

Rural Urban Migration and Livelihood in the Informal Sector

A Study of Street Vendors of Kathmandu Metropolitan City, Nepal



Krishna Prasad Timal

Master of Philosophy Thesis in Development Studies
Submitted to the Department of Geography
Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)



Trondheim, Norway

May 2007

Rural Urban Migration and Livelihood in the Informal Sector

A Study of Street Vendors of Kathmandu Metropolitan City, Nepal

Krishna Prasad Timalina

**Master of Philosophy Thesis in Development Studies
(Specializing in Geography)
Submitted to the Department of Geography
Faculty of Social Science and Technology management
Norwegian University of Science and technology**



Trondheim, Norway

May 2007

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to my beloved mother, who had dedicated her life to her children. *“Mother, you had devoted your life to educate me, and this is all that I could offer you by now”*.

I would also like to dedicate this thesis to my father

and

To my wife Goma Sapkota

Acknowledgement

Working with this thesis has been very interesting. I am forever indebted to all those who gave me valuable suggestions, stimulating ideas, constructive comments and encouragements throughout this thesis writing. First of all, I am deeply indebted to my supervisor professor Ragnhild Lund for her invaluable advice and consultations, during the analysis and overall processes of writing this thesis. Her constructive comments and assistance was vital to how this thesis looks today.

This thesis is a culmination of all the lectures I took in two years study period. I would therefore like to deeply thank to all the professors and lecturers under the Mphil in Development Studies, who gave marvelous lectures during two years study period at Dragvoll Campus. Appreciation also goes to the administrative staffs at the Mphil in Development Studies programme, Jorunn Retain and Markus Steen in particular for their invaluable information and help during the study period.

I am grateful to Professor Bhim Prasad Subedi for his invaluable suggestion, goodwill and encouragement. Without his inspiration and continuous encouragement, it was not possible me to achieve abroad study opportunity. I would also like to thank to Kanhaiya Sapkota for his support and encouragement in various stages of abroad study. Appreciation also goes to my friends; Ritu Raj Bhandari, Pushkar Nepal, Nirmal Adhikari and Krishna Chandra Adhikari for their motivation and encouragement.

I am also grateful to the Norwegian Government through the State Educational Loan Fund for the scholarship to study at this level. Without this support, it was not possible me for pursuing higher education in Norway. It also gave me an opportunity to stay abroad with my wife and enjoy family life in Norway.

This two years study at NTNU made a company with different cultured people (Africa, Europe and Asia), which gave me an unforgettable memory in my life. I wish I would never forget the company which I had with my fallow student at the Department of Geography and friends at Moholt Alle, Herman Krag, Prestkrage Veggen and Berg Student Villages in Trondheim. I would like to thank to all the friends who gave me valuable suggestions and support during the two years study at NTNU.

I am also grateful to all the informants who gave me valuable information during my field work. I would like to thank to all the key informants; Rajunath Pande, Govinda Magar, Kumar Sapkota, Ramesh Dhakal, Meghnath Sibakoti, Prakash Tamang for providing me valuable information for this study. Appreciation also goes to all other individual informants without whom this study would never be completed. Thank you very much to all of you for your kind cooperation and for providing information.

Last but not least, I extend my special aspiration to my parents who encouraged, inspired and brought me up to this academic level by their great effort in the hardship of familial economic background. I am also thankful to my brother Gokul Timalina for his support taking care of the family back at home during my study period in Norway. Finally, special thanks to my wife Goma Sapkota for her special support and motivation to prepare this thesis.

Krishna Prasad Timalina
Trondheim, Norway
May, 2007

Abstract

Increasing population pressure at the household level, increasing socio-economic disparities between people and communities, disparities between urban and rural areas, increasing unemployment, unequal land ownership, difficult rural life in general, and conflict in particular have resulted in livelihood vulnerability in the rural areas of Nepal. People are pursuing internal migration as a way of survival strategy among others to create livelihoods in the urban informal sectors. In this context the present study explores increasing rural-urban migration, increase in the informal sector activities and how that impacts on people's livelihood in the urban areas of Nepal in general and Kathmandu in particular. It further looks at how the situation is linked to rural conflict and displacement in Nepal. Migrants street vendors, as the objects of this study, were selected from Kathmandu Metropolitan City, using purposive snowball sampling to get insights by the qualitative research methodology.

As theories provide certain ways of looking at the world or issues and are essential in defining a research problem, migration theories and livelihood approach are adopted to look at the issues to get insights how poor migrants are making a living in the urban informal sector in Kathmandu. Migration theories have been applied to look at the causes for increasing population in Kathmandu in general, and in the informal sector in particular. Livelihood approach has been adopted to look at the changes in access to assets in different circumstances. It has been looked at how street vendors are making a living and how they have changed the access to assets as compared to their previous occupation. These issues are explained on the basis of analytical framework, which was developed by reviewing migration theories and livelihood approach.

This study shows that the informal sector, including street vending activities in Kathmandu are increasing with increasing rural to urban migration. It has been found that with the increase in the number of street vendors in the urban areas in recent years, the situation is linked to rural conflict and displacement. This study also shows that street vending is an opportunity to rural poor for making a living in the urban areas. The livelihoods of migrant vendors, as compared with their previous occupation, have increased after getting involved in the street vending. Comparing access to assets before and after migration shows migrant vendors have improved their financial and human capital assets by getting better access to physical and political capital assets than before. However, with limited access to physical, financial and political capitals, rural societies have to depend on natural and social capitals for their livelihoods. Thus, there is difference in getting access to assets between urban and rural societies, and street vending in Kathmandu can be accounted as a resource rather than a problem.

However, there are confrontations between authorities and vendors over licensing, taxation and encroachment of public places and pavements. In spite of its crucial role for providing employment and livelihoods to both urban and rural poor, its economic importance is rarely recognized either in national poverty reduction strategies or in city governance initiatives. Urban authorities take it as an illegal and unproductive sector, and their response to street trading is, too often, harassment of traders and eviction, which causes conflict between authorities and vendors.

*Krishna Prasad Timalsina
Trondheim, Norway.*

Table of Contents

Contents	Page
Dedication	i
Acknowledgement	iii
Abstract	iv
List of Figures	viii
List of Tables	viii
List of Maps	viii
List of Photos	viii
List of Abbreviations	ix
Chapter One	1
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Background Introduction.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	4
1.3 Research Objectives.....	6
1.4 Research Questions.....	6
1.5 Significance of the Study.....	7
1.6 Organization of the Study.....	7
Chapter Two	9
2 Study Area	9
2.1 Introduction.....	9
2.2 A Brief Introduction to Nepal.....	9
2.3 Introduction to the Kathmandu Valley.....	11
2.3.1 Location.....	12
2.3.2 Topography.....	12
2.3.3 Infrastructure.....	13
2.3.4 Population.....	14
The City Core.....	15
City Centre.....	16
City Outer Ring.....	16
2.3.5 Population In-migration in Kathmandu Valley.....	17
2.4 Conclusion.....	19
Chapter Three	20
3 Literature Review and Analytical Approach	20
3.1 Introduction.....	20
3.2 Key Concepts.....	20
3.2.1 Development.....	20
3.2.2 Livelihood.....	20
3.2.3 Livelihood Assets.....	21
3.2.4 Migration.....	21
3.2.5 Street Vendors.....	21
3.3 Literature Review.....	22
3.3.1 Migration Theories.....	22

Dual Economy Models of Rural-urban Migration.....	23
Todaro and Harris-Todaro Model of Rural-urban Migration	23
New Economies Models of Rural-urban Migration.....	25
3.3.2 Push and Pull Factors Approach for Rural-urban Migration.....	27
3.3.3 Livelihood Approach	27
3.3.4 The Livelihood Framework	29
Livelihood Assets on Asset Pentagon.....	29
Transforming Structures and Processes	31
Livelihood Outcomes.....	31
Livelihood Strategies	32
Vulnerability Context.....	32
3.3.5 Link between the Informal Sector and Livelihood Approach	32
3.4 Analytical Approach	33
3.5 Conclusion	35
Chapter Four.....	36
4 Research Methodology	36
4.1 Introduction.....	36
4.2 Research Methodology	36
4.3 Qualitative Research Methodology	36
4.4 Reasons for Choosing Qualitative Methodology.....	38
4.5 Research Design	39
4.6 Nature of Data and Data Collection Methods.....	39
4.6.1 Methods of Primary Data Collection	40
Interviews.....	40
Standardized Open-ended Interview	40
Key Informants' Interview.....	41
Informal Conversational Interview	41
Observation.....	42
Photographs as Data.....	44
4.7 Secondary Data Source	44
4.8 The Selection of the Respondents.....	45
4.8.1 Purposive Snowball Sampling	46
4.9 Data Analysis.....	47
4.10 Challenges in the Field	48
4.11 Field Work Evaluation.....	49
4.12 Research Validity and Reliability	50
4.13 Conclusion	52
Chapter Five.....	54
5 Issues of Rural to Urban Migration in Nepal.....	54
5.1 Introduction.....	54
5.2 Rural to Urban Migration as Livelihood Strategy	54
5.2.1 Rural to Urban Migration as Routine Livelihoods of the Rural Poor.....	54
Shortage of Year-round Employment.....	56
Limited Land Ownership	56
5.2.2 Rural to Urban Migration as Improving Livelihoods	58
Building Capital Assets.....	58
Managing Risk and Vulnerability.....	59
Positive Livelihood Outcomes	60

5.3 Rural to Urban Migration as Displacement	60
5.3.1 Inception of Maoism and Conflict	61
5.3.2 Conflict and Migration.....	61
5.3.3 The Consequences of Conflict on Migration and Livelihoods	63
5.4 Concluding the Chapter: Pull and Push Factors for Migration.....	65
Chapter Six.....	69
6 The Livelihoods: Urban and Rural	69
6.1 Introduction.....	69
6.2 Agriculture as a Rural Livelihood before Migration	69
6.3 Street Vending as an Urban Livelihood after Migration	70
6.4 Street Vending as an Opportunity to Rural Poor	71
6.4.1 Opportunities for Work and Employment	72
6.4.2 Livelihood to Dependent Family	74
6.5 Changes in Livelihoods Assets: Before and After Migration.....	75
6.5.1 Natural Capital	76
6.5.2 Physical Capital	77
6.5.3 Financial Capital	78
6.5.4 Human Capital	80
6.5.5 Social Capital	81
6.5.6 Political Capital.....	84
6.6 Access to Assets: Before and After Migration	85
6.7 Conclusion	87
Chapter Seven	88
7 Interventions and Responses.....	88
7.1 Introduction.....	88
7.2 Responses by KMC Authority	88
7.2.1 Increasing Street Vending as the Cause of Physical Problems.....	89
7.2.2 Increasing Street Vending as the Cause of Social Problems	91
7.3 KMC’s Plan for Solving the Problems	92
7.4 Responses by Public Customers	94
7.4.1 Street Vending as an Employment Provider Sector to the Poor	95
7.4.2 Street Vending as Goods and Service Provider Sector	95
7.5 Responses by Nepal Street Vendors’ Union.....	96
7.5.1 Constraints for Street Vendors.....	97
Threats by KMC Authorities	98
Threats by Local Inhabitants and Shop Owners	100
Stealing from the Poor	104
7.5.2 Livelihood: Our Right.....	105
7.5.3 The Solution: Specification of Time for Trading	105
7.6 Conclusion	106
Chapter Eight.....	108
8 Livelihood Outcomes	108
8.1 Livelihood Outcomes.....	108
8.1.1 More Income with Increased Access to Assets.....	108
8.1.2 Well-being.....	109
8.1.3 Food Security and Reduced Vulnerability	109

Chapter Nine	111
9 Conclusion and Recommendations	111
9.1 Conclusion	111
9.2 Theory Revisited.....	113
9.3 Recommendations.....	114
References.....	117
Appendices.....	123
Appendix I	123
In-depth Interview Guide.....	123
Appendix II.....	124
Key Informants Interview Guide	124
i) Interview Guide for KMC Authority.....	124
ii) Interview Guide for Representative of Nepal Street Vendors Union.....	125
iii) Interview Guide for Public Customers.....	125

List of Figures

Figure 1: Annual Population Growth Rate in Nepal, 1911-2001	10
Figure 2: Population In-migration in Kathmandu Valley (Some Selected Wards)	18
Figure 3: Present Rural to Urban Migration in Nepal.....	18
Figure 4: DFID Livelihood Framework.....	29
Figure 5: Analytical Approach to the Study of Increase in Street Vending	34
Figure 6: Push and Pull Factors for Rural-urban Migration in Nepal.....	66

List of Tables

Table 1: Urban Population and Area in Kathmandu Valley from 1981 to 2011 (estimated) ..	14
Table 2: Population Density in 2001 (per sq km)	15
Table 3: Reasons for Leaving Origin and Choosing Kathmandu as Destination	65
Table 4: Occupational Structure of the Respondent before Migration	70
Table 5: Types of Vending on Different Location in Kathmandu Metropolitan City	71
Table 6: Income Status after Involvement in the Street Vending	80
Table 7: Problems Faced by the Vendors (Priority Base).....	97

List of Maps

Map 1: Physiographic Division of Nepal.....	10
Map 2: Map of Kathmandu Valley and its Surrounding Hills.....	12
Map 3: Population Distribution in the Kathmandu Valley	15
Map 4: Study Area with Main Street Vending Activities in the Core City	16

List of Photos

Photo 1: Street Vending as Livelihoods to Dependent Family Members.....	75
Photo 2: Road for Whom? for Vehicles, for Pedestrians or for Vendors	90
Photo 3: Congestion and Overcrowding by Increasing Street Vending	90
Photo 4: Plastic Roofed Market Stalls in front of Singha Durbar, Bhrikutimandap.....	94
Photo 5: Cooping Strategy for Livelihoods	103
Photo 6: Waiting Customers to Create Livelihoods	103

List of Abbreviations

AIT	Asian Institute of Technology
CBD	Central Business District
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CPNM	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)
DFID	Department for International Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Products
GEFONT	General Federation of Nepalese Trade Unions
GIS	Geographical Informational System
GNI	Gross National Income
ICIMOD	International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDPs	Internal Displaced Persons
IDS	Institute of Development Study
ILO	International Labour organization
INSEC	Informal Sector Service Centre
KMC	Kathmandu Metropolitan City
KVTDC	Kathmandu Valley Town Development Committee
NEST	Nepal Street Vendors Union
NG	Government of Nepal
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
NRM	Nepal Resident Mission
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
RUPP	Rural Urban Partnership Programme
SL	Sustainable Livelihood
SLC	School Leaving Certificate
UIS	Urban Informal Sector
ULBs	Urban Local Bodies
UMP	Urban Management Programme
UN	United Nation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
URNAP	Urban Resource Network for Asia and Pacific
VDC	Village Development Committee
WFP	World Food Programm

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background Introduction

Lack of gainful employment coupled with poverty in rural areas has pushed people out of their villages in search of a better existence in the cities of developing countries. These migrants do not possess the skills or the education to enable them to find good paid, secure employment in the formal sector, and they have to settle for work in the informal sector. In Nepal, there is another section of the population too, which is compelled to join the informal sector. They are conflict affected people, who have migrated to urban centres for safe living and secure subsistence livelihoods. Studies have shown that the low skilled rural migrants live in all countries of Asia, but they are more prevalent in the poorer countries (Bhowmik, 2005:2256) such as Nepal, India, Bangladesh, Cambodia and Vietnam.

The informal sector has experienced rapid growth in developing countries and has consequently attracted increasing attention among academics, researchers, social development activists, and policy planners. It is generally believed that the rapid growth of the sector has been influenced by increasing unemployment in developing countries. According to ILO (1998/99 in <http://www.ilo.org>, accessed on 11-12-06), the lack of jobs in the formal sector of the economy as well as the lack of skills in a large part of the labour force has resulted in the growth of a substantial informal sector in which most workers are in low-paid employment under unregulated and poor working conditions.

The informal sector encompasses largely unrecognized, unrecorded and unregulated small scale activities including; small enterprises, household enterprises, self-employed sectors such as street vendors, cleaners, shoe-shiners, hawkers etc. ILO (2004), Shrinivas (2004) and Sethuraman (1997) have defined the informal sector, as essentially covering the unorganized spectrum of economic activities in commerce, agriculture, construction, manufacturing, transportation and services, which absorbs as much as 60 percent of the labour force in urban areas of developing countries. The informal sector of an economy can thus be defined in terms of lack of governmental regulation or lack of institutions that provide job security and benefits. Comprising the largest part of the economies of developing countries, the sector depends on small scale individual entrepreneurship, almost always without the benefit of

official support or services (<http://en.wikipedia.org>, accessed on 22-09-06). In the urban context, the informal sector includes small enterprise operators selling food and goods or offering services and thereby involving the cash economy and market transactions (Suharto, 2003:115). The UIS - Urban Informal Sector - is thus more diverse than the rural one and includes a vast variety of economic activities through which most urban families earn their livelihoods.

Thus, the informal sector is characterized by a large number of small-scale production and service activities that are individually or family owned and labour-intensive, which does not fall under the purview of organized economic activities. Most workers entering this sector are recent migrants unable to find employment in the formal sector (Singh, 2000, in www.india-seminar.com, accessed on 23-09-06). Their motivation is usually to obtain sufficient income to survive, relying on their own indigenous resources to create work. As many members of the household as possible, including women and children, are involved in income generating activities, and they often work very long hours.

The exact magnitude of the informal sector is difficult to estimate due to its elusive nature. Nevertheless, there is general agreement that the informal sector comprises a growing proportion of economic activity, particularly in less developed countries (Gottdiener and Budd, 2005:77). One study of nine different cities in developing countries estimated that at least 50 percent of the labour force is engaged in the informal economy. Even in most developed countries' economies, there are widely ranging estimates of the size of the informal economy i.e. 5-10 percent of nation in the UK and US, 30 percent in Italy and 50 percent in Russia (the Economist, 2004 cited in Gottdiener and Budd, 2005:78). One of the ILO research concludes that the size and contribution of the informal economy to trade is significant having the informal economy's share of total trade employment as 96 percent in India, 93 percent Indonesia and 73 percent in the Philippines (ILO, 2003 cited in Bhowmik, 2005:2257).

At the same time, it should be noted that in both developed and developing countries, the informal sector is connected to the formal sector of the national and global economy through subcontracting networks and commodity chains. For instance, street vendors sell goods such as cigarette, clothes, newspapers, electronic goods and other branded products obtained from the formal sector. Gotter and Budd (2005:77) in this regard add that around the world, formal

sector firms cut labour costs by using home workers, sweatshops, and others in the informal sector that are devoid of the benefits or safeguards of formal employment.

In Asia and Africa, the informal economy is growing at a faster rate than the formal economy. The informal sector proves to be the major mechanism for economic growth and development. In most less developed countries; the informal sector is the largest source of employment, investment and government revenue. This is because the informal sector offers the best opportunity for the upward mobility in lifeline of the poor people and their children (Brown, 2005:5). In the most Asian cities, as a part of the self-employed sector, street vending has provided a means of livelihood for the many workers who lost their jobs after the collapse of the Tiger Economies in 1998, particularly in Thailand, Singapore, and Philippines (ILO, 2004:3). As a result, there is a substantial increase in the number of street vendors in the major Asian cities.

In the case of Nepal, the formal sector can currently provide job opportunities to less than 10 percent of the employed labour force (<http://www.undp.org.np>, accessed on 22-09-06). This means that social protection schemes designed for the formal sector can cover a very small proportion of the population at this stage of development. So, it is obvious that most of the people are engaged in the informal economy for their survival and the proportion is very high in the urban areas. According to the NEST representative, street vendors alone count about 30,000 in Kathmandu.

The activities in the informal sector can be categorized into two sections- the self-employed and casual (non-permanent) labour. A major section of the self-employed workers work as street vendors. The rise in the number of street vendors is largely due to the lack of employment in other sectors, but it is also directly linked to the expansion of the informal sector in general, and specifically linked to increasing poverty, rural conflict and lack of opportunities in the rural areas as in the case of Nepal.

A street vendor is broadly defined as a person who offers goods for sale to the public without having a permanent built-up structure from which to sell. Street vendors may be stationary in the sense that they occupy space on the pavements or other public/private spaces or, they may be mobile in the sense that they move from place to place by carrying their wares on push carts or in baskets on their heads. Furthermore, street vendors are a visible and distinctive part of the urban landscape, offering a range of goods from small informal stalls, from mats

on the pavement or from the baskets that they carry on their heads or shoulders from place to place. With small amounts of capital, street vendors often work in shaky and insecure situations as their work places are urban public spaces, pavements, streets and markets. In this study, the term 'street vendor' includes stationary as well as mobile vendors. The terms 'street vendor' and 'hawker' have the same meaning and they are often interchanged.

Furthermore, due to the violence and conflict in rural Nepal, working people have been displaced from rural areas. Peasant and conflict affected families seeking work as well as safe place to live, have moved to urban areas where employment opportunities in the formal sector are very limited (ILO, 2004:2-3). In addition to this, poverty and lack of gainful employment in the rural areas drive large numbers of people to the cities for livelihoods. These people generally possess low level of education and skills for the better paid jobs. Besides, permanent jobs in the organized sector are shrinking. In the absence of jobs in the public and private sectors, they had no option where to go but put up their own business to earn their livelihoods. This has led to a rapid growth of the informal sector in most of the cities in general, and Kathmandu in particular.

In Kathmandu, a large number of street vendors (about 30,000) are earning their livelihoods on the street. Most of them are low skilled who have migrated from rural areas in search of employment, some of them are conflict affected, and others are well educated. These people are vending on the street because they did not find other means of livelihoods. Though the income in this profession is low, the investment too is low and the people do not require special skills or training. Hence, for those people, both men and women, street vending is one of the informal works for earning their livelihoods.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The informal sector is a survival strategy of the urban poor in response to insufficient job creation. In addition to this, it is a very significant component of national economies for several reasons: it provides goods and services at a low price; it plays the role of a reservoir of the individual reserve army that holds down wages for the formal sector of the urban economy (Gottdiener and Budd, 2005:77) and finally, it provides opportunities for earning income to the indigenous city residents and migrants poor. Consequently, there is no simple relationship between working in the informal sector and being poor, nor between the presence of such a sector and the relative wealth or level of development of the country (Ibid).

In the case of Nepal, particularly in Kathmandu, the informal sector (street vending) is a source of employment, income and survival for a large number of population; especially the middle and low-income earners. At the same time it should be noted that street vending survives not merely because it is an important source of employment but also because of the services it provides to the urban population. For the urban poor, street vendors provide goods, including food, at low prices. It means one section of the urban poor, namely, street vendors, subsidize the existence of the other sections of the urban poor by providing them cheap goods and services. Middle-income groups too benefit from street vending because of the affordable prices offered.

Moreover, Kathmandu is receiving more migrants' population after the Maoist insurgency in the country. There is no concrete evidence, but the assumption is that the increase of street vendors in present days is due to the increasing migration from rural areas after the Maoist insurgency. Many people have been rendered homeless and displaced by the conflict. Especially youths are moving to urban areas or abroad for means of livelihoods or to protect themselves from crossfire between government and the Maoist. Since, those migrants are less educated and unskilled do not get jobs in the formal sectors, and have to involve in the informal sectors (street vending), which is the way of livelihood to those migrants' people.

However, these aspects are unfortunately ignored by the Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) because street vending is considered an illegal activity and street vendors are treated as criminals. Studies show that in almost all the Asian countries, street vendors have no legal status to conduct their business and they are constantly harassed by the authorities (Bhowmik, 1999:4). Furthermore, the role of informal sector (street vending) has not been well perceived. It is rather regarded to be a non-profit activity, as it does not contribute to the national economy in terms of tax. It is marginalized from the development agenda, and hence has been severely affected by the functioning of macro socio-economic policies. Particularly improper or lack of policy support has made the sector to be unsecured, which adversely affects the livelihoods of the urban poor (Bhowmik, 2005:2258). Yet they are popular because they provide the urban population with much needed services that neither the municipalities nor the larger retailing outlets can provide.

In Kathmandu, most of the urban poor get easy access of goods from those vendors. However, the vendors occupy the footpath leaving no space to the pedestrians. This has

become a public concern because it creates problem for vehicular and pedestrians movement, and has polluted the environment of the surrounding. One of the main problems of street vending activities is that it creates difficulty for the traffic to move more smoothly during peak hours. They occupy public places and roads, which can also create social problems like pick pocketing, hoodlum and theft. This situation has created several problems in management, development and has destroyed the morphology of the city. Therefore, much more needs to be understood in Kathmandu about the role of the informal sector - to what extent street vending provides a means of livelihoods to the urban poor, to what extent urban local bodies' apparent harassment affects livelihoods of the urban poor, and - to what extent street vending is a problem or a resource in Kathmandu. It is thus needed to look at the issue through the eyes of development practitioners, which is my interest. In this stance, the study provides understanding of why street vending is increasing and how migrants' street vendors are earning livelihoods in the urban area of Kathmandu Metropolitan City.

1.3 Research Objectives

The general objective of the research is to understand the relationship between increasing migration and increase in the informal sector activities, and how that impact on people's livelihoods in the city. More specifically, the study seeks to understand how this situation is linked to the rural conflict in Nepal. Therefore, the overall objective of the study is to identify the relationship between rural-urban migration and increase in the urban informal sector activities (street vending) in the study area in the context of the present rural conflict in Nepal. More specifically, the study focuses on the following objectives:

- To analyze the livelihood security of migrants through street occupation (street vending) as compared to their previous occupation,
- To understand the vendors' struggle for getting subsistence livelihoods in an increasingly competitive situation of the street vending activities in Kathmandu Metropolitan city and
- To analyse public response and government policies to deal with the increasing street vendors in the study area.

