CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Economically Nepal is a least developed country entangled in different sorts of social, economic and political problems. The major bulks of the population living in rural areas are deprived of basic, physical and socio-economic amenities and are in poverty. People from remote and rural areas, where life is difficult to live, come to cities and Terai region to make their livelihood and enjoy modern facilities. This trend of rural to urban migration has created tremendous pressure in urban areas in terms of limited land availability. The large portions of population do not have their own home and land to live. Such people capture public properties (land) and remain as squatters (Ghimire, 2003).

The word *Sukumbasi* in Nepali language very much relates with the word squatter in English, which means person or family not having their own land and not having a regular source of income to support the family (Adhikari, 2007). According to the Oxford Dictionary (1995) *squatter is a person who occupies a building or land without permission*. The term squatter denotes the landless person and the term squatter settlement denotes accommodation, which contravenes existing legislation on the occupation of the land or the construction of dwellings. These illegal settlements of free land seekers in public or private disputed lands are defined here as squatter settlements.

Squatter settlement is an unplanned settlement consisting of dwellings built mostly on the public properties. It may be either in city or on the outskirt of the city. Major squatter settlements are found in third world developing countries like Nepal, India, Pakistan etc. They are called *Jhuggies* in India, *Favelas* in Brazil, *Sukumbasi basti* in Nepal (Giri, 2004). In Nepal, squatter basti or *Squatter* settlements are the areas inhabited by people, who have been through either rural to rural or rural to urban or urban to urban migrated in search of a better life.

The characteristics of squatter settlements in Nepal and developing parts of the world differ from those of developed countries in terms of both forms and functions. The unique characteristics of squatter settlements in third world underdeveloped cities are that they retain rudimentary features of rural culture and maintain ties with rural origins despite settlements in urban hinterland. They mostly favor the activity of proto-proletarians who are engaged in individual or family enterprises and who are not regular salary or wage earners. However, they are the habitats not only for the proto-proletariat but also for workers in the formal sector as mentioned by Turner and Mangin (1969). Therefore, the functional role of squatter settlements is important in the process of urban development because, they are ultimately integrated into city life. Given the integration of squatters in city areas with rural life standard and background, it is vital to assess the socio-economic condition of squatter settlements, which has a greater implication in the planned development of emerging city like that of Pokhara (K.C, et al, 1992).

A squatter settlement with a residential area developed without legal claims to the land and/or permission from the concerned authorities to build; because of their illegal or semi-legal status, infrastructure and services are usually inadequate to improve the living condition and life chances of squatters. There are essentially three defining characteristics that help to understand squatter settlements: the *Physical*, the *Social* and the *Legal* with the reasons behind them being interrelated. Based on three characteristics we can comprehend the issues and predicaments related to squatters.

In Nepal, there are many squatter settlements in and around different urban vicinities. Majority of squatter areas are located in urban areas than in rural areas. The total number of squatter families are about 6, 00,000 (CWIN Report, 1998) and total squatter population is about 40, 00,000. Among this, the population of children, under age 16 are about 20, 00,000.

The growth of squatter settlements in Pokhara has taken place within the last 35 years. According to ward profile (2063 B.S) of Pokhara sub-metropolis at present, there are 41 settlements of squatters in Pokhara in which there are one to six settlements in each ward. There are all together 2254 households of squatters in these 41 settlements occupying 419.325 ropanies of land area. However, according to Bhandari (2063 B.S), there are 53 squatter settlements in Pokhara with total households number 3095

and total population of squatters is 17472. Among these settlements of squatters in Pokhara, the study area of *Samintara* Basti, which is situated in ward no. 14 and 18 of Pokhara sub metropolitan city, there are 50 households occupying about 44 ropanies of land.

1.2   Statement of the Problem

Being an economically backward country, major bulk of people live below the poverty line and countable people can enjoy a balanced or a luxurious life. A large number of Nepalese people are always in search of average standard of life. People used to struggle for fulfilling the basic need of food, clothing and shelter. An immense preponderance of the rural population in Nepal migrates to urban areas decisively for an immense range of resources and services. This dependence shapes and defines the relationship of the migrating people with available urban resources. These dependencies drive resource dependent inhabitants to exploit the available resources for subsistence and livelihood and often abet the process of environmental degradation in the crowded squatter's settlements.

One of the distinguishing features of squatter's area is the crowded housing, which means there is problem of water supply, sanitation, health status etc. Squatters are exceedingly backward in all aspect of their lives. They are economically poor and literacy percentage in female is almost negligible. Lack of physical amenities, poor standard of housing and education makes squatter area unhealthy and the poor economic status. The relationship of migrating squatter people with local resources, livelihood along with their socio-economic and educational characteristics stands vital for study. Consequently, it is vital to understand the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of squatters in relation to available resources that will enable a reorientation in development paradigms and approaches that focused attention on migrating squatters community-based development needs.

Given the grim socio-economic and education related problems of migrating squatters this study focuses on the squatter community of Samintara settlement, of ward no. 18 and 14 of Pokhara on the bank of Seti River and landfill site of Pokhara. In the present context there are different sorts of studies at national, regional, zonal, and district level on the problems of squatters. However, specifically this study is based on

particular community where we can comprehend the assorted condition of a squatter area settled in the vicinity of an urban area with the following research questions:

1. Where are the squatters from? And why did they migrated to this area?
2. What is the present social condition or situation of squatters of Samintara?
3. What is their economy? And how are the squatters surviving?
4. How is conventions and social structure in Nepal organized and what forces it wielded over the squatters, social renovations, their problems etc?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The **general objective** of this study is to find out the social and economic status of squatters of Samintara settlement of Pokhara. The **specific objectives** of the study are as follows:

1. To study the history (anecdote) and the prevailing socio-economic scenario of squatter community.
2. To uncover the consequences (repercussions) of socio-economic status, resultant Problems (tribulations) and to suggest for the amelioration of squatters socio-economic problems.

1.4 Operational Definition of Terms Used in the Study

In this study, following terms have been used and discussed at length viz:

Culture of Poverty: Sociologists believe that the stage of acute poverty, backwardness and suppression for a long time, used to produce a *culture of poverty--* that is a culture shared by the poor and the backwards of the same group. The term culture of poverty was first used by An American Sociologist Oscar Lewis in 1968 while conducting study on the blacks of Central America. The culture of poverty, thus, is a design or a style for living, which is transmitted from one generation to next and which influences all aspects of individual's life.

Household: In the current study household denotes a group of persons sharing a common home or a living place, which in aggregate shares their incomes, experiences and is led by a household head. In a household the members have the common hearth or a common cooking pot. In the current study a person even living alone in a house has been regarded as a household.

People's Interaction: The relationship between the people and people in which both influence each other especially human behavior influencing all activities and also influencing the participatory behavior of squatters.

Proletariatisation: It is a process of alteration in the socio-economic condition of people. It is the process of making of proletariats or the conversion of people into poor proletariats owing to various reasons.

Role*:* The term role is a set of socially expected and approved behavior patterns consisting of both duties and privileges, associated with a particular position in a group. In this study role also denotes responsibility, function and task.

Sustainability: Sustainability is the long-term development effort. Sustainable development depends on local people establishing an adaptive relationship with their environment under a process that includes participation of all the people.

Development: The term development in this study refers to advancement in the specific context as engrained in local culture, social institutions, knowledge/cognition, values, beliefs and practices. Development also denotes advancement and growth in living conditions of the people.

Tribulation: The condition of acute distress, mental, social and cultural sufferings.

Conflict: Conflict is the coercive relationship between stakeholders living in the society, which may occur of various reasons viz. imbalanced allocation of resources, gender disparity, caste/ethnic and economic disparities etc, but resolution of conflict is conflict resolution by adopting an assortment of ways.

Social, Cultural factors: These factors are associated with society's social realities and cultural factors viz. norms, values, customs, gender balance, Casteism, elitism etc.

Caste ridden and priest ridden society: A society where there is a prime role of caste based norms reinforced by orthodox *Brahministic rite de passage*, values and actions.

Status: The term status is a multi-dimensional concept and has many indicators operating within it. Status denotes grade or rank. In this study status refer to relative socio-economic conditions of squatters living in the society and the development that determines their rank and position in the society.

1.5   Significance of the Study

This study covers the Samintara squatter's settlement of Pokhara. There is lack of Sociological study on the socio-economic condition of squatters using *sociological lenses*. This study will help in planning and implementation of potential projects and improvement of the existing settlements of squatters. This study bestow the socio economic demographic as well as living status of squatter's community that would be more useful as a reference for the Nepalese Sociologist, research planners, and policy makers etc. to study in in-depth the issue and grievances of squatters.

1.6   Limitation of the Study

This study is conducted within the given period and financial limitations and other resources. The study is focused on the socio-economic status, tribulations, and causes of becoming squatter. The study is based on the specific locality of Samintara squatter's settlement in Pokhara ward no.18 and 14. Hence, the finding of conclusion drawn from this may not be widely generalized exactly in the same manner for other studies of other areas.

1.7   Organization of the Study

The dissertation consists of seven chapters. The first chapter or introductory chapter presents the background statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, significance of the study, limitations of the study and organization of the study. The second chapter presents literature review with theoretical review, review of previous studies and theoretical and conceptual framework. The third chapter includes the research methods adopted in this study and the fourth chapter presents the outline of the study area. Likewise, chapter five consist the history (anecdote) and the analysis of socio-economic status of squatters. The chapter six is about the repercussions of squatters and socio-economic tribulations of the squatters. The last chapter is the seventh with summary and conclusion. References and annexes have been presented in a sequence.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   Theoretical Overview

2.1.1   Marxism

Marxism is a system of thought and inquiry based on the work of Karl Marx (1818-1883), a social theorist and revolutionary, and his co-author, Friedrich Engles (1820-1895). Marx's central premise is that human mature is characterized by the capacity for creative and purposive action- "labor"- that has effects in the establishment of material culture. When agriculture enabled human being to produce a surplus of food conflicts arose in society over these products and over control of the labor process initiating a process of social differentiating and growing inequality. (Encyclopedia of Sociology, 2003)

As a revolutionary thinker saw humans as being unique by virtue of their conscious awareness of themselves and their situation, According to Marx they are capable of self – reflection and hence, assessment of their positions in society. Such consciousness arises out of people's daily existence and is not a realm of ideas that is somehow independent of the material world, as much German philosophy argued. For Marx, people produce their ideas conceptions of the world in the light of the social structures in which they are born, raised and live.

Marx believed that the world around us is a materialization of man's praxis; his productive activity in history is not just an assertion that nature is man made. It also means that man's understanding of the material world is a reflection of his own social world. Marx claimed that the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle. He says *"free man and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild master and Journey man in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant apposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstruction of society at large or in the common ruin of contending classes''*. As in Nepalese context also diverse sorts of conflicts occurs due to suppression and exploitation, Marxist perspective developed

by Karl Marx with his thought and belief on proletariat may relate to squatters life and their socio economic status, tribulation and its implications in the present study.

2.1.2 Socio-economic Theory of Development

Although economic growth and development are similar in meaning, they have some essential differences. Economic growth refers to the increasing ability to produce more goods and services. Economic development implies that individuals will be better off and takes into account changes in economic and social structures that will reduce or eliminate poverty. Economic development can be measured in a number of different ways including the Human Development Index, a Gender Empowerment Measure, a Human Poverty Index and a Human Freedom Index. Economic growth is the expansion of a country's productive capacity (Cainen, 2007). This leads to a rise in total national output. Growth can occur in two different ways; the increased use of land, labor, capital and commercial resources by using better technology or management techniques and increased productivity of existing resource use through rising labor and capital productivity. While theoretically having an increasing national output means greater material welfare and a rise in living standards, it does not equate to having higher levels of well being for individuals in that nation. Economic growth can, in fact, have negative impacts on a nation including environmental degradation and the loss of traditional cultural values (Cainen, 2007). It also may mean there is greater inequality between different classes in society, that is, the gap between the rich and the poor may grow as is in the case of the squatters of Samintara the universe of the current study. It is for these reasons that economic development measurements are vital.

Economic growth as a measure fails to account for other important social and economic factors such as the size of the black market, domestic work which is not given a financial value, the level of damage to the environment and inequalities in income distribution. Various indicators have been developed to compensate for the limitations of economic growth measurements. Rather than just measuring the economic living standards of people, development indicators measure the welfare of individuals in that country. The main development indicator used is the Human Development Index (Cainen, 2007) and it with this index that Economic Sociology is

closely affiliated, which may provide a reference and a regulation to present study for tracing the socio-economic status of squatters of Samintara.

Economic Sociology is staging a comeback precisely because sociologists working on stratification, organizations and development have found it necessary to expand their horizons and integrate points of view. The numbers of publications, research centers, and teaching programs devoted to economic Sociology are rising quickly. Various theoretical and methodological perspectives have attempted to reintegrate the fields of social stratification, complex organizations, and economic development (Guillen, 2000). Most prominent among these are the Marxist approach and the now a vogue network perspective. Marxist scholars have more or less explicitly attempted to bring together the study of stratification, organizations and development. Their efforts have yielded a sizeable body of research that has enriched economic Sociology. They have met, however, with considerable resistance due to the rigid theoretical assumptions underlying their work. The network perspective has also generated a prodigious amount of empirical research and, unlike the Marxist approach, has benefited from a certain degree of theoretical agnosticism, ambiguity or polyvalence, depending on one's feelings towards it.

Comparative economic Sociology seeks to reunite the fields of social stratification, organizational theory, and the Sociology of development to better understand patterns of economic organization. This approach seems especially appropriate to tackle the problem of economic development because it cannot be analyzed without taking social structure and organizational actors into account (Cainen, 2007). However, further work is necessary to show how comparative economic Sociology can illuminate other questions in the field, including both labor, production and consumption aspects of economic activity of the squatters of Samintara settlement.

Guillen (2000) has argued that the main postulates of the comparative approach to economic Sociology are three. First, ideological change precedes or at least goes hand in hand with economic change. Therefore, it is the task of economic Sociology to understand ideological transformations as explanatory variables. The underlying assumption here is that ideologies are, at least in part, exogenous to economic change. This postulate stands in sharp contrast with the proposals of rational-choice theories of action. Second, there is no one mode of organizing the economy or its various

components that is utterly superior to all others under all circumstances. Thus, there are multiple solutions to the complex problem of economic performance, and it is a second task of economic Sociology to establish principles of empirical variation among economic models or systems. And third, economic life—whether it has to do with production, distribution or consumption—cannot be understood without paying simultaneous attention to patterns of social stratification, organization, and economic development. It is precisely the complexity of the interaction among those three realms that invites economic Sociology to adopt a comparative approach, a theoretical and methodological perspective that seeks to control for variation and to establish generalizations without doing violence to historical particularity. It is also a perspective that calls for a multiplication of methods of research, under the coordination of a historically informed, comparative approach. At the heart of comparative economic Sociology lies the idea that there is no single rationality that governs economic action in such a way that it is optimal, either in its allocative or in its social welfare sense. As in the study of culture or ideology, it does not make any sense at all to talk about rationality in the singular. There are cultures, ideologies and rationalities in the world, each with its own logic, origins, and consequences (Guillén, 2000). This seems relevant in the context of the squatters of Samintara having diversities of all sorts viz cultural, social, economic etc in their day to life which are clandestinely influencing their socio-economic life.

2.1.3 Class Struggle

Class struggle constitutes the central theme of Marx's theoretical scheme, which is based on the premises that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" (Upadhyay, 2003). Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time enter in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes. In the context of Samintara, the squatters are debarred from getting a. entry in ruling class groups owing to which they are dominated ,exploited and have been suppressed and treated as second class citizen in the urban society.

2.1.4 Class Conflict

In the capitalist society, the bourgeoisie and proletariat are two different classes and are dependent upon each other. However, the mutual dependency of the two classes is not a relationship of equability and of respectable reciprocity. Instead, it is a relationship of exploiter, exploited, oppressor, and oppressed. The capitalist class (the ruling class) gains at the expense of the labor class (the subject class) and there is therefore a conflict of interest between them. Marx developed his theory of class conflict in his analysis and critique of the capitalist society (Rao 2002). In Samintara the class of poor squatters and the urban dwellers elite varies and diverges on assorted issues related to rights to land, land ownership, property etc. Hence, it is clear that the notion of class conflict will provide incentive for this study.

2.1.5 Have and Have-Not

From the Marxian point of view, in all stratified societies there are two major social groups; a rich class and poor class, or the 'Have and Have-Not'; or a ruling class and subject class. The key to understanding a given society is to discover which the dominant mode of production within it is. From a Marxian view, a class is a social group where members share the same relationships to the forces of production. Thus during the feudal stage, there are two main classes distinguished by their relationship to land, the major force of production. (Rao, 2002).

Marxist perspective holds the notion that more the unequal is the distribution of scarce resources in a system; the greater is the conflict of interest between dominant and subordinate segments in a system. The subordinate segments become aware of their true collective interests, the more likely are they to question the legitimacy of the existing pattern of distribution of scarce resources (Upadhyay, 2003). The more social changes brought by dominant segments disrupt existing relations among subordinates, the more likely are the latter to become aware of their true interest. The more practices of dominant segments create alienative dispositions among subordinates, the more likely are the latter to become aware of their true collective interest. The more members of subordinate segments can communicate their grievances to each other, the more likely they are to become aware of their true collective interests, the more subordinate segments of a system are aware of their collective interests and the greater is their questioning of the legitimacy of the distribution of scarce resources,

11

the more likely are they to join overt conflict against dominant segments of a system. The greater is the ideological unification of members of subordinate segments of a system, the more chances of polarization of subjugated segments of a system. If the dominants are more polarized, the more violent is their conflict. If the conflict is more violent, greater structural changes will occur the scarce resources will be distributed in a fair way. Thus, Marxist anthropology defines society in terms of conflict and change (Turner, 1998). Based on this, we can make an assumption that owing to unequal distribution of resources in our society especially the privileged rich people and the have not squatters, a conflict or collision of some sort may occur in future.

2.1.6 Marx's Dialectical Materialism

Dialectical materialism is the philosophical approach of Karl Marx. Marx himself was very much influenced by the *"Dialectic"* of Hegel, but he rejected Hegel's idealism. Thus, this concept was first associated with G. Hegel and later developed by Engel's and Marx to become part of the wider notion of historical materialism. Materialism rejects idealism explanations of social and other phenomena and suggests that all the phenomena of the world are material (Upadhyay, 2003). In fact, the word "Dialectic" means the development of contradictions and their solution as a way of advancing thought. The notion of dialectic expresses the view that development depends on the clash of contradictions and the creation of a new, more advanced synthesis out of these clashes. The dialectical process involves the three moments: *Thesis, Antithesis and Synthesis*. Marx emphasized material conditions that is economic factors as the basic causal forces to determine both individual motivation and the history of man. Marx regarded ideology as a rationalization of economic position, and he interpreted history primarily in terms of a series of class struggles. He used the notion of dialectical materialism to account for social historical events. Marx believed that both the real world, whether of society or nature, developed according to dialectical sequences of contradiction and synthesis, and that dialectical logic was the means by which one could comprehend this development (Upadhyay, 2003).

2.1.7 Theory of Surplus Value

According to Marx, surplus value is the value remaining when the worker's daily costs of subsistence have been subtracted from the value that he produces. In this regard Marx says that the economic value created by the productivity of the

proletariat that is not returned to the workers (who receives the minimum subsistence wage), but is appropriated as profit by the entrepreneur, who supports himself in luxury (Upadhyay, 2003). In the context of the study area of Samintara it is construed that the rich urban elites are extracting surplus value and have exploited the labor of squatters, hence this notion may provide guidance to the current study.

2.1.8   Education – a Marxian Perspective

According to Marxian perspective, the role of education in western industrial society is guided by several related questions. One of the major question asked is, how is the educational system shaped by the economic infrastructure? However, Louis Althusser, Sanuel Bowles Herbert Gintis and Ivan Illich (2004) have provided a general framework and supported the Marxian perspective. Although in sympathy with much of what Illich says, Marxists such as Bowles and Gintis argue that he has made a fundamental error. Rather than seeing schools as the basis of problem and their removal as its solution, Bowles and Gintis argue that, 'The social problem to which these reforms are addressed have their roots not primarily in the school system itself, but rather in the normal functioning of the economic system'. From their viewpoint, de-schooling would only produce 'occupational misfits' and 'job blues' which are hardly sufficient to transform society as a whole (Subba, 2060). From Marxian perspective, liberation involves a revolutionary change in the economic infrastructure of the society and this perspective will preparation a ground for evaluating the education related social status of the squatters of Samintara.

2.1.9   Sociology's Distinct Approach to Economic Behavior

Sociologists continued to see economy and society as intertwined, but even sociologists came to accept the emerging division between the disciplines. Sociologists were inductive, deriving theories of social behavior by observing behavior. Economists were deductive, deriving theories of economic behavior from the axiom that self-interest drives individual behavior. Sociology became increasingly empirical, based on in-depth studies of communities and corporations and sectors of the economy. C. Wright Mills's *The Power Elite* (1956) showed that power was becoming increasingly concentrated in business, government, and the military and that links between the elites in those sectors were increasing.

Sociologists began to explain economic behavior in terms of the same four social mechanisms they had observed shaping all sorts of social behavior. These mechanisms entered the common lexicon under the terms *institution*, *network*, *power*, and *cognition*.

Sociology's core insight is that individuals behave according to scripts that are tied to social roles. Those scripts are called conventions at the collective level and cognitive schemas at the individual level. Conventions and schemas make sense within a wider institutional framework, be it rational or religious or mystical. These conventions and schemas shape individual behavior and so predicting economic behavior is a matter of comprehending conventions, schemas, and institutions. But prediction requires more than that, because conventions change. Understanding why they change is job one, and change can usually be traced to institutions, power, networks, and cognition. Economic *institutions* offer broad prescriptions for behavior. Institutions are sustained by occupational, industrial, and community *networks* that define social roles. *Power* shapes the evolution of new customs, when the powerful sanction the behavior of others and when they shape legal institutions. At the individual level, *cognition* is the carrier of conventions--it provides the schemas through which we make ongoing sense of conventions and through which we challenge them (Dobbin, 2004).

Economic sociologists take a different view of why economic institutions differ across nations, why particular institutions persist, and what causes institutions to change. On the issue of why different kinds of economic systems arose in the first place, institutional analysts from political science and Sociology argue that history has given different societies different material to begin with (Dobbin, 2004). On the issue of why economic institutions change, Weber argued that change could originate in politics, in the law and in religious ideals. The model of change that most sociologists embrace is built on the idea of punctuated equilibrium that Stephen Jay Gould in Women's Brain (1989) sketches for the biological world and Stephen Krasner (1984) adapts for the social world (Fligstein, 2001). Customs tend to persist until something shakes up the social system, opening up the possibility of change. New customs are often worked out in power struggles, and they may or may not be more efficient than

those they replace. This concept of new customs worked out in power struggle may provide new incentives for the current study on squatters of Samintara as the prevailing customs are on the verge of change owing to the changing trend of the society.

