# Poverty Reduction and Land Distribution to Kamaiya (Bonded Labour) in Nepal

# Punya Prasad OLI, Nepal

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#### **SUMMARY**

It was found that about fifteen thousands families lived in Kamaiya (bonded labour) situation in 1995 in the Far Western part of Nepal. They borrowed the money Rs 3000 –30,000 from the wealthy farmer and worked with them until they pay the sum back to the farmer on the specified day of mid January each year. The owner of Kamaiya will feed him or his family for his/ their works. HM Government, Nepal, Department of Land Reform initiated Kamaiya skilled development programme and only about thousand Kamaiyas liberated in four years time and approximately 15,000 cow herders were about to be fall into the trap of bondedness or Kamaiya system. Hence, the government intervened, emancipated all Kamaiyas about twenty thousands families, provided land for homestead, financial and material assistance to construct the house, and provision of the food for work programmes.

As wealthy landowners and other agencies were uncooperative to settle these poor Kamaiya families in the government forests, it was tremendous tasks of getting co-operation on provision and settlement of Kamaiyas on the government land. These former Kamaiyas were not used to manage themselves and unwanted to local people and institutions. In this article, it is described how the various problems of political, administrative, land survey, planning and distribution of land certificates and other assistance were solved and the co-operation with various agencies, NGOs and local people had positive effects on the poverty alleviation.

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#### 1. **DEFINITION OF TERMS**

Kamaiyas (bonded labour), skilled development programmes, land less, Rehabilitation, Land distribution, Land Ownership Certificate, Relaying of the parcels,

# 2. INTRODUCTION

# 2.1 Definition of Kamaiya

"Kamaiya" is the term for agricultural workers or tenants of farmland working on farm or in house as labourer in the verbal or written agreement with landowner of Terai areas of Mid and Far Western Development Regions of Nepal in Tharu dialect. They were classified in 5 different classes and the term also denotes term the following:

- Kamaiya whose share of the crop is one third of the product of land,
- Kamaiya whose share of crops of the assigned land
- Kamaiya receiving wages
- Kamaiya receiving fixed annual food grains and other materials
- Kamaiya on Sauki (bonded situation, here in after called as Kamaiya) or who receive loan (US \$ 45-450) from land owner and works with him until he/she pays his/her loan or may change his/her master with all the family members at mid January.

Although HMG/Nepal fixed the rent of land cultivated by tenant, which is about 1/3 of average product of main crop. Generally, 50% of the production of main crops is assigned informally to the sharecropper. It seemed the landowners of those areas were taking quite high share of crops. The fifth categories of agricultural labourers were found in bonded form and government take action to emancipate these labourers from this trap of bondage. These categories of Kamaiyas have no experience of managing themselves. The Kamaiya along with his/her family serves the land owner/master and relies everything on his/her master.

In order to increase the productivity of land and maintain the social justice, Min. of Land Reform and Management, HMG/Nepal was also conducting the programme of distribution of land to land less and emancipation of Kamaiya, in addition to the regular works of Land Reform, Land Revenue and Survey and Mapping, and supervision of the management of Guthi (Trust) land and other related activities.

# 2.2 Identification of Kamaiya

National Seminars /Workshop was organised of Far and Mid Western Regions on March 1996 and 2000 at Nepalganj. The definition of Kamaiya in bonded form and method of identification and skill development programmes were decided on the seminars participated by politicians, local intellectuals and administrator. Accordingly, door-to-door field survey was carried out and the lists Kamaiya along with their masters and amount of loans are published locally, so that the Kamaiyas and their landowners may lodge complain for errors or omissions. The list was finalised, 15,152 families were identified and assistance programmes of the skilled development and economic development packages were organised.

# 2.3 Skill Development Programmes

Skill development training were conducted in masonry, carpenter, driving, pig and goat farming, vegetable farming, veterinary works, welding, electrician, white washing, maintenance of bicycles, radio and television, tailoring etc were conducted. The participants were given tools/ seeds/piglet or kid and Rs 100 allowance per day, half of which i e. Rs 50, given to master of Kamaiya. The trainings were decided on the basis of the recommendation of Kamaiya, interest, qualification /ability of participants as well as locally available employment opportunities. The participants were Kamaiyas or their family members (wife, son or daughter). The existing local technical training institutes were used as far as possible to train Kamaiyas.

