

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Sweeper is “a person employed in sweeping a room, chimney, house, ship, streets etc; especially a person of the lowest caste” (The Oxford English Dictionary, 1989). In the context of Nepal, sweepers are known as the persons from the lowest caste. In Kathmandu, local Newar communities are dominant groups. They have a special caste hierarchy system where *Bajracharya* are known as priest, *Shrestha* are known as merchant groups; *Marharjan* are known as farmer groups and *Pode* and *Chayames* are known as sweeper group. *Pode* and *Chayame* are also treated as untouchable groups (Shrestha, 1999). Untouchability and dominance of high caste have deprived them the adequate control over the resources (capital assets) available in the urban areas. So they are socially dominated poor groups of urban areas.

As world is growing narrower by development of technology, it integrates the economy and society to each other. This process of globalization affects the marginal and poor groups of the developing world. This process has replaced the traditional way of living, for example the living ways of minstrels, cobblers, sweepers etc. So the livelihood strategies of poor groups have to be studied for understanding their sustainability.

Livelihood strategy means the way that is sought out by every one to secure their living. By following different activities and strategies people want to spend their life in a sustainable way. In the case of sweeper (*Pode and Chayames*) community street sweeping is a main way of living. So this study tries to understand the livelihood strategies of sweeper community and the sustainability of their strategies.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Kathmandu valley offers the fertile land and strategically secure area. So, too many feudalists want to capture it and rule over here. Those feudalists developed different cultures and civilizations in Kathmandu valley in the name of social reforms. Among them Jyasthiti Malla of *Malla* dynasty is one, who divided valley people into several occupational groups. He also defined social status of valley people according to their occupation. *Pode* and *Chayame* were regarded as sweeper caste group as their work was

to serve high caste groups by cleaning the villages or towns. Their residential areas were also fixed within river bank where they adopted fishing as their livelihood strategies. Their social status descended to untouchable groups in the society. During the Rana regime *Pode* and *Chayame* were used to kill those people who got death penalty. At that time *Pode* and *Chayame* were regarded as the 'Chandal' (a person who kills the human being) so, their social status became lower than even before.

Globalization and urbanization process has affected the structure of Nepalese society. The changes occurred in the system of production and the divisions of labour have turned many people's lives upside down. Occupational caste groups are faced with new situation. Some are benefiting from the changes, others are losing out and some have completely changed their occupations by choice or force. Urbanization and the increasing waste problems in the city forced the government to employ street sweeper on a regular basis. Cleaning streets is considered a degrading activity and not many people were willing to take these jobs. Thus, the people from the sweeper caste have been provided secure and well paid jobs working for the government and private companies. They are engaged in jobs that other people hesitate to take (Lie, 2004). In the past the responsibility to manage the solid waste was on so called low cast people (*Podes* and *Chayames*). At that time city administrators hired them to collect solid waste and sweep the streets. At that time sweeper used primitive type of tools which were made of either back bone of buffalos or bamboo "*kharpan*" (basket) to collect the solid waste (Timilsina, 1998). Due to rapid growth of population and growth of urban area (i.e. construction of houses and expansion of the city) in Kathmandu, the production of solid waste is increasing. So, it is not possible for city administrator to manage solid waste through primitive way. Since 1979, with the help of German government, modern tools and technique were used to manage it (Timilsina, 1998). Up to 1990, especially "*Podes*" were hired to do this job. But, later rural poor people who lack employment opportunity and lack skill have also been involved in this job. But the dominant of "*Pode*" out number others in this profession is high even now (Pokhrel, 2000).

The unplanned urbanization process in Kathmandu has resulted in various environmental problems. Deteriorating air quality, polluted rivers, open sewage, piled up garbage and open dumping sites, inadequate water supply and poor sanitation are some of the characteristics of Kathmandu. All of these are causing serious health problems in on all urbanities of Kathmandu but the risks are highest among those who work directly with

solid waste management in the city. The work of sweeper is to play with dirty, dusts and garbage. In the present context, sweeper works in streets where heavy polluting vehicles are plying. The work environment of sweeper and scavengers are likely to cause acute health risks among them (Pandey, 2004).

Traditionally, “*Podes*” in Kathmandu are known as “sweeper” an occupational caste group. Though they are treated as untouchable caste, they play an important role to keep the city clean by cleaning toilet, removing night soil, sweeping the roads as well as rooms and offices etc. Sweepers are known as low salary earners. Although “sweeping” is a profession for low skilled urban poor people, its income will not be sufficient for them to sustain their life in this urban environment. In this respect, the following research questions arise:

- Who are sweepers? What is their caste hierarchy?
- Are they able to sustain their life through this profession?
- What are the problems they are facing?

1.3 Objective of the Study

The main aim of this study is to understand the livelihood strategies of sweeper. To fulfill this aim the specific objectives of the research are:

- ◆ To explore socio economic and demographic characteristics of sweeper.
- ◆ To examine their livelihood assets that help them earn their living.
- ◆ To analyze vulnerabilities they face.

1.4 Limitation of the Study

This research considers caste hierarchy system as an oppression and exploitation of low caste people and a cause of their deprivation from the main stream of development and also as a main source of poverty in urban environment. So it tries to portray the access of sweeper to resources in an urban area. Because of the limited time and resources, I could not cover all the sweepers of Kathmandu valley. Only those sweepers who work under the head office of KMC Environment Department are chosen for collect the information. Similarly only the small number of sweepers has been chosen for administrative questionnaire for information because of the repeated answer. The analysis is also based on focus group discussion and interviews with some selected sweepers and key persons. This study focuses only on the assets and vulnerabilities of sweeper developed by

DFID's Sustainable livelihood frame work (DFID, 2002). It is not concerned with other aspects of sweeper's life.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Nepal is a very poor country. About 32 percent people are living below the poverty line both in rural and urban areas (NPC, 2002). The poverty alleviation plans and programs are mainly concentrated in the rural areas. There are only a few of researches that are related with urban poverty compared with rural poverty. Thus, an attempt has been made to study the living standard of urban people, especially about *Pode* who are socially discriminated and spending their life as sweeper.

This study examines the livelihood strategy which the poor people adopt to earn their living in urban environment. This study also examines the effect of the globalization and urbanization at the local level on the group of poor and marginalized people. This study helps to know the effects of institutional change on existing livelihoods strategy of people and types of adaptation they make to cope with it.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

A wide variety of literature was reviewed in order for developing the concept of the study. As we know, literature review is a very important aspect of academic research and an essential element of research design. It enables researcher to find out research question needed to define ultimate statement of problem. It also facilitate to determine the actual topic, the theoretical base and cognizant of the problem from experience of previous researcher (Subedi, 2004). So, this chapter provides some details about the previous works that are reviewed during the study.

Research on livelihood strategies of urban poor is quite new aspect in Nepalese research field. For the human geographer, research is the process of trying to gain a better understanding of relationship between human, space, place and the environment. So this study is also an attempt to understand the livelihood of urban sweeper (i.e. low income group). To conduct this research a number related literature has been reviewed. The types of literature that have been revised are given below:

2.1 Theoretical review

Theoretical review gives the idea for the research study to relate studies with theories that have developed by different scholars. Science, geography is the discipline that studies man environment relationship, different theories and approach have been developed to address issues on spatial phenomena and their relationship. Since this study aims at understanding urban poor's livelihood strategies this study adopted sustainable livelihood approach as its theoretical base. Sustainable livelihood approach is also a recently emerged concept to address the people's livelihood in sustainable way. This approach is developed by DFID and later modified by other different institutions.

2.1.1 Sustainable livelihood approach

The concept of sustainable livelihood is an attempt to go beyond the conventional definition and approach to poverty eradication. The previous definition were found to be narrow because they focused only on certain aspect of manifestation of poverty such as low income and did not consider other vital aspect of poverty such as vulnerability, social inclusion etc. Robert Chamber and Gordon were first giving the composite

definition of sustainable livelihood (Krantz, 2001). In 1997 the British government department responsible for promoting development and reduction of poverty was called the department for international development (DFID), which incorporated the sustainable livelihood approach as a central element in its policy and advanced and adopted it to suit its work. A slightly modified version of the definition originally developed by Robert Chamber and Gordon Conway (1992) as quoted in DFID, 2002 has been accepted by all:

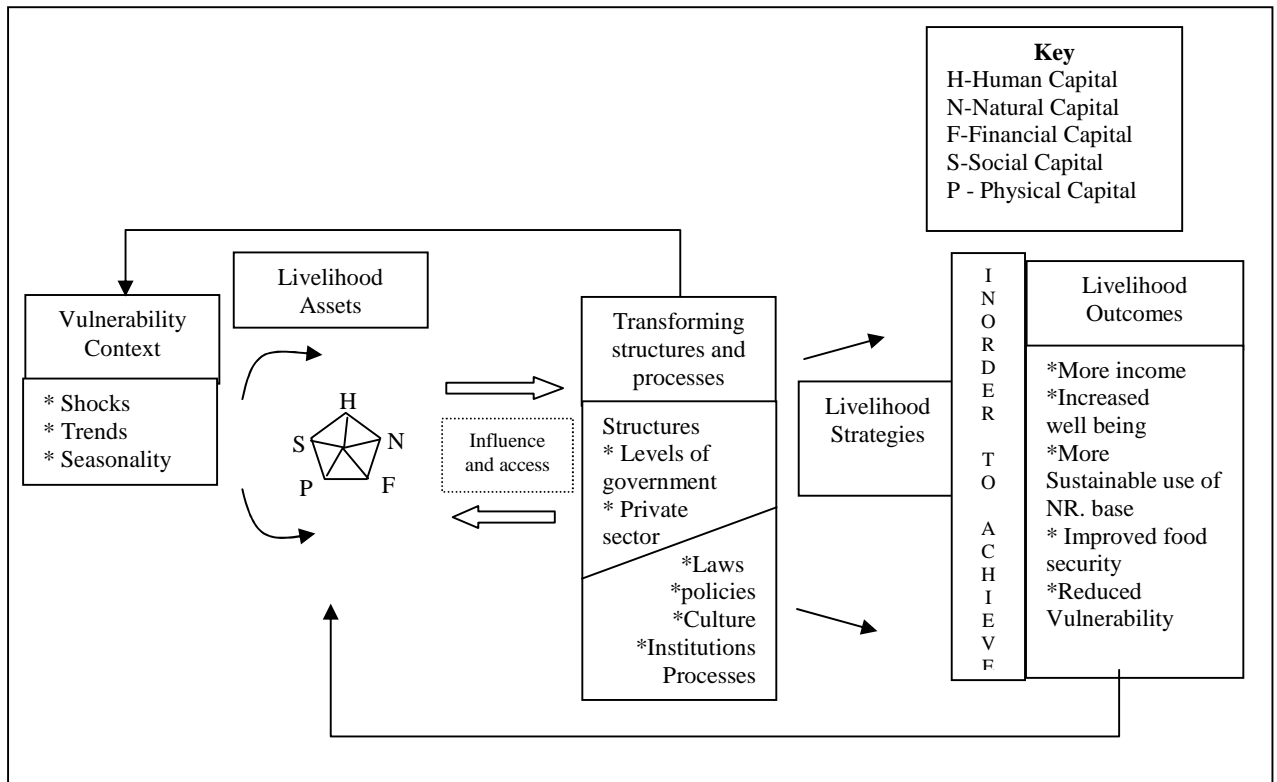
“• A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living (Poverty). A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, (sustainability), while not undermining the natural resource base (environment)”

The sustainable livelihood approach is intended to provide a comprehensive and practice-oriented framework to understand complex local realities. It draws attention to core influences and processes and emphasizes the multiple interactions between the various factors that affect livelihoods (Baumann, 2002).

The sustainable livelihood framework is a tool to improve our understanding of livelihoods particularly the livelihoods of the poor. The sustainable livelihood framework forms the core of the livelihoods approach and serves as an instrument for the investigation of poor people’s livelihoods, whilst visualizing the main factors of influence. In the framework, different components (vulnerability context, capital assets, transforming structure and process, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes) are depicted showing their interrelationship and interaction. The SL approach should be viewed as a complex process rather than linear one. It also tries to emphasize feed back. Important feed back in the framework is likely between:

- ◆ Transforming structure and process and vulnerability context.
- ◆ Livelihood outcomes and livelihood assets (DFID, 2002).

Figure 2.1: DFID's Sustainable Livelihood Framework



Source: DFID, 2002 (<http://www.livelihood.org/dfid/framework>)

Though the form of the framework is not intended to suggest the starting point of all livelihood analysis in vulnerability context, however, it helps the concerned to identify an appropriate entry point for livelihood analysis. As with this flexibility of the starting point, we can focus on any part of frame work not giving equal importance to all. But it is important to keep wider picture in mind (DFID, 2002).

The sustainable livelihoods approach has never been thought as a rigid instruction or to give the definite answer, rather it is a dynamic formation opened for improvements and adoptable to the respective living condition of the poor (DFID, 2002).

The following section deals with each component of the framework individually:

Vulnerability Context

The vulnerability context frames the external environment in which people exist. People's livelihoods and the wider availability of assets are fundamentally affected by such context (trends, shocks and seasonality) over which they have limited or no control. Trends comprise the population trends, resource trends, trends in governance (including policies) and technological trends. Shocks comprise the human health shocks, natural

shocks and economic shocks conflict and crop/livestock health shocks. Seasonality comprises the seasonality of price, production health and employment opportunities.

All these factors affect people's livelihood by influencing capital assets and option that are opened to them in pursuit of beneficial livelihood outcomes. Shocks, trends and seasonality should not be considered always negative. They can move towards favorable direction too. For example, economic indicators can move in favorable directions, diseases can be eradicated and new technologies may be very valuable to poor people. However, the term vulnerability context draws attention on the fact that many of these external factors directly or indirectly increase the hardship of the poorest people of developing countries (DFID, 2002).

Livelihood Assets

The sustainable livelihood approach seeks to gain an accurate and realistic understanding of people's strength (assets or capital endowment) and how they endeavor to convert these into positive livelihood outcomes. No single capital on its own is sufficient to yield better livelihood outcomes that people seek. The livelihood framework identifies five core assets categories of capital upon which livelihoods are built.

The five capital assets represented in SL framework are human, social, natural, physical and financial. Human capital represents the skill, knowledge, ability to labour and good health. The social capital represents networks, connectedness, membership in more formalized group and their system of rules and norms and sanction. Similarly; natural stock, flow of resources such as land, water, forest, air quality, erosion protection and biodiversity come under the natural capital. Basic infrastructure and producer's goods such as affordable transport, secure shelter, adequate water supply, sanitation, affordable energy and access to information represent the physical capital. The financial capital represents available stock-cash, bank deposit, asset jeweler and regular inflow of money-labour income pension and remittances (DFID, 2002).

Transforming Structure and Process

Transforming structure and processes within the livelihood framework are the institutions, organizations, policies and legislation that shape livelihoods. Their importance cannot be over emphasized. They operate at all levels from household to international arena and in all spheres from the most private to most public. They effectively determine access between different types of capital and returns to any livelihood strategy (DFID, 2002).

Structures in the framework can be described as hardware (private and Public organizations) that sets and implements policy and legislation, delivers services, purchases trade and perform all manner of other functions that affect the livelihood. They draw their legitimacy from the basic governance. Framework structure exists in both public and private sectors at various levels. Structures are important because they make processes function. An absence of appropriate structure can be the major constraint to development, particularly in rural areas. Analysis should therefore be sensitive to the roles and responsibilities of the different levels of structures and seek to identify those that are of greatest importance to livelihoods. (DFID, 2002)

Complementary to structure, processes constitute software determining the way in which structure and individual operate and interact. Processes are both crucial and complex. Not only there are many types of processes operating at a variety of different levels, but there are also overlaps and conflict between them. Processes include policies, legislation, institutions and culture and power relations. The importance of policy is that they define access to assets, influence peoples' choice by setting incentives or obstacles, enable people to transform one category of assets into another (through markets) and influence interpersonal relations (DFID,2002).

Livelihood Strategies

The term "livelihood strategies" denotes the range and combination of activities and choices that people make/undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals. It includes productive activities, investment strategies, reproductive choices etc. Recent studies have drawn attention to the enormous diversity of livelihood strategies at every level; within geographic areas, across sector, within households and over time. It is a dynamic process in which people combine activities to meet their various needs at different time. The more choice and flexibility that people have in their livelihood strategies, the greater their ability to withstand or adapt to the shocks and stress of the vulnerability context (DFID, 2002).

Livelihood Outcomes

Livelihood outcomes are the achievements or outputs of livelihood strategies rather than describing the objectives of people. It records the actual output of current assets and strategies. At the same time it allows one to draw conclusion about the motivation behind people's action and choices. It is important to note that livelihood outcomes are not only of financial nature as people may not have a maximum income. Rather we should

recognize and seek to understand the richness of potential livelihood goals. This, in turn, will help us to undertake people's priorities, why they do and where the major constraints lie. In fact, there are different categories of livelihood outcomes which may be relevant according to given situation. These categories are more income, increased well being, reduced vulnerability, improved food security and more sustainable use of natural based resources (DFID, 2002).

There are other livelihood approach models which are given as follows but this study is mainly concerned with DFID's model. The other models are also given as follows:

CARE's livelihoods approach is its primary programming framework in use across its relief and development work. The approach is deemed to be sufficiently comprehensive to address the challenge of large-scale poverty, yet sufficiently flexible to address context-specific constraints.

CARE uses the Chambers and Conway definition of livelihoods. From this it identifies three fundamental attributes of livelihoods:

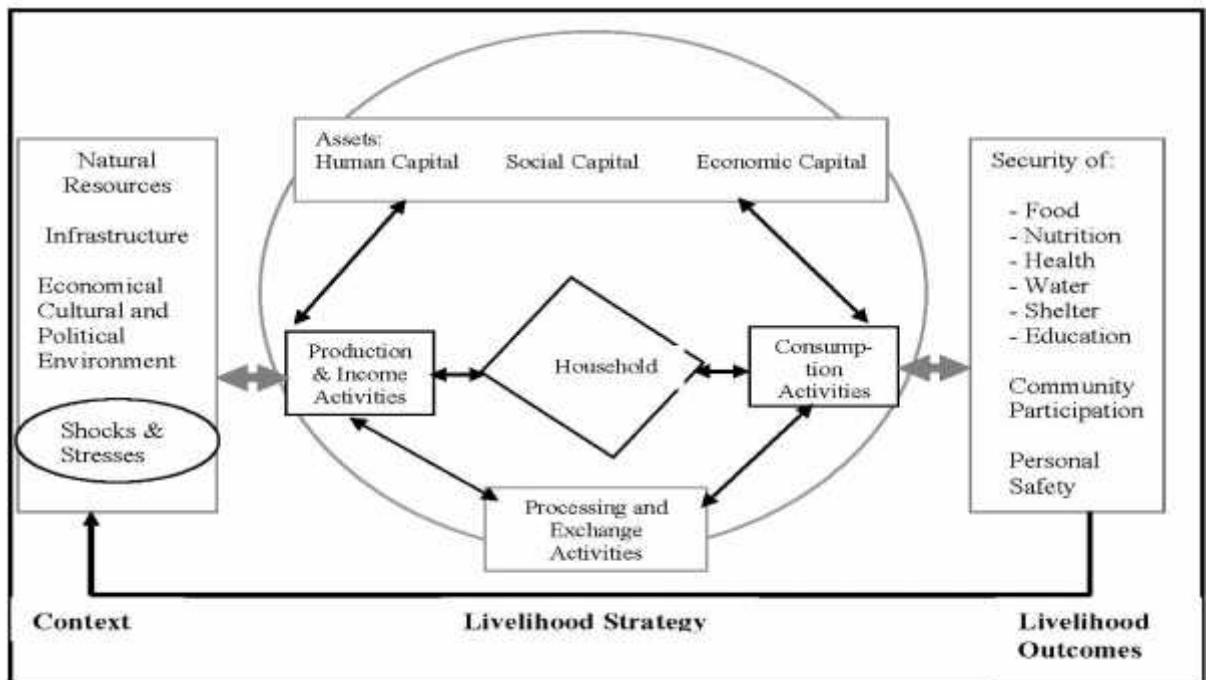
- The possession of human capabilities (such as education, skills, health, psychological orientation);
- Access to tangible and intangible assets; and
- The existence of economic activities.

The interaction between these attributes defines what livelihood strategy a household is pursuing.

CARE's emphasis is on *household livelihood security* linked to basic needs. It views that a livelihood approach can effectively incorporate a basic needs and a rights-based approach. The emphasis on rights provides an additional analytical lens, as do stakeholder and policy analysis. When holistic analysis is conducted, needs and rights can thus both be incorporated as subjects for analysis. This focus on the household does not mean that the household is the only unit of analysis.

CARE has developed some specific tools for the livelihoods approach (e.g. a livelihood monitoring survey, participatory learning and action needs assessment and personal empowerment training), but makes flexible use of a variety of existing tools including rapid participatory assessments of livelihoods and baseline surveys.