2.2   Concept Review

2.2.1   Squatter and Settlement

A "squatter" (The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1999) *is a person who settles on new especially public land without title; a person who takes unauthorized possession of unoccupied premises*.   A residential area occupied by squatters becomes a squatter settlement. However, the narrow generalization, especially of settlement type is evident: everything from a brick-and-concrete multistoried house to a "occupied" cardboard carton become "squatter settlements". The need is so much more necessary to understand such settlements so that a concerted action can be taken. A squatter settlement therefore, can be defined as a residential area, which has developed without legal claims to the land and/or permission from the concerned authorities to build; as a result of their illegal or semi-legal status, infrastructure and services are usually inadequate. There are essentially three defining characteristics that help us understand squatter settlement: the Physical, the Social and the Legal with the reasons behind them being interrelated and the other names of squatter settlements are :

⟩   Informal settlements

⟩   Low-income settlements

⟩   Semi-permanent settlements

⟩   Shanty towns

⟩   Spontaneous settlements

⟩   Unauthorized settlements

⟩   Unplanned settlements

⟩   Uncontrolled settlements

         (http://www.gdrc.org/uem/squatters/squatters.html).

Srinivas (2004) defined in his article 'urban squatter and slum', that squatter settlements have been in existence from a long time, in the sense that an individual other than the land owner has built houses with or without the consent of the land

owner. However, they were not illegal "squatter" settlements as we define and categorize them today. The term "squatter settlement" is in fact a more recent western-initiated development, which came about by the writings of Charles Abrams and John Turner and particularly during and immediately after the Habitat Conference of 1976 in Vancouver, Canada. This delineation of such informal or spontaneous settlements as "squatter" settlements represented a growing change in attitude from outright hostility to that of support and protection).

Abrams (1964) illustrates the process of squatting as a "conquest" of city areas for the purpose of shelter, defined by both the law of force and the force of law. Turner (1969) takes a positive outlook and portrays squatter settlements as highly successful solutions to housing problems in urban areas of developing countries. Payne (1977) similarly puts the development of squatter settlements in the overall perspective of urban growth in the third world and its inevitability. A vast number of case studies at the Habitat Conference at Vancouver in 1976 highlighted the conditions in squatter settlements, calling for a concerted and committed approach towards solving the problems. (http://www.gdrc.org/uem/squatters/squatters.html).The squatters are related with the migration process in the different parts of the world. Some scholars have attempted to explain 'why people migrate? At the empirical level, such studies are mostly confined to identification of characteristic patterns, causes, and consequences in migration in the various part of the world.

Squatting is the act of occupying an abandoned or unoccupied space or building that the **squatter** does not own, rent or otherwise have permission to use. Squatting is significantly more common in urban areas than rural areas, especially when urban decay occurs. According to author Robert Neuwirth, there may be as many as one billion squatters globally, or about one of every seven people (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Squatting). Squatting is only one aspect of the world struggle for shelter, though one of its more dramatic manifestations. It is also one of the aspects of the land problem that has troubled economists and political philosophers for some two hundred years. Written against the background of agricultural economies, the nineteenth- century classical economic tracts reflected the fear that a stubborn earth would not yield enough food for the ever- growing number of people. Private ownership of land, previously affirmed as a natural right, began to

be considered a new type of robbery. The laborer toiled for his wage; the capitalist, through an exploiter, staked his money and brains, but the landowner simply bided his time as he watched nature's gifts fill his coffers, and as the population grew, so did his unmerited gains. (Abrams, 1964). This argument seems realistic in the context of current study owing to the fact that squatters are toiling, however all benefits are departing to sophisticated reserves of elites dwelling in strongholds.

2.2.2 Poverty

Poverty is a complex phenomenon not easy to conceptualize resource of family or individuals are inadequate to provide a socially acceptable standard of living (Harry Johnson, 1996). Sociologist Gillen and Gillen (1982) defines Poverty as that condition in which a person either because of inadequate or unwise expenditure does not maintain a standard of living high enough to provide for his physical and mental efficiency and to enable him and his natural dependents to function use fully according to the standard of society in which he is a member. Due to poverty, people do not get enough food, shelter etc that causes them to migrate in better places as squatters.

Over the last few decades, cities in both developing and developed countries have emerged as the major form of human settlement. By the turn of this century, we will witness to a ubiquitous scenario where more people will live in and around cities than in rural areas. In 1800, only 50 million people lived in towns and cities worldwide. By 1975 there were 1.5 billion, by the year 2000, this will be three billion - more than the entire population on Earth in 1960. Cities have, in effect become a barometer of humankind's "progress" into the 21st century, whether this is an upward trend or downward. Concentration of economic, social, political and administrative organs of a nation or region in cities has made it a magnet for rich as well as poor households (http://www.gdrc.org/uem/squatters/urban-poverty.html).

Poverty in Nepal is predominantly a rural phenomenon: 95 percent of the poor live in rural areas. Poverty is also primarily an agricultural phenomenon: about 82 percent of rural poor either agricultural self-employed or agricultural laborer. The rural poor lack the most important asset in agricultural setting, and they have small unproductive plots or no land at all. The asset, which the poor do possess, is their unskilled labor,

17

sold at extremely low wages, due to over supply and low marginal productivity. Opportunities for non-farm employment are few and the demand for labor tends to seasonal.

There is also widespread indebtedness among the poor in Nepal. David Seddon in his book *"Nepal: A state of poverty"* has examined the roots of poverty and inequality in Nepal from the socio-economic point view. Analyzing the prevailing social inequality, he argues that it is due to the combination of social factors as well as the structure of the agrarian economy of traditional form. He notes that the structure of the agrarian economy of traditional form. He notes that the structure of landownership in Nepal as a whole is highly unequal, with a small minority of larger landowners possessing a substantial portion of cultivable land of best quality. Cultivable land is the most important income-generating asset in the rural areas. In his words although social discrimination the basis of caste, ethnic and gender differences plays a significant part in maintaining social inequality in Nepal, never the less the roots of social inequality and therefore of social deprivation, lie within the structure of the agrarian economy, characterized essentially by unequal control over land and other resources and by archaic forms of exploitation. (Tripathi, 2000)

Tripathi (2000) also defined in his dissertation that the rapid population growth is the major factor affecting marginalization and landlessness in Asia where growth of the farming population has led to a reduction in the size of holdings and pauperization of the peasantry.   FAO (2001) in the study, reports that the landless are the most underprivileged section of rural society. The study summarizes the state of landless, as: without land and basic means of production in agricultural economies, they are powerless. They have little of no access to credit; marketing systems of other services and suffer severe social deprivation, poor health, illiteracy, and high rates of child mortality. Insecurity is the raw reality of their lives. FAO (2001) further argues that the policies, which are applied to the small farmer, sector, such a provision of inputs and services, do not benefit the landless, whose need is primarily access to land and employment. The same condition prevails in the context of poor squatters of Samintara settlement of Pokhara where the primary need of squatters is primarily access to land and employment.

2.2.3 Migration

By the source of US Library of Congress (2005), Nepal was once a sanctuary for waves of migrants from north and south of its borders. The early migration from the north was largely of nomadic Mongoloid people from Tibet (the Bhote groups), followed by waves of Indo-Aryans from India. Some of the migrants from the south, especially the Brahmans and Rajputs, fled the religious crusades of invading Mughals (or Indian Muslims) and their atrocities. After the eradication of Malaria in mid sixties, people from Bihar and West Bengal were lured by the possibilities of the Terai land. As of 1991, a large number of Indians from Bihar and other neighboring areas still crossed the border into Nepal. Most of those recent migrants were found in towns and cities, where they were engaged in semiskilled labor and mercantile activities (http://countrystudies.us/nepal/28.htm).

Since the late nineteenth century, the migration trend has reversed its course. In the early 1990s, there was a massive and persistent outflow of people from the hills, the areas that once served as a refuge for migrants. In addition, the volume of migration has been increasing over time. There have been two major types of migration. Permanent or lifetime migration occurred primarily within the national boundary, particularly from the highlands to the Terai Region; it was motivated by the search for land. Circular migration included seasonal migrants, who moved to wage-labor sites, such as urban centers and construction areas, during the agricultural slack season (November to February). These circular or absentee migrants included long-term (but not permanent) migrants, who moved in search of long-term salaried employment, such as army, government, *chaukidar* (doorman or guard) services, or factory jobs. Once these migrants succeeded in landing a relatively permanent job, they normally visited their families and villages once every two to three years; if they did not secure such a job, they might return in a few months. Unlike permanent migration, circular migration was both internal (within the country) as well as external (outside the country). Although internal circular migrants ultimately might become permanent migrants, the vast majority of external circular migrants, most of whom went to India, returned to Nepal upon their retirement and discharge from service. Increasing numbers of these external migrants settled in the Indian states of West Bengal and Assam, and they have been filtering into Bhutan since the late nineteenth century (http://countrystudies.us/nepal/28.htm).

Hans Raj (1996) says that most important factor which motivate migration is economic factor. People migrate and continue to have better living either for themselves or for families. The weaker group in the past also migrated in order to escape either persecution that could be due to political, religious, or any other reasons. Some people migrate, as they cannot tolerate a particular political or economic system or dictatorial regime of a dictator. In the context of Samintara, the squatter's settlement was formed only after the migration of poor people from surrounding as they failed to accommodate in their land of origin.

Bouge (1969) has observed that migration is on adjustment to economic and social change. According to him, *"pull" and "pull"* factors are the main causes of migration. As a person believes that he cannot satisfy his needs and when the surrounding atmosphere becomes undesirable, unpleasant than that person migrates to other places where he may get relief from these situation. 'Push' factors include decline in natural resources, lack of employment, discriminatory treatment, alienation from a community and natural calamities. The 'push' factors include decline in natural resources, lack of employment, discriminatory treatment, alienation from a community and natural calamities. The 'pull' factors are superior opportunities for employment opportunities to earn large income, to obtain desire specialized education or training, preferable environment and living conditions. He also observed that migration selective of persons with particular characteristics (the young, the better educated, the unmarried etc). In the settlement area of Samintara different pull and push factors may be playing a vital role in shaping the migratory trend of the people.

2.2.4 Urbanization

Sharma (2003) has described in his article that urbanization refers to the process of growth in the proportion of population living in urban areas. Historically the concept of urbanization has been related to specialization, industrialization, and consequent economic development. Although the form of this relationship has remained contested, there is a consensus among scholars that a fundamental characteristic of urbanization is the structural shift in employment from agriculture to non-agriculture pursuits. In other words, urbanization is the structural shift in employment from agriculture to non-agriculture pursuits. In other words, urbanization is a territorial

response to structural changes in the economy. A distinctive division of labor, technology based production of goods, trade of a variety of goods and service, high level of spatial and economic interaction, and relatively high density and diversity of population are basic tenets associated with urbanization. This tendency seems to be playing a prime role in the squatter area in Samintara that has lured many poor migrants to migrate.

Yeung (1988) has described that the consequent characteristics of rapid Asian Urbanization is widespread urban poverty and the enormous number of urban dwellers suffering from a severe lack of basic services. Similarly, one of the basic urban services with signs of shortage is that of shelter, like the street dwellers of Calcutta, *bustees (*Hamlets*)* of Mumbai, Shanties of Colombo, squatter of Manila and Bangkok all at least to the acute shortage of housing fro there inhabitants. Kansakar(1988) concluded that the problem of overcrowding of house and people coupled with unhealthy and unsanitary environment is emerging in large towns having heavy influx of population and the resulting emergence of slums and squatter settlements in some of the large towns. His study focused on the complex housing problems of Katmandu and Pokhara cities with particular reference to squatter settlements as to provide viable urban unprecedented increase in the number of urban dwellers and to improve their living conditions.

Asian Development Bank (1977) conducted a study in its member countries and reported that there is an increasing trend in the numbers of landless agricultural labors. According to the study, it is principally due the growth of population and the consequents increase in the man/land ratio. Besides this, it is also due to the large-scale eviction of tenants by owners in the past. The study argues that the institutional arrangement between those operating the land and those sharing in the harvest as undergoing a change as result of growing population pressure. These changes resulted in the decline in the real wages earned by the laborers. The study has found the close relationship between the rural poverty and distribution of productive resources, principally land. However, the distribution of operational holding is highly skewed in most of the Asian countries control of land determines the access to other productive resources. It is observed that the larger, weather landowners fend to receive a disproportionate share of technical assistance and advice provided by government

21

agencies as well as favored access to institutional credit. To overcome such discrimination, the study refers to the successful land reforms in the Republic of China and Korea where agricultural development was achieved with a relatively even distribution of holding of very small size. In the context of Nepal, there is the rising trend of squatters settlements however the attempts of successful land reforms for the benefit of squatter is rare owing to lack of political commitment and other reasons. Filling up the fissure, this study will go for the perusal issues embedded for the scrutiny of socio-economic status of squatters.

2.2.5   The Notion of Status

Different scholars have defined the status of man and women in different ways. According to UNO, the status is apposition or ranking. Regarding the status of women it has been defined as *"conjugation of position a women occupies as a worker, student, wife, mother, etc. of the power and prestige attached to those positions and of the right and duties she is expected to exercise''*. To what extent do women as compared with men, have excess to knowledge, to economic resources and to political power and what degree of personal autonomy do these resources permit in the process of decision making and choice at crucial point in the life cycle is vital. However, in the case of Samintara, there are some difficulties in recognizing and measuring the status of women as assessment is not possible by a single measure and the term status is not static or rigid concept but it changes in different position.

2.2.6   Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is the basis of foundation upon which the study is established. It is within the framework of Economic Sociology based on the tenants of Marxist perspective the entire study has been embedded with and guided. Since the general purpose of research is to trace the status of squatters problems and questions, it is important that the theoretical framework be carefully used embedded with the research objectives. This study is an exploration of the socio-economic status of squatter community therefore and it is guided by the notion of economic sociology based on Marxist perspective. That is why; the theoretical framework was designed and linked on with the Marxist theory. His theory mainly depends upon the social, economic condition, conflict and emphasizes on material life of people. Therefore, his perspective is in the approach of society and approach of economy. In the approach of

society, the people are socially backward and neglected, moves from original place and become squatters. It is justified by religion, caste, family structure, system, relationship, education, health etc. People who are living in their own society as low grade owing to low caste, diverse religion, illiteracy etc. depart from society and become squatter with diverse tribulations.

In approach of economy, by the commandment all people are equal but in practice that is just opposite, large number of people are deprived of using basic facilities and needs of human life. It can be shown by class conflict, production, poverty, landlessness, labor division and so on. The problem of rich and poor is the major existing problem of Nepali society. Society is classified into parts by property and there starts conflict between them. Poor are always dominated, hard labors are low paid, deprived of enough resources and are forced to leave their society and to remain as squatter and thus struggling for the whole life.
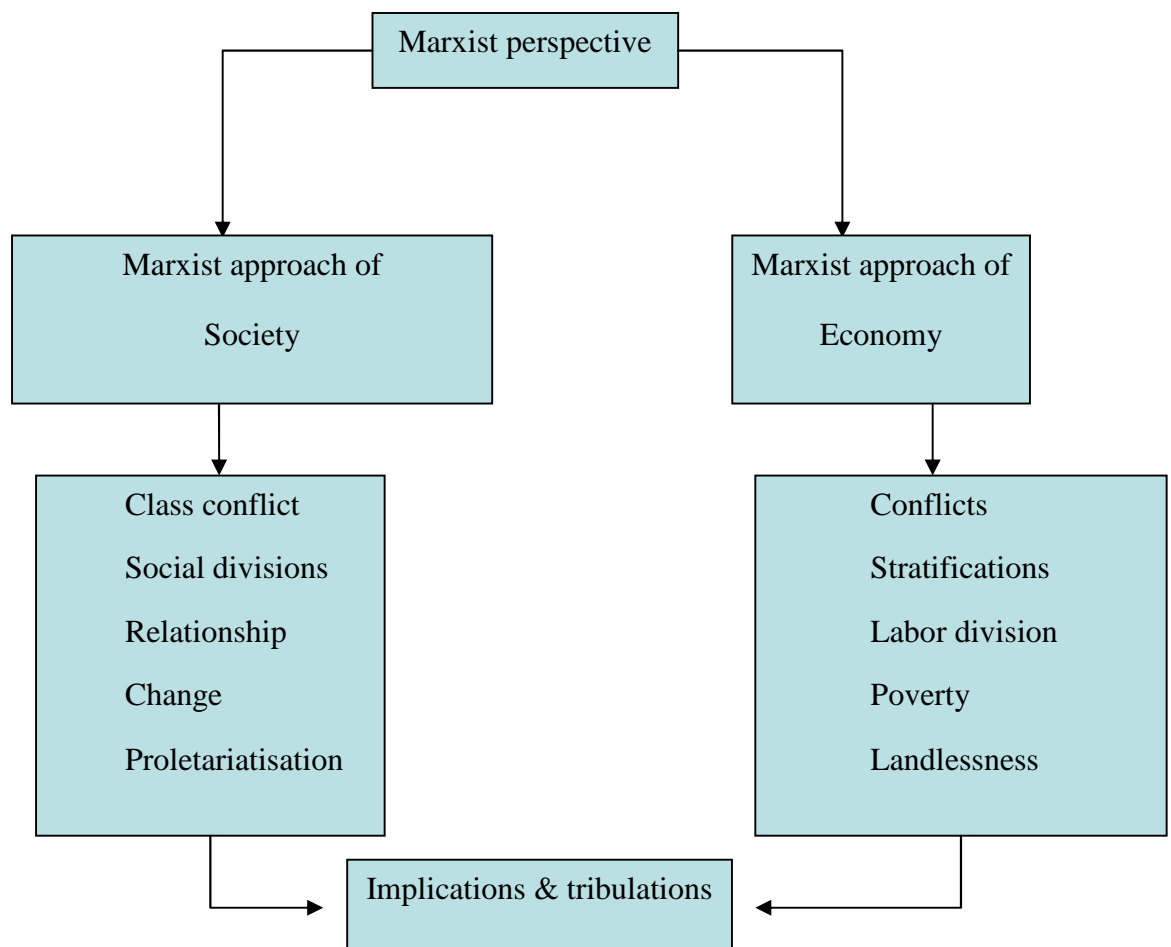
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┌─────────────────────────┐               ┌─────────────────────────┐
│   Marxist approach of   │               │   Marxist approach of   │
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│   Class conflict        │               │   Conflicts             │
│   Social divisions      │               │   Stratifications       │
│   Relationship          │               │   Labor division        │
│   Change                │               │   Poverty               │
│   Proletariatisation    │               │   Landlessness          │
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Figure 2.1 Theoretical Framework

2.2.7 Conceptual Framework

Squatters are those unfortunate homeless people who built unplanned settlement on public properties. Therefore, they are being always different socially, economically and politically and have low economy and low social status. Socio-economic condition plays major role to designate their real status. Social indicators and economic indicators of development determine socio economic status of the people. The social indicators includes culture, tradition, religion, norms, values, festivals, behaviors, education, health, caste and so on. Nevertheless, people do not get proper status in society. They are categorized as low category in terms of caste, culture, gender etc as in the case of squatters.

In addition, economic indicators are occupation, employment, landholding, income, agriculture, shelter etc. Squatters are unable to enjoy such type of facilities as they have low paid job, lack of enough food, and no proper housing and so on — in general lacking basic needs of human life. In fact as they have neither high economy nor higher social status this makes low the socio economic status, which forces them to remain as squatter forever consequently preparing the ground to face all sorts of tribulations and discrimination owing to this *vicious cycle* of socio-economic discriminations.
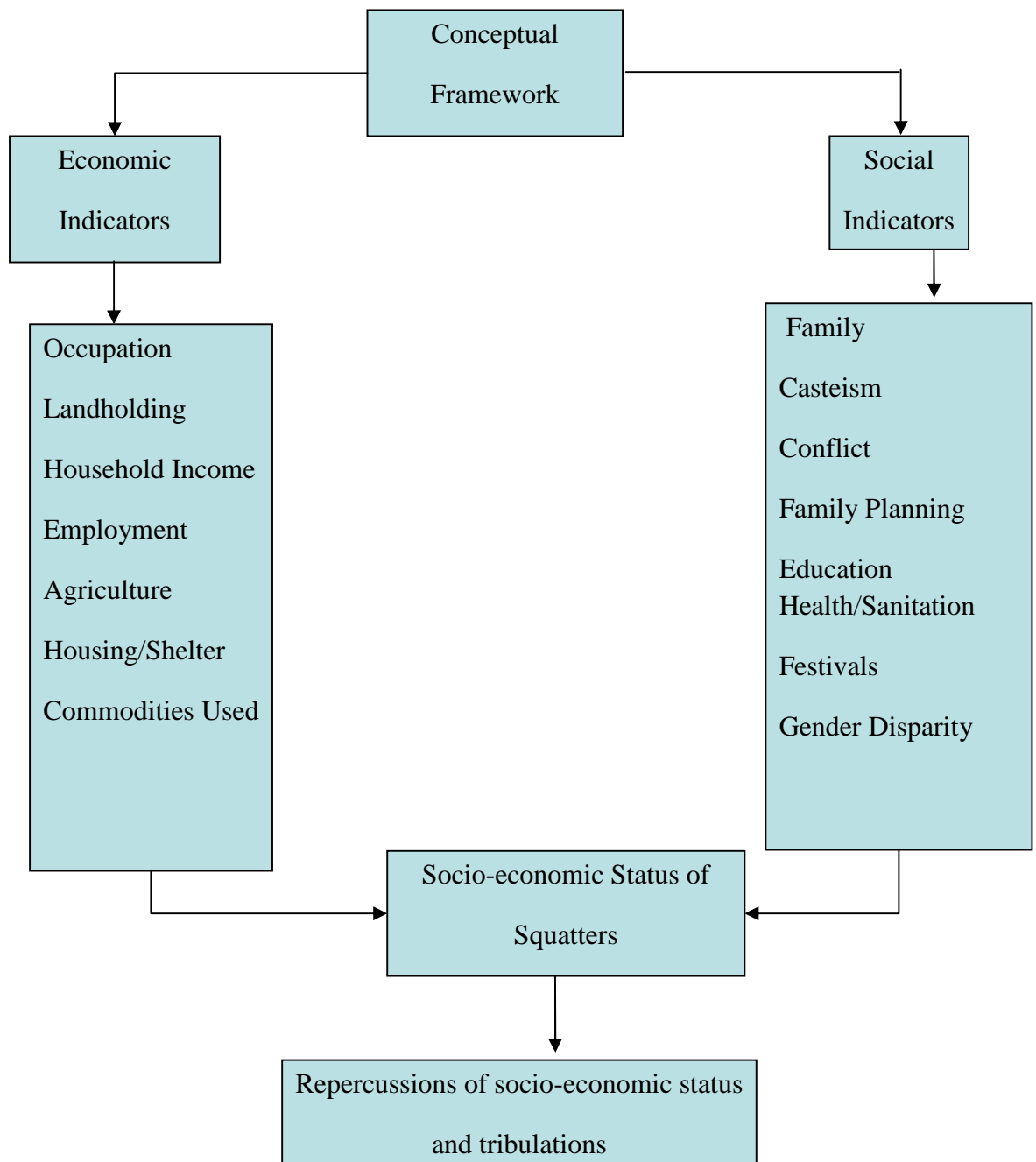
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                        │  Conceptual  │
                        │  Framework   │
                        └──────────────┘
            ┌───────────────┘      └───────────────┐
    ┌──────────────┐                        ┌──────────────┐
    │   Economic   │                        │    Social    │
    │  Indicators  │                        │  Indicators  │
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Economic Indicators	Social Indicators
Occupation	Family
Landholding	Casteism
Household Income	Conflict
Employment	Family Planning
Agriculture	Education Health/Sanitation
Housing/Shelter	Festivals
Commodities Used	Gender Disparity

Socio-economic Status of Squatters

Repercussions of socio-economic status and tribulations

Figure 2.2 Conceptual Framework

2.3   Empirical Studies on Squatters

Giri, (2004) in his article 'Causes and problems of squatters' has focused his study on causes and problems of squatters and he succeeded to find out their socio economic condition. Population growth and degrading environmental conditions were found as push factors and causes of squattering process and greater opportunities for job and emerging living facilities of Damauli municipality worked as pull factors for squatter's settlement at the study site. He has made descriptive research design based on field work, secondary data collection and sampling survey and conclude that health, educational, irregular low income problems even exist although they get some facilities now a days.