# 2.4 Legal status of Kamaiya System

After conducting various skill developments programmes 5 years, only 1056 Kamaiya families were emancipated. However, another 15000 cattle herders were about to fall in the trap of bounded ness. There were also pressures from opposition parties, NGOs and Kamaiyas. Hence, the government proclaimed on July 17, 2000 that:

- The engagement of Kamaiya or other forms of bonded labour was illegal and prohibited,
- The Kamaiyas were emancipated outright,
- Any written or verbal contract made between the landlord and Kamaiya or a family member was null and void and punishable by law,
- The debt or Sauki due to the Kamaiya was illegal and should not to be paid.

After the proclamation, the Kamaiyas were set free from the existing legal system of Nepal and moved to camp near by the district head quarters of concerned district. Local authorities, central government, INGOs, NGOs and individuals helped them for emergency assistance by providing tents, drinking water, emergencies rations /Food for Work Programmes.

#### 1. IDENTIFICATION AND CATEGORISATION OF KAMAIYAS

After the proclamation government constituted "Central Co-ordination and Monitoring Committee for rehabilitation of former Kamaiya at centre level under the chairmanship of Hon. Deputy Prime Minister and District Co-ordination and Monitoring Committee for rehabilitation of former Kamaiya.

The function of committees were to identify Kamaiyas in the bonded labour form, distribute the land for rehabilitation and coordinate various rehabilitation activities including the employment to Kamaiyas

Re-identification of Kamaiya was conducted by the District Coordination and Monitoring Committee, in cooperation with Village Development Committee (VDC) and Municipal authorities and NGO. The secretariat was district Land Reform Office. It was difficult to take cooperation of landowners, the master of Kamaiyas initially. There was great pressure for settlements of Kamaiyas as well as landless persons at that time. The Kamaiyas were identified by house to house survey including those Kamaiyas moved to the forest. The list was published and finalised after investigation of complaints. There was also concerned that all the Kamaiyas in the bonded form be listed, as the masters of Kamaiyas did not allow all of them to register.

The list of Kamaiyas was finalised which is attached as Appendix 1 and categorised in four groups as:

- The landless and homeless Kamaiyas,
- The Kamaiyas settled in government land,
- Kamaiyas with less than 677 sq. m of land and
- Kamaiya with larger than 677 sq. m of land.

The 1st categories Kamaiyas needed emergency assistance, 338 - 1700 sq. m of land for housing and the second categories Kamaiyas needed to have secured land ownership of the land occupied for housing. All the four categories of Kamaiyas needed assistance for drinking water, education and food for work programmes. All the categories of Kamaiyas were issued identification cards with their categories. Most of Kamaiyas were from Tharu community, the worked as Kamaiyas on their own community and some time with other communities. The attached photos will shows their situation after emancipation.

The Kamaiyas were settled as far as possible near the area where they were working before, to avoid social adjustment problem. So, the local authorities were requested to provide government land for the resettlement of Kamaiyas of that area. The distribution of Kamaiyas in the districts is as per that attached Map No. 1 and Appendix 3.

#### 4. ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGAL ARRANGEMENT

The rehabilitation of about twenty thousands families or hundred thousands persons was a tremendous tasks. The Kamaiyas were evicted by landowners from their huts and the land where they were settled. The other political parties, NGOs and local party workers of ruling

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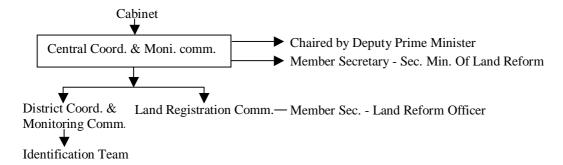
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parties who were masters of Kamaiyas were also against the emancipation. The landowners also controlled the local resources including encroachment of the government land.

When we visited the district head quarters on August 2000, thousands of Kamaiyas were there in play ground, office compounds with their personal belongings- chicken, piglet, cart etc and children, crammed in small space or in the tent on the land with of knee dip mud and pouring rain. It was found big people occupied the government land, and degraded forest was the community forestry of their wives or daughters. We found that the present generation of elites and so-called big persons were so cruel and unconcerned about the other people and future of the country. The illegal occupation government lands up to 10 hectares and legalised through "Commission for Solving the Problems of Land less People" by these big persons including former ministers. They were no land and place for Kamaiya for resettlement at that time.