Figure 2.2: CARE's Livelihood Model



Source: <http://www.livelihood.org/care>

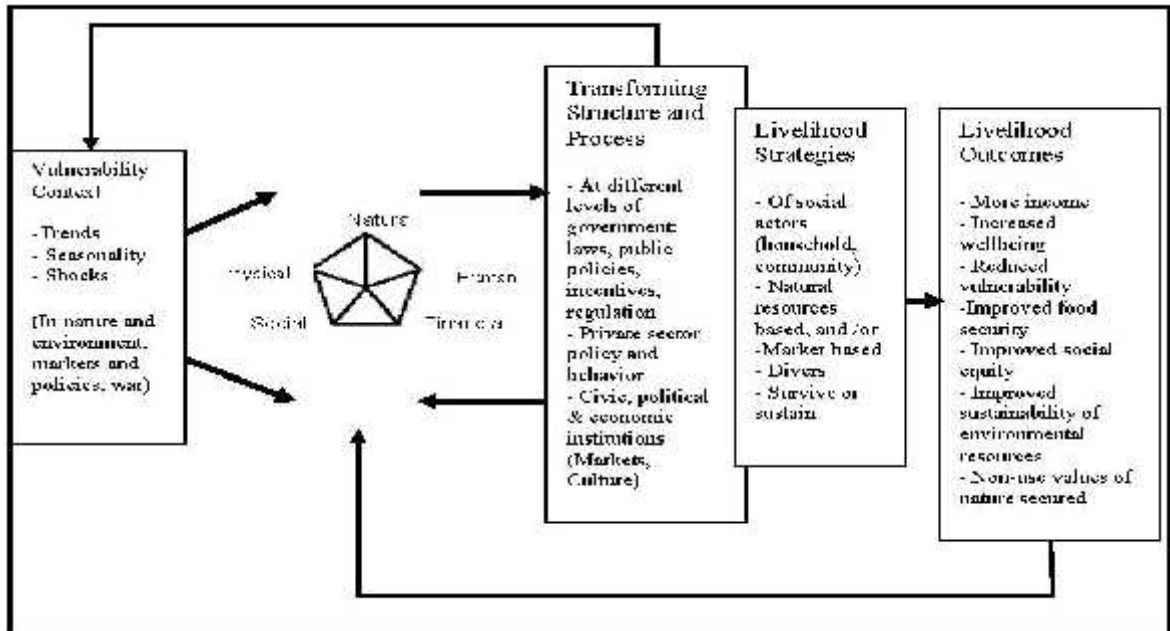
Oxfam (GB) adopted a sustainable livelihoods approach in the early 1990s. It felt a need for a broad framework that could accommodate issues of environmental change together with concerns about globalizing markets, deteriorating economic rights, gender and wider social inequality, and the need to strengthen deprived people's participation in the development process. The analytical work on sustainable livelihoods that had recently been conducted by Chambers and Conway seemed to offer a positive approach that could integrate all these issues, without falling into the trap of simply 'adding the environment on' to Oxfam's core aim of alleviating poverty. Oxfam takes its definition of sustainable livelihoods from Chambers and Conway (1992). It stresses that sustainability needs to be looked at from several perspectives:

- **Economic** (e.g. the functioning of markets, credit supply);
- **Social** (networks, gender equity);
- **Institutional** (capacity building, access to services and technology, political freedom)
- **Ecological** (quality and availability of environmental resources).

One of Oxfam's aims is to help secure 'the right to a sustainable livelihood'. This aim, together with the aim related to saving lives in humanitarian crises, is by far the most

important in financial terms. Under the sustainable livelihoods aim, two ‘strategic change objectives’ have been formulated. These stress outcomes similar to those included in the DFID framework.

Figure 2.3: Oxfam’s Sustainable Livelihood Framework



Source: <http://www.livelihood.org/Oxfam>

Oxfam’s desired outcomes are that the aims and change objectives articulate rights to social services, ‘the right to life and security’, and various forms of social equity.

2.2 Studies Related To Livelihood Strategies

Now, the world is narrowed by the recently developed technology. Consequently, the economies and societies are integrated and linked to each other. The growing integration of economics and societies around the world is a complex processes that affects our lives. This integration is known as globalization. The globalization affects the economic liberalization and improves the climate for investment and economic growth which are the sources of global change and as a result some developing countries are able to increase economic growth and reduce poverty. But other regions have not enjoyed sustained growth and in many cases the number of poor has actually increased (DFID, 1998). Such poor can’t be able to sustain their livelihood through one occupation. They search for different livelihood options that will help them to sustain life. To understand livelihood diversifications which have appeared because of globalization, Subedi and

Pandey (2002) had studied people of Rai communities of Arun Valley specializing in crop production and diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in their struggle for survival. According to them, livelihood strategies reflects the complicity of man-environment relationship including local people attempt to cope with environment utilizing available resources and adopting new options over time. This study was based on field survey in two geographic location namely Sitalpati in lower elevation and Makalu in higher elevation. This comparative study shows that; over a time in both locations, Rai have adopted various strategies to earn their livelihood. From this study both continuity and change over space and time have been observed as strategies of earning livelihood. A specific sequence of change in land utilization and conversion of land into more productive categories was evident. In the lower elevation change in land utilization pattern reflected from *bari*(non-irrigated land where maize is grown) towards *khet*.(irrigated land where paddy is grown). In the higher elevation it was towards *bari* from *khoriya*(slash and burning). Crop diversification was high in the lower elevation. On the other hand, strategy such as wage labouring, pottering, borrowing, crediting and livestock selling activities were the sequence of livelihood strategies adapted under pressure in both areas.

Bhattra (2001), had studied the ways of earning livelihood adopted by rickshaw puller in Birtamod, Jhapa. This study finds that majority of the people are extensively engaged in agricultural activity. They faced great problems to meet subsistence needs of the household and are forced to move from their home place to urban areas in search of employment opportunities. At last, they are involved in various types of wage works on a daily basis from morning to evening. High illiteracy, ignorance, downgrades are main causes for adopting this occupation. Majorities of them fall under economic stress. They spent life just on 'earn and spent' system.

Due to the development of transport and industry, some domestic and agricultural items were replaced by means of transport, industrial ready made goods. Dahal (2001) had examined the changing livelihood strategies of the '*Baramus*'. This study concludes that traditional practice of '*Dole*' (man having occupation of carrying bride) system and '*Bani*' (traditional culture practice of *Kumals*) system have disappeared. Renting the land of land of high caste people and pottering opportunities provided by the extended market are the alternative source of income.

Bhurtel (2002) had studied the changing livelihood strategies of the '*Kumal*' of Pokhara valley. This study concludes that the changes in the livelihood strategies of the Kumals are the results of the development of market centers and opportunities expanded in society. Though pottering is their traditional occupation, young generations of the Kumals have not inherited the skill of making pots.

Rai (2004) had attempted to examine historically, the changing livelihood strategies of occupational community i.e. *Damai, Kami* of Panchakanya and Namsalling VDCs, Ilam. This study concludes that a specific change has been seen in the traditional occupation and the change emerged due to the internal as well as external causes. Industrial products, readymade and fashionable goods are the external causes which have negative impact on the traditional occupations and further compel them to diversify their livelihood strategies. The absence of knowledge and skills about new fashions and nature of frequency are taken as internal causes which have played a vital role in the changing livelihoods of these groups.

Sharma (2004) has studied about livelihood of Putuwar community of peri-urban area of Kathmandu. She found that Putuwars have developed various strategies such as selling red soil and breaking stones to earn their livelihood. Traditionally, they exchange their substances with their daily needs (grain, salt, oil etc.) following the bartered system. But in course of time and with continuous interaction with non-indigenous people they have changed their economic structure and livelihood strategy. Now, some of them are involved mainly in wage labouring and small business. However, most of Putuwar are continuing their traditional occupation despite a lot of hardships.

Pathak (2004) has studied livelihood strategy of street cobblers of Kathmandu. Cobbling is the customary way of earning livelihood of '*Dalits*' (i.e. low caste) in society. Now a days, street cobbling in urban areas is the livelihood strategy adopted by occupational caste as well as non-occupational caste group to mitigate the present context of global change. On the basis of age wise involvement, this study concludes that street cobbling in urban areas is a newly emerged livelihood strategy for young generation of Terai. By the nature of work and space used by them, this occupation seems more vulnerable. Seasonality, space and institution, social value and norms, political situation and lack of livelihood assets are the most responsible factors to shape their occupational vulnerability.

Development works are like construction of roads and cable cars also directly impact on the local people's livelihoods. Timilsina (2003) has studied the impact of road on the livelihood strategies of rural people. This study concludes that due to the construction of Bhimdunga-Lamidanda road and development of rural small market centers and expanding marketing function, agricultural based economy of rural people transferred into market oriented production. Production of cereal crops have been displaced by the intensification of vegetable farming.

Adhikari (2002), in his study "Impact Of Manakamana Cable Car On The Livelihood Of Local Communities: A Study Of Manakamana- Aambukhaireni Trekking Route, Gorkha And Tanahun District, Nepal", has discussed about the negative impact of development innovations. After the construction of cable car from Kurintar (Chitwan) to Manakamana (Gorkha), people who earn their livelihood at the trekking route from Abokhaireni to Manakamana are facing new problems as they have to change their livelihood strategies. Now, their life is in vulnerable condition.

Existing empirical studies related to livelihoods concludes that the way of earning livelihood is not always constant. Due to the globalization, lots of traditional occupations and technologies are pushed into dark side. So those people who dependent for their livelihood on such occupation, are compelled to change their livelihood strategies for examples. Baramus faced problems as '*Dloe*' and '*Bani*' system collapsed and have become vulnerable; the young generation of '*Kumals*' have not been inherited the skill of making pots. Rural poor people change their traditional way of livelihood and engaged in wage labouring, pottering, borrowing, crediting etc.

Some studies conclude that globalization, modernization industrialization as well as innovation of development (road, market centers) provide various ways of earning livelihood for different people, and some people are affected by such innovation. To adjust in present context, they have to change their way of living.

Some studies show that rural people come for employment, but they generally possess low skill and lack sufficient level of education required for the better-paid jobs in the organized sector of urban areas. So, they are compelled to do informal business like cobbling in street, street vending etc, through which they can earn their living.

2.3 Studies Related To Sweeper and Sweeper Caste

Poudel (1997) has studied about socio-economic condition of '*Podes*' (i.e. sweeper caste). Although his studies is concerned only with '*Podes*' who live in Kaski (i.e. Lekhnathnath municipalities), he has analysed the historical background of this caste. He found that, on the last of 14th century (of Vikram sambat), King Jayasthiti Malla had divided Newar communities into different castes according to their occupations. One of those who were classified into sweepers castes were *Podes*. Their main occupation was to clean the villages and towns. And they also remove the skin of dead animals. In such a way they were known as untouchable caste since they had done such a low level task. In his study area, *Podes* have adopted fishing as a way of their living. But young generation is engaged in other occupations too. Now a days, they (young generation) also follow the new fashions whereas old generation sticks to their traditions.

Amatya (1997) had studied the changing socio-economic status of '*Podes*' at Sawal Bhal (Teku), Kathmandu. The untouchables in this community are socio-economically backward due to caste discrimination. On her study, she concluded that the change in family type, education of the children, assimilating in big culture such as celebrating Dashain ,Tihar which were not celebrated before, as well as, western type of marriages (i.e. love marriage)and dress pattern are observed in the society. She found about 88 percent respondents were doing cleaning and sweeping job which helped them to gain adequate financial assets. She also concluded majority of the people had low income, so they had to seek secondary occupation.

Shrestha (1999) in his study 'Role and status of *Podes* in Nepali society as Sweepers and Deopalas: A case study of Kirtipur, Nepal' has tried to portray the status of '*Podes*' being Sweeper and Deopala. As a Deopala they are treated as touchable group and as a Sweeper they are treated as untouchable group. He concluded that though socially, Sweepers' status is low it occupies a big importance because cleaning toilet, removing night-soil, sweeping the roads as well as rooms, office are done by them. They play an important role to keep the entire settlement clean. He also concluded that the *Podes* of Kirtipur follow the Sweeping as their main traditional occupation. Actually, in their own view, it helped them to earn money. They are satisfied with their occupation.

Ghale (2000) in her study 'Socio-economic condition of the *Pode* women: A case study from Tilganga Tole of Kathmandu metropolis ward no.6' has attempted to reveal the role

of *Pode* women. She found that this community though untouchable, is economically stronger in comparison with other untouchable communities because all the grown up member of communities are employed. She found that there is not much gender discrimination in that society because females are also involved in productive work. She also said that since the private agencies and NGO/INGOs are also involved in environmental sanitation, continuity of traditional job of the *Pode* community is threatened.

Pokhrel (2000) has tried to explore educational, socio-economic condition and problems in the jobs of sweeper of Kathmandu metropolitan city. She found that 52 percent sweepers are illiterate. About 66 percent sweepers are from *Pode* community and rests are from different communities as *Brahmin/Chhettri, Mangol* etc. Their income ranges between Rs1800-2500. They did not get enough rest. They did not get enough holidays at the time of child bearing. Most of the sweeper's job is not permanent. Sometimes peddlers try to humiliate them. Now, there is an organization of garbage cleaners that is 'Independent Garbage Cleaners Union of Nepal' which tries to put pressure on government and on other related institutions to fulfill their demands.

Pandey (2004) has studied occupational health problems of sweepers and scavengers of Kathmandu. According to him sweeping profession is an outcome of historical labour division system and that is embedded in social structure. Major way to enter into sweeping occupation was through social structure/caste system. There were multiple and complex causes that forced poor into scavenging occupation. Because of a numbers of factors, sweepers and scavengers of Kathmandu were experiencing range of health problems. These problems rang from very small like pin-bite to chronic respiratory tract and gastrointestinal and sometimes even traffic accidents. Most of the physical injuries related problems had higher influence on sweeper. Significant proportions of sweepers and scavengers were experiencing the symptoms of respiratory tract disease. Diseases associated with gastro intestine were also common among the sweepers and scavengers.

According to Pandey, among the sub-groups of sweeper, some differences in proportion of respondents experiencing different health problems and their frequencies were observed. Elbow injury and wrist pain were found in relatively higher proportion of sweepers than those of collectors and loaders. However, the problems of cuts and fractures were found in higher proportion of loaders than those of collectors and sweepers. Adverse physical health conditions have become a part of life for sweeper and

scavengers of Kathmandu. Even though sweeping and scavenging give stable income to them, they suffer an unhealthy life style that goes with many health risks.

Timilsina (1998) had studied about the primitive way of solid waste management and its changing methods in Kathmandu metropolitan. In Kathmandu, before 1975 solid waste were deposited in '*Sagal*' (Newari term which means a place outside the house to deposit). Then it was converted to compost and people of Kathmandu used it in their farm. After 1975, government announced Kathmandu as a municipality, at that time 40/50 sweepers and one officer were employed to manage solid waste. At that time sweepers were only from '*Pode*' community and they used primitive type of tools for sweeping. After 1979, with the help of 'German' government the modern way of sweeping and management of solid waste got started.

After going through the existing studies on the occupational caste (i.e sweeper), we can conclude that historically '*Pode*' are socially discriminated poor people whose main task was to sweep and clean the villages and towns. Although after getting job in municipality/ metropolitan, their economic condition became better, this is not sufficient for them for living in urban environment. Their occupation is now threatened as many private agencies and NGO/INGOs are taking interest to manage solid waste. They also have to face several health problems like respiratory tract diseases and gastro intestine diseases. All these information are gathered from previous literature. But there is lack of study on livelihood of sweepers and of vulnerabilities that faced by them.

This study intends to fulfill the gap in information as previous studies fail to show the problems facing sweeping occupation. This study aims to explore the livelihood strategies of sweepers of Kathmandu.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The prime objective of research is to investigate reality and establish theories about empirical observation (Mishra and Singh et al, 1998). The research is always based on collection and analysis of data which are processed to create knowledge. To conduct a research in a systematic way requires a method. Methods are set of techniques or procedures of identifying a topic, receiving the related literatures, conducting field work and writing a report (Adhikari, 2003). A sound research design needs a logical choice of methods that meets the aims set and generates data in a way that the researcher can handle and interpret (Gill valentine, 2001). This chapter will clarify the methodological approaches applied and put forward a description on how information were collected and analyzed.

3.1 The Study Issue

Every research work has a starting point and this normally consists of thinking about and then formulating a topic (Hart, 2005). A research design is the results of a series of discussion we make that emerge from our knowledge of the academic literature (Gill valentine, 2001). For the human geographer, research is the process of trying to gain a better understanding of the relationship between humans, space, place and the environment. Being a student of Geography discipline and interested in human geography I opt for designing a research on human activity.

The geography of poverty (regional economic inequalities), agrarian change, spatial population dynamics including labor mobility, environmental impact, geography of gender, geo-political reality of contemporary political instability, the politics of water use, regional isolation, and rural development, ethnic diversity, land use dynamics and hazard management, haphazard urbanization, people's changing livelihood and their relation with modernization or global change are some of the major areas of geographic research in the present context. (Subedi, 2005). Realizing it, now a days, some Masters level geography student of Nepal started to conduct their dissertation on the aspect of people's changing livelihood and their relation with modernization or global change. So I became interested to conduct research in urban poor and their livelihood. As a result, I selected 'sweepers' (whose income is low) as my research topic to understand their livelihood.

3.2 Conceptual Frame Work of the Study

3.2.1 Urban Poor

Poverty is broadly conceptualized in two categories: absolute poverty and relative poverty. Regarding measurement of the extent of poverty the people and families who are not able to fulfill their essential basic requirement due to their low per capita income can be categorized as those who fall below the poverty line in terms of absolute poverty. Those people and families who have a low income in comparison to the estimated average income can be categorized as those who fall below the poverty line in terms of relative poverty (Aryal, 1998).

In Nepal due to the poor living condition most of the agrarian people are struggling for sustaining their daily life in rural part of the country. The rural people who are unemployed and struggling against great deep rooted poverty come to urban area in search of employment and relief (Bhattra, 2001). A vast majority of urban workers come from the village and they continue to have their roots there. The poorest among them come from the most helpless strata of rural population. Such a high rate of migration towards city area creates the problem of urban poverty (Poudel, 1996). Such migrated people from rural area are a kind of urban poor group.

On the other hand, people who are historically dominated due to social division in urban area are other kind of urban poor group. Caste system is a social division of people based on their occupation, tasks and power access. Caste system in Nepal is strictly based on the Hindu philosophy, which always prescribes social status based on birth. In other words, caste is a matter of birth that cannot be achieved by good works and intellect or any other activities in the society. Hence the caste system is a social institution, collective social unit and a hierarchical structure. Caste is based on the division of labour. The task of each caste group has been distinctly prescribed by the social and religious laws, so all people belonging to a definite caste group feel a short of integrity and uniqueness. They share common cultural traits and enjoy endogamous social structure. So it is culturally associated social unit, which marks distinctness from other caste groups. Similarly those who are regarded as high caste are richer than the low caste people since they have control on the resources that are found in local level. So, low caste people are poor in both rural and urban areas (Gautam et al, 2001).

Podes and *Chayames* are the poor groups of urban (i.e. Kathmandu) areas. *Podes* as the untouchable lower caste group among Newars in Kathmandu Valley were forced to cleaning work for all upper caste people since the Malla period. Such lower caste people were always deprived of the resources for livelihood. It can be seen that each lower caste people have been settled within the vicinity of the upper caste people to obtain their services. Similarly, in urban areas also there are definite cluster of service caste people at a close distance from old palace; an area of settlement of noble families and vicinity of the renowned temple area. They used to own a small plot of residential area in the name of land. Thus, it can be said that *Podes* of Kathmandu Valley also have got the same socio-economic and educational situation. They have been in a long practice of depending on their own to work for all but always deprived economically. They work at others for financial support and for subsistence or the limited annual or monthly payment in the form of charity and they never expected to dream a prosperous economic and social life (Gautam et al, 2001). The *Podes* are socio-economically backward people due to caste discrimination in the urban area (Amatya, 1997).

Poverty is a universal phenomenon. Poverty exists in both rural and urban areas. But rural poverty is more severe than the urban poverty. Now a days, urban poverty is also a growing phenomenon. On one hand, urban poor are those people who migrate from rural areas towards the urban for searching livelihood options .The poor people who are victimized by different problems in rural areas are compelled to migrate to the urban areas to earn their livelihood. But due to not having easy access to urban resources they remain poor in urban area too. On other hand, socially dominated groups since the ancient time, are also poor because of social oppression, discrimination and lack of their control of urban resources. In the case of Kathmandu the so-called low caste people such as *Podes* and *Chayames* are also poor. They are dominated by different high cast groups. *Pode*, *Chayames* are the poor social groups involved in occupation with low status i.e. sweeping.

3.2.2 Sustainable Livelihood Framework

This study is done on the basis of sustainable livelihood frame work developed by DFID, 2002. The concept of sustainable livelihood was developed in 1980 by Robert Chamber, who is also called the father of sustainable livelihood approach. Sustainable livelihood frame work is described in detail in previous chapter.

3.2.3 Sustainable Livelihood in Urban Setting

The sustainable livelihood approach is originated in the rural context. It is adequately used in the study of urban poverty in recent years in many African and Asian countries. The important thing is that the definition of urban areas in many countries varies and depends upon the local context and it is the matter of the central government policies (Dahal and Sapkota, 2004). Table 1 shows the key differences between urban and rural context of the livelihood approach.

Table 3.1: The rural - urban continuum

Rural	Urban
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livelihoods drawn from crop cultivation, livestock, forestry or fishing (i.e. key for livelihood is access to natural capital). • Access to land for housing and building materials is not generally a problem. • More distant from government as regulator and provider of services. • Access to infrastructure and services limited (largely because of distance, low density and limited capacity to pay?). • Fewer opportunities for earning cash; more for self-provisioning. Greater reliance on favorable weather condition. • Access to natural capital as the key assets and basis for livelihood. • Urban characteristics in rural location (e.g.; prosperous tourist areas, mining areas, areas with high value crops and many local multiplier links, rural areas with diverse non-agricultural production and strong links to cities..) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livelihoods drawn from labour markets within non-agricultural production or making/selling goods or service. • Access to land for housing very difficult; housing and land markets highly commercialized. • More vulnerable to ‘bad’ governance. • Access to infrastructure and services difficult for low-income groups because of high prices, illegal nature of their homes (for many) and poor governance. • Greater reliance on cash for access to food, water, sanitation, employment, garbage disposal. • Greater reliance on house as an economic resource (space for production, access to income earning opportunities, asset and income-earner for owners including de facto owners). • Rural characteristics in urban location (urban agriculture, ‘village’ enclaves, access to land for housing through non-monetary traditional forms...).

Source: Satterthwaite, 2000 cited in Farrington et al 2002

Vulnerability

Many works on urban poverty suggest that while the shocks and stresses that people are vulnerable to relate to specific events and circumstances. Poor men and women in cities frequently face a similar set of sources of vulnerability. These can broadly be grouped into sources of vulnerability according to the social context of cities, the nature of the urban economy, the urban environment and urban systems of governance (Farrington et al, 2002).

Social context of cities are culturally diverse, socially fragmented and has diverse house types, income inequality, less likely to be safe than rural areas. The urban poor suffer from conditions of social disintegration and the erosions of community. They rely on strong networks of solidarity between groups and individuals. The assumption that it is a lack of social networks and tradition that causes vulnerability in cities is one that should not always be accepted unquestioningly (Farrington et al, 2002).