1.4 Research Questions

This study is mainly designed to address the following research questions:

1. Why is the number of street vendors increasing and how is the livelihood of those vendors secured by street occupation?

2. What are the main opportunities and threats that street vendors are facing regarding their street occupation as a livelihood?
3. What are public and government responses towards increasing street vendors' activities in Kathmandu Metropolitan city?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Studies on rural-urban migration, migrants' survival in the informal sector are emerging issues in the recent years. Since, the informal sector, to some extent it has been interpreted as an illegal sector; economists, researchers, policy makers and others take it as a less-productive sector in terms of government revenue, mainly because the informal sectors do not pay taxes. Although the informal sectors provide an income earning opportunities to make a living to the poor in the cities, it is marginalized from the development agenda. Therefore, it is important to account the informal sector as employment provider to the poor people and can not be ignored. The study thus, will provide insights into some hidden dimensions of urban informal sector and how they are embedded in development. The study is also regarded as having an applied dimension in the sense that it can guide in making policies concerning informal sector and its direct and indirect contributions to the national economy through creating employment and providing a way of living to the poor.

Moreover, economists are increasingly interested in the role of the informal sector. However, this sector is not only connected to the economics and it has now been emerging in scope and gets increasing attention in development studies. This study thus provides an understanding the importance of the informal sector and how it provides livelihoods alternatives for the urban poor, and pleads that it will be considered as an employment provider sector rather than an illegal or insignificant sector.

1.6 Organization of the Study

This thesis is organized in nine chapters closely linked to its objectives. Chapter one presents the background introduction to the thesis and then discusses key concepts, research issues, major objectives and the research questions.

Chapter two presents the study area with a brief geographical and socio economic description of Nepal and then the specific study area, Kathmandu Valley in general.

Chapter three presents literature review and analytical approach to theorize and guide to the study. In this chapter, migration theories and livelihood approach are reviewed to facilitate and come up with an analytical approach.

Chapter four presents the methodological approach and looks at the sources of data, fieldwork evaluation strategy, the various problems encountered during the field work, and the techniques of data analysis.

Chapter five presents one of the objectives of the study which covers increasing rural-urban migration and its link to rural conflict in Nepal. Three important issues; rural to urban migration as routine livelihoods, rural to urban migration as improving livelihood strategy, rural-urban migration as displacement are thoroughly discussed.

Chapter six presents urban and rural livelihoods which covers livelihoods of street vendors before and after migration. This chapter deals with the main livelihoods that people use for a living in the rural areas of Nepal and how they are living in Kathmandu after migration. It also looks at urban street vending as an opportunity for work and employment to rural poor, and looks at how street vendors have changed in access to assets by street vending in Kathmandu.

Chapter seven presents interventions and responses by the authorities, local shop owners and public customers. Responses by KMC authorities including, physical and social problems created by increasing street vending activities are described. Responses by NEST representatives, however, are concentrated on threats by the urban authorities, shop owners and local inhabitants. The responses by public customers are also described.

Chapter eight presents livelihood outcomes. Main livelihood outcomes, including increased income by increasing access to assets, well-being, and increased food security and reduced vulnerability are explained.

Chapter nine presents conclusion and recommendations of the thesis. Recommendations are made to come up with suggestions and future direction that authority and individuals need to think about.

Chapter Two

Study Area

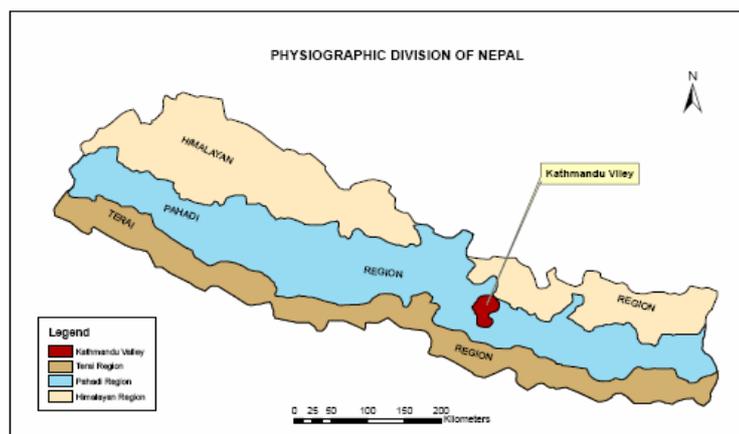
2.1 Introduction

This chapter is designed to introduce the study area. In the first section, a brief geographical and socio economic description of Nepal is presented. Information about location, population growth and migration has been presented to contextualize rural to urban migration in Nepal. In the second section, the specific study area, Kathmandu Valley is introduced. This section presents the geographical situation of the study area. It further looks at population growth and migration, migrants' flow to Kathmandu valley with reference to the rural conflict and displacement in Nepal. Information about the location, infrastructure development and concentration of development projects in Kathmandu valley is presented in order to contextualize increasing rural-urban migration.

2.2 A Brief Introduction to Nepal

Nepal is a land-locked country, situated in the foothills of the Himalayas. It shares its borders with the Tibetan Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China in the North and India in the South, West and East. The total area of the country is 147,181 square kilometers and its population is 24.2 million with a Gross National Income (GNI) per capita of \$240 per year (CBS, 2001 and World Bank, 2003). It extends from 26° 22' N to 30° 27' N latitudes and 80° 4' E to 88° 12' E longitudes. The kingdom is a small landlocked country. On an average, it extends 885 km from east to west and has an average width of 193 km from north to south. It is predominantly rural with only 14.2 percent of the population living in urban areas. It is one of the poor countries in the world where economic growth in recent years has not been adequate to bring about a significant reduction in poverty. 31 percent of the population still lives below the poverty line (World Bank, 2003).

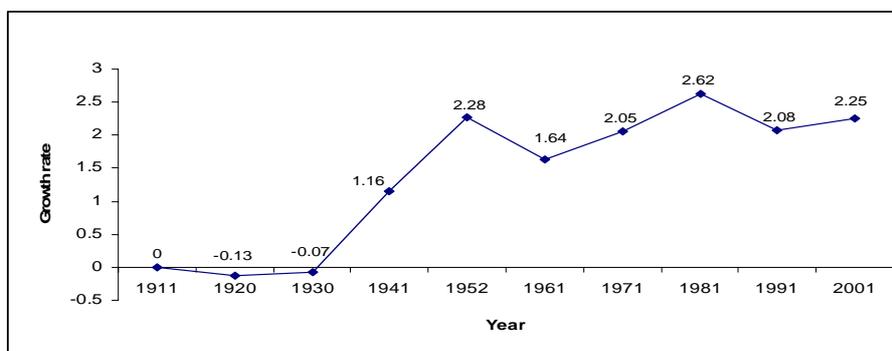
Topographically, the country is divided into three distinct ecological regions - *Terai* (or plains), Hills and the Mountains or Himalayan region (see map 1). The *Terai* region, situated in the southern part of the country stretches from East to West throughout the country. This is the northern portion of the Indo-Gangatic alluvial plain, which falls under the subtropical climatic zone. The hilly region lies in the middle part of the country stretching from East to West with many heavily populated valleys e.g. Kathmandu, *Pokhara*, *Banepa* etc., and the mountain region lies in the northern part of the country stretching from east to west.

Map 1: Physiographic Division of Nepal

Source: Image Map, Gurung, 2005.

For administrative purposes, the country has been divided into five Development Regions, 14 zones, and 75 districts. Districts are further divided into smaller units, called Village Development Committees (VDC) and municipalities. Currently, there are 3,914 VDCs and 58 municipalities. Each VDC is composed of 9 wards; municipality ranges from 9 to 35 wards. Nepal is a multi-ethnic and multilingual country, and predominantly a Hindu state. Other religions practiced in Nepal are Buddhism, Islam, Christianity and others.

The population of Nepal grew at an annual rate of 2.25 percent between 1991 and 2001 with a sex ratio of 99.8 (KC, 2003:124). Nepal has a huge population of females in the reproductive age group (49.2 percent) and with high fertility rate (4.1 children per woman). Marriage among girls before the age of 18 years is prevalent. Population momentum created by the young age population (39.4 percent below 15 years) will contribute more to population growth and migration in the country. Eighteen percent of all births are attributed to women under 20 years of age in Nepal (United Nations, 2003, Ibid). This may severely limit the scope of reducing the population growth in Nepal. The following figure shows the growth rate of the population in Nepal since 1911 to 2001.



Source: CBS, (2001) and KC, (2003) p.14.

Figure 1: Annual Population Growth Rate in Nepal, 1911-2001

Geographically, Nepal varies in the distribution of population. The *Terai* region has a high population density, but relatively low population pressure on farm land because of river deposited alluvial soil and its high productivity there. It has a relatively advanced infrastructure development. The hill region has a relatively moderate population density and a rapidly increasing population pressure on agricultural land. The mountain region has a low population density, but a relatively high population pressure on farm land. The region is characterized by difficult terrain, rugged topography, adverse climatic conditions, and little infrastructure development.

Nepal still has a low level of urbanization compared to many other countries in Asia. Nepal's urban centres increased from 16 in 1971, 23 in 1981, 33 in 1991 and 58 in 2001. In 2001, Nepal had 86.1 percent rural population and 13.9 percent urban (KC, 2003:124-25). With an increasing number of urban centres and a high rate of urbanization, Nepal is experiencing increasing volume of both internal and international migration. Internal rural to urban migration has been increasing after 1990s. It must be because of increasing rural conflict and displacement.

Nepal has at present 58 designated urban centres with a total population of 3,227,879. Out of this total, 95.6 percent are native born and 4.4 percent are foreign born. Out of the total native born (3,085,104), 73.2 percent (2,257,392) were internal migrants from other districts, whereas 24.2 percent migrated from other municipalities (KC, 2003:143, Sharma, 2003:378-79). The migrants' stream is high into Kathmandu city because it is a relatively safe place to live in terms of conflict and livelihoods security.

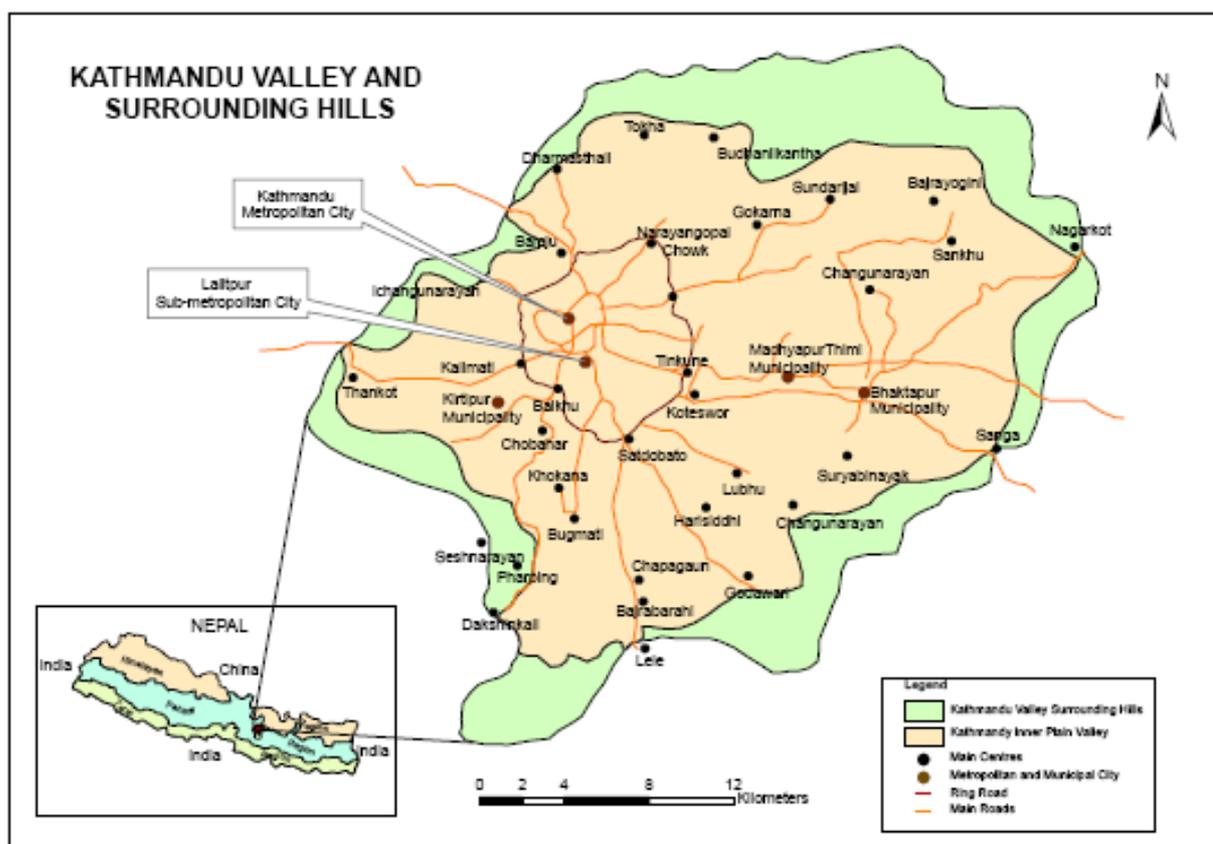
2.3 Introduction to the Kathmandu Valley

Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal, situated in the middle hill of the country has a very ancient history of its origin. The history of Kathmandu dates back to the 8th century with king *Gunkamadev*. He established Kathmandu in 726 A.D (Sthapit, 1999: IV-4). The introduction of the word Kathmandu was created by the two words '*Kaastha*' and '*Mandap*' in which '*Kaastha*' meaning 'wood' *Mandap* meaning 'beautiful shade' or 'cover'. The city was so full of wooden buildings and temples that it looked like it had a "beautiful wooden cover". After many years the words "*Kaasth Mandap*" changed and new word *Kathmandu* became the name by which the city was known in the local language (<http://en.wikipedia.org>, accessed on 19-09-06). Kathmandu is also sometimes called *Kantipur*.

2.3.1 Location

Geographically, the Kathmandu valley stretches between 27° 40' to 27° 52' latitudes and 85° 11' to 85° 30' longitudes. The valley floor is 26 km north-south with an average area of 640 square kilometers. It comprises three districts: Kathmandu (395 sq. km), *Lalitpur* (385 sq. km) and *Bhaktapur* (119 sq. km) with 115 VDCs and five municipalities. These five municipalities are the main growing urban areas of Nepal: Kathmandu Metropolitan City, *Lalitpur* sub-metropolitan City, *Bhaktapur* Municipality, *Kirtipur* Municipality and *Madhyapur Thimi* Municipality (see Map 2); covering an urban area of about 97 sq. km. Kathmandu Metropolitan City covers 62 sq. km. The valley is demarcated by watershed boundary. The Metropolitan Boundary adjoins with *Ichangunarayan*, *Sitapaila*, *Syuchatar* and *Naikap Bhanjyang* VDCs in the west, *Kapan*, *Gorkarneswor*, *Gothatar* and *Dahachowk* VDCs in the east, *Gongabu*, *Manamaiju*, *Bhadrakali* VDCs in the north and *Lalitpur* Sub-metropolitan City in the South. Administratively it lies in the Central Development Region.

Map 2: Map of Kathmandu Valley and its Surrounding Hills



Source: Image Map in <http://www.lirung.com>, accessed on 11-12-06.

2.3.2 Topography

Kathmandu Metropolitan City is situated at 1350 metres altitude from the mean sea level. The valley can be divided broadly into two physiographic landforms: the surrounding hills

and the enclosed low land valley floor (see Map 2). The valley floor was built on lacustrine sediment deposited during Miocene period of geologic history, which consists of the plateaus or *Tar* and the low-laying alluvial floodplains. The *Tar* lands are composed of brown fragile sandy horizontally bedded deposits of lacustrine origin and floodplains are the river flood plain containing the recent alluvial freshly deposited by the rivers. But valley floor has now converted into concrete jungle with high population in migration and its natural growth.

The climate of Kathmandu can be termed as the pleasant sub-tropical and cool temperate. Summer season (June-August) is warm to hot (maximum temperature 36° C). Spring (March-May) and Autumn (September-November) are warm during the day and cool in the night. Winter (December-February) is cold; fog and frost are common with minimum temperature 0°C but mostly sunny during the days. Precipitation generally occurs in the valley from June to September by the summer monsoon for about 80 percent of the total annual rainfall. The annual rainfall is about 1300 mm.

2.3.3 Infrastructure

Though being the capital city, Kathmandu Metropolitan has 73.9 percent water supply and sewerage coverage, electricity service and telephone service coverage of 100 percent. Kathmandu is connected to the rest of the country by major highways such as *Tribhuvan Highway* to the south, *Prithvi Highway* to the west and *Araniko Highway* to the north-east. These highways connect to the city north-east to China and east-south, middle-south and west-south to India. However, the core city has narrow streets and the public transportation access (service) is absent. In outer periphery, most of the localities have good facilities of relatively wide streets. It has good radial road networks to connect all parts of the valley. Therefore, public transport service is available for most parts linking city centre and its peripheral areas (see Map 2). The urban road consists of major roads, minor roads and *Gallies* (narrow roads). The country has 13,223 kilometer roads, of which Kathmandu valley with an area of 899 km² shares 1260 km (Gurung, 2005:16).

Likewise, most of the urban social infrastructures are available in the city. The government and private universities and colleges are all concentrated in the valley. Health institutions are also concentrated in the valley. There are altogether 10 hospitals of various specialties of health care; Children, TB, Eye, Medical Teaching, Veteran and so on. There are also some privately run nursing homes having more facilities. There are many Banks and private financial companies dealing with economic sectors. Industrial investment is also concentrated

in the valley to serve the national market. This all leads high human development in the valley (0.612) as compared to national average (0.471) (Gurung, 2005:16).

2.3.4 Population

Kathmandu has the highest urban population in the country with growth rate of 6 percent and it has been increasing in the recent years. In 1971, the population of the city was 150,402. This increased 235211 to 425,727 from 1981 to 1991. The total population reached 729690 in the year 2001 and it has been projected to reach 1110105 by 2011 (CBS, 2001 and Pradhan and Perera, 2005:3-4). The average density of population per sq. km was 1,837 in 2001. However, the average population density per sq. km of the country was only 157 in the same year. The corresponding figures were 1,277 against 126 in 1991, 963 against 102 in 1981 and 623 against 79 in 1971 (Pradhan and Perera, 2005:4). This shows that population density in the Kathmandu Valley is growing rapidly compared to the national population density. The population of the Valley has increased by 23.8 percent from 1971 to 1981, 44.2 percent from 1981 to 1991 and 48.8 percent from 1991 to 2001 (Ibid).

In 1952-54, only about 3 percent of the total 8.2 million populations were in designated urban areas; 83 percent of this was in Kathmandu Valley. The following table (no. 1) shows that the urban population of the Kathmandu Valley has increased by 46 percent between 1971 and 1981, by 82 percent between 1981 and 1991, and by 58 percent between 1991 and 2001. According to the data, the largest population growth took place from 1981 to 1991. The table includes projections, indicating that the population will increase by 38 percent between 2001 and 2011. The population density in the core city area is very high compared to the Valley as a whole (Table 1 and Map 3). In 2001, Kathmandu city had 11,099, Lalitpur city had 10,758 and Bhaktapur had 6,808 persons per sq. km. This is happening because of traditional compact settlement and the concentration of the poor in-migrants in the core city areas.

Table 1: Urban Population and Area in Kathmandu Valley from 1981 to 2011 (estimated)

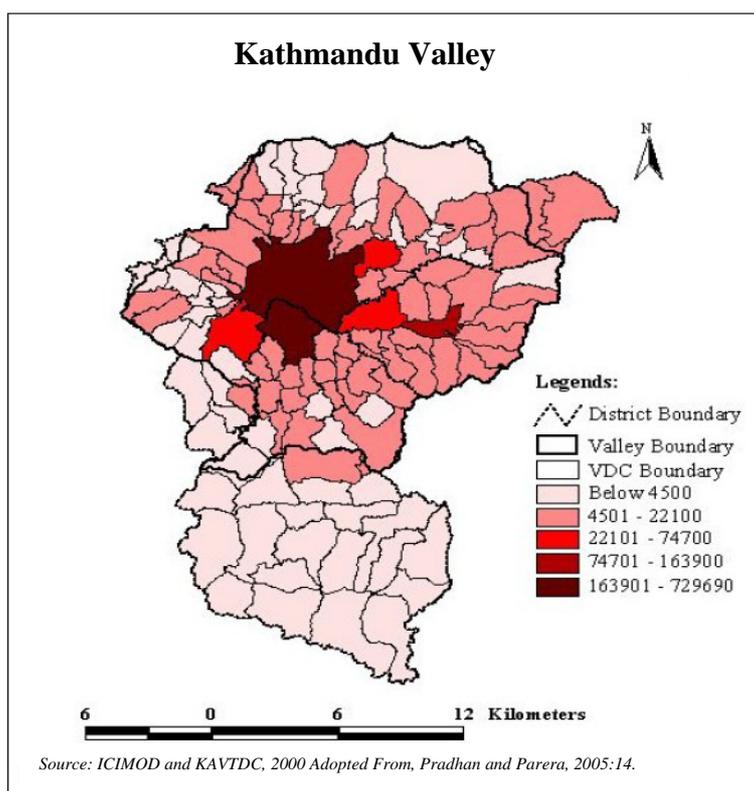
Municipality	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	Urban Area sq. km in 2001
Kathmandu	150,402	235,160	421,258	729,690	1,011,105	50
Kirtipur	-	-	31,970	37,877	46,477	15
Lalitpur	59,049	79,875	115,865	163,923	229,852	15
Bhaktapur	40,112	48,472	61,405	74,707	105,561	6
Madhyapur Thimi	-	-	31,338	39,988	49,767	11
Total	249,563	363,507	661,836	1,046,185	1,442,762	97

Source: CBS 1983, 1993, 2002; KVTDC, 2002; ICIMOD et al, Adopted from, Pradhan and Parera, 2005:14.

Table 2: Population Density in 2001 (per sq km)

District	Urban	District
Kathmandu	11,099	2,739
Lalitpur	10,758	877
Bhaktapur	6,808	1,895
Kathmandu Valley	9,555	1,837

Source: CBS 1983, 1993, 2002; KVTDC, 2002; ICIMOD et al.
Adopted from, Pradhan and Parera, 2005:13.

Map 3: Population Distribution in the Kathmandu Valley

According to the distribution of population and urban functions, Kathmandu can be divided into three main sectors. These are City Core, City Centre and City Outer Ring.

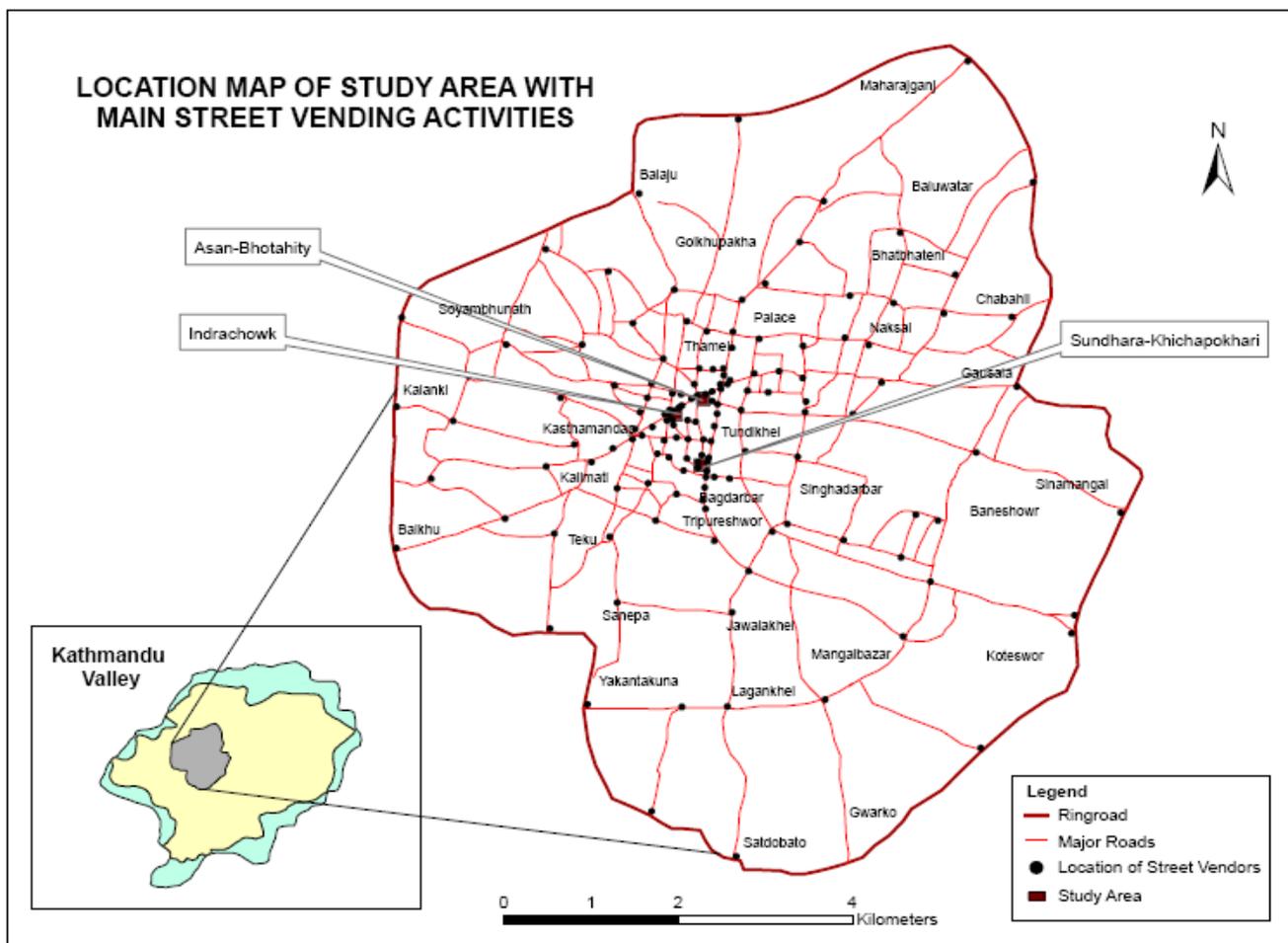
The City Core

The City Core refers to the actual old settlement of Kathmandu. It is the historic part with many temples and buildings of architectural importance. This historic core has altogether 125 courtyards units of different categories. The core with compact settlement has a density of 11099 persons per square kilometer (Pradhan and Parera, 2005:13).