Hence, the committee needed to form very high level and person in the field must be dedicated to solve the problems and to encourage Kamaiyas. The following organisations were set up by HMG Nepal by the cabinet decision of July 24, 2000 to carry out Kamaiya Rehabilitation Programmes.



# 4.1 Central Coordination and Monitoring Committee

The committee was to coordinate and monitor the Kamaiya rehabilitation programmes including resettlement of former Kamaiyas by providing assistants and employment opportunity. The committee was chaired by Hon. Deputy Prim Minister, composed of ministers of Finance, Local Development, Land Reform, Health, Education, Home, and Women and Welfare Ministries and the member secretary was the secretary of Min. of Land Reform and Management. The committee chairperson and members provided valuable assistance, guidance and decisions. The minister also visited districts and also received the briefs from the senior persons of district committee on meetings in Kathmandu.

# **4.2** District Coordination and Monitoring Committee

The District Coordination and Monitoring Committee was formed under chairpersonship of District chairperson of each District Development Committee (DDC). The committee is composed of local officials of the district like Chief District Officer, Local Development Officer, officers of District Forest Office. Survey Party Chief, Chief Land Revenue Office,

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District Education Officer, District Health officer and Member Secretary, the Land Reform Officer. The committee conducted identification and classification of Kamaiyas, identification of land and distributed certificates. It also co-ordinated and monitored the various assistance and rehabilitation programmes.

# 4.3 Land Registration Committee

The registration of land to the Kamaiyas was delayed due to long procedures of notification by Land Revenue legislation and difficulties on registration of degraded forestland to Kamaiyas. Hence, the government decided to form, the "Land Registration Committee" with appropriate authorities, in Feb17, 2001 for 8 months period in each district. The committee is co-ordinated by Deputy Secretary of Min. of Land Reform and Management with the officers of Forest, Land Revenue, Survey Party / Survey Maintenance and Chief District Office, and District Development Committee Offices of the districts as members and Land Reform Officer as member secretary.

# **4.4 Donors Meetings**

The donor's meeting was organised and explained about Kamaiya rehabilitation programmes at National planning commission on Aug.20, 2000 in presence of INGOs /NGOs, donor agencies and HMG officials. The rehabilitation programme was finalised with members of the concerned agencies at other meetings at the Ministry of Land Reform and Management, which as attached as appendix 1.

# 4.5 Allocation of Degraded Forest Areas

Decision of allowing to distribute the degraded forest area is required to hand over legally from the concerned forest officers to the committee. Hence, the meeting held at Ministry of Forestry and Soil Conservation in April 24, 2001 and decided to hand over 1113.4 ha (1644 Bighas) of degraded forest land of different areas of 5 districts to Land Registration Communities. The forestland could not be transfer to private persons without the authority of forest officer.

# 4.6 Identification Cards

All Kamaiyas are issued the proper identification cards with their categories by the concerned Land Reformed Officer. It was easier to conduct further rehabilitation works.

# 4.7 Citizenship Certificates

Most of Kamaiyas did not have citizenship certificates and it was essential to have land registration be referenced to citizenship certificates. The concerned Land Reform Officer also studied the documents of Kamaiyas and persuaded concerned authorities to expedite to issue of citizenship certificates.

#### 4.8 Assistance in Construction of Houses

HMG/Nepal decided to provide soft loan assistance of Rs10, 000 and local construction materials and timber up to 35cu.ft. from local forest or depot for construction of permanent house of Kamaiyas. The committee was also formed to look after proper distribution of funds and uses of construction materials.

#### 5. LAND AND IDENTIFICATION AND ASSIGNMENT OF LAND PARCEL

The land parcels to be distributed to Kamaiyas were required to identify, decide the amount of land areas to be distributed, acquire the land and to carry out cadastral survey and register the land parcels to Kamaiyas before handing over the land to the Kamaiyas.