Subba (2060) in her article *Education and Children of Squatters Areas of Kathmandu district* has focused on children education of Banshighat and Jagriti Tole. She stated that the children could not get education and had to support their parents for household work due to poor economic condition. Some people living in squatters are well off than others. These parents are sending their children in a private school and have a good earning. She finds another important point that the parents are seen very much interested to send their children to school, especially mother; they are concerned about their children' education. However, some parents are aware to send their children to school unless they have economic problems. Hence, she analyzed with field study and secondary data that NGO's, mass media etc. are making people aware for their children education but economic condition becomes great obstacle.

Ghimire, (2003) in his case study 'Socio Economic Study of Squatter Community of Shankhamul, Buddhanagar, Katmandu -10,) has also focused on poor economic condition and backward social status. He observed squatter area and concluded that squatter community is competitively lower class community and have measurable condition of children. He tried to show the different religion caste, language culture, and classes among squatter community. He also shows that the squatters are in socially and economically backward condition. He has applied the fieldwork method in his case study. The present study on the squatters area in Samintara is also based on fieldwork method, thus study by Ghimire will provide guidelines to the current study. Tripathi, in his case study 'Socio economic condition of landless people in Nepal, (2000)' studied about landless people socio-economic conditions. He argues that Nepalese economy is associated with land because they do not have production except

their bare hands and their crude and unskilled labor. Thus, they are extremely exploited economically as well as socially and politically. They are forced to sell their labor in low price either in farm sectors or off farm sectors. His field study is based on Chitwan district where the problem of landless exists. His study concludes that illiterate, unskilled, poor landless people live measurable life temporary shelter.

Adhikari (2007), in his thesis "Childcare and Socialization among the Squatters of Peepaldali Village of Sarangkot V.D.C.-9 Kaski" discussed about squatters of Sarangkot. He applied field study method in his dissertation, and tried to show the condition of squatter's people and children. He described by squatters and portrayed the children's plight of squatters. In his dissertation, he defined different types of people and different children setting in the common place of *sukumbasi* residence who are carrying different habits and cultures. He explains about mixed culture in squatter settlement and hence squatter society is different from the any other society. He also described about socio economic condition and it affects in squatter community in the matters of food, shelter, cloth, health and education. Parent's behavior and community environment play great role for growing children.

 KC, et al (1992), in their published article *'A study of squatter settlements in Pokhara town,'* has focused that the number of squatters were increasing day by day in Pokhara but they have poor housing condition and were fighting for their livelihood. They were mostly employed in different informal activities. Maximum numbers of squatters were working as laborers in constructions, industrial and agricultural sector. They apply field survey method in their article. At that time, there were 427 squatter households and 2060 squatters in Pokhara. In terms of education, 39.7 percent of squatters were literate and female literacy ratio was less than male.

According to an article from Katmandu post December 15, 2004, following the establishment of National Urban Poor Support Fund at the initiative of Katmandu Metropolitan City, the squatters in and around the riverbanks in the valley are to be moved elsewhere within the next two years. However, the slum dwellers do not wish to be moved. The fund with a budget of Rs. 200.6 million in its account will seek to provide loans to landless squatters for building houses, sanitation purposes, drinking water and other basic needs. However, slum dwellers are of the belief that the money can be better spent in improving their living conditions in their present surroundings.

In the slums of Shankhamul at Buddhanagar, residents want to be provided with property rights on the lands that they occupy. Around 105 families, totaling a population of 600, reside in the area, with some families living here for the last thirty years. This sort of information on squatters of Kathmandu discuses about the squatters problems and their scramble for rights as well as scrambling for the fulfillment of basic needs, however in all these works very less perusal of the socio-economic status as well tribulations embedded with squatters life has been made. Thus given these lacunas, the current study on the squatters of Samintara will try to fill up the gap by scrutinizing socio-economic status and consequent tribulations.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study is focused on the socio-economic status of the squatters of Samintara settlement of Pokhara. The study has been designed to obtain information on their socio-economic study thus; the study employed a broad framework to achieve the objectives. As the research passes through various stages before reaching its destination it is imperative to adopt a balanced and scientific methodology for conducting a research study. In the current study, research methods and materials means all the techniques and strategies adopted for the conduction of research study.

3.1   Selection of Study Area

This study is conducted in Pokhara city of Kaski district where most of the squatters are settled in the urban fringe. There are altogether 41 different squatter areas in the vicinity of Pokhara. Only one settlement area is selected for the study, which is **Samintara** Basti, located in ward no 18 and 14, Pokhara. This area is located on the bank of Seti River and is near the Landfill site of Pokhara. This area lies in the border of Ward No.14 and Ward no 18 of Pokhara. There are total 50 households in this settlement occupying about 44 ropanies of area.   This region and settlement has been selected due to following reasons:

a)   This community represents diverse characteristics (socio-economic, cultural etc) due to the combination of variety of castes/ethnicities from different places in this settlement.

b)   This area has recently seen mass migration and settlement of outsiders especially the poor.

c)   This community is easily accessible and it has a settlement therefore it is easy to collect information from the concerned.

3.2   Research Design

A Research Design is a plan of the proposed research work. It is a planned sequence of the process involved in carrying out a research study. A research model or design represents a compromise dictated by mainly Practical Considerations. Research

design is a research plan providing guidelines to researcher to get answers of the research questions and help to control experimental, extraneous and error variances of a particular research problem (Kerlinger, 1986). According to Kerlinger (1986), research design is the plan, structure, and strategy of investigation conceived to obtain answers to research questions and to control variance. It is the overall scheme or program of the research. It includes an outline of what the investigator will do with operational implications to the final analysis of data. This study has espoused both *exploratory as well as descriptive* research design. This study is exploratory because it attempts to explore the influential pushing/pulling factors that encourage the squatters to migrate to the study area and the consequent tribulations. It is also descriptive because it has attempted to describe the socio-economic and educational characteristics of the squatters at the destination. For the purpose of this study, no hypothesis has been formulated. The methods or modes of Research Design are surveys, observation, questionnaire, schedule, interviews etc.

3.3   Sampling Census

In the current study, the population to be studied has been first identified and a sampling frame developed. The area of this study comprised of 50 households of *Samintara* squatter community. There are all together 50 households in Samintara settlements. Of the total 50 households, all total 50 households have been selected as the universe of the sample. The sampling method has been designed and determined by **census** method. This population is appropriate for this study because the sample universe represents 100 percent households of the squatter's settlement-------50 respondents from 50 households of Samintara Basti.

3.4   Units of Analysis

Units of analysis have been made at two levels -- *the group and individual* member level. By group, we mean household level and individual level means person (members) level.

3.5   Nature of Sources of Data Collection.

Primary as well as secondary data has been used in this study. Secondary data were collected by adopting various secondary means. Beyond other means, it was collected from previous studies, published and other unpublished documents from related

literatures. Secondary information was helpful in checking the validity and reliability of empirical filed data. As per the need of the study, more primary and some secondary data have been collected but priorities have been given to the selection of primary data, which are both qualitative as well as quantitative. Primary data have been collected by employing various techniques. Primary data or the first hand data were collected via the field study adopting various participatory means viz. interview, observation, questionnaire, schedule, survey etc. The nature of data is qualitative and quantitative. This study depends on thus both primary and secondary data.

3.5.1   Primary Data

The primary data is such data, which are collected directly from the field with out taking reference from already prepared data. They are collected by observation, interview, schedules, survey etc. The primary data have been collected during the fieldwork with the help of interview schedule and the interview with key informants.

3.5.2   Secondary Data

Secondary data have been gathered from different sources: municipality reports, ward profiles, other available sources, book literature, and journals.

3.6   Data Collection Techniques

The methods adopted in the study to generate relevant data were guided by research objectives, questions and the type of data required for the study. Following techniques were adopted to collect primary data viz.

3.6.1   Household Survey

In the first phase of the fieldwork, household survey was conducted. It helped in rapport building. In order to form census survey, all total 50 sampled households of the squatters of Samintara were enlisted. Household survey helped in collecting the social, cultural, religious and economic status of each household. The economic status was determined on the basis of economic indicators of development and the social status was determined on the basis of social indicators.

3.6.2   Observation

Observation has three components, namely, impression, attention, and perception and it is one of the important methods of data collection. For this study, direct **participant**

observations overt method was used to collect relevant data. Participant Observation included, establishing rapport with the people, and direct collection of primary data's from the field. Personal Observation is crucial for the immediate study of the events. In this study, personal observations were made in the field with certain behaviors and different aspects of squatter's life i.e. physical fitness, health status, behavioral condition, social relationship etc. At the same time indirect non- participant method were used for the collection of requisite data.

3.6.3 Interview

Interview is fundamentally a process of social interaction and it is one of the prime methods for data collection. This is the flexible and loosely structured format with questions. In this study interview method was espoused for collecting first hand data. Interview schedule was prepared based on the objectives of the research study containing both **closed** as well as **open-ended** questions. Both structured and unstructured interviews were espoused. Individual and group interviews were conducted for interviewing sampled household heads of the squatters. Sets of questions for interviews were prepared to obtain quantitative data on personal history of the respondents that dealt with their socio-economic status and education. Interviews were conducted with leaders of the squatter's settlements. It has been helpful in collecting other unofficial information too.

Six key informants were selected for key informant interviews and for this trusted and the old inhabitants of Samintara were selected.

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

The quality of any research work depends upon the techniques used for the analysis and presentation of data. In this study, data has been analyzed both quantitatively as well as qualitatively. The software SPSS program has been espoused in this study. Simple statistical techniques are also applied for analyzing data such as percentage rank, average, figures, charts, diagram etc. Data's collected through various means, methods and sources by using various data collection instruments has been presented in suitable tables coinciding with the objectives of the study. Qualitative and quantitative data's were analyzed, categorized, and tabulated according to the objectives of the research study.

CHAPTER FOUR
AN OUTLINE OF THE STUDY AREA

Nepal with its preserved glory of being independent and sovereign throughout history is in transition. However, the country is not free of troubles, which are evident from recent uprisings and demand of all groups for *representation with identity* in all spheres of the nation. Surrounded by the giant communist China to the north and democratic India to the east, west and south, Nepal's identity and status has remained as poor country with multifaceted problems. The problem of squatters is also one of the burning problems of the nation. An agricultural country with major section of population dependent on agriculture, prevailing unemployment, and semi feudalistic social structure has prepared the ground for all sorts of migration for a better life in Nepal. The long established totalitarian governments and feudalistic nature of governance also helped in the maintenance of semi-feudalism even to these days owing to which the condition of the backward vulnerable groups never improved in this country. The growing number of squatter areas around the hinterland of urban centers which itself lack settlements infrastructure, is an issue of great concern. Samintara squatter area is also facing different problems.

In a break from works, which considered communities a hindrance to progressive social change, the present study holds back the role of community in bringing about transference, meaningful development through people. It seeks to redress past bungle by investigating *"community"* in work by exploring the intangible might and role of the community, and the ways it is creating influence on squatter's life. This study ponders on squatter communities' social and economic status regarded important for the overall study, analysis of squatters of Samintara. An outline of the study area Samintara is as follows:

4.1 Location and Extent

A petite and beautiful country, Nepal, is like a Yam between two strong and big countries. It has been divided into 14 zones and seventy-five districts. Kaski is one of the developed district and the tourism areas recognized as 27th beautiful place in the world. Pokhara is in Kaski District, Gandaki zone and sitting on the floor of the Machhapuchhere and swimming on Fewa Lake. From administrative point of view,

Pokhara is the headquarters of Kaski district, Gandaki zone and the whole western development region.
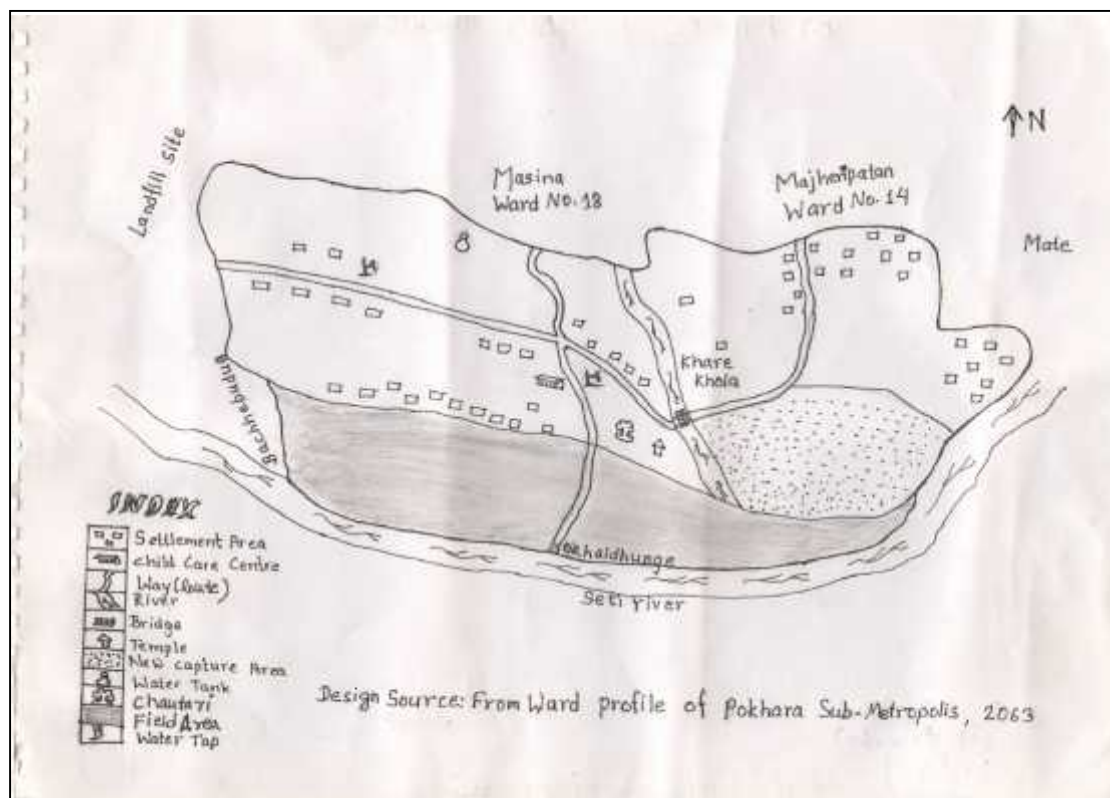
Figure 4.1 Map of Pokhara

According to the profile of Pokhara sub- metropolis (2063 B.S), there are 41 squatter settlements in Pokhara, which have 2254 households occupying 419.325 ropanies of land area. However, according to Bhandari (2063 B.S), there are altogether 53 settlements of squatters in Pokhara with total 3095 households (*Annex III*). The study area Samintara settlement is among one of them, which is located in ward no. 14 and

18 of Pokhara. This study is based on squatter settlements in Samintara, which is situated in ward no 14 and 18 of Pokhara sub metropolitan city. This area lies in the bank of Seti River. It flows north to south. *Bachhedubuwa* area and landfill site lies in the North West part of the study area. It also lies in the south of the Hotel Management College of Pokhara and in its eastern part lies Himalayan golf course and Gorkha village Resort of Pokhara. There are total 50 households in this settlement. All 50 households of Samintara are under the parasol of study.

Figure 4.2 Sketch Map of Samintara

4.2   Site in Historical Perspective

The study area is situated in ward no 14 and 18 of Pokhara sub metropolitan city. With the growing rate of urbanization and internal migration from rural areas to urban, there has been the rapid and fast growth of squatter's settlements. The growth of squatter settlements in Pokhara has taken place within last 35 years (KC et al, 1992). From the field study in *Samintara*, it is deduced that the study area is not so old area but it started from 2044 B.S. Settlements started here 20 years back. At first, a Tamang family started to live in that area 20 years back. According to respondents

of the Tamang family, there was no any other household in that area at that time. Therefore, there was no hustle and bustle at that time. At night, the early settler's life was very lonely, was very frightening and the family was always afraid at that time. Therefore, the family approved their relatives to migrate in that place in 2045 B.S. Later on, other families also slowly arrived there. This settlement is located on to the way of *Okhaldhunge* (the place where the dead body is destroyed by fire). The name of the settlement was *Sainataro*, later it was modified and changed into **Samintara**, and now the name of that area is Samintara squatter's settlement. The table 4.1 presents the migratory history and trend of this settlement.

Table 4.1 Migratory Trends of Squatters in Different Period of History

Year	Frequency	Percent
2044	1	2.0
2045	1	2.0
2046	2	4.0
2051	1	2.0
2052	12	24.0
2053	1	2.0
2054	4	8.0
2055	1	2.0
2056	6	12.0
2057	3	6.0
2058	7	14.0
2059	1	2.0
2060	2	4.0
2061	1	2.0
2064	7	14.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

From the above table, the trend of squatters in different period is clear. In 2044 and 2045 B.S. 1/1, family came here. In 2046, two families came and settled here. In 2052, twelve families migrated here. In 2056, six families shifted here and in 2058 seven families started to live in this area. If we analyze the whole households in Samintara, we can deduce that many squatter households lived here from 2064 B.S.

36

only. Moreover, another 42 households started living here between 2044 to 2061 B.S. Among the selected 50 households, all of these families did not come here at the same time. They came there between 2044 to 2064 BS. Consequently, we can say that the squatters did not settle in Samintara at a fixed time and from same origin. Some land was barren therefore, people who need land slightly moved in that area. Some people captured school's land in that settlement. Some huts were made in 2064 B.S. in that area but people do not live as they live outside but they claim the huts to be their own.

4.2.1 Origin of Squatters

The origin is that place which is the original place of migrated people. The squatter settlement is the form of migrated people. The migrated people did not gathered from same place and origin. Therefore, the study of the original place of migrated people is vital to be scrutinized. The origin of squatter is from different places. Some are from Pokhara valley and some are from out of Pokhara valley or other districts, zones etc. The origin of squatters' people is shown in the table below.

Table 4.2 Number of Squatters by Place of Origin

Origin	Frequency	Percent
Chitwan	2	4.0
Gorkha	2	4.0
Kaski	30	60.0
Kathmandu	1	2.0
Lamjung	6	12.0
Syangja	3	6.0
Tanahun	4	8.0
Udayapur	2	4.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

It is clear from the above table that the people gathered from different places in Samintara. Many households are from Kaski district with altogether 30 households making 60 percent. The second large number of households are from Lamjung which has 6 (12 percent) and from other districts are having 14(28 percent) households. Other included districts are Chitwan (4 percent), Gorkha (4 percent), Kathmandu (2 percent), Syangja (6 percent), Tanahun (8 percent) and Udayapur (4 percent). We can

define from the statistics that the people from different origin migrated to this settlement from different places and different time. In veracity, squatters are economically poor and landless people and such types of people are found in all places of Nepal therefore we can articulate that the squatter migrated from different places and settled here. Comparatively the origin of squatters is in rural areas than city area. Some squatters migrated to this area searching for work and job and later they settled in this area. Some people moved here by the cause of landslide and flooding. Therefore, the origin of squatter is from different places having diverse causes for moving to this place.

4.3   Socio-Cultural Organization and Institutions

Different socio-cultural institutions play influential role in shaping the social destiny of the people (Abrams, 2003). No doubt, Nepalese culture is diverse, reflecting different ethnic origins of the people; however, the role of diverse socio-cultural organization and institutions in shaping the life style has been less comprehended in the present. Nepal is particularly rich in cultural diversity; they celebrate many festivals, well known for their music and dance. Likewise, there exists different socio-cultural organization and institutions of different sorts in the present backing the festival and specific identities of the people. In the settlement of Samintara there are many types of organizations and institutions such as childcare center, temple, *ama samuha*, *Tole sudhar samiti* etc. These organizations and institutions are helpful in socio-cultural enhancement of society. In the study area of Samintara, there is one shrine and one childcare center. There are no other organization and institution beyond these. The help of Gonesa (NGO) in the study area has helped in constructing one water tank, which is proving supportive for all the people.

4.4   Social and Cultural Structure

Social structure is a term frequently used in Sociology and Social theory --yet rarely defined or clearly conceptualized (Abercrombie, et al., 2000; Jary and Jary 1991). In a general sense, the term can refer to:

)   entities or groups in definite relation to each other,

)   relatively enduring patterns of behavior and relationship within a society, or

)   social institutions and norms becoming embedded into social systems in such a way that they shape the behavior of actors within those social systems.

38

Social structure may be seen to underlay important social systems including the economic system, legal system, political system, cultural system, and others. Family, religion, law, economy and class are all social structures. The social system is the parent system of those various systems that are embedded in the social structure which influences the peoples lifestyle in general (Giddens,2001). In Nepal, owing to the migration of a significant section of the population to the urban areas in recent years, there is occurring a drastic change in the social structure of the urban settlements. However, the squatter's settlements areas as **Samintara** is still far from the fruits of structural changes owing to which there remains the possibilities of conflicts of all sorts in future. Embedded to conflicts, Marxist perspective question *"functionalists tendency"* to attribute equal force to all elements in the social system, and the 'Structuralists' claims that social life was driven by the structure of people's thought rather than the practical outcome of their actions (Upadhyay, 2008). Marxist perspective holds the notion that the quintessence of people's lives is the process of production since for Marx, human life involves before anything else eating and drinking, a habitation, clothing, and many other material things. To meet these necessities of life, production is necessary, but as production Satisfies one set of needs, new needs arise and encourage alterations in the ways that productive activity is organized. The elaboration of productive activity creates a division of labor, which, in the end, is alienating because it increasingly deprives human of their capacity to determine their productive activities and supports the elites. People vigorously restructure the material conditions of their existence and in the process crisis occurs in the course of demand for more social, economic, political, ethnic and other rights on the part of commoners as of the squatter of Samintara who are scrambling for rights and basic needs amidst diverse social and cultural structure.

4.4.1 Caste/ethnicity Composition

According to Dictionary of Sociology (Scott, 1999), a closed social stratum based on heredity that determiner its members' prestige, occupation, place of residence, and social relationships. The castes of a society form a hierarchy of superior subordinate ranks and relationships that is justified by religion, law and magic. Each caste is endogamous, and social relations between members of different castes are severely

limited and formalized. Some prefer to restrict the term to refer only to the traditional system of stratification in India. In Nepal, disparities are also closely linked to the Hindu caste system that divides the population into dozens of hereditary groups. At the top of the social order are members of the Brahmin class of priests and scholars, followed by the Kshatriya (rulers and warriors), the Vaishya (merchants), and the Sudra (peasants and manual laborers). The lowest position in the social order is occupied by the Dalits, also referred to as *"untouchables."* For example, Dalits may not enter temples or fetch water from wells that are also used by members of higher castes. Although caste-based discrimination was outlawed in Nepal in 1963 A.D. it is still prevalent in Nepali society and in Samintara too.