The city core is known as residence of poor groups where many migrant people are living. Displaced persons and very poor-landless people, who were unable to create livelihoods in their home place, have migrated for their minimum subsistence livelihoods in the core city.

Many of them are uneducated and unskilled. So, those people have adopted informal activities i.e. street vending for their subsistence livelihoods. The City Core consist of *Asan-Bhotahity*, *Indrachowk*, *Naradevi*, *Bhedasingh*, *Chhetrapati*, *Sundhara-Khichapokhari*, *Hanumandhoka*, *Lagantole* etc (see Map 4).

Map 4: Study Area with Main Street Vending Activities in the Core City



Source: Image Map in <http://www.lirung.com>, accessed on 11-12-06.

City Centre

The City Centre including the localities of *Putalisadak*, *Thamel*, *Dillibazar*, *Kalimati*, *Kuleswor* etc. are the major business centres of the city. It lies in the physical centre of the city valley as well. It is also called Central Business District (CBD). Its main function is the purpose of business where very few people are living. People come here for the business during the day time and return back to their residence during the night. People who are living in the core also come for work as wage labour here.

City Outer Ring

This includes the outer fringe of the city. This is the newly developed fringe areas of the city. Middle and high class people live here, where they have built good houses for residence. This

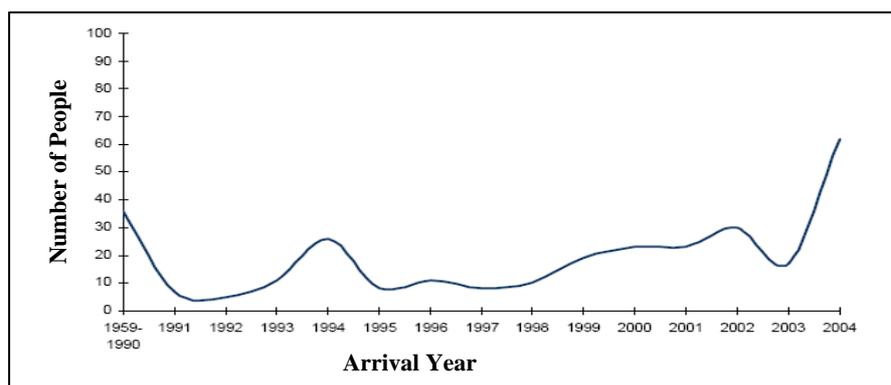
is mainly residential areas of middle and high class people who go to the CBD for their business during the day time. Many housing projects are established in this sector, which have been developed under sites and services schemes. The City Outer Ring encompasses *Balkhu, Balaju, Nayabasti, New Baneswor, Gongabu, Kalanki, Baudha etc.*

2.3.5 Population In-migration in Kathmandu Valley

Migration is not a new phenomenon in Nepal. It has always been an important component of population redistribution. People have been migrating from rural to urban areas in search of employment and educational opportunities. Occasional natural calamities like floods and landslides have also forced people to flee from their birth place to other potential areas for their livelihoods. Important causes of internal migration in Nepal have been poverty, inequitable distribution of income, unemployment, difficult livelihood, and food insecurity. According to Gurung (2005:13), horizontal and vertical disparities between regions and communities have stimulated internal migration in Nepal.

Nepalese living in rural areas have correspondingly been pushed to move to urban areas by the societal perception that there are better employment prospects, infrastructure, schools, and healthcare facilities, and by their belief that they will enjoy a higher quality of life in the city. While these factors were adequate to explain urbanization and internal migration in the past and a new push factor has become vital at present. The Maoist insurgency, and the corresponding governmental response, is pushing a considerable number of citizens, who fear for their safety and/or lives, to move to the urban areas.

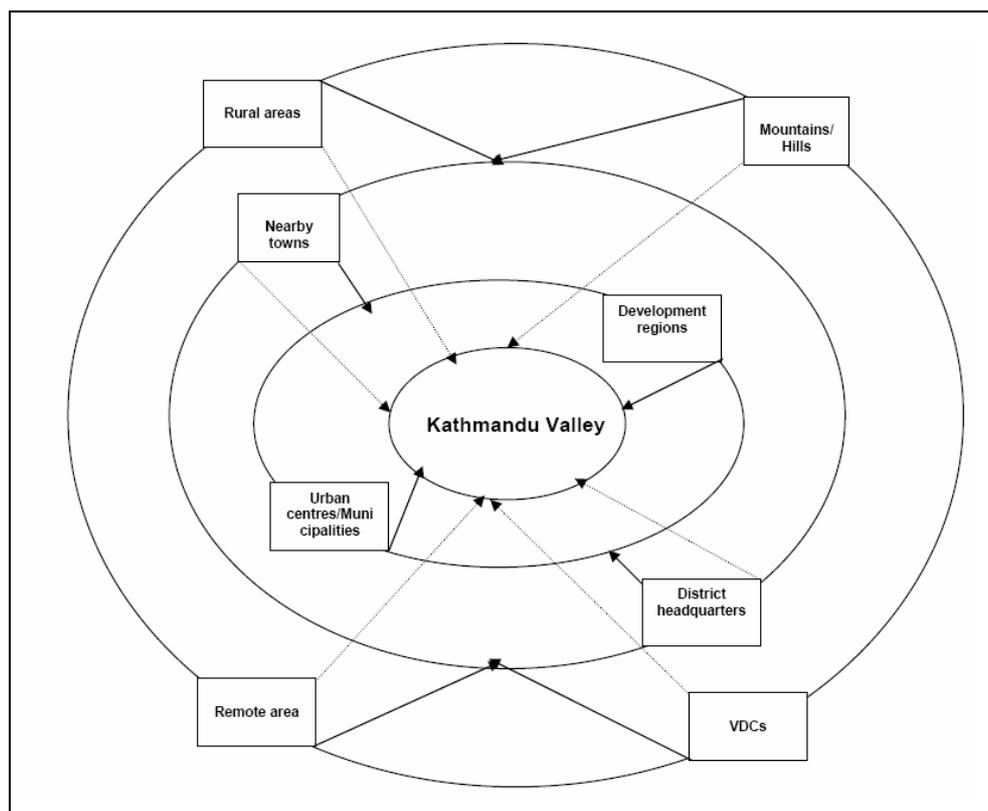
One study in some selected Wards of Kathmandu metropolitan city, conducted by World Food Program Nepal (WFP, 2005:4) found that internal migration has sky-rocket in recent years (figure 2). The figure shows that movement to Kathmandu increased starting in the early 1990's. There was a clear peak in arrivals in 1994; followed by a sharp drop in 1995 and then a fairly steady increase until 2002. There was a drop in arrivals in 2003 by almost half; followed by a tremendous increase of over 350 percent in 2004 as compared to 2003. Over 20 percent of the survey population arrived in 2004 (Ibid). Arrivals of conflict-induced migrants started with the onset of the armed struggle between the Government and Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) in 1996. It increased gradually until 2001 after which there was a one-year drop, followed by a steep increase up to the end of last year.



Source: Adapted from World Food Programme Nepal, 2005: 4.

Figure 2: Population In-migration in Kathmandu Valley (Some Selected Wards)

So, the urban centres of Nepal are swelling up due to the continuous inflow of rural-urban migration after the Maoist insurgency. According to the UNDP-RUPP survey (2003, in www.idpproject.org, accessed on 02-02-07), many internally displaced persons are now thought to be living in urban centres and district headquarters throughout Nepal, including Kathmandu, *Biratnagar*, *Nepalgunj*, *Bhairahawa* and *Pokhara*. The population of those municipalities grew by 5.2 percent over the last two years, compared to 3.6 percent between 1991 and 2001 (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2003, in www.internal-displacement.org, accessed on 11-01-07).



Source: Adopted from Him Rights, *Population Watch and Plan Nepal*, 2005.

Figure 3: Present Rural to Urban Migration in Nepal

The figure 3 clearly shows how migrants are attracted to move in the urban areas, especially in Kathmandu valley from different parts of Nepal. The figure shows that migrant stream seems moving to relatively safer place from remote rural areas of Nepal. People migrate from rural areas, mountain hills, remote areas and VDCs to nearby towns and district headquarters. People from development regions, nearby towns, district headquarters and other outer remote areas migrate to the Kathmandu valley. Thus, Kathmandu has become the favorable destination to all people from all areas of Nepal, because of the deteriorating security situation in the rural areas.

Thus, rural-urban migration is the causes for increasing population concentration in the valley, which ultimately creates the population pressure on different sectors. Increasing street vending activities is one of them, resulting by population pressure on informal sector activities in the city.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter concluded by giving brief background information to Nepal in general and then to the study area, Kathmandu in particular. Issues regarding population growth, rural-urban migration, concentration of socio-economic infrastructures in the Kathmandu Valley have been presented to contextualize the study. This gives a clear picture why people are increasingly migrating to the valley and why they have involved in the informal sector i.e. street vending activities. Migration is thus relevant to the study because it provides a background that should be reflected on in analyzing the relationship of increasing rural-urban migration and increase in the informal sector activities, and how that impact on peoples livelihood in the urban area.

In short, in the internal migration history of Nepal, rural-urban migration has been increasing after mid 1990s. It is because of the extreme Maoists and Government conflict in the rural areas of Nepal after the Maoist insurgency in the country. In addition to this, there are huge disparities between rural and urban areas of Nepal in terms of socio-economic and infrastructure development. Kathmandu is by far a favourable destination to all. This ultimately creates high population concentration in the valley and gives pressure in the informal activities; street vending is one of the main activities among them.

Chapter Three

Literature Review and Analytical Approach

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is designed to review relevant literature. Both theoretical and other relevant literature have been reviewed which are pertinent to the study to achieve designed goal in a scientific way. This chapter consists of four sections. In the first section, key concepts have been defined. In the second section, migration theories are introduced to conceptualize and to narrate increasing migration and increasing informal sector activities (street vending) in Kathmandu. In the third section, the livelihood approach and its different elements e.g. assets, asset pentagon, outcomes, vulnerability contexts, structures and processes have been introduced to look at the livelihood changes of the street vendors before and after migration. The final section presents an analytical approach, which relates to different theories (migration theories and livelihood approach) and facilitates to the analysis.

3.2 Key Concepts

It is important to define some key concepts that have been used in this study to clarify to the readers. Those key concepts are defined in the following-:

3.2.1 Development

Development is human well-being, including individual civil and political liberties, as well as meeting the physical and material needs of human society. Human development is about increasing peoples' choices and creating an enabling environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive and creative lives in accordance with their needs (UNDP, 2002 cited in Mugisha, 2005:26). Holistic human development is about creating an enabling environment that empowers a population to actively participate in making choices affecting their lives and harnessing potential to improve on their livelihood.

3.2.2 Livelihood

A livelihood is considered to consist of the assets, activities and entitlements that enable people to make a living (Singh et al 1994, cited in Mugisha, 2005:27). Assets are designed by human capital, social capital, natural capital and physical capital. According to Ellis (2000:10), a livelihood comprises the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations)

that together determine the living gained by the individual or household. This study considers livelihoods as a way to create different assets, activities and entitlement that enable people to make a living.

3.2.3 Livelihood Assets

Livelihood assets are the basic building blocks upon which households are able to undertake production, engage in labour markets, and participate in reciprocal exchange with other households (Ellis, 2000:31). In other words it can be described as stocks of capital that can be utilized directly, or indirectly, to generate the means of survival of the household or to sustain its material well-being. As mentioned above, there are five livelihood assets - human capital, natural capital, social capital, physical capital, financial capital. In this study, focus has been given to human capital, social capital, physical capital, financial capital and political capital. Political capital has been included in this analysis having its importance to create livelihoods at present in Nepal.

3.2.4 Migration

Johnston and et al (2000:504) define migration as permanent or semi-permanent change of residence by an individual or group of people. Migration means physical movement of people from one place to another for the betterment of life. Rural-urban migration is the migration of people from rural areas into cities. In this study, I have used migration as both temporarily and permanent movement of people (individual and whole family) from rural areas to urban areas and have involved in some informal works in the city.

Furthermore, internally displaced persons are those who have been displaced by war and who may well be, therefore, beyond the de facto protection of their state even though they remain within its borders (Turton, 2002). Displacement due to war means physical dislocation, the separation of people from their everyday practices and their familiar environments, social disruption and material dispossession (Brun, 2003:26). In this study, I have used this term (internal displacement) as migration to indicate those people, who are physically dislocated from their everyday practice and their familial environments due to government and the Maoist conflict.

3.2.5 Street Vendors

In this study, a street vendor is a person who offers goods or services for sale to the public without having a permanent built up structure, but has a temporary static structure or mobile

stall (or head load). Street vendors may be stationary by occupying space on the pavements or other public/private areas, or may be mobile in the sense that they move from place to place carrying their wares on push carts or in cycles or baskets on their heads, or may sell their wares in moving bus etc.

3.3 Literature Review

Literature review is used to demonstrate skills in library searching; to show command of the subject area and understanding of the problem; to justify the research topic, design and methodology (Hart, 1998, cited in Silverman, 2005:295). Furthermore, literature gives to the researcher a set of explanatory concepts that are useful for explaining a particular phenomenon. There is close relationship between reviewing literature and theoretical understanding of the context. Literature, on the one hand, provides theoretical understanding of the context to the researcher within the universe of already existing research. Similarly, theories on the other hand, provide certain ways of looking at the world and are essential in defining a research problem. Theory, according to Corbin (1994 Cited in Silverman, 2005:99), consists of plausible relationships produced among concepts and sets of concepts. Without a theory, such phenomena as 'death' tribes and families cannot be understood. In this sense, without theory there is nothing to research (Ibid). He further adds that theory provides both: a framework for critically understanding phenomena and a basis for considering how what is unknown might be organized. Thus, concepts and theories are self-confirming in the sense that they instruct us to look at phenomena.

The most important thing to understand about the conceptual context of a study is that it is a formulation of what the researcher's think is going on with the phenomena he is studying. The function of the theory is therefore to inform the rest of the researcher's design - to help him to assess his purposes, develop and select realistic and relevant research questions and methods, and identify potential validity threats to his conclusion (Silverman, 2005:99-100).

3.3.1 Migration Theories

Explanations on migration theories are extensively discussed in the literature. However, the nature of migration and the causes for it are complex, and there is no general agreement among researchers on the causes of migration. Arguments on the differences on migration causing factors exist not only among researchers from different disciplines, but also among researchers within one discipline. Here, I have divided theoretical discussion on migration

into three different models: dual economy models which emerged in the 1950s and 1960s; Harris-Todaro models developed in the 1970s and 1980s; and microeconomic models on which much of the research has focused over the past 15 years, called new economies of labour migration.

Dual Economy Models of Rural-urban Migration

The first theoretical explanation on rural-urban migration is the Lewis (1954) model of development, which tries to explain the transition from a stagnating economy based on a traditional rural sector to a growing economy driven by the development of a modern urban sector (Lall, Selod and et. al, 2006:8). They further add that according to Lewis theory, subsistence areas referring to rural - the agricultural sector where the labor force is suffering from unemployment and underemployment, and modernized areas - the industrial sector where many employment opportunities are being generated and are also suffering from a labour shortage. Along the development course, the industrial sector is expanding and it requires more and more labour while the agricultural sector is stagnant with a labour surplus. Under these circumstances, the labour surplus in rural areas will supplement the labour shortage in urban areas, and in this way the rural-urban migration begins.

In this model, Lewis assumes that rural economies initially present a specific context in which there is surplus labour in the agricultural sector. On this consideration, the agricultural sector is able to supply labour force to the modern industrial sector which can grow by accumulating capital and steaming labour from the traditional agricultural sector. The transfer of the labour between two economic sectors involves the reallocation of the labour force across space through migration from low population density rural to high density of urban areas. Lewis adds that migration occurs until surplus labour is absorbed by the modern sector (Lall, Selod and et. al, 2006:9).

However, this model is criticized by some scholars and they emphasize that the assumption of zero marginal productivity and remuneration at the average product in the agricultural sector is more debatable. It appeared to inadequately describe the urbanization process of many developing countries. In the late 1960s, urban areas experienced high levels of unemployment, hence this model might not tell the right story about rural-urban migration.

Todaro and Harris-Todaro Model of Rural-urban Migration

During the 1970s, Michael Todaro published a number of papers on migration related issues, and his papers have contributed greatly to the understanding of migration. The argument on

the causes of rural-urban migration is based on his observation that throughout the developing world, rates of rural-urban migration continue to exceed the rates of job creation and to surpass greatly the capacity of both industry and urban social services to absorb this labor effectively (Todaro, 1976:139-40). The Todaro (1969) and Harris-Todaro (1970) models also consider the role of internal migration in a dual economy in which the urban sector draws labour force from the rural sector (Lall, Selod and et. al, 2006:10). In Lewis model, internal migration removed surplus labour force from rural areas and enabled the transition to a modern economy. In Todarian models, the focus is explaining the existence of unemployment in urban areas and its link with internal migration. According to Todaro, individual migration decisions are based on the difference between the discounted expected income streams in urban and rural areas net of migration costs (Ibid). In his model, urban job seekers evaluates his discounted expected income stream in the city taking into account the endogenous probability of being employed. Thus, the main contribution to this model is to link urban employment and migrants flow.

Furthermore, according to the model by Todaro (1976:140); high levels of rural-urban migration can continue even when urban unemployment rates are high and are known to potential migrants. He suggests that a migrant will move even if he ends up being unemployed or receives a lower urban wage than the rural wage. This happens because the migrants expect that they will end up with some kinds of job that gives them a good compensation, and therefore they are willing to be unemployed or underpaid and to wait for a better job opportunity in the future (Ibid). This argument explains the high flow of migrants from rural to urban areas but end up with unemployed.

However, this model is also criticized by many authors. The message they have provided is that internal migration can be harmful, which is exacerbated. This model only explains the static but migration is a dynamic phenomenon by nature. Other important aspects are missing, including the heterogeneity of migrants which is not accounted for, the possibility of return migration, the existence of rural unemployment etc. It is almost silent about what happens in the rural areas. The assumption they have made on workers either employed in the manufacturing sector or unemployed has been criticized stating that unemployment could also be interpreted as underemployment in the informal sector. Furthermore, the assumption of migration led by expected income may overlook that migration can occur even when the urban expected income is below the rural income.

New Economies Models of Rural-urban Migration

Recent models of internal migration, called New Economies of Migration, adopt a complete change in perspective as they do not pretend to explain urban employment as presented by Harris-Todaro (Katz and Stark, 1986 cited in Lall, Selod and et. al, 2006:22). According to this model, migration takes place in a world of imperfect information that can account for the sorting of migrants according to their skills. The key assumption is that information about skills does not flow freely across labour markets. Sometimes, the employer in the origin can have better information on workers' productivity than employers' in the destination. In this situation, skilled workers may not find it beneficial to migrate. This is because skilled workers would be paid a lower wage in the destination than in the origin, where their skills are recognized.

Others have focused on alternative motivations to migrate which can contradict the view that the expected income differentials between rural areas and urban areas necessarily have to be positive in order to induce migration. This paradox can be explained when migration entails a small chance of reaping a very high reward. For example, when utility is assumed to increase with comparative wealth or with the ranking of the individual in the income distribution of his/her group of reference, he/she can still choose to migrate to the city in the hope of possible to increase his/her social status among rural residents and migrants. Thus, this model predicts that rural individuals whose income position is in an upward-sloping, he/she can decide to migrate in the hope to increase his/her social status even with only a small chance of a monetary gain.

Furthermore, rural-urban migration is job related in its nature. Therefore, it is natural to study migration as job-search framework. According to Vishwanathan (1991, cited in Lall, Selod and et. al, 2006:23), the models have three options involving different information flows and search: i) stay in the rural areas, ii) engage in rural-based search for an urban job, iii) move to the city and engage in urban based search. This model also provides another explanation of income differential paradox, because when viewed in the context of a continuous programme of job search, the dispersion in the distribution of job offered increases the value from urban-based search and migration. Bhattacharya (1998:903) in this regard adds that workers have to move to a particular location in order to be able to observe the quality of jobs offered at that location, which intends to repeat and return migration that can be obtained with job-search and incomplete information.

Similarly, rural-urban migration can also be looked at a family migration which emphasizes migration of a family member as a way to diversify the risk associated with family earnings in the absence of rural insurance market and or when income diversification opportunities in rural areas are scarce (Stark and Levhari, 1982 cited in Lall, Selod and et. al, 2006:22). Furthermore, Stark and Lucas (1988, Ibid) add that migration of a family member can result from a cooperative arrangement struck between the migrants and his family. The migrant is insured by his family while looking for job. Later on, the family can engage in the adoption of a new agricultural technology knowing that the migrant will be able to compensate adverse shocks. This can also explain the paradox of migration in spite of an expected negative income differential because if the return of investment in the rural areas increases with the level of the investment, then it might be rational for a rural resident to migrate to an urban area even if it involves a lower expected income. This is because even a small chance of getting some additional income from the migrants will enable a very profitable investment in the rural area.

Likewise, Banerjee and Bhattacharya (1998, cited in Singh, 2005:12-13) argue that the urban labour market is being segmented, and distinguish between the urban formal sector and the urban informal sector, but do not see the informal sector as a stagnant and unproductive sector. In their view, it is economically rational for a low skilled worker to migrate to the informal sector without giving much attention to neither formal sector employment opportunities nor the relatively higher formal sector wages. They argue that these rural-urban migrants are not blinded by formal sector amenities, because they are fully aware of their potential and the limited opportunities in the formal sector. The informal sector provides job opportunities, which are on their own enough to attract agricultural workers, who work under harsh and uncertain conditions.

They further argue that rural urban migration induces as a demonstrative effect where the performance of the out-migrants in terms of money remitted to their families is easily visible for other residents and is a way to verify the success stories. It is because villages have a tight community, news (letters for example) about their urban experiences circulates quickly. So, rural to urban migration increases where skilled migrants are attracted to the formal sector, less-skilled migrants are engaged in the informal sectors. According to Bhattacharya (2002:952), migrants that have obtained a high level of education are most likely to be absorbed in the formal sector, while less educated, less skilled migrants are absorbed in the informal sector.

3.3.2 Push and Pull Factors Approach for Rural-urban Migration

Push and Pull factors approach is a combination of neo-classical and Todarian approaches. Lee (1966:50) develops a general scheme into which a variety of spatial movements can be placed. Based on the arguments, he has divided the forces influencing migrant perceptions into 'negative' and 'positive' factors. The former are 'push' factors tending to force migrants to leave origin areas, while the latter are 'pull' factors attracting migrants to destination areas in the expectation of improving their standard of living.

According to Lee (1966:51), the positive factors could be more important than the negative factors. Negative (push) factors including, the difficulties in rural areas such as poverty, unemployment, land shortages are driving forces that urge the farmers to leave their homeland to find a new place to settle and to work. These push factors are basic factors which induce migration. The 'positive (pull) factors' refer to job or income opportunities outside the farmers' homeland, which are so attractive that people want to achieve them. Therefore, the job and income opportunities in urban areas are pulling factors that pull the people to settle and to work. Although migration can occur either by 'push' or 'pull' factors, Lee assumes migration mostly is a result of a combination of both.

Hence, an unfavorable situation in the origin, for example, war and conflict can also be taken as push factors to induce rural-urban migration. In many developing countries, especially in Nepal, rural-urban migration is taking place because of armed conflict. People are forced to leave their home place. Those people who are forced to leave their origin called, internally displaced persons, who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their home place, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict. Some of others are also forced to leave their home place due to the natural or human-made disasters.

3.3.3 Livelihood Approach

Livelihoods approach views the world from the point of view of the individuals, households and social groups who are trying to make a living in volatile conditions and with limited assets. It provides a framework for understanding the opportunities and assets available to poor people and the sources of their vulnerability, as well as the impact upon them of external organizations, processes and policies.

The concept of livelihoods became prominent in the middle of the 1980s with work done by Robert Chambers and the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex

(Schafer, 2002:22-23). Schafer further states that: ‘for Chambers, the livelihoods approach and increased participation of the poor were means of correcting the inevitable biases introduced by outsiders deciding what was best for the poor people. The idea of a livelihoods framework as a tool for analysis is simply to capture the main elements, which comprise the complex livelihoods of people at a given point in time, and ideally the course and dynamics of change in livelihoods as well (Ibid). According to him, the basic elements of most livelihoods frameworks are:

- Livelihood resources: what people have, variously referred to as stocks and stores, assets and capital (both tangible and intangible),
- Livelihood strategies: what people do (e.g. agriculture, wage labour, migration),
- Livelihood outcomes: what goals they are pursuing, the living that results from their activities.