The nature of urban economies are characterized by a greater degree of commercialization, and most basic goods such as food and accommodation must be bought or rented through the market. Poor urban men and women therefore need higher cash incomes to survive, unlike their rural counterparts who may rely more heavily on subsistence agriculture or payment in kind and who are more likely to have access to free or common property resources (Wratten, 1995; Satterthwaite 1997 cited on Farrington et al, 2002).

The urban poor are commonly concentrated in high density areas where they can afford to live. The areas with low rent or urban land which is lying vacant and can be squatted upon reflect the poverty of the environments and the consequent low demand for such locations (Elliot, 1994 cited on Farrington et al, 2002). Poor urban men and women make a trade off between the quality and the location of their living spaces – living in areas with poor, in-sanitary environments in order to be in a preferred location with access to livelihood-generating assets. These areas are frequently located on polluted land close to industrial facilities or where waste dumps are sited and water courses are contaminated, or on hillsides and river plains which are susceptible to landslides and flooding. In addition, poor men, women and children of urban working in informal sector enterprises normally work without protection and are vulnerable to accidents in the workplace and

the health hazards associated with unsafe working environments and practices (Farrington et al, 2002).

The relationship of the urban poor to systems of city governance usually depends on their legal status, which is often ambiguous. The high cost of shelter in cities frequently forces them to illegal occupation of marginal land and many poor men and women work in informal or unregistered activities. They therefore lack the tenure rights that are normally linked to the right to register and vote. Migrant workers also generally lack formal registration or rights, even where they spend long periods resident in cities. Informal residents lacking legal registration may be disenfranchised and excluded from political decision-making and, in addition, may suffer from police harassment and bureaucracy (Wratten, 1995 as quoted in Farrington et al, 2002).

Access to Assets

Similar differences between assets that the poor **own** and those to which they have **access rights** exist in both rural and urban areas, and livelihoods analysis is useful in analysing the implications of this distinction. But the character and relative importance of the assets themselves differ between rural and urban. Accommodation and food have to be paid for in urban areas, but are generally 'self-produced' and of low financial cost in rural areas, so financial capital is relatively more important in urban than in rural areas. Again, ownership and access arrangements are less rigid in urban than in rural areas, so individual poor households in urban areas are less likely to be locked into specific kinds of asset deprivation (Farrington et al, 2002).

Livelihood Strategies

Many poor urban households diversify their sources of income and draw on a portfolio of activities, such as formal wage employment, informal trading and service activities with different family members engaging in different types of activities and sectors of the economy. This can have both positive and negative impacts on livelihoods. Diversification reduces dependence on one source of livelihood and so reduces vulnerability to specific stresses and shocks. However, doing in too many activities can mean that households are not able to invest sufficient time or resources in any one activity to make it profitable. Following table (table 2) shows the livelihood strategies poor people of rural and urban areas have adopted.

Table 3.2: Livelihood strategies often used by poor households

Strategy	Mainly In Urban	Urban and Rural
Income enhancing investment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Domestic services-cleaning and child care(esp. girls and women) ◆ Urban agriculture ◆ Renting out rooms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Home gardening ◆ Processing, hawking, vending ◆ Transporting goods ◆ Casual labour, piece work ◆ Specialized occupation(e.g. tinkering, food preparation, prostitution) ◆ Child labour ◆ Migration off seasonal work ◆ Begging ◆ Theft
Expenditure reducing sacrifice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Scavenging ◆ Cutting transport costs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Mortgaging and selling assets ◆ Selling children into bonded labour ◆ Changes in purchasing habits(e.g. frequent smaller quantities, not bulk buying) ◆ Buying less and/or cheaper goods and services ◆ Discrimination within the household(e.g. giving less to less powerful or less favoured household members)
Collective support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Communal kitchens ◆ Communal childcare 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Mutual loans and saving groups ◆ Putting out children for care in extended family ◆ Remittances from household members working away

Source: Adapted from Chambers (1997), UNCHS (1996) and Moser (1998) quoted in Farrington et al, 2002.

Podes and *Chayames* are historically dominated poor groups in the society of urban areas (KMC). There are several models developed to analyze the livelihood of poor groups. Among them, sustainable rural livelihood framework developed by different institutes, provide a base to analyze poor people's present status. Though these models are developed to analyze rural poor, they are suitable in urban context too. So, this study conceptualizes these SRL frameworks as its theoretical base to analyze the livelihood of the sweeper.

3.3 Selection of Study Area

The production of solid waste is high where more people live and more houses are built. It is only the big cities, where more people live. The area selected for the study is Kathmandu Metropolitan city because it is one of the biggest as well as more polluted cities of Nepal. A large number of people come here for different purpose and stay here. So the volume of waste production is increasing day in day out. To manage these solid wastes there is department of solid waste management in KMC, where so many low skilled poor people are engaged as sweeper to sweep and clean the city.

3.4 Research Methods

Another important task in research is to employ an appropriate research method for chosen issue, people and places. The choice of research methods usually flows conceptually and logically from the research questions (Hilary and Winchester, 2003). This study was conducted by using different appropriate methods to fulfill its aim.

Both qualitative and quantitative methods are employed in this research in integrated way. The reason behind the selection of integrated research method is like this. The methods are complementary rather than competitive and both have got strength when their weaknesses are reduced. However, more emphasis has been given on qualitative methods.

3.5 Nature and Sources of Data

Research methods, which have been employed in research, determine the nature and sources of data collection. In this study both qualitative and quantitative data are collected and utilized, so different types and sources of data are utilized to conduct this study.

The main sources of data collected to conduct this research were primary and secondary. Primary data were collected through extensive field visit, questionnaire survey, observations, key informant interviews, group discussion with respondents, and life history study of some selected persons. However secondary data also were collected from news papers, articles, books, unpublished dissertations, and internet and also through KMC, Central Bureau of Statistics and magazines of Independent Garbage Cleaners Union of Nepal. Some information is collected from newspapers (Gorkhapatra,

Kathmandu Post) and some previous studies and related literatures were consulted to guide this research.

3.6 Procedure of Data Collection

3.6.1 Plans for Field Survey

After the research issue and study area were selected, I was ready for field survey from which detailed information related to this study had to be obtained. But the field survey is not an easy task. So I made a plan how to collect information to fulfill my objective. A detailed plan for this study, which I prepared, is given below.

Table 3.3: Detail Plan for Information Collection

Objectives	Contents For Fulfilling Objective	Methods For Collecting Information
A. Discuss the over all socio-economic and demographic characteristics of sweeper	Name ,age, sex, religion, caste, family size, marital status, place of origin , income of the family, expenditures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Secondary information from KMC ◆ Questionnaire survey
B. Examine their livelihood assets(capital) that makes their living	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Natural capital(land , poultry) ◆ Human capital(literacy, additional skill) ◆ Financial capital(monthly salary, involvement in other private sector, house in rent) ◆ Physical capital(adequate water supply, home condition,) ◆ Social capital (social status, social net work, institutions) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ In depth interviews ◆ Focus group discussion ◆ Observation ◆ Key informants interview
C. Analyze their vulnerabilities they face.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Occupational vulnerabilities(temporality) ◆ Occupational diseases ◆ Harassment from public and senior officers. ◆ Time, seasonal difficulties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Key informants inter view ◆ In depth interview ◆ observation

3.6.2 Sample Group

For the detail investigation of sweepers, KMC has been chosen for the study. KMC comprises 35 wards (i.e. small territorial unit) and each ward is responsible for managing solid waste in its territory. KMC has about 2000 solid waste workers (sweepers). Some sweepers are assigned to work directly under KMC head office. They work around major city-road and public places. The total number of sweepers working directly under KMC

head office is about two hundred. Sweepers, who are working directly under KMC, and are from sweeper caste, are selected as sample group.

3.6.3 Researcher's Dilemma

Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal is highly polluted because of rapid growth of urbanization. Historically, Kathmandu is a main place of Newar community. In Newar community, there are some occupational castes which are divided into touchable and untouchable ones. Among them, '*Podes*' and '*Chayames*' are known as sweeper castes and are treated as untouchable groups. This study tries to analyze the livelihood of those sweepers who are associated with the Kathmandu Metropolitan city. I am a student of Geography and I do not have enough knowledge about the social structure of Kathmandu. Moreover, I was also unfamiliar with sweepers before the preliminary field visit. Though I am an outsider, I tried to make good relation with sweepers by keeping in touch with them time and again. In the starting time of my field work, I visited sweepers in different fields every day for a period one month which helped me to build rapport with respondents. In this dissertation all data provided by sweepers are collected. I did not try to influence any informant and I was not biased because of my own personal perceptions.

Being an outsider I did not have any knowledge of local *Newari* language and culture. If I had knowledge of *Newari* language, I could have easily convinced my respondents. But I was not able to surmount the problem of language. In some cases, the old sweepers could not understand what researcher asked. At that time other sweepers who understood Nepali language well helped me to fill up questionnaires.

The findings of this study are primarily based on the information collected from the field survey. This study utilized field observation, questionnaire survey, in depth interview, key informant interview, focus group discussion to obtain required information.

Being an outsider, I was not familiar with respondents. So to become familiar with them first I met Mr. Rishikesh Pandey, who had done research about the health problems of sweepers and scavengers. He suggested me to go to KMC department of Environment which lies in Teku. He also suggested me to visit Mr Rakesh manandhar, an Engineer of solid waste management. I went there on 4th sept., 2005 and met him. He suggested me to meet Mr. Chittra who is responsible for taking attendance of sweepers and sending

sweepers to their duty. That day I met Mr. Chittra. He told that all sweepers had gone to do their duty. He also told me that their duty is not fixed at day time; they have to go where the office assigned them to do work. In the morning all sweepers have been assigned to sweep the roads for cleaning, so I could meet sweepers in the morning in major road sides.

3.6.4 Rapport Building

On the 7th September, 2005 I went early in the morning towards old bus park. I saw some female sweepers with broom sweeping the bus park. The bus park was very dirty; there were lots of night soils and organic dirt. They did not have any masks on their mouth and gloves on their hand. They were sweeping and gathering the dirt in different places. Then I saw other male sweepers with *thela* and *kharpan*. They collected the dirt in their *thela* with the help of *kharpan*. They did not take any safety measures. That was the first day of my field visit. I just observed the working system of sweepers. After that I walked to “*Shahid Gate*” from old bus park where I found many sweepers busy to do their duty.

On 8th September, I went to *Ratna Park* with my friend Mr. Phanendra madai. We stood by the side of Rani Pokhari where some sweepers were busy to clean new park. On that day we were prepared to talk with them and to build rapport. But I felt uneasy to speak with them because I was not familiar with them and it was the first time that I had gone to field for the research. But being a researcher about sweeper and their occupation, first I had to tell the respondent about my research topic. As I was doing research on sweeper, I had to speak first with them because they were the real informants. So, I asked one sweeper about their duty. And then I gave them my introduction and told them that I was a student and was doing research on sweepers. At first some sweepers were hesitated to speak with us. I told my duty was to do research and pass the exam. If they did not give me information I would fail the exam, I told them. Then one middle aged female sweeper told me that they were mobile group and that day the office sent them to clean the park. So she suggested us to meet sweepers of Jamal group who worked there regularly. We thanked them and went towards Jamal to find out another sweepers’ group. On the sky bridge we met some sweepers who were cleaning it. Then they went for tea. At that time, we talked with sweepers telling that we were student and doing research on sweeper. At first, they hesitated and told that they did not know any thing and the ‘*Naike*’ (leader) would know and suggested us to meet leader. After that, we met the leader of that group

his name is Mr. Santalal *Pode*. I gave my identity myself as a student of geography and requested him for help. I further expressed that I was going to do research about sweeper. After having some conversation, he was ready to help me. He also requested his group members for providing me necessary information. He also suggested me that if I had to visit many sweepers I could meet others at Tripureshor and Bhadrakali at 7.00 am. At that time in those places two groups of sweepers were gathered and were having tea. The very next day, I went Tripureshor at 6.30 am. The sweepers were doing their duty. After some time, they gathered for tea. At the same time I my introduction to them and asked for help. They accepted my request after some conversation. Next day I went to Bhadrakali and also built rapport with them. In such a way, in a week I was able to build rapport with sweepers of different places.

3.7 Data Collection Tools and Techniques

3.7.1 Questionnaire Administration

After building rapport with sweepers, I made preparations to gather information. I designed a closed and open ended questionnaire for sweepers. To obtain information about socio-economic and demographic characteristics, I made closed questionnaire. And to get information like assets, vulnerability I designed open questions. The questionnaires were designed in funnel approach.

On 14th September, I went to Tripureshwor early in the morning and then waited for some time to fill my questionnaire. They were doing their duty at that time. They finished their work and gathered for tea. At that time I visited them and filled my questionnaire. In this way almost for two weeks I went to see them early in the morning at the working spot at Tripureshwor and talked to them. I filled questionnaire with the help of those sweepers whom I found at Tripureshor, Jamal, Old Bus Park, Bhadrakali and Baneshwor. The questionnaires were filled while they took rest with a cup of tea. It was for about half an hour they took rest from their duty. So I was able to fill only two or three questionnaire a day. After finishing their work they were hurried to go their home.

While filling questionnaires sometime sweepers were suspicious about me. They also suspected me as a CID or Maoist insurgent. But I convinced them that I was only a student and just did it for my exam. Then they were ready to give me the information. Sometimes while filling questionnaire, some sweeper used to ask me lots of questions

and discussed unrelated topic which were not important for my research. With the help of questionnaire I took information on age ,sex, family size and family background, caste , marital status, their recent residential area, causes of coming in to Kathmandu (only with those who were from out side the valley), years spent on this job , job's permanency, natural capital (land ,water) , human capital (literacy, other skills), physical capital (home, animal husbandry, poultry forms) , financial capital (income, other house member's income , other form of income and expenditures, debts, saving).

3.7.2 In-depth Interview

After interviewing 29 sweepers I found that much information were repeated. Then I felt that only with questionnaire I would not be able to fulfill my objectives. I wanted to know their vulnerability and livelihood assets which make their livelihood better. For this I went freely (without questionnaire) towards the working site of sweepers and talked about their way of living in-depth. I tried to keep the information in my memory and I filled up my field diary later and kept the record of that day.

Likewise, I took in-depth interview from altogether eight sweepers. Among them three sweepers were from Tripureshor site working group, two from Jamal site working group, two from Bhadrakali working group and one from Baneshor working group. In this way I tried to get the real information of their livelihood strategies and institutional relation (Independent Garbage Cleaners Union of Nepal). During this process I also took information about vulnerabilities that they were facing. It also helped me to prepare case studies and life histories of the sweeper.

3.7.3 Key Informant Interview

During field study, I interviewed those people who directly or indirectly were related with sweeper. I took information from officer of KMC head office, President of Independent Garbage Cleaners Union of Nepal who knew of sweepers' caste and history of *Newari* society as key informant.

3.7.4 Focus Group Discussion

A focus group is the use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in the group (Morgan 1988 cited in Subedi

2005). It is an effective tool, to identification of research problem and possible solution. After not getting new or interesting information on questionnaire filling I thought to conduct a focus group discussion to find out information related to vulnerability and to the different assets.

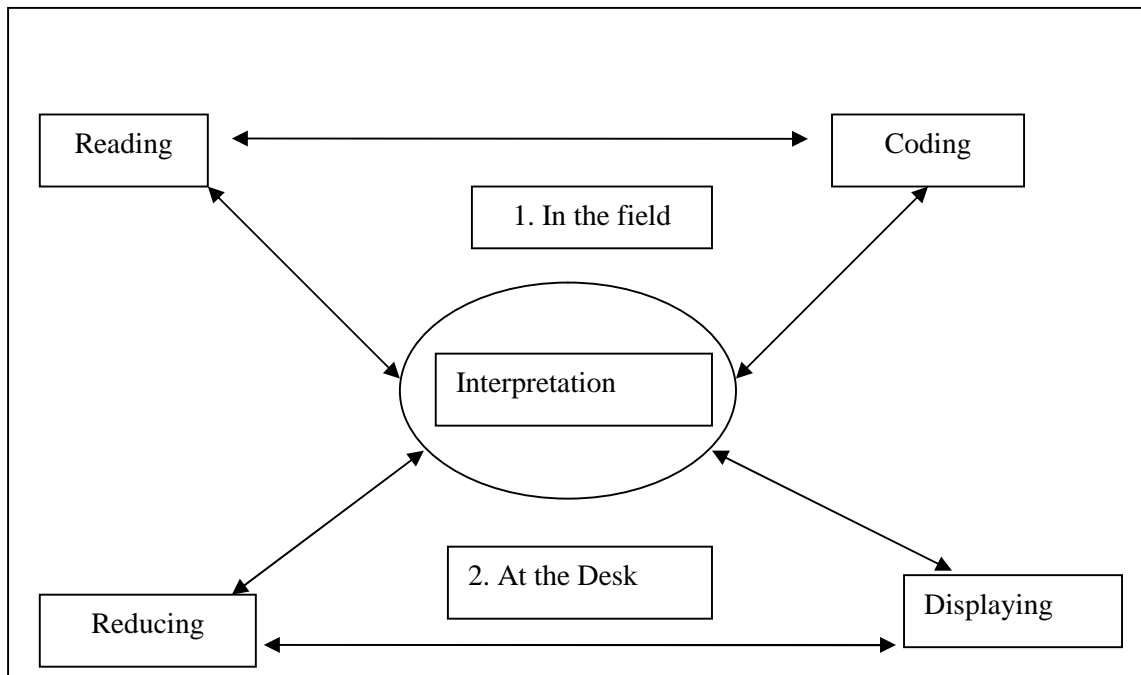
Conducting focus group discussion was very difficult for me because my respondents performed their duty in the morning and day and they always hurried back home after finishing their duty. So I asked help from the senior officer of environment department of KMC.

He provided me some sweeper and a room to hold the focus group discussion. On the 30th January, 2006 in the head office of KMC Environment department, Teku focus group discussion was held. For focus group discussion 5 male and 6 female sweepers were selected. Similarly among them two males were above 60 years of age and others were aged and young sweepers. It took about two hours to conduct focus group discussion. It helped me a lot to gather the information as required by the study. With the help of my different friends at CDG, information were noted down and were used for further analysis.

3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation

Although this study applies quantitative and qualitative methods, descriptive approach has been widely used for result interpretation. The information gathered from diverse sources and methods are subsequently edited, processed and analyzed. Quantitative data were processed by using statistical package-SPSS and Excel. These packages were used to generate tables and simple statistical calculations. In order to draw maps a GIS software Arc View was used. During the field work more emphasis was given to informal field techniques. Therefore more information is coded and is explained simultaneously in different parts of this thesis to describe the findings. The method of qualitative data analysis presented is diagram in as following:

Figure 3.1: Method of Data Analysis



Source: After Huberman and Miles 1994 quoted by Subedi, 2005.

The analysis process follows reading, coding, displaying, reducing and interpreting. These five stages are used in an integrated way. For the analysis of the qualitative data at first the data which are taken from the field survey read in-depth and coded them. The information which is relevant in my study is displaying detail. Then similar data are reduced to make easy for interpretation. After reducing the data, I have interpreted the reduced data in the form of the report. In this way collected information are noted and they are analyzed in suitable places. Similarly in some cases pseudo names are used to describe the situation by realizing not to reveal out the sweeper's privacy.

CHAPTER FOUR

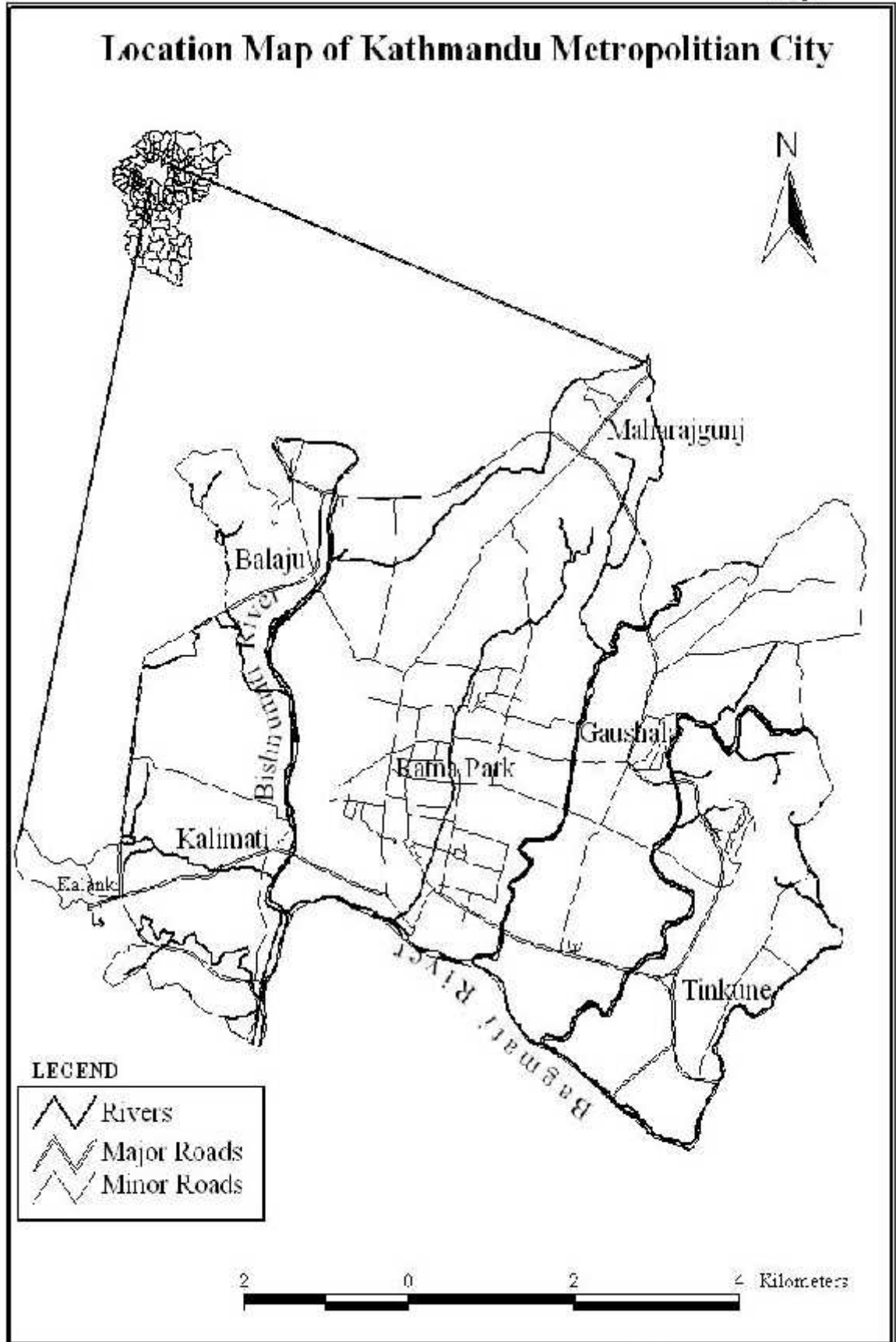
STUDY AREA AND THE PEOPLE

4.1 General Background of Kathmandu Metropolitan City

Kathmandu valley covers upper Bagmati River basin and the valley floor is above 1350m from mean sea level. Geographically, it is located between 85° 16' 15" to 85° 22' 30" east longitude and 27° 40' 00" to 27° 45' 00" north latitude. The valley floor extends for 26 Kms from east to west and 20 Kms from north to south with an area of 640 square kilometers. It is an oval shaped valley which is surrounded and protected by hills and mountains on all sides. It consists of three districts namely Kathmandu, Bhaktpur, and Lalitpur. Among them Kathmandu is relatively greater in area than others. Kathmandu district consists of one metropolitan (KMC), one municipality and 57 vdc's(CBS,2001). Kathmandu is the only one metropolitan city of our country and lies in Kathmandu valley.