#### 5.1 Identification of Land Parcels

District Coordination and Monitoring Committee, in corporation with officials of local Village Development committee (VDC) and political parties, identified the land to be distributed with the help of local survey team who surveyed and placed to the committee for approval. The identification team also consisted of local authorities like of District Forest Office, Resettlement Office, and Cotton Development Office. There were also disagreements with local people to resettle large number of Kamaiyas in their locality. The local politicians thought that the large number of Kamaiyas would off balance their votes. The resettlement of larger number of Kamaiyas in one location was advantageous for provision of services to them, rather than scattered all around districts. Therefore, it was compromised to settle Kamaiyas in the local VDC, as far as possible. The government land available was assigned to Kamaiyas scattered in the VDC which was about 465 ha in total and the remaining Kamaiya, were identified to resettle in the degraded forestland which was approved by the Ministry of Forest and Soil Conservation.

### 5.2 Settled Land of Kamaiya

The government land less than 1, 700 sq m (5 Katthas), occupied and settled by Kamaiyas were surveyed and registered on their names and Land Certificates were issued to them. Accordingly cadastral maps and land ownership records were up dated. The total 4,435 of this category kamaiya family were provided of land.

#### 5.3 Settlement on New Area

The identified land as above and unoccupied by Kamaiyas were surveyed, planned and divided into housing plots, roads. The school area and common land parcels were allotted on the settlement of about 20 families and additional parcel for Health Post allotted in the settlement with more than 60 families. The committee approved these planned parcels with concurrence of local people and other authorities.

The size of the plots were 300 - 1700 sq. m depending on the location of area like suburban area to village areas and the land value. After approval of the resettlement plan by the

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committee, the Land Registration Committee registered the plots to Kamaiyas and prepared Land Certificates and Records.

# **5.4 Survey Method**

Napi Goswaras (Cadastral Survey Parties) were conducting, resurveyed work in that areas except Dang District. In Dang district, Trig. Survey team was working to establish control points. The main control points were established by GPS and other methods. Cadastral maps were also available must of areas. The required manpower and instruments deputed from the Goswaras and for Dang District deputed from Siddhartha Nagar, Goswara No.3. The earlier cadastral maps were isle land type maps.

The preliminary maps were produced at the scale of 1:500 by plane table survey method using existing control points and marked existing cadastral parcels boundary, roads, buildings and other existing details. The parcels planning were conducted manually on these maps with minimum disturbances including internal access roads and other common land including of school. The committee decided the amount of area of parcel size on the basis of land value of the area as above.

After approval of the plan by local people, concerned authorities and the committee, the Field Books, Land Ownership Certificates and Land Records were prepared. Unique numbers were assigned to all parcels including roads. The planned map was then transferred to the original cadastral map(s).

The Kamaiya were invited to their plots and also employed as the field helpers. The parcels were set out using Theodolite, plane table and tapes. Areas of parcel were calculated, which were checked later on the cadastral map. The plots were laid out on ground and the Land Ownership Certificates handed over to the Kamaiyas, which are shown on attached photos.

The Napi Goswara would complete the whole wards of municipality or VDC and all the existing cadastral documents of concerned district offices would only be replaced by new documents after Gazette notification. Therefore, it could not be registered all the parcels of Kamaiyas and legalised in short period from them and the Land Registration Committee was formed.

After completion of the works, maps of Survey Section of the district were updated and new maps were also attached as Cadastral File Maps. The field books along with cadastral maps were handed over to the section.

# 5.5 Assistance to Settlement of Kamaiyas

The Land Reform Office assisted Kamaiyas to move into their new home sites and local police provided security of Kamaiyas until they were secured in their land. The Food For Work Programmes including the construction of local access roads and the roads inside their settlement were provided with World Food Programme, GTZ and Local Development Office of the district.

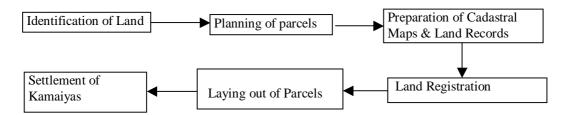
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#### 6. LAND DISTRIBUTION AND PROBLEMS OF SURVEY

The land distribution and settlement of Kamaiyas were carried out in difficult situation of disturbances of local people, local political parties, NGOs, and Maoist insurgency. Some families are still waiting to go to their land assigned parcels by government, where police security could not be provided for initial settlement period. There were more administrative and political problems to solve by surveyors rather than technical problems.

