were able to obtain a degree of economic autonomy, raising chickens and goats and producing vegetables for sale and were able to send their children to school. The level of literacy has increased among the released *Kamaiyas*, the numbers of children attending school have also reportedly increased, as has access to health care and access to clean water (GEFONT, 2007; Upadhyaya, 2008).

2.6 Socio-Economic Status of Mukta Kamaiya

In Nepal, more than eighty percent of the total people are involved in agriculture. Nepalese farmers are not able to increase more income and maintain their economic problems. (CBS 2001), presented almost 31% of total population is still below the poverty line. The economic status of Kamaiya is very miserable so their life has not been improving as expected. A.P Caplan (1972) made a study of the Priest and cobblers (Brahmin and Sarkis). In the study the scholars analyzed the socio-economic inter relationship between the backward and exploited community represented by Dalits and the people of higher caste represented by Brahmin and Chhettri. The writer highlighted that the Brahmin who obtained the resources from their Client, invested the surplus in loans and so became richer. The Sarkis people mostly go to India for seasonal work. The land reformation has not affected to cobblers in this area. Sijapati (1998) has studied about the socio-economic status of Sarkis living in Jharuwarasi Village, Lalitpur. The main objective of the study was to study socio-economic condition skill and life cycle of Sarkis of the study area. "Most of the Sarkis are engaged in agriculture. Their caste specific occupation in shoe making but that is

in decreasing state. They run their livelihood from the agriculture, wage labour, masonry, shoe making and basket making. They have not enough land for farming. Few of them are literate." So their socio-economic condition is very poor. Bhattarai (2001) studied the "Rickshaw Pulling as a way of earning some money". This study based upon the field survey of 2000 respondents, as well as secondary information. This study has concluded that as they were illiterate, rickshaw pulling was the opportunity to earn some money. There is no such better strategy of life among the rickshaw pullers. Majorities of these rickshaw puller fall under poor economic stress. They spent their life just in earn and spent system. Giri (2002) has made a study on "The Changes occurred in livelihood strategy of the Tharu in Surkhet". He found that traditional occupation (agriculture) of the Tharu of Surkhet is no more able to earn their living as previously. They are involving in different additional occupation other than agriculture as a change of livelihood strategy in order to tackle the changing situation. The degree of awareness on education, health and resources management is increasing among the Tharu of Surkhet valley but they are not in a position to compete with other communities to earn their livelihood.

Likewise, in the same book they have also described that credit (loan) is became a media for Brahmin to exploit the Sarkis. Brahmin provide them loan and take theirs land as collateral. If Brahmin provides them 100 rupees, they will make the agreement of 1000 rupees. Due to the lack of education, Brahmins easily cheated them. Brahmins did not accept the loan repayment amount by Sarkis but lastly they grab their land.

Chapter 3 : Research Methodology

Methodology is a technique of analyzing the obtained data to solve the research problem and the backbone used to collect relevant information to fulfill the objective of the study.

This chapter will describe the tools and technique of present research work. This section will include site selection, research design, nature and sources of data, data collection technique, household survey, secondary information, direct observation and data processing and analysis procedure.

3.1 Research Design

This study is based on descriptive as well as exploratory research design. Descriptive research design is used to gather information about the research area and exploratory research design is used for collecting information about respondent's views and ideas. It attempts to explore and investigate the socio- economic and household issues of the study area in terms of decision making process of women as compared to their male counterpart.

3.2 Nature and Sources of Data

In this study, both primary and secondary data have been used for required information. By nature, both quantitative and qualitative data are used. Primary data was directly collected through field survey. Similarly, secondary data was collected from published & unpublished materials such as research, related books and related profiles.

3.3 Rationale of the Selection of Study Area

Any study and work has not been on socio-economic status, cultural life, religion and the role and status of freed labour (Mukta Kamaiya) of Bardiya district. Mukta Kamaiya's are settled in different places of Bardiya district in different permanent and temporary camp. Rajapur VDC ward no 4, Rajapur is selected for the present study. The main reasons behinds for selecting the site are as follows:

- Any study has not been conducted about Mukta Kamaiya of this settlement.
- It is easy to go in this camp on the financial and geographical view.

3.5 Sample Size and Sample Selection

There are 2657 households in Rajapur VDC. Total population of which is 12802. Among them 638 household lie in Mukta Kamaiya's ward No. 4, Out of the 99 household, 15% were taken as a sample. Mukta Kamaiya was selected through scattered random sampling technique.

3.6 Data Collection Techniques

The researcher has taken the structural questionnaire followed by schedule method. Interviews taken by using structured questionnaire for the collection of data. Most of the questions are supposed to ask to the respondents, close-ended while some are open-ended, too. This technique is used to obtain data regarding their social and economic condition, decision making knowledge, power and its practice and sort out the women's decision making role in household economy, social and political sector.

Following techniques\instruments were used for data collection:

a. Questionnaire

The questionnaire was both structured and unstructured. Personal information has taken from structured questionnaire and qualitative information from unstructured questionnaire.

b. Observation

Observation is one of the very important research tools, which help to collect thereal information from the field. While conducting the socio-economic survey of this study, observation will be done in that community. The observation of household structures, living status, and other social and cultural indicators of respondents will be observed during the field survey.

c. Key informants Interview

Establishing a co-operative and mutual friendly relation with the informants, data of internal feelings and emotions were acquired by an informal interview with selected persons. People of Rajapur VDC such as local political leaders, social workers, ex-ward chairman and ward members were interviewed with the help of checklist. The researcher herself visited the interviewees in personally, asked questions and noted the answers. It was used to collect data about the existing condition, policy, program related to Mukta Kamaiyas .

3.7 Method of Data Processing, Analysis and Presentation

Most of the collected data of the research study has analyzed descriptively and statistical method has applied where necessary. So, different statistical as well as logical tools have used to analyze data in this study. Beside these techniques such as charts, graph and maps are used for presentation of the findings of the study. The systematic analysis has been done by qualitative as well as quantitative tools and techniques.

Chapter 4 : Data Presentation and Analysis

4. Socio-Economic Information

Nepal is a multi-lingual, multicultural and multiethnic country. Within regions, communities differ from one another in terms of religions, language, attire and cultural identity. Within this hierarchical system, there endure segregation and discrimination although under the constitution of Nepal all citizens of Nepal are equal under the law, regardless of sex, caste and ethnicity but in real practice there is discrimination among male, female, sex caste and ethnicity. Here in the following chapter focuses on the Mukta Kamaiyas and their participation in socio-cultural and political activities and their role in the Rajapur VDC along with the norms and values. The unjust control over the land, persistent inequality and lack of access to alternative mechanism, Kamaiyas are more vulnerable, insecure and economically poor which is the main subject of concern in this chapter.

4.1 Socio-Demography of the Study Area

This part represents the age, sex, ethnicity, literacy/educational status of the respondents of the study area.

4.1.1 Age of the Respondents

Age is most important factor that have to be taken into consideration during the course any type of study. Bondage labour mostly work in the agricultural land, also help in domestic work, fishing and collecting forest product.

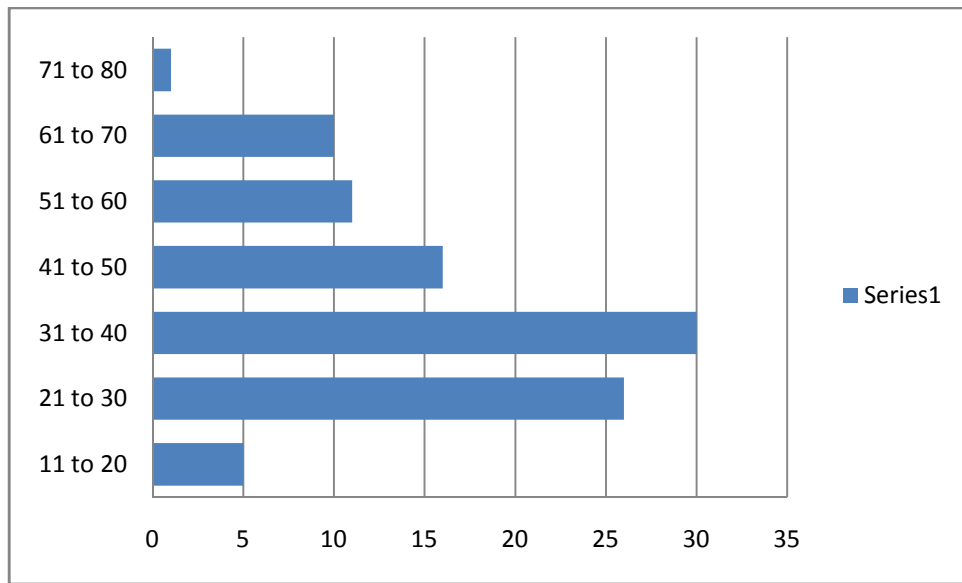
Table 4

Age Composition of Respondents

Age of respondent	Frequency	Percent
11 to 20	5	5.0
21 to 30	26	26
31 to 40	30	30
41 to 50	16	16
51 to 60	11	11
61 to 70	10	10
71 to 80	1	1
Total	99	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Figure 3
Age Composition of Respondents



Source: Field Survey, 2012

The different age and group distribution of freed Mukta Kamaiya shows that (table 4) out of total 99 respondents the highest percentage (30%) of population is found in the age group 31-40. It is followed by age group 21-30 i.e. 26%. The lowest percentage (1.0%) of Mukta Kamaiyas found in age group 71-80. The reason for the respondents being age group 31-41 is that most of the freed Kamaiyas are unemployed. This kind of human resource is needed for development activities unfortunately such groups of Mukta Kamaiya are uneducated.

4.1.2 Sex of the Respondents

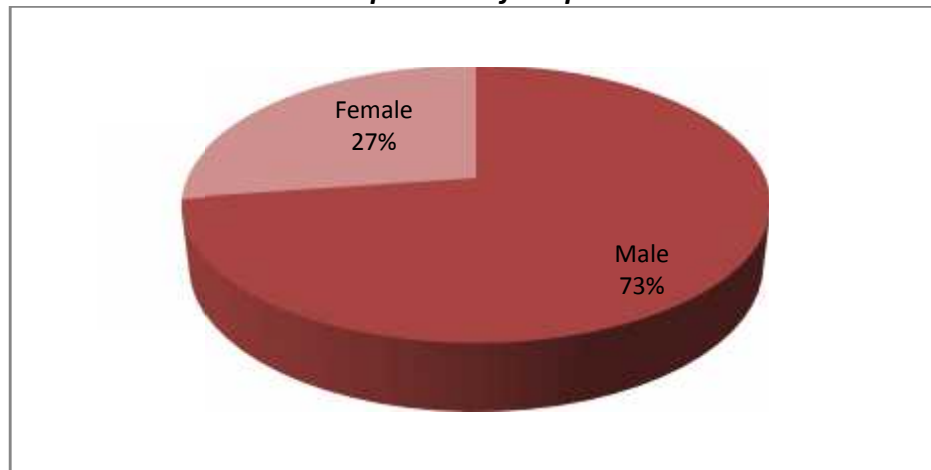
Sex is most important factor that has to be taken into consideration during the course of any type of study. In this study, most of the respondents were male. It means 72.7% respondents were male whereas 27.3% of respondents were female (Table 5).