The 2001 Census in Nepal identified 103 social groups based on caste, ethnicity, religion, and language. Caste groups accounted for 57.5 percent of the population, Janajatis for 37.2 percent, religious minorities for 4.3 percent, and other groups for the remaining 1 percent. These large numbers of social groups makes it difficult to analyze patterns of exclusion and the diversities in the matters of caste/ethnicity composition. In the context of Samintara, people of different origin, caste, and ethnicity make up the present squatters settlements. The hierarchical caste system persists though the constitution grants equal opportunities and rights to all citizens regardless of their ethnic background. Values and beliefs of one cultural group are different from those of the others. Population composition by caste/ethnic of the Samintara settlement has been presented in table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Caste and Ethnicity

Caste	Households	Percent
Brahmin	4	8.0
Chhetri	5	10.0
Dalits	31	62.0
Indigeneous	10	20.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

Of the 50 sampled households, the ethic composition is shown in the table. The table shows that the 4 (8 percent) households of squatters are Brahmins in that area, the numbers of households of Chhetry are 5 (10 percent), Dalits have 31(62 percent) households and indigenous caste and ethnicity have 10 (20 percent) households. The indigenous ethnicities are Tamang, Gurung, Magar, etc. Table 4.3 shows that high number of Dalits live in this settlement and lower number of Brahmins live there. This result shows that the settlements of Dalits are very high; therefore, more Dalits people are squatters.

4.4.2   Religion and Lingua Franca (language)

4.4.2.1 Religion

William P. Scott (1999) defined religion in Dictionary of Sociology *as a system of beliefs, practices, and philosophical values concerned with the definition of the sacred, the comprehension of life, and salvation from the problems of human existence*. Religion is essentially an institutionalized or traditional path to salvation. All men in all societies ultimately must face life's problems essentially alone, despite all efforts of others to help. Religious traditions are the result of man's attempt to capture and enshrine his philosophical and spiritual insights so that they are available to the individual as he faces life and its stresses, confusions, and complexities.

Religion is a social phenomenon (as well as a psychological one) because it necessarily stresses fellowship in the development, teaching, and perpetuation of religious insight and knowledge. It is concerned with the common plight of all people at all times, regardless of age, sex, or status within society. The concept of the supernatural path of salvation bind man to the dictates of limited contemporary social values and social groups, or it may serve to provide the wisdom and techniques by which man may free himself from contemporary groups and values- it may give him periodic freedom to achieve values transcend the demands of the social present. Thus, religion is both intensely personal and intensely social (Scott, 1999). Religious composition is one of the important social characteristics of population. Significant economic, social and cultural differences are associated with the major religious groups of the country, which is important because it often determines the national loyalty, ethic of certain groups and also plays and important part in making decision. The religious composition of Samintara is shown in table 4.4.

Table 4.4 clarifies that the Hinduism is the major religion of the squatter settlements. There are 44 households or 88 percent households following Hindu religion. In addition, the number of 3 households or 6 percent populations are following Christian religion and 3 households or 6 percent of population are following Buddhist religion in the study area. According to the statistics, the major religion of that area is Hinduism and other religious people also live in this settlement. However, the number of people following other religion is lower than Hinduism. The figure 4.1 illustrates this tendency in an explicit way.
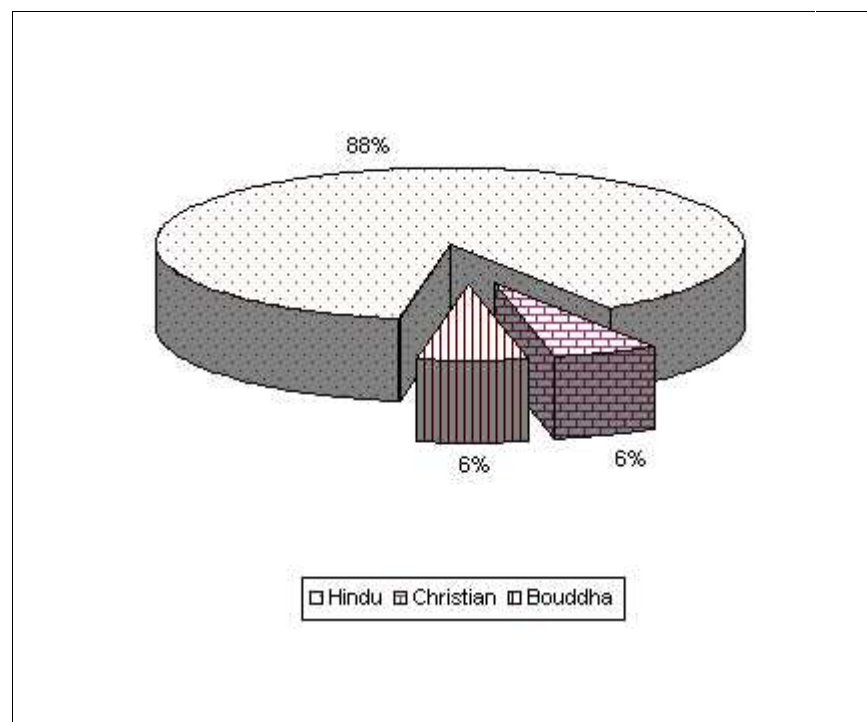
Source: Field Survey, 2008

Figure 4.3 Composition of Religion

4.4.2.2. Language

A universal form of human behavior involving symbolic communication through a culturally accepted system of sound patterns cultural heritage. In language arbitrary sounds are formed into cultural symbols capable of communicating ideas, desires, meanings, experiences, and traditions from one generation to another, language is a social product. Each individual in the culture develops language through prolonged interaction with members who are already socialized, and language represents the

accumulated and current experiences, feelings, and meanings that can be communicated and stabilized within the culture. Language is essential to human perception, thinking, awareness of self, awareness of self, awareness of others, and to the existence of the social community itself. (Scott, 1999)

Even though Nepali written in Devanagari script is the national language and is mentioned as the mother tongue by approximately 58 percent of the population, there are several other languages and dialects. Other languages included Maithili, Bhojpuri, Tharu, Tamang, Newari ,etc. Non-Nepali languages and dialects rarely are spoken outside their ethnic enclaves. In order to estimate the numerical distribution of different ethnic groups, the census data indicating various mother tongues spoken in the country must be used. (*http://countrystudies.Caste and Ethnicity*) In the study area of Samintara, Nepali language is prime one or the *lingua franca*. Only few people used their own languages or the mother tongue. Only few households in that settlement used the Gurung and Tamang languages. The distribution by language is shown in the table below.

Table 4.4 Distribution by Language

Languages	Households	Percentage
Nepali	44	88.0
Tamang	3	6.0
Gurung	2	4.0
Magar	1	2.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

The above table makes it clear that some ethnic group people are living in the study area. However the maximum number of people used the Nepali language, and few people speak their native language. Among 50 household, 44(88 percent) people used Nepali language and only 3(6 percent) people speak Tamang language. 2 (4 percent) people speak Gurung language and 1 (2 percent) Magar language. We found from this data that majority of the people used the Nepali language. Some ethnic groups have their own language as mother tongue but they used Nepali language in their day-to-day life. Thus, it is deduced that only few people used their own mother tongues.

4.5   Demographic Structure

According to the Dictionary of Sociology by Scott (1999), demography is the study of population size, composition, and distribution, and the patterns of change therein. The narrowest conception of demography views it as the study of vital statistics (the study of birth and death rates and related statistics). However, as vital statistics are analyzed and interpreted, demography develops into social demography or population studies. In the broadest view population composition and distribution include not only such variables as fertility mortality, age and sex but also marriage divorce, family size, race, education, illiteracy, unemployment, distribution of wealth, occupational distribution, crime rates, density of population, migration, etc. While some demographers consider demography multidisciplinary, bordering on Sociology, biology, and economics, most demographers and other sociologists regard it as a division of Sociology and the majority of demographers are sociologists by profession. The distribution of a given population by sex, age, marital status, and any other relevant categories (such as race, socioeconomic status, religion) is the demographic structure, which is very vital for tracing socio-economic status of the people.

4.5.1   Age Composition

According to Oxford Dictionary (1999), the age is the length of time that a person has lived or a thing has existed. An age role is simply the set of expectations associated with a particular age status. An age status is a social position to which one is assigned on the basis of age. That is, one occupies age status when one's duties, activities, resources, and rewards are largely determined by one's age. Age status is ascribed rather than achieved and this veracity reserves special *purpose* in the study area of Samintara.

Out of the total population of selected area, in total 50 households, squatter's total number is 226. The male and female comprise of 107 and 119 respectively. For the sample size, only 50 people from 50 households have been selected, therefore the respondents are altogether 50. They are of different age, which is clearly shown in the table.

Table 4.5 Distribution of Respondents by Age Group

Age Group	Frequency	Percent
< 15 yrs	3	6.0
15-30	16	32.0
31-45 yrs	19	38.0
>45 yrs	12	24.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

From table 4.5, we come to know that there are different aged group of people in the study area. It is divided into four groups, the respondent under 15 years old is only 3 and their percentage is 6. Between 15 to 30 years respondents are 16 and percentage is 32. The respondents of age between 31 to 45 yrs are 19 and their percentage is 38, and the age above 45 yrs respondents are 12 and percentage is 24. From the above table, we deduced that people aged group below 15 has less number of respondents and aged between 31 and 45 are greater in number. The data is valid and reliable because the data source is genuinely collected from the respondents.

4.5.2 Sex/Gender Composition

The term *'sex' and 'gender'* in general thinking, means to be similar but these are quite different terms. 'Sex' refers to biological make up of an individual (which is fixed except in medical science) and established whether an individual is male or female where as' gender' refers to social psychological and cultural attributes associated with being 'male' or 'female' in specific society. Sex has biological characterization based on which a person may develop his/her gender identities. Thus, the notion of sex influences gender and vice- versa. However, it would be misleading to say that gender is totally constructed on biological characteristics of an individual. (Bhattarai, 2003)

Family, community, and society are made up of people from different gender. In addition, their status in society differs according to it. Gender sets up different kinds of duties and responsibilities for people of various age groups. The number of household respondents according to their sex/gender is given in the table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Sex/ Gender Structure of Households

Gender	Households	Percent
Male	22	44.0
Female	28	56.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

Table 4.6 shows that 50 respondents (both male and female) has been taken as sample from 50 households. The number of male is 22 (44 percent) and the number of female is 28 (56 percent) among 50 households of respondents. We traced that female respondents are more in number than male. Females stay in the house at daytime and male go for fieldwork or work outside. Therefore, at the time of research we met female respondents in majority. In fact majority of females are housewives and they take care their children at home. Beyond the sex/gender structure of sampled households, it is also very impetrative to have a perusal of the total population of the Samintara based on sex/gender.

Table 4.7 Population Based on Sex/Gender

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	107	47.35
Female	119	52.65
Total	**226**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

Table 4.7 clarifies that in 50 sampled households, there are 226 peoples altogether. Among them 107(47.35 percent) are males and 119 (52.65 percent) are females. Of this, the female's population exceeds male's population.

4.5.3 Marital Status of Respondents

A person's **marital status** describes their relationship with a significant other (Scott,1999). Some common statuses are:

  ∫   single (unmarried)

  ∫   married

⎰ separated

⎰ divorced

⎰ widowed

⎰ engaged

⎰ annulled

⎰ cohabitating

⎰ deceased

There prevails an assorted marital status in society. However, in this current study the marital status has been categorized into *married and unmarried* only. It means this study assumes that the *marital status* is that type of status in which people are married or are unmarried in family. The following table shows the marital status of respondent 50 households.

Table 4.8 Marital Status of Respondents

Marital status	Frequency	Percent
Married	46	92.0
Unmarried	4	8.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

The table 4.8 shows that among 50 respondents taken as sample, 46 (92 percent) are married people and 4 (8 percent) are unmarried people in this settlement. It shows that married respondents are more in number than unmarried. Married and unmarried household heads account has been revealed in the study.

CHAPTER FIVE
ANECDOTE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE SQUATTERS

This chapter deals with anecdote, that is, the story and history related to squatters and socio-economic status of the squatters of Samintara. Squatter's life is a tragedy in itself with innumerous problems and hindrances to face in day-to-day life. With the squatter's image creating social stigma and different sorts of barriers, which they are supposed to face in their daily life, squatter's life is not a bed of roses but full of thorns.

5.1   Anecdote and Raison D'être for Becoming Squatters

No one wants to be a squatter. The pull and push factors are the main causes of becoming squatter. The pull and push factors affect largely for becoming squatters. Pull factors refer to those factors, which encourage migration to a particular area. Employment, varieties of facilities for modern life etc, attract people to migrate to such areas. Thus that area, which fulfills most of these criteria, becomes a destination for squatters. The most important pull factors are education facilities, some facilities are found better here than rural area, and some people get some land in such area etc. (Sharma 2061). Sharma (2061) also describes about push factors, which refer to the poor economic conditions and the resultant economic misery or lack of opportunities, thus pushing people out of their place of origin in search of better opportunities for livelihood. Main push factors related to squatters from their land of origin are the followings: lack of education; lack of employment and opportunities; low productivity; lack of transportation facilities, lack of health etc.

In the context of the study area of Samintara, seeking for job and in course of education are pull factors and landslide and flooding are push factors. In addition, many other pull and push factors lead to the condition of becoming a squatter. In this study, the following reasons were found to be responsible for converting a normal person into a squatter. Table 5.1 has exposed the reasons behind the people coming to this region of Samintara:

Table 5.1 Reasons to Come to Samintara

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Seeking for job	22.0	44.0
In course of education	1.0	2.0
Landslide and flooding	16.0	32.0
Others	11.0	22.0
Total	**50.0**	**50.0**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

Table 5.1 shows that the squatter come to this area due to different reasons, the maximum number of squatters have come here seeking for jobs. They are 22 (44 percent) in number among 50 respondents. The second large numbers of squatters are 16 (32 percent) who came because of displacement due to landslide and flooding in their original habitat. One household was found to come here for in quest of education and 11(22 percent) households came here for other reasons. For example, some respondents had small area of land in their land of origin; therefore, they wanted to be squatter in urban area for their better livelihood. In broad-spectrum there are many facets and reasons for becoming squatters.

5.2 The Previous Occupation of Squatters

The people's previous occupation depends upon their previous status. Previous status makes it clear the reasons for becoming squatter in the present. Therefore, it is important to study for previous status of squatters. The previous occupation of squatters is shown in the following table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Previous Occupation of Households Head

Occupation	Households	Responses Percent
Agriculture	33	66.0
Service	1	2.0
Foreign job	3	6.0
Labor wages	13	26.0
Total	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2008

The above table clarifies that 66 percent people were engaged in agriculture as their previous occupation. In addition, 26 percent people were engaged in labor wages, 6 percent engaged in foreign jobs and 2 percent in service. It is clear that the maximum people were engaged in agriculture in the past but they did not had large and sufficient area of land so they had to do hardworking and even the production was low to meet their requirements. Likewise, the wage labor was also not satisfactorily to earn the bread for all members of the family. Therefore, they felt necessary to abandon their original place and to search for a new place to settle down. Consequently, the reasons for becoming squatter were the results of the lack of job opportunities, lack of high paid labor wages employment, modest quantity of land etc. However, after the migration to new areas in Samintara, there occurred a sharp deterioration in their socio-economic status.

5.3 Social Status of Squatters of Samintara

Status signifies position, rank or grading of both male and female. United Nations has defined the status in the context of peoples access to economic resources, knowledge and political power, as well as their personal autonomy in the process of decision making inside the home and outside in the society. Based on the notion of *status,* **Socio-economic** status is a system of stratification, a combination of various social and economic indexes of rank that are used in research studies. The term is often used to deal with stratification in a society without the need of the assumption that there are distinct social classes. Social characteristics (family background, education values, prestige of occupation, etc.) and economic status (income) are combined into SES (Socio-economic Status) rating. Age, gender, caste and ethnicity, religion, family background, educational status, marital status etc are social aspects and occupation, income, living standard etc are the economic aspects (Dictionary of Sociology, 1999). When status is analyzed in this light, the depiction is generally depressing in the context of women, as Nepal is a rigidly patriarchic and semi-feudalistic society. Here women's condition is gloomy in every aspect of life. Thousands of years old semi-feudalistic patriarchal agriculture based society has deteriorated the status of women owing to which women are subordinate to men virtually in every aspect of Nepalese life (Upadhyay, 2008).

It is not only women but also males are backward in all aspects of the society. To trace their status, it is vital to ponder on occupation, household income; types of houses, health and sanitation that are the economic aspects and health, sanitation, gender disparities, education as social aspects. The social aspects have been discussed underneath in specific. arxist perspective hold the notion that it is the economy which acts as the mirror that depicts the social status of an indidividual. In sociology and anthropology, *social status* is the honor or prestige attached to one's position in society (one's social position). The stratification system, which is the system of distributing rewards to the members of society, determines social status. Social status, the position or rank of a person or group within the stratification system, can be determined two ways. One can earn their social status by their own achievements, which is known as achieved status, or one can be placed in the stratification system by their inherited position, which is called ascribed status. (*n.wikipedia.org wiki/Social_status.2007*).

Likewise, social and cultural structures of the society are important themes in sociological and anthropological studies. They are very closely related to the issues of growth and development. Unless and until the cultural and social structures are not comprehended, it is not easy to solve any kind of problem or any kind of development-allied issues (Upadhyay, 2007). The society is a social web of social relationship, human behaviors and their consequences. Generally, society is a system where people live with their culture in a fixed geographical environment, along with a fixed social structure; social barriers and well-defined social relationships. The conception of culture is undeniably influential in shaping concepts and practices related to physical environment. Social and cultural phenomenon's have differing roles to play in this complex process and therefore must be researched separately. Culture shapes or determines people's use of surroundings. At the same time different components of culture, in different conditions and circumstances and at different time influences all behavior pattern. Human behavior is multipotential, at any point in the life cycle of individuals the number of possible responses to a given situation is in fact constrained by previous learning, standardized responses, and conventional values. Still, it is never possible to rule out the role and value of cultural and social structure in influencing behavior of squatters related to development and other activities. Likewise, the role of economy in shaping the destiny of squatters cannot be refuted.

Before the initiation of any kind of development programme it is prerequisite that local social and cultural structure, people's sentiments should be taken into proper consideration .As people are themselves sensitive subject of study, they are self conscious having individual personality, motives, emotions, sentiments, norms and values and because of this, they are self capable of choosing their own course of action or in deciding when to participate and how to participate in any kind of resource management activity and all these course of actions are to a great extent determined by the social and cultural structure. Cultural rituals such as *Shri Panchami, Maghe Sakranti* etc used to serve not only religious functions but also serve social and environmental functions not only in this study area of Samintara but in other areas also.

Thus, given the vitality of social and cultural structure and people's prime role in development it is important to comprehend the social and cultural structure of squatters of Samintara. The social and cultural structure of Samintara is found to be highly drenched in traditional Hindu norms and values as because of the fact that majority of the inhabitants of this region are Hindus owing to which gender concepts are very strict here. Although people residing here are following Buddhism also, but because of the close contact with the Hindus, they have either copied Hindu norms or values or are influenced by it. Owing to which their society and culture has been *Sanskritized* to some extent, which is reflected in their behaviors and in their efforts for participation in various activities, related to economic enhancement. In general, squatters migrated to Samintara in quest of searching work and job and later they settle here amidst problems of various sorts. Some are fortunate enough to have a good life however majority of squatters life used to be miserable owing to worst socio-economic conditions. For the perusal of social status of squatters, it is vital to have a perusal of the primary unit –that is the family, which to great extent is responsible for determining the social status of squatter households.

Social indicators covering a wide range of subject-matter fields are vital for creating their consequences on development. Measures to indicate social progress, *"social indicators,"* have been discussed at length in this current study, and the importance of economic indicators regarded undisputed. Likewise, empirical measures of cultural status in comparison also remain vital. This study attempted to trace how an integrated framework combining social and cultural indicators of development may be

applied to measure social status of the squatters of Samintara. In the context of **Samintara,** we can put down the social indicators as follows:

5.3.1 Family Size

Family size is the number of people living in the same home as the members of the same unit. This includes relatives and other optional household members. There are not equal numbers of family member in every household and the family size is different. The family size of study area of Samintara settlement is shown in the table below.

Table 5.3 Family Size

Family Size	Households Number	Family Number	Percent
1	1	1	0.44
2	3	6	2.65
3	4	12	5.31
4	21	84	37.17
5	7	35	15.49
6	11	66	29.20
7	2	14	6.19
8	1	8	3.55
Total	**50**	**226**	**100.00**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

According to the table, family sizes in study area vary sharply. The distribution of family members is one to eight members in the study area. Among 50 households, four-member family structure is common in many households. The 21(37.17 percent) families have four members family structure among 50 households. One household has only one member among the sampled 50 households of Samintara. 11 (29.20 percent) households have six members in the study area. Five member households are 7 (15.49 percent) in number. Moreover, one household has 8 members in that settlement. It is derived from the above table that there exists the high number of medium size family in Samintara with an average population of 4 members. More than 50 percent households have small family. Squatter's households are small in size and maximum number of houses have only one room. On the other hand, by the distribution of family members, the size of house is very small because they use one room for their every activities i.e. their kitchen, bedroom and store all is in a single

room. Therefore, their life style is very hard due to congested accommodation in small houses. This condition depicts the low social status of the squatters of Samintara.

5.3.2 Children and Elderly Population

According to Dictionary of Sociology (1999), the period of *human life cycle* from birth to adulthood and then to old age is vital and differs according to culture and society. The duration of childhood also varies from one culture to another. In some cultures childhood is considered to end at **puberty,** in others at marriage, in still others at some arbitrary age. In the United States, legal definitions usually place the end of childhood at 18 or 21 years of age. In the study area of Samintara, 109 children are under 18 years of age. In addition, the elderly populations are 117 in number in the study area, which is shown in the table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Composition by Age

Age	Number of People	Percent
0-18	109	48.23
18-45	98	43.36
45- Above	19	8.41
Total	**226**	**100.00**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

It is clear from the above table that the total 226 squatter people has been divided into different age groups. In the Nepalese context, there are different interpretations of any body called children or juvenile or teenager. Generally, age between 13 and 16 is called teenage. Under 18 years is known as late teenage in an indirect sense they are called *children or immature* in Nepali context. Hence, from the all total 226 population, there are 109 (48.23 percent) children or immature. The age between eighteen and forty-five are 98 (43.36 percent) in Samintara. People above the 45 years of age are 19 in numbers with a percentage of 8.41. It is traced from the table that population of children or minor is higher than elderly population. Likewise, the population ranging from 18-45 ages is lower than the number of children. In addition, above 45-aged population is lower among others. In conclusion, inactive *aged* population is not utmost in squatter area. However, the number of people who are

below 18 years of age are in majority. If we add this population of people below the age of 18 with the matured people above the age of 45, we can deduce that the number of inactive dependent population is prone to be high. This trend is prone to influence the socio-economic status of the squatters. Therefore, active population is lower in ratio than inactive population. It is to owing to the cause of illiteracy, many households have dependent children many of who are above the age of 16 and are going to school.

5.3.3 Implications of the Size of Family, Children and Elderly Population on Social Status and Gender

The table 5.1 and 5.2 clarifies the reason behind the gloomy condition of squatters. Largely their family size and dependent members are also responsible for their lower social status. To a great extent females are the victims of large family size, as they have to bear extra responsibilities. In Samintara, it is revealed that *'status'* is not similar everywhere and in all groups as women's relative status varies from one ethnic/caste group to another. The status of squatter women in Mongolian and Brahmin, Chhetry communities is relatively better than that of Dalits. Some squatter's households have a big family thus it is very difficult for these households to feed all members. At the same time, there is no regular occupational stability among these squatters. Although the constitution offers, man and women equal educational opportunities, many social, economic, and cultural factors contributed to lower level of educational attainment for squatters. They are trapped in a vicious circle imposed by the capitalist and patriarchic society.