In recent years, multilateral and bilateral agencies have put reduction, elimination or eradication of poverty as the prime focus of their programmes (Cahn, 2002, in www.devnet.org.nz). It was realised that a new way of thinking about poverty reduction is needed. The basis of a life free from poverty is access and entitlement to a range of assets and livelihood strategies that can sustain households and individuals through the stresses and shocks of life (Ibid). During the 1990s a new approach to poverty reduction, the sustainable livelihood approach (SL) emerged. The sustainable livelihood approach is promoted by multilateral and bilateral organisations such as United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Department for International Development (DFID). Furthermore, Ellis (2000:37) has emphasized more on the access to assets and activities in his definition of livelihood that is influenced by social relations and institutions.

Many organizations and institutions such as DFID and IDS have documented the livelihoods framework explaining on different development issues. But the IDS framework shows how in different context, sustainable livelihoods are achieved through access to a range of livelihood resources (natural, economic, human and social capital), which are combined in the pursuit of different livelihood strategies (agricultural intensification or extensification, livelihood diversification and migration) (Scoones, 1998:9). Central to the framework is the analysis of the range of formal and informal organisations and institutional factors that influence sustainable livelihood outcomes.

3.3.4 The Livelihood Framework

The livelihoods framework is a tool to improve our understanding of livelihoods, particularly the livelihoods of the poor. It was developed over a period of several months by the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Advisory Committee, building on earlier work by the Institute of Development Studies (amongst others) (DFID, 1999 in www.livelihoods.org. accessed on 12-12-06). According to Solesbury (2003:9), the livelihood framework is a tool that helps to define the scope of, and provides the analytical basis for livelihoods analysis by identifying the main factors affecting livelihoods and the relationships between them. The framework therefore highlights five interacting elements: contexts; resources; institutions; strategies; and outcomes. At the centre of the framework, there are the assets on which households or individuals draw to build their livelihoods, which is prime focus of this study.

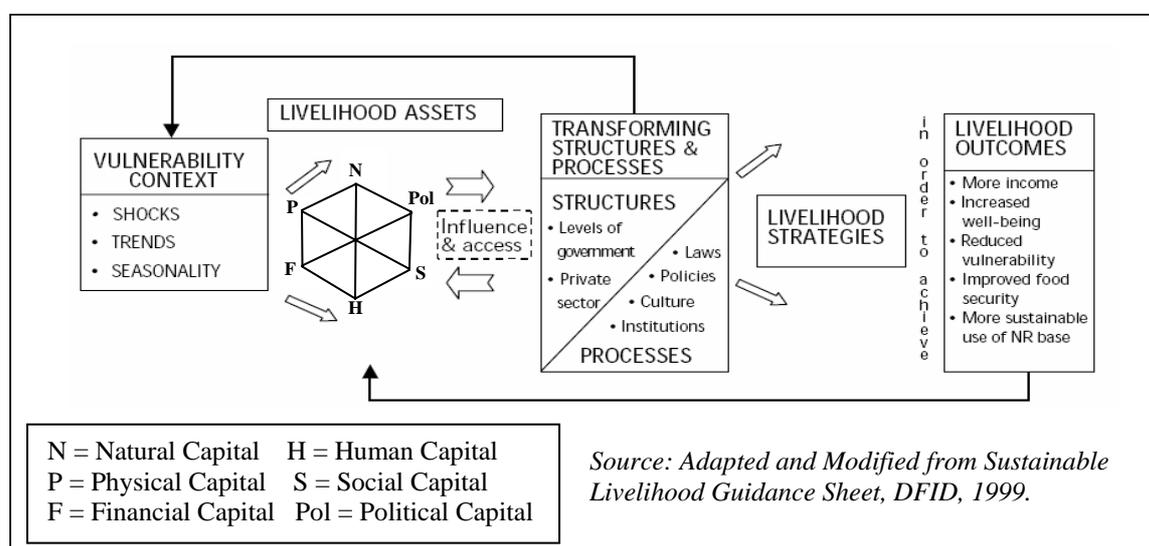


Figure 4: DFID Livelihood Framework

Livelihood Assets on Asset Pentagon

Livelihood assets are the basic building blocks upon which households are able to undertake production, engage in labour markets, and participate in reciprocal exchange with other households (Ellis, 2000:31). In other words it can be described as stocks of capital that can be utilized directly, or indirectly, to generate the means of survival of the household or to sustain its material well-being at different levels above survival.

Natural Capital: Natural capital comprises the land, water and biological resources that are utilized by people to generate means of survival. Sometimes these are referred to as environmental resources, and are thought of jointly as comprising the environment (Ellis,

2000:32). Natural capital are not static and nor is its utilization for survival purposes confined to gathering activities.

Physical Capitals: Physical assets comprise capitals that are created by economic production processes. Buildings, irrigation canals, roads, tools, machines, communications, and so on are physical assets. In economic terms, physical capital is defined as a producer good as contrasted to a consumer good. For example, roads have multiple effects in reducing the spatial costs of transactions in resources and outputs. They also facilitate movement of people between places offering different income earning opportunities (Ellis, 2000:33). Thus, this is the capitals which are available to the people that enable them to earn their livelihoods.

Human Capitals: It is often said that the chief asset possessed by the poor is their own labour. Human capital refers to the labour available to the household: its education, skills, and health (Carney, 1998 cited in Ellis, 2000:33-34). Human capital is increased by investment in education and training, as well as by the skills acquired through pursuing one or more occupations (Ellis, 2000:33). It enables to individuals to work or pursue some source of livelihoods.

Financial Capitals: Financial capital refers the capitals to stocks of money to which the household has access. This is chiefly likely to be savings, and access to credit in the form of loans. Neither money savings nor loans are directly productive forms of capital, they owe their role in the asset portfolio of households to their convertibility into other form of capital, or, indeed, directly into consumption (Ellis, 2000:34). These are available to people in the forms of savings, supplies of credit or regular remittances or pensions which enables people to pursue their livelihoods.

Social Capitals: Moser (1998, cited in Ellis, 2000:36), defines social capital as reciprocity within communities and between households based on trust deriving from social ties. It attempts to capture community and wider social claims on which individuals and households can draw by virtue of their belonging to social groups of varying degree of inclusiveness in society at large (Ellis, 2000:36). It is social networks system where the individuals and households can produce livelihoods through the relations e.g. community, family. The World Bank (1997 cited in McAlsan, 2002:139) has defined social capital as ‘the internal rules, norms and long-term relationship that facilitate coordinated actions and enable people to undertake co-operative ventures for mutual advantages. According to Putnam (1993 cited in

McAlsan, 2002:140), social capital can be defined as the ‘features of social organizations, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate action and co-operation for mutual benefits.

Political Capital: The livelihood framework (DFID) does not explain or address power and politics. But it is important to include as political capital as it analyzes policies, institutions and processes, which influence the choices that people are able to make with their capital assets. According to Peri (2000:20), politics is recognized as ‘playing a fundamental role’ in causing poverty, and it cannot be left out of a framework that has as its objective an understanding of poverty. Furthermore, political capital is an asset that links an individual or a group to power structures and policy outside the locality. Therefore, Political capital is critical for turning SL from a useful descriptive framework into an operational decision making tool and important to understand how it works into the framework.

The Asset Pentagon: The asset pentagon lies at the core of the livelihoods framework, within the vulnerability context. The pentagon was developed to enable information about people’s assets to be presented visually, thereby bringing to life important inter-relationships between the various assets (DFID, 1999 in www.livelihood.org). The shape of the pentagon can be used to show schematically the variation in people’s access to assets. The idea is that the centre point of the pentagon, where the lines meet, represents zero access to assets while the outer perimeter represents maximum access to assets. On this basis different shaped pentagons can be drawn for different communities or social groups within communities.

Transforming Structures and Processes

It is important to understand the structures or organizations, and the processes such as laws, policies, societal norms, and incentives while dealing on livelihood issues. Access, control and use of assets are influenced by the institutional structures and processes. An understanding of structures and processes provides the link between the micro (individual, household and community) and the macro (regional, government, powerful private enterprise) (Scoones, 1998, Carney, 1998, Ellis, 2000 cited in Cahn, 2002 in www.devnet.org.nz, accessed on 12-02-07). Such an understanding helps to identify areas where restrictions, barriers or constraints occur and explain social process that could impact on livelihood sustainability (Scoones, 1998, Ibid).

Livelihood Outcomes

The reason that the word ‘outcomes’ is used rather than ‘objective’ in the DFID framework is that ‘outcomes’ is considered a neutral term that reflects the aims of both DFID and its

clients, whereas the term ‘objectives’ could imply top down objectives (Carney, 1998, cited in Chan, 2002 in www.devnet.org.nz). A focus on outcomes leads to a focus on achievements, indicators and progress. An understanding of livelihood outcomes is intended to provide, through a participatory enquiry, a range of outcomes that will improve well-being and reduce poverty in its broadest sense (DFID, 1999, Ibid).

Livelihood Strategies

Livelihood strategies are the way in which people adopt different activities for survival in different socio-economic and environmental settings. According to Ellis (2000:40), livelihood strategies are composed of activities that generate the means of household survival. Scoones (1998:9) identifies three types of rural livelihood strategies: agricultural intensification or extensification, livelihood diversification including, both paid employment and rural enterprises, and migration (including income generation and remittances). Carney (1998 in www.odi.org.uk and Ellis, 2000:40-41) list these categories of livelihood strategies as natural resource based, non-natural resource based including, migration and remittances and other transfers.

Vulnerability Context

The vulnerability context is especially about how people adapt to and cope with stresses and shocks. People’s livelihoods and their access and control of resources can be affected by events largely beyond their control. The vulnerability context firstly frames the external environment in which people exist (DFID, 1999 cited in Chan, 2002 in www.devnet.org.nz). For example: trends in population growth, national and international economics, natural resources, politics, and technology; sudden shocks or events such as health problems, earthquakes, floods, droughts, conflict, agricultural problems such as pests and disease, economic shocks; and seasonal vulnerability of prices, production, employment opportunities or health can impact on livelihoods (Chambers & Conway, 1991:11). Culture (including gender) and household dynamics can also cause risk and vulnerability (Cahn, 2002 in www.devnet.org.nz).

3.3.5 Link between the Informal Sector and Livelihood Approach

As discussed the term ‘informal sector’ is commonly used to refer to that segment of labour market in developing countries that has absorbed significant numbers of job seekers, mostly in self-employment, and to workers in very small production units. The informal sector operates outside the formal economy, utilize lower levels of investment and less demanding

skills and handle relatively simpler products. In addition to this, it links with the formal sector through subcontracting the networks and commodity chains of production.

In developing countries, informal sector is linked to poor people's livelihood approach due to its increasing role in absorbing and creating employment opportunities. The informal sector provides activities for the urban poor and is carried out within easy reach of their available resources. As Chambers (1997) puts the reality for the majority of the very poor in the south both in the rural areas and the urban informal sector, is one of diverse livelihoods exploiting various resources. Informal sector has been recognized as leading to development and has continued to support most of the population in many developing countries, by creating necessary employment opportunities and income.

Finally, development will necessarily grasp enabling people by using physical, financial and human resources at the household level. The use of various resources is also one of the key focuses of livelihood in which the term 'livelihood asset' has been used. On the one hand, livelihood approach talks about people's access to assets and the use of those assets for making a living in a particular society. On the other hand, urban informal sector creates employment opportunities and income to the urban and rural poor to create livelihoods. Thus, there is close relationship between livelihood approach and the informal sector.

3.4 Analytical Approach

Like a theory, an analytical approach is a set of explanatory concepts that are useful for explaining a particular phenomenon, situation or activity. This offers certain ways of looking at the issues. Analytical frameworks emphasize different questions and how they are linked to the different issues, and emphasis can be given to a particular issue. The above discussion (about migration theories and livelihood approach) has given a guideline to establish a framework and model to be used in analyzing the research problem, which is presented below (fig. 5). The model facilitates a way of analysis to this study interconnecting different theories; rural-urban migration and livelihood approach to deal with the raised issue of increasing migration and increase in the street vending for livelihoods.

In the following model (fig. 5), migration is seen as relating to the causes/factors, including socio-economic factors, rural conflict, rural poverty that induce single and whole family migration to urban areas in search of better employment and existence. With the lack of urban

formal jobs, it links to increase in the informal sector activities (street vending). Rural-urban migration also creates increased pressure on the urban livelihoods because most of the migrants are uneducated, semi-educated and they involve in the informal work. Increase in the street vending is the result of both increasing rural-urban migration and increase pressure in the urban livelihoods. The central concern of this study is the result of both rural-urban migration and increase pressure in the urban livelihoods. Interventions/responses concern the management aspect of the city where city authority (KMC), NGOs and others (individuals and local people's interest, for example, evening market¹ in *Basantapur Durbar Square* area), are the players for future planning and management of the city. These issues are looked at in this study and recommendations relating to livelihoods of the urban poor, alternative locations for vending or creating other livelihood opportunities will be formulated.

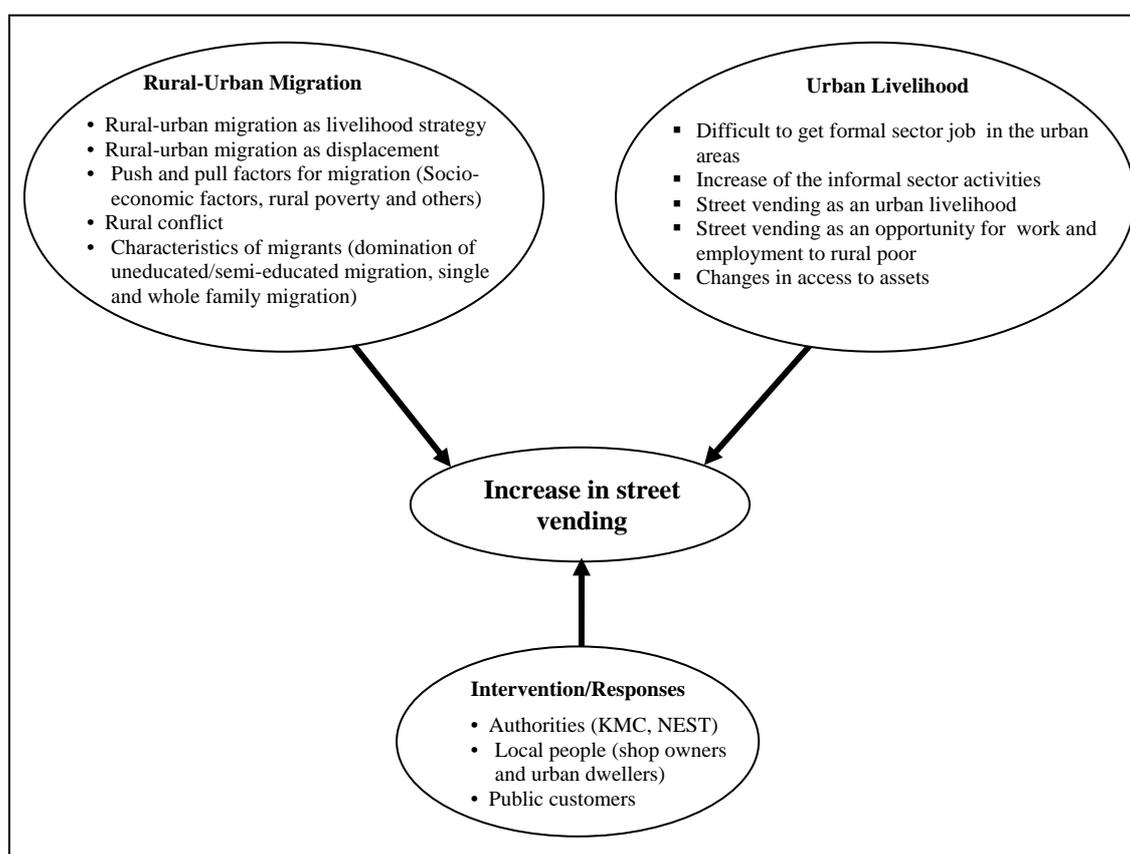


Figure 5: Analytical Approach to the Study of Increase in Street Vending

Hence, the study looks at why people are increasingly migrating, how these people are surviving on the street, after all who are responsible for this, and how one can solve the

¹ In *Basantapur* area of Kathmandu, local clubs have managed to provide some stalls for trading during the evening, 5 to 9 pm each day. Some vendors are managing their livelihoods putting up the stalls at this area during the evening.

problems in a way to provide alternative livelihoods to the poor and to improve the sectors in a manageable way.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed some relevant literature and theories that were pertinent to this study. Key concepts were defined. Migration theories and livelihood approach were reviewed to contextualize the study in a way to develop a framework for analysis. Migration theories historically discussed in the literature were reviewed to show the relevancy of increasing population pressure in the informal sectors in the urban areas. Rural-urban migration was focussed and looked at as a factor for increasing population pressure in the informal sectors in Kathmandu. Since the focus of the study is increase in the street vending activities and vendors struggle for livelihoods, the livelihood framework was explained to analyse changing livelihood assets of the migrants' vendors. While doing so, livelihood assets were explained in detail to give emphasis on changes in access to assets in analysis. The relationship between livelihood approach and the informal sector was discussed before the analytical framework for this study was presented. Finally, an analytical framework (fig.5) was developed to facilitate to the analysis.

Chapter Four

Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is designed to introduce how data collection, data analysis and data interpretations were carried out throughout many stages of the research work. In the first section, the chapter presents the researcher's choice of methodological approaches to the study and provides descriptions of qualitative techniques in social research, and looks at why a qualitative methodology is chosen. It further describes the sources of data, which comprise both primary and secondary data. In addition, the chapter deals with the fieldwork evaluation strategy adopted, the various problems encountered during the field work, and the techniques of data analysis. Issues of validity and reliability of this study will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

4.2 Research Methodology

Research methods are the means by which knowledge is acquired and constructed within a discipline (Lynda, and Myers, 1995:14). Methodology is a coherent set of rules and procedures, which can be used to investigate a phenomenon or situation (Kitchin and Tate, 2000:6). According to Schwandt (2001:161), methodology is a theory of how inquiry should proceed. It involves analysis of the assumptions, principles, and procedures in a particular approach to inquiry that governs the use of particular methods. Methodology refers to more than a simple set of methods; rather it refers to the rationale and the philosophical assumptions that underlie a particular study. According to Shurmer-Smith (2002:95), methodology is not just a matter of practicalities and techniques; it is a matter of marrying up theory with practices. It means when one adopts a particular theoretical position, some methods will suggest themselves and others become inappropriate, for both theoretical and practical reasons. Methodology sets the rules for research, and must be in accordance with the chosen theoretical framework.

4.3 Qualitative Research Methodology

Qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, such as "real world setting [where] the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 2002). Qualitative research, broadly defined, means "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of

statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, Ibid). This can refer to research about persons' lives, lived experiences, behavior, emotions and feelings as well as about organizational functioning etc. There are many valid reasons for doing qualitative research. One reason is preference and experience of the researcher. Another reason and more valid one for choosing qualitative methods is the nature of the research problem and research questions, for example, research that attempts to understand the meaning or nature of experience of person. Qualitative research techniques are essential in exploring individual attitudes, perceptions, conceptions, priorities, especially when dealing with sensitive topics in depth (Anafi, 2000:50). They give a rich understanding to individual life and help to set a dialogue between the researcher and the respondent.

Maxwell (1996:17) emphasizes that quantitative and qualitative methods are not simply different ways of doing the same thing. Instead, they have different strength and logics and are often best used to address different questions and purposes. The strengths of qualitative research derive primarily from its inductive approach, its focus on specific situations or people, and its emphasis on words rather than numbers. According to Maxwell (1996:17), there are five major purposes for which qualitative studies are especially suitable. These are:

1. Understanding the meaning,
2. Understanding the particular context,
3. Identifying unanticipated phenomena and influences, and generating new grounded theories about these,
4. Understanding the process by which events and actions take place, and
5. Developing causal explanation.

Giving the importance of qualitative methodologies, Limb and Dwyer (2001:6) emphasize that qualitative methodologies do not start with the assumption that there is a preexisting world that can be known, or measured, but instead see the social world as always being constructed through the interaction of culture, economic, social and political processes. It is to understand lived experience and reflect on and interpret the understandings and shared meanings of people's everyday social worlds and realities. Qualitative methodologies seek subjective understanding of social realities rather than statistical description and prediction. Thus, they seek in-depth understanding of specific topic which gives some meaning to the researchers and readers (Smith, 1988 cited in Dwyer C. and Limb M. 2001:7).

4.4 Reasons for Choosing Qualitative Methodology

As we discussed earlier, qualitative techniques emphasize quality, depth, richness and understanding, instead of the statistical representativeness and scientific rigour. But, the choice of methodological approach depends on the purpose of the research, looking at the kind of questions to be explored, researcher's methodological knowledge and also the research type itself. However, there is no any strict rule for choosing the methods. Generally, a researcher needs to be balance between the time available and depth and breadth of the information required to him. The most appropriate methods for the research will therefore depend on the questions the researcher wants to ask and the sort of information he/she wants to generate.

The choice to use qualitative methods for research is also shaped by the dimensions of the research questions. It also depends on how the researchers understand social reality and the philosophical position that they take with regard to the production of knowledge and the attitude to the subjects of research study and also the researcher's role, position and responsibility in the field (Dowling, 2000 in Hay, 2001:29).

It is often mentioned that qualitative research is sensitive to the human situation, and involves an emphatic dialogue with the subjects studied. Thus, it is a uniquely sensitive and powerful method for capturing the experiences and lived meanings of the subjects' everyday world. Using qualitative method in research allows the subject to convey to the researcher their situation from their own perspectives and in their words. The researcher then tries to position her/himself into the situation of the research subjects in order to understand and interpret opinions, motives, emotions and social process.

Likewise, qualitative research is characterized by flexibility. The researcher has the freedom to change and formulate questions as they come to mind around the issue being investigated. Some of the advantages of using qualitative approach are that it is the most appropriate for studying complex and sensitive questions, as the researcher has the opportunity to prepare the subjects before asking sensitive questions. It is also less likely in qualitative research that a question would be misunderstood since the researcher could either repeat a question or put it in a form that is understood by the subjects or respondents.

However, the methods are no exception to limitations. Researcher's bias interpretations of responses are always seen as disadvantageous in qualitative research. The findings rely much

on researcher's translation of the actual situation, which might not be what was in reality the case. Another disadvantage is that the presence of researcher might consciously or unconsciously influence the responses to questions asked in the field. Most of the time people say what they think the researcher wants to hear and they consequently may blow up their response.

There are several reasons for using qualitative research methods in this study. I wanted to understand the view of street vendors regarding their street trade, the reasons why they migrated and adopted street vending activities, how they perceive themselves as being street vendors, to what extent they are able to create livelihoods on the street and so on. Those questions are all in nature of understanding the situation of street vendors, which suits qualitative methodology. Secondly, I wanted to find out the individual life experience of street vendors and the responses by the authorities, inhabitants, and public customers about the services those vendors provide, the problems they are facing, which is also the understanding of the situation. In-depth analysis, depth and breadth understanding of these questions cannot be answered without qualitative methodologies.

4.5 Research Design

Research design is a concept of ideas to frame the study in a way to understand some meanings by specific methods and methodology to the specific issues. According to Maxwell (1996:3), research design is like a philosophy of life; no one is without one, but some people are more aware of theirs than others, and thus able to make more informed and consistent decisions. Research design in qualitative research is an iterative process that involves "tacking" back and forth between the different components of the design, assessing the implications of purpose, theory, research questions, methods, and validity threats for one another (Greertz, 1976 cited in Maxwell, 1996:4).

4.6 Nature of Data and Data Collection Methods

In social science research, field work is the central and important method for collecting the primary information. Secondary information also plays an important role while analyzing and giving inference of some empirical knowledge. So, this study is based on both primary and secondary data. Data collection methods are primarily determined by the kinds of questions to be answered, as well as the type of research to be conducted, and also the nature of the research itself. The following sub-sections present the methods of data collection.

4.6.1 Methods of Primary Data Collection

I have used different methods of primary data collection. Those were interviews (standardized open-ended interviews, key informants' interviews, informal conversational interviews) and observation. Some photographs were also taken for analyzing and narrating some issues. Primary data were collected by a month long field work in the study area.

Interviews

Qualitative interviewing is a kind of guided conversation in which the interviewer carefully listens 'so as to hear the meaning' of what is being conveyed (Rubin and Rubin, 1995, cited in Warren, 2001:85). The interview is the key technique and probably the most commonly used in qualitative research. According to Kitchin & Tate (2000:213), it allows the researcher to produce a rich, depth and varied data set in an informal setting. It provides a thorough examination of experiences, feelings or opinions that closed questions could never hope to capture (Ibid). There are many types of interview. These are according to Patton (2002:342), informal conversational interview, general interview guide approach, and standardized open-ended interview. I have chosen standardized open-ended interviews, key informants' interview and informal conversational interviews in my study.