Table 5
Sex Composition of Respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percent
Male	72	72.7
Female	27	27.3
Total	99	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Figure 4
Sex Composition of Respondents



Source: Field Survey, 2012

4.1.3 Religion

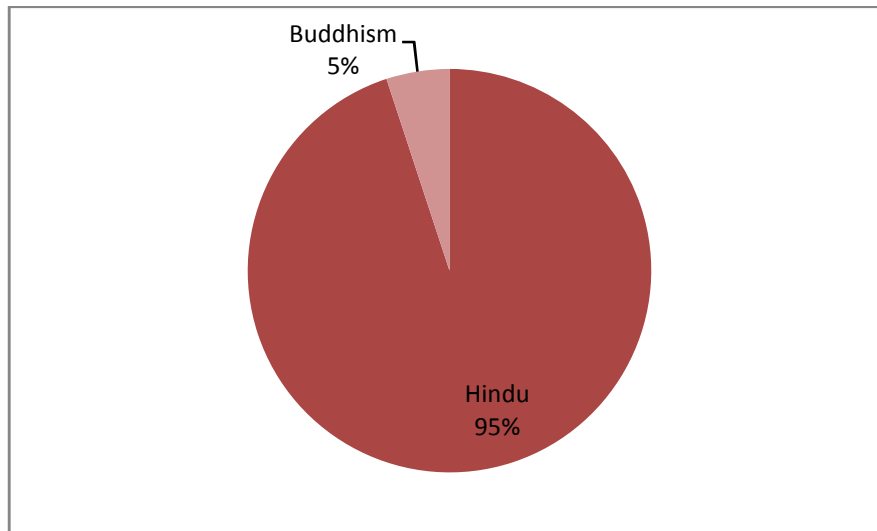
Religion is the set of beliefs and practices. It is practice in every society and plays a great role in maintaining social structure in a given society. Although Nepal is constitutionally a religious secularism country i.e in Nepal there is legal provision of No discrimination against other religions, Hinduism is practiced with majority of the people. Here in the table below it also clearly shows that in Rajapur VDC there are majority of Hindu rather than the other religion. Hindu population in the country has been consistently over 80% since 1950s.

Table 6
Religion of Respondent

Religion	Frequency	Percent
Hindu	94	95
Buddhism	5	5
Total	99	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Figure 5
Religion of Respondent



Source: Field Survey, 2012

In this survey Hinduism is practiced in majority in the study area. Few are Buddhists, Out of 99 respondents 95% Hindu and 5% Buddhist (table 6).

4.1.4 Family Type

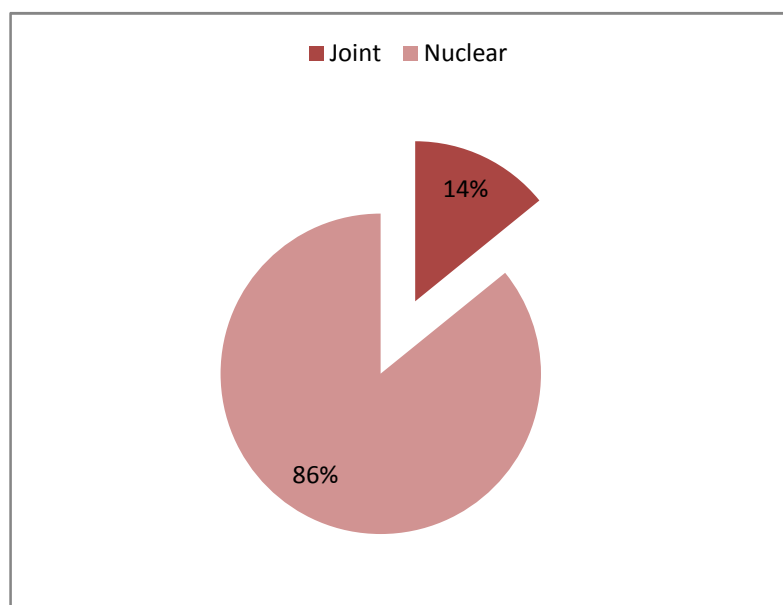
Family is a group of people affiliated by consanguinity, affinity, or co-residence. In most societies it is the principal institution for the socialization of children so as in Tharu community too. However, Tharus have joint family system. They enjoy a lot within joint family system. But with the due course of time, the importance of joint family system is decreasing day by day and Tharu people gradually adopted Nuclear Family system.

Table 7
Type of Family

Family Type	Frequency	Percent
Joint	14	14.1
Nuclear	85	85.9
Total	99	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Figure 6
Type of Family



Source: Field Survey, 2012

In this survey, we divided the family type in three groups as Nuclear Family, Joint Family and Extended Family. As illustrated in (figure 6) the nuclear family type exceeds the joint family type. 85.9% of respondents prefer nuclear family and 14% only live in joint family (table 7)

4.1.5 Linguistic Composition

Language is the main medium of expression of views and ideas from one person to another by means of accepted set of expressions. People learn speaking their mother tongue since childhood. The language which is taught at home is called mother tongue or language. Nepal is multi Linguistic and multi cast-ethnic society. Some People speak more than one language. According to the field survey (table 8), Tharu use own mother language to communicate. 94.9% speak own language ie Tharu language and only 5% of the respondents speak Nepali language .

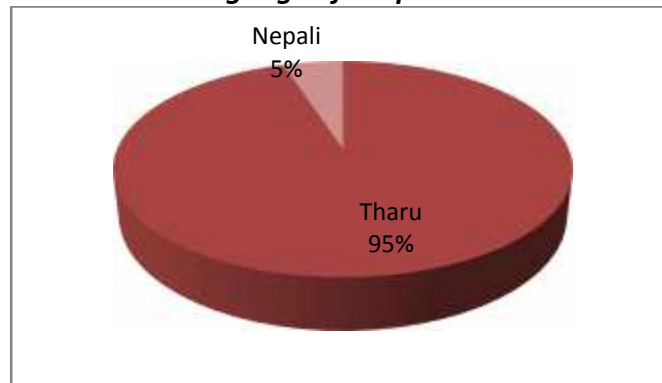
Table 8

Language of Respondent

Language	Frequency	Percent
Tharu	94	94.9
Nepali	5	5.1
Total	99	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Figure 7
Language of Respondent



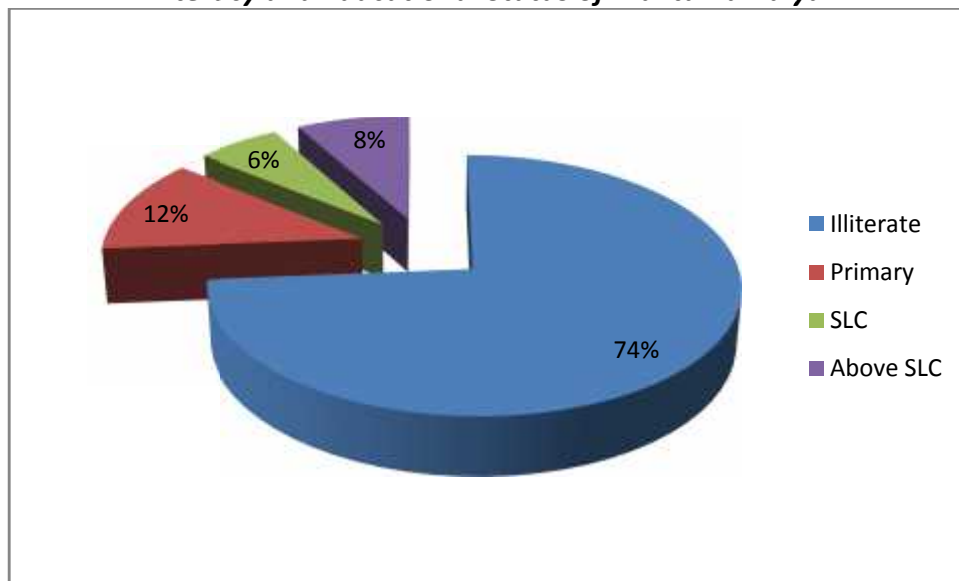
Source: Field Survey, 2012

Above figure shows the language distribution of the respondent. The highest number of respondents speak their mother tongue, i.e., Tharu language. In percent, 95% communicate through their own Tharu language and 5% of respondents use Nepali language (Table 8). The Tharu language exceeds the Nepali language but it does not mean that the Tharu people do not understand and speak Nepali language. The Tharu language is their mother language while Nepali is their official language. However, most of the Tharu people do not need to use Nepali language since they do have their own mother language.

4.1.6 Literacy and Educational Status of Mukta Kamaiya

Education is a driving force within the development process. Literacy is the key to enhancing livelihood options and gaining access to new economic opportunities. Household members were placed in six educational categories of literacy based categories: person who had attended secondary school, persons who had only attended primary level, those who had never received formal education but were able to read and write and those who were completely illiterate and those who had passed intermediate level. Nepal is 52.6% with female and male literacy rate 37.8 and 67.1 respectively (MOE, 2011).

Figure 8
Literacy and Educational Status of Mukta Kamaiya



Source: Field Survey, 2012

Within the sample population, 12% had attended primary school, 6% completed their SLC, 8% had attended college and 74% Tharu people were labeled as illiterate (figure 8).

Table 9
Educational Status

Education	Frequency	Percent
Illiterate	73	74
Primary	12	12
SLC	6	6
Intermediate	8	8
Total	99	100.0
Children go to School Regularly		
Yes	80	80.8
No	19	19.2
Total	99	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Though the sample respondents were found illiterate, all households surveyed stated that their children attended school. 80.8 % respondent's children attend school and remaining 19.2% only do not attend school which we can conclude that although the parents were illiterate, they learned about the importance of education in today's age. So, most of the Tharu people had started sending their children to

school. And they are positive towards education and also found out that the teachers' behavior towards their children is good. This shows that there is friendly learning and teaching mechanism in schools of Rajapur VDC.

4.1.7 Occupation

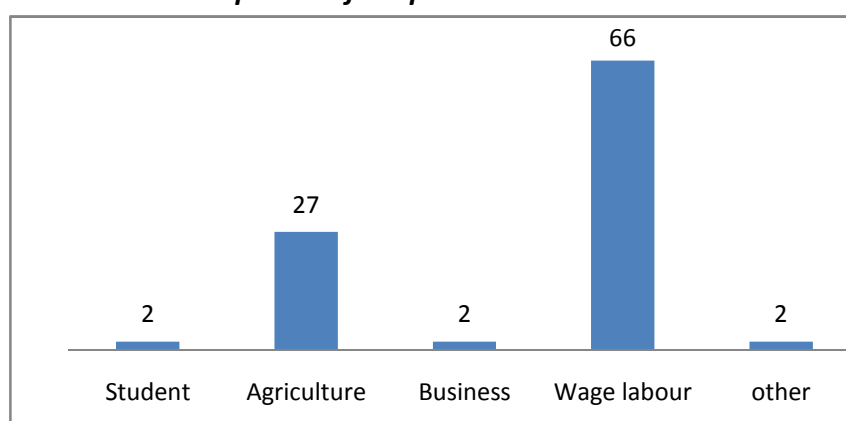
Occupation refers to a regular activity performed for payment that occupies one's time and labor. It is taken as a means of earning a living. So, it is one of the important indicators to indicate economic status of Mukta Kamaiyas. As we know Nepal is a n agricultural country. So, most of the people depend upon agriculture for their livelihood so it became a main occupation of the people of Nepal. The table below clearly showed about their occupation status of their capabilities in Rajapur VDC of Bardiya district.

Table 10
Occupation of Respondent

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Student	2	2.0
Agriculture	27	27.3
Business	2	2.0
Wage labour	66	66.7
Carpentry	2	2.0
Total	99	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Figure 9
Occupation of Respondent



Source: Field Survey, 2012

According to census 2001, although 81.1% of Nepali people are involved in agriculture sector but the majority of people of Rajapur VDC are involved in wage labor 66.7%, agriculture is in second position 27.3% followed by carpentry and Business by 2% respectively (table 10). It means Kamaiya work as a wage labor in the field of landlords and so called Jamindars for their livelihood.

4.1.8 Marriage system

Marriage is a social contract for the satisfaction of physical, biological, psychological and spiritual needs of male and female leading formation of a family to bring up children and live together. Social contact of two opposite sex will be called marriage when socially sanctioned according to different cultural values and traditions.