The condition of women of Samintara is not good and is deteriorating at a rapid pace. They are to look after children as mother, to look after homes as homemakers and to look after the old people especially father and mother -in -laws as daughter- in -law (*Buhari*). Side by side, they are to bound to go and work outside to earn wages so that to support the family economically. Women in large size family have high burdens.

In spite of these burdens, women in Samintara are discriminated against and lag far behind in many areas, barring a few exceptions, mainly because of long-held social and cultural structure and attitude. In Samintara, where economic development has not benefited all, Modernization theory with emphasis on the market, or an economic-planning approach in which state intervention is thought to be needed to remove

obstacles hindering women's progress by bringing industrial revolution, has been futile.

Poverty-stricken and with an under-developed industrial and market base in squatters settlement has deteriorated the situation. Owing to this, questions are being raised about the viability of modernization approach to development and in upgrading the status of squatter women. At the level of the national government, there is a lack of explicit policy and programme formulation to reduce gender disparities; at the community level, social and religious norms and taboos continue to prevail and constrain the activities of women; and at the household level, there is often an overt discrimination against women in the squatter's settlement of Samintara. The consequence is that the status of women in Samintara remains low despite the rhetoric of *Loktantra* in urban pockets.

In urban areas where the so called '*modern*' society prevails, women suffer from social, cultural and political prejudices, and as heads of households they have to bear the full conventional roles with the added responsibility of household and production management. Among the squatters of Samintara, to some extent men have benefited from expanded educational and employment opportunities, however, women's relative status has probably been declining owing to the mounting population pressure viz. producing children, children nurture, responsibility of taking care of large family, searching for alternative economic opportunities etc. Here the nature of gender bias has been exacerbating through the extent of household poverty. The incidence of male violence and domination, resulting in psychological depression and dependency syndrome among women is growing high in squatter's areas in Samintara.

Marxist scholars have accepted Friedrich Engel's' argument that women's subordination is a consequence of the development of private property and capitalism and that a successful class struggle and the demise of the capitalist system are therefore required before gender inequities can be changed. Marxist thinkers have put their energies into the struggle against capitalism, rather than trying to attack patriarchy, which they argue is merely an outgrowth of the capitalist system (Upadhyay, 2008). Given this authenticity, in the context of the women of Samintara, it is deduced that under the yoke of patriarchy, womenfolk are to suffer and their

56

socio-economic status continues to deteriorate amidst the rhetoric of their progress and advancements.

However, under the norms of Hinduism, women are regarded as *goddess or a source of power*, the irony of having *powerful goddesses and disempowered squatter women* of Samintara suggests that a closer look is needed at the religious, cultural and legal framework of Nepalese society. The framework of rights is provided by national policies relating to such matters as the right to property, divorce and marriage. However, in Samintara it is traced that , in practice despite legal freedom, women remain vulnerable and dependent on men, with identities largely derived from the roles they play in relation to men—wife/mother/daughter. Men are caretakers, protectors and masters of the household and exercise considerable control over women in every walk of life. Given the socio-cultural values that prevail among the illiterate squatter women of Samintara, there is a high degree of son preference consequently resulting in the expansion of family size and the consequent deterioration of socio-economic status. Marxism argues that subordination of women came into existence with the mode of production that introduced private property. Property is vital that determines individual status, thinking, and squatters of Samintara lacks assets and the **means of production** by which they could improve their living standard. In the absence of private asset on their part, they remain always backward and dominated with occupational segregation, low pay, poverty, and socio-economic discriminations.

5.3.4 Influences of Casteism on the Social Status of Squatters

Being a caste ridden and priest ridden customary society, caste discriminations are rampant in the Nepali society. The caste dimension of the society intertwined with resource management issues is an issue of great Sociological/ Anthropological interest as Nepalese caste system is a product of various social, cultural and historical processes and thus it has direct influence on resource management and development pattern. Social stratification as Casteism is responsible for several social and political deformities (Upadhyay, 2007) The so-called untouchable lower caste people of Samintara are the most disadvantaged groups. In fact, Samintara have a

heterogeneous society with different groups including both so-called high caste and low caste people living together in the same region sharing the squatters tradition and history but practicing the worst form of commensality and other forms of caste based on discriminations. Many higher caste squatters always negate lower caste squatters.

In Nepal, it is seen from the researches conducted by "**SAVE THE CHILDREN**" (1993) that more the region is developed economically and socially, low the rate and degree of caste based discrimination. On the other hand, if the region is backward and less developed the cases of caste-based discrimination is high (Upadhyay, 2007). In the context of the study region of Samintara it is noted is that this region is squatters area where majority are illiterate thus it is definite that in this region caste based stratification is acute. An expositional study of caste-based discrimination in the study area has shown that the nature and degree of caste-based stratification varies. The caste-based stratification seems more strong and prevalent even among Dalits too. The main determinate force behind this is the regions level of economic development, social and other factors, education, impact of rural background. During the field study it was reported to researcher of this study that Dalit were treated in discriminatory way and they themselves sat apart because they are accustomed to this habit. The oppressed Dalit are not in a position to protest against the injustice because of mass illiteracy, century old suppression and the fatalistic notion of patron-client relationship. The caste-based oppression has forced many Dalits to religious conversion by adopting Christianity in the squatter's area of Samintara.

There are many examples from untouchable low caste woman when they were subjected to discriminatory treatment in Samintara while fetching water from community water tapes. The caste-based discriminations by means of its ugly blemish have been creating an adverse affect on the life of low caste untouchables consequently deteriorating their social status. Despite harmonization, the culture of social differentiation in the form of caste-based stratification is creating a ferocious situation in Samintara consequently leading to backwardness and apathy, feeling of resentment of poor Dalits. It has been deduced that the well being of the Dalit users is inextricably linked to that of the most high castes who are to play a major role for making Dalits more confident.

5.3.5 Caste/Ethnic Based Discriminations and the Rise of *Culture of Poverty* and Consequent Backwardness and Conflicts

Sociologists believe that the stage of acute poverty, backwardness and suppression for a long time, used to produce a *culture of poverty*-- that is a culture shared by the poor and the backwards of the same group. The term culture of poverty was first of all used by Oscar Lewis in 1968 while conducting study in Central America. The culture of poverty, thus, is a design or a style for living, which is transmitted from one generation to next and which influences all aspects of individual's life. In the case of Samintara caste based stratification has imparted a very adverse effect on the life of low caste untouchables owing to which a *culture of poverty* has developed among the Dalits affecting all aspects of their life.

Such has been the affects of *culture of poverty* that the low caste untouchables members beyond meek protest to researcher during the course of interviews, rarely protest openly to the suppression, exploitations and discrimination of the high caste people. The culture of poverty has developed among the low castes, a strong present-time orientation with relatively little ability to defer gratification and a sense of surrender and fatalism. As a result low caste people are accepting the discriminatory behaviors and domination of high caste elite users. The culture of poverty among the low caste includes a feeling of helplessness and a 'strong feeling of marginality' and 'inferior complexity'- they feel that they are the lowest group of the society bound to face discriminations in all aspects of life. Nevertheless, some Dalits are not in a mood to accept the domination of high-class people. Several factors are responsible for it, the prime reason being rising awareness, modernization and rising literacy rates. Ethic groups of Samintara also discriminate Dalits but they (ethnic group members) are claiming that they have been subjugated by the high caste Hindus and are regrouping themselves and claiming for more rights and autonomy. The ugly blemishes of Casteism, has prepared the ground for the rise of caste-based conflicts in Samintara squatters regions who may take dangerous turn in the coming days.

5.3.6 Conflicts owing to Casteism

According to Dictionary of Sociology (1999), direct and conscious struggle between individuals or groups for the same goal is defined as ***conflict***. Defeat of the opponent is seen as essential for achieving the goal. In conflict (unlike competition), opponents

are primarily oriented towards each other rather than towards the object they seek. In fact, because of the development of strong feelings of hostility, the achievement of the goal may at times be considered secondary to opponents defeat. In addition, conflict is intermittent rather than continuous. According to the Encyclopedia of Sociology (2003), conflict theory is the Sociological perspective that focuses on tension, competitions and division in society. It assumes that no society is devoid of conflicts of interest and that in the process of struggling for scarce and valuable resources, groups develop strategies to maximize their rewards and minimize their losses. Likewise, conflict types also vary. There are many types of conflict in squatters settlements for example, caste related conflict, religious conflict, economic struggle etc. The caste-based conflict is shown in the table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Conflict Regarding Caste

Sharp Conflict	Frequency	Percent
Yes	2	4.0
No	48	96.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

Despite the rise of *culture of poverty,* internal strife's and reporting of discriminations are common; however, the situation is not out of control. The open and sharp conflict has not occurred openly so far now in Samintara however in future it may take dangerous shape if it takes a political color. The above-mentioned table clarifies that caste based sharp conflict is not high in the study area. The squatter settled in same place and they help each other amidst caste-based discriminations. 48 that is 96 percent respondents replied that the conflict between castes has not taken the form of open conflict. However, 2 (4 percent) people replied yes and reported of conflicts. We deduced from this data that only rare number of conflicts has so far occurred in the study area. On the other hand there has been no religious conflict so far. For all intents and purposes squatter settlement is inhabited by different types of people with diverse background, but their exist no conflict about religion.

5.3.7 Family Planning and use of Contraceptives (Family Planning Techniques)

Family planning is the consciousness to control family for a better family life and associated with the social status. Small family is better family because the needs of small family are smaller than needs of large family. Family planning is the source of control of family. Now a day's many people apply family planning contraceptives. Family planning is of two types one is temporary and another is permanent. In Samintara the respondents who used family planning techniques has been presented in the table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Pattern of the use of Family Planning Techniques

Family planning types	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	Count Percent	Count	Count Percent	Count	Count Percent
Temporary	3	25.0	2	16.7	5	41.7
Permanent	5	41.7	2	16.7	7	58.3
Total	**8**	**66**	**4**	**33.3**	**12**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

According to above table, 24 percent respondents applied family planning. In which 5 (3 male and 2 female) squatters applied temporary type and 7 (5male and 2 female) people applied in permanent family planning techniques. It is derived from this data that 66.7 percent male (8 people) and 33 percent female (4 people) are using some form of family planning techniques-*may be temporary or permanent*. On the other hand 41.7 percent used temporary family planning and 58.3 percent, permanent used family planning. We can analyze from this data that the number of permanent family planning users is higher than temporary family planning users. From the total 50 respondents, in general 8 male and 12 female applied the family planning techniques. This situation makes clear that to some extent the squatter families' consciousness towards family planning is rising .It may be owing to rising literacy rates, modernization and the impact of urban culture.

5.3.8 Educational Status

Education is the transmission of knowledge by either formal or informal methods. According to Dictionary of Sociology (1999), the concepts of socialization and learning are related to, in fact often inseparable from, the concept of education.

Although education is often thought of in terms of schooling (formal education), effective training for the individual role as both a group member and an autonomous person is a constant process. The main function of the educative process is to pass down knowledge from generation to generation- a process that is essential to the development of culture. Formal education is primarily designed to inculcate crucial skills and values central to the survival of the society or to those who hold effective power. Inherent in education, in all periods of man's history, is a stimulus to creative thinking and action, which accounts in part for culture change, culture change itself being a powerful stimulus to further innovation (Dictionary of Sociology, 1999).

Education is one of the most important factors determining social, economic, and educational status. Qualification is also the most important profile for better job and employment. Education contributes to personal and professional development, bringing opportunities in life. Education is said to be a path not only for a better living but also for prestige is a bright future of every human being. The literacy rate of Nepal according to the census of 2001 is 53.7 percent. Over 40 percent people are illiterate yet in present day Nepal.

Although education in the Nepalese context may be playing prime role in strengthening patriarchal relationship, there exists no doubt that education is an important attribute for the development of human personality and leadership skill so that to work in any kind of development or management works (Upadhyay, 2007). The level of education is related to higher social and economic status in the Nepalese context, as is education itself. A positive attitude towards any development practice by the educated people of the village can make it successful and handy. Education is a variable, which inhibits/motivates people in development programmes. Hence, the nature and acclaim of --*literate vs. illiterate* is vital to be comprehended for the comprehension of socio-economic status.

Given the vitality of education, it is important to analyze educational status of the squatters. Education in fact is not a privilege; it is the right of every child. Education is essential to become a free human being, so that one can be liberate from all sorts of exploitation and oppression. An educated child is the greatest treasure of any society. Education is important, as it gives imagination, creativity, and energy. It is a source of empowerment and the indicator of discrimination. It is clear that investment in

education is a sustainable investment, which has returns in overall socio-economic status that are the greatest resource of any country. Many children are denied of basic rights of education. In the context of Samintara, the educational status of squatters has been presented in table 5.7.

Table 5.7 Educational Status of Sampled Household Heads

Educational status	Frequency	Percent
Illiterate	14	28.0
Literate	21	42.0
Primary	7	14.0
Secondary	7	14.0
Higher Secondary	1	2.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

The above table shows that the numbers of literate people is high among 50 respondents. The literate people are 36 in number with a percentage of 72. Nevertheless, illiterate people are also high in number. Their number is 14(28 percent). Illiterate means those people who cannot read and write at all and have no knowledge what is meant by education. Here literate means those people who can read and write with a primary, secondary or higher secondary level education. In Samintara primary level passed people's number are 7 (12 percent). In addition, secondary level passed 7(14 percent) and higher secondary level respondent is only 1(2 percent). In general, from these data we can define that the literacy rate is comparatively better in squatter settlement in Samintara. However, the existing scenario of illiterate people in squatter's area of Samintara is not a good symptom and it is prone that this percentage of illiterate people is certain to influence the socio-economic status of the squatters of Samintara settlement.

5.3.8.1 Distribution of Children by School Attendance

The total number of population in the sampled area is 226. Among the total population, 109 children are within the age of 18 years. Among 109 children, under 3 year's children is total 15 in number who are not attending the school. In Samintara, a

number of students always attended school and some are irregular in school. On the other hand, *school dropout* is also high; some students left their school for various reasons. School dropout may be owing to parental negligence, poor economic conditions etc. The number of children attending school and those children who are not attending school in the sampled households is given in the table 5.8.

Table 5.8 School Attendance of Children

Educational status of children	Number	Percent
Going to school	61	55.96
Not going to school	24	22.02
Going to child care	24	22.02
Total	**109**	**100.00**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

Following the above table, it is clear that there are 61 (55.96 percent) children going to school, 24 (22.02 percent) children are not going to school and 24 (22.02 percent) children are going to childcare centers. The table shows that most of squatter's children are enrolled in school. In the study area, students not going to school are those students who left schools or are school dropouts and some children has not attained the necessary age to attend the school. Some children left their school and they do labor works. The data clarifies that maximum number of children go to school of that area but only few children left their school. However, higher education taken people's number is very low in this area. More children left their school at the time of under SLC. Now, a childcare center has been opened in that area, therefore, children below 5 years age used to go there. The institution of childcare center has been opened with the active help of Gonesa (a child welfare related NGO). It takes cares of children and is engaged in feeding nutritional food to children in the day time as majority of mothers of such children used to go to wage earning labor related works in the day time.

5.3.8.2 Types of Schools
The purpose of education may be to instill discipline and respect or to give everyone an equal chance to broaden their intellectual and emotional life. Some people would say it provides a small minority with an intensive, high equality process of intellectual stimulation until they are adult, and gives the poorer majority a lower quality basic education until they are in their adolescence. Others believe education operates to

reproduce the capitalist class system and to produce an indoctrinated manpower to work for stabilizing the capitalist order of society. Side by side, education is becoming expensive day by day in Nepalese context where there has been the mushrooming of private schools in the recent days (Upadhyay, 2007). Especially there are two types of schools in our country. One type is government and other type is private school. Nowadays some childcare centers are running in our country with the help of the NGO of other countries. They help poor children to study in development of their academic career. Gonesa's (NGO) help in this area has been vital owing to which small children are attending childcare center in the absence of their mothers who are going for wage earning labors. Table 5.9 presents the distributions of children by types of schools.

Table 5.9 Distributions of Children by Types of Schools

School	Number	Percentage
Boarding schools	4	4.71
Government schools	57	67.06
Childcare center	24	28.23
Total	**85**	**100.00**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

Following the table, it is understood that majority of children are attending government school making a percentage of 67.06. Remaining 4.71 percent are attending in private schools. In addition, 28.23 percent children are attending in childcare centre running with the help of Gonesa (NGO). From this, it is clear that maximum numbers of students are studying in government schools. Few students are attending in private schools because they are costly. The economic condition of squatters is low therefore many squatter study in government school as they cannot pay expensive fees charged in private schools.

5.3.8.3 Institutional Aid on Education for Children

There are two institutions helping in this area for education. They are **Gonesa** and **Sathi Nepal**. They help for squatters small children to care, and help for their study also. Gonesa helps for educational enhancement of the children through diverse measures. It helps their children by caring for small children with food for day and helps for school-age children, admission at school and help for with school fees and their health. The table 5.10 clarifies the institutional aid on education based on household's responses.

Table 5.10 Institutional Aid on Education (Household Basis)

Institution Aid	Frequency	Percent
Yes	26	52.0
No	24	48.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

According to above table, 26 households (52 percent) children are engaged in institution (Gonesa and Sathi Nepal) and 24 households (48 percent) children are not engaged in any institution. In this data, we can define that institutions have helped 52 percent households. In addition, some respondent's have no any children to go for study. We deduced from this data that maximum numbers of people's children are engaged in educational institution. Therefore, these institutions help for squatter children those interested for study.

5.3.8.4 Parents Encouragement for Children to Study at Home

In squatter settlements, rare number of people are highly educated .It means less numbers of people are highly educated. The study of parent's encouragement for their children to study at home is important for educational status. Home is a first school of children and *mother is the first teacher*, but in the contexts of Nepal, major numbers of parents are illiterate or are not well educated. In this study, parent's encouragement to study at home for their children is shown in the table below.

Table 5.11 Encourage to Study at Home

Encourage	Frequency	Percent
Yes	17	34.0
No	12	24.0
Asked to read	9	18.0
Total	38	76.0
No Child	12	24.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

5.3.8.5 Culture of poverty

Thesis claims that it is hopelessness, frustration and the home environment of children specially the behavior of parents at home that shapes their education at school. The same tendency seems prevailing here. According to the above table, 17 (34 percent) people encourage their children to study at home , 12 (24 percent) people are not encouraging their children to study at home and 9 (18 percent) people asked to read for their children because they cannot teach their children but they realize to study at home therefore their children to study at home . Moreover, 24 percent people do not response about it. We found from these data, only 34 percent people do encourage for their children and maximum squatters are illiterate and low educated. Some people want to teach their children but they cannot teach themselves but they force to do self-study for their children at home. They cannot handle their children to study at teach. By the cause of illiteracy, people could not encourage to study for their children at home therefore their children are also weak in class than others.

5.3.8.6 Adult Literacy Program

Adult education is a specialized aspect of education that includes a variety of programs involving the instruction of persons over legal age outside the system of formal education. From its beginning in Great Britain in the 1800's the movement for adult instruction has become worldwide (Encyclopedia of Sociology, 2003). Magill (2003) defines in the Encyclopedia of Sociology, that the phrase *"Adult Education"* was first used by Thomas Pole, an English physician, in his book *A History of the Origin and Progress of adult Schools* published in 1816. Pole was concerned that adults should be able to read and write in order to read the Bible. From this beginning in Britain adult education has spread throughout the countries of the world. It has developed along several different lives, coalescing into four broad categories: adult literacy training and retraining Programs, returning students, and continuing education. The actual process of teaching adults is a sub discipline of education called *andragogy*.

Adult literacy program is important for illiterate people. The census of 2001 clarifies that the total literacy rate is 59.62 percent in Nepal. The illiterate people are about 40 percent in Nepal (Census, 2001). In the study area of Samintara the literacy rate is about 72 percent but 28 percent illiteracy is also not negligible figure. However,

concerned to adult literacy, the gloomy facet is that the literacy program is not available in this area of Samintara. Therefore, illiterate adult people cannot take part in that type of program. Few people took adult literacy program after migration elsewhere outside Samintara area. As a whole, we can say that adults are illiterate in this settlement owing to the absence of adult literacy programme in this settlement.

5.3.9 Health Status

According to Encyclopedia of Sociology (2003), health is an integral part any society. Without adequate levels of health, society's member cannot productively contribute to its growth and development. Different societies emphasize in health care in different ways. Less developed societies tend to have lower levels of health and less advanced health care system than more developed societies. The health status denotes the health stipulation of squatters connoted by certain issues viz.

5.3.9.1 Health Checkup or the Therapeutic Condition of Squatters

Health is an issue associated closely with the social status. Accessibility to better health means a better or high social status. Better health is important for human existence also. In fact, health is wealth in human life. Therefore regular health checkup is imperative for people. Nevertheless, not all squatter people check their health regularly owing to various reasons viz lack of awareness, poverty, and lack of time. Generally, squatters test out their health at the time when they are sick. The health checkup or the therapeutic condition of squatters of Samintara is shown in the following table below.

Table 5.12 Health Checkup of Squatters

Health checkup	Frequency	Percent
Yes	2	4.0
No	18	36.0
When they get sick	27	54.0
N.A*	3	6.0
Total respondents	**50**	**100.0**

N.A. means respondents not available

Source: Field Survey, 2008

According to the above table, 4 percent people have done regular checkup, 36 percent people have no regular checkup and 54 percent people have checked only when they get sick. We deduced from this data that more people do not check their health regularly. They check their health only at the time of serious illness. We found from this data that, the squatter people are economically poor and they are busy always in hard labor and lack consciousness also, therefore, they could not take care of their health in a proper way. Maximum people of squatter settlement are laborers therefore; they always are engaged in work for fulfillment of their economic needs---that is bread and butter earning. Their economic source is labor, which requires hard work, even the overtime, therefore, they could not regularly do health checkup. They check their health only when they are only serious ill or when they are at the deathbed. Only few people, only those few people who were somewhat economically balanced and health conscious, checked their health regularly.

It is deduced from this study that people living in squatter areas are the most vulnerable to preventable communicable and non-communicable diseases and have high rates of mortality. Rapid rural-urban migration over the past decade has led to the overpopulation of Samintara areas, exerting heavy pressure on the limited infrastructure. The major problems faced by the squatters are a limited supply of clean drinking water, and poor sanitation, health and hygiene leading to gastrointestinal problems in many cases. *"I don't know how long I can survive. I don't even have enough strength to work any more,"* said many of the squatters to the researcher. They also expressed concern about the welfare of their children who often get sick viz-waterborne diseases due to poor hygiene. It is very common among the Sukumbasi to die of poor health due to poor sanitation and lack of clean water. A look at how they live and in what condition, can judge why people, especially children and the elderly, get sick all the time in this settlement. Those squatters most affected by poor hygiene and poverty are women, and many still deliver babies at home in unsafe environments. Babies stand a high risk of infection due to unsanitary conditions. A case study depicting the health related problem of one squatter woman is in the case study box:

Case Study Box

Kausilla Magar a Squatter Woman's Experience on Health

Kausilla Magar is a poor woman who has a poor economy and living a hard life. She is 30 years now. Her husband is engaged in wage earning labor work. She has three children age ranging between 8 years, 6years and 9 months respectively. The life is hard and difficult for them to live. It is a challenge for them to join their hands and mouth –that is to feed their family. As a housewife Kausilla has no one to help, no one can give her and her family a salvation from this a state of affair because they are the victim of poverty. A part from this, they are illiterate and have a faith upon their conventional social norms, values embedded with superstitions of various sorts. They will live in discomfort and has no alternative and time to think about how to feed the children and fulfill their basic needs in future related to individual and family health.