Standardized Open-ended Interview

The standardized open-ended interview consists of a set of open-ended questions carefully worded and arranged in advance. It is called content focused (Dunn, 2000 in Hay, 2000:61), which focuses on content rather than informants or researcher. The interviewer asks the same questions to each respondent with essentially the same words and in the same sequence. It is also useful when it is desirable to have the same information from each interviewee at several points in time or when there are time constraints for data collection. It allows the researcher to collect detailed data systematically and facilitate comparability among all respondents (<http://web.worldbank.org>, dated, 04-09-06). Thus, it increases the comparability of responses since every respondent answers the same sets of questions. It also reduces possible bias from researcher while interviewing many respondents. Though questions are standardized, respondents are free to express themselves on the related topics.

However, it may have some weaknesses. It does not permit the interviewer to pursue topics or issues that were not predictable when the interview instrument was elaborated. It also allows little flexibility in relating the interviews to particular individuals and circumstances.

It may also reduce the naturalness of the interview as it consists of standardized wording. It also limits the use of alternative lines of questioning with different people depending on their particular experiences. This reduces the extent to which individual differences and circumstances can be fully incorporated in the research.

In my study, open-ended interviews were conducted with 30 migrants' vendors (appendix I). Questions were standardized and open-ended, regarding the reasons for migration, livelihood security by street occupation, problems and opportunities they were facing and individual life experience before and after migration.

Key Informants' Interview

The key-informants' interview is a powerful data-gathering tool in qualitative research. The key-informant is regarded as an '*expert*' or '*knowledgeable*' person, who imparts important information to the interviewer. The assumption is that key informants know the issue well, which is determined after preliminary survey or informal talk with the relevant people. Thus, the interviewer acts the part of someone interested in learning from the informant. The interviewer should not respond to information from the key-informants with value judgments or expressions of criticism. Although individuals vary considerably in their natural interviewing skills, the techniques of key-informant interview can be conducted by the highly educated to near-illiterate community people.

In this study, five key informants; including one municipality authority (in charge officer of street market), one representative of street vendors' union (leader of Nepal Street Vendors Union), one local inhabitant (an old local shopkeeper, aged 65), and two public customers were selected. The interviews were conducted with them for the information regarding their views towards increasing rate of street vendors, the policies and response towards street vendors, street trade and its consequences, the activities and response from vendors' organization and so on (appendix II).

Informal Conversational Interview

Informal Conversational Interview may occur spontaneously in the course of field work, and the respondent may not know that an interview is taking place. Questions emerge from the immediate context, so the wording of questions and even the topics are not predetermined. According to Kitchin and Tate (2000:215), the unstructured format allows respondents to talk about a topic within their own 'frame of reference' and thus provides a greater understanding

of the interviewees' point of view. The major advantage is that the interview is highly individualized and relevant to the individual. Thus, it is likely to produce information or insights that the interviewer could not have anticipated.

Some informal conversational interviews were conducted. Among them, one was with my friend and another was with a local resident (street vendor), who has been selling vegetables for 25 years. During my field survey, I got to know that he (local resident vendor) might be resourceful informant for required information for my study because he might be suffering from competition due to increasing street vending activities. Since, my target group was in-migrants vendors; I decided to conduct an informal conversational interview with him because I did not want to confine him with my structured interview. Moreover, I wanted the interview to be more like a continuous conversational talk so that I could listen to him more than interrupting by asking questions.

During these interviews, various topics regarding increasing the number of vendors, their competition, vendors' livelihoods situation, personal opinions about the problems created by vendors, relationship between local vendors and migrants' vendors, relationship between vendors and metropolitan police etc. were covered.

Observation

According to Kitchin and Tate (2000:220), observation is an inductive method of data generation. Furthermore, Wolcott (1995 cited in Kitchin and Tate, 2000:219-20) suggests that the difference between interviewing and observation is that in observation one watches as events unfold, whereas with interviews 'one gets noisy'. Interviews are self-reports of experiences, opinions and feelings, whereas observation relies on the observer's ability to interpret what is happening and why. Observation entails being present in a situation and making a record of one's impressions of what takes place (Jones and Somekh, 2004:138). According to Frankfort-Nichanias and Nachanias (1996, cited in Kitchin and Tate, 2000:220), directness is the major advantage of observation. Researchers watch what they do and listen to what they say, rather than asking people about their views and feelings. This directness provides a degree of validity as it concentrates upon what people really do as opposed to what they say they will do. There are two types of observation, participant observation and direct (non-participant) observation.

In participant observation, observer (researcher) becomes a member of the community or population being studied. The researcher participates in activities of the community, observes how people behave and interact with each other and outside community (<http://web.worldbank.org>, accessed on 05-09-06). The researcher tries to become accepted as a neighbor or participant rather than as an outsider. The purpose of such participation is not only to see what is happening but to feel what it is like to be part of the group. The strength of this approach is that the researcher is able to experience and presumably better understand any issues. The main weakness is that it is likely to alter the behavior that is being observed and ethical issues may arise if the participant observer misrepresents himself/herself in order to be accepted by the community being studied.

But, in direct (non-participant) observation researcher becomes a passive observer. It is just the systematic noting and recording of activities, behaviors and physical objects as an unobtrusive observer. It can often be a rapid and economical way of obtaining basic socio-economic information on households or communities. The main advantage of this method is that if participants are not aware that they are being observed, then they are less likely to change their behavior and compromise the validity of the evaluation.

However, it is true that seeing is not believing. It should always be kept in mind that different people see the world and events differently. What people see and make an idea about events depends on their interests, knowledge, backgrounds and also cultural setting where he has grown up. According to Patton (2002:262), our culture shapes what we see, our early childhood socialization forms how we look at the world, and our value systems tell us how to interpret what passes before our eyes. He also emphasizes that the scientific inquiry using observational methods requires disciplined training and rigorous preparation.

In this study, I have used both observation methods to collect the information. First of all it was very important for me to know the right informants (migrants vendors). Participant observation was, then, useful to collect the pre-information to recognize right informants (migrants' vendors). I decided to play a role of customer so that I could be a part of the study object because without customer the marketing phenomenon could not be possible. I went on shopping around my study location (especially at *Asan-Bhothahity* and *Indrachowk*) and I watched on an around over the phenomenon what was going on there. During the shopping I asked them their origin. Then, I recognized the migrants street vendors and asked an appointment with them for the interview.

Likewise, non-participant observation was also conducted to get information being unobtrusive observer regarding the issue like, what the types of street vending exist, what type of location they prefer, how they are coping while the metropolitan police oppose them to put up their shop on the street, how they deal with the municipal authorities etc.

Photographs as Data

Photographs may also be one of the tools for data generation in qualitative research. Morse & Richards (2002:97) write that researcher may use photographs as an independent way of making data to record a setting or scene, to record directly 'how much' or 'how many' or to provide illustrations. They further add that 'researchers' photographs may serve as data in historical studies or in life history studies or they may provide background as a part of the ongoing data collection scene'. It is stated that a picture is worth a mountain of words that is why qualitative fieldwork increasingly includes photographs as a research tool. According to Fetterman (1989), it serves as mnemonic devices for researchers; while researchers are involved with data analysis and writing of findings, photographs can jog their memory allowing access to detail that they may otherwise have been unable to recall. Moreover, Photographs play an important role while analyzing the data because it can display much information at a glance of look on it.

However, sometimes photography may provide false impression and information to some extent to the viewer if the researcher is not aware of the context while producing photographs. Researchers should be aware of and should consider the issues such as who take photographs, when and where they are taken, under which circumstances they are taken, while producing them and using them as research tools. Ball & Smith (1992, cited in Pun, 2004:39) writes 'If a picture is to be regarded as true then the circumstances of its production and the conditions we wish to draw from it must be taken into account'.

In this study, various photographs were taken by the researcher during the field work. Those photographs have been used to visualize the situations of vendors, their extension, market shape and place, livelihood dependent situation, vulnerability in terms of congestion and road encroachment, overcrowded situation, which helped me to strengthen my interpretation.

4.7 Secondary Data Source

Secondary data is data which have been collected by individuals or agencies for purposes other than the particular research study. It plays an important role in research from the very

beginning to final stage of analysis. The information derived from secondary data can be very helpful to conceptualize and then contextualize the study. In this study, I have used secondary information from various sources, which include published and unpublished documentary sources; books, newspapers, articles etc.

Population data by CBS (Central Bureau of Statistics) have been used to look at population growth in Nepal and in Kathmandu Valley. These give a picture of population growth in Nepal in general and Kathmandu in particular. They also give a picture of in-migrants' status and the socio-economic characteristics in the study area. Likewise, data on socio-economic services and infrastructure situation in the valley have also been looked at to demonstrate migrants flow in the valley.

Furthermore, data recorded in the metropolitan office were collected to know how many people in a day have been punished and charged and how much the municipality has been earning in return. Data from General Federation of Nepalese Trade Unions (GEFONT) were also collected because Nepal Street Vendors Union (NEST), a brother union works under GEFONT.

Likewise, spatial data have been used to prepare various maps of the study area to obtain a clear overview and visualize the context clearly. Image map has been digitized and later created visual map and displayed it by using Arc GIS (Arc Map 9.1). Besides, other published and unpublished reports, books, and journals have been widely used in this study.

4.8 The Selection of the Respondents

Researchers need the 'right' informants in an appropriate number so that they could finish their study within time frame and also get reliable information. Even if he/she has a choice about where and when to observe, who to talk to, or what information sources to focus on, he/she has to make a sampling decision. Maxwell (1996:69) in this regards says 'even a single case study involves a choice of this case rather than others, as well as requiring sampling decisions within the case itself'. It is because one cannot study everyone and everywhere doing everything. Thus, researchers need sampling, which is the most essential for them to complete the study within time frame and within the available resources. Since my target population was migrants street vendors, I selected a sample population from the migrants vendors. The sample was purposively selected from the entire population.

4.8.1 Purposive Snowball Sampling

Purposive sampling, also called a criterion-based selection in which particular settings, persons, or events and area are selected deliberately in order to provide important information. According to Patton (2002:46), the logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Rich information and cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance for the purpose of the research. Maxwell (1996:70) adds that selecting those times, settings, and individuals that can provide the information that is needed in order to answer research questions, which is the most important consideration in qualitative sampling decisions. Purposive sampling targets a particular group of people. When the desired population for the study is rare or very difficult to locate and recruit for a study, purposive sampling may be the only option. The sample size is more relevant in quantitative research where representativeness is important. However, in qualitative research the sample is not to be representative since the emphasis is usually upon an analysis of meaning in specific context.

In my study, I have used purposive sampling firstly in the selection of study location. Since I was interested in studying on different street vending activities in the core city of Kathmandu, I purposively selected three main locations. *Sundhara-Khichapokhari*, *Asan-Bhotahity* and *Indrachowk* were selected to cover three different types of vendors; cloth vendors, vegetable vendors and food and other mixed vendors. Furthermore, I was more concerned with times, settings and the individuals, who have rich information rather than the quantity of the respondents.

Snowball sampling can be defined as a technique for finding research subjects. One subject gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third, and so on (Vogt, 1999 cited in <http://www.soc.surrey.ac.uk>, accessed on 05-09-06). According to Flowerdew & Martin (1997, Ibid), the term snowball describes using one contact to help you recruit another contact, who in turn can put the researcher in touch with someone else. The initial contact may be a friend, relative, neighbor or someone from a social group or formal organization. As the term implies, through this method, recruiting gains momentum or 'snowballs' as the researcher builds up layers of contacts.

Snowball sampling can be placed within a wider set of link-tracing methodologies (Spreen, 1992, <http://www.soc.surrey.ac.uk>, accessed on 05-09-06), which seeks to take advantage of the social networks of identified respondents to provide a researcher with an ever-expanding

set of potential contacts (Thomson, 1997, Ibid). This process is based on the assumption that a 'bond' or 'link' exists between the initial sample and others in the same target population, allowing a series of referrals to be made within a circle of acquaintance (Berg, 2006).

Snowball sampling can be applied for two primary purposes- firstly, and most easily, as an informal method to reach a target population. It is used most frequently to conduct qualitative research, primarily through interviews. Secondly, snowball sampling may be applied as a more formal methodology for making inferences about a population of individuals, who have been difficult to enumerate through the use of descending methods such as household surveys (Snijders, 1992; Faugier and Sergeant, 1997, Ibid).

I conducted the snowball sampling to select the respondents to reach the migrants street vendors. I had a friend during my graduation study, who was still working on the street as a vendor. I met him and told him about my study, purpose of the study, and also about the life experience in Norway. We had a conversation for about two hours, which was very useful for me to find migrants street vendors from different parts of rural Nepal. Then, I got an overview of the most of migrants street vendors on and around *Khichapokhari-Sundhara* area. I deliberately selected some of in-migrants vendors and I asked them for an appointment for a detailed interview.

The major advantages of this method were the respondents' responses and their feeling of security while giving responses to the questions. As I already had some ideas and background information of the situation of the vendors, they could speak freely and openly with me. Another advantage was related to time and effectiveness. It was quite easy to get to the right informants at the right time.

4.9 Data Analysis

Qualitative research believes in words, expression and content analysis while it comes in the phase of analysis. Thus, data analysis in qualitative research provides ways of discerning, examining, comparing and contrasting, and interpreting meaningful patterns or themes. Meaningfulness is determined by the objectives of the research at hand: the same data can be analyzed and synthesized from multiple angles depending on the particular research objectives or the research questions being investigated (<http://ebn.bmjournals.com>, dated, 11-09-06). In quantitative analysis, numbers and what they stand for are the material of

analysis. By contrast, qualitative analysis deals in words and is guided by fewer universal rules and standardized procedures than statistical analysis.

The varieties of approaches - including ethnography, narrative analysis, discourse analysis, and textual analysis - correspond to different types of data, disciplinary traditions, objectives, and philosophical orientations (Ibid). In my study, the collected data have been edited and checked to remove possible errors during the field work evaluation. I then tried to match the responses of each of the respondents with the questions and the topic discussed during the interview. I related this to my objectives of the study and research questions. This helped me to analyze my data appropriately.

4.10 Challenges in the Field

Field research is the process of getting information to acquire knowledge through interaction with people. Information that interviewees provide to the researcher depends on how much he/she could convince them about the issue and subject matter to acquire knowledge. It also depends on the issue of being an insider and outsider (Mohammad, 2000 in Hay, 2000) to the researcher, and sometimes the role he/she plays in the field (Dowling, 2000 in Hay, 2000:32). Sometimes researchers have to face many challenges like language barrier, being stranger to the society. It usually happens if they have gone different societies, cultures and languages than they belong to. In this situation, the researcher may need some interpreters to assist in language translation and to give background information.

Although it was easy to find respondents with the help of snowball sampling, it was difficult to get time from the vendors during the day time. All vendors would be busy to wait to the customers and selling during the day time. They did not want to be disturbed. It was also difficult to get time at their residence (room), because they all were living in a tenant room where they did not want to be with any strangers/outsideers. In this situation, I had to collect the required information by giving them the feeling I did not disturb them. During my first week, I visited different parts of the city and had a long conversation with my friend. I got to know that most of the vendors would be a little bit free during the day time on Saturday at *Sundhara-Khichapokari* area. I realized that it would be suitable time to talk to them.

The timetable of the vendors living at *Indrachowk* was quite different then the vendors of *Khichapokhari-Sundhara* area. Getting time with those vendors was also not easy. They would be very busy from early in the morning to late morning (3 am to 9 am). During the day

time they should be shifted from that place². They would not respond to me during this short span of their business time. For this, I got preliminary information from one informal conversation that some of them would shift to *Bhedasingh* and *Bangemuda* during the day time. I therefore interviewed during the midday according to their suggested off time. At *Asan-Bhotahity* area there were mixed type of vendors e.g. vegetable vendors, cloth vendors, food vendors, etc., where I could get time according to their preference.

Furthermore, getting time with metropolitan officer (in charge of street vendors), a key informant in my study, was also difficult. Once, I went to arrange an appointment with him but he was not available in his office. Again after 4 days I went to his office and we arranged a meeting time for the following day at 11.30. When I got there the following day, he was not available, and was then on leave for two days. After two days, I again met him in his office and we rescheduled for the meeting at 4.30 in the evening, according to his available time. Thus, I could interview him after a long waiting. This kind of incident always happens during the field work. The researcher must be patient and has to accept such situations.

Besides, it was summer time in which heavy rainfall occurs in Nepal. Vendors could hardly come out on the street during the rain and they would be on the street when the rainfall stops. It was their very important time to earn their minimum requirement for the day. I could not ask them about anything at that time. I offered them lunch at the nearby hotel and could have some interviews with them according their preferable time.

4.11 Field Work Evaluation

During the fieldwork period, effort was given at every point in time to think through what I was doing. For this, I used to question myself about the relevancy and accuracy of my work. At the end of each day, responses from interviewees were reviewed to assess whether the task met its objectives and goal or not. Main focus was given specially to edit possible error, missing or lacking information, and to identify new issues and cases. While reviewing and editing for the possible errors and lacking information, I always used to use my field diary. This helped me to get in-depth understanding of the issues, to find out lacking information and to achieve research validity and reliability.

² At *Indrachowk*, vendors use to put up their mats in front of the shops during the morning before opening the shop. When shop owners come, they pack their mats and move elsewhere for sale during the day time. These vendors sell vegetables during the morning and move nearby location, preferably at *Bhedasingh* and *Bangemuda* to set up their mats during the day time.

4.12 Research Validity and Reliability

Qualitative research is more than telling convincing stories. It has to be rigorous in nature so that its conclusion can be accepted more definitively (Kitchen and Tate, 2000:34). Validity and reliability are two factors which any qualitative researcher should be concerned about while designing a study, analyzing results and judging the quality of the study. According to Silverman (2005:221), the researcher should show his/her audience the procedures he/she used to ensure that the methods are reliable and conclusions are valid. In addition, in order for assessments to be sound, they must be free of bias and distortion. Validity and reliability are two concepts that are important for defining and measuring bias and distortion in any study.

In qualitative research validity is to indicate that it is sound, well grounded, justifiable or logically ordered. According to Kitchin and Tate (2000:34), validity concerns about the soundness, legitimacy and relevance of a research theory and its investigation. Kvale (1996) has noted that validity is not only an issue of method but it is also encompasses theoretical questions about the nature of the phenomena investigated. Furthermore, Hammersley (1990, cited in Silverman, 2001:232) puts that validity is interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers. According to Schwandt (2001:277), validity is to argue that the findings are in fact (or must be) true and certain. Here, true means that the findings accurately represent the phenomena to which they refer and certain means that the findings are backed by evidence – or warranted – and there are no good grounds for doubting the findings, or the evidence for the findings in question is stronger than the evidence for alternative findings. According to (Joppe, 2000 cited in Golafshani, 2003: 599), validity determines whether the research truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are. Researchers generally determine validity by asking a series of questions, and will often look for the answers in the research of others.

In qualitative research, establishing validity by logics is important. Establishing validity through logics implies justification of each question in relation to the objectives and research questions of the study. Furthermore, in searching for the meaning of rigor, the term rigor in research appears in reference to the discussion about validity. Davies and Dodd (2002, cited in Golafshani, 2003:602) argue that to ensure validity, qualitative research should encompass by exploring subjectivity, reflexivity, and the social interaction of interviewing. So, validity ensures to reflect empirical understanding of the issues in the research. For this it is important

to have knowledge of the local language and to be a part of the social cultural settings to the researcher. It can help to act as insider and understand the people's way of explanation, emotion and their implications.

Likewise, reliability is the "repeatability" of scores or measured values of variables (Montello and Sutton, 2006:213). Although the concept is used for testing or evaluating quantitative research, the idea is most often used in all kinds of research. A good qualitative study can help us understand a situation that would otherwise be enigmatic or confusing (Eisner 1991, cited in Golafshani, 2003:601). This relates to the concept of a good quality research which means the study has the purpose of "generating understanding" (Stenbacka, 2001, in Ibid).

To ensure reliability in qualitative research, examination of trustworthiness is crucial. According to Seale (1999, cited in Golafshani, 2003:601), while establishing good quality studies through reliability and validity in qualitative research, trustworthiness of a research report lies at the heart of issues conventionally discussed as validity and reliability. Lincoln and Guba (1985, Ibid) states that there can be no validity without reliability, a demonstration of the former (validity) is sufficient to establish the latter (reliability). Patton (2002:561) in this regards adds that the researcher's ability and skill in any qualitative research also impacts on the reliability and the validity of a study.

Some of the factors affecting reliability of a research are the wording of questions, the physical setting, the respondents' mood and the nature of interaction. Some respondents may have unwillingness to respond to some questions. Some others may have intentionally or unintentionally some exaggeration while responding. Then, it becomes very important to convince them the purpose of the study, to participate and interact with them in a way that they could trust to the researcher. To do this, it is important that researcher may play different roles like teachers, students and also to follow the ethical guidelines.

In this study, I have used a combination of qualitative methods, which helped me to reduce the risk of systematic biases due to a specific method. Data collection methods such as interviews, observation and photographs have been used to support and check one another's validity. I have played a role of the research student and tried to convince my respondents. I have followed an ethical guideline and assured them that I will not publicize the issues e.g. respondents' personal and other sensitive issues in the future. For instance, I asked the reason

for migration; some respondents did not want to respond me. When I assured them that I will not publicize it in the future they mentioned the causes clearly.

Information relating to conflict between metropolitan police and vendors, conflict between permanent shop owners and migrants' vendors, their locational preferences and extension were verified by observation. For instance, I observed an event that was at *Khichapokhari* where local shopkeeper and a vendor were quarreling for disturbances made by vendor in front of the local shopkeeper's shop. Sometimes observed information helps the researcher to cross check his information he got through interview. It also helped me to cross check the information I got through interview regarding the conflict between local shopkeeper and vendors in the study area.

The combination of methods proved to be very fruitful during the field work. I therefore believe that the information I have collected provides a valid context for analyzing the research questions I have raised. Furthermore, the information provided by the vendors was verified through the information provided by the representative of the NEST. For instance, some respondents had reported me that they had to pay to become a member to the Nepal Street Vendors Union, which was quite expensive for them. This information was cross checked with the information provided by the NEST representative, who was responsible to some extent for that. When I raised the issue about the registration charge to be paid by the vendors, he explained that for properly running of the union they needed fund.

Moreover, the sampling method I applied proved to be useful to remove a possible psychological gap between the interview and the interviewee. The purposive snowball method provided me an opportunity to obtain background information about the respondents before they were interviewed, which proved to be very important to develop a rapport. It also provided me with opportunities to meet with the information-rich people. Hence, it is believed that this approach would minimize the errors and improve the trustworthiness of the information collected and the findings derived based on that information. So I believe that the information I have collected is valid as well as reliable.

4.13 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter examined the methodology of the study. It began by introducing qualitative research methodology and described why it was chosen in this study. The research design of this study was also presented to interconnect research questions, purposes of the

study, methods and research validity. Various sources of data including, primary sources - open-ended interview, key-informants interview, informal conversational interview, and secondary sources - published and unpublished documents and image data that have been used in this study, were described as methods for data generation. Furthermore, the evaluation of the field work and method of data analysis were explained. Challenges faced during the field work were also explained.

This is qualitative research, in which research validity and reliability can be accomplished by using appropriate research design, methods and techniques of data collection and using appropriate wording of questions while interviewing. In this regard, the purposive snowball sampling method I applied proved to be useful to remove a possible psychological gap between the interviewer and the interviewee, which helped me to reach valid and reliable findings. Likewise, the questions I asked were in local language (Nepali), which made to be more open to the respondents. During the field work, I was aware on the respondents' responses to relate them with research questions and objectives. Thus, it is concluded that the methods I applied in this study minimized the errors and improved the trustworthiness. So the information I had collected for this study were trustworthiness, reliable and valid.

Chapter Five

Issues of Rural to Urban Migration in Nepal

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is designed to analyze the objective which covers increasing rural-urban migration and its link to rural conflict in Nepal. For this, this chapter has been divided into three sections. First section deals with rural to urban migration as routine livelihood strategy of the rural poor. Two main issues - shortage of year round employment and limited ownership of land - are discussed. Issues such as building capital assets, managing risk and vulnerability, positive livelihood outcomes will also be discussed. The second section deals with increasing rural-urban migration as conflict related displacement. It covers emergence of conflict with inception of Maoism, causes of conflict and migration, and consequences of conflict such as migration and changing livelihoods. The last section of this chapter discusses push and pulls factors for rural-urban migration.

5.2 Rural to Urban Migration as Livelihood Strategy

According to (Ellis, 2003:7-8), a successful sustainable rural livelihood strategy combines migration with subsistence production at home and continued control over land revolves around having the skills to enter higher paid labor markets in the urban areas and having the networks to gain access to work opportunities. Migration is seen to contribute positively to the achievement of secure livelihoods, and to the expansion of the scope for poor people to construct their own pathways out of poverty (Ellis, 2003:9). In Nepal, migration has long been an important livelihood strategy for the rural people. On the one hand, the rural population has increased to such an extent that people no longer could secure a livelihood in a limited land capital, whereas on the other hand; some better-off people dreamed to live and earn more wealth in the urban jobs. Therefore, both poor and better-off people pursue migration as a livelihood strategy. Very poor people migrate to the cities to earn basic livelihoods. Higher and middle class people migrate to the cities for two main reasons - first, they want to earn more wealth, and second, they want to enjoy and live in the urban environment.