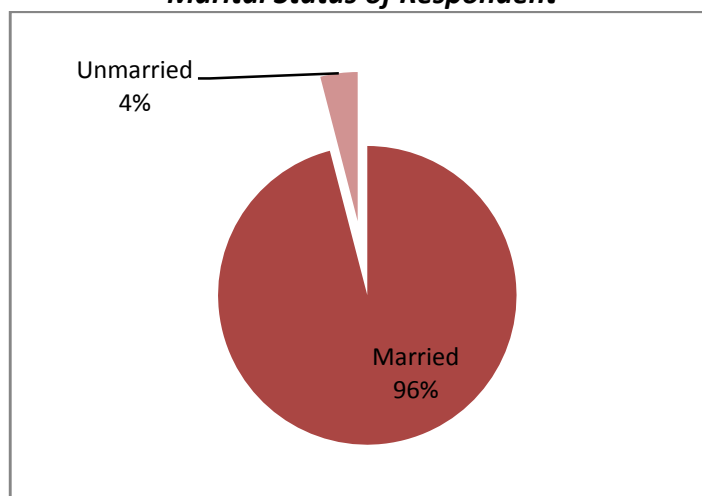
Table 11
Information of Marriage Practice

Marital Status	Frequency	Percent
Married	95	96
Unmarried	4	4
Total	99	100
Age at marriage		
Childhood	17	17.2
Adulthood	10	10.1
Middle age	72	72.7
Total	99	100.0
Type of marriage system		
Monogamy	95	95.8
Polygamy	4	2.2
Total	99	100
Marriage Practice system		
Arranged marriage	94	94.9
Love marriage	4	4.1
Total	99	100
Child Marriage Practice		
Yes	25	25.3
No	74	74.7
Total	99	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

4.1.8.1 Marital Status of Respondent

Figure 10
Marital Status of Respondent



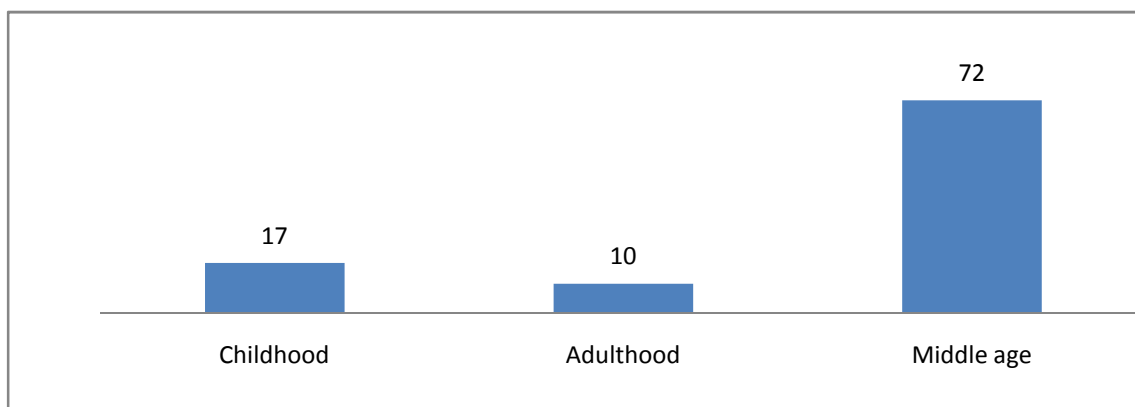
Source: Field Survey, 2012

Out of total 99 respondents, about 96% found as currently married 4% as unmarried (figure 10). Majority of Married Mukta Kamaiyas are in their teen age which led them early marriage due to Hindu culture as well as teenager dominant characters.

4.1.8.2 Age at Marriage

In Nepal with parental consensus legal, minimum age at marriage for both girls and Boys is 18 years. If the boys and girls want to marry on their own then the minimum legal age at marriage for both is to be 20 years. In many societies, girls still get married at younger age but in Rajapur VDC 72.7%, girls are found getting married at middle age, 10% at adult age and 17.2% people get marriage at childhood period (figure 11).

Figure 11
Age at Marriage

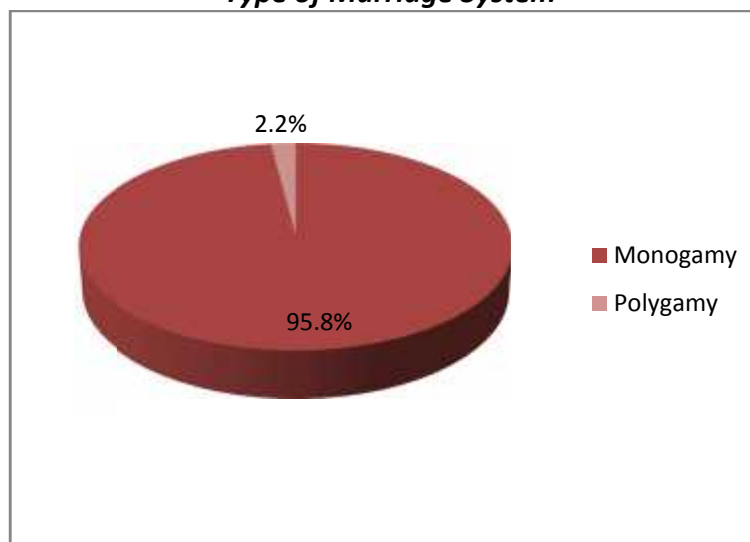


Source: Field Survey, 2012

4.1.8.3 Type of Marriage System

Tharu culture is one of the open cultures in Nepal. In ancient period, most of the Tharu society practice polygamy system i.e. marrying more than one wife. But now a days modern society practiced monogamy marriage system.

Figure 12
Type of Marriage System



Source: Field Survey, 2012

The above data shows that the highest (96%) have got monogamy marriage practice and 2% get polygamy marriage practiced (figure 12).

4.1.8.4 Marriage Practice System

Figure 13
Marriage Practice System



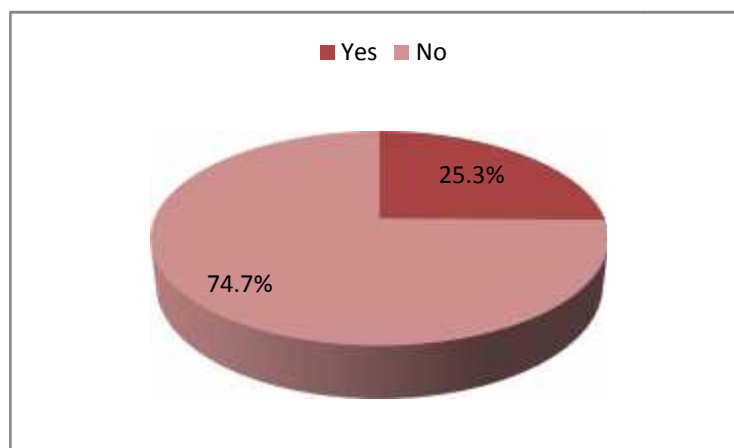
Source: Field Survey, 2012

Both love and arrange marriage system is practiced in all over Nepal. The study shows, 94.9% of Mukta Kamaiya people get arrange marriage and 4.1% of Mukta Kamaiya get love marriage (figure 13).

4.1.8.5 Child Marriage Practice

In the past there was child or early marriage system in Tharu society. In most cases, younger boys were married to teenage girls. This system was in practice because of agriculture farming practice by Tharus and lack of education too.

Figure 14
Child Marriage Practice



Source: Field Survey, 2012

The study shows that with the due course of time, child marriage is not in practice. 25.3% of respondents only practice child marriage in Mukta Kamaiya Family and 74.7% of family does not get child marriage (figure 14).

4.1.9 Practice of dowry system

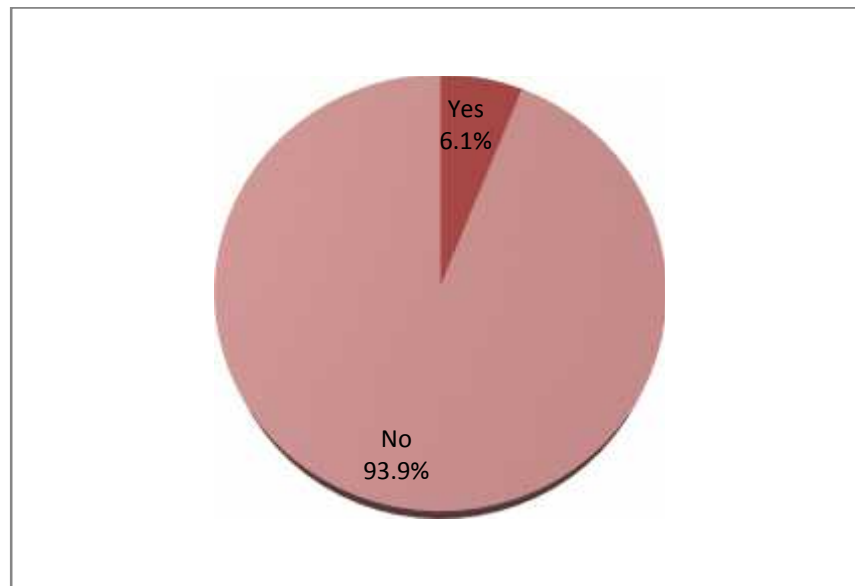
A dowry is money, property, or goods that a woman brings as a gift to her husband upon marriage. In the past, Hindu parents gave a dowry to their daughters because women don't always have rights. The practice of dowry is common in Nepal, and dowry-related violence is increasingly becoming a problem. However, some people still believe that giving and receiving a dowry will increase their status in society.

Table 12
Dowry System

Practice of Dowry	Frequency	Percent
Yes	6	6.1
No	93	93.9
Total	99	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Figure 15
Dowry System



Source: Field Survey, 2012

Field survey shows that, 93.9% of Mukta Kamaiya do not practice Dowry and 6.1% of Mukta Kamaiya still believe in giving and taking Dowry (figure 15). But there is no culture of giving dowry to their daughter and if they give, they gifted with handmade things i.e Dhakiya, byana, Chhatiya etc.

4.1.10 Practise of Kamlari

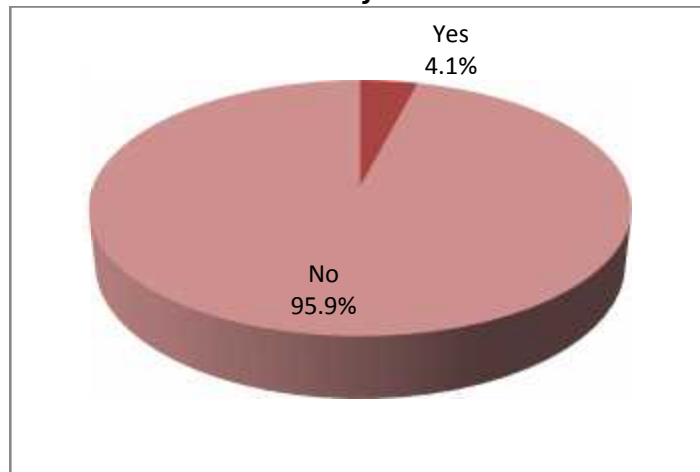
Kamlari system is remnant of Kamaiya system. In Kamaiya system in female member family member of Kamaiya (mother, young sister and wife) were known as Kamlari. Kamlari mostly work without wage of landlord's house. They were involved all kind of work, mostly domestic work and agricultural work. (5-14 age) group mostly involve child caring domestic work and animal herding called Gaiwar (cattle herder) Bhaiswar (buffalo herder), Chegrhawa (goat/sheep herder) and Orgahani (domestic worker). In Rajapur VDC Mukta Kamaiya camp out of data show that there is also practice of Kamlari system.

Table 13
Practice of Kamlari

Practice of Kamlari	Frequency	Percent
Yes	4	4.1
No	95	95.9
Total	99	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Figure 16
Practice of Kamlari



Source: Field Survey, 2012

The field survey in Rajapur VDC's Mukta Kamaiya camp, 4.1% lowest number of send to Kamlahari and 95.9% highest number of do not send to Kamlahari (figure 16). In the past days Mukta Kamaiya practiced in kamlahari, right now they are aware of this Kamlahari system.

