

# CHAPTER-ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

#### 1.1.1 Bonded Labour System in Nepal

The labour bondage system in Nepal is a consequence of certain categories of indebtedness, prevailed through a long time, and characterized by social and economic exploitation of certain sections of society. The bonded labourers comprise, perhaps, the weakest segment of the rural poor. The Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, the Government of Nepal, 1984:6 (as cited in LWF/N 2008) defined bonded labourer as "a person, working in the fields for a landowner, looking after his animals and doing other agricultural works in landlords' fields and in his household chores, incessantly either taking or not taking loans from the landowner". The definition portrayed bonded labourers as simply economic labourers, without an account of unequal and exploitative relationship prevalent in the system; incorporated later by *Kamaiya* Labour (Prohibition) Act 2002.

Various studies carried out at individual as well as institutional level reveal that bonded labour still exists in Nepal and can be found throughout the country in many forms. Sharma, 1999 (as cited in LWF/N 2008) in a report to the UNESCO, identified three forms of bonded labour existing in Nepal: the *Kamaiya* and *Haruwa*<sup>1</sup> systems in the central and western *Terai*<sup>2</sup> and the *Haliya*<sup>3</sup> system in the far-western hills/mountain areas. The NHRC, in its Strategic Plan in 2003, accredited the maintenance of these forms of bonded labour, with likely continuance of servitude of children of those bonded labourers. These labour systems have the bondage characteristics in the forms of; i) extraction of excessive hours of work, ii) exploitation of labour service from family members, and iii) indebtedness. Among the bondage labour systems, the *Kamaiya* system remains the best known thus far.

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<sup>1</sup> the tiller on wage, mostly on permanent contract with the land-owner

<sup>2</sup> the plain land, stretching from east to west making the southern boundary of Nepal

<sup>3</sup> a tiller on contract

### 1.1.2 Understanding the term '*Kamaiya*'

The term "*Kamaiya*" had a socio-economic value within the *Tharu*<sup>4</sup> people of Nepal. The *Tharu* usually live in joint and extended families with a system of reciprocal labour within the family. Each individual within the family has a socio-economic role; the eldest male of the family is *Ghardhuriya/Kisanwa* (head of the family), the other male members were called *Kamaiya* (hard workers under the guidance of family head), and the female members were called *Kamlahari*, though these terms are no more in use within their family/community structure. These terms within the *Tharu* community had respect and value embodied in them (Cheria, Edwin, Kandangwa & Upadhyaya, 2005).

The usual connotation of the term *Kamaiya* would, thus, denote to anyone within the family who works hard; a hard working farmer, a hard tiller of land, and an earner. In *Tharu* language, *Kamaiya* and *Kamlahari* (nouns) represents male and female hard working persons respectively. *Kamaina* (used as verb) literally means 'to earn' (Dhakal, Rai, Chemjong, Maharjan, Pradhan, Maharjan, Chaudhary, 2000). And those people might have worked in their own farms and/or of others with a reciprocal agricultural labour system.

The term *Kamaiya* had an altered application, too, widely used and understood with derogatory meaning, in recent times. "The entry of the element of bonded labour and slavery as features had turned the person who worked very hard into some sort of a commodity to be owned, bought and sold, and exploited to the extent possible. Today, the term *Kamaiya* has become a loaded term which connotes a person working for a land-lord and someone who may be a bonded labour" (Chhetri, 2005). The term widely denotes the later meaning; losing its original significance.

The persons serving under the *Kamaiya* system had different names based on their gender and age; the *Kamaiya*'s children, who were generally animal herders, were called *Gaiwar* (cow herders), *Bhainswar* (buffalo herders), or *Chegrahwa* (goats herders). The female member serving as domestic workers in landlords' houses were called *Kamlahari*.

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<sup>4</sup> an indigenous and ethnic group of the *Terai* in Nepal, most *Kamaiya* came from this community

### 1.1.3 *Kamaiya* as a form of Bonded Labour System

Historically, the *Tharus* have been the early settlers and the continuous inhabitants in the *Terai* region by owning and cultivating the land. The *Tharu* commune may have been self-reliant and functioning until the State intervened with its land and taxation policies. The land in the *Terai* and its geographical positioning was recognised by the state as important resource for its economic and political sustainability and sovereign legitimacy. For the realisation of this potentiality, land grants were made for the members of royal family, aristocrats and bureaucrats; civil and military personal were awarded land in the names of *Birta*<sup>5</sup>, *Jagir*<sup>6</sup>. State's initiation of extracting resources and strengthening Nepalese nationalism resulted in "eventual alienation of the Tharus from their farmlands while creating a socio-economic and political environment conducive for the cycle of dependency, disempowerment, exploitation and oppression to operate" (Chhetri, 2005). This process of displacing historical settlers from their traditional ownership and consumption of land/resources and turning them in to *Kamaiya* took a new height since 1960s onwards through the migration from Hills and Mountains regions to *Terai* and manipulating provisions of land registration. "Loss of access to land alongside with the continuation of exploitative socio-cultural practices forced landless Tharu into a state of dependence.." (Sharma, 1999).

The *Kamaiya* system was widely known for exploitation and suppression of individuals working under the system. INSEC, 1992 (as cited in Jha, 2006) reported an ordinary daily routing of *Kamaiya* where one had to wake up as early as 3 in the morning, feed the cattle, get engaged in activities as ploughing, axing, spading the whole day. A *Kamaiya* had to work for almost eighteen hours a day. If they failed to fulfil their landlords' orders, "they were beaten, abused, denied food, charged compensation for their sickness and forced to work for longer hours a day. None of the members of the *Kamaiya* family was liable to seek job at other places without the permission of the landlords" (GEFONT, 2005) . The *Kamaiya* were bonded in that permanent labour system through *saunki*<sup>7</sup> (the debt incurred from employer), though the debt owned averaged only NR 2,000 (US \$ 36.00) (Robertson

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<sup>5</sup> the private collection of tax collected from land gifted to the royal retainers by the king

<sup>6</sup> land grant bestowed by the monarch to feudal superior in recognition of his administrative and/or military service

<sup>7</sup> loan borrowed by the *Kamaiya* from the landlord that kept them bonded

and Mishra, 1997) per family. Due to its bonded nature, the *Kamaiya* lack any alternative

| Category | Number of Households registered |
|----------|---------------------------------|
|----------|---------------------------------|

source of income and repay the debt; thus the debt and the practice of *Kamaiya* system continued through generation.

### 1.2 Statement of the Problem

The bonded labourers *Kamaiya* were declared free in July 17, 2000 and the bonded system was defined illegal; though slavery and similar practices were abolished twice: first in 1996 by the then *Rana* prime minister Chandra Shamsheer, and through the Article 20 of the then Constitution of Kingdom of Nepal in 1990. The *Kamaiya* Labour (Prohibition) Act was enacted in 2002; defining and determining necessary provisions for prohibiting the system and rehabilitating and raising the livelihood of those freed. Nepal has also ratified all the main international human rights covenants and treaties over the years. They were freed from *saunki*, and all previous contracts with their landlords, oral or written, were nullified. The declaration also pronounced punishment for those who continue with the system of bonded labour. Freed *Kamaiya* Rehabilitation and Monitoring Committees (FKRMC) were to be established in the concerned districts and the Act set out their functions (for more Appendix II). The Ministry of Land Reform and Management was consigned responsible for the rehabilitation of the freed *Kamaiya*.

The Government of Nepal updated the total number of registered freed *Kamaiya* and their families in 2000 at 18,400; making the total population of *Kamaiya* and their children to 101,522 (CEACR, 2006 as cited in LWF/N, 2008, p. 7). A lot more freed *Kamaiya* families were reported left out of the registration process, thus, the second registration process in 2002-2003 identified an additional 14,109 families as freed *Kamaiya*; bringing their total number of freed *Kamaiya* households up to some 32,000 households.

Table 1.1: Categories of Freed *Kamaiyas*

|  | Year 2000 | Year 2003 |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| A - Homeless freed <i>Kamaiyas</i>                               | 8,030     | 7,540     |
| B - Families living in unregistered (government) land            | 5,431     | 6,569     |
| C - Families owning a homestead and max. 2 kathha of arable land | 1,869     | 0         |
| D - Families owning a homestead and over 2 kathha of arable land | 3,070     | 0         |
| Total  | 18,400    | 14,109    |

Source: MoLRM, 2009.

The freed *Kamaiya* of Nepal celebrated the 14<sup>th</sup> *Mukta Kamaiya Diwas* (Freed Bonded Labourers Day) last year. The freedom was achieved not just by the efforts of the *Kamaiya* themselves but the movement to freedom was supported by the coalition of social and human rights organisation, the media and international aid organisations and networks. The government and non-governmental agencies have been implementing various programs from the time of preparation of freedom till now. The methods in practice vary in a wide range, and are based on either of the two approaches: "rights based and welfare oriented" (GFONT, 2007: 25). Focus of the rights based approach has been mainly on awareness raising, literacy, advocacy, lobbying, organising and policy interventions; whereas the welfare approach has been limited to income generation, legal aid services, payment of *saunki* and skills training (ibid).

Kailali district holds the second largest number of freed *Kamaiya* households in Nepal, next only to Bardiya. According to the Annual Report 2011 (2067 *Bikram Sambat*<sup>8</sup>) issued by the Land Reform Office, Kailali; there are a total of 9762 households in the district and 2521 of them are still waiting for the land. And more unfortunate is the fact that 468 households are unable to utilize the land, they are provided. The freed *Kamaiya* rehabilitated and resettled in different settlement camps are developing and enriching various methods to sustain and maintain their livelihood, mostly on their own.

This research tries to find out the answers of certain questions:

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<sup>8</sup> *Bikram Sambat* (BS) is the official calendar of Nepal, it is 56 years and 8 months ahead of AD.

- How is the present livelihood pattern of the freed *Kamaiyas*? How is their economic, educational, health and inter-community condition?
- After an experience of decade long freedom assured by law; can their resettlement be called a successful one?

### 1.3 Objective of the Study

The general objective of this study is to analyse the present day status of freed *Kamaiya* rehabilitated and resettled after the abolition of the system. The successful rehabilitation and/or resettlement is one of the major aspect to be prioritized in the field of human displacement and/or management. The specific objectives of this study are:

- To describe the livelihood pattern of the freed *Kamaiya*
- To explain their economic, educational, health and inter-community conditions of their resettled life

### 1.4 Significance of the Study

This research is motivated by the need to improve the livelihood of freed *Kamaiya* who had spent their lives for generations in the exploitative bonded labour system. It has already been fourteen years since the system was abolished by the government of Nepal and any attempt that would challenge the law/act was subject to punishments. A few is known about the status of freed *Kamaiya* after they were freed. This research study aims to unfold the present condition of freed *Kamaiya* living in *Podainataal* Resettlement Camp through the study of their demographic, economic, health and educational situation and intercommunity relations. The researcher aims to narrate their present day situation with presumed perception of "freedom" that is assured by law. The outcomes of this research can be useful at academic as well as professional chores. This research will focus on three major aspects of freed *Kamaiya* life, i.e. economy, education and health, so their quantitative as well as qualitative expressions can be of importance to individuals of those fields, too. There are various organisations engaged in the welfare of freed *Kamaiya*; the findings and analysis of this research can be useful to those organisations, governmental or

non-governmental. The local bodies of the government at Village Development Committee level can utilise this study in planning and implementing programs aimed for the betterment of the freed *Kamaiya* resettled in the VDC.

### 1.5 Organization of the Study

This research study comprises of Five chapters; each chapter emphasizing complimentary and interconnected descriptions related to and explain the resettlement situation of those freed *Kamaiya* resettled in *Podainataal* Resettlement Camp of Kailali Nepal.

Chapter One builds a background, a general understanding of the research topic. It includes the research questions, objectives and significance of the study as well. Chapter Two consists of relevant literature published on the research area. The selected literature for the research is aimed to provide a connection of *Tharus'* historical experiences of up-rootedness, trapped into bonded labour system, and subsequently becoming free from the system and their present days experiences. Chapter Three deals with research methods; the configuration of processes and techniques adequate to the nature and complexity of the selected research complexity. Chapter Four deals with data analysis and presentation; the chapter describes the present day status of freed *Kamaiya*; demographic as well as socio-economic aspects of Resettlement Camp life is described in detail in order to comprehend and analyse their situational eminence and, in the following chapter, to co-relate their present status with their resettlement. Thus, Chapter Five includes a subjective evaluation of their "freedom"; how their rehabilitation and/or resettlement has gone in fourteen years of their liberation.

## CHAPTER-TWO

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The *Kamaiya* system is a typical Tharu tradition that existed in the *Terai* region of Nepal. The alteration of a traditional system into an exploitative labour system of unequal power relations requires an understanding of historical events and policies those changed the people of the land to landlessness; trapping them into bonded labor system.