The metropolitan area covers 68.88 square kilometers. The boundary of metropolitan city adjoins with Icahngunarayan, Sitapaila, Syuchatar and Naikap Bhanjhang Vdc's in the west; Kapan Gokarneshor, Gothatar and Dahachowk Vdc's in the east; Goldhunga, Manamaiju, Gongabu and Khadga Bhadrakali Vdc's in the north and the Bagmati river in the south.

Location Map of Kathmandu Metropolitan City



Source: Survey Department of Nepal, 1995

4.2 A Brief History of Population Concentration in Kathmandu Valley

In the past the valley was a big lake, which was later drained by a legendary figure Manjushree by cutting a gorge at Chobhar (Regmi, 1993). When the lake became suitable place for human habitation, people started to settle here due to its rich lacustrine soil.

The precise beginnings of population concentration in Kathmandu valley are hazy at best. History indicates that Kathmandu was a densely forested area up until five thousand years ago and it functioned as a hunting site for *Kirantas*, a group which is said to have entered here from eastern Nepal several centuries before the Christian era. *Kirants* were followed by *Lichhavis* during the first and second centuries Before Christ. A sizeable population concentration probably evolved in the valley during the Lchchhavi period (ca.A.D.300-800). However, historical records show that the three principal localities of the valley -Kathmandu, Patan and Bhadgaon acquired a relatively higher concentration of population by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries only. Each of these three localities were capitals of independent principalities until 1769 (Subedi, 1996).

Now a days, the population concentration in urban areas of Kathmandu valley is rapid. The proportion of urban population in the valley districts has remained 47.41, 40.32, and 47.43 percent during 1961, 1971, 1981 census respectively. The census of 1991 records more urban than rural population in the valley. Within last forty years since 1954 the population of Kathmandu valley has increased by almost three times. This increase is more pronounced in the urban populations (Subedi, 1996). In 2001 about 66 percent of the Kathmandu district population was urban (CBS, 2001). This proved that the concentration of population in the urban areas is growing in last decades.

4.3 The people of the Kathmandu Valley

The valley population is diverse in the caste and ethnic composition. Since, it has the capital city of the country; people from all over the country have migrated here. Though it has the diverse population composition, the valley is mostly populated by *Newars* so their dominance in this area is high even now.

In the past too Kathmandu was civilized and well developed city of Nepal. The “*Newars*’ were the main habitants of the valley. Among scholars there seems to be consensus that the *Newar* can be traced back to the ancient *Kiranta*, who inhabited the valley two millennia ago. Not much is known about the *Kiranta*. The *Kirantas* were followed by the *Licchavis* who founded a dynasty and left the earliest sources of history so far discovered inscriptions from the fifth century A.D. There is also an agreement that

the *Newars* and the valley have been repeatedly invaded by other people from the surrounding hills and from the Gangatic plains. The invaders were attracted to the valley by its rich alluvial soils, its urban riches, and the chances for spoils. Some of the invaders founded new dynasties; most prominent of these were the *Malla* dynasties, which are thought to have come in the 12th century from Tirhut in Bihar. These early immigrants tended to become *Newarized*: they assumed cultural patterns from the *Newars* and adopted their language, making it their own. After some generations such immigrants or invaders would be more or less indistinguishable from the original inhabitants (<http://www.geocities.com/newanepal.com/>).

During Malla period, Jayasthiti Malla divided the Newar community into different caste hierarcies according to their work. In the middle of 14th century, *Malla* King Jayasthiti Malla had taken the priest from India divided people into different castes. He also prepared the code of *Manu* “*Manusmriti*”. According to that code, the Newars were divided into four castes following the Hindu caste system- the *Acharya*, the *Vaidayas*, the *Shrestha*, and *Daibagyas*. They were then divided into 64 sub-castes on the basis of their occupations. Sweepers, scavengers and cobblers were declared as untouchables. The people of different classes and professions had to wear their prescribed dresses. The sweepers had to move about bare-footed, bare headed and with bare ears. They had to live in mud huts with thatched roof (Baral et al, 2004).

4.4 *Pode* and Their Territoriality

Pode and *Chayames* do not have any special types of language and culture. They speak Newari. They celebrate the same festivals that are celebrated by valley *Newars*. Their physical appearance is also the same as *Newar*. In this way *Podes* and *Chayames* are same as other *Newars* of Kathmandu valley (Baral et al, 2004). So, it can be said that *Pode* and *Chayames* are not distinct ethnic groups rather they are the sub-categories of *Newars*.

In Newar society, *Podes* are involved in different works such as sanitation, fishing, making basket, and to take out the skins of dead animal. Similarly, ‘*Pode*’ and ‘*Chayames*’ are regarded as sweeper castes and their main task is to clean the town and villages. Moreover, they were not allowed to wear cap (*Topi*), shoes, and expensive ornaments (Baral et al, 2004) and they are also compelled to live near the river bank. During the rule of Malla dynasty king Gunkam Dev Malla in the year 724 A.D, founded Kathmandu city and built a protective wall. People belonging to lower castes like ‘*Pode*’ ‘*Chayames*’ ‘*Kullu*’ ‘*Harahuru*’ were not allowed to live inside of the city wall (Regmi, 1993).

Human groups have often been observed to partition physical space into portion owned and some times defended from outsiders (Hardesty19...). Valley people's places were defended from outsiders who were the invaders of Kathmandu valley in the past. In *Malla* period as *Podes* were categorized as lower caste, they were given places to settle in marginal lands such as river bank area (Regmi, 1993). Some places like Kshetrapati, Dalko, Koteswor, Swal Bahal the areas of Bisnumati River and Tilganga near Bagmati River were the places fixed for *Pode* and *Chayame*.

There is a story about the residential segregation of *Pode*. Once when king Rana Bahadur Shah was visiting "Slesmantak Ban" he saw a pig roaming on the road. He asked about the ownership of pig. His security person said that it belonged to a *Pode* and that they are responsible for the dust and dirt of the road and other public area. Then king ordered to shift their place and settled at Tilganga(Ghale,2000). In this way, *Pode* community members are transferred from time to time to marginal land or river bank area. The map 2 shows about their place of residence.

It is clear that most sweepers who live in Kathmandu valley are settled near river banks. But some sweepers are also from outside the valley. Most of the sweepers I interviewed are living near the bank of Visnumati River.

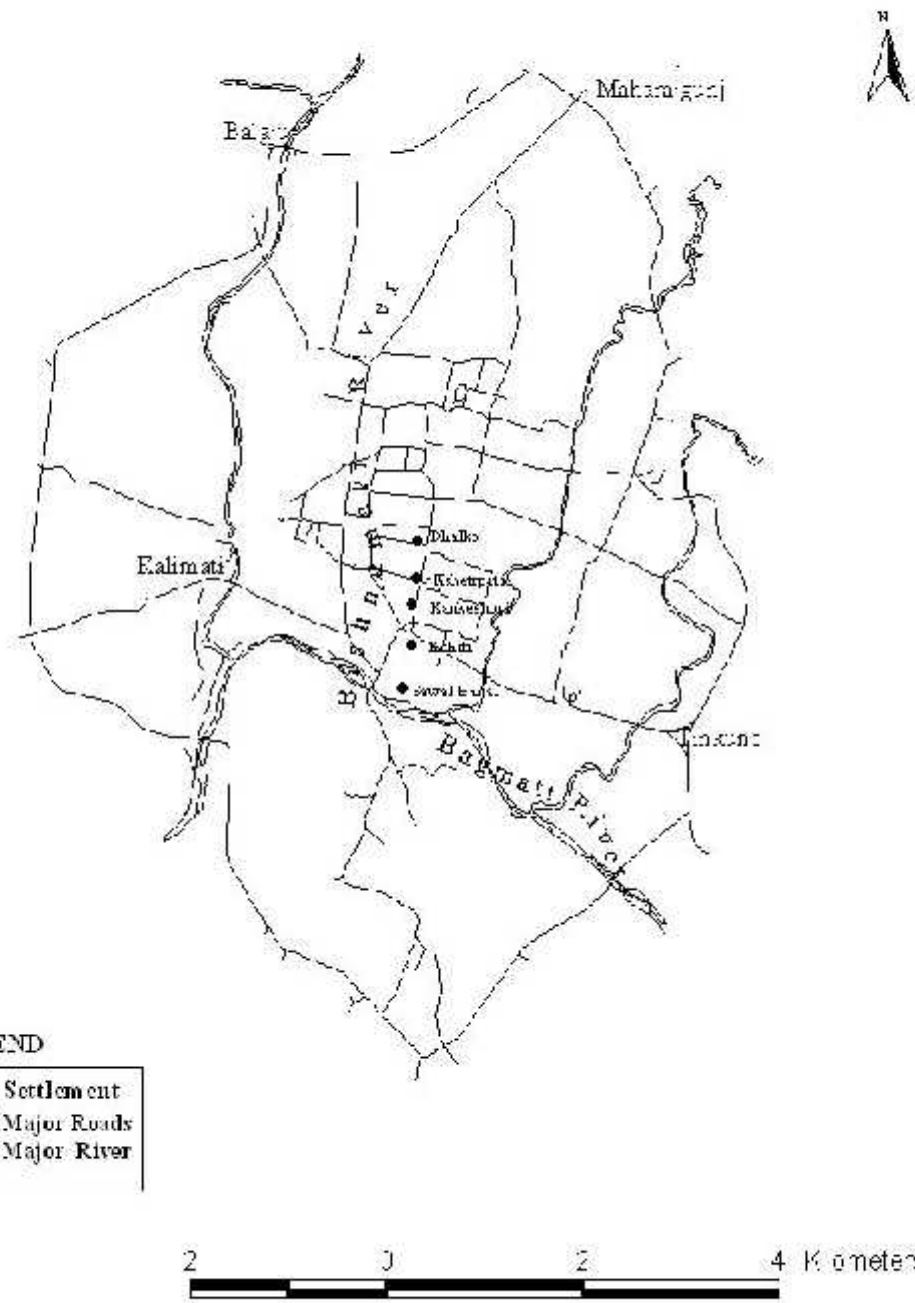
Table 4.2: Places of Residence of Respondents

Place	No. of Respondents	Percent
Dhalko	2	6.8
Kankeshori	3	10.3
Khusi bahal	1	3.4
Kohiti	2	6.9
Kshetrapati	5	17.2
Teku (Swal Bhahal)	5	17.2
Budhanilkanth Narayanthan	3	10.3
Kirtipur	4	13.8
Swyambhu	3	10.3
Total	29	100.0

Field Survey, 2005

The places like Narayanthan, Kankeshowri, Kusibahal, Kohiti, Teku, Khetrapati are the residential area of sweeper which lie on the Vishumati river banks. Though Kirtipur does not lie on the river bank, there is a fixed tole (Nayabazar height) for *Podes*. Another area Swyambu also does not lie on the river bank. It is rental place where Sweepers from outside the valley are living. Some sweepers from out side the valley are also living in Kirtipur.

Major Living Places of Respondents



Source: Survey Department of Nepal, 1996

4.5 Place of Origin

In the past sweeping occupation was regarded as caste specific. At that time only those people who were so called lower caste of the valley (Newar community) were found in this occupation. Those people live within the valley. But now other people are also involved in this occupation. So people from out side the valley are also involved in this profession.

In my study I met the sweepers coming from different areas. Though I collected data from sweepers from Poda and Chayame communities, I met sweepers who are come from outside the valley especially from Tistung Palung, Sindupalchowk, Dharan, Banepa. Following table shows the origin of sweepers.

Table 4.1: Place of Origin of Respondents

Place of Origin	No of Respondents	Percent
Within valley	24	82.8
Out side the valley	5	17.2
Total	29	100

Source: Field Survey, 2005.

Above table clearly indicates that about 83 percent of sweepers who work under KMC head office are from Kathmandu and about 17% sweepers are from outside the valley. The involvement of local people in this occupation is high, because the number of occupational caste (i.e. *Pode*) in this profession is high even now. Some of the people who have come from out side the valley also belong to the occupational caste. Following case study shows that why a sweeper came to Kathmandu and do this occupation. The case study makes it clear that why Podes from out side the valley came here and got involved in sweeping activities.

Laxmi Deula 26. Her birth place is Tistung(Palung) and married a person from the same place. After marriage she came to Kathmandu and continued this job. Her husband also does this job. Her husband's job is in one of the ward office of KMC. She lives at Kirtipur in a rented house with her family.

In this chapter we examine sweepers' territoriality, which was fixed by the rulers in the past. The next chapter deals with socio-economic and demographic characteristics of sweeper.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

5.1 Age Composition

All human beings are grouped mainly into two different categories- economically active and non active person according to their age group. People between the age group of 15-59 are considered as economically active because they engage in productive work and are also taken as physically strong humans. People belonging to ages between 0-14 and 60 years and above are regarded as economically non active people. Table 6.1 shows age wise distribution of sweepers.

Table 5.1: Age Distribution of Respondents

Age group	No. of Respondent	Percent
15-29	11	38
30-44	15	51.7
45-60	3	10.3
Total	29	100

Source: Field survey, 2005

Majority of sweepers are aged between (30-44) years. Since sweeping is a productive occupation of urban poor so active people are found doing this profession. Similarly, most of the sweepers are aged between 15 to 29years. This has proved that *Pode/Chayames* enter into this occupation when they become 15 years old. They easily get this job.

KMC has celebrated 11th anniversary of its establishment as metropolitan city on the 14th December, 2005 (29th Mansir 2062). On that day 30 sweepers were awarded with “*Deerga Sewa Padak*” (medal for long time service). They were awarded because they had served in KMC for more than 28 years. All sweepers who were awarded are above 60 years of age. Although I could not meet them during my field visit, this makes that many sweepers continue their job even after they cross above 60 years of age because of poor house hold background.

5.2 Sex Distribution

Sweeping is an occupation or activity which is preformed by both male and female. The sweepers of KMC are divided into different groups. Each group has defined route to

sweep the street. In each group there are about six female sweepers, two male sweepers and a leader. There is division of labour between male and female. The females have brooms and they sweep the streets and gather dirt in different parts of the street. Then the male collector loads that dirt's on their *Thela*. There is one leader in each group and the most leaders are male.

Table 5.2: Sex of Respondents

Sex	No. of Respondent	Percent
Female	21	72.4
Male	8	27.6
Total	29	100

Source: Field survey, 2005

Here, the proportion of female sweeper is high which consists of 72 percent. And the proportion of male sweeper is just 28 percent. The reason is as mentioned above that in each group there are more females than males. There is also labour division at household level between male and female. Mostly female are engaged in household chores where as males are involved in out side works. Table 5.3 makes it further clear.

Table 5.3: Activities carried out by sweeper

Time	Activities carried out by sweeper	
	Male	Female
5 A.M	Come to work	Come to work
5-8 A.M	Sweep the streets	Sweep the streets
8 A.M	Return home to have meal	Return home to making meal
10 A.M-1P.M	Go to private work such as hotel, department store	Do household activities (washing pots, cleaning house etc.)
1 P.M	Come to work	Come to work
1- 4 P.M	Perform office duties	Perform office duties
4 P.M-8 P.M	Return home and go to another private agency for work	return home and do household activities
Or	Or	Or
5A.M -11A.M.	Office work (sweep the streets)	Office work (sweep the streets)
11A.M	Return home for meal	Return home for Meal
12noon-4P.M	Department store/hotel/ hospital	House hold chores/chowk/ local small streets

Source: Field Survey, 2005

By studying this table we can say that most of the male sweepers are involved in additional works except the office. It is because they are unable to sustain with the salary they get. On the other hand, females have to do household activity so they do not get chance to work in other areas. Moreover, in *Pode* community there is not much gender discrimination because females are also involved in productive activities.

5.3 Family Size

Most of the sweepers live with their parents. Some sweepers who are not local live here only with their wives and children. More sweepers who work under the KMC head office are local and have their large family too. Table 5.4 shows the family size of the sweeper.

Table 5.4: Family size of respondents

Family Size	Frequency	Percent
Less than 3	5	17.2
4	7	24.1
5	10	34.5
6	3	10.3
8	3	10.3
13	1	3.4
Total	29	100

Source: Field Survey, 2005

From table 5.4 we know that average family size of sweeper is 5.1 which is slightly less than national average family size. The national average size of family is 5.4(CBS, 2004). It is because they marry early and separate from their parents. Although some sweepers married early and separated from their family but due to their low income and poverty they are not able to make their own home. Following case study further supports this statement.

Ranjit *Pode* (name changed), 33 has married early. Now he has five family members in his family. But he lives in the same house where his parents live. In that house there are altogether 10 members with his parents and brothers. Though each family live in the same house, they have their meal and other household works separately. Ranjit *Pode* is responsible for only his family not for his parents and brothers.

Marriage is a universal phenomenon. After marriage people get life partner. They can spend their life by helping each other. And they also make their own family and their responsibilities are increased. From field survey I found following marital status of respondents.

Table 5.5: Marital Status of Respondents

Marital Status	No of Respondent	Percent
Unmarried	0	0
Married	24	82.8
Separated	4	13.8
Widowhood	1	3.4

Source: Field Survey 2005.

Table 5.5 shows that more than 82 percent sweepers of the KMC are married. Compared with age structure of population it suggests that they got married early. They married early to improve their financial situation. The cases of separations were also high among sweepers. The condition of separation makes sweepers more vulnerable. The following case study further suggests the problem faced by separated sweepers.

Sheela Deula (name changed) 25, got married when she was 16. After marriage she spent some years with her husband. At that time they did work to improve their family's status. But later her husband left her and married with another girl. Now she does not live with her husband. She has two sons and a daughter. Now one son lives with her and the other children live with her husband. Now a days, she lives in her parents house (i.e. Maiti). She feels uneasy while living in parent's house. She is also worried about her son who lives with her husband. She is worried as she suspects that step mother looks after her son carefully.

5.5 Caste/Ethnicity

Pode and *Chayame* were primarily responsible for cleaning (sweeping) public places of towns and cities in the past. But, rapid growth of urbanization and globalization, have further marginalized rural poor people. So, increasing number of marginalized rural poor people also engaged in sweeping activity. So, now sweeping is no longer a cast special occupation. People of different ethnic groups involved in this occupation are shown in the following table.

Table 5.6: Caste Composition

Caste	No. of Sweepers	Percent
<i>Pode</i>	146	65.77
Non- <i>Pode</i> (Newars- Maharjan, Shrestha)	10	4.6
Tamang	7	3.2
Cheetri	6	2.8
Magar	3	1.4
Others	51	23.0
Total	222	100.0

Source: Kathmandu Metropolitan City, 2005

Table 5.6 clearly shows that the involvement of *Pode* people in this activity is high even now, which accounts for 66%. Then *Non Pode* Newar group is in the second position. Among non-newer groups Tamang are greatest in number. It is because the foot hills of Kathmandu valley is mostly populated by Tamang, who are marginalized poor people. Similarly Chhettri and Magar castes people involved in this occupation account for 3 percent and one percent respectively.

According to one of the officers of KMC once during 1995, KMC had planned to collect the waste materials at night. Then large numbers of people (non *Pode*) were engaged in this profession. But later, when KMC again changed its routine to collect waste materials in the early morning and day time they (i.e. other caste people) left this profession due to low social status of this profession.

5.6 Literacy Status

Although education is considered as the main factor for the development of a country, the sweepers are not able to get desired educational opportunity due to their poor background. The following table shows about their literacy rate.

Table5.7 Educational Status

Educational status	Male	Female	Total
Illiterate	3 (10.3)	18 (62.1)	21 (72.4)
Literate	5 (17.2)	3 (10.3)	8 (27.6)
total	8 (27.6)	21 (72.4)	29 (100)

Table 5.7 makes clear that many sweepers (72.4%) are illiterate. Only about 27.6 percent sweepers are literate and among them most are the males (i.e.17.2%). Similarly ,

about 62.1 percent females are illiterate. This shows there is high discrimination in literacy status according to sex. But it is found that all sweepers had sent their children in the school. This shows that their future generation will be more literate than this generation.

We find that mostly active age group people are involved in sweeping activities, but some aged people are also performing it till now. Similarly, in the case of KMC head office, more female sweepers are involved in this job than male sweeper due to their labour division while working. Moreover, sweepers have low family size than national average because they marry early and separate with their parents. The dominance of *Pode* (i.e. sweeper caste people) in this profession is high till now. The economic characteristics of sweeper will be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

LIVELIHOOD ASSETS

Every person has some endowment to run their life. But these endowments vary from each other. Such endowment within their control is known as assets. While people use their assets and these assets in turn help people to gain better livelihood standard, then the assets become important. Sometimes if people lack these assets then they are unable to sustain their life. Sustainable livelihood approach developed by DFID, 2002, has categorized people's assets into five capital assets and has developed a frame work to show that how all assets and control over them affect the livelihood options of the poor.