4.2.11 Celebration of Festival

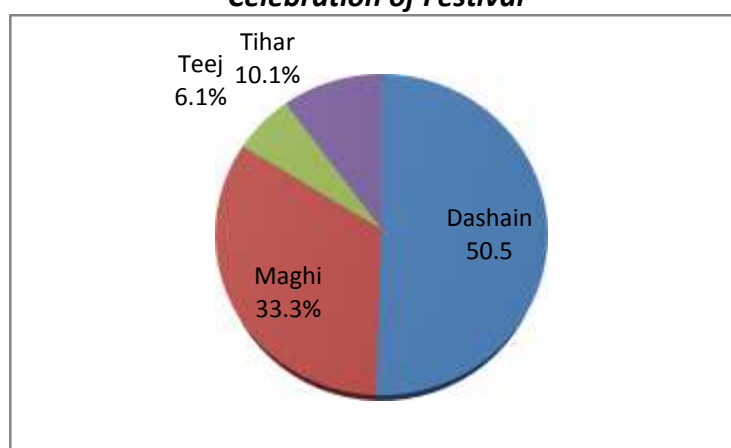
There are many festivals in Tharu community. The Mukta Kamaiya participated in all these festivals with due respect. Among them Dashain, Maghi, Teej, Tihar, Astami, Atwari etc are most celebrated festivals in Tharu community. Dashain like the Hindu's greatest and main festival, Tharu people on 9th day; dried fish, rice, Legumes and Vegetable are offered to the deceased members of the family. Maghi Is the most important festival of Tharu people celebrated by all respective of their class. It is generally celebrated in January when the people relax and engage in joyous activities such as labours. It is the main contract day of Kamaiyas bonded labours. It is also call back day of Kamaiya. Teej is celebrated on the day of Lord Shiva. Women take fast and pray to Lord Shiva for her husband's long life. After puja they take fruits and dairy products. Astimki celebrated on the day of Lord Krishna. Women take fast and pray to Lord Krishna with joy at the households. Women stay awake at night singing hymns in praise of Lord Krishna. After puja they take fruits and dairy products.

Table 14
Celebration Festival

Festival	Frequency	Percent
Dashain	50	50.5
Maghi	33	33.3
Teej	6	6.1
Tihar	10	10.1
Total	99	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Figure 17
Celebration of Festival



Source: Field Survey, 2012

Above the data show the Mukta Kamaiya celebrate Dashain Festival (50.5%) most, 33.3% celebrate Maghi, 10.1% celebrate Tihar and 6.1% celebrate Teej (Table 14).

4.2.12 Beverage Consumption

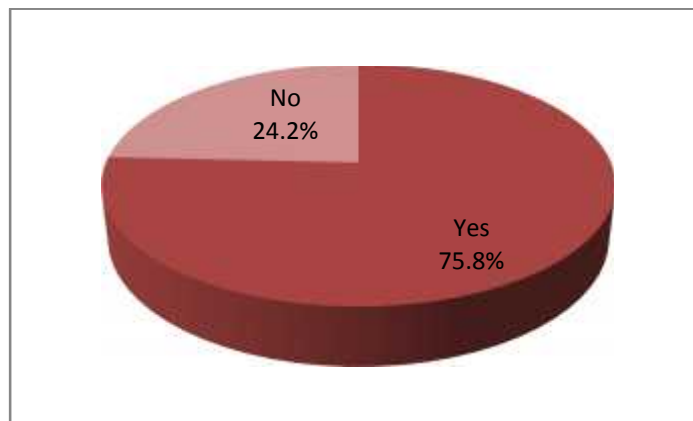
Tharu community is known as alcohol drinker, categorized into Matmali groups. But this is not only the feature and importance of wine and rice liquor in the life of Tharus which have lots of benefits. It has cultural importance, professional benefits, medicinal uses, daily utilities and business importance. Homemade wine has cultural and ritual importance. It is compulsory to perform the rites and rituals as well as celebrate feasts and festivals; Tharus homemade wine is use like a Prasad. Wine has multi-medicinal uses for example blood circulation, poison treatment, massage, vain dislocation, worm killing, pain killer, cough removing etc.

Table 15
Consumption of Alcohol

Consume Alcohol	Frequency	Percent
Yes	75	75.8
No	24	24.2
Total	99	100.0
Making Alcohol		
Frequently	73	73.7
Daily	27	25.3
Total	99	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Figure 18
Consumption of Alcohol

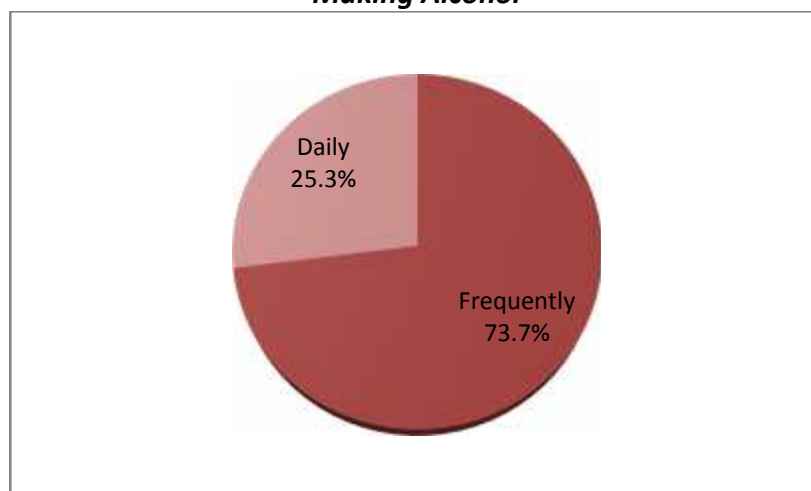


Source: Field Survey, 2012

Field survey show that 75.8% of Tharu Mukta Kamaiya consume Alcohol and 24.2% of Mukta do not consume alcohol (figure 18).Some Mukta Kamaiya's as lack of food don't consume Alcohol.

4.2.13 Making Alcohol

Figure 19
Making Alcohol



Source: Field Survey, 2012

The study illustrates that 73.7% Mukta Kamaiya consume Alcohol frequently and 25.3% consume Alcohol Daily (figure 19). In Tharu culture, there is important role of Alcohol for using as Jal, Prasd etc.

4.1.14 Infrastructure

Infrastructure is indicator of development. In the field survey Mukta Kamaiya's Camp sample size 99 households, out of sample 98 houses haven't facility of electricity, 1 house use electricity; communication is the one of the most important factor of development 26 houses use radio/television, 73 households don't use radio/television; 63 households use telephone/mobile, 26 households don't use telephone/mobile; 1 household use computer and 98 households have not computer; 64 households having bicycle, 35 households don't have bicycle; 2 households all season road use and 97 households couldn't use all season road; 28 households go to agricultural & livestock service center and 71 households don't go to agricultural & livestock service center; 29 households use their Community forest and 70 households do not have community forest (Table 16).

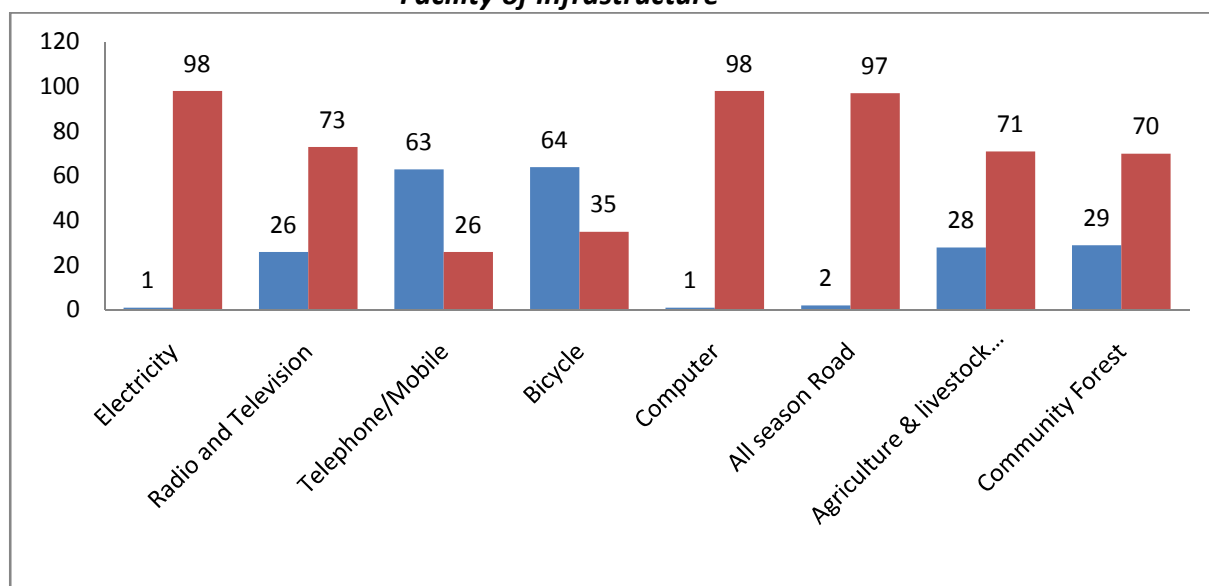
Lack of Money, awareness and lack of Government budget and its mobilization, there is low infrastructure and facility.

Table 16
Facility of Mukta Kamaiya Camp

Facility	Yes	percent	No	percent
Electricity	1	1	98	99
Radio and Television	26	26.3	73	73.7
Telephone/Mobile	63	63.6	26	36.4
Bicycle	64	64.6	35	35.4
Computer	1	1	98	99
All season Road	2	2	97	98
Agriculture & livestock service center	28	28.3	71	71.7
Community Forest	29	29.3	70	70.7
Total	99	100.0	99	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Figure 20
Facility of Infrastructure



Source: Field Survey, 2012

4.2 Health and Sanitation

Health is an important factor for every human being because it affects his/her ability to work, fertility, mortality and migration. No labour is possible without good health. Therefore, it has the most important role for the labourers. The general condition of freed bonded labours' health is far from satisfactory owing to their poverty, illiteracy and lack of awareness about the use of health facilities.

Table 17
Information of Family planning

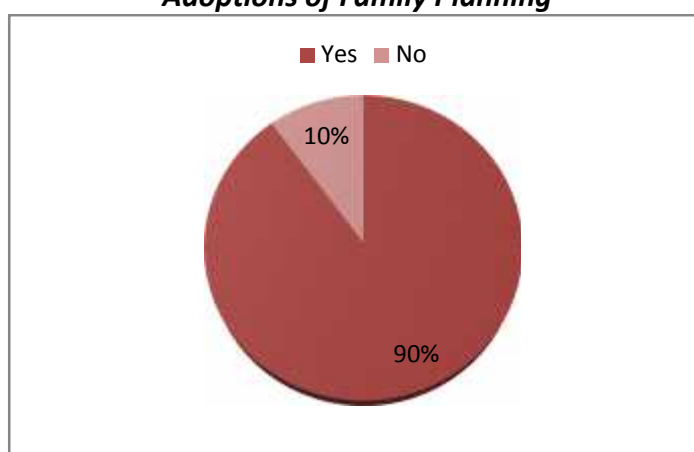
Adoptions of Family planning	Frequency	Percent
Yes	89	89.9
No	10	10.1
Total	99	100.0
Types of Family planning		
Permanent	96	97.0
Temporary	3	3.0
Total	99	100
Sex Adopt by Family Planning		
Male	93	93.9
Female	3	3.1
Total	96	97.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

4.2.1 Adoptions of Family Planning

Family planning includes better management of health of the family members including reducing it to a manageable size. The study shows that 89.9% of use family planning, 10.1% do not use family planning (figure21). The freed Kamaiya is aware about family planning.