#### 2.1 The Tharu people of Nepal

The Tharu people are one of the indigenous peoples of Nepal. Their historical settlement stretches throughout the southern plains and some inner *Terai* (*bhitri Madhes*) of Nepal, with dense concentration to the western *Terai*. According to Cox (1990), the Tharu are conceivably the oldest and original inhabitants of the *Terai* with a continued habitat of 600 years. Panjiyar (2000) argues that the word "Tharu" is in itself a blend of "Tha" meaning "plain land" and "Ru" meaning "permanent settlers".

The Tharu form the fourth largest cast/ethnic group of Nepal with a population of 1,737,470 (CBS, 2012). The Tharu people are distributed across the border in India too; whether they migrated across the border to India or vice versa is difficult to trace. Whereas Ghimire (1992), Srivastava (1999) believe the Tharu people migrated from adjacent Indian territory to Nepal, Panjiyar (2000) explains the Tharu *zamindars* moved to Indian territory mainly because of the new appointments of non-Tharu *zimindars*. Gunertne (2002) argues that the British authority in India and Nepalese state considered Tharu, of either side of their border, as an endogamous group; irrespective their linguistic, cultural or geographical differences. And the substantial variation lies within the Tharu people living within the boundary of Nepal. They vary with one another on language, tradition, culture and living arrangements. They are further divided into different sub-castes, mostly categorized on the basis of their regional native habitat. The Tharu people living east of Koshi river are known as *Kochila*, those of Morang, Sunsari and Jhapa districts are *Lampuchiya/Morangia* Tharu, *Lampuchuwa* Tharu are found in Parsa district, the Tharu of Chitwan are *Chitawane* Tharu, *Dangaura* Tharu are from Dang district, and *Kathariya* and *Rana* Tharu are from across the Karnali river in Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts (Chaudhary, 2011: 27). Despite their regional and cultural variations, the Tharu



people are considered as one of the socio-economic and politically disadvantaged ethnic group in the country, and Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities<sup>9</sup> (NEFIN, n.d.) classifies them as 'marginalized group' of people based on their access and enjoyment of development.

## 2.2 Tharu people and their landlessness and displacement in western *Terai*

Known as the worshippers of nature, Tharu have spiritual devotion to their land. They worship land as "*Bhuihar*" divinity. According to Dhakal, et. al, (2000), the belief that land was creation of "*Gurbaba*" (the first God) as *Ammar Mati* (celestial soil); the practice of owning land as private property was unacceptable- Tharu communities utilized the land with a collective conscience of tiller garners the benefits. Before the emergence of modern state Nepal, *Chaudhari*, village headmen and representative of local community, were held responsible for collecting revenues, and promoting land reclamation and resettlement (Regmi, 1977, p. 105). The *Chaudhari* were loyal and responsive to the customary practice of Tharu people (Chaudhary, 2011, p. 30). This 'largely representative' selection for revenue and administrative purpose came under considerable reconstruction during 1860s through the introduction of *Jimidari*<sup>10</sup> system in *Terai* (Regmi, 1977, p. 106).

The *Rana*<sup>11</sup> rulers viewed *Terai* as an important source of income. According to Guneratne (2002) as cited by Chaudhary (2011, p. 34), revenue from *Terai* was collected through four major sources: first, land revenue by cultivators; second, duties obligated on sell and export of timber; third, sales of elephants and ivory; and fourth, fees paid by herdsmen from India who used to bring their cattle to graze during dry season. Thus, *Jimidari* system emerged with the rationale of extending revenue administration system to villages, while "simultaneously creating a rural aristocracy capable of injecting capital investment and entrepreneurial ability in the field of agriculture" (Regmi, 1977, p. 108).

The migration to *Terai* and reclamation of wasted land was encouraged by the state; people from the hills and mountains regions were encouraged to resettle in *Terai*; resulting in a failure due to "hot, humid and malarial Tarai" (Gaize, 1968, as cited in Regmi, 1977,

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<sup>9</sup> a national level umbrella organization for 54 different indigenous member organizations functioning in Nepal; self defined as "autonomous and non-partisan".

<sup>10</sup> the *Jimidar* were intermediaries between the government agencies and tenants, with certain privileges provided by the system.

<sup>11</sup> hereditary based autocratic rulers who ruled Nepal from 1846 to 1951, reducing the Shah monarch to figurehead and making Prime Minister and other government positions hereditary ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rana\\_dynasty](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rana_dynasty))

p. 109). The state of Nepal took policies to emigrate Indian nationalities of the adjacent districts. According to Regmi (1977, p. 109), any Indian who migrated to *Terai* with his family was allocated free agricultural land and supports to stabilize his settlement. Once his settlement stabilizes, he was appointed a *Jimidar* (p.110). And because *Jimidari* system allowed any person to reclaim wasted and forest land, that is at a distance of more than a day walk from any settlements, the person was granted tax exception for ten years and one tenth of the land reclaimed. The person was also legitimated to obtain settlers from India or redirect cultivator from *Birta* land (Regmi, 1977, p. 108). The revenue collection policies, appropriation of land, and control over community's labor gave rise to a new landlord class who were ritually and ethnically distinct to the local settlers, the *Tharu*.

The landlessness of *Tharu* people and transformation of ethnic *Kamaiya* tradition into eventual bondage system and/or displacement took a greater pace with eradication of malaria in *Terai*, Nepal. Before 1951, *Terai* was characterized by "plentiful land with a sparse population" as endemic malaria was seen as a great threat, and *Tharu* were the only people immune to the disease (Kara, 2012, p. 56). The fall of *Rana* regime and emergence of Democracy in 1951 led Nepal more open to international aid and access. With the assistance of USAID and WHO, malaria was eradicated, the subsequent implementation of Rapti Valley Development Project (RVDP) in Dang<sup>12</sup> and resettlement of Hill flood victims in Chitwan<sup>13</sup> changed the local socio-political dynamics, resulting in landlessness and displacement of *Tharu* people (Shrestha, 2001, cited in Chaudhary, 2011, p. 37). The increased migration pressure from the Hills, alone in 1950s in Dang district, left around 15,000 *Tharus* destitute and migration of at least 6,000 indigenous *Tharu* population to further west (Cox, 1990 as cited in Guneratne, 2002, p. 95). The migration of *Paharis*<sup>14</sup>; the shift from hills and mountains to *Terai* augmented and has continued till date. McDonough, 1997 (cited in Guneratne, 2002, p. 95) scales the process of migration and landlessness by stating that while in 1912 most of the landlords in Chitwan were *Tharu*, by the end of 1960s some 80% of the *Tharu* had turned tenants with little or no land in their names. The Land Reform Program 1964 (*Bhumi Sudhar Karyakram 2021 B.S.*) came with the provisions of land ceiling, tenancy rights, control to land rent, and redistribution of

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<sup>12</sup> Inner Terai valley (*bhitri madhes*) district in Western Terai

<sup>13</sup> a Terai district in central Terai region of Nepal

<sup>14</sup> the people from high lands and mountains; ethnically and culturally distinct to the local inhabitants of plain lands Terai

seized land to landless people; the Program could not be implemented effectively, but displacing the tenant and landless *Tharu*. The landlessness, displacement and further victimization of some *Tharu* people through *Kamaiya* system arose due to state's land, revenue and resettlement policies, their unfamiliarity with state's land registration and tenancy rights regulations, frauds and threats by some Hill migrants, landlords and officials, and their own simplicity and ignorance (Guneratne, 2002, p. 95, Chaudhary, 2011, p. 40).

### 2.3 Freed status and resettlement lapses

After 14 years of freedom acknowledged politically and assured legally; the present status of those freed *Kamaiyas*' rehabilitation and resettlement is a continued and contested one. The government of Nepal puts the issues of "landless, squatters and ill managed inhabitants" in "high priority", at least in papers, and has promised to complete resettling freed *Kamaiyas* by the Fiscal Year 2014-2015 (Government of Nepal, 2014: 3-4); the issues of freed *Kamaiyas*' ill management and their dire needs to basic resources and capabilities for a equal and dignified life remain unattained.

The encroachment of public and forest land in the name of freed *Kamaiya* and landless people has emerged as a serious social and political concern. Chaudhary (2014, October 27), citing the chief officer of the District Land Reform Office writes that around 20,000 hectares of public and forest land has been encroached in Kailali district alone. The insufficient size and quality of land provided, failure to utilize the allocated land, and the failure of the resettlement program in finding alternate sources beyond the land dependent livelihood has led some of the freed *Kamaiya* to invade public or community owned land. PSCN & FECOFUN (2010) urge the government and concerned actors to come up with sustainable livelihood options, other than land distribution strategy.

The inadequate size of the land provided, unavailability of work and working conditions have led the freed *Kamaiya* families suffer from food insufficiency and food insecurity. Chaudhary, Maharjan & Barsila (2014) from their research in Kohalpur VDC and Kalika VDC have found out that only six percent of the freed *Kamaiya* households have food sufficiency and thirty six percent of the households suffer from food insecurity (p. 16-17). Khatri, Mishra, Khanal & Choulagai (2015, January 19) cross sectional study on prevalence of under-nutrition among freed *Kamaiya* children of age under five in

Kohalpur VDC found 41.4% of the children under-weight, 55.7% stunted and 18.6% wasted.

The inadequacy of the Government in providing sustainable sources of livelihood and failure to "initiate programs to reintegrate" the freed *Kamaiyas* have led a significant section of those freed families return to their masters (Panthi, 2015, Sigdel, 2014). Panthi (ibid) reports that more than seven percent of the freed *Kamaiyas* in Bardiya district, those provided land, have returned back to their former works due to lack of "proper means of sustenance and ill-suited locations". So, where has the rehabilitation and resettlement process gone untracked? The single most important characteristic related to the agrarian community is their involvement and specialization in the livelihood management through farming or agriculture. Their meaningful participation throughout in the process of rehabilitation and resettlement with sufficient fertile land for farming and their relocation to comparatively accessible location would provide a more stable and sustaining life. Bhatta (2010), in his study in Bardiya district, found out 80% of the resettled freed *Kamaiya* prefer 'sufficient land for farming' against the choice of 'land with residential purpose with employment opportunities'. And majority of those resettled households (60%) to their current location from outside, preferred to relocate on integrate to their earlier locality (ibid.).

The discontinuance of academic life by freed *Kamaiya* children appear a greater threat to their educational pursuit and aspired mainstreaming through socio-economic and political inclusion. *Gorkhaptra* (2014, September 29), a national daily newspaper, brings the story of Kanchanpur district where the freed *Kamaiya* are unable to pay for school fees and educational materials. Citing the secretary of the District Education Office, it writes, only 8,000 out of 65,000 children of freed *Kamaiya* have studied secondary or higher level of education. And some young girls of those freed *Kamaiya* have been forced to work as *Kamlari*<sup>15</sup> despite its outlawed status. Tharu (2014, January 16), referring Freed *Kamlari* Development Forum writes, more than 300 young girls are working as *Kamlari* in western *Terai* districts. Under the system, the young girls of poor families, mainly Tharu, are sent off as indentured workers by their parents on a yearly contract.

*Kamaiya* system is one of the most actively approached, studied and known bonded labour system in Nepal. An unequal system of economic and cultural dominance and

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<sup>15</sup> indentured girl child laborer, belonging mainly to ex-Kamaiya families.

exploitation, the *Kamaiya*, who came mainly from Tharu; an ethnic minorities and indigenous nationalities, were trapped into the system through their historical experiences of landlessness, displacement, poverty and socio-political exclusion. The life under the exploitative system was inhumane. Their liberation from the system has theoretically enabled them to be independent, but a lack of unanimous and comprehensive plan for their rehabilitation and resettlement mean, a lot of them are going through immense problems from food insecurity to encroaching public and community property, thus risking legal and communal animosity. While liberation of bonded *Kamaiya* appeared well coordinated between various stakeholders, organizations and institutions, the post-liberation rehabilitation and resettlement appears prolonged, discontinued and often a less important case for all the concerned authorities.

## **CHAPTER-THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODS**

#### 3.1 Rationale of Selection of the Study Area

The *Kamaiya* system is probably the most researched and analysed among the bonded labour systems in Nepal. Yet the studies, discussions and initiatives from the preparation to the liberation were more intense and result oriented than they are after the liberation. There are some I/NGOs still working for the betterment of the freed *Kamaiya*, but for the government, the *Kamaiya* issue seems a forgotten one.