Owing to miserable economic condition, it is very hard for them to tackle the health related problems of their life. Kausilla is pregnant since five months. She knows just now her pregnancy. The family will be adding one more member in future. Now, she is not in a position to imagine now she will feed the baby to grow up as she has three young children still in the present to feed. The third one is still living on her breast-feeding and the fourth one is in her womb. She has no food on time and it is hard to get sufficient milk also. So, it is very hard for her to maintain her health and there exists probability that the baby to be born may be mal nourished or may born with deformities or Kausilla as a mother may face health related maternity problems at the time of giving birth to the baby.

Kausilla supposed to do an abortion, but she cannot do it due to advice of doctor and that it was very late for the abortion. She is living in such a critical condition of mental dilemma. At the same time, she cannot take the suggestion from an expert gaenocologist related to her health and the health of the incoming baby because of acute poverty. As a mother, Kausilla is very worried about her lack of knowledge about pregnancy, menstrual cycle and postnatal problems she will be facing. Due to ignorance of family planning devices and illiteracy Kausilla and her family face the critical problem in her daily life. From this study, it is clear that squatters living here have the little knowledge about health and future activities, which depicts the poor social status of squatters embedded with economic status.

5.3.9.2 Venue (Destination) of Health Checkup of Squatter

The hospital and any health center are the most important needs for human being. There is no any health institution in this area but the people go to other places for their health checkup. There are many hospitals, private clinic, and other health centers in Pokhara, many of these private nursing homes; clinics are only for the rich people who possess ample money. Abiding by the Marxist perspectives the *economy* determines the destiny and the life standard of the people, seems relevant here. Gandaki Hospital the regional state owned hospital and other health centers are not so far from this area. However, the squatters checkup their health at the time of sickness period only. The destination of health checkup centers on the part of squatters is shown in the table below.

Table 5.13 Venue (Destination) of Health Checkup

Venue	Households	Percent
Govt. Hospital	25	50.0
Private clinic	15	30.0
Service received from school for children	8	16.0
N.A*	2	4.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

N.A. Respondents not available

Source: Field Survey, 2008

According to the table, the 50 percent people get checkup of their illness in government hospital, 30 percent people checked their health in private clinic and 16 percent people check their health in the institution run by Gonesa (NGO). The children who are engaged in Gonesa, their health is checked by that institution. We can be clear from above table that maximum people have gone to government hospital for health checkup. However, people checkup their health only during their illness period. They have not checked their health regularly and for common illness, they used drug (medicines) from pharmacies without medical checkup and for serious illness they go to hospital. Few people have gone to private clinic for checkup. It is clear that, by the cause of low social and economic condition and busy working schedule, lack of health consciousness, Samintara's squatter health condition is poorer and is deteriorating day by day. This presents the pathetic health related social status of squatters.

5.3.10 Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation of Squatters

5.3.10.1 Drinking Water Supply

Water is the lifeline of human being. Thus, pure drinking water is necessary for a hygienic life and supply of pure drinking water is necessary for all. In fact, water supply is the process of self-provision or provision by any parties to sources of water of different quality and quantity to different users (Encyclopedia, 2008). However, not all the people at all time are so fortunate to have the provision of pure drinking water. The sources of water also determine the hygienic level of water. Using the water from river, brook, and ponds may not be clean. In the context of the squatters of Samintara, the sources of drinking water are shown in the following table 5.14.

Table 5.14 Sources of Drinking Water

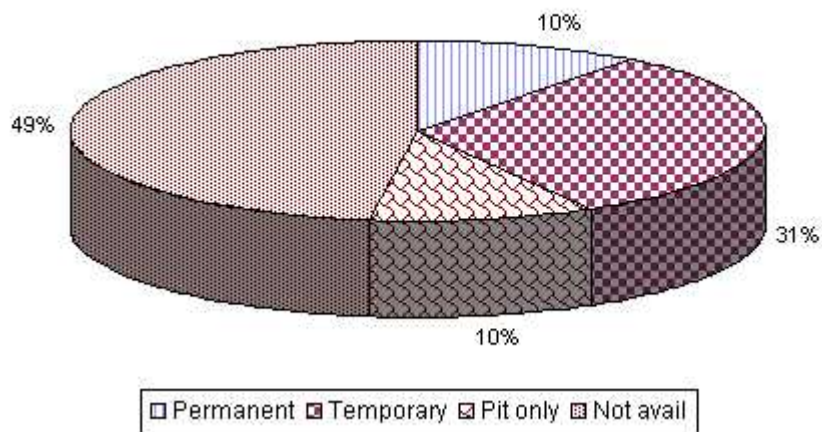| Sources	Household	Percent
Tap	33	66.0
Spring	17	34.0
Total	**50**	**100**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

From the above table, it is clear that 33 (66 percent) households have used the tap water and 17 (34 percent) households totally used the spring water. Nevertheless, in the tap water is not available regularly therefore; sometimes they also depend upon spring water (*Mul ko pani)*. In fact, tap water is available there but it shows the development image of the area not for the regular supply of water in the squatter settlement area. A water tank has also made in the study area by the help of GONESA (an NGO). However, the majority of households have problems related to pure drinking water and the consequences are the infection with the water borne diseases on the part of the squatters specially the children and the elderly people. Owing to economic reasons, squatters are not in a position to install their own private water tapes.

5.3.10.2 Sanitation

Toilet is one of the most important needs of human life. However, more people are not using toilet in Nepal because of lack of awareness, poverty, illiteracy, poorest

condition and negligence. It is imperative that to analyze socio-economic status, it is vital to outline the sanitation level of the squatters. In the study of squatter settlements, we found different types of toilets, which are shown in the figure 5.1.

Source: Field Survey, 2008

Figure 5.1 Types of Toilet

From the above figure it is clear that the small number of permanent toilet is available in that area, whose number is only 5 with a total percentage of 10. Large numbers of households have no any toilet and their number is 23 (47.9 percent). Moreover, temporary toilet is found in 15(31.3 percent) households and 5(10.4 percent) households have only unsafe pits, as toilets. 2 respondents do not responded in this case—it means they were not available there denoting that they have huts in Samintara but they are not living there permanently. We can define the data with an assertion that the large numbers of people are not using the toilet in squatter area owing to lack of awareness, poverty, backwardness etc and this depicts the wretched condition of their socio-economic status.

5.3.11 Pattern of Celebration of Festivals

Analyzing various faiths and values of human society, two types of views seem unadulterated. These are *Materialistic views vs. Spiritualism*. Materialistic views depend on what is seen from naked eyes or which is material whereas spiritualism believes in hereafter. Of these two worldviews, various beliefs and faiths have born, and Hindu religion and culture based on Orientalism is no exception of it (Upadhyay, 2007). According to Giddens (2001), the variety of religion beliefs and organizations

is so immense that scholars have found great difficulty is reaching a generally accepted definition of religion. In the west, most people identify religion with Christianity, the belief is a supreme being, who commands us to behave in a moral fashion on this earth and promise an afterlife to come. Yet, we certainly cannot define religion as a whole in these terms. These beliefs and many other aspects of Christianity are absent from most of the world's religions.

The concept of religion is more related with emotion and sentiments of the people that drives people towards some benevolent doings. However, according to the Marxist perspective, *religion is slow opium of masses* and the sign of fatalistic, suppressed and oppressed creatures. Nonetheless, it is incredibly imperative to trace the religious structure of an area to know about the level of development and progressive attitude of the people as claimed by Max Weber in *"Protestant ethic and Spirit of Capitalism"*.

The religious structure of Samintara is also complex and diverse and with this complex structure, festivals and patterns of festivals celebration is affiliated. The major festivals observed in Samintara are Dashain, Tihar (also called Deepawali), Maghe Sankranti (a popular Hindu festival celebrated in the month of January),Basanta Panchami (also known as Saraswati Puja or Shri Panchami), Fagu Purnima (Holi), Chaite Dashain (Mini Dashain observed in the month of March-April), Saune Sakranti (a popular Hindu festival observed in the month of July), Similarly, Bhajans are organized during **Shivaratri festival** (a festival celebrated in the name of lord Shiva) in the temple located here.

No doubt, religion is the most important part of society. The celebration of festivals affiliated with religion depends upon economic status of people. Rich people spend lavishly in festivals whereas poor people suffer during festivals. Marxist analysis of ***religion being the opium of the masse*s** seems relevant in this context. Study of festivals affiliated with religion is important for the analysis of socio-economic status of the squatters. The intensity of celebration of festivals of squatters is shown in the table below.

Table 5.15 Pattern of Celebration of Festivals

Celebration pattern of festivals	Frequency	Percent
Simple	20	40.0
Better	13	26.0
According to situation	17	34.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

According to above table, the 20 (40 percent) squatters celebrated their festivals in a simple and basic way without spending too much money. 13 (26 percent) people celebrated in better or improved way and 17(34 percent) people celebrated in according to their situation. It is clear from the data that the large number of people celebrated their festivals in only simple form. They celebrate festivals because of faith however, they could not spend large amount of money owing to their weak economic conditions and this shows their dilemma. Some people celebrated their festivals according to the situation, they can spend, but they celebrate to show around situation or for ostentations for gaining neighbors praise.

Some people in Samintara celebrate the festivals in a better way as they were somewhat well to do economically. Analyzing the data, we found that maximum numbers of people are living *in a hand to mouth condition* and thus they celebrate and observe their festival in a simple form only for the pleasure of their children. They celebrate their festival but the celebration status is according to their condition. Few household celebrate their festival in a better way by borrowing money from others-specially from the rich contractors under whom squatters use to work in construction sites as *Kullis* (Laborers). One women respondent when asked by the researcher replied in a satirical way '***Ayo Dashai Madal Bajaire,gayo Dashai rin ra dasa bokayere***' which means Dashain comes in a festive merry making manner way, but it goes away by imposing debt and ill fate. As a whole, pattern of celebration of festival is simple and it depicts the poor condition of squatters.

5.3.12 Gender Disparities

The collective participatory literature has classically highlighted the positive side of social norms; but most gendered social norms in Nepal have a dark side, which

constitutes a significant source of disparities between men and women in the society (Upadhyay, 2007). Here, social norms usually constitute not just a difference but an inequality based on disparities of various sorts in day-to-day life. They have been permeating virtually every sphere of activity: they define what tasks men and women should perform how they should interact in public consequently influencing female status. In squatter settlement of Samintara, female and man differ in their access to private property and to income-earning opportunities. Because of strong patriarchal traditions in Samintara, women neither have own nor directly control any property.

Lack of education and owing to other socio-economic reasons they also have lesser access than men to jobs and other sources of income except wage earning labor work. Given women's primary responsibility for household chores, this becomes a particular constraint. Women in big households or in female-headed households (which are more poverty prone) are placed at an obvious disadvantage. Nevertheless, even in male-headed households, although women are claiming some advantage from the families' endowments in fulfilling their responsibilities, there is no guarantee of access to male-controlled income. In broad-spectrum, gender disparities in access to private property and other issues viz labor, income are creating gender differences in dependence on males in varying degrees in Samintara consequently resulting in the sharp deterioration of socio-economic status of women. The table below clarifies:

Table 5.16 Gender Disparities in Households

No. of households (Couples)	Cultural/social/ gender related disparities			
		Yes	No	D.K*
50	Income based discriminations	39	6	5
	Gender issues	38	10	2
	Social issues	37	10	3
	Household chores	39	8	3
	Traditional norms, customs, values	35	12	3
	Labor wage disparity	48	2	0

D.K. means Don't Know

Source: Field Survey, 2008

The table clarifies that out of 50 households, 39 household heads (both husband and wife) claimed that income based disparity prevailed in their family. Especially in the cases when women have no earnings. 38 household claimed of gender related disparity in the family followed by 37 households claiming of disparity based on social issues. 39 respondents claimed of disparity in household chores denoting that they have all responsibilities of doing all household chores. 35 households regarded traditional norms, customs and values responsible for creating disparities. Labor wage disparity in wage labor earning was claimed to be the most acute in creating disparities with 48 households claiming of this sort of discrimination in work places. Here labor disparity in the cases of squatter women, has been looked at from two angles in terms of hours of daily work undertaken by men and women, and a source of difference in interest. The more stiff the division of labor, the more the conflict of interest.

In the sampled region of Samintara because of strong patriarchal tradition and patriarchy norms, women's working hours is longer than men (usually women work 5-6 hours more than men) and there is a fairly rigid division of domestic task responsibility and chores. Women, for instance, are largely responsible for cooking food, for gathering fuel, children rearing and men for wage earning. Many women are involved in wage earning labor work along with males but they are bound to do household works also thus they face the dichotomy of dual role – *household chore vs. wage earning labor works*. This dichotomy is creating hindrances in women's socio-economic enhancement. For the fulfillment of daily economic needs, a persistent pressure is created on women consequently increasing their dependence on males. At the same time those women who are engaged in wage earning are not getting the proper wages, it means they are facing discriminations in salary with two different wages for the same work and women are getting less wages than man is, even for the same work.

It has been also traced from field study that in Samintara settlement , usually every morning and evening, squatter men used to gather together before going to work and after the return from work in tea stalls and small shops for gossiping on current issues and for sipping tea and women of good character are expected to avoid this. The restriction is somewhat loose for older women, but not totally. In this part of the

country, such notion of avoidance from males are taught and socialized to a girl child even before her marriage. These notions are not breached in fear of esteem loss or family reprimand, or because they have internalized these norms but it has been restricting woman mobility and sharply deteriorating their socio-economic status. Tendency exists in the cases of Brahmin and Chettri women for restricting the free movement of womenfolk during their menstrual period. These hierarchy and norms marks family behavior also that tends to explain community interactions and are important hindrances fading female socio-economic status. Male machoism and their perceptions about women's appropriate roles and abilities serves as an additional source of disparity. Women are usually perceived as being less capable than men, or their participation in public is considered inappropriate or unnecessary.

However, interestingly, few of squatter female members from different caste and ethnic groups from Samintara responded that they are getting some support from their spouse and other male members of family. They claimed that it would have been difficult to be involved in wage earning activities if their husband and other male members (viz. sons) and other senior male relatives would have denied permission to them. Women members also claimed that their husband in some cases had helped them even in performing their household chore so that their wives can go and work for wage earning in house construction sites. They however reported that there are numerous social-cultural and gender related issues that are deteriorating socio-economic status of female.

5.4   Economic Status

Economic structure is closely related to occupational structure. In fact, the occupation determines the economic structure. The economic status is also embedded with social status of the people. In the current study, one of the important considerations of economic indictors is the scope of the income sources the respondent consider when determining "household income". Income received from jobs, and other sources would probably be vital. Income sources and alimony might be spontaneously considered in a calculation of household income and for the evaluation of economic status. Embedded to economic structure, household income may also include income earned from the "informal economy" (e.g., jobs that pay cash but have no benefits or

job security) particularly in communities of recent immigrants squatters and minorities. These income sources may be ones that respondents do not wish to disclose or for which they would have difficulty determining a monetary value. (*en.wikipedia.org/wiki/economic status,2008*). In general, the outline of the economic status of sampled population is as follows:

5.4.1 Occupational Structure of Households

Sociologists/ Anthropologists in their own way reassessed Marx's stages leading to modern human society with the reinterpretations of philosophies of society and culture. There are several areas where Marx's works have been analyzed from sociological/ anthropological point of view. A good deal of effort has been expanded in an attempt to adapt the basic idea of a necessary conflict between labor and capital to the conditions of contemporary societies. All these efforts have taken the form of new theories of social class to take account of changes in the patterns of property ownerships changes in relationships at work, class divisions, rise of elitism and side by side growth of more conscious middle class also, exploitation, growing unrests and the reasons behind conflicts also remaining vital. It is also been extensively comprehended that it is virtually impossible to comprehend and solve the problems related to social unrests in the absence of a proper mechanism explaining the affiliation between the growing elitism with its historical legacy and the scramble for job, social/cultural, economic and political rights on the part of poor people in the present (Upadhyay,2003).

Establishing the correlation between current Nepalese crisis including the problems of squatters and the Marxist conflict perspective, it is evident that Nepalese economy has taken the form of distinguishing different capital fractions and of providing an account of the monopoly phase of elites. How differences in socio-economic status develop when elitism is institutionalized and sharing of productive resources to commoners is the issue of special enquiry in the present. Coser (1967) argued that conflicts have some social functions and implications, which ought to be seen at – the levels of conflicting parts and at the system as a whole. But the growing unrest in

different parts of Nepal, scramble for controlling resources makes it clear that although conflicts may have functions in bringing different changes, however when more unequal is the distribution of scarce resources; the greater is the conflict of interest between dominant and subordinate segments in a system.

The subordinate segments become aware of their true collective interests, the more likely are they to question the legitimacy of the existing pattern of distribution of scarce resources in the hands of elites. The more social changes brought by dominant segments disrupt the existing relations among subordinates; the more likely are the masses to become aware of their true interest. The more members of subordinate segments can pass on their grievances to each other, the more probable they are to become conscious of their true-shared interests. The further subordinate segments of a system are aware of their collective interests and the greater is their questioning of the validity of the distribution of political power, political actions and scarce resources, the more likely are they to join overt conflict against dominant elite segments of a system (Upadhyay, 2008). Likewise, when greater is the ideological amalgamation of members of subordinate segments of a system, the additional the chances of polarization of subjugated segments of the society. Given this veracity, hence, the need of the time is to ponder on the grievances of poor sections of the society viz. the squatters of Samintara by consideration of their grim economic problems.

Affiliated to economic structure, occupation is a set of activities centered on an economic role and usually associated with earning a living- for example, a trade or profession. An occupation is a social role that is determined by the general division of labor within a society. As a specialization of an individual's function in society, it is an important factor defining a person's prestige, class position, and style of life (Dictionary of Sociology, 1999). Occupation is also an important part and facet of living human life. Occupation illustrates the status of people. Squatters are involved in various types of occupation. Table 5.18 shows the number of squatter household heads respondents engaged in different occupations and their percentage.

**Table 5.17 Occupational Status of Household Head Respondents**

Occupation (Household)	Frequency	Percent
Daily Wage Earners	11	22.0
Foreign Job	1	2.0
Housewives	14	2 8.0
Sewing	2	4.0
Agriculture	4	8.0
In country Job	6	12.0
Business	1	2.0
Mistri (Laborers)	7	14.0
Jharfuk (Sorcery)	1	2.0
No Occupation	3	6.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

From the above table it is clear that the occupations of squatter respondent vary. They have different occupations. The large numbers of respondents are housewives. There are 14 (28 percent) housewives in this study area. They do their housework chores and takes care of their children. In addition, second largest occupational populace is of the daily wage earners, they are 11 (22 percent). Moreover, other respondents are foreign jobholders, tailors engaged in sewing, agriculture, in-country job, business, *mistri* and sorcerers or *jharfuk*. Their numbers and percentage stood at 1 (2 percent), 2(4 percent),4(8 percent), 7(14 percent), 1(2 percent),6(12 percent) and 1(2 percent) respectively. Moreover, three respondents have no any job because they are students. We found from this data that people with high profile occupation is very rare among the squatters of Samintara. Therefore, their economic condition is low and fragile throughout the year keeping them *in their hand to mouth* all the time.

5.4.2 Overall Sources of Household Income

The sources of household income confirm that not only household heads occupation, but also sources of household income of all the members of a household are vital. It demonstrates all sources of income of all persons of a family. Likewise, a persons involvement in any job and even extra business or any sort of additional work may be also vital. The following data clarifies.
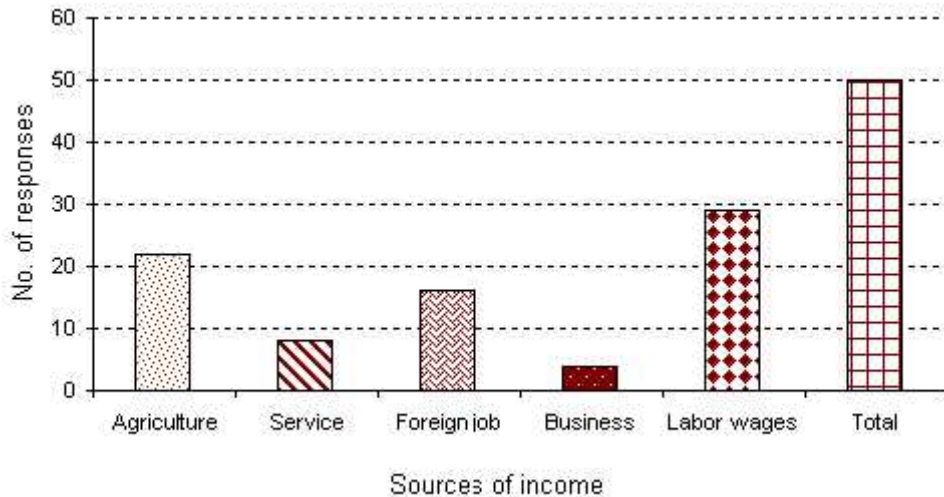
Figure 5.2 Distribution of Employed persons by Sector of Employment

It is to be noted that in the sampled area of Samintara there exists 50 households of squatters with a total population of 226. The figure 5.2 clarifies that out of a total populace of 226, 79 people are generating the income of any sorts for their families. In the 50 households, with a total working population of 79, large numbers of people are engaged in different sectors. There are 29 (37 percent) involved in labor income and 22(28 percent) cases are having agriculture involvement. And 16 (20 percent) in foreign job, 8(10 percent) in services and 4(5 percent) cases are engaged in business in that area. This data makes it lucid that high percentage of squatters are involved in wage labor and less number of squatters are involved in business activities. It is deduced that squatters generating income through labor works are in majority in squatter area. They have no land and their educational condition is low therefore they cannot do *white-collar jobs* that is why they are engaged in the labor wages. The figure 5.2 explains the tendency more lucidly.

5.4.3   Monthly Household Income in Squatter's Settlement

The monthly household income is that income which is the total income of people within a month. Income of people is of different range in different people or households. All people do works and earn livings. Some people earn more and some earn fewer but all people do works for their survival. A continuous income is necessary for the survival and the well-being of the individual as well as the family. Particularly skilled people have high chances of earning more than unskilled people

who have fewer chances of earning more money and in making high living standards. In this study area, the monthly household income of squatters is shown in the table 5.18.

Table 5.18 Monthly Household Average Income

Income (per month)	Frequency	Percent
Below 2000	7	14.0
2000-4000	21	42.0
4000-8000	13	26.0
8000- Above	9	18.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey, 2008

According to the table, 7 (14 percent) households have their monthly income lower than Rs. 2000. Their economic condition is low. 21(42 percent) households have earned two to four thousand rupees per month, 13(26 percent) households have four to eight thousand and 9 (18 percent) have more than eight thousand earnings per month. From these data, it is clear that only 18 percent people earned more than 8000 and maximum people have not earned much money and are in hand to mouth condition. Some people have gone to foreign country therefore their income is high but maximum people are living below the deficiency stripe in squatter area. Therefore as a whole the maximum number of low-income people are living in squatter area. On the other hand, maximum people do labor wages therefore in the squatters area both male and female of the family does work but the income is low despite hard labor therefore their life style is low and wretched. They cannot fulfill their basic needs easily. They totally depend upon their income but their income is low therefore their economic status is low.