Figure 21
Adoptions of Family Planning



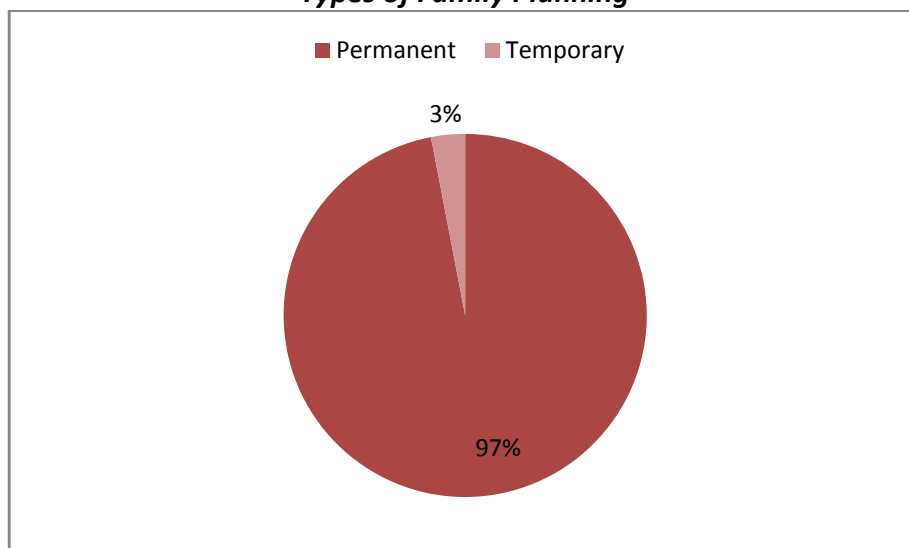
Source: Field Survey, 2012

4.2.2 Types of Family Planning

Mainly two kinds of Family planning -Permanent and temporary is adopted by Tharu people. Permanent is basically surgical method and temporary like pills, condoms,

sangini, copper –T, etc. Mukta Kamaiya mostly uses permanent family planning tools (97%) and 3% use temporary family planning (Figure 22).

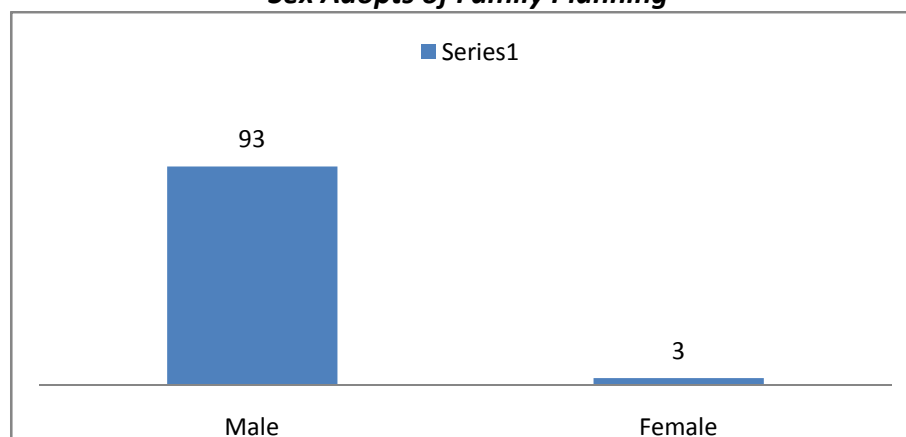
Figure 22
Types of Family Planning



Source: Field Survey, 2012

4.2.3 Using Family Planning by Sex

Figure 23
Sex Adopts of Family Planning



Source: Field Survey, 2012

Out of 99 respondents, 93.9% Male member of Mukta Kamaiya are use Family Planning and 3% Female member Mukta Kamaiyas are use Family Planning (figure 23).

4.2.4 Facility of Toilet

Table 18
Facility of Toilet

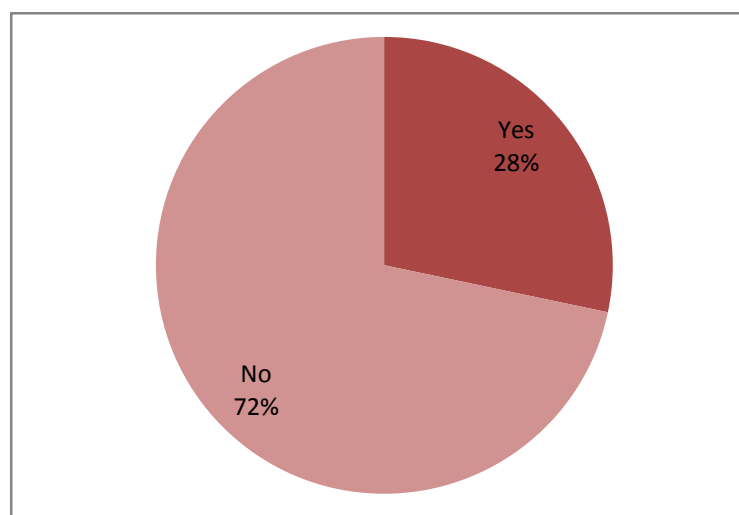
Toilet	Frequency	Percent
Yes	28	28.3
No	71	71.7
Total	99	100.0
Type of Toilet		
Wooden	13	44
Cemented	15	56
Total	27	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

4.2.3 Having Toilet

According to field study, lowest number (28.3%) of Mukta Kamaiya have Toilet facility and highest number ie 71.7% do not have toilet (figure 24).Whoever do not have access to toilet, they go to open field, Nursery, riverside etc. The study showed that due to economic problem, they were unable to build toilet.

Figure 24
Facility of Toilet

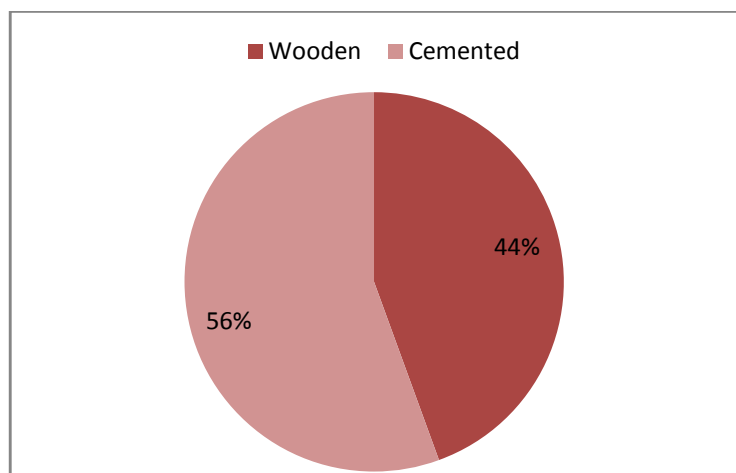


Source: Field Survey, 2012

4.2.5 Type of Toilet

According to field survey, 56% of Mukta Kamaiya have Cemented toilet and 44% have wooden toilet (figure 24).

Figure 25
Type of Toilet

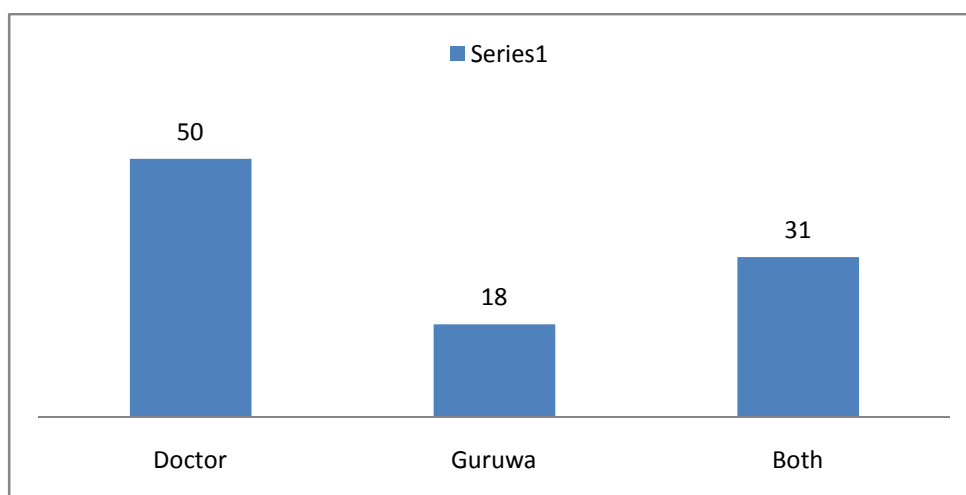


Source: Field Survey, 2012

4.2.6 Health Status

Most of Mukta Kamaiyas are sensitive about their health. They first consult to Doctor during their sickness. They do not show careless their health though they also believe upon Guruwa.

Figure 26
Treatment



Source: Field Survey, 2012

Out of sample of 99 households of the Mukta Kamaiya, about 67.7% visit hospitals, health posts for their treatment and consult doctor. About 18% do not leave their homes for medical treatment and 31% of Mukta Kamaiya gets treatment from both doctor and Guruwa simultaneously (Figure 26). Depending on these traditional methods of treatment based on the ignorance and poverty is prevalent in Tharu Society.

4.3 Economic Status

Economy is the main determinant factor that helps to find out the living standard of Kamaiyas. Agriculture, as main source of income beside that they work as a wage labour.

4.3.1 Land Information

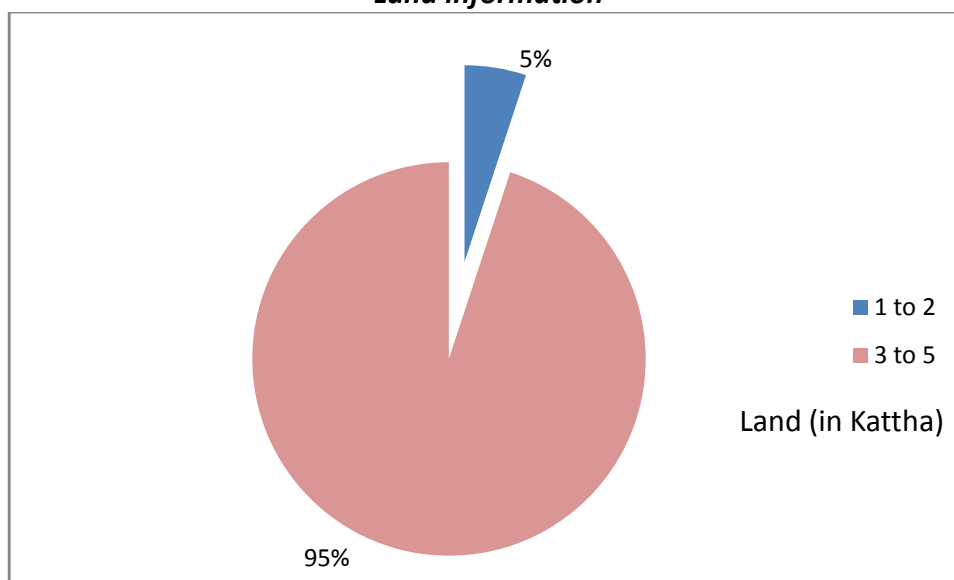
Land represents not only a means of production and financial security but also social security, bestowing status and identity (Thapa and Niroula, 2008). The possession of land for farming is very low in Kamaiya community and they possess both registered and unregistered type of land.

Table 19
Land Information

Land	Frequency	Percent
1-2 kattha	5	5.1
3-5 kattha	94	94.9
Total	99	100.0

Source : Field visit 2012

Figure 27
Land information



Source : Field visit 2012

The above chart shows that out of the total respondents, the land holding size ranged from 1 to 5 kattha. 95% of respondents possess 3 to 5 kattha land while 5% possess 1 to 2 kattha land (chart 27). Though land holding size is not the single

determinant factor of agriculture and income, it plays a vital role in the increment of living standard of Kamaiyas.

4.3.2 Type of land

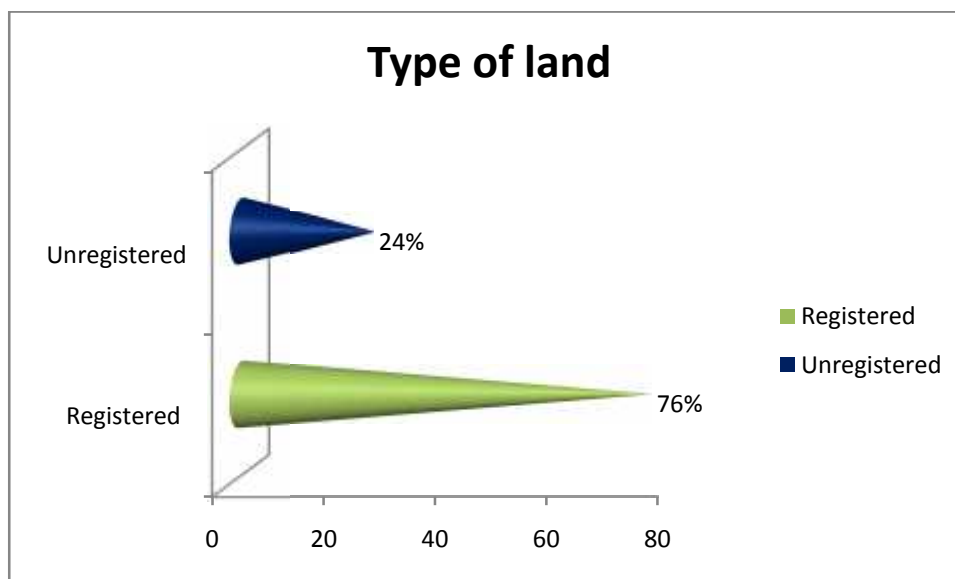
Land is of both registered and unregistered. The land which is registered in own name is named as registered land while the land worked land but not registered in own name is known as unregistered land. It means there is no registration in one's name is unregistered land. The Kamaiyas also have both registered and unregistered type of land. However, the percentage of registered land elevates the unregistered land.