Choosing Podainataal Freed *Kamaiya* Camp of Kailali district as the study area has two main reasons behind; i) the Camp is considered comparatively a well settled and bestowed with successful resettlement programs by all concerned outer parties- the local Tharu and non-Tharu communities, local political activists and (non)governmental workers, than the other two Camps in the Village Development Committee; and the researcher's desire to narrate livelihood arrangements and their aspirations from the 'comparatively well settled and successful' Resettlement Camp while available literatures on freed *Kamaiya* resettlement had more to draw miserable living conditions and disconsolate conclusions ii) the researcher's inter-community relations and inter-personal reliance and accessibility to the *Kamaiya* families resettled in the area, as the researcher being a local resident of the VDC with a background of voluntary involvement in educating children from the Camp. The inter-community/personal relation, an understanding and appreciation to their language and culture, and an ethical responsibility to bring their stories to outer world, has probably helped the researcher to go closer to reality avoiding communication errors and trust lapses.

### 3.2 Research Design

The main purpose of this research is to find out the present situation or livelihood arrangements of freed *Kamaiya* living in Podainataal Freed *Kamaiya* Camp through the analysis of their economic, educational and health situations. Descriptive research design is preferred to accumulate adequate information concerning the nature of the subject matter of the research. Descriptive research design enables the researcher to assess the opinions and characteristics of selected population, without manipulating the environment, and to describe the situation and events occurring during the research work.

The face-to-face questionnaire administration/interview serves as the main technique of collecting data for this research. The questionnaire was prepared through operationally defined concepts, followed by a careful selection of indicators for each component. Before starting the data collection activity, the researcher visited *Bhalmansa*<sup>16</sup> (the head person of the resettled camp), described him about the objective of research study and requested for his permission. Having inter-community/personal relations with the targeted research population facilitated the researcher to have a nice rapport building during the course of data collection. The researcher was aware not just to record answers and run away but to share mutual relationships through exchange of thoughts, fun, distress and communication on personal to community affairs. So, most of the times, it would take an hour or more to complete the interview scheduled questionnaire. The data collection work was assisted by two energetic youths with teaching and health work profession. The responses were not penned down immediately, after a confident and comfortable chat and a vivid observation; the gests of the research intended information were recorded in interview scheduled questionnaires and notes.

The researcher had to visit the camp early in the morning or late in the evening because at day time the household head and other working population would not be available at home. It took a week to accumulate data from the total households of the camp. Some of them, mostly aged population, would mistook the data collecting group for projects' employee and would collect to narrate their miseries.

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<sup>16</sup> the head of a Tharu village, has socio-cultural and community level political role. And because majority of freed *Kamaiya* are Tharu, they have their *bhalmansa* elected in the camp.

### 3.3 Nature and Sources of Data

This study is based on both types of data; primary as well as secondary. The primary data are collected from the freed *Kamaiya* living in Podainataal Freed *Kamaiya* Camp with the help of semi-structured interview schedule. Other related information of primary characteristics is collected applying the key informant interview and field observation methods.

The sources for the secondary data are organizational records, reports and publications. The related data are collected from governmental as well as non-governmental organizations, local development agencies, books, journals, newspapers and research reports and dissertations. Data available online are employed as well.

### 3.4 Population of the Study Area and Sample Size

There are three settlement camps of the freed *Kamaiya* households in Kota Tulsipur VDC. The camps are Nauniya *Mukta Kamaiya Sibir*, Podainataal *Mukta Kamaiya Sibir* and Siruwa *Mukta Kamaiya Sibir*. Podainataal Freed *Kamaiya* Camp was established in 2001 and it had twenty-nine households when it was settled down. One family later augmented into two, in 2003, and now the total number of households reaches thirty. This research study takes households as the unit of analysis and thus thirty households make the total population of this research study. The researcher intended to include all those thirty households as the units of analysis so no methodology is implied to dissect the population further into samples. The researcher has applied census survey of Podainataal camp so that accurate and more reliable data closer to their reality can be obtained and presented.

### 3.5 Data Collection Techniques

Various techniques are implemented to collect relevant information for this study. The nature and depth of the approached data required face-to-face questionnaire administration/interview as the main technique for collecting primary data. Observation was implied regarding the collection of information for physical and environmental assets and settings, with consent from the freed *Kamaiya* households. It was implied for the



validation of responses collected from face-to-face questionnaire schedule. Key informant technique was applied to gain additional information.

### 3.5.1 Questionnaire

Questionnaire serves as the main technique of data collection in this research study. The questionnaire was carefully prepared, systematically arranged and simply presented. The questionnaires were thematically categorized into different subsections. The questionnaire are both closed and open ended; based on the complexity and multiplicity of possible responses. Closed-ended questions are created only to collect unproblematic facts while the questions those look to ascertain subjective and personal preference, viewpoint, thoughts are put open-ended. The researcher tried to make each questions easily understandable and because the questionnaire was conducted through face-to-face interview, the researcher explained and elaborated the questions while needed. The survey was conducted in Tharu language.

### 3.5.2 Key Informant Technique

The key informant technique has served as an additional method of collecting specialized knowledge/information regarding the economic, health and educational situation of freed *Kamaiya* in the Camp. This technique has been implied in a unstructured communication/interview with a purposive intent. The information collected from them serves as an additional source, often supplementing the data collected from the field. A health worker who runs a health clinic nearby the Camp was communicated to know about the freed *Kamaiya*'s health complexities, two staffs from Good Neighbours Nepal and RVWRMP were consulted about their programs in the Camp. The headman *Bhalmansa* of the Camp, the local governance government officer, a community leader of adjacent Tharu neighbourhood were communicated too.

### 3.5.3 Observation

Observation is a more direct way of gathering information. This technique allows a researcher to observe behaviour, surrounding and events, and record and encode them.

Though observation doesn't constitute an independent technique for collecting data in this research, the researcher has utilized it mainly for narrating the physical reality; their habitat and the surrounding physical environment, their household activities and economic achievements, their health, hygiene and sanitation conditions.

### 3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

The analysis of data and its presentation determine the reliability, legitimacy and applicability of a research work. The researcher has taken a great care with organising, tabulating, performing statistical analysis and drawing inferences. Simple statistical tools were used. Quantitative data are presented in tabular form. Qualitative data are of descriptive nature. Corresponding tables and maps are depicted as well, to make the interpretation more understandable and reliable.

### 3.7 Limitations of the Study

Every research study has its limitations. This research study is conducted for the academic purpose for the partial fulfilment of the requirement for M.Sc. in Global Refugee Studies graduation. This research is, thus, limited by time, nature and complexity of research topic and data, financial budget and human/non-human resources. The research focuses on the livelihood arrangements of freed *Kamaiya* living in Podainataal Freed *Kamaiya* Camp through the analysis of their economic, educational and health condition and tends to analyse their rehabilitation/resettlement situation. The researcher has taken a great care and professionalism to narrate their situation, but the conclusion drawn may not always be correctly representative to their all situations and forever because livelihood patterns/arrangements are subject to change with changing socio-economic and cultural interaction within and among the communities, influence of natural and technological environment, and the impacts derived from the helping/coordinating organisations. And it may not, necessarily, be applicable to the freed *Kamaiya* of neighbouring Camps, and neither to resettled or left out freed *Kamaiya* in Kailali or other districts of Nepal.

### 3.8 Theoretical Framework

The historical settlement of Tharu people in the plain-land *Terai* of Nepal and their continuous belonging to the region of the country makes them the indigenous ethnic nationalities of Nepal. Though their belonging to the plain-land hasn't changed much, they had been displaced and forced to migrate throughout the history of modern nation state formation and the policies it had taken through time being.

The Nepalese Government's declaration of abolishing *Kamaiya* System in 2000 led to liberation of more than thirty-two thousand *Kamaiya* households. The freed *Kamaiya* households classified under Category A and Category B, (27,570 households identified as homeless and/or landless) and thus, were prioritized for rehabilitation and resettlement.

Rehabilitation and/or resettlement consists of a systematically synchronized framework and process in the field of human displacement management. It is more than just an ad hoc relief measures. Forceful displacement of people is a major geopolitical and humanitarian crisis, and theoretical discourses have been developed to mitigate and minimize the pain of up-rootedness and facilitate their resettled life without altering their individual as well as group wellbeing. Whether the freed *Kamaiya* those seeking rehabilitation and resettlement be identified as displaced persons requires a careful analysis. And the analysis should require not just the mining of their liberation from an exploitative cultural and economic system of *Kamaiya Prartha* and their efforts to have a equal and dignified life, but a sincere understanding of their rich customary communal practices, the state's policies of land reclamation and taxation, development projects and resettlement of non-Tharu population in their land, the process of landlessness and displacement from their rooted place.

## CHAPTER-FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 Introduction

The pervious chapter deals with theoretical framework and research methodology those provide the basis as well as guide and control to the research approach in meeting research objective(s). Whereas 'forced migration' and 'development induced displacement and resettlement' constitute theoretical guidelines and a designated design for the research; questionnaires, in addition of informal conversational interview where required, has enabled the researcher to collect relevant data. This chapter presents and analyses the data collected from Podainataal Freed Kamaiya Camp in determining their resettlement situation.

#### 4.2 Overview of Kamaiya Liberation and Resettlement

A customary practice of farming and community-need labor system, turned into exploitative bonded labor system, embodying the characteristics of slavery; was recognized illegal and a punishable act by the Cabinet meeting of Nepal on July 17, 2000. Though, in theory, a *Kamaiya* could be free from the labor system as sooner as he repay his *saunki*; the landlords' need of a stable, regular and manipulated source of labor, under-evaluation and under-payment of *Kamaiya*'s labor in cash and kind - average daily income of NRs 4.13 (Cheria et al, 2005, p. 34), enslavement of his entire family, limitations on economic mobility guaranteed landlords' will to keep hold of their *Kamaiya* and insured debt inherited. The death kneel against the virtual slavery came on May 1, 2000 when nineteen *Kamaiya* in Geta Village Development Committee of Kailali district rushed in to file a petition for freedom and compensation against their landlord Shiva Raj Pant, a former minister for Forests and Soil Conservation. This courageous act was followed by *Kamaiya* in other parts of the district and beyond as 676 similar petitions were registered in a single month in Kailali, Kanchanpur, Bardiya, Banke and Dang districts' Chief

District Officer's Offices (GFONT, 2007, p. 31). The eventual declaration of their freedom was a jubilant achievement for *Kamaiya* and all the actors/agencies working for their liberation. Though their emancipation meant, they no longer owed any financial or social subjugation of their masters; the lapses in post-liberation assessments mean freed *Kamaiya* who were homeless and landless, and were dependent on their landlords for food, shelter and work, had to spend "months in filthy camps, facing difficulties coupled with sickness and lack of bare necessities" (GFONT, 2007, p. 43-44). Landlessness and homelessness along with lack of alternate source of income were the major barriers to their successful liberation.

The government of Nepal arranged organizational setup and with cooperation and independent works of other organizations and stakeholders, started its resettlement program. The government of Nepal through Ministry of Local Development supported housing plans with 35 cubic meter of wood and ten thousand NRs cash, World Food Program (WFP) with food/rice and German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) with technical assistance and mobilization. Action Aid Nepal (AAN) and Lutheran World Foundation (LWF) also assisted in houses and community buildings such as schools construction. Backward Society Education (BASE), Room to Read (R2R) and other local organizations worked on freed *Kamaiya* children' education. The Office of District Development Committee worked on toilet and drinking water programs collaborated by International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and Western Terai Poverty Alleviation Project (WTPAP). "The single most important component of the rehabilitation programme is the land redistribution and the house construction support. Other components are skill, employment and enterprising" (Chaudhary, 2011, p. 85). Land, in a agricultural national economy, is of greatest importance, rational distribution of land may enable and increase vulnerable households' economic production and reduce poverty and inequality. Realizing the fact, the government of Nepal started to distribute land and assist in housing through categorization of freed *Kamaiya*: the distributed land size varies from 0.45 *kattha*<sup>17</sup> to 5 *kattha*; maximum 1 *kattha* within municipal and highway adjacent areas to five *kattha* in rural areas. (for categorization of freed *Kamaiya*, see Table 1.1 and more details about resettlement is on Chapter One, page 4-5). According to Chaudhary, 2011, p. 86) the land distribution to freed *Kamaiya* has been completed in Dang, Banke and Kanchanpur

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<sup>17</sup> an unit of area measurement, it is in use in India, Bangladesh and Nepal. 1 *kattha* ko land in Nepal equals to 338.57 meter square.

district, though the issues of left out *Kamaiya* are raised in those districts. The Table 4.1 show the freed *Kamaiya* households' final enumeration, the number of freed *Kamaiya* those are in need of resettlement and their resettlement status, as of June, 2010.

Table 4. 1: Freed *Kamaiya* Resettlement/Rehabilitation Status (as of June, 2010).

| Description                              | Districts |        |         |         |            | Total   |
|--|-----------|--------|---------|---------|------------|---------|
|  | Dang      | Banke  | Bardiya | Kailali | Kanchanpur |         |
| Total Households                         | 1426      | 2316   | 14499   | 9762    | 4506       | 32509   |
| Family need not to be rehabilitated      | 721       | 395    | 2948    | 787     | 88         | 4939    |
| Family need to be rehabilitated          | 705       | 1921   | 11551   | 8975    | 4418       | 27570   |
| Households rehabilitated                 | 705       | 1921   | 7451    | 6153    | 4418       | 20648   |
| Remaining households to be rehabilitated | 0         | 0      | 4100    | 2822    | 0          | 6922    |
| Distributed land (ha)                    | 84.05     | 149.01 | 1098.46 | 811.95  | 661.2      | 2804.67 |

Source: MoLRM (2009), RKJS (2010) as cited in Chaudhary, B. (2011).