5.2.1 Rural to Urban Migration as Routine Livelihoods of the Rural Poor

Nepalese living in rural areas depend on subsistence farming for their survival. Most people are small farmers and can not support to the whole family members for their survival need of

food for all the year-round. This fosters increased poverty at the household level. Because of the limited land ownership and lack of any other jobs in the rural areas, people are compelled to migrate to the urban areas. In addition to this, during the slack agricultural season, people migrate to the urban areas to get some economic return to the households. Among the family members, some youths and adults migrate to the nearby urban areas to get work. When the farming season starts, they return back to their village with some money and other essential commodities. It helps them to support necessary requirements at the household e.g. cloths, interior household assets like, cooking utensils, and some farming tools. It is routinely practiced every year as a survival strategy by the rural poor in Nepal. One respondent in this regard says:

I have 10 family members living together, having only 4 Ropani (land unit) of Pakho (un-irrigated) land, which is quite little to sustain our whole family. Since, this land is not enough to produce sufficient food for our family; it can not provide us to engage all the year-round. Among two grown-up brothers - my younger brother and me - are now working on the street to earn some money. We will go back home when farming season starts in Asadh and Srawan (July and August). We wish we could earn for cloths and fertilizer for this year.

Others, even if they have enough land to work, commute to urban areas for cash income earning. They commute especially on the occasion of festivals to cover festival needs. During Nepalese great festivals - *Dashain* and *Tihar* - many rural people commute to earn in Kathmandu to fulfill their especial festivals needs such as, *Latta-Kapada* (clothes), *Khasi* (goat - meat for Dashain), *Tel-masala* (oil and species) etc. Those commodities are seen as compulsory needs for each family and are expensive as well. Covering those commodities for most of the families at the household level is familial and social pressure. To compensate and fulfill those necessities, people commute to urban areas especially from nearby districts. One key informant says:

Here, at Indrachowak and Asan-Bhotahity, during the pre-festivals period, too many vendors use to stay on the street. I can not imagine where so many people come from. But I think they must be from nearby districts coming with their own farm products to sell during the festivals. At that time it will be very difficult even to walk from Indrachowk to Asan. But immediately after the start of main day of the festival, people return back to their own village.

Hence, it reveals that two streams of rural to urban migration, seasonal and circular, are routinely practiced in Nepal. During the festivals, especially vendors come on the street from nearby districts to fulfill their festival needs. This is a way of life people have been practicing to cover household requirements in Nepal.

Shortage of Year-round Employment

Lack of year-round employment in rural areas has been one of the major reasons for out-migration by adult members of the households. It can be argued that these migrants must have some innate discontent or the desire to improve their situation. Having not adequate employment in the rural areas, people migrate to the urban centres as routine livelihoods for their survival. One study (Afsar, 2003:3-4) shows that in Bangladesh; adult members in almost two-fifths of the households migrate in small and medium towns because of the shortage of year-round employment in the rural areas. It also applies in the case of Nepal, because many rural poor can not fully engage in rural works. Landless and small farmers have not enough land to engage in agricultural work. Therefore, they decide to migrate to nearby towns to create work and livelihoods. One respondent says:

I came in Kathmandu 10 years ago because of having no jobs in my home village. I have now two sons and sometimes it makes me difficult to fill four stomachs. My wife is also working with me; still we are having difficulty to fulfill our family requirements. If I had got jobs in my village, I would have never migrated in this expensive city. This city is not for poor people like me.

Comparing rural and urban jobs, and giving importance to the rural jobs; another respondent expressed that if it was easy to get rural jobs, even if working as wage labour, it would be better for him than street vending. He further said that at first in the urban areas, it was very difficult to find job for uneducated people like him and it was also difficult to sustain by the street vending because he could not invest in adequate amount and could not compete with other established vendors. He further says:

If I had got ample jobs in my village, I would have never migrated in this city. I found myself easy to work as wage labour in the village rather than vending on the street here. Unfortunately, I did not find even wage labouring work in my village for all the year-round and had to decide to migrate. I would return immediately to the village if there was any guarantee to have some jobs.

It reveals that poor and landless people migrate to the urban areas because they do not have enough work or job opportunities at the origin.

Limited Land Ownership

In the context of Nepal land is often considered to be an important factor, among others, mediating the flow of migration. For example, family migration occurred more often among the landless than those with enough land. Those who have land including, medium landholders, are seemed to be able to manage their livelihoods on the land capital by diversifying and intensifying in farming (Timalsina, 2002:86-89). But landless and very small

farmers can not find adequate livelihoods in the village. Since they are poor, they decide to migrate to the nearby towns to find new livelihoods.

In contrast to this, sometimes people who have big landholdings migrate more often than those with smaller landholdings (Afsar, 2003:3). So the issue of landownership and migration is not always straightforward. However, those with greater resources (land and other non-farm activities) are likely to have more options in the labour market and migrate internationally. It is because they can invest in huge amount in the hope of receiving privileged return later on. The landless, on the other hand, have no other options but to shift the whole family for livelihoods internally. The marginal farmers may feel the crisis of being coupled with limited land and limited or no access to the existing credit and input markets. Thus, they can not invest in abroad migration and therefore decide to migrate to the nearby cities, which can be understood as quoting here one respondent's view. He says:

I came to Kathmandu because I had no other options. I did not have land except one small house and Karesabari (a small parcel of land surrounding to the house). It was impossible to feed my family from that small parcel of land. I sold that house and Karesabari for Rs. 20,000 (about \$286) and came to the city in the hope of getting any job. Unfortunately, I did not find any formal job and started vending on the street. At present, my wife and son are also vending on the street. That makes it easy to fulfill the family requirements.

Another respondent who had small parcel of land, which was not enough to work and could not produce enough food to feed to the whole family all the year-round stated that he migrated because of having not enough land to work. He says:

I have altogether 15 family members living together. We have only 6 Ropani (land unit) of land, which is quite little to sustain our whole family. Since the land is not enough to produce sufficient food for our family, it can not provide us to engage year-round work. Therefore, I am now working on the street to earn some money. I am regularly sending some money and other essential commodities to my family back at home.

Limited land ownership at the household level has thus compelled people to induce rural-urban migration in two ways. Firstly, those who have some parcel of land, but it can not provide work to them for all the year-round, migrate for partial fulfillment of their household requirements e.g. clothes, household commodities, agricultural inputs etc. Secondly, those who had no land or very small parcel of land, for example, *Karesabari*³, have migrated to the

³ *Karesabari* is a very small parcel of land surrounding to the house, which is very important to rural people. The old people, who can not work in the farmland, stay at home taking care of their grandsons and work in *Karesabari* for producing vegetables for their family.

cities permanently in the hope of getting livelihoods alternatives. Hence in the context of Nepal, high and permanent rural to urban migration is induced from the poor families rather than from middle and higher class families.

5.2.2 Rural to Urban Migration as Improving Livelihoods

Migration interfaces various positive dimensions of people's livelihoods. In the case of Nepal, rural-urban migration is important for improving people's livelihoods. As discussed in the previous section, poor and landless people migrate to urban centres for subsistence livelihoods, and some better-off people migrate to gain and take monetary advantages in the cities. All the migrants do this for the betterment of life as compared to their origin. The following sub-section deals with rural-urban migration and their involvement in the informal sector (street vending) in terms of improving livelihoods.

Building Capital Assets

Rural-urban migration and involvement in the street vending can be understood as improving livelihoods in terms of building capital assets. Some vendors in Kathmandu have progressed a lot by the street vending. But, it depends on the particular location where they have put up their stalls. Vendors who have business nearby supermarkets and shopping centres stated that they have progressed a lot. It was found that those vendors could never have got that much monetary benefit if they had involved in other sectors, even in the formal sectors. They have improved a lot in most of the assets as well as status. They have improved financial status, they have been providing good education to their children, they have built their own house in the city, and they have developed their skills and knowledge than before. One interviewee at *Khichapokhari* area in this regard says:

I have been trading at this site for 15 years. I live with my husband and a son at Baneswor, where we have built our home. My son is studying in a private college. My husband has started a small permanent shop recently. I can not stay at home doing nothing, because sometimes I earn more than my husband does.

Another respondent from the same area says:

I have altogether 7 family members. Two daughters and one son are grown-up and studying in high school. Other son and daughter are studying at Boarding School. Both me and my wife have been working on stalls at this place for 15 years. We have bought Ghaderi (small parcel of land to build house) in Kathmandu. We do not have any other sources of income, but struggle on the street and have managed our all family requirements properly.

However, it should be noted that *Sundhara-Khichapokhari* is located nearby *Newroad*, which is one of the most important business centres of Kathmandu. Many shopping centres,

supermarkets and personal specialized shops are located here. Vendors are putting up their stalls during the business hour along the pavement in front of the shopping centres and supermarkets. Thus, it can be understood that vendors who are selling goods around the *Sundhara-Khichapokhari* are building capitals assets including, financial capital, human capital, and social capital assets significantly, as compared to other areas of Kathmandu.

Managing Risk and Vulnerability

Income diversification and enhancement should enable migrants and their families at the origin to better cope with shocks and uncertainty. It is more related to livelihoods sustainability than improving. Livelihood sustainability or diversifying the earning opportunity, at the household level fosters improving livelihoods to the people. Human security may be strengthened in the short to medium term and dependence on external sources of income at the household level that can serve the migrants as a continuous safety valve for household tensions (Afsar, 2003:4). Diversifying the earning opportunity supports household in many ways: it can assist in terms of cash flow, it can support by the increase investment in agricultural inputs, it can support to cover interior household requirements, it can also establish the households in higher social status and it can facilitate to invest in improving human assets. Ultimately, it can support to build capital assets and support managing risk and vulnerability both in the origin and destination.

Here, I can site some interviewees to clarify how they are improving and managing household risk at the origin. One interviewee says:

I have been working in this sector for 5 years. I came here dreaming about higher education after my SLC. Because of poor economic background, it was not possible to get higher education without having any source of income. My family was in big debt at that time and had to pay debt back after two years. I started my stall at this place and after two years, I could pay back the debt. My family members live in the village and I am regularly sending partial income and other essential commodities to them. Now, my family does not have debt any more, and I am also studying at Night College⁴ (college commenced class during the evening).

Describing about managing risk and vulnerability, another respondent says:

I started street business 3 years ago. Last year my house in the village was flooded by a land slide. Four cattle were also swept away. Since, I was vending on the street in Kathmandu, I could help my family back at home by providing some money. Otherwise, my family members would starve to death by the famine. I could also partly share to build a new house for my family.

4 The night colleges in Kathmandu are popular among migrants people. Students, who are from poor background, study in these colleges working during the day time. Street vendors, market vendors and others, who do not get time during the day time, get involved in the evening colleges (5 to 9 pm) for higher education.

This reveals that some migrants' vendors have developed their livelihood assets significantly, and they have been able to cope and manage household risk and vulnerability. Street vending not only helps to manage risk and vulnerability in Kathmandu, it supports at the origin through regular flow of money and other household necessities. Those vendors who have been establishing their stalls nearby supermarkets and those who have been able to invest much have developed capital assets significantly. But in general most of the migrants vendors have developed their assets than before and have managed their vulnerability and risk both in the origin and destination.

Positive Livelihood Outcomes

The result of rural-urban migration can be very mixed and be interpreted as positive livelihood outcomes. There are substantial gains to be made from the enhancement of financial, human and social capitals. These serve to strengthen livelihoods in key areas, reducing certain kinds of economic risks and vulnerability. As discussed in the earlier sections, rural-urban migration can enhance livelihoods of the people by improving their capital assets and managing risk and vulnerability. The end result of this is the livelihoods outcomes in which people can survive easily and in a better way. One well-established vendor who has now permanent shop at *Khichapokhari* says:

I came to Kathmandu in 1990. I worked many years on the street as a vendor. I struggled hard on the street for survival. Now I have a permanent shop where my wife and two staffs have been employed. I am also managing this stall on the street in front of my shop, because I do not want to leave this space for others. Furthermore, sometimes especially during the festivals, I can sell on the street more than my wife does in the shop. I have two sons who are studying in a Boarding School (private school). Now, I have managed my family requirement easily. I am also thinking to invest in another permanent shop. I wish I would find one more nearby this shop.

This case shows that some vendors have improved their livelihoods significantly. They have earned cash income and have invested in other sectors. Still they have not left vending on the street because of its magnitude in earning cash income.

5.3 Rural to Urban Migration as Displacement

Movement of people from one place to another always does not occur voluntarily. Involuntarily movement of people, called forced migration, sometimes occurs because of socio-economic conflict and internal wars. Armed conflict is the most obvious cause of forced migration and is consistently found to have significant effects on the magnitude of forced migration. State repression is one of the causes that lead to forced migration as it is one of the results of armed conflict. The main determinants of forced migration, as mentioned

in many research are in-country war, genocide, dissident violence and state repression, with economic non violent and demographic factors (Bhattarai, 2004:4). Human right abuse can cause severe forced migration. If migration takes place at a large scale, especially the internal migration, it leads to hamper the development process in the origin and destination that affect livelihoods, very often negatively and sometimes positively. However, Migration in general is also a part of social transformation and therefore can not be completely prevented.

5.3.1 Inception of Maoism and Conflict

The Maoist movement began in Nepal in 1996. Maoist read the minds of the poor, disadvantaged and frustrated people, especially in the remote areas of Nepal. These areas were neglected by the State in terms of development and basic infrastructure. The highest poverty rate is measured in the rural mid and far western hills and mountain regions of Nepal where the Maoist found a suitable breeding environment. Maoist conceptualized that the existing feudal structure from the village to the capital, is the main obstacle to Nepal's underdevelopment. Therefore, on this understanding they demanded a grand discussion in the Parliament and if possible a change in the constitution. The question they raised was to address the very basic needs of citizens and institutional changes in order to set up a relative egalitarian society (Bhattarai, 2004:9-10). But it was blindly refused, which forced them to work underground and raise arms in order to make a change. They announced people's war, as the only way to overcome the existing chronic social, political and economic problems.

The CPNM was gradually expanding its influence and had been able to take a large area completely under its control. They developed strong guerrilla fighters, militia and brigade level army equipped with modern weapons and able to control a large portion of the country, around 70-90 percentage (Upreti, 2004 cited in Bhattarai, 2004:10). Raising taxes, forming their own parallel government and expansion of the military as well as non military activities were taking place. The movement has already claimed more than 14,000 were killed and thousand of people have been forced to migrate (inseconline.org, accessed on 02-02-07).

5.3.2 Conflict and Migration

The historical process shows that there were many hidden and neglected aspects that fostered the presently ongoing conflict in Nepal. Seddon and Hussein (2002:1) argue that:

A historical perspective reveals that a failure of development and of governance created the pre-conditions – poverty, inequality, social discrimination and lack of social justice and democracy – for widespread discontent, and ultimately for the Maoist insurgency. Not only has the government been ineffective in providing for the

needs of the poor, it is generally seen and experienced as corrupt, repressive and as working against, not for, the interests of ordinary people. International and national development agencies have also failed to strengthen the capacity and commitment of state structures or to change practices at local level to any marked degree.

The economic aspect has played an important role for the growth and sustenance of the conflict in Nepal. There are social and political reasons as well. The growing frustration of the people in the remote areas, joblessness, insecurity, social discrimination and a feudal structure that dominated the socially and economically poor has fueled the conflict. The 238 year long social and economic structure, the governing system of promoting and providing protection to the elite, power centered system, discriminatory social practices are some of the main causes behind the existing armed conflict (Upreti, 2004 cited in Bhattarai, 2004:11-12). The Maoist looked at all these social evils and targeted the constitution and the palace as the sole problem of the country. The failures of political parties and lack of their responses towards the people lead to growing conflict in Nepal.

The insurgency has engulfed the whole country, but the countryside has been hit hardest. The fear of being caught in the crossfire between Maoist guerrillas and state security forces, has forced the rural people to abandon their villages and belongings. While it is difficult to put an exact number on those displaced due to the conflict, evidence suggests that the scale of migration is large. The Geneva based Global IDP project (2006) has estimated the total number of displaced to somewhere 100,000 to 200,000 (IDMC in <http://www.internal-displacement.org>, accessed on 21-01-07 and www.idpproject.org, accessed on 02-02-07). People have left their village for three main reasons: first, they are fearful being caught between the Maoist guerrillas and the armed forces. This fear is real and able bodied youths are vulnerable to this situation. Second, people have left their village because their belongings are destroyed; food security has been blocked by security forces fearing that foodstuffs would reach to the Maoists. Third, they have been forced by the Maoists to leave their village, or else their lives are in danger. All this has seriously impacted on the rural economy and lead to migration.

Gill (2003:24), has also identified that traditional system of seasonal migration in food-deficit hill and mountain areas (i.e. men and youths migrating just after planting the crop and returning in time for the harvest) is being transformed into longer term migration, so that labour scarcity at harvest is becoming a problem, and there is no injection of food from outside. There are reports that much of the land is now remaining fallow because there is no-

one to work it. On this background the following sub-sections analyze how rural conflict impacts on people's livelihoods in Nepal.

5.3.3 The Consequences of Conflict on Migration and Livelihoods

Worsening conflict in Nepal is having a harmful effect on the lives of the rural poor. Conflict, of course, in Nepal has severely affected livelihoods of the people. Seddon and Hussein (2002:45) have identified the main livelihood effects of the conflict as being: *'loss of life and forced migration and consequent loss of income to families; a reduction in travel and the transport of goods as a result of lack of security and disruption of economic activities; destruction by the rebels of local infrastructure; rebel restrictions on moneylenders, informal taxation demands on professionals and rising theft and extortion'*. Husain and Adhikari (2003:21) further write *'at the moment, anecdotal evidence would suggest that the conflict has had an adverse effect on agricultural and livestock production, partly as a consequence of the rural exodus and partly as a result of lack of inputs'*. Development agencies - both foreign and national - have been reluctant to adapt their approaches to the conflict situation. This has severely affected the rural livelihoods.

Furthermore, free movement all over the country was severely restricted as there were many check-posts where the authorities wanted to know why people were moving. Traditional livelihood opportunities such as collecting non-timber forest products and marketing was being seriously disrupted. Security forces in rural areas were preventing people from carrying more than one day's food supply at a time to reject Maoists food supplies (Sedon and Husain, 2002:46). This was having a significant impact on food access as people normally had to carry a month's supply given that they live on average three to four days walk from market. This was worsened by the destruction of bridges by Maoists which could turn a 30 minute walk into a three day hike.

There were reports of Maoists demanding food supplies from farms, either directly or indirectly (through lodging with people and demanding to be fed). Security forces were said to be punishing people to prevent this by removing their food. Food stocks (e.g. those of WFP) were looted, disrupting food-for-work schemes (Ibid). The impact of food supply restrictions also caused famine in remote areas of Nepal. Furthermore, there was a general slow down in economic activity, removing livelihood opportunities in sectors such as construction and road building. Tourism was seriously affected, with opportunities for work as porters and guides declining. In general, travel reduced, as had the transport of goods in

the hills. This hit the lower castes and poor hardest as they used to dominate such jobs. Especially, young people from rural areas were forced to leave their home place. The result of this was rural areas were having youth less and livelihoods vulnerability. It was because young people in rural areas were increasingly faced with a choice of joining the Maoists or fleeing to avoid recruitment. This was/is removing some of the most able-bodied household members, which directly effects on rural livelihoods. Women and others left behind in the origin and suffered increasing vulnerability.

Increasing street vending in Kathmandu is, thus, one of the main effects of rural conflict in Nepal. One local resident shopkeeper at Asan in this regard says:

10 years ago, there were not many street vendors here at Asan (one of the study location). Very few of them were seen putting up mats on the street, especially during the festivals i.e. Dashain and Tihar (two great festivals of Nepal). But since last 10 years, vendors at this area have been rapidly increasing, and among them, there is high domination of younger vendors.

Describing the situation of increasing street vendors and showing the young vendors putting up mats around the Sundhara area one key informant says:

Many of vendors around this Sundhara area have recently started their street business. About 7 years ago, there were only about half of these vendors on the street. Now this location is completely occupied and it is difficult to find a new place to put up the mats. Sometimes vendors quarrel among them for finding the space to put up the mats. This usually occurs among new younger vendors.

Recent migrants vendors are suffering not only for getting the space but they also have difficulty in earning enough. Some of these newly arrived vendors, who are especially from remote areas of Nepal, can not compete among established old vendors. Because of poor economic background, newly arrived vendors can not invest much and they do not have an idea how to collect what type of goods for sale. One respondent in this regard says:

I started vending two years ago. There is one story behind my involvement in this sector. The story is: one day some unknown people came at my home and asked about my brother who was working for Nepal Police. They asked to call back him from the police force. They further threatened that otherwise they would detain our house or I had to join with them. I wanted to deny them but it was impossible to refuse immediately. Then, I decided to flee from home and started this business. But now it has become very difficult to feed my own stomach. I do not have any idea how to collect what types of goods for sale. Moreover, I do not have money to invest for it and sometimes I even do not find the space to put up the mat.

Hence, conflict in rural Nepal has affected people's livelihoods severely causing increasing vulnerability by losing able bodied household members.

5.4 Concluding the Chapter: Pull and Push Factors for Migration

Previous sections provided some issues of rural-urban migration in Nepal. On the one hand, rural-urban migration was for achieving basic requirements for livelihoods; on the other hand, it was for finding better secured place to live in. It reveals that rural-urban migration has been rapidly increasing and it has adversely affected rural livelihoods. If we want to look at the causes of rural to urban migration from different perspectives, it is important to analyze push and pull factors of rural-urban migration.

During the field work, open-ended questions were asked to the vendors about the reasons why they left their origin and the regions why they chose Kathmandu as destination. The answers were categorized and the following (table 2) results were derived. The table shows that 7 out of 30 left their origin because of difficulty to fulfill their household needs, 6 left because of lack of employment, 4 were forced out, 3 left due to difficult rural life (difficult to work in the harassed rural environment). Likewise, 3 of them left because of lack of enough land, 2 left because of lack of physical facilities, 2 left because of chain relation (invitation by their relatives or family members), and 1 left due to natural disaster.

Responding to the questions about why they chose Kathmandu as destination; six out of 30 vendors mentioned that they chose Kathmandu because of secure life there. Here, secure life means both security in terms of conflict and means of livelihood in the city. Likewise, 5 out of 30 respondents mentioned that they chose Kathmandu in the hope of getting employment, 5 because it is easy to start own work/business, 4 mentioned availability of facilities, 2 moved in the hope of more cash income earning, 2 mentioned in the hope of better future, 2 mentioned study in the capital city by involving any job and 1 mentioned the short distance to the place of origin.

Table 3: Reasons for Leaving Origin and Choosing Kathmandu as Destination

Reasons for Leaving Origin	Respondents	Reasons for Choosing Kathmandu as Destination	Respondents
Difficult to Fulfill Household Needs	7	Secured Life	6
Lack of Employment	6	Employment Opportunity	5
Conflict (Maoist and Govt.)	4	Easy to Run Business/Trade	5
Difficult Rural Life	3	High Physical Facilities	4
Lack of Agricultural Land	3	Entertainment Facilities	3
Chain Relation (Family and Relatives)	2	Hope of Cash Income	2
Lack of School/College	2	Better Future	2
Lack of Physical Facilities	2	Best Place for Study	2
Natural Disaster	1	Nearest City	1

Source: Field Work, 2006.

This reveals that migration can occur as result of push and pull factors. Push factors are those, which force a person to move. These can include drought, famine, lack of jobs, over population and civil war. Pull factors are those, which encourage a person to move to leave the origin. These include a chance of a better job, better education, better standard of living, good physical facilities etc. Furthermore, urban pull factors - conditions encouraging people to move to the cities - tend to be similar worldwide, and include prospects of earning higher wages, a perceived demand for labour and better social services. Push factors - conditions encouraging people to leave the origin - vary considerably among regions and countries, as well as among social groups, and between men and women.

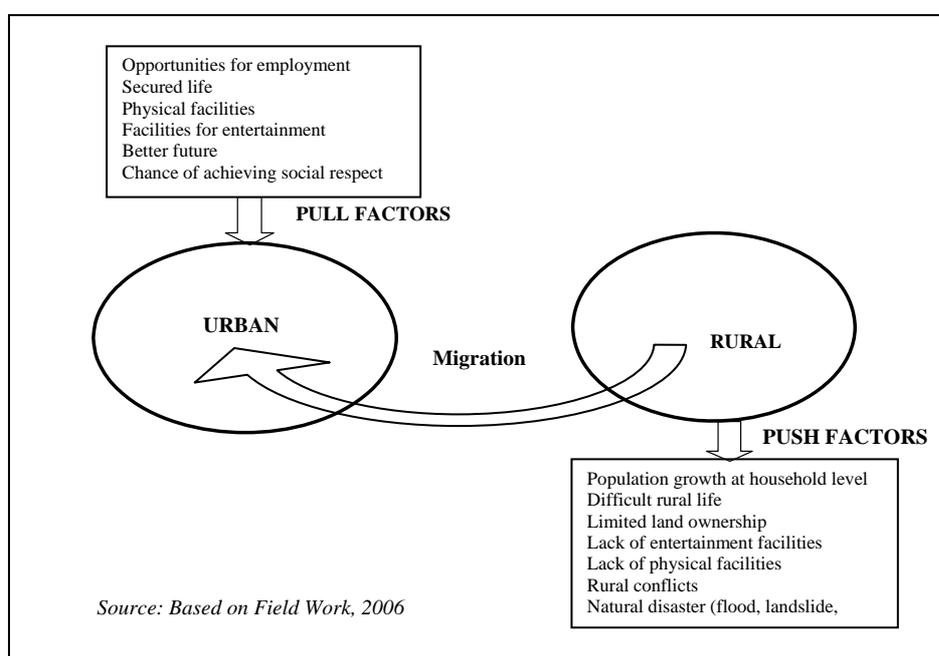


Figure 6: Push and Pull Factors for Rural-urban Migration in Nepal

Combining to all the causes of rural-urban migration from a push and pull factors perspective, we find that push factors (fig. 6) at the origin include; rapid population growth at the household level, increasing unemployment, lack of land ownership, shortage of arable land, landholding inequality, rural poverty, adverse environmental conditions, lack of physical facilities, less secured life resulting from rural conflict. The pull factors (fig. 6) include; opportunities for employment, secured life, availability of physical facilities, perception of better future in the city, chance of earning cash income etc. Hence, conflict at present can not be ignored as a push factor.