The surveyors were the main persons to conduct the initial settlement works. They had to visit the sites with Kamaiyas, local authorities and district authorities for identification of areas. They had to survey the land, calculate the area, plan the parcels, layout parcels, show the parcels to the concerned Kamaiyas, prepared Land Records and Certifies, registered Kamaiyas on the Field Book, along with the Citizenship Certificates and up date cadastral maps. They laid out parcels of Kamaiyas, and the marked roads and other common plots to show the Food for Work Officials. After completion of work, the Cadastral Maps and Field Book would be handed over Survey Section and Land Records to Land Revenue Office.

#### **CHART**



All these processes involved visiting and working in the field sites, surveying and preparation of official documents as well as the works of the Kamaiya like identification, citizenship certificates and the permanent settlement. It was very courageous works of surveyors and other staffs who work so long time on the Maoist infested areas and could have cooperation from all these groups of people for permanent settlement of timid Kamaiyas.

### 7. PROVISION OF ASSISTANCE

The provisions of assistance to Kamaiyas were the most important are the emancipation of Kamaiya and provision of 1575.8 ha (2361.7 Bighas) land for housing. During the bondage system, the Kamaiyas could not attend the training programme or meeting unless they provide another substitute labourer and even government has to pay the master for him to participate in the training. The land ownership certificates identifies him as a bonafide citizen of Nepal and he/she/ and his/her family liable have all the facilities that a Nepalese citizen will get. Despite all the suffering they had before settlement, they will be rehabilitated and be better citizen of Nepal in futures.

They had some assistance for temporary housing, emergency food, clothing and other assistance. They also had or will have assistance on construction of thatched house, provision

of common hand pumps, some skill development programmes, and primary education for their children and settlement of their children on child labour. They would also have economic institutionalisation through re-formation of groups and provision revolving funds for each group, food for works for three years and provision of basic health facilities. Some programmes are being conducted with assistance of ILO and other international donors like USAID, DFID of U.K. and GTZ of Germany. The list of the tentative Rehabilitation Programme attached as Appendix 2.

# 8. PRESENT ECONOMIC STATUS OF KAMAIYAS

The former Kamaiyas are free, have housing land and small huts. It is not yet to get proper data and assessment due Maoist insurgency in those areas. However, the situation is much better and all walks of life in Nepalese society are sympathetic to the Kamaiyas. The International Labour Organisation (I L O) conducted study of the situation of Kamaiyas through NGOs. The situation of Kamaiyas is improved as following:

Proj	perty	2001	2003
_	Land property	28%	91%*
_	Debt / Saunki	62.7%	None
_	Thatched house	25.8%	99%
_	Food for work programme	9%	30%
_	Literacy	15.7%	30%
_	Skill development (persons)	3759	5646
_	School going children	16%	50%
_	Former Kamaiya Group formation (group)	752	800

<sup>\*</sup> Excluding to some Kamaiyas yet to move to their lands.

### 9. CONCLUSION

The unfortunate situation, cruelty and suppression on their own relatives, the Kamaiya system were abolished legally and socially in Nepal. The Maoist trouble and over exploitation of Kamaiyas by politicians and NGOs overshadowed the rehabilitation of Kamaiyas programme. The provision of land and settlement of Kamaiyas was almost completed with dedication of persons concerned, which definitely improved the life of about hundred thousand persons of Nepal. Nepalese government surveyors and other people should learn form the past mistakes and would be able to carry out such rehabilitation work more efficiently in future.

# **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

It would like to express sincere thank to Deputy Prime Minister, other ministers and secretaries of Ministry of Land Reforms and Management for their attention about the problems of Kamaiyas and willingness to assist them. I would also like to express my sincere appreciation to all my colleagues, member of Coordination and Monitoring, and Land Registration Committees, and officers and staff of survey of those areas. I would also like to

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FIG working week 2003 Paris, France, April 15, 2003 thank ILO, NGOs and individuals who assisted kamaiyas in their difficult situation by providing various assistance including finance, food, clothing, and housing materials and Min. of Land Reform and Management and Survey Dept., National Geographical Information Infrastructure (NGII) Project for providing me information and maps for presentation.