#### 4.3 Economic, Education and Health Status of Freed *Kamaiya* resettled in Podainataal Freed *Kamaiya* Camp; data from the field.

Choosing economic, educational and health aspects of Camp life for this research is motivated by an academic understanding that those three aspects of life are the major determinants in shaping, and thus measuring, an individual's as well as his/her community/society's progress and development. United Nations Development Program (UNDP) sees "a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable and have a decent standard of living" and thus health, educational attainment and income as the key dimensions to human development. Though this research doesn't derive from the analogous measurements and indices of "human development" dimensions; to measure changes those have come in their lives since their liberation from the bonded system to through prolonged resettlement program; economy, health and education, and allied indicators had to be identified so that the analysis of those achieved/underachieved indicators could provide a perspective on their resettlement and "freedom".

#### 4.3.1 Family and Occupation

Podainataal Freed *Kamaiya* Camp has thirty households settled in with the population of 177. The female population is slightly higher than their male counterparts; with female population consisting of 51.98 percent of the total population. The average family size of the households is higher than those at district or national level; the average family size of the Camp is 5.9 persons (Table 4.2); whereas the national average is 4.7 persons (CBS, 2011). The preliminary report on national census of 2011 has projected Kailali district's average household size to 5.26. The country has seen a noticeable fall in average household size in a time period of ten years; the national census of 2001 had calculated the average household size to 5.44 (CBS, 2002). The majority of freed *Kamaiya* households have small family size (less than 5 family members), depending upon the number of individual members living as a family, followed by medium family, (consisting of 6 to 9 family members) and large family which consists of more than 10 members (Table 4.2).

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2001) defines dependent population as people of age group between 0-19 years and above 65 years old. The dependency ratio that calculates the proportion of dependent population in a family can be viewed by two ways: by age and economically active members. The Central Bureau of Statistics of Nepal considers the population of age below 15 (young population) and those of over 60 years old (elderly population) as dependent population (CBS, 2011, p. 21). OECD (2001) defines economically active population as "all persons of either sex who furnish the supply of labour for the production of economic goods and services as defined by the United Nations System of National Accounts during a specified time-reference period". Nepal Labour Force Survey by Central Bureau of Statistics (2009) doesn't consider students, domestic chores, child care, collection of wood and drinking water etc. as economic activities (NLFS, 2009). Shrestha, 2003 (as cited in Chaudhary, 2011, p. 87) consider population of age 10 to 60 years involved in any economic activities as economically active population. In agro based rural economy, population as below as ten years or so are involved in economic activities, and in a state that carries both feudal and semi-capitalist features, population, otherwise considered under child labour, is involved in income generating activities. So the researcher, considering the economic

engagement of population in a rehabilitation setting, has considered age ten to sixty as economically active population. The Camp has the dependency ratio in terms of age of 88.30 and it is above the national ratio, the national ratio as presented by NLSS-III is 84.4 (NLSS, 2011). A total of 83 individuals, with 69 below age fifteen and 14 above age sixty, make the dependent population. Dependency ratio tends to increase where the earning population doesn't increase in proportion or comparatively more to the non-earning population. Dependency in terms of economic activities, which is 75.25 is lesser than the dependency in terms of age because some children, mostly male, and some of the aged population are involved in economic activities; economically active population who have been involved in income generating activities is 76.

Table 4. 2: Major Socio-economic Description of the Households

| Attributes                              | Value      |
|---|------------|
| Average family size per HH (in number)  | 5.9        |
| Family size by category                 |            |
| Small (upto 5 members)                  | 19 (63.33) |
| Medium (6 - 9 members)                  | 7 (23.33)  |
| Large (more than 10 members)            | 4 (13.33)  |
| Dependency ration                       |            |
| Dependency ratio by Age group           | 88.30      |
| Dependency ratio by Economic activities | 75.25      |
| Child dependency ratio                  | 73.40      |
| Elderly dependency ratio                | 14.89      |
| Sex of the HH Population                |            |
| Male                                    | 92 (51.98) |
| Female                                  | 85 (48.02) |
| Distribution of Age Group (in years)    |            |
| Below 5                                 | 19 (10.73) |
| 6-15                                    | 50 (28.25) |
| 15-44                                   | 79 (44.63) |
| 45-59                                   | 15 (8.47)  |
| Above 60                                | 14 (7.91)  |
| Average age of HHH (years)              | 40.6       |
| Female Headed HH                        | 8 (26.67)  |
| Primary occupation of HHH               |            |
| Daily wage labour                       | 14 (46.7)  |
| Farming                                 | 7 (23.3)   |
| HH Activities                           | 1 (3.33)   |



|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Business/Enterprise  | 1 (3.33)  |
| Salaried job in Nepal  | 1 (3.33)  |
| Working abroad including India                                     | 6 (20.0)  |
| Primary involvement of all the HH members (10 years old and above) |           |
| Daily wage labour  | 23 (16.9) |
| Farming/Share Cropping   | 19 (13.9) |
| Business/Enterprise  | 2 (1.5)   |
| Salaried job in Nepal  | 2 (1.5)   |
| Working abroad including India                                     | 30 (22.1) |
| Domestic Chores Activities   | 33 (24.3) |
| Student  | 25 (16.2) |

Source: Field Survey (2013).

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are in percentage.

A Household Head (HHH) has a significant socio-cultural and economic role and responsibility in Nepalese households and society. A Household Head is accepted as their head by other members of his/her family and thus has principal authority and responsibility on household affairs. Though the Constitution of Nepal guarantees equality on the basis of sex, Nepalese society is largely characterized by dominant patriarchy and the whole society is structured with fewer customary privileges to females. While a female in a Tharu community exercises more freedom and less gender based inequality than females belonging to other dominant caste groups, most of the Tharu (freed *Kamaiya*) households are headed by males. About one quarter (26.67%) of the total household are headed by females; mostly because the male members are away from home working in India for more than six months a year. The percentage is similar with the national demographical characteristics where 26.6 percent households are headed by females (NLSS-III, 2011). The average age of Household Head in the camp is 40.6 years.

Primary occupation is the major occupation determined by the proportion of time and labor invested and income generated. Daily wage labour (46.7%) is the major primary occupation of Household Heads in the Camp, followed by share-cropping/farming (23.3%) and working abroad/India (20.0%). The main reason behind half of the Household Heads choosing daily wage labour is the availability of labour work due to the camp's physicality, a small piece of land to be called their own which is insufficient to make a living by farming alone, and HHHs of comparatively larger families can't afford to move India for work as other members are already far from home, mostly in India. Podaintaal

Freed *Kamaiya* Camp is approximately two kilometers north from Mahendra *Rajmarg* (East West National Highway) placing it in feasible location to highway's market and semi-urban areas like Muda Bazaar, Bauniya and Sukhad. It's adjacent to forest, and also surrounded by villages like Nauniya and Nimuwabojhi. All these viable sources of work and income have led the HHHs engage in daily wage labour. Daily wage labour consists of farm based labour; skilled as well as unskilled labour.

The second widely practiced form of occupation is share-cropping. The land granted by the government as per the resettlement program to each family is approximately three *kattha*<sup>18</sup> and twelve *dhur*<sup>19</sup>. It becomes near to impossible to sustain their families with production on such a small piece of land; and each families have their houses and household chores built on it. So they depend on other people, the nearby villagers with more land, through share-cropping. They prefer this occupation as agriculture/farming has always been their way of living but lack of human resource (family members), physical assets (bullock carts, tractor etc) and farming livestock (pair of buffalos, oxen etc) have lead them to choose other occupations; less preferred than farming. In terms of primary occupation of household members, it is not necessarily identical to the occupational distribution of their Household Heads. While considering the population of age ten and above in terms of occupational distribution their population is 136. The largest number of household members' occupation is Domestic Chores/Household Activities; mainly female population and aged population are involved in it and it makes 24.3% of the total occupational distribution. Most of the females prefer to look after their households. Going for work in India is the second most sought out occupation with 22.1%, followed by Daily Wage Labour and Farming (Table 4.2).

#### 4.3.2 Physical Assets for Livelihood

Physical asset refers to any item of economic, commercial or exchange value that has a tangible or material existence. They play an elementary role in the livelihood of any individuals. They provide security to the household; both economic as well as social. The

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<sup>18</sup> customary unit of land measurement in Nepal; 1 *kattha* = 338.63 meter square

<sup>19</sup> a smaller unit of land measurement than *kattha*; 20 *dhur* makes 1 *kattha* of land.

researcher has considered land, livestock, house ownership, and those means of communication, transportation and information as physical assets of a household.

In Podainataal Freed *Kamaiya* Camp, all of the households have received land from the Government's land distribution policy for their resettlement. The land allocated for the freed *Kamaiya* households was brought under use through reclaiming deforested land; the land is adjacent to community forest. Each household was distributed land unit of 0-3-12 (3 *kattha* and 12 *dhur*). When the land was being distributed, there were 29 households; one household later split into two, now making the total households' number 30. The family of origin and the split household share the allocated land in two equal halves, thus making 6.67% of those households owning 1-2 *kattha* (to be exact, both the households own 1 *kattha* and 16 *dhur* each) whereas 93.33% households have their rights over 3 *kattha* and 12 *dhur* of land each.

The distributed land to each household is sufficient for only housing and gardening; leaving the households who have mastered in agriculture without enough land of their own for farming. A considerable section of households (23.33%) (Table 4.2) is involved in farming through share cropping since it is the only source of livelihood they spent their whole life. A lot more percentage of households would have been involved in share cropping, had they the necessary assets (oxen/buffalos for ploughing, agricultural tools and financial resources for human and or non human payment/wages. Share cropping is an agricultural practice where share cropper works on landowner's land, equally distributing the production. While the landowner provides his land and production inputs as fertilizers, share croppers are entitled to invest through their labor and other inputs.

Table 4. 3: Physical Assets with Freed *Kamaiya* Household

| Physical Assets        | Value    |
|------------------------|----------|
| Land Ownership         |          |
| No. Of HH having land  | 30 (100) |
| No. Of HH without land |          |

| Land Holding by Category                       |            |
|--|------------|
| 1-2 <i>kattha</i>                              | 2 (6.67)   |
| 2-3 <i>kattha</i>                              | 0          |
| 3-4 <i>kattha</i>                              | 28 (93.33) |
| HH involved in Share Cropping                  | 7 (23.33)  |
| Type of House                                  |            |
| Concrete with cement tile                      | 30 (100)   |
| Additional Temporary (mud/hut)                 | 22 (73.33) |
| Average Livestock Holding per HH               | 2.36       |
| Livestock Holding by category                  |            |
| No Livestock                                   | 11 (36.67) |
| Having Livestock                               | 19 (63.33) |
| Small (less than 5 LSU)                        | 12 (63.15) |
| Medium (5- 10 LSU)                             | 7 (36.85)  |
| Means of Transportation (bicycle/bullock cart) | 17 (56.67) |
| Means of Information (radio/television)        | 9 (30.00)  |
| Means of Communication (landline/mobile)       | 16 (53.33) |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

Note: Values in parenthesis are in percentage.

The researcher had inquired whether the piece of land, they are settled in, was enough to build their source of livelihood, and the answer was not surprising at all as every one of them answered that the distributed land was not enough; either to start farming or to build any other infrastructure/sources of income. The given land is just sufficient for a house and kitchen gardening. None of the households have any extra piece of land besides, either earned or encroached. The households in the camp suggest that the allocated land per household should be increased, and when asked what should be the minimum land size; 36.67 percent households suggest minimum of one *Bigha*<sup>20</sup> would help them sustain and maintain their livelihood (more details in Table 4.4).

Table 4. 4: Minimum Land Size Demanded by the Households

<sup>20</sup> a customary unit of land measurement in Nepal. 1 Bigha = 6,772.63 meter square. 20 kattha make a bigha.

| Minimum Land size | No of HHs  |
|-------------------|------------|
| 5 <i>kattha</i>   | 3 (10.0)   |
| 10 <i>kattha</i>  | 8 (26.67)  |
| 15 <i>kattha</i>  | 8 (26.67)  |
| 1 <i>bigha</i>    | 11 (36.66) |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

Note: Values in parenthesis are in percentage.