5.4.4   Land Holdings of Squatters

According to Oxford Dictionary of Sociology (1999), landholding is possession of property in the form of land: a complete landholding. The capturing of land by people is rampant. People have different landholding status. Some people have more land, some people have less quantity of land, and some are landless. Landless people are

83

also known as squatters or *Sukumbasi* and this landlessness is the basic **identity** of their life. Table 5.19 makes it more lucid.

Table 5.19 Household Landholdings of Squatters

Household Landholdings (in Ropanies)	Frequency	Percent
.01	1	2.0
.13	1	2.0
.25	9	18.0
.26	1	2.0
.38	1	2.0
.50	7	14.0
.63	2	4.0
1.00	19	38.0
1.50	1	2.0
2.00	2	4.0
3.00	1	2.0
6.00	1	2.0
N.A.*	4	8.0
Total	46	92.0
Total	**50**	**100.0**

* NA –person not available

Source: Field Survey, 2008

In the study area, squatter people have different types of landholding position. Some houses are made in small piece of land with very limited area. Only one household have .01 *ropany* (unit of measurement) of land. On the other hand, some households have one or more than one ropanies of landholdings. Only one household have 6 *ropanies* land in its ownership. From this data, it is deduced that there exist sharp disparities in land holding in the squatter's area. It may because of the reason that those who people who came at first occupied more land compared to the new comers In general this settlement, more people have one Ropani of land. Likewise, some people have no land of their own land and they live in others land. Likewise, majority households do not have **Lalpurga** (land ownership certificate) of their land yet and owing to this reason, there prevails severe dissatisfaction in their minds that may

converge into a serious conflict in future between these squatters. Divergences may be created among the squatters owing to this disparity in landholding. Marxist conflict perspective holds the notion that humans are unique owing to caliber of their conscious awareness of themselves and their situation. They are capable of self – reflection and hence, assessment of their positions in society is possible through their self-consciousness (Marx and Engeles 1973). Such consciousness arises out of people's daily existence and is not a realm of ideas that is somehow independent of the material world of elites. Long time discriminations and disparities will prepare the ground for conflict of all sorts. Amidst all these, the condition of the squatters of whole of Nepal, not only of **Samintara**, remains grim which may prepare the ground for future conflicts—that is the whole of Samintara squatters area may be converted into a battleground for conflicts between these *have-nots* squatters on the issue of landholding.

5.4.5   Attire Use Pattern Depicting the Economic Status of Squatters

Attires or clothing is a part of basic needs of human being. Clothing also represents the economic status of a family. Usually squatters are poorest people but not all squatters are equal and situations are different. Some of them cannot buy attires or clothes for them and their children. However all the people try to get the things of eating, wearing, and lodging for their happiness and maintenance. The study of wearing clothes denotes the economic status of squatters therefore, it is important to study the costumes used by them. The trend of wearing and buying clothes of squatters in the year 2007 is shown in the table 5.20.

Table 5.20 Types of Clothes Used by Squatters

| Cloth purchasing pattern (in 2007)	Households	Percent
Bought themselves	47	73
Received from relatives	14	22
Received from others	3	5
Total	**50**	**100**

Source: Field survey, 2008

According to above table, the 73 percent people bought their clothes themselves, 22 percent people received clothes from their relatives and 5 percent people received

their clothes from others, that is from friends and neighbors. We deduced from the data that the maximum people are using their clothes bought by them, it means no extra helping hands are there. In addition, the minimum numbers of people are totally depended upon others. The data clarifies that squatters are poor but they bought their clothes themselves, it means they are bound to do so. Some squatters used their clothes received from others and some people got clothes from their relatives. As a whole in the study area, majority of people bought their cloths themselves which makes clear that although they are squatters, they have a sense of human dignity and they want to be independent and don't want to depend on any one for the fulfillment of their basic needs.

5.4.6 Accommodation (Housing) and Number of Rooms in the House
5.4.6.1 Housing Style and Types of Houses

The size of house and rooms depicts the economic structure of a family. The study of number of rooms in house makes clear the socio economic condition of the squatter people. Therefore, the study of household condition is imperative in research. Usually in squatter settlement in Samintara, the houses are small and have no rooms. The condition of houses of the settlement is shown in the figure 5.3.
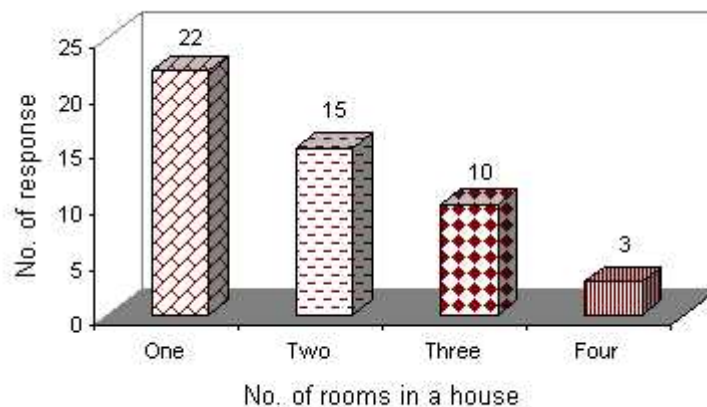
Source: Field Survey, 2008

Figure 5.3 Number of Rooms of Households

According to above table the numbers of rooms differs in Samintara settlement. 22(44 percent) households have only one-room in their houses. 15(30 percent) households have two rooms, 10(20 percent) households have three rooms and 3 (6 percent)

86

households have four rooms. It is clear from this data that many households have only one room in that area. Therefore, many squatters live in one-room houses. The population density is high and there exists only one room in one family thus the accommodation is congested and the life is very hard and challenging at all time. At the same time there exists the problem of proper ventilation in one room houses which are always crowded. This housing condition depicts the poor economic status of the squatters. Owing to land and money, scarcity squatters are unable to build comfortable houses. It was reported during field study that as squatters are lacking landownership certificates, they also find difficult to construct well furnished houses.

5.4.6.2 Commodities of Entertainment at Home

People want to entertain in their life but not every house has the availability for all things of entertainment. The nature of people is such that they always want to entertain and do recreation in their life. Some houses have some entertainment things or the things of recreation in the study area of Samintara, which is shown the table below.

Table 5.21 Commodities of Entertainment

Commodities	Number of Sets	Responses Percent
Radio	35	70
TV	19	38
VCD/DVD	5	10

Source: Field survey, 2008

From the above table it is clear that out of total 50 households, 39 households are having commodities of diverse sorts. 70 percent households are using the radio as the prime medium for entertainment, 38 percent people are using television, and only 10 percent people are using VCD/DVD. Total 11 households have no any types of commodities in their household. We found from this data that radio-using people are more and VCD/DVD using people are less in number. It is deduced from the data that all houses have no availability of all entertainment things. Likewise, some houses have no any entertainments things available at all. Owing to economic condition, not all people can buy and use things of entertainment in their house. Only radio seems more popular in the study area. This analysis clarifies that economically diverse status people are living in squatter settlement. Abiding by the Marxist perspective it is

argued in this research that this divergence may restrict the squatters from getting united or developing solidarity.

5.4.6.3 Commodities (Goods) Available at Squatter's Houses

All houses used to bought goods and stuff for the fulfillment of daily needs. Not all things are available in squatter's settlement area and they buy things from other areas. The study of goods is affiliated to the status of squatter's people. The available goods in that area are shown in the table below.

Table 5.22 Commodities (Goods) Available at Home

Goods	Houses	Responses Percent
Telephone/mobile	14	21
Cycle	4	6
Cupboard	6	9
Sofa	2	3
Gas stove	13	19
Electricity	29	43
Total Houses	**38**	**100**

Source: Field survey, 2008

From the above table it is clear that from the total 50 sampled households, 38 households have *'goods'* availability to some extent encompassing all amenities and commodities. 21 percent people have mobile used in that area among them there is only one CDMA PHONE. 6 percent people have used cycle, 9 percent household have cupboard, 3 percent household have sofa, 19 percent household have gas stove, and 43 percent households have electricity in that area. It is deduced from the data that many households have things congested because there exist one room in many houses. In many houses, they have no noted stuffs or things. It was also reported that they have also not collected goods by the cause of small houses and owing to low economic status. This tendency clarifies that major number of households live in acute poverty and owing to the prevailing *culture of poverty*; they are unable to use their hard-earned money for enhancing their socio economic status. As a whole squatter are poorest people who *are always in crisis* –may be *social or economic* and there prevails repercussions of socio-economic status and consequent tribulations.

CHAPTER SIX
REPURCUSSIONS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

This chapter aligns to repercussions (consequences) of socio-economic status and a consequent tribulation, that is evils and problems, the squatters are facing in the present owing to their brittle socio-economic status. The *economic* dimension of squatters relates to the use and insinuation of income, available resources, the competitiveness and the future viability of squatters family economy and the consequent sufferings. Inefficient economic structures, inappropriate expertise as well as the diversity of income sources for households are important elements of Samintara's squatter's social and economic status.

The *social* dimension relates to questions of opportunities and access to social amenities and services compared to other economic indicators. The issues of equal opportunities and society's ethical standard of behavior can also be considered as embedded to the social dimension. Side by side the squatter's migratory trend, nature are also the veracities influencing the social and economic status of squatters in Samintara. It is an authenticity that squatters migrate from one area to other due to diverse tribulations. They gather in one area over the period of time, thus making a settlement. The geographical hardness is one of the causes of migration, others being aspiration for better job opportunities, displacement due to landslide, attraction to the city amenities etc. People want to live in city area where they get many facilities. However, in city area as Pokhara, especially in squatters settlement in Samintara , life is also not so trouble-free where the squatters are bound to face diverse sorts of socio-economic complications. In addition, it is the repercussion of socio-economic status and its aftermath that is creating all sots of implications.

6.1   Repercussion of Socio-economic Status and Consequent Tribulations

Migration greatly affects the development of the social, economic, as well as cultural structures in both places of origin and destination. Each migration takes place with some expectation. In some cases, these might not be true while in others might prove so. Moreover, in other cases, people migrate for many other reasons for example

poverty, lack of employment, narrow land area etc. Some people migrate from their origin because of increasing frustration due to poverty. If one works hard regularly but cannot get enough to eat two times daily, then he becomes frustrated in his life and wants to leave his original place (Sharma 2061).

Owing to the migrating nature, squatters have many difficulties adjusting to their new places as in the case of Samintara settlement. Moreover, squatter settlement in Samintara is a swarming area where so many houses are joint together in a cluster. Squatter's gather from different places and neighboring districts and in the new settlement they are compelled to face different sorts of socio-economic consequences which in turn creates various types of complications for them. There are many problems created among squatters of Samintara owing to flimsy social and economic status viz. environment pollution aroused by the lack of sewage disposal, unavailability of toilets etc. Other problems include the squatter's psychology of getting irritated quite easily and they use to quarrel with each other owing to use of alcohol and frustration. Likewise, the nature and attitudes vary greatly among squatters in this settlement.

In the milieu of the study area, these squatter people have many tribulations. For example, mostly such people do not possess large amount of land, therefore their houses are crowded and they are forced to live in a small area. There is lack of health facilities in Samintara. In contrast to these problems, maximum number of children use to go to school for study because educational institution is available in their locality. However, owing to delicate social and economic status, parents are less aware towards children's education and are unaware towards the implications of education. This study construed that the social condition of the area is not encouraging and economic condition is low but some people have gone for foreign jobs therefore some household's economic condition is better than others are. Majority of people do labor work with less income therefore, their economic status is low. In general, it is comprehensible that the overall condition of the squatter is very fragile which is creating direct implications on their socio-economic status which is in turn is creating various sorts of tribulations and consequences. In fact, upshot of becoming squatters and implications on socio-economic status has added to their tribulations or problems, which are as follows:

6.2   Tribulations of the Squatters

Families become squatter due to numerous reasons as mentioned earlier. The family has to adapt in new areas as a squatter. In the process of adaptation, the family has to face many problems. Some of the major tribulations of squatters of Samintara settlement because of their low socio-economic status are as follows:

6.2.1   Social Tribulations

A social predicament is a condition that at least some people in a community views it as being undesirable. Everyone would agree about some social problems, such as murders and robbery or drug addiction etc. Other social problems may be viewed as such by certain groups of people (Giddens, 2000). In general, social tribulations are multifaceted and create hardships for all and the society as a whole. The prevailing socio-economic scenario is creating multifaceted problems among the squatters of Samintara. It means the genesis of social tribulations is in the prevailing socio-economic status of the squatters that has its genesis in the family itself.

In Samintara squatter's area, family sizes diverge sharply. It is apparent from the previous chapter that among 50 household, 21 (37.17 percent) families have four members family structure. 11 (29.20 percent) households have six members. Five member households are 7 (15.49 percent) in number. One household has 8 members in that settlement. It is logical that there exists the high number of medium size family in Samintara. Likewise, it is a reality that squatter's households are small and maximum numbers of houses have only one room. By the distribution of family members, the size of house is very small because single room acts as kitchen, bedroom and store for the squatters. Consequently, their existence is stiff due to congested adjustment in small houses. Low quality housing and the brittle condition is the repercussion of fragile social status of the squatters.

There exist auxiliary scores of social tribulations of squatter's area of Samintara. Communally squatters are landless populace therefore their status is totally dependant upon their hardworking and wage earning income. Consequently, the squatter are unable to raise their status easily, they are becoming *isolated* day by day from the broader society, and a condition of *pauperization* is emerging thus preparing a ground

for the conversion of these squatters into waged people (*proletariat*) under a fast process of *proletariatisation*. Squatters are engaged in many struggles for upgrading their status but all in vain. The inhabitants of squatter settlements have gathered from different cultures and societies therefore they cannot adjust themselves easily to the new environment. Diversities in caste and ethnicities are other problems of squatter settlement with the ugly blemishes of Casteism and caste based discriminations emerging. The crowded housing and small piece of land is the problem for sanitation, which is creating pollution in environment. The lack of health facilities is also one of the main problems of that area.

Noteworthy sections of the squatter's families have many children. Nevertheless, most of these children are lacking excellence in education and many do not go to school owing to various reasons. In addition, children are obligated to slot in different forms of child labor and other vulnerable works bearing high risks. The growth in drug addiction among the grown up has increased the risk of HIV and AIDS infection among them as well among the children, which may cause serious consequences in future. Low social profile has also augmented the process of gender related discriminations among the households in the study area. Status connotes position, category or grading. Status of women in the context of women's access to economic resources, knowledge and political power, as well as their personal autonomy in the process of decision making inside the home and outside in the society is grim. When squatter women's of Samintara's status is analyzed in this light, the depiction is generally depressing as the area is a rigidly patriarchic and semi-feudalistic society. Patriarchy based society has deteriorated the status of women owing to which women are subordinate to men virtually in e very aspect of life.

Despite the gloomy condition of women in Samintara, their status is not similar in all groups as women's relative status varies from one ethnic/caste group to another. The status of women in Mongolian communities (Gurung, Magar and Tamang) generally, is relatively better than that of Dalit women. One tangible measure of women's status is their stumpy social status. Although the constitution offers women equal opportunities, many social, economic, and cultural factors contributed to lower status for girls in squatter's settlement. They are caught in a *vicious circle* imposed by the norms of patriarchic society. In general related to social tribulations women along

with squatter men have been discriminated against and lag far behind in squatter's settlement of Samintara, barring a few exceptions, mainly because of long-held social, cultural and economic structure and attitude of the people of the broader society towards the poor squatters. Another tribulation is the educational tribulations.

6.2.2 Educational Tribulations

Education is the illumination of human civilization. However, offspring of squatter areas are deprived of quality education. There is less enrolment of children in school and school dropout is rampant. As mentioned in previous chapter, 61 (55.96 percent) children are going to school, 24 (22.02 percentage) children are not going to school and 24 (22.02 percentage) children are going to childcare centers. In the study area, students not going to school are those students who left schools or are school dropouts and some children has not attained the necessary age to attend the school. Some children left their school and are engaged in labor works and wage earning and this depicts the tribulations embedded with education. These children cannot attend school due to their parents' poor socio- economic condition, ignorance of parents, inaccessible education system.

In Samintara settlement, some parents do not send their children to school because it is not positive in favor of them. Other reasons for children not attending school is social hierarchy, gender discrimination and child labor. The ***culture of poverty*** is also adding to the problem as many of the parents under the grip of culture of poverty are holding the opinion that they are the squatters and there is no rationality of education for them as their destiny is to be a wage laborer in future, thus there is no utility of getting the education for their children. There are other educational problems in the study area. There is not a single primary school in that area therefore students go for education at the far distance. The other major problem of the study area is that there is no adult literacy program therefore majority of adults are illiterate in the study area. This education related tribulation makes clear that the prevailing educational system is prone to produce such a manpower in future, which will work in the construction sites and enterprises of the elite rich people. Abiding by the Marxist perspective it is deduced that this tendency will virtually kill the revolutionary sentiment of the squatters who will be ***alienated*** from their family and society owing to hard toil in

labor and all their revolutionary feelings will die in the time being and all these will be the repercussion of poor socio-economic status of squatters.

6.2.3   Economic Tribulations

The **economic problem**, sometimes called the **fundamental economic problem**, is one of the fundamental economic theories in the operation of any economy. It asserts that there is scarcity, that the finite resources available are insufficient to satisfy all human wants. The problem then becomes how to determine what is to be produced and how the factors of production (such as capital and labour) are to be allocated. Economics revolves around methods and possibilities of solving the economic problems , however problems remains intact in many cases specially in least developed socties *(en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_problem)*

There prevails countless economic tribulations. In Samintara squatters are landless people therefore their source of income is labor wages and other lowly paid jobs. Consequently, the resultant problems are low income, malnutrition, housing problem, sanitation, debt etc. owing to the result of low income, they cannot save money for future uses, and therefore their future has no financial security. In addition, people cannot fulfill their basic needs (eating, housing and clothing etc). Among the 50 households of squatters with a total population of 226, seventy-nine people are generating the income of any sorts for their families. With a total working population of 79, large numbers of people are engaged in different sectors. There are 29 people with 37 percent (Table 5.19) involved in wage earning labor income and 22 (28 percent) people are having agriculture involvement. It is logical that high percentages of squatters are involved in wage labor and less number of squatters are involved in business activities. Squatters generating income through labor works are in majority in squatter area. They have no land and their educational condition is low therefore they cannot do *white-collar jobs* that is why they are engaged in the *blue-collar manual* labor wages trapped in the *culture of poverty* vicious cycle with always in hands and mouth condition. These figures are the repercussions of underprivileged economic status of squatters.

Maximum numbers of houses are of temporary type in the study area. It is clear that squatters economic condition is low and they are facing tribulations owing to low

economic status. Squatters do not have sanitation necessity such as toilet in Samintara settlement because of their poverty as well as illiteracy and these may create endemic consequences in future. The widening **economic** gap between *'Have-nots'* squatters and city elites *'Haves'* may create serious repercussion in future which may culminate into a struggle which would end only with the squatters getting more rights and the hegemony of the exploiters coming to an end and the beginning of a free society, harmonious society free of exploitation, where there will be no differences between squatters and other people.

It is also deduced from this study that *"economy"* is vital and it is the economic base of society that influences the general character of all other aspects of culture and social structure, such as education. religion etc. Thus, it is construed that there is the fundamental influence of the economy on other areas of society and there exists lofty repercussions of socio-economic status. The repercussions of socio-economic status combined are of broad spectrum with its expanding dimensions in the field of drug addiction.

6.3   Problems Related to Drug Addiction

Pokhara, renowned for its surpassing natural beauty, is under the high influence of drug addiction. By 2007 the city has drug addicts totaling to around 6,000, according to *Naulo Ghumti*, an NGO that has been working in the field of Drug Education Programme for the past eight years. Addicts used syringes and indulge in unsafe sex practices, thus heightening the chances for the rapid spread of AIDS and other diseases.

Most of the drug addicts are between 15 to 25 years of age group and children whose fathers are squatters or whose parents are abroad are mostly involved in these activities. Squatters from different settlement sell drug to earn money. At the same time, many of the squatters' children are involved in drug addictions and are drug addicts. However, in this study the drug addicts based on squatter respondents who are addicted to different types of addiction have been encompassed. The table below presents the involvement of squatters 50 household heads those who are at present addicts by different addictions in Samintara settlement.

Table 6.1 Squatter's Involvement in Addiction

Types of addicts	Number of addicts (Household heads only)	Percent
Smoking	14	28.0
Alcohol	17	34.0
Chewing Tobacco	6	12.0
Marijuana	2	4.0
No	11	22.0
Total	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2008

No doubt, addiction is a very bad habit that can take the life of a person even, but people used to addict owing to various reasons –may be owing to companionship, frustration, poverty etc. From the above table it is clear that there are four types of addicts in the study area of Samintara. 14 (28 percent) household respondents are used to smoking, 17(34 percent) are used to alcohol, 6(12 percent) are used to tobacco chewing and only 2(4 percent) respondents are using marijuana continuously. 11(22 percent) respondents are not used to any types of addiction. Therefore, it is clear that more squatters are involved in addiction. Especially women squatters are used to smoking the cigarettes, which may create serious health consequences especially on the part of pregnant women and the baby to be born. In addition, male squatters are used to *Alcohol*. Nevertheless, some male and female are used to both types of addiction. Some squatters use the tobacco (*Khaini*) and only two respondents are habituated to use to *Marijuana* among 50 respondents.

From the scrutiny of the data, we can go for the analysis that more squatter are addicts because of their poverty and illiteracy. Owing to fragile socio-economic evils squatters are bound to do very hard work (labor wages) in the day therefore they use addiction to forget their fatigueless. In addition, the squatter have very limited means of recreation thus, they are inclined to addictions of various sorts for recreation and all these are the repercussions of low socio-economic status that is prevailing among the squatters of Samintara settlement.

CHAPTER SEVEN
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1   Summary

The general or the broad objective of this study is to find out the social and economic status of squatters of Samintara settlement of Pokhara. The specific objectives of the study are to study the history (anecdote) and the prevailing socio-economic scenario of squatter community and to uncover the repercussion of socio-economic status, and to suggest for the amelioration of squatters socio-economic problems. Guided by the theoretical framework of Marxist approach based on the notion of Economic Sociology, the study is based on qualitative and quantitative approaches with both Exploratory cum Descriptive research design. Both Primary as well as secondary data has been used as the raw material for the research. Through a scrutiny of socio-economic status of 50 households of squatter settlements of Samintara settlements of Pokhara, this study explored and derived some lessons and challenges related to socio-economic status and the consequent implications.

The study area Samintara is located on the bank of Seti River near the landfill site of Pokhara. There is the scarcity of land and migrating people called *squatters* have little land in that settlement. They have no food production to meet their daily desires and need. As they are landless, they are called squatters and landlessness is the root cause of poverty and worse socio-economic status. Squatter are the people having no land of their own or any other properties with their ownership. Poor people gathering from different places and different castes/ ethnicity who form a settlement are known as squatter's settlement. The squatter settlement of Samintara is an unplanned settlement, having simple houses and low socio-economic status of the people.