This chapter concludes that rural to urban migration is a result of various push and pull factors. Because of difficult rural life, landless and small landholding people can not survive all the year-round in rural areas of Nepal. People who do not have land in the origin are pushed to urban areas to seek subsistence livelihoods. People who have small parcel of land but can not survive on it all the year-round, are pushed to the urban areas and involved in the informal sector for partial fulfillment for their livelihoods. Some conflict affected people also are pushed to the informal sector for their survival.

Chapter Six

The Livelihoods: Urban and Rural

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is designed to analyze the objective which covers livelihoods of street vendors before and after migration. In the first section, this chapter deals with the rural livelihoods before migration. Nepalese living in rural Nepal depend on agricultural works, both farming and livestock rearing for their livelihoods. The second section of this chapter deals with street vending as urban livelihoods after migration, which is an opportunity to create work, employment and livelihood to the poor people. Furthermore, the changing assets and status before and after migration has also been analyzed. Finally, access to assets has been plotted qualitatively on an asset pentagon to show people's access to assets in different contexts and circumstances.

6.2 Agriculture as a Rural Livelihood before Migration

The majority of the world's extremely poor people live in rural areas. They are bound closely to smallholder agriculture as farmers, labourers, transporters, marketers and processors of produce and as suppliers of non-agricultural services to households whose income is principally agriculture-derived (Siddiqui, 2003:3). Based on agricultural economy, Nepal is one of the poorest countries in the world and agriculture is undoubtedly the major sector of the Nepalese economy in terms of GDP, employment, trade etc. In Nepal, agriculture is generally defined in a broad sense to include agriculture proper (crops and livestock), fishery and forestry. As 85 percent people still live in rural areas of Nepal, agriculture is thus a main source of income and it is way of rural life.

As major source of agriculture is from the land, land capital is thus a principal source of income and employment for majority of households in rural Nepal. Having unequal distribution of land among the rural people, landless and very small land holding people are often engaged in informal credit relationship and have to work in rented land for their survival. Land determines both the social status and political participation, for example, *Jamindar* (big landholders) are the key political and economic actors in rural Nepal. Farmers have adopted intensification and diversification of agriculture on their limited land to survive, and this is one of the key livelihoods practiced in rural Nepal (Timalsina, 2002:75-76). During the field study, open-ended questions were asked to the respondents about the

occupation before leaving the origin. Responses were categorized in different categories and produced the following results (table 4). Out of 30 street vendors, 23 were from farming background and only the rest 7 were from local politicians, service men and business persons.

Table 4: Occupational Structure of the Respondent before Migration

Occupations	Respondents
Agriculture	23
Local Politics (Village Level)	3
Service (teaching, private employee)	2
Business	2

Source: Field Survey. 2006

As already mentioned agriculture is based on crop, livestock, fishery and forestry; rural people generally adopt both crop farming and livestock rearing simultaneously for livelihoods. For the rural poor, livestock provides agricultural manure input for their farm land, which enhances to increase agricultural productivity. Likewise, people who are living in the highland and mountain areas fully depend on the livestock rearing for their livelihoods. Because of difficult land terrain, low agricultural productivity, and unfavourable climatic condition, people can not produce crops in highland mountains. In addition to livestock rearing, people in the mountain areas adopt wildlife hunting, collection of herbs etc. for their livelihoods.

6.3 Street Vending as an Urban Livelihood after Migration

The livelihoods of the poor are determined predominantly by the context in which they live and the constraints and opportunities this location presents. This is because context - economic, environmental, social and political - largely determines the assets accessible to people, how they can use these (Meikle, 2002:38), and thus their ability to obtain secure livelihoods. As already described, rural people see new opportunities in the urban areas in terms of employment, physical facilities and others. As a result, rural landless agricultural workers had little incentive to remain in agriculture. Instead they choose to migrate to nearby towns or cities in search of more remunerative non-agricultural jobs. It is important to examine whether they get more remunerative jobs after migration or end up swelling the ranks of unemployed in the urban labour market as predicted by Todaro (1976). But those migrants, who were working in the rural vulnerable situation, see themselves more beneficial working in the urban informal sector.

Migrants' livelihoods vary according to their level of education and the skills they have. Competent and skilled migrants may find urban formal jobs either in the government or in the

private sectors. But in Kathmandu, there is domination of unskilled and uneducated migrants, who work in the informal sector. Street vending is one which is growing in the recent years rapidly. According to the NEST representatives, at present in Kathmandu, 30,000 street vendors are earning livelihoods on the street. Hence, street vending has become poor people's livelihood strategy in Kathmandu. Major types and location of vending activities in the Kathmandu Metropolitan City are shown in the table (no. 5) below.

Table (no. 5) shows that street vendors are found everywhere in Kathmandu with high concentration in the core city nearby the marketing centres. Types of vending are vary with location. Most of the vending types are located at *Asan-Bhotahity*, *Sundhara-Khichapokhari*, *Indrachowk* and *Ratnapark*. These locations cover main types of street vending activities such as cloth vending, vegetable vending, electronic goods, cosmetics, kitchen utensils, spices, fast foods vending etc.

Table 5: Types of Vending on Different Location in Kathmandu Metropolitan City

Types of Vending Commodities	Main Location
A) Parishable	
Fruits and vegetables	Indrachowk, Baneshwor, Chabahil, Asan, Bangemuda, Balaju, Kalimati
Grocery and spices	Asan, Bhedasingh, Tebahal, Chabhil, Koteswor, Balaju
Religious offerings/flowers	Indrachowk, Asan, Tebahal, Kasthamandap, Gausala (Pashupati)
Herbs/leaves	Asan, Bhedasingh, Bangemuda
Fast foods	Main Location
Tea shop	Subdhara, Koteswore, Kalimati, Ratnapark, Indrachowk
Corn	Indrachowk, Sundhara, Ratnapark, Chabahil, Balaju, Kalanki, Kalimati
Cut friuts	Ratnapark, Sundhara, Kalimati, Balaju, Chabahil, Jamal, Bhotahity, Asan
Conferectionaries and cigerattes	Sundhara, Kalimati, Ratnapark, Bhotahily, Balaju, Indrachowk
Bhelpuri/Chana chatpate	Indrachowk, Balaju, Ratnapark, Sundhara-Khichapokhari
B) Durable	Main Location
Cloths	Sundhara-Khichapokhari, Bhotahity, Ratnapark, Balaju, Chabahil, Asan
Kitchen Utensils	Asan, Bhotahity, Indrachowk, Chabahil, Kalimati, Balaju, Koteswor
Plastick wares	Indrachowk, Asan, Balaju, Kalimati
Cosmetics	Indrachowk, Balaju, Chabahil
Electronics	Asan-Bhotahity, Indrachowk, Balaju, Chabahil
Bagages	Asan-Bhotahity, Ratnapark, Koteswor, Chabahil
Newspapers	Sundhara, Bhotahity, Ratnapark, Balaju, Chabahil, Koteswor, Baneswor
C) Service	Main Locaton
Shoe shining	Sundhara-Khichapokhari, Newroad, Ratnapark, Chabahil, Balaju, Koteswor
Sewing	Tebahal, Bhedasingh, Koteswor, Balaju, Chabahil
Weight	Ratnapark, Sundhara, Kalimati, Balaju, Chabahil, Jamal
Hair cutter	Koteswor, Baneswor, Balaju, Chabahil, Kalanki
Furtune teller	Ratnapark, Sundhara, Balaju, Chabahil, Koteswor

Source: Field Observation, 2006.

6.4 Street Vending as an Opportunity to Rural Poor

Street vending as a profession, which has been in existence in the capital city, Kathmandu, since time immemorial. Urban Street vending is not only a source of employment but it provides affordable services to the majority of the urban poor. Vendors constitute an integral part of the urban economy, provide an essential service, create their own employment and

contribute to economic growth. The role played by the street traders in the economy therefore is as important as it provides services and goods to the urban poor.

In addition to this, vending attracts those who have limited opportunities for obtaining formal employment or prestigious business, and minimizes chances of social exclusion and marginalization. Street vending is increasingly becoming livelihood option for those marginalized people. On the one hand, urban authorities take street vending as an illegal and unproductive sector; while on the other hand, it is an important livelihood securing sector for the urban poor. It provides seasonal employment to the rural poor and has become a source of earning income to them. The following sub-sections provide the opportunities for street vending in Kathmandu.

6.4.1 Opportunities for Work and Employment

As discussed in chapter five, very poor people migrate to the urban areas for survival creating their own work. Some better off people also migrate to urban areas for work and to earn cash income. Thus, street vending in Kathmandu has become an opportunity for work and employment for both poor and better off rural people. Furthermore, this sector also links to the formal sectors by providing labour forces and by marketing their products. Studies show that a lot of goods sold by street vendors, such as clothes and hosiery, leather and plastic goods and household commodities are manufactured in small scale or home-based industries. These industries employ a large number of workers and they rely mainly on street vendors to market their products (Gottdiener and Budd, 2005:77). In this way street vendors provide a valuable service by helping to sustain employment in these industries.

Moreover, street vendors are mainly those who are unsuccessful or unable to get regular jobs. This section of the urban poor tries to solve their problems through their own meager resources. Unlike other sections of the urban population they do not demand that government create jobs for them, or engage in begging, stealing or extortion. They try to live their life with dignity and self-respect through hard work. These people work for over 15 hours a day under harsh conditions on the street. One respondent who has been working on the street for work merely to create livelihood says:

I have been living on the street for 14 years. Waking up in the early morning and working till late evening is my normal working schedule. I wake up at 4 in the morning and go to Kalimati (whole selling market) to purchase vegetables for the day and come at this site. I put up mat until the shop owners do not come and after then, I

move to Bhedasing for the day time. I put up mat until late evening for whole the day where my wife also works with me for looking after the shop during the lunch time. Working more than 15 hours a day on the street has been hardly providing food for our family.

Another respondent adds:

I have been selling multiple items on the street for survival. In the morning, I put up vegetable shop at Asan, and during the day time I go in different locations, sometime at Khichapokhari and sometimes at Sundhara with seasonal goods e.g. clothes, cosmetics, electronics and so on. In the evening, again I go to vegetable selling to finish remaining vegetables because I can not stock those perishable vegetables for the next day. Sometimes, I earn more from vegetable selling and sometimes from others. It has been providing household security for my family.

This sector on the one hand, provides livelihood earning opportunities for the poor and on the other hand, it provides employment opportunities to some of the educated people. Because of decreasing formal employment, and to some extent, people do not get job even if they are having good education and skills due to the worse bureaucratic system in the case of Nepal.

One educated respondent in this regard says:

I am a graduate. I did my Bachelor Degree in 1990 and came to the city hoping to find some jobs. Once I had gone for a post in a company with my first division certificates, but the employer said to me that I could able to get that post if I would give them Rs.50,000 (\$715) as bribe. Since, I had not much to give them as bribe. So I decided to work on the street for survival.

Another respondent adds:

I left my home dreaming about higher education. Since, it was difficult to continue higher education in the hardship of my economic background, I tried to find some jobs, but unfortunately I did not find any job. Then I started vending on this site. Now, I put up mat on the street during the morning and the day time. In the evening I go to the evening college. I work morning to evening during the week-end and off days.

In addition to this, as the goods sold are cheap, the poorer sections too are able to obtain their basic necessities mainly through street vendors. A study on street vendors shows that the lower income groups spend a higher proportion of their income in making purchases from street vendors, mainly because their goods are cheap and thus affordable (Bhowmik, 2005:2257). In this way one section of the urban poor, helps another section to survive. Hence, though street vendors are viewed as a problem for urban governance, they are in fact the solution to some of the problems of the urban poor. By providing cheaper commodities street vendors are in effect providing subsidy to the urban poor, something that the government should have done. One public customer emphasizing this says:

I always use to buy goods with the vendors. I have never entered into the shop because I can not afford the goods they are selling in the stores. For poor people like me, street vendors provide goods in affordable price. If there was no street market, I would not able to provide even clothes to my children.

Hence, street vending in Kathmandu has become opportunity for work, employment and livelihoods. It has been providing livelihoods not only for the rural migrants, but also to the urban poor by providing goods and services in affordable price.

6.4.2 Livelihood to Dependent Family

Street vending provides earning opportunity and livelihoods to the dependent family members. Because of the conflict and increasing vulnerability at the household level, some of the migrants have migrated with dependent family members, for example, children and old parents. Providing basic necessities to those dependent family members becomes the responsibility of youths and adults. In Kathmandu, many vendors are working on the street for surviving to their dependent family members. One respondent in this regard says:

I have been living in Kathmandu for 5 years with my three small children and mother in-law aged 65. Last year my husband went abroad (Malaysia) to earn but he has not sent any money to me. Since then, I have to bear all the responsibilities for my family. I have been working on this site from early in the morning to late evening and hardly been able to get livelihoods to my family.

During the field work, some vendors were living on the street with their small children. When I asked my open questions about the living situation and their involvement on the street, one woman says:

I was living with my husband with good enough family status in the village. One night some armed men came and took my husband forcefully. Now, I do not know where he is living and in what situation. I asked and reported many times to Human Right Commission, but still his situation is unknown.

Showing her small children she further said:

I have four children and I have to look after them. I hardly earn Rs. 100 (about 1.2 \$) per day on which five family members have depended. If my husband was with me, it would be easier struggling for livelihoods together. But I am alone and it has become very difficult to earn a livelihood for my family.

Moreover, some vendors are working on the street as partial fulfillment for their livelihoods. Working only in other sectors, for example, driving (taxi, tempo, micro-buss) and labour work in small industries can not survive their families. One respondent whose husband was driving, but could not cover all the household requirements, went on the street even if she was having small kids. She was working on the street taking care of her children. The

following pictures (no. 1) show two situations of urban livelihoods. One (first picture) is about livelihood dependent situation whose husband had gone abroad and another (second picture) is about whole family work for survival on the street whose husband was working as driving.

Photo 1: Street Vending as Livelihoods to Dependent Family Members



a) a mother working on the street for survival

b) whole family members' work to survive

Source: Timalcina, Field Work, 2006.

6.5 Changes in Livelihoods Assets: Before and After Migration

As discussed in the third chapter, livelihood is the combination and access to various assets available in a particular community and household. According to Ellis (2000:48-50), the livelihoods approach is based on the premise that the asset status of the poor is fundamental to understanding the options open to them, the strategies they adopt to attain livelihoods, the outcomes they aspire to and the vulnerability context under which they operate. The status of the household and the society can be determined by analyzing the asset status and their functions in that society. An analysis of assets is a review of what people have (and recognition of what people do not have) rather than an analysis of needs (Helmore, 1998 cited in Cahn, 2002). The asset analysis also considers how access to assets has changed over time, what changes are predicted, what the causes of changes are and how access and control of assets differs between different social groups and circumstances (Carney, 1998, Ibid). In the following section, I will put assets status before and after migration on the basis of information provided by the respondents.

6.5.1 Natural Capital

Natural capital is important to those who derive all or part of their livelihoods from natural resource-based activities (farming, fishing, gathering in forests, mineral extraction, etc.). Natural capital is the primary source to create livelihoods in the rural society. Level and availability of access to adequate natural capital - land, water and common property resources determine rural livelihoods (Ellis, 2005). As land is the major sources or assets to create livelihoods, rural people who have enough land fully depend on agriculture, and they can sustain their livelihoods. Some of them who have a small parcel of land have intensified and diversified the agriculture on their available land, and sometimes engaged partially on agriculture wage labour for subsistence livelihoods. Others who have no land or very small parcel of land and can not survive on their own land have rented land from the big landholders for their meager survival (Timalsina, 2002:75).

Respondents' views reveal that natural capital was very strong in the rural areas but it is weak in the urban areas. It is because land capital is declining in Kathmandu, farmland in the city has been fully occupied for housing purposes and there is no more farmland remained for agriculture production. Before adopting vending activities, the majority of the respondents' livelihood was depended on land capital by agricultural work, either in their own land or in rented land. One respondent in this regard says:

I had no enough land to work all the year-round. Since, it was difficult to sustain for my family, we rented land from local Jamindar (Big landholders). Our whole family was fully devoted on that land to sustain a livelihood. Still, it was difficult because fertilizer price was going higher and higher each year, productivity was decreasing and our family members were increasing. Therefore, I decided to migrate to support my family financially by working on the street in Kathmandu.

Another respondent emphasizing importance of natural capital (land) further says:

For poor people like me, land would be very indispensable capital to work and create livelihoods. God has given me strong muscles to work, but problem was that I did not have enough land to work for my family. Working on the rented land would be an alternative way of creating livelihoods, but I did not feel comfortable with this because half of the produced crops should be given to the Jamindar (landowners).

Another respondent indicated the importance of land capital in the rural areas and giving stress on its lack in the urban areas, says:

At my home in the village, I could work and produce vegetable for my family in the Karesabari (small land surrounding to the house in the village). But here, vegetables

are very expensive in which I have to expend almost half of my income. That is what I have experienced as differences between city and the village.

In addition, natural capital also plays an important role to create livelihoods, for example, collection of forest products (timber collections and collection of herbs), fishing, and nomadic herding in mountain areas. People fully depend on the nomadic herding in the mountain, which is purely natural based. The people in hilly areas also depend on cattle to manure fertilizer for their farmland, which are also indirectly natural based livelihoods. In the urban areas, however, natural capital is lacking because access to land is declining and other natural capitals are not available. Hence, it can be concluded that natural capital is significant to create people's livelihoods in rural Nepal, whereas it is lacking in the urban area, especially in Kathmandu.

6.5.2 Physical Capital

Goods, roads, and pipe lines are the most important physical capitals. Among physical assets, roads, electricity, and water supply are the most important (Ellis, 2000:32-33). Roads shorten distances and enable market access to poor households. Electricity also plays an important role in rural areas, for its presence determines locations of manufacturing industries that may provide labor and income to the poor (Boli, 2005:10-11). Roads are important both in rural and urban areas for creating and enhancing people's livelihoods. It is because the opportunity costs associated with poor infrastructure can prevent education, access to health services and income generation. For example, without transport infrastructure, essential fertilizer cannot be distributed effectively, agricultural yields remain low and it is then difficult and expensive to transport limited produce to the market.

For the rural poor, road and electricity provide major forms to create means of production. One study highlighting the importance of road access (physical assets) to rural areas has found that people can create livelihoods on small land parcels if they have good access to it. The study was conducted in 2002, comparing livelihoods before and after the road was connected to the urban area. Income of the rural people was significantly increased (five times than before), and livelihood of the people was improved positively having cash income by adopting vegetable farming (Timalsina, 2002:88). The people who had very small parcel of land could also earn cash income from vegetable farming. They could also adopt multiple farming, for example, vegetable (tomato, cucumber, beans) farming in the *Makaibari* (land having maize farm) on their land.

For the urban poor, road plays an important role in improving livelihoods by providing access to other assets. Sometimes road can enable to access to financial assets. One respondent in this regard says:

One rainy day I was waiting for customers and I saw one foreigner was coming to me. The tourist then asked me about an umbrella that I was selling on the street. He told me that he had needed many pieces. Since, I had only four among his choice. Immediately, I rushed to the dealers on a bicycle. I brought 25 peaces of umbrellas and could earn 75 Rs. (approx. \$ 1) profits on each. This is how road can enable access to other assets to enhance livelihoods.

Another respondent emphasizing the physical assets to both urban and rural poor says:

I have been selling vegetables at this site for 10 years. When I started vegetable selling, I used to collect vegetables from local wholesalers at Kalimati. At present, I collect vegetables from peri-urban areas such as Dhading, Bhaktapur, Kavre, Nuwakot etc. Because of road access to those districts, I can go in the early morning and can collect vegetables from the farmland, which saves the farmers' working hours (bringing time their products to the city). It also provides me with extra income because I can get vegetables cheaper at the farmland than from the local dealers.

Hence, road can enhance people's livelihoods both in the urban and rural areas. But to achieve advantages from the road, people should have access to it. In the case of Nepal, many rural areas are not connected by the roads. Some whole districts are still out of road connection. People have to walk sometimes two/three days or even a week to meet motorable road. It also prohibits people from access to health. It is true that healthy muscles definitely work much more than unhealthy muscles. Furthermore, if people have good access to different assets, they will psychologically be strong and will be ready to work. Therefore, physical assets such as road, electricity, and other infrastructure play important role to enhance people's livelihoods.

6.5.3 Financial Capital

As defined in the third chapter, financial capital denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihoods objectives. In a simple way, financial capital refers to bundles of money and financial assets such as loan, deposits, shares etc., and household possessions, which can be converted into other assets (Ellis, 2000:34). The financial asset is not useful for the households unless it has been converted into other assets or into consumption. However, the saving of this asset depends on the existing financial market, for instance, in rural areas; the keeping of livestock often plays a critical role as store of wealth and buffer against bad time (Ellis, 2000:34). In rural Nepal, many households prefer to keep cattle and goats as personal belongings, then latter converting them into cash and depositing to rural financial

institutions to save them for time of crisis. In the case of highland Nepal, the livestock are also accounted as means of transportation, which assist to enable people's livelihoods.

Financial capital in terms of earning cash income in most of the areas of rural Nepal is much more limited than in the urban areas. In rural areas of Nepal, people need to sell their agricultural products e.g. crop, livestock, and natural resources such as land, forest products to have cash in hand. Since, many people are landless or small land holders can not produce sufficient crop even for their own requirements. In addition to this, working people have been increasingly migrating, productivity is decreasing and that ultimately prohibits people in cash income earning. Therefore, there is limited chance of cash income earning opportunities in rural areas. In the urban areas, however, people can have cash income in their hand even if working in the informal sector. Thus, in terms of financial capital, urban informal sector (street vending) is better than rural agricultural work to the poor people.

Comparing to his previous and present occupation, another respondent says:

I started vegetables selling at this site 5 years ago. In the origin, our family had 4 Ropani (land unit) of land, which was not sufficient to sustain my family. Working all the year round as wage labour was the survival strategy to all my family members. It was very difficult to have money in the hand. Now, at least I can play with money and use them as per my need. Financially, this street business is far better than working in the agricultural work.

Another young respondent who has been vending on the street and studying at college in the evening says:

I left my home dreaming about higher education. In my village, there was no college for higher education. I am now working on the street and earning for my school as well as for my family. I am sending some money to my family and helping to my younger brothers who are studying at primary school.

There is, of course, not equal financial access and status of all the vendors. But they mentioned that in terms of financial situation vending on the street seems better than working in the farm land. Another respondent in this regard says:

I came in Kathmandu 10 years ago to find a government job. I tried many times, but did not find any job. I was tired looking for the job and could no more be waiting to find jobs without doing anything. Finally, I decided to work on the street and started vending at this site. Now I am earning to fulfill my family requirements, and I think, this business is far better than that of working in agriculture in my village.

Financial capital has thus been found increasing positively among most of the vendors as compared to their previous occupation. Some of them have increased financial capital substantially and have invested in other sectors i.e. establishing permanent shops. Others

have built their own house and many of them have invested in education for their children. However, as mentioned earlier, it varies according to the location where vendors have put up their stalls and how much they can invest on it. But as a whole, access to financial capital of the vendors has improved as compared to their previous occupation. The following table (no. 6) clearly shows the improved financial asset status after involving in street vending in Kathmandu.

Table 6: Income Status after Involvement in the Street Vending

Income After Involvement on the Street		Income in Save (Per month in Rs.)	Respondents
Situation	Respondents		
Improved	21	No less Than 1000	6
Not Changed	6	1000-2000	8
Decreased	3	2000 and Above	11
			5

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

6.5.4 Human Capital

Human capital highlights the importance of labour, health, education, and skills as assets to achieving livelihoods (Carney, 1998, cited in Ellis, 2000:33). In rural areas, labour is a vital asset for households, but labour alone can not sustain livelihoods. When enhanced it through education, training, and other skills, it becomes an effective tool for poor households to gain livelihoods (Boli, 2005:10). Furthermore, education and health service are means through which labour can be maximized for the benefit of the households. But the problem in rural areas of Nepal is that most areas are having lack of health facilities. People from some parts have to walk sometimes more than a week to get medical services. Those people have to depend on traditional home based treatment for their health care. Thus, there is poor access to human capital in the rural areas of Nepal.

If we look it at the urban areas, some vendors have developed human capital significantly. As human capital is created by investing in education, health and human flourishing activities, urban areas are the favorable platform for this. Most of the respondents have invested on their children's education and some of them are investing in themselves, especially by youths in higher education, trainings and skills. For example, they are getting computer training, using media (papers), which broadens the horizon of knowledge. Thus, there are significant differences in terms of accessing human asset between rural and urban areas in Nepal that clearly show the following interviewee responses. One respondent says:

My children are now studying in a Boarding School (English medium school). They have learned English and computer as well. Since, I am uneducated and if I were in the village, I could never provide them such education. One day, one of my sons sold

some clothes to the foreigners speaking in English. Now, I can feel the differences between rural and urban areas and between educated and non-educated people.