All of the households in the camp have concrete-types of houses for living. The low cost living (concrete type houses) program was implemented with the technical/financial assistance from Action Aid/Nepal (AAN) and GIZ. All of those thirty houses are built on one side of the vehicle passable road, symmetrical in design, shape and economic value, occupying share of the land each households were provided. The houses have three rooms and a balcony each, built by bricks and cement and roofed by cement tiles. Where all the respondents have realized the house provided for their living is inadequate for a family of more than four members primarily because of the number of rooms and size, only twenty-two households (73.3%) have managed to build additional houses/huts made up of mud-wood and mud tiles for the purpose of kitchen, livestock and store management. The additional houses/huts, built on their own, are of a single room to two storied buildings depending upon the needs and the financial affordability of the household. While a Tharu household maintains greenery and utilizes through wood plants and fruits plants around his/her house, the freed *Kamaiya* Tharus are unable to have those plants as the land is insufficient and should be wisely managed for seasonal vegetation and crops.

Livestock constitute an important role in agro/rural economy. They have consumption as well as utilization value; manure, milk, meat, wool, plough. Regarding the rearing of livestock in the camp, it is also not so common in commercial scale. A large portion of the households (63.33%) have raised small livestock like poultry, goat and pig. A pair of oxen or buffalos can be found in some households those involved in share cropping. 36 percent of the households raising livestock have received some sorts of assistance from helping organizations. 37 per cent of freed *Kamaiya* households do not have any livestock. They say, it becomes hard to manage livestock, mainly poultry, in a settlement where one doesn't have enough space and disturbed by the neighboring communities, and they don't

have enough human resources to look after their livestock. Those who have livestock have them small in numbers; almost three-quarter (68.42%) of those households have livestock of five units or below.

Bicycle is the major means of transportation for the households in the camp. Seventeen households (56.67%) own a bicycle and among them three households (10.0%) have bullock-cart which has got agricultural importance as well. While bicycle is used in day to day activities and help for wage laborers and students, bullock carts can be of great help while transporting heavy loads as collecting woods, food grains, and even serves as rural ambulance for carrying ill-health person(s) to nearby health clinics.

About one third (30.0%) of the total households in the camp have television/radio as the source of information with them. While the households' percentage owning a television reaches 5 (16.67%), households with access to multi television channel is 3 (10.0%). The multi channels connection is through the Indian private broadcasting networks, illegal in Nepal, who provide various channels through wireless/dish network with monthly/quarterly payments available.

The access to communication technology seems to have increased in recent years, thanks to some investments made by tele-communication companies of Nepal. NCell, a private multinational telecom, has provided good network in and around the rural settlement. As most of the households have some of their members staying or working in India, bringing a cell phone out of their earnings has been a trend. As a result, more than half of the households (55.33%) have their own subscription number, making easier to have communication and contacts. And this fashion is well established among all youths, either freed *Kamaiya* or non-*Kamaiya*, who go out in search of work and return home with at least a cell phone set as a must-have asset.

#### 4.3.3 Access to Facilities (accessible within 30 minutes)

The access or presence to certain physical/developmental facilities is crucial while a new settlement is to be planned. Services and facilities not only provide an easy route to newly settled life, they also open possibilities and increase those resettled people's capabilities.

Development facilities such as access to road, school, health centre, market place etc are measured in this subsection (Table. 4.5).

There are four schools in and around the freed *Kamaiya* settlement with an access of half an hour; Buddha Children Academy is a private school located in the nearby Muda Bazar where two children from the Camp study, Jagannath Primary School and Kalika Lower Secondary School has got the most number of the Camp's children as GN Nepal has financially supported two children from each household in these schools. Shree Rastriya Higher Secondary School, a higher secondary school where 12 years of schooling is done, is four kilometres away from the Camp. There are twenty-one tube wells in the camp. Six tube wells were built with the purpose of irrigation as well as drinking water, though the irrigation part has got no value with no water pump machine nor enough piece of land for plantation. Thirteen households have got a tube well each; seven households are sharing their tube wells with other seven households while three households have got a single tube well to share within themselves.

There are four medical centres/clinics and one veterinary in Muda Bazar, two kilometers south-east of the Camp, all of them private endeavor. The government health-post Dodhara Health Post which looks the adjacent five VDCs, and Kota Tulsipur Sub-Health Post are six kilometers away from the Camp. The nearby market centre is Muda Bazar. It's an old market place, busy and cosy, with two *ex-Kamaiyas* operating their entrepreneurship in it. Bauniyan and Sukhad are some other semi urban areas where wage labour for skilled/semi-skilled and literate labourers is always available.

Table 4. 5: Access to Facilities (accessible within 30 minutes)

| Facilities                   | Value    |
|------------------------------|----------|
| Primary school               | 30 (100) |
| Drinking water (tube-well)   | 30 (100) |
| Health service centers       | 30 (100) |
| Market Centre                | 30 (100) |
| Commercial bank              | 0        |
| Dirt road (vehicle passable) | 30 (100) |

|                  |          |
|------------------|----------|
| Paved Road       | 30 (100) |
| Community Forest | 30 (100) |
| Electricity      | 30 (100) |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

Note: The numbers in parenthesis are in percentage.

There is no commercial bank either in Muda Bazar or in Bauniyan. Bauniyan has got Malika Development Bank, a “B” class bank. There are two commercial “A” class banks in Sukhad; Agricultural Development Bank and Sunrise Bank. The ex-*Kamaiya* of the Camp have little or no access to those institutions. The camp is located about two kilometres north-east of East-West Highway, paved national highway, connected by two gravelled vehicle passable roads; one from Chamelibazar and the other from Mudabazar. Both the connecting roads are year round usable with little disturbances during rainy season. The households of the camp have got access to both the community forests around them; *Janasagar Samudayik Ban* (Community Forest) which is solely maintained by ward number 2, the Camp is in the same ward, and *Pariwa Samudayik Ban*, accessible to all the households of Kota Tulsipur VDC. All the households of the camp are members of *Janasagar Samudayik Ban* and enjoy equal rights over it as other households of the village. All the households have got electricity facility. It is used mainly for lighting and for other household activities; watching television, listening radio, charging mobiles and emergency lights etc. The electricity facility is provided through KKREUO with technical/financial support from DANIDA.

#### 4.3.4 Saving and Credit Groups

The camp has seen the practice of group saving and cooperation soon after it was established. *Maaya Namaara Mahila Bachat Samuha* was the first of its kind to be run within the camp formed in 2001. Since then, there are four saving groups operating in the camp. The saving and debt situation of the households under those four saving groups is presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4. 6: Saving and Credit Situation of Saving Groups in the Camp.



| S.No. | Name of Saving Group              | Year of Registration | No. of HHs | Fund Collected | Credit (NRs) |
|-------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1     | Maya Namaara Mahila Bachat Samuha | 2001                 | 16         | 36407          | 36100        |
| 2     | Samjhana Mishrit Bachat Samuha    | 2006                 | 30         | 42500          | 41100        |
| 3     | Sahakari Bachat Mahila Samuha     | 2007                 | 30         | 145000         | 135000       |
| 4     | Krishi Vikas Bachat Samuha        | 2012                 | 30         | 4000           | 3000         |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

*Sahakari Bachat Mahila Samuha* was established with organizational and financial assistance from FAYA Nepal and *Krishi Vikas Bachat Samuha* has its establishment relations with GN Nepal. While the three saving groups have their members only from the camp, *Samjhana Mishrit Bachat Samuha* is open to other neighboring communities as well, and has half of its members other than the freed *Kamaiya*. The members at *Samjhana Mishrit Bachat Samuha* collect NRs 10 per member per month, for the other three saving groups, the saving fund is NRs 20 per member a month.

The saving groups of Podainataal Freed *Kamaiya* Camp are considered well managed and genuinely operated while the neighboring Freed *Kamaiya* Camps have seen their saving groups emerge and disappear, and those in existence have failed to make progressive impacts. The saving groups of the camp have collected a total sum of NRs 227,907 and NRs 215,200 has been loaned to their members. On average a household has deposited NRs 7,596 and credited NRs 7,173 from the saving and credit groups. In the process of collecting and crediting funds, these groups have earned a total of NRs 21,500 in the forms of interest. These groups provide loan to their members with an interest rate of 2% and have determined an interest rate of 5% to the outsiders. The households have benefited from the provision of saving and credit, all the households rely on their own saving groups for loan, a big sum of loan which these groups can't resist is only taken from money lenders. A total of six households (20.00%) have taken additional loan besides those group

savings from money lenders within time period of a year. The primary purposes of taking loan are health cure and household (daily) consumption (Table 4.7).

Table 4. 7: Primary Purpose of Taking Loan (within a year)

| Purpose of taking loan | No of HHs  |
|------------------------|------------|
| Daily consumption      | 8 (26.67)  |
| Household property     | 4 (13.33)  |
| Capital formulation    | 3 (10.00)  |
| Health worries         | 15 (50.00) |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

Note: The numbers in parenthesis are in parentage.

#### 4.3.5 Training and Skill Development

The land holding size of freed *Kamaiyas* is very small. Of all the households, 93.3% have their land measured 3 kattha and 12 aana while 6.7% of them have 1 kattha and 16 aana (Table 4.3). So farm based occupation of freed *Kamaiya* is subsequently transforming into off-farm ones. It is reflected from Table 4.2 that 46.7% household head and 16.9% population of freed *Kamaiya* are involved in daily wage labor. If the India going numbers, who mostly do wage labor there, is included, the daily wage laborers number would reach 39%. Casual laborers are involved in both agriculture and non-agriculture activities.

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

In the studied areas, types of trainings, number of participation and its uses is presented in Table 4.8 below. The success of training is considered based on whether they are applying or not for their income generation activities.

Table 4. 8: Training and its Utilization by the Freed *Kamaiyas*

| Types of Training                      | No. of Participant | Utility; source of income |                   |                    |            |
|--|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------|
|  |                    | Major source              | Occasional source | Family consumption | No utility |
| 1. Off-farm based                      |                    |                           |                   |                    |            |
| Carpentry                              | 4                  | 1                         | 2                 |                    | 1          |
| Masonry                                | 2                  | 2                         |                   |                    |            |
| Driving                                | 2                  | 1                         | 1                 |                    |            |
| House wiring                           | 2                  |                           | 1                 |                    | 1          |
| Tailoring                              | 1                  | 1                         |                   |                    |            |
| Hand-pump boring                       | 1                  |                           | 1                 |                    |            |
| Hair cutting                           | 1                  | 1                         |                   |                    |            |
| Sub total                              | 13                 | 6                         | 5                 | 0                  | 2          |
| 2. Farm based                          |                    |                           |                   |                    |            |
| Vegetable farming                      | 3                  |                           |                   | 3                  |            |
| Livestock raising (goat, pig, poultry) | 4                  |                           | 4                 |                    |            |
| Sub total                              | 7                  | 0                         | 4                 | 3                  | 0          |
| Grand Total                            | 20                 | 6                         | 9                 | 3                  | 2          |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in percentage.

Two third of all the households in the camp have got some sorts of skill development programs and or trainings. The use of training delivered to the population of freed *Kamaiya* varied according to the type of training and its co-relation to the market. The success rate of all the trainings provided to the members of the camp is 90% and anything above two third success rates can be evaluated as satisfactory. To compare; the trainings related to agriculture have higher success rate than the non-agriculture sector. The overall success percentage of agriculture related trainings was 100% whereas it was 84.6% in nonfarm sector. Within the agriculture sector, both vegetable farming and livestock rising have gained maximum utility.

The success rate of any particular training can't be based merely on the involvement rate; rather the degree of utility, their economic value should determine their success/unsuccessful stories. Though the success rate of farm based programs is 100%, the involvement of those individuals is merely for household consumption or for occasional source of income. Small livestock rising has provided the households an infrequent source of cash earning while vegetable farming has got just family consumption value. So, it will be wrong to say agro-based trainings have got greater opportunities. On the other hand, off farm trainings have emerged as regular and major source of income generation for the households. All the above stated off farm trainings have greater importance because of the easy access to the nearby semi urban settings. Two individuals who were trained for carpentry and house wiring left their work because one has found ease in share cropping while carpentry has turned much competitive in recent years, the other has got a well paid work in India.

#### 4.3.6 Preferred Livelihood Option

The freed *Kamaiya* households are still in the process of adopting and adjusting with the irregular situations that come by and earning a living in any works of income available. Despite the permanent settlement and land owned, they haven't found sustainable ways/sources of income generation and are compelled to search for daily wage labor or run to India (data available in Table 4.2). So the researcher wanted to know what their preferred skills and occupations are. The preference of the head of the households is depicted in Table 4. 9.