Table 20
Type of Land

Type of Land	Frequency	Percent
Registered	74	75.5
Unregistered	24	24.5
Total	98	100.0

Source : Field visit 2012

Figure 28
Type of Land



Source : Field visit 2012

The above chart illustrates that out of total respondents, 76% have land registered in own name while remaining 24% have worked land but not registered in their own name. It means 24% of Kamaiyas work in unregistered land (Figure 28).

4.3.3 Usage of Other's land for Cultivation

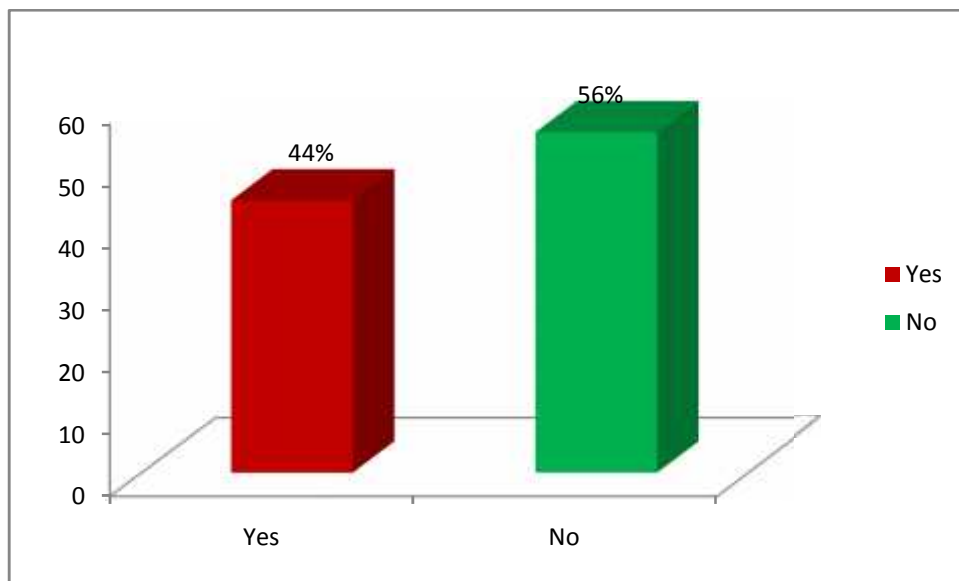
As the above description demonstrates that most of the Kamaiyas account for only 3 to 5 kattha land. Thus, it is to be assumed that the Kamaiyas work in other's land for their livelihood. Most Kamaiyas use other's land for the cultivation which may be the land of landowners and Mukhiyas.

Table 21
Land Cultivation of Other's

Uses other's land	Frequency	Percent
Yes	44	44.4
No	55	55.6
Total	99	100.0

Source : Field visit 2012

Figure 29
Land Cultivation of Other's



Source : Field visit 2012

The study revealed that though Kamaiyas possess less land in their own name, they work in other's land for livelihood. The above bar diagram clarifies that 44% of Kamaiyas work in other's land while 56% had their own land ownership (figure 29).

4.3.4 Sufficiency of Food

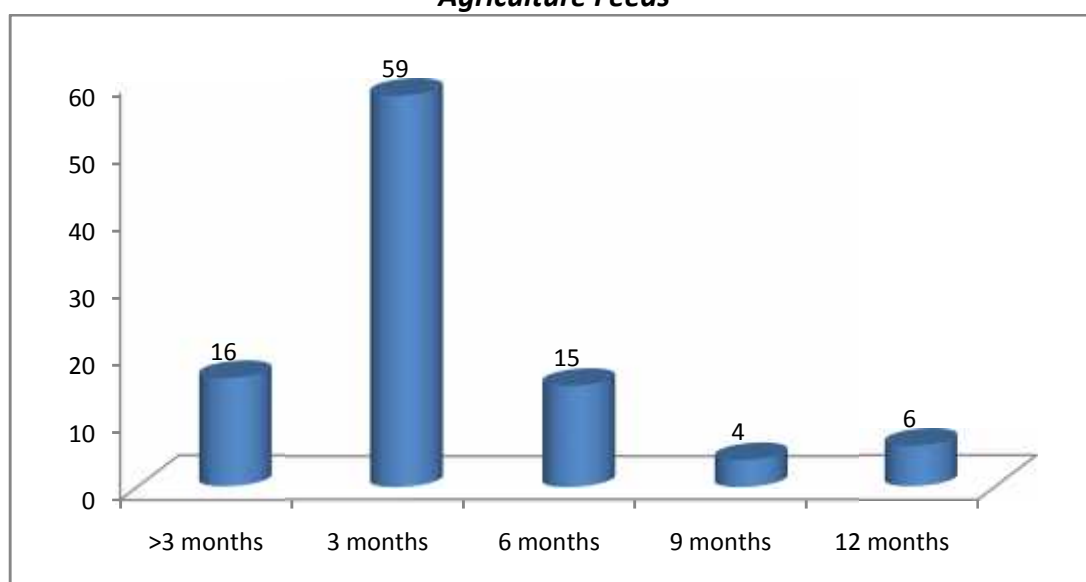
Lots of researches done on the livelihood conditions of Kamaiyas have shown that almost all the Kamaiyas have no land and those who have is ranged from 1 to 5 kattha. Their lack of access to land to cultivate creates complex problems for the Kamaiyas. They hardly manage their food to the family members for more than 3 months. Thus, the food security among Kamaiyas is in midst situation.

Table 22
Sufficiency of Food

Sufficiency of food	Frequency	Percent
Less than 3 month	16	16.2
3 months	58	58.6
6 months	15	15.2
9 months	4	4.0
12 months	6	6.1
Total	99	100.0

Source : Field visit 2012

Figure 30
Agriculture Feeds



Source : Field visit 2012

The study revealed that 16% of the Kamaiyas can survive for only less than 3 months from the land they owned. 59% of Kamaiyas can feed for 3 months, 15% can feed for 6 months, 4 % survive for 9 months. Likewise, 6% can feed themselves for 12 months from the land they owned by doing agriculture (figure 30). Then in other months the Kamaiyas manage their food by purchasing from the nearby market. The study also explored that 95% of Kamaiyas buy food from market to feed themselves and their family.

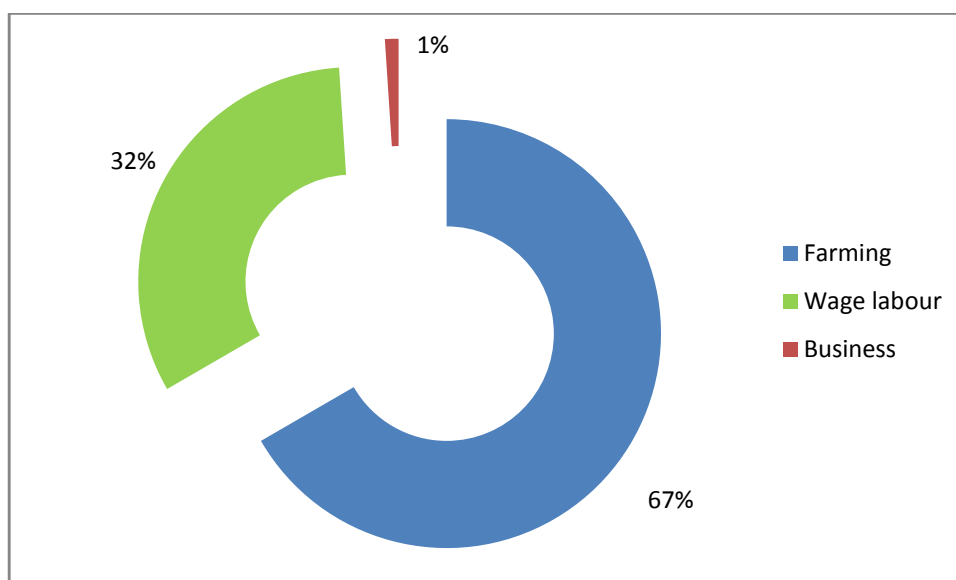
4.3.5 Main Source of Income

Table 23
Main Source of Income

Income Source	Frequency	Percent
Farming	66	66.7
Wage labour	32	32.3
Business	1	1.0
Total	99	100.0

Source : Field visit 2012

Figure 31
Main Source of Income



Source : Field visit 2012

The study looked into the work and working condition of Kamaiyas where the study showed that agriculture is the main source of income of Kamaiyas following Wage labour and business. 67% of Kamaiyas depend upon farming for their livelihood. Beside 32% of them work as a labour and 1% only depend upon business (fig 31).

4.3.6 Annual Income

The household's income determines their ability to purchase and access to resources and their ability to invest in other income generating works. Among the sample Kamaiyas, annual household income ranged from 1000 to 80,000.

Table 24
Annual Income

Total annual income	Frequency	Percent
1,000 to 1,0000	12	12
10,000 to 20,000	25	25
20,000 to 30,000	29	30
30,000 to 40,000	7	7
40,000 to 50,000	17	17
50,000 to 60,000	6	6
60,000 to 70,000	1	1
70,000 to 80,000	2	2
Total	99	100.0

Source : Field visit 2012

To learn about the areas of income of the Kamaiyas, the respondents were asked about their areas of income. After the survey, we found out that the 30% of Mukta Kamaiya earning (50,000-60,000), 25% of Mukta Kamaiya earning (10,000 to 20,000), 17% of Mukta Kamaiya earning (40,000 to 50,000), 12% of Mukta Kamaiya earning (1,000 to 1,0000), 7% of Mukta Kamaiya earning (30,000 to 40,000), 6% of Mukta Kamaiya earning (50,000 to 60,000), 2% of Mukta Kamaiya earning (70,000 to 80,000) and 1% of Mukta Kamaiya earning 70,000 to 80,000) (table 24).

4.3.7 Expenditure

The household's annual income determines their level of expenses also. The survey revealed that the total annual income of the household is ranged from 1000 to 80,000 which is the income they generated from agriculture and working as a wage labour. However, their annual expense ranged from Rs.1000 to Rs. 65000.

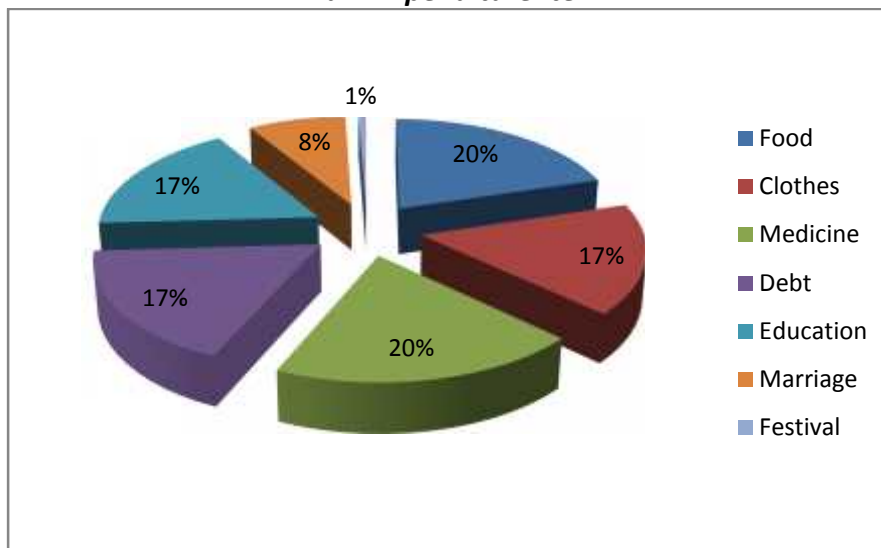
Table 25
Main Expenditure Item

Main Expenditure Item	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
	(Yes)		(No)	
Food	97	98.0	2	2.0
Cloth	97	98.0	2	2.0
Education	74	77.9	21	22.1
In marriage	39	41.9	54	58.1
In medicine	94	96.9	3	3.1
In festival	3	3.2	90	96.8
In debt	74	77.9	21	22.1
Total	99	100.0	99	100.0

Source : Field visit 2012

To learn about the areas of expenses of the Kamaiyas, the respondents were asked about their areas of expenditure. After the survey, we found out that the Kamaiyas spend more in buying foods. And then in other aspects like clothes, medicines, etc.