Furthermore, in practice, not all the assets are owned by , or fully in the control of, men and women who are attempting to use them in their livelihood strategies – in fact some, like common property resources, cannot by definition be owned by individuals or even households and others, such as 'social capital', cannot be owned, but imply a negotiated relationship. Similarly, services supplied through targeted state programmes are officially accessible to the poor, but in practice institutional and practical barriers may limit the access of the poor to the benefits of such programmes. (Farington et al. 2002).

In understanding the extent of people's access to and control over resources, the concept of entitlement can be helpful (Sen, 1981). 'Entitlement' is the ability to command access to different forms of capital assets through the use of financial resources, formal and informal relationship with other groups and individuals or legal rights. An analysis of people's helps to highlight the power that they can draw on to gain control over and use of resources.

The importance of access or entitlement to assets, and the factors determining them, are generally dealt with by SL models DFID, 2000 defines or characterize these assets into five different categories (i.e. natural, physical, human, social and financial). In fact, these are such pillars through which people can cope with even in the time of trends, seasonality and shocks. Sweepers are from ancient period treated as untouchable caste and so lack these assets. They had several obstacles to gain it in the past. This chapter will try to analyze their assets within the S. L. F. by DFID, 2000.

6.1 Natural Capital

Natural capital is the term used for the natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services (e.g. nutrient cycling, erosion protection) useful for livelihoods are derived (DFID, 2002). Natural capital refers to environmental assets such as land, and common property resources (with communal management and traditional systems determining access and types of use) or 'free' (open access) natural resources such as water forests or grazing land (Sida, 2002). Natural capital is very important to those who derive all or part of their livelihoods from resource-based activities (farming, fishing, gathering in forests, mineral extraction, etc.) (DFID: 2002). These assets are generally less used in the livelihood strategies of the urban poor, as they tend to be less available, especially in large urban centers. (Sida; 2002). However, importance goes way beyond this. According to Nepali (1995) 'The Newar' the lower caste people are not allowed to have their dwelling places within the village boundaries (Nepali, 1995). The term '*pore*' is derived from the hereditary calling of public executioner. The principal occupations of the pore are fishing, basket-making and skinning of dead animals (Nepali, 1995). In the past, these activities had significance earn sustaining their life but now due to globalization this occupation of '*Podes*' has gone into dark side. To obtain these activities they used natural resource but now it is not so important in the present context due to urbanization of Kathmandu valley. But the land they have can be regarded as the natural capital of them.

6.1.1 Land

Land is an important factor to determine natural capital because it provides every human being a space for shelter and agriculture activities .But due to high concentration of people almost all land of urban area is used for shelter rather than agriculture. On the other hand, rural area has more open land which is used for agriculture shelter and grazing land as well. Moreover, the land in urban area has great value than rural. The table 6.1 illustrates the land holding size of respondents by rural/urban categories.

Table 6.1: Land Holding Size

Land(in Ana)	Respondents		Total
	Within valley	Out side the valley	
Less then 5	6 (20.7%)	1 (3.4)	7 (24)
6-10	2 (6.9%)	-	2 (6.9)
11- 15	2 (6.9%)	-	2 (6.9)
Above 15	3 (10.3%)	3 (10.3)	6 (20.7)
Land less	11 (37.9%)	2 (6.9)	12 (41.9)
Total	24	5	89

Source: field survey, 2005

Note: One Ana equals 0.00319 hector, and one hectare corresponds to about 20 Ropani. (Sixteen Ana equals one Ropani)

Figure within the parenthesis represents the percentage

As shown in table 6.1, about 41% sweepers do not have land. Similarly the sweepers, land having less than 5 Ana, are also great in proportion. As land of Kathmandu and rural areas has different values so for better analysis land of rural & urban habitat has been shown in this table. As shown in the table landholding having less than 5 Ana are greater in number in Kathmandu. Similarly sweepers, having more than 15 Ana land, are equal in number both in valley and outside the valley. Sweepers having 6 to 15 Ana are not found in rural areas.

Though there are some sweepers having more than 15 Ana land in rural areas they can't get any product from their land while those who have more land in Kathmandu can earn more by using this land as a shelter or by using it as a rental house.

Laxmidivi Poda, 26, was born in Tistung. She got married there with a same cast boy. Her in-law has more land than 15 Ana. But later, she came to Kathmandu with her husband. Both of them got employed in KMC as sweeper. Now, they are living in Kirtipur in a rental house. They seldom go to their home (Tistung). Similarly, they let their relatives to farm their land but they never took anything from their land. She also adds that since their land is unproductive they do not expect to get any in return from their land.

6.1.2 Livestocks

Some sweepers also kept pigs and hens to improve their livelihood. It is known that they have been keeping pigs and hens since past time. The story about *Rana Bahadur Shah* who punished *Pode* for leaving their pigs on street while walking (Ghale, 2000) makes this clear. It is found that 51 percent of sweepers keep livestock and others do not keep.

Table 6.2: Live Stocks Types Kept by Respondents

Livestocks	No. of Respondents		
	Within Valley	Outside Valley	Total
Hens	6	4	10(35)
Pigs	8	4	12(41)
Goat		2	2(7)
Cows/Bufaloes		1	1(3)
Not any	13	1	14(49)

Source: Field survey, 2005

Figure within the parenthesis represents the percentage

According to the table about forty percent sweepers keep pigs in their house and about 35% keep hens. According to table 6.2 urban residents do not keep goats, cows and buffaloes, whereas all kinds of live stocks are kept by rural residents.

Though rural residents keep some livestock they keep only for household consumption. But urban residents keep livestock hens and pigs for local urban market. They are able to earn more money than their rural counterparts.

When we have focus group discussion at Teku Head Office on 30th January 2006, sweepers expressed that if they had not had this job they would keep livestock. They even said that some of them have even now kept it. Only 51 percent have kept livestock at home. They said that they earn about 30 thousand in a year from the poultry farms.

6.2 Physical Capital

Physical assets are those assets which are obtained through man made infrastructure. Physical asset consists of the basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to support livelihoods. Infrastructure is commonly a public good that is used without direct payment (DFID.2.3.4). Due to physical capital or infrastructure development people of the urban

area have easy access to physical capital. So, they are able to use physical capital to earn financial capital. Similarly people from villages closer to urban centre have also easy access to urban areas which offer options for better livelihood. Affordable transport, secure shelter and buildings, adequate water supply and sanitation, clean affordable energy and access to information public infrastructures are associated with physical assets.

6.2.1 Modes of Transport

In the morning, all sweepers come to the main roads Head Office has assigned to them to do their duty. But in day time they come to Office (i.e. Teku). Mostly, the concentrations of *Podes* are in the places like Sahal bahal (Teku), Dhalko, kohiti. Sweepers from these areas, come to office on foots. But others who are from Kirtipur, Bhaktpur, Budhanilkantha come to office on cycles or by buses. The following table shows time and modes of transport mostly used by them.

Table 6.3: Means to Come in Office

Time/Means	10minuts	15minuts	20minuts	25minuts	30minuts	1hour	Total
On Foot	2	5	6	2	1	2	18(62)
Cycle/motorcycle(private)	2	2	0	0	0	0	4(14)
Buses (public)	1	0	1	0	4	1	7(24)
Total	5	7	7	2	5	3	29(100)

Source: Field Survey; 2005.

Figure within the parenthesis represent the percentage.

As shown in the table, about 62% sweepers come to office on foot since they live near the head office. About 24% sweepers come by bus and only 14% sweepers have their own means of transport (cycle/bicycle). Due to good road networks from their home to office, sweepers from the village near to KMC are also able to perform their daily duty easily. According to table 6.3 it is clear that due to road facilities some sweepers can come to do their job even they have to spend about one hour on bus travel. They come by bus and they have to spend about Rs. 350 to Rs. 600 per months as bus fair.

6.2.2 Living Arrangements

Most of Sweepers who work under KMC Head Office are socially discriminated poor or so called untouchable people. They have their own home in city within traditionally

assigned area. About 22 Sweepers are found having their own home in Kathmandu and 7 sweepers do not own house, during field survey. Most of the sweepers live in the rented house with their family. Those Sweepers who live in rent have to pay about Rs 800 to Rs 1500 per month for rent.

In the case of the sweepers who are from outside the valley also live in the same residential areas where sweepers from valley live. In other words, the sweeper who are considered as non-local, also live in the *Pode* communities' area in rented accommodation. But the non-*Pode* Newar groups are living in different places of the city.

6.2.3 Infrastructure Facilities at Residence

About 80 percent sweepers, who are from the valley, have their own houses. But as we described in earlier chapter that historically, *Podes' and Chayames'* residential area are fixed within river sides. Especially river sides are those areas which are not sound environmentally. They are the most polluted areas of the urban area. In the case of Kathmandu Bagmati and Bisnumati rivers are like a sewage pipe. So, the residential areas of *Podes and Chayames* in Kathmandu valley are not good at all. Similarly, there are lack of different facilities in their residential areas.

Those sweepers who live in Kirtipur and Bhaktapur don't live in river sides. So their residential sides are comparatively better than those who live in river banks of Kathmandu. But their residential area also is fixed for example, Nayabazaar for the *Podes* of Kirtipur. They also face the problems of other facilities like drinking water and good sanitation facilities.

With regard to the facility of drinking water 65 percent of sweeper told that they had their own tap and remaining sweepers said that they use public tap (field survey, 2005). But most of them claim that although they have got their own tap at their residence, they do not get regular supply of water. They get water once a day or thrice a week. They also add that the water from tap is not clean to fetch it directly.

It is an irony that sweepers are mainly responsible to clean the cities and towns but their residential areas are not so clean. Their residential areas do not have proper sanitation

facilities. While we walked around their locality, we saw the waste materials littered on the streets and house yards and we felt bad smell of such collected dirt.

Those sweepers who live in Kathmandu valley have got the facilities of electricity and communications. Some of them also have T.V. and others luxurious materials which show about the influence of urbanization on their life.

6.3 Human Capital

Human capital refers to skills, knowledge and ability to work. Clearly, financial capital, in terms of access to employment and earnings is strongly dependent on adequate human capital. In turn, human capital is highly dependent on adequate nutrition, health care, safe environmental condition and education (Sapkota and Dahal, 2005). To sustain in urban area people need good education qualification and job skills to get high salary job. But 'Pode' are historically dominated and prevented from reading so they lack access to education.

6.3.1 Education Attainment

Education is one of the prominent assets which may affect the whole life span. If a person is educated there will be several further options and he can have smooth lifestyle. On the contrary, lack of education may give stresses to the people to obtain, employment. *"When I was young my father sent me in school. I read there up to class three. When I was in government school people belonging to high caste humiliated me. Even teachers treated me as an untouchable, they behaved me badly. So I dropped out from school. Then since we have a secure job (i.e. sweeper) I joined it when I was 16 years old."* A 45 years old lady told me the story. From this it is clear that those Podes dropped out of school due to caste discrimination. Similarly, it also makes it clear that they have secure job when they reached active ages (i. e. 16 years) so dropped out of school. The table 7.3 shows about the education attainments of the respondents.

Table 6.4: Literacy and Educational Attainment of Sweeper

Education Attainment	No. Respondent	Percent
Illiterate	21	72.4
Primary	5	17.2
secondary	3	10.3
Total	29	100

Source: Field Survey, 2005.

In my field visit, I found that about 72 percent Sweepers are illiterate and only 10 percent have attended secondary level education. It proves that they lag behind in education. I asked them whether they would send their children to school or send to work as sweepers. They replied that now days the situation has changed so they will send their future generations to schools and colleges. Their sons and daughters have not felt any type of humiliation. They also send their future generations to private boarding schools. So they expect that their future generation will get better job.

Chinimaya *Pode*, 45. She has a daughter who has passed B. A. and she is also learning the sewing and painting trainings. Her daughter did work in an office too. She expects good from her daughter. She also added that if all sweepers read nicely and regularly then they can earn from different jobs or engage in different fields rather than the sweeping.

6.3.2 Skills/ Trainings

In the context of urban, financial capital is more important than others. If any person has some additional skill he/she can get different better-paid jobs too. It in turn helps him/her to build his/her financial assets well. So, during my fields visit I asked them about additional skill. I found Most of them have not got any additional skills. Only fourteen percent sweepers have additional skills. Some males know about driving and some females know about knitting and making '*Galaicha*' (carpet). Although they have additional skills they do not use it wisely to improve their financial capital.

6.3.3 Health Condition

A person can be known as healthy when he/she is physically and mentally well. Healthy man can do any work to earn means of livelihood. During my field visit I found that all sweepers are affected by some kind of health hazards. Some of them have got the problem of regular headache; others are affected by respiratory diseases. Although, the KMC has provided them masks but they do not prefer to wear it. Due to lack of knowledge about its advantage or because of feeling uneasiness they do not wear it. It shows that they are most prone to health hazards because they have to work with dirt and garbage. The KMC also provides some medicine to them but sweepers claimed that there is no proper medicine in office. The doctor is not available all the time in office.

6.4 Financial Capital

Financial capital denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives. The definition used here is not economically robust, in that it includes flows as well as stocks, and it can contribute to consumption as well as production. However, it has been adopted to try to capture an important livelihood building block, namely the availability of cash or equivalent that enables people to adopt different livelihood strategies. (DFID, 1998 and Sida, 2002). It is important capital assets in context of urban livelihood. Accommodation and food have to be paid for in urban areas (Farrington et al 2002). In this study, financial assets show the economic condition of sweeper. It further includes savings and the accesses to the economic guarantee. So to know the financial assets of sweeper here we have to look at their salary and other means to earn money.

6.4.1 Salary

In 1952, the government was forced to give sweeper their job on regular basis before that they performed their activities on the basis of daily wage. According to the sweepers now they get about four thousand rupees per month as salary. They also get Daishain allowance, they get additional money if they work on holidays. They have an off day once a week. Similarly they get casual leave of 3 days, festival leave of 13 days and sick leave of 12 days. If they do work on these holidays they get additional money. It is about Rs4500 as one month's salary. Similarly, their salary also varies according to grading. The leaders (i.e. *Naike*) get Rupees two hundred more in a month than other. From this, it is clear that a sweeper's salary in a month varies between Rs 4 thousand to 5 thousand. But at the same time it should be mentioned that those who are not permanent job holder can't get the facilities of holidays and grading.

6.4.2 Other Sources of Income

Obviously, the salary the sweeper gets is not sufficient to sustain their life in Kathmandu. So, they are also engaged in sweeping work in other areas like hotels, garments, departmental store etc. So, they work in other areas too. In my field visit, I found that only 11 males and two females are engaged in other fields. Most female sweepers have to do their house work, so they cannot get chances to work in other areas. Almost all of the males are engaged part time sweeping job in other areas. Similarly the female sweepers

have also told me that their husbands work in other areas. So it is clear that all male sweepers perform the cleaning activities in other areas too.

Babucha *Pode*. 23 Years old, works up to 12:00 noon in office. Then he has his food and goes other areas for work. He works in three areas- two hotels and a department store. He returns home at night. He earns more in other areas than KMC. He added that although he earns more in other areas but he prefers the job in KMC because it is secured than other works and it is easy to perform their task than other areas.

From this we can say that sweepers do work in other areas and they earn more from other works. They even said that if they had not done any type of cleaning activities in other areas, they would have difficulty to sustain their life. Most of females do not do works in other areas because of their business in household activities where as males do not have such work and are engaged in other duties.

Some sweepers also earn some money from their houses because they let their houses for rent, especially those sweepers who have got houses in Kathmandu and Kirtipur. In my field visit I found that only 22 sweepers have their own house in Kathmandu. Five local sweepers have let their house for rent.

Table 6.5: Room for Rent

No of Rooms in Rent	Rate	Total Income (Monthly)
1	600	600
4	1000	4000
6	600	3600
8	600	4800
9	600	5400

Source: Field Survey, 2005.

From table 6.5, we know that they earn some from their house too. One sweeper, Hira Devi *Pode*, took loan from the “*Karmachari Kalyan Kosh*” Pulchok and made a house in Klanki and then lets it for rent. It shows that now *Podes* are also making home to improve and sustain their life.

6.4.3 Expenditure

Expenditure is another important factor of financial capital. In urban areas most things are available in the form of financial while in urban areas peoples access to natural capital is less than in rural. Due to lack of farming land, people of urban areas have to buy foods, vegetables and other kind of daily needs. Sweepers are historically dominated and in the past too they did not have access to land. They have small piece of land only enough for building house. So, they have to buy every daily needs. The following table shows the expenditure of sweepers.

Table 6.6: Monthly Expenditures

Expenditure (Rs)	No. of Respondents	Percent
Less than 3000	1	3.45
3001 -6000	14	55.20
6001- 9000	10	34.48
Above 9000	2	6.90
Total	29	100

Source: Field Survey, 2005

The table6.6 shows that the average expenditure of the sweepers' household ranges between three thousand to six thousands, which is met directly from monthly income or their financial assets. Monthly expenditure is one of the key factors to determine the financial assets. Mostly, clothing, fooding, schooling and transportation cost are the expenditure of the sweepers. Sweepers, who are from out side the valley, have to expend their money for house rent. According to table6.6, a few sweepers (7 percent) expend above Rs9000. The expenditure variation is determined by their family size and monthly income.

6.4.4 Debt

Some sweepers are also in debt. They take loans especially from relatives. They say that they take loans especially during the time of festivals. There goes a saying like “*Thakuri Bigrio Mojle and Newar Bigrio Bhojle*” which means Chhetri spends more money for luxurious living and Newars spend more money for feast and festivals. This saying is

also true for sweeper (i.e. *Podes*), as at the time of festivals they spend more. At the time of festivals, if they do not have enough money they borrow money from their relatives.

Neesha pode, 33, took loan from her brother-in-law to celebrate this year's Gaijatra and Dashain. She further adds that her monthly income is just enough to fulfill her family needs. So, each year to celebrate festivals she has to borrow money. She pays back in a year by giving small amount of money each month from her salary.

Similarly during my field study, I found that two sweepers have borrowed about Rs one Lakhs (hundred thousand) from relatives for making house. Later they will let it out for rent and give away their debt. Two sweepers also have taken large amount of loan from 'Karmachari *Kalyan Kosh*', Pulchok for making house. They took about 3 to 5 Lakhs (hundred thousand) for building house in areas away from their place of residence.

6.4.5 Saving

Only 45 percent sweepers have saved some money. They keep their saving in local cooperatives and banks. Most of the female sweepers have saved their money and kept in local female cooperative organization. Every month they deposit certain amount of money. They deposit monthly one thousand Rupees in those cooperatives. Two sweepers who have also kept livestock in their house are able to keep money in the bank. They have fifty thousand bank balances. Some male sweepers have also kept money in local cooperatives.

6.5 Social Capital

A key asset for both the urban and the rural poor people is social capital. Social capital refers to networks of mutual support that exist within and between households, extended family, and communities which people can mobilize for their needs. For example, loans, childcare, food, accommodation and information about employment opportunities (Sida, 2002:30). Social capital is an increasingly used term, but also one which is difficult to define, especially in a commonly agreed manner, and even more difficult to identify and assess. In the sustainable livelihoods framework, social capital is intended in the widest sense as 'social resources' (such as networks, membership of formal groups, trust and

reciprocity, etc.) upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objective (DFID; 2002: 2.3.1).

Of all the five livelihood building blocks, social capital is the most intimately connected to Transforming Structures and Processes. In fact, it can be useful to think of social capital as a product of these structures and processes, though this over-simplifies the relationship. Structures and processes might themselves be products of social capital; the relationship goes two ways and can be self-reinforcing. For example: when people are already linked through common norms and sanctions they may be more likely to form new organizations to pursue their interests; and strong civil society groups help people to shape policies and ensure that their interests are reflected in legislation (DFID; 2002: 2.3.1). Sweepers are treated historically as untouchables, so they have lack of interaction with high caste people and high officials. Similarly they are deprived of their access to mainstream of development. So they have lack of social capital.

6.5.1 Untouchability and Social Linkages

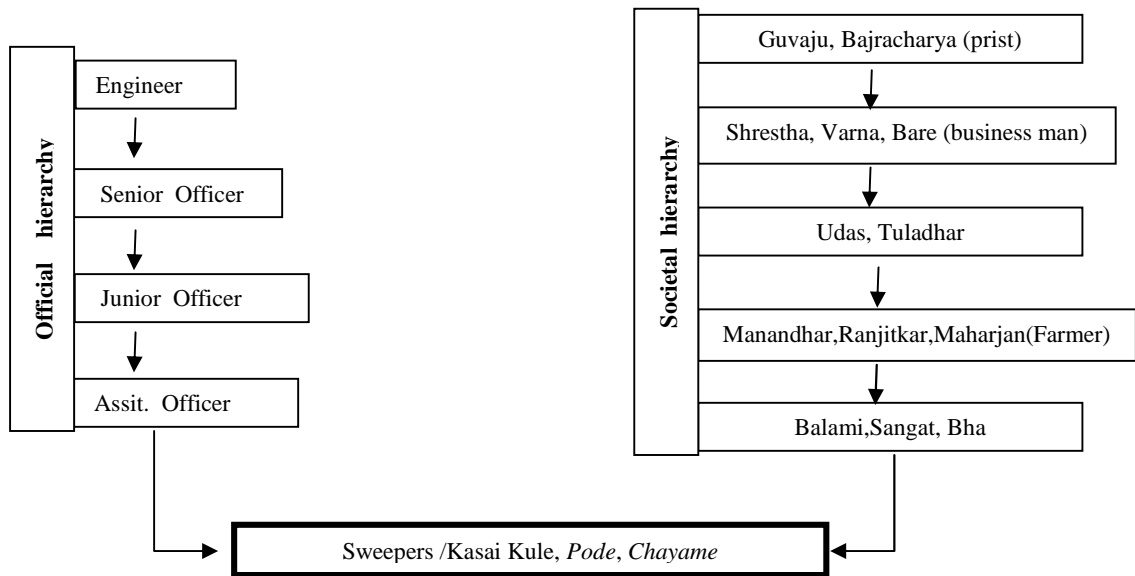
Historical King Jayasthiti Malla (in 14th century) divided the local inhabitants (*Newar*) into different castes. Among them *Pode*, *Chayames* are regarded as sweeper castes and are treated as untouchables. A 65 years old sweeper said that in the past they were not allowed to build houses in the inner part of Kathmandu city. He also said that they could not get good facilities in hotels. If they had tea in hotels they had to wash up the cups. But since the restoration of democracy in 1990, they are not treated as badly as in the past. He also added that they are low caste people so they do not have connection and contact with high caste people and officials. So they do not get an opportunity for good job and are compelled to do this job.