Table 4. 9: Preferred Livelihood Option of the Households

| S.N. | Preferred Occupation | No. of HHHs | Specific Preference   |
|------|----------------------|-------------|---|
| 1    | Agriculture          | 14 (46.67)  | Traditional farming, Off-season vegetation, Banana plantation |
| 2    | Livestock            | 3 (10.00)   | Goat/Pig, Poultry   |
| 3    | Skilled Wage Labor   | 7 (23.33)   | Masonry, Carpentry, Tailoring                                 |

|   |                     |           |   |
|---|---------------------|-----------|---|
| 4 | Business/Enterprise | 6 (20.00) | Retail general store, Dairy, Beauty Parlor,<br>Haircutting centre, Tailoring centre |
|   | Total               | 30 (100)  |   |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are in percentage.

The most preferred skill and occupation in the camp is agriculture, followed by skilled wage labor and business/enterprise. Around 47% of the HHHs preferred agriculture; farming constituted 36.67 percent, vegetation 6.67 percent and banana plantation 3.33 percent. A total of 23.33% preferred skilled wage labor; masonry making 10%, carpentry and tailoring making 6.67% each. Business/enterprise stands third in terms of their preference with 20% (continuing existing business 6.67%, retail shop 6.67%, beauty parlor 3.33% and dairy 3.33%) Livestock rising is the fourth most preferred occupation with 10% of the HHHs; rising goats/pigs were preferred by 6.67% and rest 3.33% preferred poultry (Table 4.9).

The dominance of agriculture as preferred occupation is quite understandable. All those freed *Kamaiyas* were once bound to perform agricultural work; farming had been their way of life since history. A person born as a farmer would certainly choose to remain a farmer if other things remain constant. The age factor and educational factor as well as the comparatively well doers of the camp involved in share cropping encourage them to prefer agriculture. The average age of the HHHs' is over 40 and almost two third of them are illiterate, and those 23.33% households involved in share cropping have food security throughout a year, supports them to see their and their families prospect in agriculture. The preference towards skilled wage labor and business is due to feasibility of their settlement with the nearby semi-urban centers and availability of work/market.

#### 4.3.7 Income and Expenditure

As discussed in the previous sections, due to small land holding size distributed through resettlement program, the agricultural *Kamaiya* have diverted their source of income and livelihood to other available resources. Daily wage has turned out to be the most prominent source, it is the main source of income for 43.33 percent of the households in

the Camp (Table 4.10). Daily wage labor consists of both farm and off-farm activities. Though the Resettlement Camp is surrounded by agriculture dominant villages and off-farm based market/bazar, finding work is not easy. The farming based wage laborers find it hard to get work because of their comparatively higher wage demands. One influential Tharu resident of Nimuwabojhi village said that they don't recruit wage laborers from the Camp as their daily wage demand of NRs 300 is way above the fellow villagers who are available for NRs 150 to 200. It must be one reason why majority of female population were found engaged in household activities and not at work. Though the off-farm activities such as masonry, carpentry and hand-pump boring pay NRs 300 to 500 a day, the lack of skills and trainings have limited the wage earners of the camp.

Remittance serves as the second major source of income for the resettled Camp households. Around 27 percent of those households rely on remittance as their primary source. The only source of remittance for them is neighboring India. The work available in India are both agricultural (assisting in farming, fruits gardening, livestock herding etc.) and non-agricultural (carrying/transporting loads, serving as watchman/guard, working in hotels restaurants, assisting in shops and enterprise). The wide variety of work and comparatively better payments in comparison to that of semi-urban home setting inspires them to go to India. All abroad workers are male.

Farming serves as the third main source of income for the households. The system of share-cropping has enabled some of the households to engage in farming and making it their main source of income. Though majority of the households would prefer agriculture or even share-cropping; landowners prefer the ones who have their own pair of oxen/buffalos, farming inputs and sufficient helping hands. Business and salaried job are the least mentioned major sources of income by the households with 6.67 percent of them in each of those areas. There are two individuals from two households who are operating their business in Mudabazar, approximately two kilometers south-west of the Camp; one has a tailoring centre while the other has a hair cutting centre. The other two households are supported by salaried job, both the individuals work in a sugar factory at Dhangadhi, the district headquarter and zonal business/economic hub, one as driver and the other as junior staff.

Table 4. 10: Households' Major Sources of Income and Areas of Expenditure.

| Main Source of Income | No. of HH  | Major Area of Expenditure | No. of HH  |
|-----------------------|------------|---------------------------|------------|
| Farming               | 5 (16.67)  | Food                      | 20 (66.67) |
| Daily wage labour     | 13 (43.33) | Agricultural Inputs       | 4 (13.33)  |
| Business              | 2 (6.67)   | Clothes                   | 2 (6.67)   |
| Remittance            | 8 (26.67)  | Health                    | 3 (10.00)  |
| Salaried job          | 2 (6.67)   | Education                 | 1 (3.33)   |
| Total                 | 30 (100)   | Total                     | 30 (100)   |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are in percentage.

Food and food items occupy the largest area of the households' annual expenditures. A total of 66.67% households reported that majority of their income and or loan is spent on food items (Figure 4.10). Because none of the households have enough land for farming and food self sufficiency, buying food/food items remains the major area of expenditure. While 23.33% are engaged in share cropping, 13.33% of them reported agricultural inputs/properties as their major area of expenditure. Health, Clothes and Education are reported by 10.0%, 6.67% and 3.33% of households as their major area of expenditure respectively. While the majority of students from the Camp go to government schools and are supported by Good Neighbors Nepal, one family has been sending their children to private (English medium) school thus making education in the list of major areas of expenditure.

Table 4. 11: Households' Monthly Income Category.

| Income Category (income per month in NRs) | No. of HHs |
|---|------------|
| Less than 3 thousand                      | 4 (13.33)  |
| 3-5 thousand                              | 9 (30.0)   |
| 6-8 thousand                              | 14 (46.67) |
| 9-11 thousand                             | 3 (10.00)  |
| Total                                     | 30 (100)   |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are in percentage.

Increased income is one of the major component of human development. A good income in a household means increased chances in expanding choices and wellbeing. Economic stability and strength provides the basis for enlarging human capabilities through better health, education and further investment. While households' income per month was recorded, the income was categorized instead of exact digitization. Because most of the households rely on wage labor, farming and seasonal migration to India, the income those families accumulate becomes a subject to change. Though the households are coping with various income generation strategies, the total income they accumulate through is low. None of the households earn more than NRs 12,000 a month or NRs 144,000 annual. 10% of the households earn 9-11 thousands a month, 46.67% households' income is 6-8 thousand per month. 43.33% households fail to surpass the income of NRs six thousand or more a month. And 13.33% households can't even earn NRs 100 a day, thus making majority of households vulnerable to economic stability.

#### 4.3.8 Food Self-sufficiency and Management Strategies

Increasing food self-sufficiency and achieving food security are among the major challenges the world faces today. In a agro based country like Nepal and farming based community like the freed *Kamaiya*, securing food self-sufficiency and eliminating poverty should have been the main mantra. Whereas food security can be achieved through economic accessibility, food self-sufficiency is more of a self-sustaining and sustainable aspect of livelihood.

Table 4. 12: Food Self-Sufficiency and Management Strategies.

| Food Self-sufficiency | No. of HHs | Copying Strategies     | No. of HHs |
|-----------------------|------------|------------------------|------------|
| < 1 month             | 4 (13.33)  | Daily Wage Labor       | 8 (34.78)  |
| 1-3 months            | 9 (30.0)   | Food Borrowing         | 2 (8.70)   |
| 4-6 months            | 8 (26.67)  | Cash Loan              | 3 (13.04)  |
| 7-9 months            | 2 (6.67)   | Less Preferred Food    | 1 (4.35)   |
| 10-12 months          | 7 (23.33)  | Job/Enterprise         | 2 (8.70)   |
| > 1 year              | 0          | Abroad Work (seasonal/ | 7 (30.43)  |



|  |  |             |  |
|--|--|-------------|--|
|  |  | year round) |  |
|--|--|-------------|--|

Source: Field Survey (2013)

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are in percentage.

The land holding size per household of the freed *Kamaiya* is below 4 *kattha* (Table 4.3). A certain portion of allocated land is covered by housing, toilet and gardening. Whatever amount of land is left is not of best quality or accessible to planned irrigation facility. All these things make it impossible to sustain only on the food produced on their own. With average households' size of 5.9 (Table 4.2), the self-sufficiency on food wouldn't exceed beyond three months.

About a quarter (23.33%) of all the households are food self sufficient, all of them are engaged in share cropping system all through the year. The remaining 76.67% households are in a state of food self insufficiency. More than 70% of the households have less than six months of food self sufficiency and 13.33% among them are in severe conditions with no food self sufficiency for exceeding a single month. The households with food-insufficiency have coped with it through variety of alternatives of obtaining food security situation. Daily wage labor, remittance and salaried job has provided 17 households (74 percent of those food self-insufficient) to overcome food insufficiency. Six households (20 percent of the total households) suffer from food insecurity despite the coping strategies; 3 households borrow loans for buying foods, two households are dependent on borrowing food from villagers whom they pay back in labor or from retail shops whom they pay provide labor or pay in cash in times, and one household has been practicing less eating, or less preferred food.

The food insure households of the freed *Kamaiya* Resettlement Program portray an irony on the face of government and all the engaged agencies who, despite a decade long resettlement, have been unable to implement co-operate farming, land-banks, agricultural utensils and technology on low interest loan, or providing an alternate source of income through specific skill training and development.

#### 4.3.9 Health

The health status of households of the camp is described in this sub section. There is no single ‘standard’ measurement of health status for individuals or population group. It is a multi-dimensional concept that is usually and measured in terms of “1) absence of physical pain, physical disability, or a condition that is likely to cause death, 2) emotional well-being, and 3) satisfactory social functioning. Some have advocated including the quality of an individual's physical environment in the definition of health, but this dimension is not at present included in the most widely used measures of health” (Hispanic Health, 2012 as cited in RICE Unconventional Wisdom). The health status of a community is comparatively difficult to quantify, measure and determine than an individual. According to World Health Organization (WHO, n.d.), the social and economic environment, the physical environment and the person's individual characteristics and behaviours are the determinants of health status. Here the researcher has chosen certain aspects of the freed *Kamaiya*' livelihood arrangements those are either directly related or function as multipliers to their household health. Sources of water, lighting, cooking, or system of sanitary arrangements, awareness to sexually translated diseases, family planning immunization of children etc are taken into consideration while studying the health characteristics of the Camp (Table 4.13).

Table 4. 13: Health Aspects of the Households

| Attributes                                | No. of HHs |
|---|------------|
| Source of Drinking Water                  |            |
| Tube-well                                 | 30 (100.0) |
| Source of Lighting                        |            |
| Electricity                               | 30 (100.0) |
| Sources of Fuel for Cooking               |            |
| Fire-woods                                | 30 (100.0) |
| Sanitary Toilet Availability              | 30 (100.0) |
| Illness Treatment                         |            |
| Guruwa/dhami                              | 30 (100.0) |
| Health centers                            | 30 (100.0) |
| Immunization Status of Children (below 5) |            |

|                                |            |
|--------------------------------|------------|
| Fully immunized                | 16 (100.0) |
| Awareness of HIV/AIDS          | 15 (50.0)  |
| Use of Family Planning Methods |            |
| Permanent method               | 12 (41.38) |
| Temporary method               | 8 (27.59)  |
| Acute Illness (within 30 days) | 22 (66.7)  |
| Chronic Illness                | 8 (26.7)   |
| Physical Disability            | 2 (6.67)   |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

Ground water is the main source of drinking water in the area. All the households in the camp have easy access to drinking water and the service is provided by using tube wells. The first six tube-wells were built by the Government of Nepal under District Office of Land Reform and Management (DOLRM) in 2001 when the rehabilitated families were provided houses under systematic settlement program. GRENSO added twelve more tube-wells in 2002 and in 2003 KPUS (*Kamaiya Pratha Unmulan Samaj*) provided tube-wells to remaining households. There is no provision of tap water and after the reports that tube-wells of the area contains high concentration of arsenic, Rural Village Water Resources Management Project (RVWRMP), a bilateral project between the Government of Nepal and the Government of Finland, has installed “arsenic bio-sand filters” in 2011 to the households to decontaminate the water.

Before 2007 the households in the camp lived a life of darkness; they hadn’t settled down, they hadn’t earned a stable source of livelihood, and they weren’t able to buy kerosene oil or other source of lighting except fire-woods. Besides the health aspect, the educational and economic aspects of the households would have further deteriorated had there been no grid extended rural electrification project Kailali Kanchanpur Rural Electrification Project (KKREP), funded and implemented by both DANIDA and the government of Nepal. After the successful intervention, all the households in the camp enjoy lightening with low expanse at NRs 6 per unit.

All the households use fire-wood as the source of cooking. Though LPG cylinders are available in nearby markets, none of the households are using it for cooking. The

households' members should have no difficulty in collecting firewood for cooking as both the community forests are near to the camp. But the use of firewood for cooking should have had negative impacts on health of the female members who look after kitchen.