Figure 32
Main Expenditure Item



Source : Field visit 2012

The above diagram revealed that Kamaiyas main expenditure is in food and medicine. 20% of respondents spend their income in food and medicine respectively while 17% of total respondents spend in clothes, paying back of debt and for education of children. 8% spend their income for marriage practice and 1% for celebrating feasts and festivals (figure 32).

4.3.8 Status of Livestock and poultry

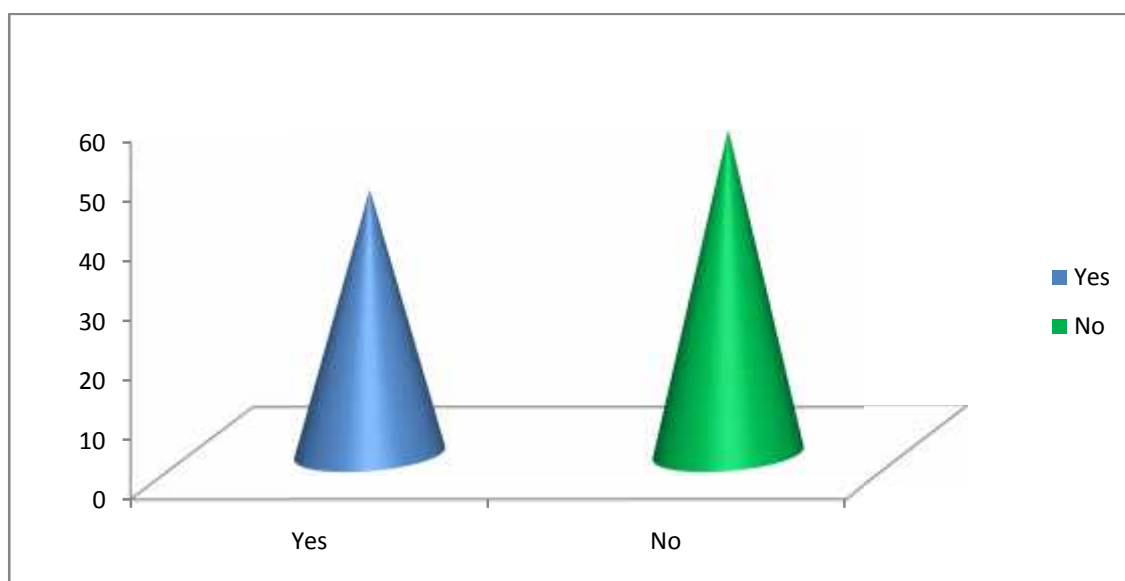
Possessing very little land, it is difficult for Kamaiyas to rear livestock. 54.5% of households interviewed stated that they did not raised any livestock. Only 44.4% indicated that they raised cow, buffalo, chickens and swine (table 26).

Table 26
Information of Livestock and Poultry

Livestock and poultry	Frequency	Percent
Yes	44	44.9
No	54	55.1
Total	98	100.0

Source : Field visit 2012

Figure 33
Information of Livestock and Poultry



Source : Field visit 2012

4.3.9 Have you borrowed money?

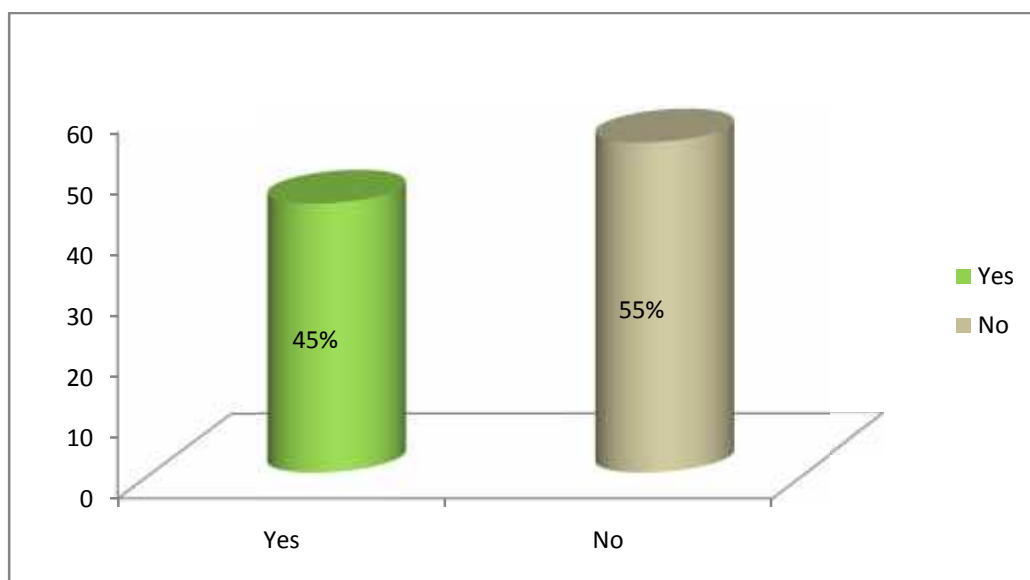
The Kamaiyas after the spending of all income for food, education, marriage, clothes etc. sometimes they are bound to borrow the money. The chart showed that 45% of respondents borrowed money to meet their daily necessities.

Table 27
Information of Borrowed Money

Borrowed money	Frequency	Percent
Yes	44	44.9
No	54	55.1
Total	98	100.0

Source : Field visit 2012

Figure 34
Information of Borrowed Money



Source : Field visit 2012

4.3.10 Place where you borrow money

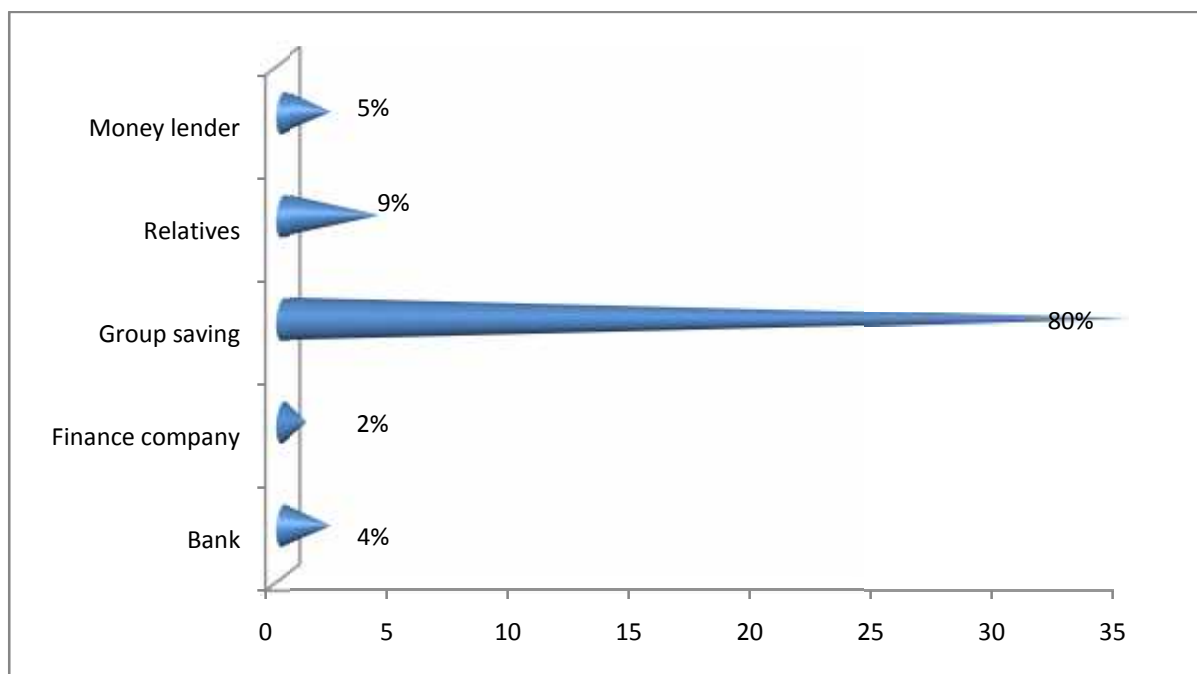
Table 28
Place of Borrow Money

Place of Borrow Money	Frequency	Percent
Bank	2	4.5
Finance company	1	2.3
Group saving	35	79.5
Relatives	4	9.1
Money lender	2	4.5
Total	44	100.0

Source : Field visit 2012

Moreover, the survey explored that the respondents who need to borrow money had borrowed from group savings, bank, money lender and relatives too. The highest number of the respondents borrowed money from group saving i.e. 80% and 9% borrowed money from relatives (figure 35).

Figure 35
Place of Borrow Money



Source : Field visit 2012

4.3.11 Annual expenditure saving

Below the table show that annual expenditure of Mukta Kamiaya. Out of 99 samples 17 households do not save money. Out of sample 82 house households save the

money. (1000-10,000) ranges of saving 94%, (11,000-20,000) ranges of saving 4% and (21,000-30,000), (31,000-40,000) ranges are saving 1/1% of them (table 28).

Table 29
Annual Expenditure Saving

Saving	Frequency	Percent
1000-10,000	77	94
11,000-20,000	3	4
21,000-30,000	1	1
31,000-40,000	1	1
Total	82	100.0

Source : Field visit 2012

4.3.12 Type of House

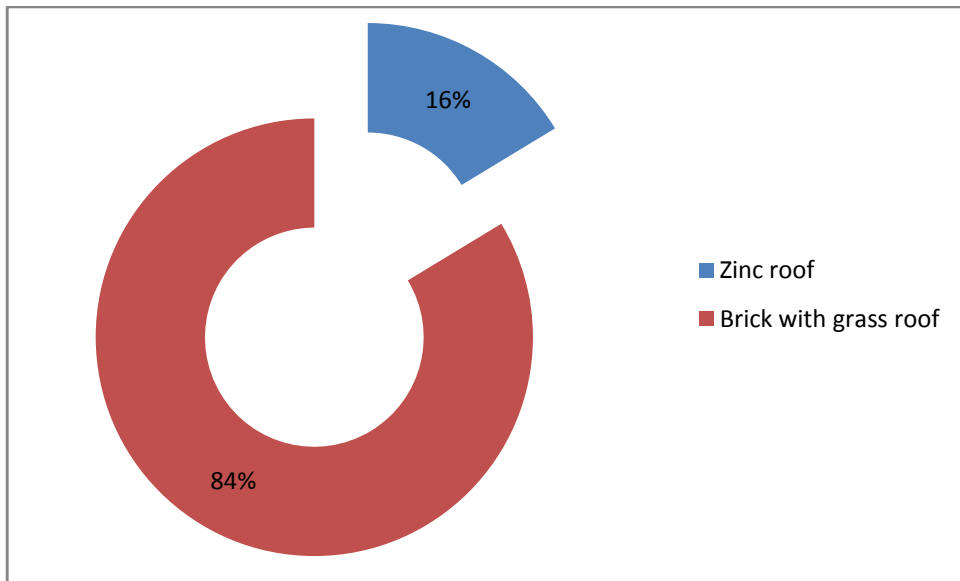
For the purpose of the study, houses were categorized into four groups, determined by the construction materials used for the houses and the roof, Building materials used to construct the house included mud, zinc, bricks and bamboo. Housing materials and number of floors were considered to be an indicator of the economic status of the inhabitants. So, documenting of the type of house was useful for determining the level of socio-economic aspects.