This study deduced that there exists a complex anecdote behind living the life of a squatter. Some people migrated here to Samintara settlement for seeking jobs or work, as they did not get the opportunity to work in their previous place of origin. More people came here because of landslide and flooding in their previous habitat. Some people had other causes e.g. easy access to roads, city life and good education in

urban area of Pokhara, which acted as a pull factor for their migration to this region. This study deduced that the main causes of becoming squatter and leading the life of a squatter were pull factors (job opportunity, education facility and transportation, communication etc. of the Pokhara valley) and push factors (landslide and flooding, poverty, etc.) of their place of origin. It has been deduced that the previous main occupation of squatter in their land of origin was agriculture. They did hard work for agriculture but could not get enough productivity from their land in their native land. Limited land and agricultural occupation therefore could not fulfill their daily needs consequently leading to their migration in this region of Samintara.

The Samintara settlement situated at the border of ward no 14 and 18 of Pokhara sub-metropolitan city was started from 2044 B.S. The whole settlement was formed between 2044 to 2064 B.S. There are altogether 50 households made in the 20 years period in this settlement. The 50 households are the sample size of this study. The general summary of this study is elucidated below. There are total 226 people in the sampled 50 households in Samintara settlement. There are 107 male and 119 female among the total 226 people. Among them, 50 are household heads or the respondents from each household. The people of age group 31 to 45 are high in number than other age group people in the study area and their percentage is 76. The numbers of *Dalits* are higher than the people of other castes and ethnicity. 62 percent of the total population of Samintara is of Dalits and the remaining 38 percent are people of other castes or groups. Brahmin, Chhetry, Tamang etc are the people from other castes and ethnicity groups in Samintara.

In Samintara squatters area, in the perspective of religion, 88 percent people are Hindus, only 6 percent are Buddhist and the others are 6 percent. Muslim people were not found to inhabit in the Samintara settlement. Thus, it is deduced that Hindus comprise the largest group in terms of religious status. In the milieu of language, there are three types of language used in the study area but the main communicative language or *lingua franca* is Nepali. Some ethnic groups also speak Gurung and Tamang languages. It has been traced that among 50 household respondents, 92 percent people are married and 8 percent are unmarried.

Social indicators encompassing a wide range of aspects are crucial for generating their consequences on development. Measures to indicate social progress, *"social indicators,"* have been conversed in this study, and the importance of economic indicators considered undeniable. Empirical measures of cultural states in comparison also remain vital. This study traced how an integrated framework combining social and cultural indicators of development is applied to measure social status of the squatters of Samintara.

Embedded with social status, the religion practice of the settlement is simple. One temple is located in that area which shows that though poor economically, squatters have their own faith as they believe in supernatural power as well. Festivals *Akadasi, Sivaratri* and other festivals are also celebrated in this temple. Majority of the people used to celebrate their festivals in simple manner . They celebrate their festivals from religious *pomp and merry*. Hindus and Buddhist both observe Dashain, Tihar, etc, whereas Christians celebrate Christmas day. Hindu women also observe Teej the festival of women. It has been comprehended that there are different religions and different castes/ethnicity people in the study area. However, they are helpful to each other and there has been not much divergence with other but some caste conflict has been seen here. Likewise, there has been the rise to the ***culture of poverty***— influencing all aspects of dalit squatter's life. As a whole, the religion-based conflict is rare. Here, sometimes squatters go for conflict and go for quarreling under the influence of alcohol and other addictions.

In the context of health checkup and medical emergency, squatters used to go to hospital. Even though, there is no hospital or any other health institution in the locality, the area is relatively in the vicinity of major government hospital of Pokhara-that is Gandaki hospital and private clinics in Pokhara. The squatter people go to the health service centers themselves for health check up when they get sick depending on their economic status. Some people go to regional hospital, some go to private clinic, and some others go to pharmacy and purchase medicines from the medicine seller without a physician's prescription and this tendency is dangerous as it can create dangerous health consequences in future. The patient may die of the use of wrong or date expired medicines.

Family planning has also been practised in the Samintara squatter's area. It has been deduced that 12 respondents followed the family planning measures among the 50 respondents. Permanent family planning was adopted more than the temporary measures of family planning. Females have been found to participate actively, more than male in family planning practices. This shows the rising consciousness of women despite the prevailing socio-economic and education related disparities in the study area. Among the sampled respondents in Samintara adult illiteracy rate is high (28 percent) because of not having adult literacy program in that area. Among 50 respondents, 36 people are literate and 14 are illiterate. The number of people having higher secondary level education was found to be only one.

There were 109 children among 226 total selected populations. Among them school going children are 61 in number whereas those not going were 24. Among them, 24 children used to go to the childcare center as well. The school attendance of new generation is higher than old generation and this shows the progressive attitude of the squatters and their optimism for a better future lying ahead of them. The children of 26 households used to go to childcare center that has become an immense facilitation for children's education. However, 24 households did not have their children in that type of institution (childcare center) because either they had no children at home or they had children who were out of childcare age. It has been deduced that in Samintara immense number of children used to go to school even though majority of their parents were uneducated and could not guide their children's study at home. However, some people did encourage their children to study at home (about 34 percent people), whereas some others could not guide their children at home.

This study has construed that women are partners for sustainable participation and development. Thus, they have prominent role to play in development along with males but it is not so in authenticity as different sorts of gender inequalities curtail their roles in the society. Many women are involved in wage earning labor work along with males but they are bound to do household works also thus they face the dichotomy of dual role – *household chore vs. wage earning labor works*. Women also face discriminations in wages even for the same work. In reality the plight of female and gender equalities in Samintara has underwent through tough tribulations related to social, cultural and economic matters.

Regarding the **economic status**, the maximum numbers of squatters are engaged in daily wages works and many people are engaged in *Mistri* (labor) work. Few people are pursuing businesses in the study area. Many people depend on labor work in Samintara settlement. The main source of household income is labor wages whose percentage is twenty-nine. The income sources of households are more than one occupation in some houses but many houses have only one source of income—that is wage labor. Comparatively squatter's income is lower than other people's but within the settlement, those squatters households which have more than one people engaged in some earnings, have definitely better income than others do. Nowadays, many people have gone to foreign countries, as a result some household's income is more than Rs.8000/ per month due to their remittance but in general, average income in squatters is low in Samintara settlement.

This study deduced that except few squatters' households whose members are in foreign countries viz Saudi Arabia, majority of squatter families are reasonably poor. Poverty is rampant to such an extent that not all squatters could buy their wearing clothes. Some squatters buy themselves; some used to get clothes from their relatives, whereas some received their clothes from others. The majority of households do not have toilet facilities available in that settlement. They used to go to open land for defecation. Permanent toilet is available in only five households among 50 households whereas 15 households have temporary toilets in this settlement. Housing opportunities are very closely related to economic status of a family. Better housing means sound economic status. In Samintara significant numbers of households (around 44 percent) have only one room available in their houses. Only 6 percent households have four or more than four rooms. This study showed that among 50 selected households, 30 percent households have two rooms. In this case, it is obvious that many people live in small houses in squatter settlements and this presents the worst economic of the squatters in Samintara.

Embedded to economic status, the availability of commodities, amenities of life and entertainment is vital. In Samintara more families used to listen to radio for entertainment. In total, 70 percent households use radio and 38 percent people have TV and only 10 percent households have VCD/DVD. Therefore, the people in

squatter settlement have a comparatively improving access to the means of entertainment despite their grim economic conditions. This shows the jolly and warm-hearted nature of the squatters despite problems. The availability status of other goods of daily needs in that area depicting the economic status of squatters is as follows:

Of the total 50 households, the landline phone is not available in any household; however, 21 percent people had cell phone (mobile phone). Most of the households have used electricity (43 percent) in their houses and 19 percent households use gas stove for cooking. However, few people possessed cupboard and sofa. Squatter people have different tribulation as repercussions of socio-economic status, which they are facing in present. They are found to be addicted to different types of infatuation-*social, economic and psychological.* As a whole, squatter people are used to drink alcohol more commonly. Among 50 household respondents, only 11 people did not have any types of addiction. Therefore, addiction------may be alcoholism, smoking, using tobacco, marijuana are the major problems of squatters, which is at appalling rate deteriorating their socio-economic status. There also exists scores of other social tribulations of squatter's area of Samintara. Communally squatters are landless populace therefore their social status is totally dependant upon their hardworking and wage earning income. Likewise, main economic tribulations comprised of crowded housing, lack of access to toilet for every houses, not having health service centers at the settlement, not getting **Lalpurja** (land owner certificate denoting permanent ownership of land) yet and numerous other social problems etc. Amidst these prevailing scenarios, the anecdote of squatter's life and repercussion of socio-economic status and consequent tribulations of squatter remain vital.

It is also the veracity that the squatter are unable to raise their status easily, they are becoming *isolated* day by day from the broader society, and a condition of *pauperization* is emerging thus preparing a ground for the conversion of these squatters into waged people (*proletariat*) under a fast process of *proletariatisation.* Based on the Marxist perspective it is summarized at the end that the squatters of Samintara are facing many social and economic problems in the settlement and the quandary of **proletariatisation** is the possible consequences in future. On the other hand, since squatters came there from different places having different cultures, caste/ethnicities, they have some sort of difficulties to interact with each other initially

and there may be the lack of class-consciousness, class solidarity and the polarization of these squatters for more rights. Thus, their problems remain intact.

7.2 Conclusion

No one can ignore that social/political divergence or conflict is the core of change as a general process and essential law of development occurring amidst scarcity. Unequal distribution of resources, political power and centuries old feudalistic elites exploitations amidst the rhetoric of *Samabesi* (inclusiveness) lead to the rise of crisis and instability, ultimately leading to conflict and violence and when politicized got a political color even in the form of political violence. People's socio-economic and the related tribulations, inclusiveness and all genuine issues ought to be addressed in time. However, it has not been so in **Samintara** squatter's settlement owing to the apathy of the government, negligence and lack of political commitment. Due to this reason, the socio-economic status of the poor squatter has not been upgraded even after 20 years old history of Samintara settlement.

Most of the squatters of Samintara are living in very poor conditions, often without any access to basic services such as proper drinking water and sanitation. Most squatters faced the threat of eviction due to lack of secure legal grounds for their settlement. Majority of squatters were migrants from rural areas who were engaged in agriculture in the past, and therefore did not possess the necessary skills and capital to access the formal urban economic sectors. The gender-based discriminations is crucial to be taken into consideration. Female dichotomy of dual role – *household chore vs. wage earning labor works is* critical. Wage discriminations based on gender disparity is also depressing. This study has inferred that the failure to consider gender differences/inequalities may results in *fiasco*, and the doomed failure of all development efforts to upgrade the socio-economic status of women as well man. It is also inferred that social and economic analysis is incomplete without an understanding of gender differences and inequalities.

In Samintara most of squatters are compelled to work in the informal labor sector, where they run a higher risk of exploitation. It is construed that owing to low social and economic status, squatters are generally seen more as *"problem creators"* in Pokhara than as a group of people who are poor with low socio-economic status and

have genuine rights to live a dignified life of human in their restricted area. A significant proportion of the squatter's families have children. However, most of these children are lacking quality education and many do not go to school. Moreover, children are compelled to engage in different forms of child labor. The growth in drug addiction increases the risk of HIV and AIDS infection among them, which may cause serious consequences in future.

At end, this study draws the conclusion that squatters are the people displaced from their original homeland, lacking a clear identity in the urban areas where they seek refuge at the present. Consequently, the residents of the cities and the city authorities tend to treat them as second-class citizens owing to the low social and economic status of squatters. It is worth consideration that the squatters' contributions to urban life through various economic activities have not been duly recognized in Pokhara. Correspondingly, it is also a veracity that the increasing gap in *status* between the poor squatters living in squatters settlement and the urban dwellers living in urban centers, has been not been paid due attention. This study has, thus, deduced that the more imbalanced the regional development efforts especially *urban mainland versus squatters settlement* and allotment of scarce resources, the wider will be the inconsistency of interest between foremost and secondary segments for receiving the power on possessions and resources. It is deduced that more the squatter's sentiment and grievances are ignored; more stress will be created in the society.

It is also deduced that the further squatter become aware of their factual combined interests; the more likely are they to challenge the legitimacy of the existing pattern of politics and the distribution of a major bulk of scarce resources in the hands of few urban elites. No one should take the fate of the squatters as scapegoat. Rather the policy makers should think about seeking squatter's consensus and sentiments at the time of taking any kind of action detrimental to their interest. If the sentiments of the squatters are ignored, there may be more apathy, violence and stress in all activities of the *Loktantrik* process of the nation.

7.3   Recommendations

Squatters and the problems of squatters are the problems of country. Nobody wants to become squatter but it is the circumstances that compels a person to be a squatter. In

general, they are the citizens of Nepal and their feeling is Nepali but they have been deprived of basic rights of human life. As the squatter families did not have basic facilities, and squatters are living in struggling inhuman social and economic conditions, this study depicted the socio-economic status of the squatters of Samintara as extremely low and depressing. As such for the amelioration of problems, this study suggests few recommendations, which if implemented by policy makers rather than treating this as *paper tiger*, may bring alteration and may avert probable future conflicts.

1. Policies ought to be devised to provide credit and financing for income-generating projects for upgrading the status of man as well women in squatter's area.

2. To reduce economic disparity, employment should be generated. Employment is also essential to raise the status of lower economic groups and new immigrant squatters. Policy of giving *'training of fishing rather than giving a fish to unemployed'* should be adopted. Investment should be targeted to build infrastructure of squatters sector rather than for building urban areas.

3. The issues and concerns of squatters should be regularly discussed to draw attention of all the concerned individuals/institutions/government whose programs are likely or are to be linked to the squatter settlements.

4. The squatters and their settlements should not be treated as illegal. A phenomenon of economic equity and social justice should be the underlying principle, while addressing squatter's issues.

5. Squatters do not have land ownership at present therefore; it should be proceeded for them. They have used land but they are illegible ownership of land.

6. There is no adult literacy program in squatters area. Therefore carrying of adult literacy program is most important for people of the study area. It will enhance their socio-economic status.

This study traced the socio-economic status and consequent tribulations of squatters of Samintara and presented few recommendations, however there are other grey areas of exploration, which remained untouched in this study. Further studies are necessary on the issue of inclusion of squatters in the mainstream. Thus, for future researchers this study presents few directions.

Direction for Future Researchers

This study is focused on the socio- economic status of squatters. The following are the issues, which are not covered by this study but can possibly be looked into in future by other researchers:

1) In this study, very limited variables of squatters were focused on. So further study should be done through other approaches tracing other issues of squatters.

2) The study has been carried out only based on households respondents. It cannot reveal the children's and youths problems; therefore further study can explore this sector.

3) The problems related to the *Samabesi* of squatters in 'New Nepal' demands for researches by future researchers.

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Annex I

Questions for Interview

1. General Background

Name of Respondent……………….   Date   ……………

Age……………………………..   Gender…………...

Occupation ………………………….   Ethnicity…………

Religion…………………………….   Education……………..

Marital Status……………………....

2. Where is your Birth Place?

Zone………………District………………..Place………………

3. When did you come here?

 …………………………B.S.

4. From which place did you migrate?

   Name of the place:…………………….

5. Description of the Family Member

S.N.	Name	Relation with respondent	Sex	Age	Education	Marital status	Occupation
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							

6.   Distance of primary school from home…………………
7.   Where do you go for higher study?
     …………………………………..

8.   Are you given elderly education nearby?
       a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

9.   Are you given any facilities for education by any agencies?
       a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

10. Do you send your children to school daily? If no why?
   a. Financial problem ☐   b. Work at home ☐

   c. Do not want to teach ☐   d. Others ☐

11. Do you teach your children at home?
   a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

12. Were you discriminated in the name of son or daughter for education?
   …………………….....................................

13. Have you ever discussed your children's education with school teacher?
   a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

14. What is your concept on health and health status?

   ----

15. Do you check your health regularly?
   a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

16. What type of health services is available here?
   …………………………………………….

17. Where do you go for health check up?
   a) Health post ☐   b) Hospital ☐

   c) Traditional Practitioner ☐   d) Private clinic ☐

18. Do you immunize your children?
   a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

 19. When have they been immunized?

   a. Sometimes ☐   b. Changed Weather ☐

   c. Usually ☐   d. Never ☐

20. Have you done family planning? If yes what type? Temporary or permanent?
   a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

   ……………………………..

21. Which type of toilet do you have?
   a. Permanent ☐   b. Temporary ☐

   c. Pit Only ☐   d. No ☐

22. Do you wash your hand after defecation with soap?
   a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

23. Do you care your and children's personal hygiene and clean dress?
   a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

24. What is the source of drinking water?
   a) Tube well ☐   b) Piped water ☐

   c) Kuwa/well ☐   d) River ☐

25. What are your major festivals?
   ……………………………

26. How do you celebrate your festivals?
   a) Simply ☐   b) Lavishly ☐

c) According to the prevailing condition ☐

27. Do you have temple nearby?
   a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

28. Do you believe the super natural powers?
   a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

29. Do you have any Procession in your community?
   a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

30. Are there any conflicts in your society in the name of religion, festivals and caste have?
   a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

31. Do the people drink alcohol during the festivals celebration?
   a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

32. What type of physical facilities is available here?
   a. Toilet ☐   b. Water taps ☐

   c. Electricity ☐   d. Telephone/mobile ☐

   e. Cupboard ☐   f. Bicycle ☐

33. Which type of communication media are at home?
   a. Radio ☐   b. TV. ☐

   c. V.C.D /D.V.D. ☐   d. Computer ☐

34. What type of difficulties and tribulations are you facing here?

a. Social ☐   b. Economic ☐

c. Cultural ☐   d. Others ☐

35. What is the source of your household income?

a. Agriculture ☐   b. Service ☐

c. Business ☐   d. Labor hood ☐

e. Pension ☐   f. Others ☐

36. What was your occupation before migration to Samintara?

a. Agriculture ☐   b. Service ☐

c. Business ☐   d. Labor hood ☐

e. Others

37. What is your current occupation?

a. Agriculture ☐   b. Service ☐

c. Business ☐   d. Labor hood ☐

e. Pension ☐   f. Others ☐

38. How many members of your family are engaged in economically income generating activities?

a. 1 ☐   b.2 ☐

c..3 ☐   d. 4 and Above ☐

39. What is the average income of your family?
a. Less than 2000 ☐   b. 2000-4000 ☐

c. 4000- 8000 ☐   8000 and above ☐

40. How much money is spent in a month?
……………………………………………………………..

41. What types of cloths do you wear?

a. Bought myself ☐   b. Received by relatives ☐

c. Received by others ☐   d Others ☐

42. What is the position of females in your family at economic decision making ?
a. No role ☐   b. Partial ☐

c. Advisory ☐   d. Absolute ☐

43. Did you have your own land in your original place? How much?
……………………………………………………………………

44. What is your land holding portion here?

……………………………………………………………..

45. What is the type of your house? What type of house do you have?
   a. Permanent ☐   b. Temporary ☐

46. How many rooms are there in your house?

a. Single ☐   b Double ☐

c. Three ☐   d. Four and above ☐

47. Did any one help you when you migrate here?

a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

48. Have you borrowed loan from any institution? If yes, for what purpose?
……………………………………………………………..

   Name of institution…………………………………………..

49. Are here any   INGO, NGO, agencies or government involved in your
    economic support here?
 If yes which?---

50. Do you know about nutrition?

a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

51. Do you eat nutritious food?

a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

52. How many times do you give food to children?

----

53. What may be the economic implications on health status?

----

54. In general, what are the repercussions of socio-economic status &
    tribulations?

----

55. Any suggestion …………………………………………….

Annex II

Checklist for Interview with key informants

1. Brief description of the settlement

2. Main Identity of this area

3. Composition of the settlement by sex, caste, religion, age, marital status, literacy rate, economic status, ethnicity etc.

4. Issues related to participation of all sections –elite, caste, ethnic groups, *Dalit* in social work of this area.

5. Women's participation in development activities of this settlement.

6. Differences of life standard between before and after migration. Managerial difficulties faced during the initial period, solutions and the present resolutions for improvements.

7. Linkages with any organization, which are prone to improve daily life. Role of local and national government and NGO officials in the local people's struggle for existence.

8. Land ownership certificate and struggle for getting the ownership certificate.

9. Support of municipality or ward office at this settlement. Activities and works accomplished by ward offices. Motivational steps taken by wards and sub-metropolis to boost the moral of squatters.

10. Important person supporting to this area for development.

11. Attempts to improvements --socially, culturally, economically and politically.

12. Implications of socio-economic status.

13. Problems encountered during that whole procedure of settlement and other facilities related to infrastructure development.

14. Persuasion of female members, *Dalits*, disadvantaged groups, youths and teenagers to participate in development activities of this region.

15. Suggestions for the betterment and amelioration.

Annex III

Squatters Settlements of Pokhara Sub Metropolitan City

Total squatter settlements of Pokhara Sub Metropolitan City

Ward no.	Name of place	Households no.	Population	Remarks
1	Kaseri	160	1800	
1	Shankar Tole	20	104	
2	Pipaldali	163	850	
3	Tulasighat	20	105	
4	Baglung Way	18	93	
5	Firke Dil	30	154	
6	Bulaudi	1	5	
7	Pragatinagar	20	105	
7	Firkedil	2	11	
7	Mashbar	2	10	
8	Fikedil	17	70	
9	Nayabazar	45	225	
9	Nayabazar(Tamudhi)	36	200	
9	Sitapaila	39	150	
9	Shanti Banbatika	48	250	
9	Shanti Ban 2	12	50	
9	Sahara Tole	86	400	
9	Krishna Tole	212	2000	
9	Shiva Tole	300	1500	
9	Bus Park	75	380	
10	Nagin Tole	60	400	
10	Janapriya Tole	100	507	
11	Tulasi Marga	18	80	
11	Ramghat	25	112	
12	Sitala Tole	18	80	
12	Ranipauwa Purano dhara	4	19	
12	Vetenery Tole	11	53	

Ward no.	Name of place	Households no.	Population	Remarks
12	Hospital Chowk	8	39	
12	Bhadrakali Phedi	4	21	
13	Miya patan	22	100	
14	Bijaya Basti	40	207	
14	Samitara	22	100	
14	Deurali	4	20	
14	Ratdanda	10	52	
15	Kranti Tole	164	892	
15	Adarsa Tole	27	147	
15	Kuleshor(Amintaro)	31	96	
15	Patneri	9	42	
16	Simal Khoriya	7	37	
17	Hanuman Tole	334	1750	
17	Pragati Tole(dobilla)	200	1013	
17	Upallo Rato Pairo	43	215	
17	Tallo Rato Pairo	18	93	
17	Gharikulo	33	150	
17	Shivabuddha Marga	38	150	
17	Sahidchock	4	20	
17	Chhorepatan	43	200	
17	Simaltunga	68	350	
18	Khaltemasina	200	1000	
18	Shanti Tole	150	750	
18	Samintara	50	226	Pokhara 14 & 18
18	Dhaikhare	18	60	
18	Masina (Rajnish camp)	8	40	
	Total 53	Total 3095	Total 17,472	

(Source: Madan Bhandari, 2063)

Annex IV

Name list of Key informants

S.N	Name	Age	Caste/ ethnicity	Occupation
1	Krishna B.K	45	Dalit	Labor
2	Pul Prasad Gurung	37	Gurung	Job
3	Shiva Pariyar	32	Dalit	Labor
4	Jamuna Tamang	27	Tamang	House work
5	Gita Pariyar	26	Dalit	Agriculture
6	Hari Maya Adhikari	26	Brahmin	House work