All the households have toilet facilities. KPUS had built twelve toilets in the camp in 2003. The members of the camp weren't aware of the needs of using toilets; the toilets got damaged with no maintenance from the targeted group. In 2010/11 RVWRMP built the additional toilets, the quality of those toilets is good but do all the members in the camp use toilet is questionable. The overall sanitation environment of the camp is satisfactory, liquid wastages are managed through open sanitary system; waste materials are disposed through burning or dumped in pit.

When a member falls ill, s/he is taken to guruwa and or medical clinic. When all the households take their ill members to the nearby medical clinics/hospitals, their faith in guruwa hasn't faded away. They still hold strong belief in him and consulted when anything unwilling happens. A guruwa has an important place in Tharu community as he is thought to be having spiritual power in him.

All the households, with children aged below five, have immunized their children. There are sixteen households who have those children and all of them are fully immunized. The vaccines for BCG, DPT./Hep. B, polio and measles are provided by health workers of the government of Nepal.

Awareness of HIV/AIDS is low among the households' head. Only half of the total household's heads are aware of the disease. 50% of them have no knowledge about it.

Most of the household's heads know about family planning means; about permanent and temporary sterilization means. The use of family planning devices is increasing in the camp as they are becoming more aware of deficiencies increased number of population have on the whole of family arrangements, so the number of children a couple would prefer is decreasing. Overall 68.97% household's heads are found using sterilization measure. Females are the main users and permanent female sterilization is the most practiced method. 41.38% household heads' better-halves are using permanent methods of family planning while 27.59% household heads pairs are using temporary methods.

With no special arrangements in terms of physical infrastructures, empowerment policies and culture of equal acceptance and importance on behalf of the state and society; physical disability is bound to limit an individual's movement and creativity; and increase an additional burden to the members of their families. 6.67% of households have their members with some sorts of physical disabilities and while compared to the total population of the camp, the physically impaired population is 1.13%. The camp has two individuals with physical impairment; one girl of 15 years suffers from developmental disorder, one adult of 40 years has visual impairment. There are two more individuals who are capable of earning but face some difficulty; one female of 40 years suffers hearing impairment and the other male of 32 lost his two fingers while working in a sugar factory in India.

In terms of diseases and illness prevalent in the camp; 26.7% households have one or more of their members suffer from chronic illness while the number would augment to 66.7% when it comes to acute illness infection. Chronic illnesses include asthma, chronic gastritis, kidney disease, tuberculosis, cancer, while acute illness includes nausea, vomiting, diarrhoea, headache, coughing, aches and pains and skin-rash.

#### 4.3.10 Education

The below sub section depicts the educational status of freed *Kamaiya* and their family members in the Camp. A high percentage of illiteracy persists in HHH of freed *Kamaiya*, majority of them; 63.3 percent are illiterate. The total number of household head who are literate is 11 which make 36.7 percent and of all the literate household heads, only 2 of them have received formal education. Furthermore, a staggering 81.8 percent (9 out of 11) household heads are counted as literate for their informal education.

There are reasons behind their illiteracy. All those household head were once *Kamaiya*. A huge burden of work over their soldier and their family never let them have leisure time for education and creativity. They hardly had time to read and/or write, and in some cases they were not allowed. After their freedom, there were projects those focused on adult education/informal education, but a freed *Kamaiya* was busy in earning a source of

livelihood for himself and his freed yet dependent family members. When they were asked about their willingness to join the literacy classes if provided, 16 (84.2%) replied that they are interested in the literacy program. Only 3 (15.8%) replied they haven't thought about it.

Table 4. 14: Head of Household (HHH) and their Educational Status

| Education of HHH       | Number    |
|------------------------|-----------|
| Illiterate             | 19 (63.3) |
| Informal               | 9 (30.0)  |
| Primary (1 to 5 grade) | 2 (6.67)  |
| Total                  | 30 (100)  |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

The educational status of freed *Kamaiya* including their family members has improved over the years yet it can't be considered satisfactory. One third of the populations is still illiterate and not able to read, write and make basic calculations. The literacy rate of the camp is 64.6% with informal education occupying 17.7% of the literate population (Table 4.15). The researcher did not test whether a person counted as literate through informal education is able to read, write and compute. In some cases, due to short duration of literacy programs, lack of coordination and continuity among donor as well as recipient organizations; person considered literate through informal literacy fails to pursue privileges meant for a literate person.

Primary education contributes the highest percentage (39.2%) of literate population followed by informal education (17.7%) (Table 4.15). The percentage of literate people is inversely proportional to the level of education i.e. the higher the level of education, the lower the percentage of people. No one has a higher education degree; two students will be attending SLC examination this year; the school leaving level in Nepalese education system. If we see the literacy rate among different age group, literacy rate has an inverse relation with the age group, that is higher the age lower the literacy rate. Table 4.14 clearly depicts that overall literacy rate aged 6-14 years is 97.8% whereas it is only 17.2% among 45 years and above age group (Table 4.15). The increasing number of young generation to

formal education is one positive aspect of life after liberation; younger generation have got access to formal education system.

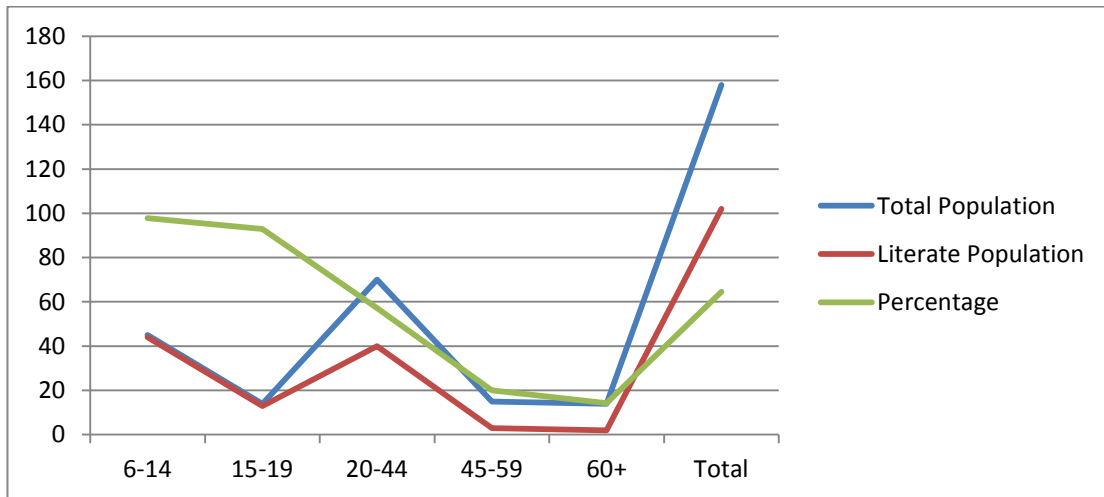
Table 4. 15: Age Group and their Education Level (Age 6 and Above)

| Age Group | Level of Education |                    |           |                 |           | Total     |
|-----------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|
|           | Illiterate         | Informal Education | Primary   | Lower Secondary | Secondary |           |
| 6-14      | 1 (2.2)            |                    | 42 (93.3) | 2 (4.4)         |           | 45 (100)  |
| 15-19     | 1 (7.1)            | 1 (7.1)            | 7 (50.0)  | 3 (21.4)        | 2 (14.3)  | 14 (100)  |
| 20-44     | 30 (42.9)          | 22 (31.4)          | 13 (18.6) | 5 (7.1)         |           | 70 (100)  |
| 45-59     | 12 (80.0)          | 3 (20.0)           |           |                 |           | 15 (100)  |
| 60+       | 12 (85.7)          | 2 (14.3)           |           |                 |           | 14 (100)  |
| Sub Total | 56 (35.4)          | 28 (17.7)          | 62 (39.2) | 10 (6.3)        | 2 (1.3)   | 158 (100) |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in percentage

Figure 4. 1: Population of Age 6 and Above and their Educational Status



Source: Field Survey (2013)

There is difference in educational status on the basis of sex. If we see at national level, male populations has better education status than female. But here at the camp, female populations have enjoyed the educational supremacy to their male counterparts. The

literacy percentage of male population is 60.7 percent, while the female literacy is 68.9 percent (Table 4.16). Rising consciousness upon the importance of education, provision of informal education, movements against sending young daughters as domestic workers (*Kamlahari*) has helped to increase the literacy among the female populations.

The school drop-out ratio of male students is as twice as the female students. The male students' drop-out rate is influenced by the pressure of sharing hands in family earning and financial responsibility. The active involvement in education and continuing it, with dropout rate less than a third of total dropout number (Table 4.17), female population will eventually lead more of them to higher level of education.

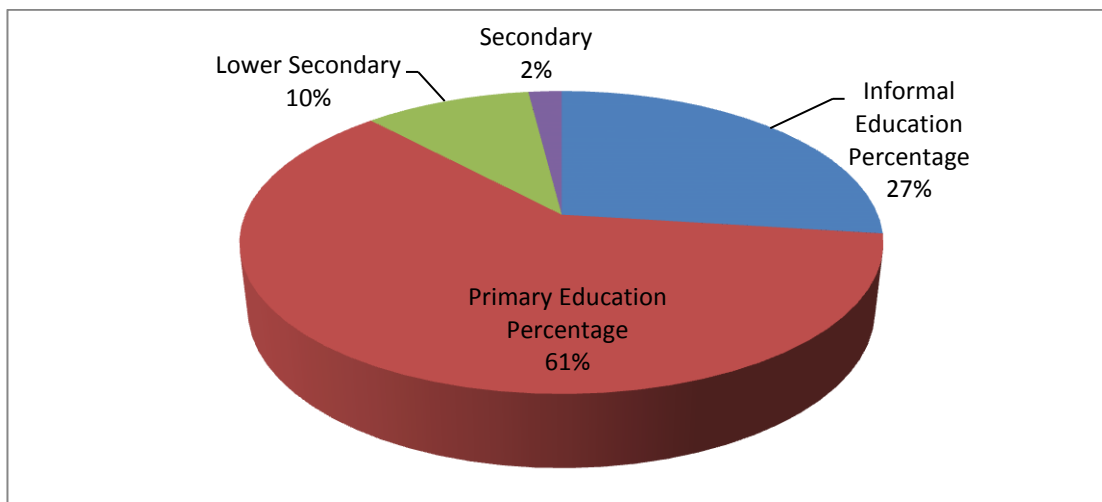
Table 4. 16: Education Level by Sex (Age 6 years and above)

| Sex       | Level of Education |           |           |                 |           | Total     |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|
|           | Illiterate         | Informal  | Primary   | Lower Secondary | Secondary |           |
| Male      | 33 (39.3)          | 10 (11.9) | 34 (40.5) | 5 (6.0)         | 2 (2.4)   | 84 (100)  |
| Female    | 23 (31.1)          | 18 (24.3) | 28 (37.9) | 5 (6.7)         | 0         | 74 (100)  |
| Sub Total | 56 (35.4)          | 28 (17.7) | 62 (39.2) | 10 (6.3)        | 2 (1.3)   | 158 (100) |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

Note: Figures in parentheses are in percentage

Figure 4. 2: Population of Age 6 and Above and their Educational Attainment





Source: Field Survey (2013)

Usually when school going population is measured; the enrolment and dropout ratios are measured mainly by considering the children of age 6-14. Here, while analyzing the enrolment and dropout number of students from the Camp, the researcher has extended the upper ceiling of age to 17 mainly because of three factors; i) the children start their schooling by late, ii) most of them have weaker performance in school (and the reasons behind their weaker performance are many) and are bound to repeat classes and, iii) some withdraw themselves from school primarily due to financial uncertainties, run to India or labor work and rejoin classes while back home. These causes led them find difficulties in graduating from school while they are 14 or 15 years old.

The total population of age between 6 -17 years old in the Camp is 59. Among the total population 1 male child hasn't started his schooling yet. 1 female of age 15 is illiterate, mainly because of her physical disability, and the other female has taken informal education literary classes. This leads the population of total school going number to 56.

Table 4. 17: School Enrolment and Dropout Rate of Children (6-17 Years Old)

| Schooling<br>Situation | Level of Education |      |       |                 |      |       |           |      |       | Total |      |       |
|------------------------|--------------------|------|-------|-----------------|------|-------|-----------|------|-------|-------|------|-------|
|                        | Primary            |      |       | Lower Secondary |      |       | Secondary |      |       | Both  | Boys | Girls |
|                        | Both               | Boys | Girls | Both            | Boys | Girls | Both      | Boys | Girls |       |      |       |
| Total<br>Students      | 49                 | 26   | 23    | 5               | 3    | 2     | 2         | 2    |       | 56    | 31   | 25    |
| Enrolled               | 38                 | 19   | 19    | 4               | 2    | 2     | 2         | 2    |       | 44    | 23   | 21    |
| Dropout                | 11                 | 7    | 4     | 1               | 1    |       |           |      |       | 12    | 8    | 4     |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

Of all the population between the age group of 6-17 years, 94.9 percent have earned formal education offered by the government of Nepal. The numbers of enrolled students who most often attend classes and are continuing their educational pursuit are 44 in number- 78.6 percent, and the number of students who have left school makes a huge number too, 21.4 percent (12 out of 56 students) have stopped going for school, and most

of them are now involved in economic activities. Of all the dropout students, male students outnumber the female students; 67.0% of all those dropout students are male. The dropout percentage of female student in recent years has decreased mainly because *Kamlahari* and child marriage system are strongly checked and punished if found guilty.