For most *Podes* it is difficult to establish strong relation with people from other castes. Most sweepers do not have important “*Aphnu Manchhe*” and so are not well connected. Within *Newar* community they do not have good relation with so called high caste *Newars*. Similarly there is a saying how hill natives or *Prabatiya* (who live in hills) fell about the *Newars* “*Babu Dusta ra Newar Ista Kahile Pani Hunna* (a father can never be an enemy so a *Newar* can never be a friend). This shows that *Prabatiyas* don’t want to make good relation with *Newar*. To the decision makers in Nepal the *Prabatiyas* have better access than others. Since *Podes* do not have good relation with *Prabatiyas* they

also do not have any connection with people in decision making position so they are further marginalized.

As we glance at the social and official hierarchy, we find sweepers in a hierarchy as given below.

Figure 6.1: Sweepers in Societal and Official Hierarchy



Source: Nepali, 1995 and adopted from field survey, 2005

In this way we can say that *Podes* are at the bottom or are as untouchables according to societal hierarchy. Similarly they are kept at the bottom according to official hierarchy too. They are at the bottom so they have low social connectedness both in society and in office.

6.5.2 Organizations

Most *Pode* people from their own caste form the most important network and represent their social capital. Family kin and caste relations form the basic group for interaction. But due to their occupation several formal social organizations like Independent Garbage Cleaners Union of Nepal (IGCUN), *Karmachari Kalyan Kosh* (Bureaucrats welfare fund), *Driver Bhalai Kosh* (driver welfare fund) and Metropolitan Association are there to provide services to them. Among them IGCUN and Bureaucrats welfare fund are

mostly devoted to improve the status of sweepers. Following case makes it clear that how these organizations help the poor people.

Narayan Devi *Pode*, 45 years. She was born in Hetauda. When she was child, it was very difficult for her family to solve the hand to mouth problem. They totally depended on her father's income. So, she did not get education. Later on when she reached age of 16 she married with an old man from Kathmandu. She did not know about her husband before. She was deceived by saying that her husband is a rich person.

Later on due to poor economy she was not able to save her husband while he was affected by asthma and died. She had 4 sons and two daughters. After her husband's death her 2 daughter also died due to lack of good health care. Then her condition became worst. She got a job in KMC as a labourer. At the same time, she came in contact with the members of IGCUN union. Then she became member of that union. Now this Union helps to teach her sons and provides them stationary materials. Last year, she also got some money to repair her house which was damaged down by rain.

We have already discussed that some sweeper, have built made new houses by taking loan from “*Karmachari Kalian Kosh*” which proves that this organization helps them to improve their status. IGCUN was established within the valley for the first time so mostly *Podes* of Kathmandu valley have benefited from it in past. But now this organization spreads all over the country. According to a member of this organization now it has the responsibility towards all cleaners of the country and it can not able to pay as much attention to *Podes* of Kathmandu valley as it did in past.

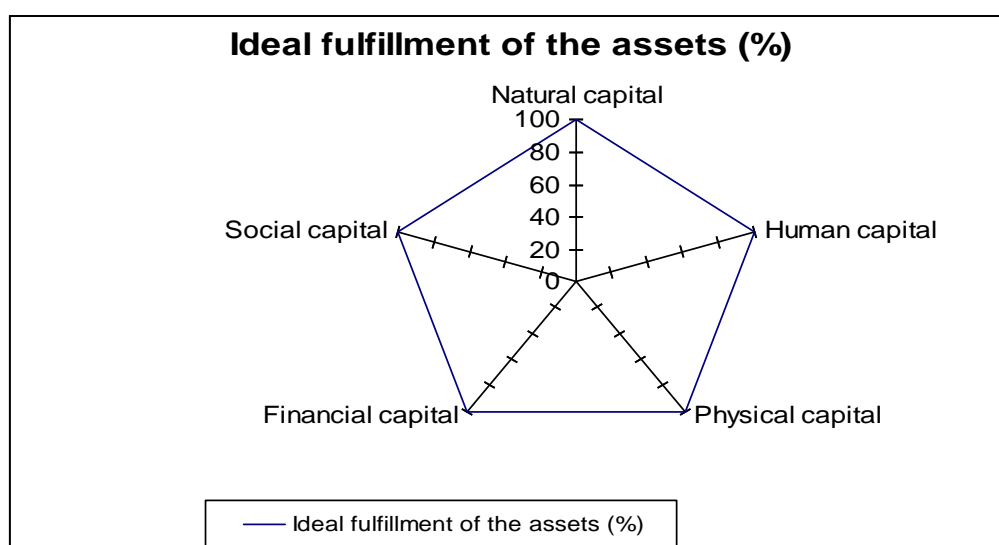
6.6 Asset Assessment

Over all asset assessment of the sweeper is presented through the assets pentagon. The assets pentagon lies at the core of livelihood framework within Vulnerability context (DFID), 2000). It is a figure, which makes clear visually about people's access to different assets. At a generic level there is no suggestion that can or should quantify all assets, let alone develop some kind of common currency that allows direct comparison between assets.(DFID,2000) To analyse access to different assets and to prepare a pentagon, different indicators are taken for each assets.(Appendix II).This provides a basis for drawing the assets pentagon of the sweepers.

For each indicator two types of values are given. People have varying access to an indicator. For each grade value one is given and opposite to it value zero is given. Then over all access to different assets are calculated. If a people have full access to all indicators of any asset he/she has 100% access to that asset and vice versa.

On the basis of different indicators an ideal pentagon was developed. Ideal pentagon means the full access of the sweeper to different capital assets and their indicators.

Figure 6.2: Ideal Capital Assets Pentagon



We know that nobody in the world has easy access to all capital assets absolutely. All of them do not have total control over it. The following table shows the access rate to the different assets according to the designed questionnaire.

Table 6.7: Fulfilled Rate of Different Capitals

Capitals	Ideal fulfillment of the assets (%)	Overall fulfilled assets (%)
Natural capital	100	35
Human capital	100	40
Physical capital	100	81
Financial capital	100	64
Social capital	100	57

Source: Field Survey, 2005

Figure 6.3: Comparison of Assessed Capital with Ideal Capital Assets Pentagon

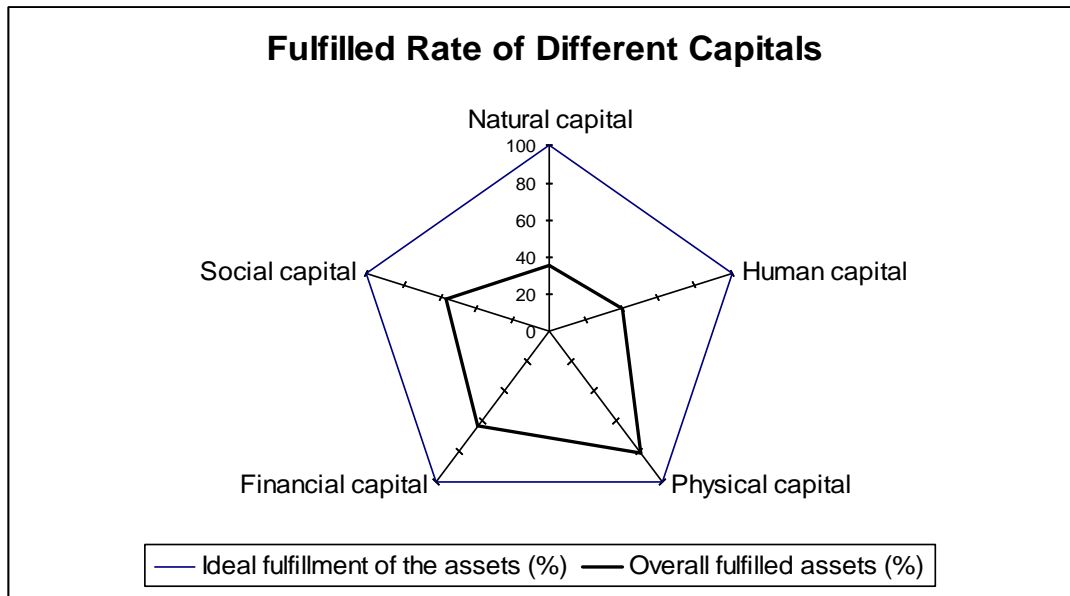


Figure 6.3 makes it clear that sweepers do not have good access to different assets. Among all they lack access to natural capital (land, river, forest) because of urban environment. In urban area there is lack of open space. Similarly the polluted rivers don't provide any productive resources to the sweeper. The sweepers also lack human capital. It is because in earlier days (till 1990) they could easily enter in this job so they did not attend schools. They also lack different skills. They have good access to physical capital compared to others. It is so due to urban environment. Kathmandu, a metropolitan city has good transportation networks and electricity facilities. But the problem of drinking water is alarming in Kathmandu. Similarly, the sanitation system is also not good yet. Sweepers have moderate financial capital as they have low salary job in the context of urban environment. In addition to this, they also have chances to work at different private agencies due to urban environment. They also have moderate access to social capital. Their own organizations, the changing views of society with regard to caste system enable them to strengthen their social capital. But due to lack of knowledge or interest they are not involved in any kinds of local authorities.

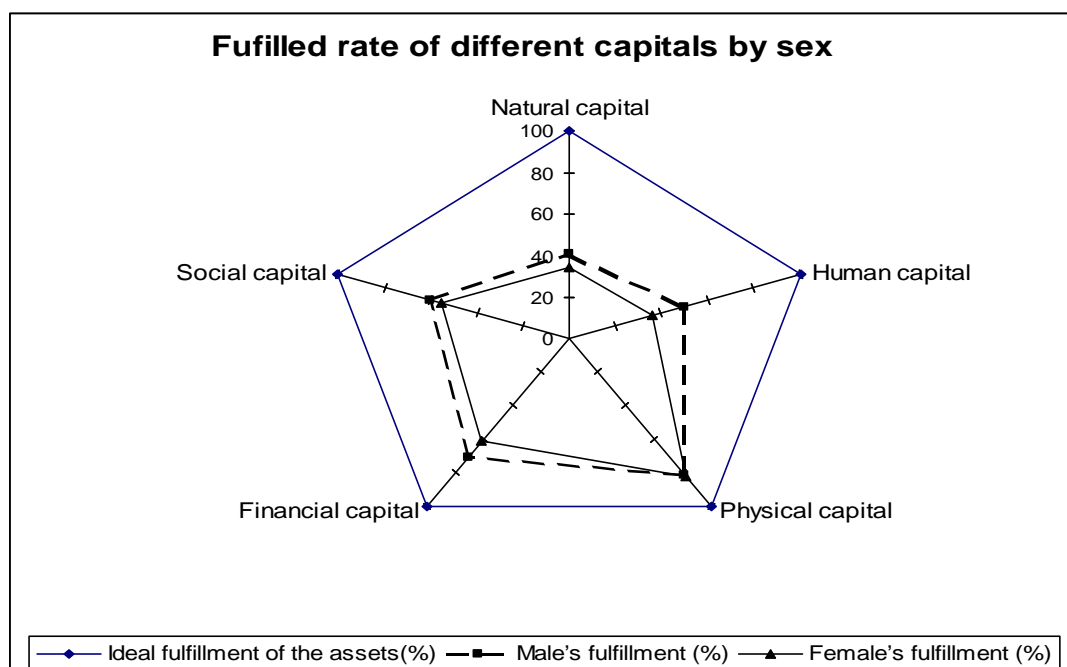
Let me describe the assets pentagon according to sex. The daily activities performed by sweepers according to their sex are different, so they have also different access to assets according to sex. Following table and figure clearly indicate the difference:

Table 6.8: Fulfilled Rate of Different Capitals by Sex

Capital	Ideal fulfillment of the assets (%)	Male's fulfillment (%)	Female's fulfillment (%)
Natural capital	100	41	34
Human capital	100	50	36
Physical capital	100	81	82
Financial capital	100	71	61
Social capital	100	60	55

Source: field survey, 2005

Figure 6.4: Assessed Capital Assets by Sex



From figure 6.4, we can learn that due to the difference in activities between male and female, they have slightly different access to the human and financial capital. It is so because males are more literate than females. They also get chance to do work in other different sector because they do not do any household chores. So they are good in financial capital.

6.7 Livelihoods Strategy Traced Through Life Stories

This part traces the life stories of the sweeper. It gives clearer view of the livelihood strategies of sweeper along with their access to different assets and their vulnerability.

6.7.1 Ramlal Poda

Ramlal Poda aged 73 years, was born in 1932(1989 B.S.) in Kathmandu Metropolitan City ward no. 21 Sawal Bahal. He is an illiterate person. During his childhood days there was not facility for Education. He added that he was not familiar with school. He married with Purnammaya at the age of 26 in 1958(2015 B.S.) At that time he got a job in “Topkhana Barrake” and at that time his salary was Rs. 15 per month.

At first in 1946(2003 B.S.) he got a job in KMC. At that time a *Naike* named Khoyocha gave him a job by asking Rana prime minister for permission. At that time, his job was to clean the sewage. At that time he got RS. 7.50 Per month and the *Naike* gave them salary. If they did not work any day they would be punished by *Naike* but they would not be absented. He did for four years in KMC, then he left it and appointed in Army. When he was appointed in army at that time his main duty was to clean garden, house and toilet. He did job for 15 years in army. Then he asked 6 years salary as a loan to build his house. But he was not able to get it. Then on 1st august 1967 (on 15th Shrawan 2024 B.S.), he resigned to get gratuity and made a house. Again in 2024 B.S. he got a job in KMC. At that time his salary was RS.70 per month.

He has six children. Among them he has 3 sons and 3 daughters. All of his children got job in KMC as sweepers. His wife also has worked in KMC since 1965. He and his wife became permanent job holders in KMC in 1978 and in 1980, respectively. When they worked as a temporary job holders at that time they did not get holiday but they got cloths, rain boot, and rain saver plastic. At that time they used to clean the city from 2 A.M. to 4 A.M. in the night. Then they return back to home. They used to clean streets, *chouk* (street meeting points) and collected the garbage in a “*Kharpan*”. Then they threw it into the bank of Bishnimati. , Bagmati, Dhobikhola, Tukucha. They used degradable garbage to make fertilizer and sold it to farmer (i.e. *Jayapu*). In return they got some vegetables and foods from them. At that time there were not too many people and the production of garbage was not so much. So they managed it easily.

When he got a job in KMC, his salary was RS.7.50. In army barrack his salary was Rs. 15 and when he resigned the job in the army, his salary was RS.54.50. In 1967, when he got job in KMC at that time his salary was Rs.70 and now he gets Rs4000 at KMC.

Now it is not much difficult for him to fulfill his family needs. They are also able to save some money from his and his wife's salary. He also added that a place in Sanepa where he has been working for RS 100 per month in the past, is giving him Rs250 per month now.

6.7.2 Raju Nepali

Raju Nepali aged 27 years was born at in *Pode Tole*, Kshetrapati Dhalko. He has a wife and two sons. His father was a helper in *Nepali Janak Shiksha Samagri Kendra Limited*, Bhaktpur. When he became 16 years old, he also worked as a helper in that company's press. Later he worked as a helper of cook in hotel Yak and Yeti. He left his job from that hotel in 1991(2048 B.S.). At that time his salary was RS 1700.

After that he worked as a sweeper at KMC in 1991. At that time he worked as a helper to collect garbage and keep them in a "Tipper". In 1992, he became a driver and got license to drive light vehicles. Now he drives a Tractor to collect garbage. He just drives tractor and stops it where the garbage is collected. He has two helpers to put garbage on tractor. He gets Rs.4200 per month as his salary.

6.7.3 Bimala Pujari

Bimala Pujari, 28 years old was born in kankeshori in 1977. She studied up to class five at a local government school. While she was a child, it was very difficult to her family for solve the hand to mouth problem. She could not continue study any further than class five due to economic problem of her family. When she became 16 years old she got a job in KMC as a sweeper with the help of her father. One year later she married with a boy of her own caste from Swal Bahal. Her husband also worked in a ward office of KMC as a sweeper. Although she and her husband were doing the job, it was very difficult for them to run family. She gave birth to two sons and a daughter. Though she did not get good education she wanted to provide good education to their children. But unfortunately, her husband was drunkard. He always used to spend his income in alcohol and wine. Then dispute arose between husband and wife. She wanted to improve her family standard. On the other hand, her husband could not understand her and could not save his money. Similarly her husband used to beat her rather than to solve the family problem. He used to come home intoxicated. Then she left him and came to her parents' house with her youngest son. Then she worked at KMC and at different shops to solve her problem. Later on when she became 25 years old, she again married with a man of

her own caste and she left her son in her parents' house. But she also could not stay long with her second husband. Six month after the marriage she again left her second husband. Now she lives in Kuleshor in a house in rent and spends her life. She became permanent job holder of KMC in 1995(2052 B. S.) as a sweeper.

This chapter describes the different capital assets of the sweeper. Since, Kathmandu is an urban area, the importance of natural capital to earn livelihood is negligible. So, the lack of natural capital of sweeper is not a serious case. The human capital is the main asset to earn financial capital in urban areas. But in the case of sweeper lack of human capital does not affect their livelihood because there is no need of any level of formal education to perform their activity (Sweeping). However, it is also true that, they can get better paid job, if they have quality education. Moreover, KMC is the capital city of Nepal, so all sweepers are fascinated by all types of infrastructure except the pure drinking water. So they have access to physical capital furthermore, their regular job at KMC and chances to work with other private institutions help them to maintain their financial assets well. The lack of social capital or good connectedness deprives them of access to job in other fields. So they have opened their own organization through which they are able to develop their links and status in society.

In such a way, sweepers are not the absolute poor groups below the poverty line. But due to their different kinds of vulnerabilities that they face, they are not regarded as abetter-off groups. Their vulnerabilities are described in coming chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VULNERABILITY CONTEXT

The vulnerability context represents the external environment in which people live. Trends, shock, and seasonality are external factors over which people have no or limited control. Trends comprise, for instance, resource stocks, population density, technology, politics, and economics. Shocks comprise, among other things, destruction of assets, economic shocks and conflicts. The seasonality may include prices, production, and employment opportunity. (DFID, 2002)

People livelihoods and the wider availability of assets are fundamentally affected by vulnerability context, over which they have limited or no control. Though, all 'sweepers' are able to earn some income, their occupation is not socially prestigious. The vulnerabilities that sweeper face can be grouped into two groups namely (a) occupational vulnerability (b) social vulnerability.

7.1 Occupational Vulnerability

7.1.1 Competition

Within a society where caste is an important social institution, person's attributes are largely defined by the person's caste/ethnic background. A society where division of labour is related to caste is often referred to as *Jajmani* system (Fortier, 1993 cited in lie, 2004). According to *Jajmani* system *Pode & Chayame* were entitled for sweeping activities.

Urbanization and the increasing waste problems in the city forced government to employ street sweeper on regular basis. So those who are regarded as sweeper caste (*Pode/Chayame*) got job opportunities. So, in earlier days(1950s to1980s), it was easy to get job for *Podes & Chayames* .But after introduction of civil code (1963) and the dawn of democracy the *Jajmani* system no longer existed and other caste people also started carrying out these activities and that this has put the sweeper's job into jeopardy.

According to KMC officer, in the past (up till 1990) to fulfill vacancy of the sweeper post , the KMC personnel had to visit areas of *Podes* inhabitation to offer job to any of them aged 16 years and above. But now a days, if a vacancy is announced hundreds of applications are filed. So, now-a-days sweepers have less job opportunities than before.

7.1.2 Occupational Permanency

Occupational permanency is another factor that affects the sustainability of sweepers' livelihood. Permanent job holders get different facilities like holidays levy, etc. and they also get pension after retirement and that secures their future. Though there are limited facilities to temporary job holders, they are deprived of the security of pension; whereas contract-basis & daily wages do not offer such facilities. The following table shows occupational status of sweeper.

Table 7.1: Distribution of Sweepers by Their Job Status

Occupational Status	No. of Respondents	Percent
Permanent	22	75.9
Temporary	4	13.8
Daily wage	2	6.9
Contract	1	3.4
Total	29	100

Source: Field Survey, 2005.

As shown in the table, about seventy six percent of sweepers who work under the head office of KMC are permanent job holders. Many of them were offered permanent position in 1995 (2052 B.S.). This dominance of permanent employees prevails among those who work under the head office. But the situation is different among similar employees in the wards.

Moreover in KMC office temporary job holders are about 14 percent. About 7% of total employees are as daily wage and 4% are on contract basis. They do not get facilities as permanent job holders. So, for permanency of job a large number of temporary workers went on strike on 11th July 2006. This lasted for four days when none of them collected waste in city. The impact was impressive in the sense that officials agreed on some of their demand and an agreement was signed on Sunday 16th July 2006. One of the clauses stated that all temporary workers would be made permanent in due course of time. (Nepal Samacharpatra, Monday July 17 2006). But this issue remains unconcerned with daily wage and contract basis workers.

7.1.3 Health Risks Accidents

The work of collecting waste and sweeping is always risky. The workers are always exposed to several kinds of health hazards. A few examples during my field visit are as follows.

- Dilmaya *Pode*, while she sweeping the street at KMC wards no. 11, was hurt by a tractor and she got treatment at Bir hospital.
- Bekhmaya *Pode*, who was returning to her home by riding on the tractor which was loaded with dirt, fell from the tractor and got hurt in her foot. Then she got cure with the treatment at Bir Hospital.
- Amita *Pode* was hurt by a car, while she was cleaning the road at Sahid Gate and got her leg fractured.
- One sweeper got his finger hurt by a car at Bouddha.

Source: field survey 2006.