#### **REFERENCES**

Regional Conference papers of HM G Nepal, held in March 1996 and 2000

Project Document of ILO, "Sustainable Elimination of Bonded Labour in Nepal"

NEP/00/M50/USA and IPEC: NEP/00/P51/USA

Other Publications

#### **BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES**

**Punya Prasad Oli** was born in 1943in eastern hill of Nepal. He is a graduate of the Science from St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling, University of North Bengal and has Diploma in Land Surveying from North East London Polytechnic, London, U K. He worked with HMG of Nepal from 1972- 2001 and worked through Survey Officer to Director General of Survey Department, HMG Nepal. He was Joint Secretary of Min. of Land Reform and Management and was also supervisor of the Kamaiya rehabilitation programme.

He also runs his own company, Sandip Engineering and Geoinformatics Consultancy Centre.

#### **CONTACTS**

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# **APPENDIX 1**

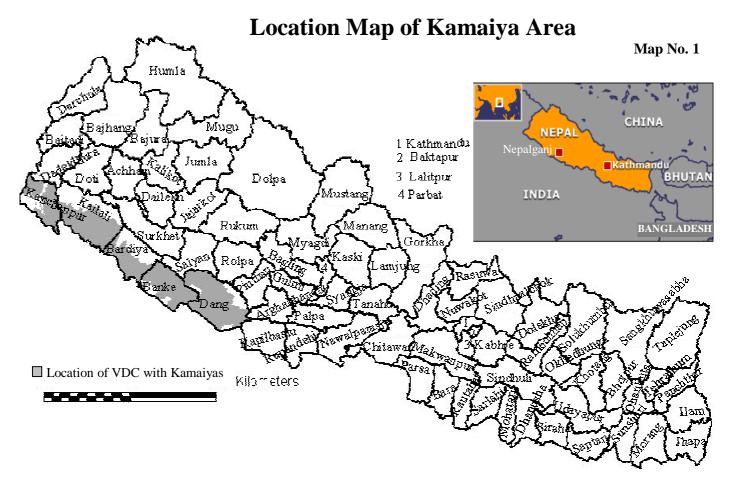
# **Records of Kamaiya Families of 2001**

District	Land less and	Land less	Kamaiya with	Kamaiya with	Total
	Homeless	Kamaiya	less than 677sq	more than 677 sq.	
	Kamaiya		m of land	m of land	
1. Dang	175	230	371	351	1,127
2. Banke	165	736	21	420	1,342
3. Bardiya	2, 691	1,203	1,019	2,066	6,979
4. Kailali	2,647	2,477	199	350	5,673
<ol><li>Kanchanpur</li></ol>	2,453	482	137	98	3,170
Total	8,131	5,128	1, 747	3,285	18.291

# Tentative Rehabilitation Programme

	<b>Description</b> Year	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04
1.	Land for housing				
2.	Emergency assistance				
3.	Housing loans	_			
4.	Drinking water	_			
5.	Food for work				
6.	Skill Development Training				
7.	Education for children/school	1			
8.	Rehabilitation of children on child labour		_		
9.	Re-organisation Kamaiya Groups and provision of				
	revolving fund	'			
10.	Health facilities				