Table 30
Type of House

Type of housing	Frequency	Percent
Zinc roofed	16	16
Brick with grass roof	83	85
Total	99	100.0

Source : Field visit 2012

Figure 36
Type of House



Source : Field visit 2012

The figure depicts the type of houses that the Kamaiyas owned. Though all the houses used the same construction materials, most of the houses are of grass roofed houses. 84% of respondents lived in a house constructed from brick with a grass roof and 16% lived in a house which had a zinc roof (figure 36).

4.3.13 Any support to build house

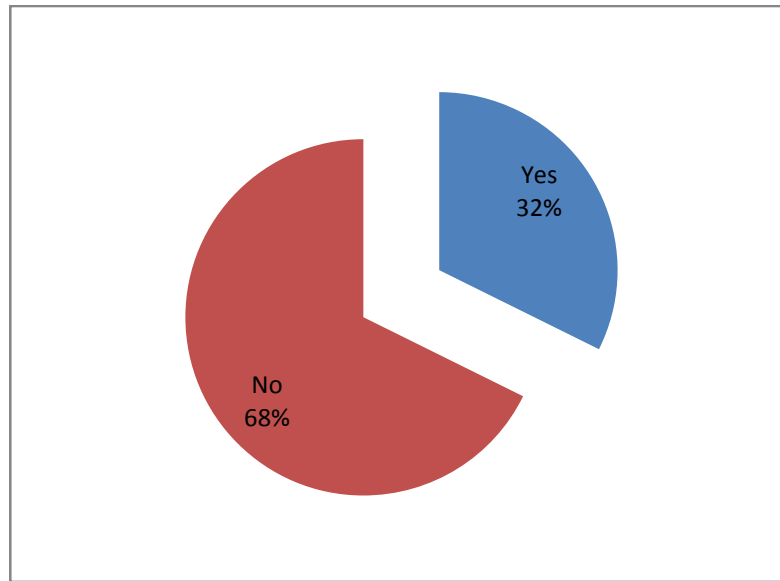
Owning a less land, Kamaiyas even had a less land and income for the construction of houses. As intended to know support granted to them, the survey presented a question to reveal about the fact. Looking into the condition, Kamaiyas were supported by Bhumi Sudhar for the construction of houses.

Table 31
Support to Build House

Support	Frequency	Percent
Yes	32	32.3
No	67	67.7
Total	99	100.0

Source : Field visit 2012

Figure 37
Support to Build House



Source : Field visit 2012

Above the figure 32% of support to build house and large number of households 68% are don't have any support to built house (figure 37).

Chapter 5 : Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter draws the conclusion of whole study and makes some applied recommendation for future improvement and advancement level of Mukta Kamaiya.

5.1 Summary

The study entailed "socio-economic status of Mukta Kamaiya" analyses the Rajapur VDC of Bardiya District. The study is based on primary data collected from the field survey. There are 638 households of Mukta Kamaiya in Rajapur VDC ward no-4. Among these household 99 households are taken as sample to collect the required information. This study is attempted to analyze the status of Mukta Kamaiya's education, Family type, and land holding size, income, and expenditure.

Mukta Kamaiya in Nepal at Terai region, they are illiterate, hard working, engaged in agricultural work and wage labour. In this survey, 74% respondents are illiterate but now 80% children go to school. 66% Mukta Kamaiyas are working in wage labour but they earn more in farming than wage labour because they cultivate in Jamindar's lands together with their own too.

In this case study, only 6% Mukta Kamaiya practice dowry system they are aware from dowry system. Kamlahri form of child labour is still prevailing in Mukta Kamaiya. It was found that 6% of households are sending their children as Kamlahri. So Mukta Kamaiya is aware about Kamlahari system.

Talking about their feast and festival, most of the Tharu celebrate Dashain as a national festival and Maghi as their greatest festival and they too celebrate Tihar, Holi Teej, Astami etc. In these festivals Tharus consume Alcohol mostly (75.8%) because in Tharu culture alcohol is essential in every puja. Without alcohol, they cannot complete their puja culturally.

Regarding Health and sanitation status, Tharu is very poor. 71% do not have toilet facility. 93.9% male member only adobe family planning. They first consult to doctor during their sickness. They also believe Guruwa medical system but 31% consult to both medical system.

94.9% Mukta Kamaiya has 3-5 kattha land holding size. Thus, it is to be assumed that the Mukta Kamaiya work in other's land for cultivation. They hardly manage their food to the family members for more than 3 months. Thus, the food security among Kamaiya is in midst situation.

5.2 Conclusion

This study has analyzed socio-economic status of Mukta Kamaiya as well as other activities. Though Mukta Kamaiya's status has been improved in recent days, it is not still satisfactory. The government and non-government organizations' initiative to empower Mukta Kamaiya socially and economically.

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

Most of the Kamaiya were landless and homeless in the Kamaiya system. So, the Government rehabilitation package basically considered land redistribution and house construction support for them. Most of the Mukta Kamaiyas have received land, but the size of land is very small which is not enough to sustain their livelihood. It led them to enter into the labour market. Daily wage labour in farm and off-farm sectors is the major occupation of Mukta Kamaiya and their family members. Labour productivity can be increased through different types of skill based training. However, the majority of the labourers are depended on unskilled labour due to lack of training, insufficient skill, limited labour market, lack of credit provision and business skills. Farming, including share cropping, is the second most prominent source of income of Mukta Kamaiya. Share cropping is based on 50:50 output sharing. The income of Mukta Kamaiya looks better than Kamaiya system, but the saving is minimal and even large proportions of Mukta Kamaiyas are still indebted.

Wage labour is mostly volatile. Major part of income is being spent on food items because average food self-sufficiency is only for three months. Large portions of Mukta Kamaiya are in food insecurity situation, having quite below daily calorie intake compared to what is standardized for Terai region. To improve their livelihood, Mukta Kamaiya preferred skill based employment, business and farming.

5.3 Recommendation

The study has analyzed Socio-Economic status of Mukta Kamaiya as well as their living activities. Though Mukta Kamaiya's status has been improved in recent days, it is not still satisfactory. The government and non-government organization have work in harmony to improve the status of Mukta Kamaiya.

On the basis of findings of the study the following recommendations are suggested to help to improve the Mukta Kamiya's status. So the Government has to formulate the policy and implement effectively.

-) Create land use and land zoning policies that take into consideration the needs of all Kamaiyas.
-) Address issues of landlessness
-) Provide agricultural loans to Kamaiyas who do not have registered land
-) Provide job oriented training where Mukta Kamiya doing non-skill based work.
-) Provide alternative sources of income for labors of Kamaiya community.
-) Provide capacity building and skill training, awareness programs on Kamaiya Labor Prohibition Act 2001 to free and rehabilitate bonded agricultural labourers under Kamaiya system.
-) Adopt mechanism to support Socio-economic Rights, Land supports for the sustainable livelihood of Mukta Kamaiyas.
-) Kamhalari system has not stopped still prevailing; households need awareness program and income generation programs.
-) There should be provision of scholarship program to enhance the Mukta Kamiya's for further study.

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Appendix-1
Interview Schedule

Date :

1. General Information

HHs No :

Name of Respondent:.....

Age:

Sex:

Name of Head of Family:

VDC:

District:

Zone:

Caste:

Religion:

Language:

Educational Status :

2. Illiterate ii) Literate iii) Primary level iv) Secondary level v)
 SLC pass

vi) Intermediate vii) Above Intermediate

Marital Status:

i) Married ii) Unmarried

Occupation:

i. Student ii. Agriculture iii. Agricultural & Animal
 husbandry)
iv. Business v. Government Job vi. Wage Labor
vii) Other.....

Family Information:

S.N	Name	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Relation Respondent	Occupation	Annual Income	Monthly Expenditure	Edu.

2. Social Information

Educational Information

Education status	age					Male	Female	Total
	6-14	15-18	19-24	25-60	>60			
Illiterate								
Informal								
Primary								
Secondary level								
SLC pass								
Intermediate								
Above								
Total								

➤ Do your children regularly go to the school ?

Yes

No

➤ Do the teacher have good behavior to your children like other community's children ?

Yes

No

➤ Do you have following facilities in your home?

a. Electricity (Yes..... No.....)

b. Radio/Television (Yes..... No.....)

- c. Telephone/mobile (Yes..... No.....)
- d. Bicycle (Yes..... No.....)
- e. Computer (Yes..... No.....)
- f. All season road (Gravel or black topped) (Yes..... No.....)
- g. Agriculture and livestock service center (Yes..... No.....)
- h. Community Forest (Yes..... No.....)
- Do you consume alcohol ? Yes No
- If yes, how often do you consume alcohol? Frequently Daily
Occasionally
- Have you got the membership of any group/organization?
If yes, which group/organization.....
- Do you Practice kamlahari still ? Yes No
- If yes, Please detail...

Name	Place	Year

- Which festival do you celebrate most?
.....
- Can you support any organization for capacity building related training ?
.....
- What kind of training do you need ?
.....

Marriage System

- What kind of marriage do you usually have?
 - i. Arranged Marriage
 - ii) Love Marriage

- What type of marriage do have your family follow ?
 - i. Monogamy
 - ii. Polygamy
 - iii. Polyandry

- Is child marriage practiced within your family?
 - Yes.
 - No.

Age	(Tick the correct answer)
Childhood	
Adolescence	
Adulthood	
Middle Age	
Old Age	

- Do you still practice dowry system?
 - Yes.
 - No.

- If yes, who decides how much dowry to give ?

.....

Family planning and sanitation

- Do you use family planning measures?
 - Yes.
 - No.

Family planning	Male	Female
Permanent		
Temporary		

- Do you have toilet ?
 - Yes
 - No

- If yes, what kind of toilet do have you ?
 - i. wooden
 - ii. cemented
- Are you suffering from any health problem ? Yes No
- Where do you go first, if you have any health problem ? Doctor
Guruwa

3. Economic Information

- land distribution
 - i. No land
 - ii. 1 kattha¹
 - iii. 1-2 kattha
 - iv. 3-5 kattha
 - v. 5-10 kattha
 - vi. over 10 kattha
- What type of land do you have?
 - i. registered
 - ii. Unregistered
- Have you taken land from others for cultivation? Yes No
- What is the major production in your farm land?
- Food Sufficiency Information:
 - i) Less than 3 month
 - ii) 3 months
 - iii) 6 months
 - iv) 9 months
 - v) 12 month
 - vi) more than 12 months
- Is there food deficiency, how do you mange food in remaining time?
 - i. Purchases from market
 - ii. Borrow from the neighbor
 - iii. Other.....
- What is your major source of income?

¹ kattha is local land measurement unit in prevalent in Terai region in Nepal. It is equivalent to 20 dhur=1 kattha, 20 kattha=1 Bigha, 1.5 kattha = 1 ha.

- i. Farming
- ii. V. business
- iii. Wage labour
- vi. Remittance
- iv. Govt job
- vii. Other....

➤ Which is the main expenditure item of your Family ?

- i. Food
- ii. Cloth
- iii. Debt
- iv. Children Education
- v. Medicine
- vi. Marriage
- vii. Festival
- viii. Others.....

➤ Do you have livestock? Yes No

➤ How many livestock do you have ?.....

➤ Have you borrowed Money? yes No

➤ If yes, where did you borrow the money?

- i. Bank
- ii. Finance Company
- iii. group saving
- iv. Relatives
- v. Money lender
- vi. Other.....

➤ What is the interest per month?

➤ For what purpose did you borrow money?

➤ What is your annual income and expenditure pattern?

Average annual income	Average annual expenses	annual expenditure saving

- What is your house made up of? (Mark in the right answer)

Brick with cemented	
Zinc roof	
Brick with grass roof	

- Do you get any support from any organizations or Government to built

house? Yes No

- Who supported?