These examples clearly give an insight about sweepers health risks while working. According to their paper *Chawafi* such cases are not only found in Kathmandu, but found in whole Nepal. Since their work places are not safe, they are affected by different kinds of disease. For example sweeper cleans glass of window paves, slippery areas, safety tanks and roads which involves risks and health hazards. Moreover, they clean syringes, hospital wastes from which they can become infected with diseases like dysentery, asthma, tuberculosis, gastricoline, HIV/AIDS, Hepatitis 'B' etc.

7.1.4 Seasonality

Sweepers always wake up early in the morning and come to work. The winter season is very difficult time for them to perform their duties. Many of them are affected by cold due to their exposure to severe winter. Though the metropolitans provide them some warm cloth, it is not sufficient to protect them from the cold. They suffer from skin related problems in the winter owing to cold.

Moreover, in the winter the environment is covered by fogs. Due to fog roads are not clear and the street lights don't work well. So they have risk of being hit by vehicles. Similarly, in summer, due to high temperature sweepers become tired. Their skin gets dried by direct sun light but they are not as badly affected in summer as in winter

because they work in under shades (governmental offices and hospitals rather than roads in day time).

In the rainy season they also face difficulty because the plastic given by municipality does not protect them from rain. Moreover, the dirt is drained away by rains so it is difficult to collect them. Sometimes the dirt is so wet that it becomes difficult to collect and sweep the place.

7.2 Social Vulnerability

7.2.1 Public Behaviors

Sweepers play vital role to keep the cities neat and clean by being themselves dirty. Though their contribution to keeping city clean can not be underestimated, some times they are treated badly by the public. Especially in morning, some people come to the roads for morning walks. If this coincides with sweeping on the street, sweepers will be misbehaved.

Sometimes female sweepers are treated badly by the drug abusers. This happens mostly in the early morning while they are on their way to work. Almost all female sweepers who come early in the morning to the main streets on foot face such problem, so they always fear it. They also seek related institution to provide security for them while coming to perform their job early-morning. Not only are the female, male sweepers also are looted by the looters in the mornings.

Prem Bdr. Pode, 54-years old, has been involved in sweeping occupation in KMC for 30 years. He was mostly tortured by robbers while coming to office. He said that once while he was coming to office in the morning he was robbed by some looters and he lost his watch and money. He describes this incident to KMC official. And one of the officials offered him an old watch. But all of sweepers are not lucky to recover the stolen items.

7.2.2 Feast, Festivals and Vulnerability

Newars are regarded as a group who spent more for feasts and festivals. They have different festivals (*Jatras*) besides Dashain and Tihar. Since sweepers are from newari culture they also spent more in festivals.

They get special allowance in Dashain as all job holders get. But due to their tradition they need more money to celebrate festivals. They celebrate *Gaijatra*, *Indra-jatra*, *Ghode-jatra*, *Bhote-jatra* and many other different fairs in their locality. In all festivals they make delicious foods and offer donations to their relatives those results in further financial and other burdens for them.

7.3 Livelihood Assets and Vulnerability

Availability and extent of livelihood assets are other factors to determine vulnerability context of the sweeper. All of them do not have equal access to livelihood assets. It varies from individual to individual. Vulnerability context arises because access to and extent of assets among sweepers is not equal.

Human Capital and Vulnerability: In the urban context, people with good skills or adequate educational qualifications have the possibility of earning financial capital. In the case of sweepers they do not have higher educational attainment. Equally important is that there is no need of education for this profession. This means they can enter into this job without having good education. Only 11% sweepers are found with additional skill like driving and knitting. But they are not using their skill properly. For them there is an option but for most of the sweepers this is not the case. As a result, they have to be confined to sweeping job. Having no alternative itself is vulnerability.

Social Capital and Vulnerability: Since ancient time *Podes* are regarded as low caste or untouchables. So they don't have good relation with high caste people. They do not have also good position in the society. Since Nepalese society is deeply rooted in the caste hierarchy system. They are also not respected or do not have equal participation on different field as high caste people have.

They have their own organization called Independent Garbage Cleaners Union of Nepal (IGCUN). Under this organizations' umbrella they organized and raised their voice to full fill their requirement. It is also true that some sweepers who have good relation with different high caste people have no difficulty to get some work in hotels, Department stores, Hospitals. Though their organization and good relation with others helps them to improve their livelihood options, all sweeper do not have assess to such social capital

Natural Capital and Vulnerability: Although natural capital does not play vital role for the sustainability of livelihood in urban setting as it does in rural, it has some importance in the case of sweeper. Those sweepers, who have their own enough land in urban areas,

are also able to keep livestock for economic purpose and are able to reduce economic and residential vulnerability. But those who don't have their own land totally depend on the sweeping profession for earning. Sweepers from rural areas are not able to improve their livelihood through natural capital because of their unproductive land and its less value. They do not get anything in return from their land, livestock and other sources of common properties of their rural areas. In this way if any landless sweeper does not get another area or field to do work, it will be very difficult for them to sustain their livelihood.

Similarly due to modernization, urbanization and pollution in River of Kathmandu valley their traditional occupation (i.e. fishing) no longer exists. So their past property (i.e. river) has now become useless. So, in regard to natural capital they are more vulnerable than rural poor.

Financial Capital and Vulnerability: In the case of urban area due to people's lack of access to open space, financial capital is regarded as the main base for the livelihood. Similarly financial capital is strongly related with other assets. So vulnerability caused by lack of financial is the combination of vulnerability caused by other assets. All the sweepers do not have equal monthly saving because monthly saving depends on the availability of other capital. Among them who have strong social capital can earn money by doing work in different areas besides KMC. Similarly those who have land can also earn money by rearing livestock. But those who lack these assets are not able to mitigate the vulnerable situation created by any type of economic crises.

Physical Capital and Vulnerability: Access to physical capital of the sweeper has also some impact on their livelihood. Those sweepers who are living in Bhaktapur, Kathmandu or different periphery of KMC are able to come to office and perform their duty and gain some means to sustain their livelihood. Similarly their residential areas and the surrounding environment badly affect their health. The area where they live are mostly polluted river bank. They also have problem of drinking water. These all contribute to deteriorating health of sweeper. Their working place is not also a good one. So their health is also affected. So they spent more money for their health. In this way physical capital also somehow affected their livelihood.

So it can be concluded that vulnerability contexts caused by different levels of access to livelihood assets among sweeper is complex and interrelated to each other. Vulnerability caused by the lack of one type of asset also increases occupational vulnerability. Different institutions and organizations help them to cope with their vulnerabilities. The institutions and their policies are explained in the coming chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT
INSTITUTIONS, ORGANIZATIONS, THEIR POLICES
AND LIVELIHOOD OUTCOMES

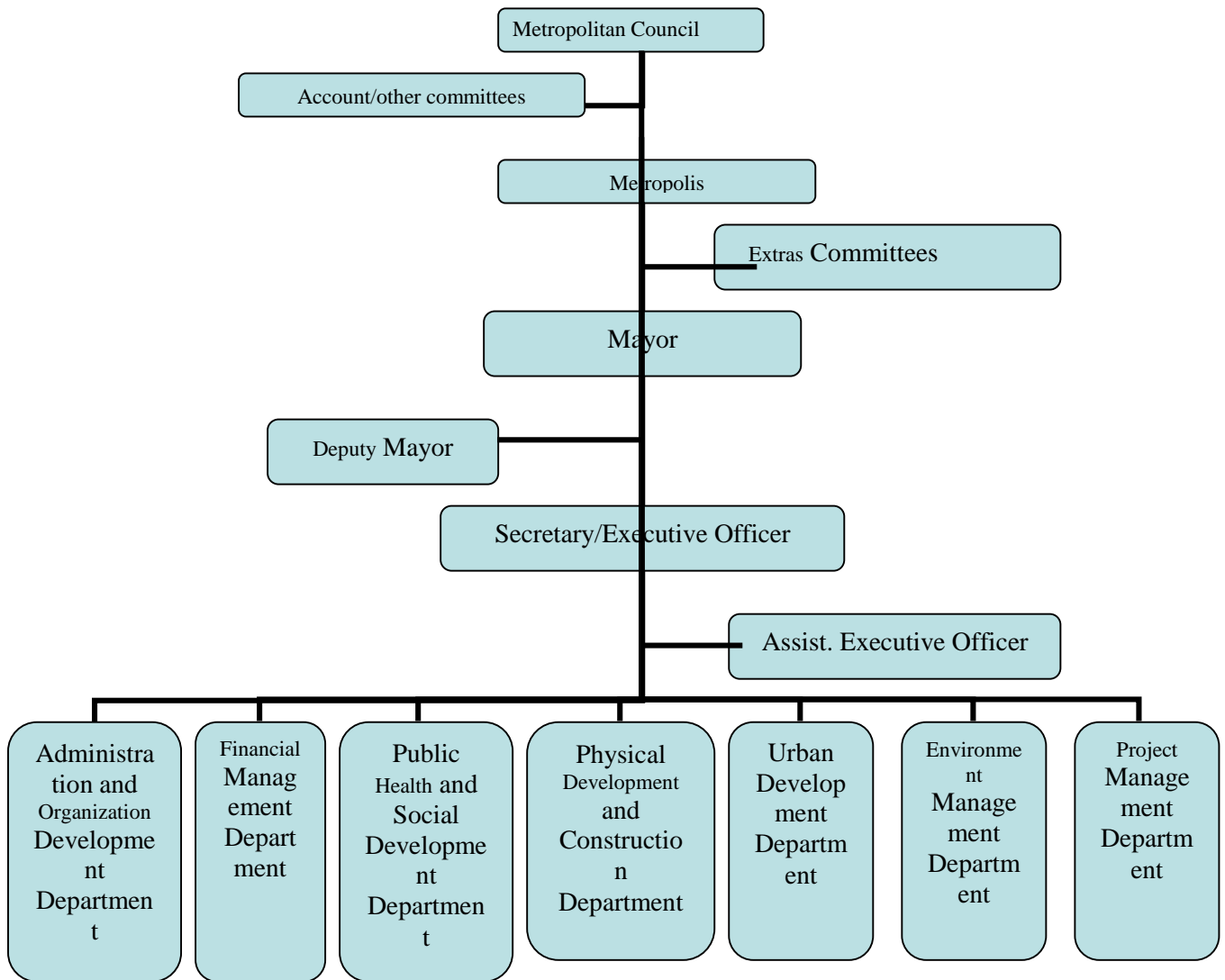
8.1 Institutions, Organizations and Their Policies

Institutional policies adopted by the government or non-government agencies are primarily aimed at improving the Poor's livelihood. Similarly some times policies adopted by the government and non-governmental agencies also directly affect the poor people. Therefore, institutions and their policies are considered as transforming the structure and processes. In the case of sweeper KMC is a government organization and independent garbage cleaners union of Nepal is a non-governmental organization. The policies taken by these organizations directly or indirectly affect the livelihood of sweeper so it is necessary to explain them.

8.1.1 KMC

The office of Kathmandu Metropolitan city has the responsibilities to regulate the activities in the Kathmandu metropolitan. KMC was first established as an administrative unit in 1919 A.D. when the Municipality Act, 1919 was enforced by Ranas. Since then there was a separate department for keeping the city clean. At that time (1919) KMC had two departments; one is administrative and the other is cleaning. KMC was declared as a metropolitan in 1995. Now it has seven separate departments to fulfill its responsibilities in different sector. A chart given below presents organizational structure of KMC:

Figure 8.1: Organizational structure of KMC



Source: Office of Kathmandu metropolitan, 2006

Among them the department of environment management is a department to provide service to the sweepers and to regulate their activities. It has four different sectors namely solid waste management, landfill management, park and greenery management and mechanical sector. Since sweepers' activities are to collect solid wastages and sweep the roads they come under the solid waste management sector.

From history, it is clear that sweepers' work was prescribed since Malla dynasty. In the past they used to clean city, streets and used the usable waste to make it fertilizer and sold it to farmers and got some thing in return. Rana Prime Minister, Bir Shumsher, during in 1980s, opened a cleanliness department to keep the city clean. At that time sweepers did not get secure job on regular basis. They were only called to clean city for

some days on daily wage basis. But in 1918, Nepal government declared Kathmandu as a municipality. In 1919, Nepal government put “*Mahanagarपालिका सवाल*” (municipality act) in effect. According to this act municipality was divided into 2 sections the first section was responsible for all administrative works and second section, which was called “*Safai Adda*”, was responsible to clean the city. At that time 2 inspectors and 50/55 sweepers got job on regular basis (Acharya, 2004). Again in 1996 Kathmandu municipality was divided into several other sections. Among those sections one was known as “sanitation section”, its main tasks were to clean the city. Now Kathmandu Metropolitan has different separate departments and they have their own tasks. Among them environment department is one whose main task is to clean the city so it is related to the task of sweepers (Acharya, 2004).

Since several NGOs and INGOs are interested to keep the city clean, in 1998 KMC and INGOs jointly started to keep the city clean. Among them SILT is a first non governmental organization. In the same year an organization “*Karmachari Kalyan Kosh*” also took some responsibilities to keep the city clean. To shed overload of head office, in 2001 KMC planned to give responsibility to private organization to clean different areas of KMC. By 2001 it gave responsibility of Thamel; ward no. 1, ward no.2 and ward no.24 to different organizations called Kathmandu Mahanagar solid waste management service, K.P. cleaning service, B and B cleaning service. It also planned to shift the responsibility to clean different areas of KMC to the private organizations in the following years. But sweeper and their organization did strike against KMC’s plan of privatization. Then KMC did not give other areas to the private sector. According to one Engineer of KMC about 25% areas of KMC are now cleaned by different private sectors.

In a discussion about the privatization of their work, sweeper said that they are against this because their job becomes insecure. Similarly they added that their job will not be permanent and they will get less salary working in private sector. So to make their profession secure in future, they are against it. The following case shows vulnerability caused by privatization.

Mukesh Devjan, 23 years. He works at KMC but his wife works at a private sector organization called SILT. He says that his wife gets only Rs. 2320 form SILT. Similarly he added that his wife did not enough holidays when she gave birth to a child and she didn’t get holiday in pregnancy period too. He is also worried that his wife’s job is not permanent and secure He further said one should merge all private sectors with the KMC head office.

While discussing about privatization KMC officer says that due to privatization, the expenses of KMC on waste management will decrease. He also says that KMC has planned to provide different additional skills to the sweeper and decrease their number in this profession. So once it provides training of nursery management and driving to the sweepers. But such programs are not lunched regularly. He says if such programs are launched then sweeper will do other activities for their survival. But now this plan is not in effect.

8.1.2 Independent Garbage Cleaners Union of Nepal

In 1979 (2036 BS) all sweeper of Kathmandu became united and demonstrated against KMC putting forward their 15 points demand related to their occupation. It was the first united demonstration of sweepers. Later their informal unity turned in to a formal organization named as “*Safai majdur prarambhik committee*”. Then up to the last of *Panchyat* system, they united under this organization. After restoration of democracy in 1990 they renamed their organization as Nepal Independent Garbage Cleaners Union. In 1995 this organization was registered with labour department and it became a trade union. This organization extends its relation with foreign organizations. Now it is also affiliated with International Labour Organization.

Since the *Malla* dynasty valley people are divided into different castes according to their occupation. Then Sweeping was regarded as unprestigious job. Sweepers were not allowed to wear good dresses and expensive ornaments. After the introduction of democracy some sweeper realized their suppression. So, they organized and raised their voice against the inequality of their occupation. Similarly they also realized the importance of education and they demanded to open some school in their locality. Because of the joint efforts of sweepers and different international organizations, they were able to open first Dhyaula primary school in 1979, in sweeper’s locality at Sawal Bhal in Teku.

In 1979, under the Nepal Independent labour organization, they opened a committee called “*Safai Majdur Prarambhik Committee*”. In 2046 B.S. this organized committee did strike against *Kathmandu Nagar Panchyat*(KMC) demanding their needs be fulfilled. After this strike they were able to fulfill their following demands:

- ◆ Permanency of 100 labourers
- ◆ New cleaning equipments to clean the streets
- ◆ A bicycle and D.A. to *Naike*

- ◆ Establish a labour fund called *Majdur kalyan kosh*

After the restoration of democracy, Nepal Independent garbage cleaners union was established on 15th June 1990. Its central office was in Shawal Bahal Teku, which is the residential area of the sweeper caste people. Then different branch-offices are opened in Bhaktapur, Lalitpur, Panauti and Hetauda. This union again went on a strike on 15th January 1991 with their 36 point demands. They again were able to fulfill following demands:

- ◆ All temporary job holders became permanent job holders.
- ◆ They got suitable (good) dress than previous one.
- ◆ They got Dinner allowance
- ◆ 60 days holiday in delivery period.

In 1995, this organization was able to get registration certificate from labour department and this organization emerged as a trade union. On 1st February 1997, this union did a meeting and they listed other different 20 points demands to fulfill their needs and tabled it at KMC in April 1998. But due to misunderstanding between the member of this union and officials of KMC, this union decided to strike from 15th August to 20th August in 1998. On 21st August 1998, 16 points agreements were made between KMC and Union and they stopped their strike. Similarly time and again under this union sweeper are organized and did strike to fulfill their needs.

In the past this union was active only within Kathmandu valley. At that time all members were only from *Pode* community. But now it becomes a national level Union. So, now there are lots of member from different communities.

Although this union is recognized as a most powerful union, all sweepers are not satisfied with its activities. According to them now this union is not serious about their demand. And it does not do any action against the privatization of garbage management of different areas. They also blamed that the executive members of the union are rich and they don't think about their community and they are corrupted as well. Most of the sweepers have not benefited from this union.

These two institutions and organizations help sweeper to maintain their livelihood. On one hand, KMC provides secure job on regular basis, on the other hand, IGCUN helps them to improve their job status (i.e. permanency, facilities of holidays and clothing) by

negotiating with KMC. Because of these two institutions sweepers and their officials come together to improve their profession and status in the society. This helps sweeper to mitigate the vulnerabilities they face.

8.2 Livelihood Out-Comes

Livelihood out comes are the achievements or out-puts of livelihood strategy. In this study sweeping on streets under the KMC Environment department is the main livelihood strategy adopted by respondents. Almost all of them adopted this occupation due to their occupational activity. Most of them have poor economic and social conditions. The main cause for adopting this occupation is the lack of education. Caste system is equally responsible.

After joining this occupation most of the sweepers have achieved some notable livelihood outcomes. Livelihood outcomes achieved by them are not only in the form of economic value (monthly saving) but also for social value which also bears equal meaning as economic value. The outcomes of economic value may be easily seen if it is invested to increase other livelihood assets. Main sectors of investment by most of the respondents are diverse and complex which are summarized below.

Table 8.1: Livelihood outcomes

Sectors of Investment	Forms of Livelihood Out Comes
Basic needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Fooding ◆ Clothing ◆ Repairing house
Health and education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Investment for treatment(in the time of illness) ◆ Enroll their children into school
Custom and religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Invest in feast and festival ◆ Invest in some special occasions (marriage, birth, worship)
For well being	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Construction of new house
Luxurious goods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Invest to buy bicycle, T.V. ◆ Invest to buy ornaments and new cloths

Source: Field Survey, 2005.

In such way we can say that sweepers are improving their living standard through this occupation. We can also say that their future generation will not be compelled to continue this job as their traditional occupation and they can be engaged in different areas.

Through the SWOT analysis we can understand the livelihood outcomes and the problem that are prevalent in the sweeper's livelihood. So, the strength and weakness of sweepers can be depicted in the following way as in the table 9.2. It will further help to understand the condition of the sweeper.

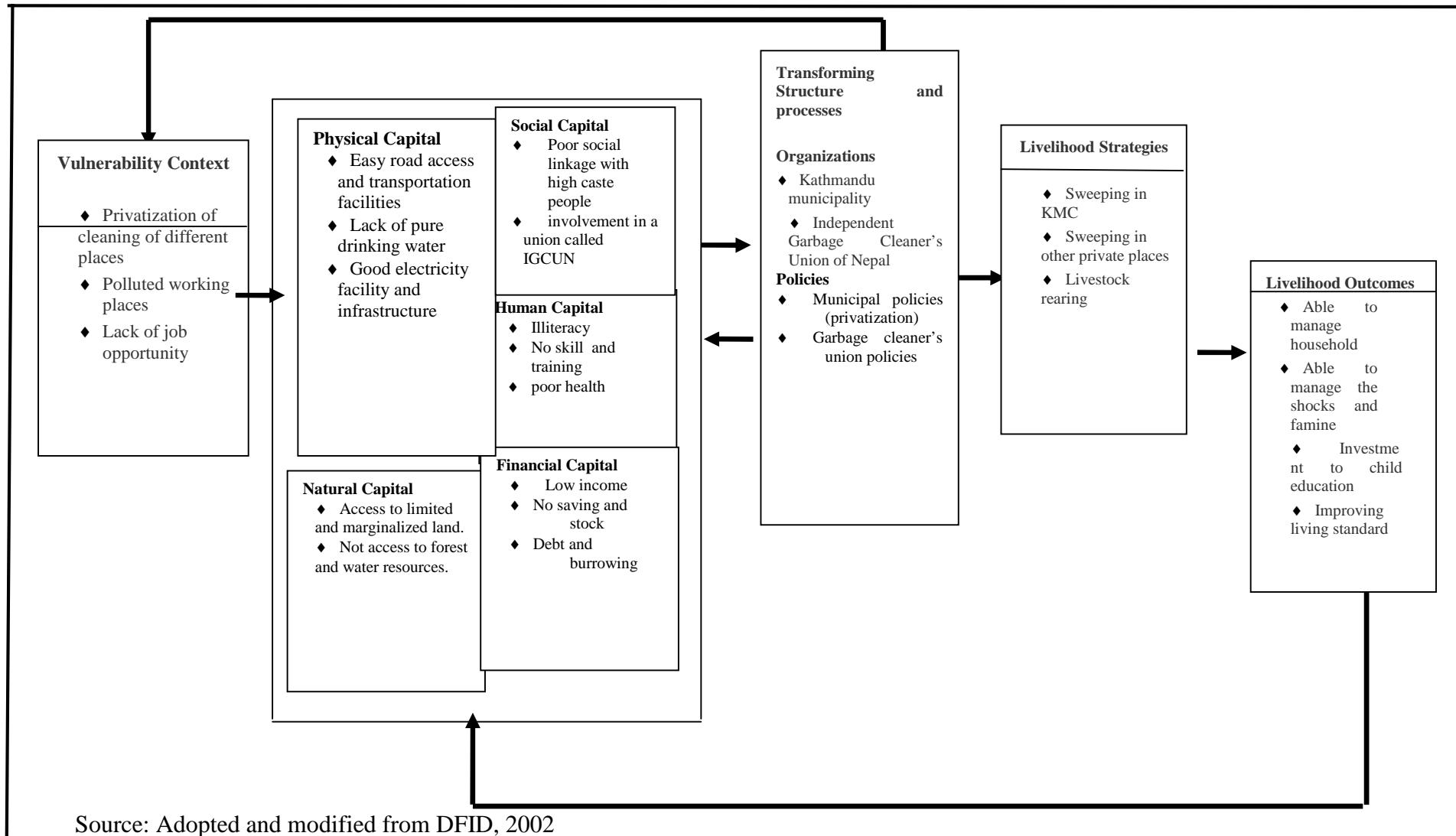
Table 8.2: SWOT Analysis of Sweeper

<p><u>strength</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Secure job in Kmc. ◆ Social organizations. (IGCUN, Karmachariklyan Kosh) ◆ Adequate financial capital 	<p><u>Opportunity</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Chance to get work in different private fields other than KMC. ◆ To get job without getting well qualification.
<p><u>Weakness</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Low status in society. ◆ Low salary job. ◆ Less skills ◆ Low educational background 	<p><u>Threaten</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Lack of job opportunity in KMC for future generation. ◆ Increasing value/price hike. ◆ Privatization of garbage disposal management

Source: Field Survey, 2005

The framework which is shown below shows the livelihood of the sweeper in sustainable livelihood framework developed by DFID, 2002 and it clearly depicts the different component of livelihood analysis and the situation of sweepers in relation to those components. Although there are several vulnerabilities and they do not have strong access to different assets, they are able to sustain or mitigate the vulnerability as they have secure and permanent job. They also are able to improve their living standard. Now they also invest their capital for the education of their children this is a small light for their bright future of future generations.