#### 4.3.11 Social Participation and Household Perception

The involvement or limitations of freed *Kamaiya* in community activities, feasts and festivals, and their participation and/or contribution in development works and social-communal decisions; or to say their acceptance or rejection by other members those who co-habit in and around the camp is an essential aspect related to the analysis of their resettlement and freedom.

While asked about the social respect and behaviour they receive from the members of other communities, those of Tharu or non-Tharu, 40% of the freed *Kamaiya* household heads said they and their family members are treated well. They are behaved as the other non *Kamaiya* individuals are behaved. Likewise 53.33% responded that the social respect and behaviour is neither good nor bad; they don't find special warmth or hatred towards them and their community. Two households (6.67%) reported that they don't have harmonious relations to their neighbours (Table 4.18). Those two families had tensed time last month when one youth was accused of stealing and the other in course of ethnic discussion were beaten by their nearby neighbouring *Pahadi/Parbatiya* youths, the tension has eased in recent weeks as the freed *Kamaiya* youths have moved to India.

Table 4. 18: Households' Feeling About Other Community's Behaviour Towards Them and Their Community

| Perception characteristics  | Value      |
|-----------------------------|------------|
| Good/positive               | 12 (40.0)  |
| Okay (neither good nor bad) | 16 (53.33) |
| Bad/humiliating             | 2 (6.67)   |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

The level of social inclusion and participation of the freed *Kamaiya* community people in general and households in particular in local fests/festivals and functions and development works around their area is presented in Table 4.19. The freed *Kamaiya* households enjoy full participation if any fest, function and developmental decision/work occur in their settlement; whether that be farming activities in their small land, decision over saving and community groups or over any assistance they receive from helping organizations/projects. Those households have been together all through these fourteen years, in times of difficulties or in progress. They have stood for each other like a single family. But the participation in fests and functions, social decisions and development works in the area which they share with other Tharu and non-Tharu neighbors and has greater scope than merely their Camp; their participation and inclusion is generally low. Only 20% of households have participated in local fests and functions as an integral part of larger community with 53.33% participating occasionally, and just 16.67% of households participated or were asked about their opinions for social decisions and development related works. Though the Camp life seems settled and living in co-existence with their non-*Kamaiya* neighborhood, a huge portion of freed *Kamaiya* households (83.33 percent) are excluded from their involvement in making decisions of social importance and development activities.

Table 4. 19: Distribution of Households By Status Of Participation In Local (other than the Camp) Functions And Development Works

| Areas and level of participation                           | Value      |
|--|------------|
| Local fests/festivals (in last one year)                   |            |
| Always (we're an integral part)                            | 6 (20.0)   |
| Sometimes (we can't manage leisure time/we're not invited) | 16 (53.33) |
| Uninformed/unaware (we don't know what happens where)      | 8 (26.67)  |
| Development works (in last two years)                      |            |
| Yes  | 5 (16.67)  |
| No   | 12 (40.0)  |
| Do not know about such activities                          | 13 (43.33) |

Source: Field Survey (2013)

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are in percentage.

Equal and accountable participation of all segments of society is the basis for a sustainable and just development. Deliberate exclusion or indifference towards a certain section of larger community in issues those influence and endure their lives, in a longer run, harms the vary social fabrics and balance that holds the differences together. Social, economic and political mainstreaming of those freed *Kamaiya* households in local community affairs and prioritization of their needs through guarantying their equal and dignified access to rights, opportunities and resources would ascertain their rehabilitation and resettlement.

## **CHAPTER - FIVE**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

Freedom is a relative term. It has subjective attributes embodied in it and thus freedom for an individual or group of individuals is shaped by their perception and desirability, and both these factors are corollary to the then situation/circumstances. When *Kamaiya* were freed from the vicious circle of bondage system in 2000, freedom for them had no other meaning but an escape from their lords; excessive hours of work and indebtedness. A thought that they don't have to return to their landlords or owe them anymore, was more precious than anything.

After fourteen years of proclamation of their freedom, plenty has changed in the lives of freed *Kamaiya*. Many positive results have been achieved at the individual, household and group level. Their liberation has provided them the freedom of expression and movement, right to peaceful assemblage and association and all the rights guaranteed by the law and constitution of the country. The freed *Kamaiya*, no longer, have to be dependent on and fear of their masters; they have the liberty to make their own decisions and choose their ways of lives. Their legal protection and cultural emancipation along with rehabilitation procedures and empowerment approaches, over the years, have enabled them to be well equipped claiming their rights defined and guaranteed by the law and constitution of the country.

The literacy rate among both men and women has increased. Their children are already more educated than most of their parents. The educational attainment of younger generation, below fifteen years old, has amplified that of national level; almost all the school going children, both boys and girls, are attending or have attended schools. As a result of government's campaign, all the eligible population has received citizenship membership. They have got a house to live in, a piece of land owned, and easy accessibility to certain facilities such as electricity, drinking water, school, health service, utilization of public property, benefits from market etc.

The saving groups, they have within the settlement, have assisted them in financial as well as community needs. The groups have instilled a regular saving habit to the members. Individual savings have reached levels of several hundreds of rupees per household (to be exact NPR 7,596) and it would provide some surplus cash in moments of crisis. The freed *Kamaiya* groups are now capable of providing loans to their members. As a result, the freed *Kamaiya* do not have to rely solely on other money lenders; small scale of loan that would address average financial shortage of the freed *Kamaiya* is borrowed from such saving groups.

The savings together with the access to skill training (e.g. sewing, masonry, driving, livestock management etc) have helped the men and women to start up some small businesses and engage in other income generating activities. The livelihood and survival of a freed *Kamaiya* household rests on diverse sources of income: production of some food grains on their own farm land, income from selling livestock in the market, share cropping, wages from agricultural labour, daily wages in house construction or carpentry, and work in India. Some have become self-employed, e.g. tailoring and haircutting centres. All the income generating activities have increased family incomes. The wages for agricultural and other labour have increased, possibly also as a result of their increased skills (and of the minimum wages enforced by the government). Their level of confidence has developed – as a result of various types of training, awareness raising and advocacy activities. Their tendency to social participation has increased.

Despite those figural achievements, the freed *Kamaiya* haven't enjoyed as much of freedom they could possibly have with fourteen long years of liberation. There are countless lapses in each aspect of their lives.

Though the literacy status of household heads and other members has increased after their liberation, more than one third of total population falls under illiteracy. And when the literacy status of population of age fifteen and above is taken into account, the situation is even worse, with a hammering digit of 48.6percent illiterate. The literacy status of younger generation is high but not even a single member from the camp has passed SLC or higher education in these fourteen years of liberation. Most of the students leave their schools before they could complete their primary level of formal education. The school

drop-out rate of the school going members of the camp, which is 21.4 percent, is still a major failure in the process of educational achievement.

The physical accessibility and growing health sector enterprise has, by no doubt, made the freed *Kamaiya'* health status appear progressive, but their comfort utilization of health services due to financial and health awareness constraints have in terms made them prone to ill-health. Though majority of the households head feel that their health status has improved in the years of liberation, and yes it has; the percentage of households affected by acute illness and chronic illness, which is 66.7 percent and 26.7 percent respectively, is a proof enough that the health status is still severe. All the households' first preference for curing ill health, not medical clinics or hospitals but *guruwa*, can be detrimental too, this preference can some days bring fatal outcomes. Half of the households' heads (50.0 percent) haven't heard about HIV/AIDS, is an indication that the population in the camp can be prone to sexual diseases. With 21.9 percent economically active population in India and majority of the camp population work in nearby highway settlements, and both the work settings are possible destinations for sex workers and prostitution, make them viable to sexually transferable diseases. All the households' use of firewood as the source of cooking is bound to affect the health of females working in the kitchen and small aged children who are physically dependent on those females. Though the government health post and its subsequent sub-health post are not too far from the camp, the improper treatment due to unavailability of human and medical resources has led them either to neglect their health condition or to go for private hospitals and clinics which have automatically pressed them further to loans and financial burden.

All the households in the camp are living in harmony as a single family. They help each other in need and actively participate in the fests, functions and development issues concerned to their camp. But as soon as the area of concern expands outside of the camp, their involvement or concern decreases to a minimal level. And this decline is not because of their unwillingness but because they are left out by the other communities; *Tharu* and/or non-*Tharu*. Their lesser access and influence in social endeavour, development activities have hindered their easier mobilization towards work availability, good payments and creativity. The process of participation and inclusion in social and development aspects for progress is obligatory, and without the involvement of the

majority of freed *Kamaiya* in decision making and implementation procedure, it is going to lead the freed *Kamaiya* more towards vulnerability.

Thought there are four saving groups in the camp who offer small scale loan to their households; none of the groups have enough saving to support their member households when they are in desperate need of financial assistance. This is probably the reason, in the duration of one year; 20 percent households have taken loan from the money lenders with high interest rates of 5 per cent. All the households have certain amount of loan in them but the basic purpose of their loan is not for business/entrepreneurship or capital formulation but for health care and household consumption. And these two purposes of taking loan show that the freed *Kamaiya* are living a vulnerable life.

Daily wage labour, remittance and farming are the three main sources of income and unfortunately all these three sources are unstable and insecure to make a progressive living out of them. The daily wage labour has mainly been unskilled one and is prone to easy replacement because the flow of unskilled labour, either in farm or off-farm sector, is immense with the work provider having the incentive of hiring labourers with lower charges. The nearby villagers have already stopped hiring human power from the camp for demanding higher than the regular payment at local level. Any nation, community or family wouldn't survive long in remittance and the freed *Kamaiya* camp is no exception. The individuals working abroad (India) don't get a permanent work, payment is uneven, labour/human rights is not guaranteed either by the work provider or by the government. And the third main source of earning, which is farming, is actually share-cropping; the land owner is free to choose and change his share-cropper, unavailability of irrigation arrangements and shortage of seeds/pesticide makes the income unstable. The major income sources are thus inconsistent and would affect the households. And while the major spending area is taken into account, two third of the households (66.67 percent) spend the most of whatever they earn on food. This is again a sign of how susceptible these households are, who earn all their lives just to feed their household members.

The land provided to the freed *Kamaiya* is practically obsolete; as a result 76.67 percent households are in a state of food self-insufficiency. A total of 13.3 percent households don't have self food production sufficient for a single month and further 30.0 percent are unable to exceed food self-sufficiency of three months. While most of the households



overcome food insufficiency through daily wage labour, abroad work and enterprise; 20 percent households still face food insecurity. It is an absolute irony on the face of the fact that the freed *Kamaiya* have spent their lives in farm for generations and are some of the finest farmers the country has.

The members of freed *Kamaiya* households are involved in all sorts of income generating activities. But the household income is low. The highest earning households (10.0 percent) earn in a range of NRs. 9-11 thousand monthly while 43.33 percent households have their monthly income of below NRs. 6 thousand and 13 percent households with monthly income of below NRs. 3 thousand. Income/economy is one of the fundamental aspect that determine the overall status of an individual as with financial strength come social, economic and political strength. Even comparatively the well-to-do households in the camp are among the poorest when earning and consumption level is analyzed. With low scale of earning, the households have been unable to provide good schools to their children, regular and nutritional food intake, better medical cure in times of illness, arrange necessary household property and utilize goods and services etc, and as a result, the households face uncertainty from all walks of livelihood.

A large section of freed *Kamaiya* Camp's population is an absentee population. 20 percent households' main income comes from work in India; a total of 21.9 percent population of age ten years and above are engaged in earning there. Though the population working/staying in India doesn't have good payments, they are bound to work/stay there because in course of these fourteen years of liberation; the freed *Kamaiyas*' household size have augmented and the extended families have no house or land for themselves. A life away from one's own family and community, choked by severity and paucity, is never a good experience. And while the most active working population lives a life of a asylum; it further weakens the emotional as well as social strengths of the households and progress pace and bargaining power of the community.

The freed *Kamaiya* have learned to cope with various insufficiencies and make a livelihood as good as possible out of destitution, poverty and misery. In these fourteen years they have survived and it's their greatest achievement. They have espoused various means for the survival but **freedom is more than just a survival. With only facade progress and all the possible vulnerabilities around, the "freedom" of freed-Kamaiya**

**is not "free" yet. And, thus, the rehabilitation and/or resettlement process cannot be called a successful one.**

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