# **APPENDIX**



# List of Former Kamaiya Families by VDC, 2001 August

Appendix 3

										Appendix 3	
S.			Bāñke		Bardiyā		Kāilālī		Kañchanpur		
N o.	VDC	Family	VDC	Family	VDC	Family	VDC	Family	VDC	Family	
1.	Baghmare	2	Bageshwari	3	Badalpur	380	Baliya	178	Baisi bichawa	90	
2.	Bela	16	Baijapur	123	Bagnaha	266	Basauti	126	Beldandi	93	
3.	Bijauri	21	Bankatwa	177	Baniyabhar	235	Bauniya	281	Daiji	136	
4.	Chaulahi	55	Belahari	18	Belawa	162	Beladevi pur	69	Dekhat Bhuli	277	
5.	Dhanauri	15	Betahani	1	Bhimapur	310	Bhajani	84	Jhalari	291	
6.	Dharna	4	Binauna	125	Daulatpur	318	Chaumala	181	Kalika	120	
7.	Dhikpur	61	Chisapani	11	Deudakala	226	Chuha	133	Krishnapur	282	
8.	Duruwa	48	Ganapur	1	Dhadhawar	296	Darakh	208	Laksmipur	72	
9.	Gadawa	62	Holiya	2	Dhodari	393	Dhangadhi M.	192	Mahendra Nagar M.	400	
10.	Ganga paraspur	128	Kachana pur	73	Gola	155	Dhansingh pur	105	Parasan	24	
11.	Gobardiha	31	Kalaphanta	3	Gulariya M.	122	Dodhara	145	Pipaladi	140	
12.	Haluwar	15	Kamdi	8	Jamuni	21	Durgauli	173	Raikawar bichawa	209	
13.	Hapur	13	Katkuiya	3	Kalika	142	Gadariya	219	Rampur bilaspur	154	
14.	Hekuli	18	Khaskushma	21	Khairichandan pur	187	Geta	105	Rauteli bichawa	57	
15.	Laksmipur	36	Kohalpur	47	Magaragadi	343	Hasuliya	103	Shankarpur	120	
16.	Lalmatiya	59	Laksmanpur	2	Mahamadpur	48	Janaki Nagar	200	Shripur	180	
17.	Manpur	91	Mahadevpuri	59	Mainapokhar	139	Joshipur	251	Suda	396	
18.	Narayanpur	21	Manikapur	7	Manau	355	Khailad	112	Tribhuwanbasti	4	
19.	Panchakule	6	Narainapur	2	Manpu rtapara	324	Kota tulsipur	134			
20.	Pawan Nagar	22	Naubasta	234	Motipur	172	Lalbojhi	35			
21.	Phulbari	5	Paraspur	1	Nayagaun	307	Malakheti	153			
22.	Purandhara	2	Phattepur	99	Neulapur	123	Manuwa	177			
23.	Rajpur	7	Rajhena	123	Padanaha	367	Masuriya	247			
24.	Rampur	38	Raniyarpur	59	Pashupati Nagar	155	Narayan pur	149			
25.	Satabariya	35	Samserganj	33	Patabhar	420	Pabera	82			
26.	Saudiyar	36	Sitapur	2	Rajapur	328	Pahalwanpur	165			
27.	Shantinagar	4	Sonapur	29	Sano shri	20	Pathariya	168			
28.	Shrigaun	34	Titihiriya	79	Shivapur	50	Phulbari	137			
29.	Sisahaniya	66			Sorhawa	133	Pratappur	258			
30.	Sonpur	64			Suryapatuwa	285	Ramshikhar jhala	115			
31.	Tarigaun	22			Tara tal	6	Ratnapur	174			
32.	Tribhuwan Nagar M.	99			Thakurdwara	161	Sandepani	149			
33.	Tulsipur M.	9					Shripur	86			
34.	Urahari	21				İ	Thapapur	226		1	
35.						İ	Tikapur M.	353		1	
36.						İ	Udasipur	63		1	
37.							Urma	159			
	Total	1,166	Total	1,345	Total	6,949	Total	5,895	Total	3,045	

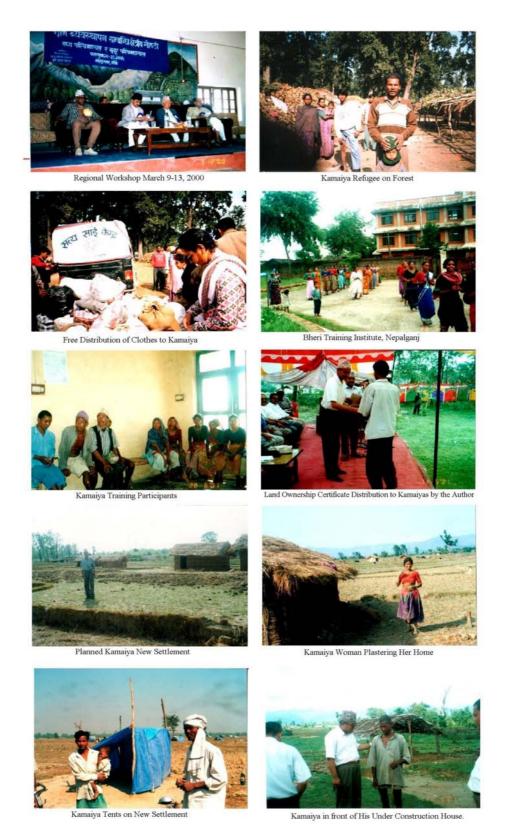


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