Figure 8.2: Sweeper's Livelihood in Sustainable Livelihood Framework:



CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

9.1 Summary

Sweeper is especially a person who is engaged in cleaning the public places and areas. Historically, sweepers are considered as low caste people in Nepal. Due to rapid growth of urbanization and increasing production of solid waste, city government is compelled to employ sweepers on permanent basis. So People from sweeper caste have got a secure job. But due to increasing inflation and soaring prices of commodities sweeper's income is not enough to meet their needs. So, this study tries to find out sweepers' (i.e. *Pode*) livelihood and the strategies applied by them to mitigate economic crisis. The study is concerned with whatever they are either able to cope with such vulnerability or not.

Poverty is a universal phenomenon. It can be found both in rural and urban context in different form. In the case of urban area, especially those who migrate towards urban centre for job from rural areas are poor due to lack of their skills and job opportunity. Similarly people, who are deprived of different assets and regarded as low castes, are the poor. There are several approaches to assess the capital assets of poor people. Among them sustainable livelihood frame work developed by DFID, 2002 is considered as an effective way to analyze poor peoples' livelihood. The SLA is intended to provide a comprehensive and practice-oriented framework to understand complex realities (Baumann Pari, 2002). So in this study SLA developed by DFID is taken as main theoretical base.

The study of geography of poverty and peoples' changing livelihood and their relation with globalization are some of the major areas of geographic research in the present context (Subedi, 2005). So, *Podes* (i.e. sweeper) are chosen for the study and KMC is chosen for the study area since it provides an opportunity to different people the sweeping (job) in a regular basis. In this study, those sweepers caste people (*Podes*) who work under environment department of KMC head office are chosen as sample population size. Both quantitative and qualitative information are collected through different instruments like questionnaire survey, informal interview, key informant interview, focus group discussion and field observation. Collected data are further processed by using different statistical packages like SPSS and MS excel. Similarly

qualitative data are coded and transcribed. These different types of informations are presented in tables, descriptions, interpretation and box.

The study area, Kathmandu valley which covers upper Bagmati river basins was lake in the past. Later it was drained out through Chovar gorge and it became suitable place for living. Since it has fertile land, Nepalese civilization particularly *Newari* civilization developed in this area. This area was ruled by several invaders who also founded the rule of their own dynasties. Among them Malla dynasty founded deeply rooted and developed civilization. They divided people into several caste and fixed their occupation and residential areas. *Pode* were regarded as sweeper caste and their living places were fixed within the river banks since they perform unprestigious job. So even now, most *Podes* are found to be living in the river banks.

Most of the sweepers who work under KMC head office are active population but some old individuals are also involved in this field. On the 11th anniversary of metropolitan, 30 sweepers, who were more than 60 years old, were awarded “*Deergha Sewa Padak*”. This also proved that there are some aged people in this job. In this job many females are involved because they prefer it. Women’s main duty is to do job in office during office time and go back home to do household activities where as males are involved in different fields to generate more income. Sweepers’ average family size is 5.1 which is less than national average 5.4 (CBS, 2001). This shows that they have small family size because they get married early and live separately from their parents. Because of early marriage system marital status of sweeper is married. Similarly, they marry early to make their economic status strong.

SLA developed by DFID, 2002, comprises five capital assets: Natural, Physical Financial, Human and Social. On the basis of this SLA framework sweeper’s access to these capitals are assisted. In the past sweepers or *Podes* sustained their life by fishing. At that time Rivers were regarded as their Natural Capital. But due to urbanization and polluted river their access to river remained almost inaccessible. Similarly in urban area due to rapid growth of population the access to open space and land is less. Some sweepers who have their own land are able to generate income by animal rearing. Regarding Physical assets, Kathmandu valley has good infrastructure in comparison with other areas of the country. So people who live nearer to KMC are also able to regulate their job. Similarly, they all have good electric, communication facilities. But in the case

of drinking water they do not have good access to pure drinking water, which is also known as the main problem of KMC.

The salary they get is the main source of financial capital. In the urban context financial capital is regarded as strong capital because accommodation and food have to be paid for (Farrington et al, 2002). But the salary they get is low to sustain their life so sweepers are also involved in sweeping of different areas (i.e. sweeping hotels, hospitals, departmental stores) to alleviate the economic problem. Some sweepers are able to generate income from animal rearing. Almost all sweepers are not able to save money rather they are in debt.

Almost all sweepers do not have good literacy rate. They do not have good education because for their job education is not needed. Similarly they also lack other types of additional skills. So, they are compelled to do sweeping activity. But now realizing the importance of education most of sweepers are interested to send their children to school.

Sweepers are historically dominated or discriminated people and they lack social connectedness due to their status in society as untouchables. They do not have good social relation with high caste people. Now they are organized and have opened a union called Independent Garbage Cleaners Union of Nepal. Under the umbrella of this union they are able to have an outlet for their suppressed voice and have been able to secure their job. Similarly, they also have started different other social organizations like “*Karmachari Kalyan Kosh*”, “*Driver Bhalai Kosh*”, “*Nagarpalika Association*” etc.

Sweepers have to face many problems and they have different risks which are termed as the vulnerability context of sweeper. In the past, it was easy for the *Pode* to get this job but now it is very difficult for them to enter this occupation. Now rural poor from different castes (than *Pode*) also prefer sweeping as their profession. So, when there are some vacancies, a large number of people drop their applications. So *Podes* have to compete for the job with other caste people. Most of the sweepers, who work under the head office of KMC, are permanent job holders. But some sweepers under head office of KMC are temporary job holders, daily wage workers and contract basis workers.

Since, sweepers are playing with dirt each and every moment; they are mostly affected by different kinds of health problems. Their working places are so hazardous that they

are mostly likely to suffer health accidents. Since their duty is to sweep roads early in the morning, sometimes they get trouble from robbers, drug addicts and hooligans.

Newar are such people who spent more on feast. Celebrations of feasts are their social compulsion so they have to spend more for celebration of festivals. The feasts and festivals are some situations or contexts that increase their livelihood vulnerability.

Regarding their livelihood assets they have poor access to Natural capital due to urban environment. There is lack of land, forest, and rivers are polluted. Similarly, they are also poor in education and other additional skills. At the same time, due to urbanization and increasing waste materials they have job opportunities in other fields besides KMC, so they are able to build up their financial assets. All sweepers have access to the infrastructure that is available in city which shows that they have good physical capital except the lack of pure drinking water.

9.2 Conclusion

All the people clean things or area that belongs to them. But the practice of cleaning public area developed as the development of human civilization. In the case of Nepal during 14th century on the eve of Malla dynasty a famous Malla King Jayasthiti Malla divided people of Kathmandu valley according to their occupation and prescribed people's activities. Since then *Pode* and *Chayames* had been regarded as sweeper caste and their activities were limited to clean public places and public houses. In the time of Malla dynasty Kathmandu was also protected by a city wall by the King Gunkamdev, who founded Kathmandu city. Since then people that belonged to low caste were not allowed to live inside the city wall. They rather were forced to live near the river banks. Similarly Ranas who ruled Nepal for 104 years from 1850s to 1950s followed the caste system that is developed by Malla. So caste hierarchy system is deeply rooted in our society. Even now main residential area of *Pode* and *Chayames* are the river banks of Bagmati and Bishnumati.

In the past, the main occupation of sweeper was to collect the night-soils, make it fertilizers and then sell it to farmers. In turn they got some alms from the farmers. Similarly they also sustained their life by fishing. But due to rapid development of urbanization in Kathmandu valley they are losing their traditional occupation. But their traditional occupation has emerged in the new form along with the development of

urbanization. Due to the increasing volume of solid waste, government is compelled to provide permanent job to the sweepers to keep the city clean. So it is an opportunity for sweeper caste people. By getting secure job in the KMC they are able to raise their standard above the poverty line. They have also chances to do work in different areas. It helps them to cope with the problems that are rampant in the urban context. Although they got chance to get a secure job, they are not able to raise their economic status in the society due to traditional caste hierarchy. They also lack education and different other skills. So, they do not have easy access to other sources for sustaining their livelihood. Similarly, they also lack land and they are not able to do other activities than sweeping.

Now due to rapid growth of urbanization and increase in number of poor, this occupation is not regarded as caste special occupation. Several poor people from rural area are coming towards the city to look for jobs regardless of their castes. This is known as a shock for the sweeper (i.e. *Pode*). Similarly, different places are given to private agencies for waste management by KMC which also makes them (sweepers) further vulnerable.

Due to privatization in this field many sweeper see their future dark. They also are worried about their future generation because they may not have secure job. Most of them are against the privatization policy. Similarly they also expect some kinds of subsidies like rent for house, bus fair, children's education from the government.

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Appendix: I (Questionnaire Form)

Street sweeping as a livelihood strategy of *Pode* community in Kathmandu: A case study of Kathmandu metropolitan City.

(All information achieved will be used only for the thesis purpose)

Date:

Survey Location:

Base line information

- 1 Name: Mr. /Mrs. /Ms. Age.....Sex.....
2. Present resident: District... VDC/Municipality... Ward no....
3. Marital status: A) Unmarried B) Married C) Separated
D) Widowhood E) Other
4. Can you read or write?
A) Yes..... No).....

If yes then How much.....

5. Family background:
No. of family...

S.N.	Name	Age	Sex	Relation with respondent	Education	Occupation

6. You are a native or migrated:
A) Native B) Migrated
7. If migrated
A) Where did you come from?
District VDC/Municipality
- B) When did you come in Kathmandu?
- C) Why did you come in Kathmandu?
- D) Did you come alone or with family?

Occupation

1. How long are you involved in this occupation?
2. Is this your traditional occupation?
3. Why do you choose this occupation?
4. On what basis are you employed?/ What is the nature of your job?
A) Permanent B) Temporary C) Daily wage D) Other (specify)
5. How much time do you spend in this occupation in a day?
6. What are the services
- A) Monthly salary B) Holidays C) Others
7. In which season do you feel uneasy to work?
8. Are you affected by any kind of infection while cleaning the windows, syringes in hospitals?
9. How do you feel about your health?
If you are affected by any type of health problem then specify.....
10. Are you affected by any types of long term disease?
11. Where do you go when you are affected by diseases?
A) Hospital B) Health Post C) Tradition doctors D) private clinic
E) Other (specify)
12. Do you have your health checkup regularly?
If yes then tell the gap.....
13. Do you get any health facility by the metropolitan/

Livelihood Assets

1. Do you have land?
A) Yes B) No
If yes, how much do you have?
For what purpose do you use that?
How long do you survive from that land?
2. Do you have your own home in Kathmandu?
A) Yes B) No
If yes, then do you let it for rent?
How many rooms?
How much do you earn in one month from that house?

3. Do you keep livestock?
If yes, then how much.....
A) Hens B) Pigs..... C) Others (specify).....
4. Do you earn some from livestock?
If yes, then how much you earn per month?
5. Is there road facility up to your home?
6. How long does it take to you to reach in the office?
7. Which mode of transport do you use to go in the office?
8. How much do you spend for the transport?
9. Is there pure drinking water supply to your home?
10. Do you have other skills besides sweeping?
If yes, then specify.....
11. Do you earn from that?
If yes then how much you earn in a month?
12. Do you work at other places besides the Metropolitan office?
If yes, then Specify.....
13. How much do you earn?
14. How much do you spend?
A) Food..... B) Cloths..... C) Education..... D) Medicine.....
E) Fuel.....F) Recreation.....G) Other.....
15. Is there any other family member involved in any occupation?
If yes, how much does he/she earn?
16. Is the earning of your and your family members sufficient to your family needs?
17. If not sufficient then how do you manage it?
18. Is there any problem for you to send your children to school?
19. Do you want your future generation to do the same job?
20. Are you able to save some from your earning?
If yes, then how much.....
21. Are you in debt?
If yes then for what purpose did you take it?
22. Where from did you take the debt?

Source	Amount (IN RS.)	Purpose	Agreement
Bank/ cooperative

Sahu /Mahajan
Relative/friends
Other (specify)

23. Are you involved in any social organization that is related to your occupation?
24. What type of work does this organization do for your occupation/
25. How does the society take your occupation?
26. Are you member of Independent garbage cleaner's union of Nepal?
27. Do you want to say any thing about your occupation?

Thank you for cooperation.

Appendix II

Indicators of Livelihood assets measurements

S.N.	Natural assets	Positive	Negative
1	Land for house		
2	Availability of vegetable garden		
3	Accessibility of river for fishing		
4	Livestock		

S.N.	Human assets	Positive	Negative
1	Education(literacy)		
2	Additional skill		
3	Suffering from long term disease		
4	Role in the decision making of home		

S.N.	Financial assets	Positive	Negative
1	Employment		
2	Additional Occupation		
3	Household expenses maintained from employment		
4	Debt	If not	If yes
5	Save	If yes	If not
6	Schooling children		

S.N.	Social assets	Positive	Negative
1	Member of any social organization		
2	Representation of any local authority		
3	Relation with other high caste social members		
4	Public behavior		
5	Member of any occupational organization		

S.N.	Physical assets	Positive	Negative
1	Transportation		
2	Electricity		
3	Drinking water		
4	School		
5	Health centre		
6	Means of entertainment		

Appendix: III (Checklist for Observation)

1. Condition of working place.
2. Use of safety measures in the time of working.
3. Health condition of respondents.
4. Condition of their residential area.
5. Availability of infrastructure in the residential area.

Appendix: IV (Checklist for Focus Group Discussion)

1. Causes of choosing this occupation.
2. Information about their residential area.
3. Monthly earning.
4. Monthly saving.
5. Other works besides the sweeping in KMC.
6. Risks involved in performing this job.
7. Public and officer behaviors.
8. Their social status.
9. Sustainability from this occupation.

Appendix: V (Checklist for Key Informant Interview)

1. Information about the institutions and organization.
2. Duties of related institution and organizations towards the sweeper.

Appendix VI

Fulfillment of different capital of the sweepers

S.N	Sex	Natural	Human	Physical	Financial	Social
1	Female	0.25	0.25	0.83	0.33	0.6
2	Female	0.25	0.25	1	0.5	0.4
3	Male	0.75	0.75	0.83	0.83	0.6
4	Male	0.5	0.75	0.67	0.33	0.6
5	Female	0.25	0.5	0.83	0.67	0.4
6	Female	0.25	0.25	0.83	0.67	0.4
7	Female	0	0.25	0.67	0.67	0.4
8	Female	0.5	0.5	0.83	0.67	0.6
9	Female	0.25	0.5	0.83	0.5	0.6
10	Female	0.25	0.5	0.83	0.67	0.6
11	Male	0.25	0.5	0.83	0.83	0.6
12	Male	0.25	0.25	0.83	0.67	0.6
13	Female	0.5	0.25	0.83	0.83	0.6
14	Female	0.5	0.25	0.83	0.67	0.6
15	Male	0.25	0.25	0.83	0.67	0.6
16	Female	0.5	0.25	0.83	0.5	0.6
17	Female	0.25	0.25	0.67	0.83	0.6
18	Female	0	0.25	0.83	0.67	0.6
19	Male	0.5	0.75	0.83	0.83	0.6
20	Female	0.25	0.25	0.83	0.5	0.6
21	Female	0.25	0.25	0.83	0.5	0.6
22	Female	0.25	0.25	0.67	0.5	0.6
23	Female	0.75	0.75	0.83	0.67	0.4
24	Male	0.5	0.5	0.83	0.83	0.6
25	Female	0.5	0.5	0.83	0.67	0.6
26	Female	0.25	0.5	0.83	0.67	0.6
27	Female	0.5	0.5	0.83	0.67	0.6
28	Female	0.5	0.25	0.83	0.5	0.6
29	Male	0.25	0.25	0.83	0.67	0.6
Total		10.25	11.5	23.6	18.52	16.4

$$\text{Mean of natural assets} = \frac{\sum \bar{X}}{n} = \frac{10.25}{29} = 0.35 = 35\%$$

$$\text{Mean of human assets} = \frac{\sum \bar{X}}{n} = \frac{11.5}{29} = 0.40 = 40\%$$

$$\text{Mean of physical assets} = \frac{\sum \bar{X}}{n} = \frac{23.6}{29} = 0.81 = 81\%$$

$$\text{Mean of financial assets} = \frac{\Sigma \bar{X}}{n} = \frac{10.52}{29} = 0.64 = 64\%$$

$$\text{Mean of Social assets} = \frac{\Sigma \bar{X}}{n} = \frac{16.4}{29} = 0.57 = 57\%$$

Where, $\Sigma \bar{X}$ = Sum total of all sweepers assets.

n = number of all sweepers.

Appendix VII

Fulfillment of different capital of the female sweepers

SN	Natural	Human	Physical	Financial	Social
1	0.25	0.25	0.83	0.33	0.6
2	0.25	0.25	1	0.5	0.4
3	0.25	0.5	0.83	0.67	0.4
4	0.25	0.25	0.83	0.67	0.4
5	0	0.25	0.67	0.67	0.4
6	0.5	0.5	0.83	0.67	0.6
7	0.25	0.5	0.83	0.5	0.6
8	0.25	0.5	0.83	0.67	0.6
9	0.5	0.25	0.83	0.83	0.6
10	0.5	0.25	0.83	0.67	0.6
11	0.5	0.25	0.83	0.5	0.6
12	0.25	0.25	0.67	0.83	0.6
13	0	0.25	0.83	0.67	0.6
14	0.25	0.25	0.83	0.5	0.6
15	0.25	0.25	0.83	0.5	0.6
16	0.25	0.25	0.67	0.5	0.6
17	0.75	0.75	0.83	0.67	0.4
18	0.5	0.5	0.83	0.67	0.6
19	0.25	0.5	0.83	0.67	0.6
20	0.5	0.5	0.83	0.67	0.6
21	0.5	0.25	0.83	0.5	0.6
Total	7	7.5	17.12	12.86	11.6

$$\text{Mean of natural assets} = \frac{\sum \bar{X}}{n} = \frac{7}{21} = 0.34 = 34\%$$

$$\text{Mean of human assets} = \frac{\sum \bar{X}}{n} = \frac{7.5}{21} = 0.36 = 36\%$$

$$\text{Mean of physical assets} = \frac{\sum \bar{X}}{n} = \frac{17.12}{21} = 0.81 = 81\%$$

$$\text{Mean of financial assets} = \frac{\sum \bar{X}}{n} = \frac{12.86}{21} = 0.61 = 61\%$$

$$\text{Mean of Social assets} = \frac{\sum \bar{X}}{n} = \frac{11.6}{21} = 0.55 = 55\%$$

Where, $\sum \bar{X}$ = Sum total of all female sweepers assets.

n = number of female sweepers.

Appendix VIII

Fulfillment of different capital of the Male sweepers

S.N.	Natural	Human	Physical	Financial	Social
1	0.75	0.75	0.83	0.83	0.6
2	0.5	0.75	0.67	0.33	0.6
3	0.25	0.5	0.83	0.83	0.6
4	0.25	0.25	0.83	0.67	0.6
5	0.25	0.25	0.83	0.67	0.6
6	0.5	0.75	0.83	0.83	0.6
7	0.5	0.5	0.83	0.83	0.6
8	0.25	0.25	0.83	0.67	0.6
Total	3.25	4	6.48	5.66	4.8

$$\text{Mean of natural assets} = \frac{\sum \bar{X}}{n} = \frac{3.25}{8} = 0.41 = 41\%$$

$$\text{Mean of human assets} = \frac{\sum \bar{X}}{n} = \frac{4}{8} = 0.50 = 50\%$$

$$\text{Mean of physical assets} = \frac{\sum \bar{X}}{n} = \frac{6.48}{8} = 0.81 = 81\%$$

$$\text{Mean of financial assets} = \frac{\sum \bar{X}}{n} = \frac{5.66}{8} = 0.71 = 71\%$$

$$\text{Mean of Social assets} = \frac{\sum \bar{X}}{n} = \frac{4.8}{8} = 0.60 = 60\%$$

Where, $\sum \bar{X}$ = Sum total of all male sweepers assets.

n = number of male sweepers.

Appendix IX
Photos Speak More



“Early in the Morning we play with wastes”



A Sweeper Early In the Morning



A Sweeper with Her Baby



Researcher with Respondents





During Focus Group Discussion





During Focus Group Discussion