Another respondent comparing to the rural and urban areas said that working on the street gave her a window of learning opportunities. She could learn counting the notes, to account daily business and speak simple English as well. She further says:

I am uneducated, can not read and write. I came to Kathmandu in 1996 with my husband and started working with him on the street. At the beginning, I did not even recognize and could not count the notes. But for almost 10 years working on the street, I learned to account the daily business. Now I can read the size written on the vests and pants, which was impossible if I was living in the village.

Another respondent emphasizing the differences between rural and urban areas said that if there were medical facilities in the rural areas of Nepal, he would not migrate to Kathmandu. This shows the differences between urban and rural areas in access to human assets and how that affects to improve human health. He further says:

The main reason behind involving in this sector was just to make a medical treatment to my son. My son fell in a month long sick in 1998. I tried to make a traditional treatment in my village, which could not work at all. I took him in Kathmandu and admitted him in the Bir Hospital (name of a hospital). I spent all the money what I had to make him well, and decided to work on the street in Kathmandu for the further treatment.

Human capital is the knowledge and capacity of the people. It can be measured in terms of people's education, health, skills and knowledge. Since, the contexts here are urban and rural; access to human assets varies in both areas. In rural Nepal, having the lack of road, health facilities and other infrastructures, people cannot invest for human flourishing activities. It prohibits people from improving human capitals. But in the urban areas, if people earn money, they can invest in education and training, which ultimately opens the door for improving human capital. Hence, human capital of the migrants vendors has improved significantly as compared to the origin.

6.5.5 Social Capital

Social capital is a mutual relationship within, and among households and communities. This relationship is based on trust and reciprocity. More precisely, social capital pays more attention to family networks, kinship, and close friends that the household will depend on in time of crisis (DFID, 1999 in www.livelihoods.org). The importance of social organizations, networks, norms, and trust determine failure or success of any community. It means the greater the number of community organizations, the more likely the social and political

networks will be organized horizontally versus hierarchically. The vertical social capital reflects a relationship of patronage among politicians, and local chiefs, while the horizontal social capital refers to clubs, associations, and voluntary agencies (Swift, 1998 cited in Ellis, 2000:36). Social capital has a direct impact upon other types of capital; by improving the efficiency of economic relations, social capital can help increase people's incomes and rates of saving (financial capital). Social capital can help to reduce the 'free rider' problems associated with public goods. This means that it can be effective in improving the management of common resources (natural capital) and the maintenance of shared infrastructure (physical capital); social networks facilitate innovation, the development of knowledge and sharing of that knowledge (Ibid).

There are, of course, differences in social capital in different societies. While looking at urban and rural communities, social capital varies significantly between these two. Urban community is the bowl of heterogeneous mix up of people from different societies and cultures. But rural community is a homogenous group of people living in a harmony with society's rules and regulations. Social capital (networks, relations, cooperation between people and households) functions very well in the rural communities than the urban communities. Most of the respondents mentioned that before leaving their origin, social capital was associated strongly on making a living. But in the urban areas (after migration), they could not establish good relations with the host community because urban community does not accept outsiders as their part of social members. One respondent in this regards says:

I have been living in one Newar's (local cast) house at Nardevi since 10 years. In the morning, when I go for water in a common tap, he does not allow me to touch his water pot. He says that if Pakhe (people coming from hilly region) people touch his water pot; his god/goddess will be annoyed.

The local inhabitants do not want to participate with the outsiders and they do not want to help and cooperate with them. Another respondent quoting this situation says:

One day, my wife suddenly became ill during the midnight. Since, I was only one tenant living in one Newar's house; I thought I need to request my Gharpati (house owner) for help to take her to the hospital. I requested him to help me to take my wife to the hospital, but he simply refused to go with me.

Another respondent says:

Once, my house owner organized a big party in his house. Four tenants were staying in his house including me. There were many people coming and enjoying in the party. Those were mostly local inhabitants. None of the tenants had been invited in the party. The reason was we all were Pakhe (people from hilly region). That's what these local Newari people are.

Most local *Newari* people in Kathmandu do not want to enjoy with outsiders. They usually think that Kathmandu is just their ancestors' land and outsiders have come to threaten them. The old generation is uneducated and believes in traditional belief and most of them have not even crossed the valley. In this sense, they are not aware about the modern society and present social development and change. One respondent emphasizing this says:

My Gharpati (house owner) one day told me that he had not gone out from Kathmandu valley. When I told him I was from Dhading (bordering district of Kathmandu), he asked me how far it was and how many days it would take me to reach home.

Many respondents said that rural societies were better than the urban societies in terms of social relations. Comparing between urban and rural communities, one respondent describes about rural communities saying:

When I was in my village, neighbors would enjoy together, share each other's feelings. If one got any problem, others would help him and suggest him what he needs to do. If one had problem of money, all neighbors would collect among them and help him. But here, if any body has problem of money or any other things, he/she has to bear and face himself/herself.

But among vendors, they share their feelings and problems of each other and show collective actions to the common problems. If they get any financial crisis or any others problems, they share among them and help each other. One respondent mentions:

Once, my son had got for a month long hospitalized. Almost all money and property had finished during the treatment, but still he could not get recover. Then, I had to borrow some money for further treatment. Since, I had been living last 10 years; I thought to borrow with Gharpati (house owner). In spite of giving some money, he threatened me to leave his house. But I could borrow some money among the friends (street vendors). That day I never forget in my life. He further adds 'If it was in the village, people could help and collect money among them for such crisis. People even could live for two/three months borrowing food, cash etc. from their neighbors. So, in my opinion for the social capital rural areas/village is far better than the urban'.

Social capital depends on the social relations and cooperation; it varies according to the different societies and different groups of people. In rural communities, people work and share their labour power among themselves to create livelihoods. It is called *Parma*⁵ (mutual labour exchange system in rural Nepal), which is an important livelihood strategy to work in the farmland, especially during the planting and harvesting seasons. The rural community also shows collective actions over common crisis, for example, death of any members of the

⁵ *Parma* is very important to create livelihoods and to cope with labour scarcity during the planting and harvesting seasons in rural Nepal. Rural people mutually exchange labours between households. Sometimes if any household is having shortage of male/female workers (according to the culture and tradition agricultural practice, there are some male/female specific works), other households cope and recover the labour scarcity.

neighborhood, natural disaster such as flood, landslide, fire, and other natural calamities. However, the views presented here is from poor migrants who have been living in the core city in slum areas. It may not apply to all people in all parts of Kathmandu.

6.5.6 Political Capital,

Political capital is increasingly recognized as the missing dimension of the Livelihood framework, and as one potential remedy to the limited use of political analysis in the studies of development discourse (www.chronicpoverty.org, accessed on 12-01-07). There are some arguments why political capital is important to include in livelihood analysis. It is because rights are claims and assets, which in sustainable livelihood language people draw on and reinvest in order to pursue livelihood options. Rights are politically defended, and how people access these assets depends on the political capital (Peri, 2000:21). Therefore, the state's political situation determines access to different capital assets to the people. Moreover, political capital acts as a gatekeeper asset, permitting or preventing the accumulation of other assets upon which successful development and growth depend.

As explained, claims and access to assets depend on political capital. Political capital varies in the context of political system and powers that are practiced in a country. In the case of Nepal, political capital is important, because access to other assets is strongly affected by it. At present, because of ongoing conflict, political capital differs significantly in access to other capital assets. Livelihood in rural Nepal is severely affected by weak political capital or poor right to access to assets. As compared to rural areas of Nepal, Kathmandu is a safer place to live in terms of security situation. Thus, street vending in Kathmandu valley is increasing with increasing rural urban migration. Some respondents mentioned that they would never migrate and would not involve on the street if there was any guarantee of life and livelihoods security in the origin (rural areas). One respondent in this regard says:

I started vending at this site five years ago. There is one story behind my involvement in this sector. The story is: one day some armed men (probably the Maoists) came at my home and told me to join with them. They further threatened me that otherwise they would detain our home and I would be forcefully joined with them. Then, I decided to flee form home and started vending at this site.

Because of high concentration of government security forces in the urban areas, people thought they would be more secure there than the rural areas. There are thus, differences in access to political assets between urban and rural areas in Nepal. Increasing street vending in Kathmandu city is thus resulting from the conflict in rural areas. One key informant says:

Since I was working as street vendors in charge officer in Kathmandy Metropolitan City for 6 years, I think many of the vendors have increased recently. Around Sundhara-Khichapokhari, Bhotahity-Asan, and Ratnapark, there were almost half of the vendors on the street 5 or 6 years ago. Now the number is so increased that it has been difficult to handle them to stop putting the stalls on public space and footpath. This must be, I think, because of the rural conflict and lack of security situation there.

Putting differences between rural and urban security situation (access to political assets) another respondent says:

Kathmandu is safer place to live in terms of security. At my village, every evening some unknown armed force used to come and asked for food and bed to sleep. Since, our family was hardly surviving by working whole day in the farm land, it was not possible to give them food and shelter. Even if it is difficult to survive on the street in Kathmandu, still it is better than the village because I can get sound sleep during the night and I do not have to feed to the strangers.

Political capital not only broadens people's access to other assets, it also provides psychological strength and confidence to work, which can enable to improve livelihoods. Hence, political capital in the rural and urban areas in Nepal varies in terms of access to other assets that affects work and livelihoods. People who could create livelihoods in the origin have also been moving in the urban areas because of the deteriorating security situation there.

6.6 Access to Assets: Before and After Migration

As discussed in the previous sections, assets status in rural and urban communities varies significantly based on access to assets. In this section attempt therefore has been made to assess access to assets qualitatively based on respondents' views. It simply illustrates and compares people's access to assets in urban and rural contexts. It has been described in the literature review chapter that asset endowments are constantly changing, therefore shape of the pentagons are constantly shifting and different shapes of the pentagon can be used to show schematically the variation in people's access to assets. Therefore, different shaped pentagons can be drawn for different communities or social groups within communities.

It is important to note that a single physical asset in rural areas can generate multiple benefits to the people. If someone has secured access to land (natural capital) they may also be well-endowed with financial capital, as they are able to use the land not only for direct productive activities but also as collateral for loans (DFID, 1999 in www.livelihoods.org). Similarly, livestock may generate social capital (prestige and connectedness to the community), for example, people having cows among the livestock in rural Nepal are prestigious than people

who are having pig in the society. However, this is socially constructed values and may not apply in all societies.

Based on my data and impressions of previous analysis, the pentagons below (fig. 7) show the relative assets endowment of two different communities. The left pentagon (rural context before migration) shows limited access to human, financial, physical and political capitals as compared to the right pentagon. But social and natural capitals on this pentagon are having more access than the right pentagon. It means that rural society maintains its livelihoods based on the social and natural assets. Right pentagon, however, (urban context after migration) explains urban society, where people have earned financial capital, but they have poor access to natural capital asset. The urban society also exposes the limited social capital because as the migrants expressed, local people do not interact and show their co-operation with outsiders. In the urban context, people can enhance their human assets investing on education and training, but it is lacking in rural areas. In the case of Nepal, people do not have enough access to education and other training opportunities in the rural areas. Financial capital can also be enhanced in the urban context having good access to physical and political assets as compared to the rural society. Physical assets such as road, electricity and institutional services in the urban areas play an important role for earning opportunities.

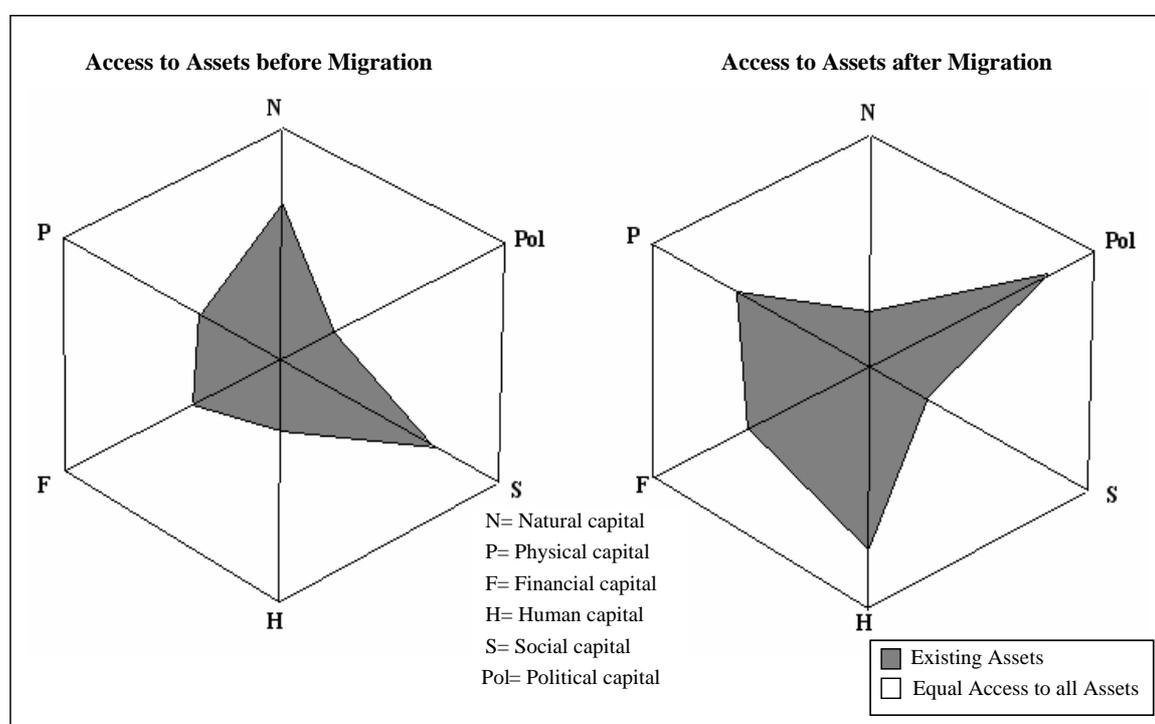


Figure 7: Comparing Access to Assets on Assets Pentagon before and after Migration

Source: Field data (based on impressions of the previous analysis).

According to (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002:14), for individual households or groups of households in settlements or regions, the livelihood strategies which they are able, or choose, to adopt vary over time and according to circumstances. Thus households, communities or regions may experience different pathways of chronic poverty, impoverishment or improved well-being. This indicates that people in different circumstances adopt different livelihoods strategies for making a living. Therefore, the attempt here has been made to compare access to assets between rural and urban communities, and changes in access to assets before and after migration have been plotted on the asset pentagon simply to explain the differences between two communities.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter concludes by looking at the livelihoods of the street vendors before and after migration. While doing so, livelihood of the migrants street vendors was analyzed comparing access to assets with the origin. With harass working conditions in the origin, migrants vendors see street vending as an opportunity for work and employment in the urban areas. They take street vending as an earning opportunity and an opportunity to provide livelihoods to dependent family both in the origin and destination. As compared to agricultural work in the origin, street vendors in Kathmandu have been able to increase their capital assets. They have increased financial and human capital assets getting better access to physical and political capital assets than before. However, natural and social capitals, which used to be strong assets for creating livelihoods in the rural areas, are lacking in the urban areas. In rural areas, because of lack of physical and political capitals, people have not been able to achieve financial and human capitals. Therefore, they are creating livelihoods based on natural and social capitals there.

Chapter Seven

Interventions and Responses**7.1 Introduction**

Coming up to this stage of analysis, it is important here to look at authorities' views on increasing street vending activities. This chapter is, therefore, designed to analyze the interventions and responses by authorities and individuals. This chapter has been divided into three sections. First section deals with the interventions/responses by the KMC authority, which includes physical and social problems created by increasing street vending activities in Kathmandu. Second section deals with the views by individual public customers including, vending as goods and service providing sector. The final section of this chapter deals with the responses made by the representatives of Nepal Street Vendors Union explaining about the constraints for street vendors and focusing on street vending as profession that should be taken into account to protect as livelihoods rights of the street vendors.

7.2 Responses by KMC Authority

There is conflict between authorities of KMC and vendors. It can be argued that both the KMC authority and vendors have right from their own place and position. Vendors should have livelihoods rights and the KMC authority should have responsibility to manage city environment. Since, their duties and responsibilities are conflicting with each other, one's duty and responsibility influence another's duty and rights. It is because vendors see their rights and compulsion to stay on the street for livelihoods whereas authorities want to detain them for the convenience of vehicle flow and pedestrians movement. Therefore, it is important to know what the KMC authority is thinking on the emerging issues regarding increasing street vending activities in Kathmandu.

Responding to the questions, officer of the street in charge (KMC) said that controlling and managing the city environment, including managing footpath, controlling of increasing vending activities and providing easy movement to the pedestrians were their responsibilities. However, hawkers and street vendors spread their wares on the pavement and sometimes on the street, causing great inconvenience to the pedestrians and vehicles. At present, vendors on the street have so increased that it has been difficult to shoo them away. It is not good for let them stay on the street because it creates a lot of problems, including physical and social

problems and difficulty for public movement. It deteriorates the KMC environment by increasing social evils and overcrowding. Considering this fact, the KMC is now thinking of giving them a place where they can carry out their business in peace. The following subsections categorically provide the responses of the KMC authority facing with increasing street vending activities in Kathmandu.

7.2.1 Increasing Street Vending as the Cause of Physical Problems

One of the main problems that authority pointed out is about physical problem, including the encroachment of road and public places, creations of congestion and pollution in terms of garbage output and so on. Garbage has been spread on the places where vendors put up their mats because they leave all waste materials on the street. The places where vendors sell vegetables and cooked foods (*Indrachowk, Asan, Bedasingh, etc.*) are more polluted than others. Vendors do not clean their surrounding, and especially during the festivals, vendors leave too much waste materials on the street. Then, it becomes very difficult to collect and through them out to the KMC during the festivals.

Congestion and overcrowding are the result of increasing street vending in Kathmandu. According to the officer of street in charge of the KMC, vending activities in Kathmandu is rapidly increasing during the last 6/7 years. During the evening, especially at *Sundhara-Khichapokhari, Asan-Bhotahity, Indrachowk, Ratnapark* vendors go on the main street and put up their mats. Vendors get gathered and shout loudly to attract to the customers, which creates a noisy environment. Because of the crowd on the pavement and street, it creates difficulty for vehicle flow and public movement. In response to a question about physical problems, the KMC authority says:

I do not have to tell you about the congestion resulting from the vending activities. You can see the situation. Especially during the evening, vendors go on the street and put up their mats. Vehicle flow and pedestrians movement have been entirely affected. It has now been out of control. Moreover, it has become a political issue and organization like GEFONT is giving support to them. I think it is not good to have political protection to such public issues.

According to the officer, during the festivals (*Dashain and Tihar*), vendors increase by two fold and at that time there will be more congestion. All street of Kathmandu, especially *Ratnapark, Asan, Bhotahity, Indrachowk, Sundhara, Khichapokhari, Newroad* become full of street markets. It becomes very difficult even to walk around those locations. During that period, garbage output from those areas becomes almost 3/4 times more than as usual. Municipality has to employ double staffs and excavators to remove the garbage.

Hearing the responses by the KMC authority about the physical problems resulting by street vending activities, it can be pointed out that the issue is very complex. On the one hand, vendors claim that they should have options for living because living on the street was not their wish. On the other hand, the pavement has been encroached to such an extent that if appropriate solution has not been taken, probably almost all pavement and public places will be fully occupied. Therefore, the main problem resulting from increasing street vending is the overcrowding and it leads to encroachment of the public places and roads. The following photos (2 and 3) clearly show the encroachment of road, overcrowding, difficulties for public movement and vehicle flow in the Kathmandu Metropolitan City.

Photo 2: Road for Whom? for Vehicles, for Pedestrians or for Vendors



Pedestrians, Vendors' Mats and Vehicles at Sundhara
Source: Field Work, 2006.

Photo 3: Congestion and Overcrowding by Increasing Street Vending



a) Vegetable Vendors at Indrachowk



b) Cloths Vendors at Sundhara

Source: Field Work, 2006.

Hence, increasing street vending activities in Kathmandu Metropolitan City has created the physical problem relating to encroachment of public places and pavement. Overcrowding and pollution of city environment in terms of garbage are also linked with this.

7.2.2 Increasing Street Vending as the Cause of Social Problems

Increasing vending activities in Kathmandu have also become causes of social problems. Social problems relating to theft, hoodlum, pick pocketing, burglary, crime are linked with increasing street vending activities. In addition to this, conflict between vendors, between metropolitan police and vendors has also been increasing. Vendors have been increasing on the street day by day. Since the space to locate their mats is limited, each vendor does not get space to put up their mats and they quarrel and sometime fight each other. It is said that crimes have been increasing in Kathmandu in recent years and some crimes relating to pick pocketing, hooligans according to the street in charge officer are, of course, because of increasing informal activities.

In Kathmandu, there is significant number of women street vendors. Some of the women vendors are newly migrated and young as well. Some of them have been facing the problems like raging and misbehaving by the male vendors. Moreover, it was also heard that vendors used to sell stolen and worn out goods. There were some vendors selling worn out (the called it 'sale') goods or second hand goods. Those worn out goods were especially garment products selling at *Sundhara* and *Ratnapark* areas. However, authority of the KMC reported that in the past it was heard that some vendors used to sell stolen goods, but nowadays it has been stopped. In response to a question relating to the goods that vendors were selling on the street, the street in charge of the KMC authority says:

Nowadays, there is no report about stolen goods that vendors are selling. About second hand goods, some of the vendors are, of course, selling on the street. Vending on the street is not an illegal market, only the problem is their encroachment of public places and pavement. Overcrowding, crimes are also linked with this.

Crime as a social problem by increasing street vending in Kathmandu is really a challengeable. I noticed it when one of the informal informants told me one story. His story was like this:

One day I was staying in my shop, all of a sudden some hooligans shouted loudly as saying Han, Han, Chhapka (blow him, blow him, kill). When I saw two young boys were showing Khukuri (national weapon of Nepal, a sharp weapon like a sword) to each other, I got scared and closed my shop immediately. On the following day, I heard that they were vendors, who used to stay at the same place selling vegetables for many years, and one of them was seriously injured.

Conflict between vendors and the KMC authorities is also a major problem which is increasing at present in Kathmandu. Officer in charge of the street market said that recently they employed more staffs to control encroachment and overcrowding in the public places. Still the situation was that some of the locations were out of control. There were many reports that vendors and the KMC staffs quarrel. It was because vendors did not want to remove their mats and the KMC staffs were given duty not to allow vendors putting up mats on the street. One informal informant who was working as a metropolitan policeman in this regard says:

I have been working as a metropolitan policeman for 10 years. It was very easy to deal with vendors when I started my job. But at present, I find it very difficult to deal with them. I have realized that vendors have been increased by twofold in recent years. Public places and pavements have been occupied by the mats. As a metropolitan police, my duty is to take them away from public places and pavements. Instead of moving away, they attack when we go to chase them. One day I had been bitten seriously by some vendors when I told them to remove their mats.

Hence, it can be pointed out that besides encroachment of streets and public places, social problems including; conflict, theft, robbery, crimes etc. are increasing with increasing street vending in Kathmandu. Authorities in this regard should think and come up with appropriate solutions.

7.3 KMC's Plan for Solving the Problems

The responsible body for controlling and managing public places and pavement is the KMC. Since the issue has now become complex and shooing vendors out forcefully is not the appropriate solution, KMC has now realized that increasing street vending is related to poverty, conflict and livelihoods. If vendors have got job in other sectors, they would have not involved on the street for their survival. This section therefore, deals with what the KMC is thinking to solve the problems relating to increasing street vending activities in Kathmandu.

According to the KMC authority, there are number of causes that lead to increase in street vending activities in Kathmandu. Increasing unemployment, centralized government planning and development policies, lack of formal jobs in the city, increasing rural to urban migration and rural conflict are significant factors. Street in charge officer of the KMC adds that the KMC is taking initiation for solving the problems and they have realized that poor and conflict affected people are making livelihoods on the street. But as a responsible body, KMC's concern, according to him, is to manage city environment, if possible, by protecting

poor people's livelihoods. Giving them some space to carry out business could be an alternative solution. Another alternative solution that authorities have been discussing is about giving some open space for vending in specific rules and regulation, for example, before 10 in the morning and after 6 in the evening in their own cleaning responsibility. But still it has not been decided yet. In response to a question, street market in charge of the KMC says:

As a street market in charge since last 6 years, I know that many street vendors are increasing recently. Many of them are young people, which must be because of rural conflict in Nepal. I know that living on the street was not their wish. Vending for them, therefore, is an important way of livelihoods. But as you can see the encroachment of public places and roads, we have to control them. That's why we chase them, which is not because of we do not have sympathy over them.

Furthermore, the Chief Executive Office (CEO) of the KMC Shiva Bhakta Sharma said that the KMC works under the Local Self Governance Act, which prohibits hawkers and street vendors from occupying the narrow roads and alleys. Therefore, anyone found with goods in the streets is apprehended. The street vendors often complain about the harassing treatment meted out by the city police. CEO Sharma in this regard said that the metropolitan office would investigate into those complaints. The KMC then would establish the total number of such vendors and work a way out to relocate them. For this it is necessary to form a policy which, according to him, will be formed after interacting with the civil society. Dealing with the situation of increasing street vending in Kathmandu, the CEO Sharma further said, *'KMC is planning to manage the street vendors from a humanitarian aspect. The unmanaged street vendors have negative impacts on the urban environment and are detested both by the locals and the tourists'* (nepalnews.com, dated 9-1-05).

The KMC is thinking to manage the issue properly. They have been discussing and raising the issues in the high level meeting to come up with the solution. The CEO Sharma adds that despite repeated efforts by the city police employed by the KMC, it is now thinking of giving vendors a place where they can carry out their business in peace. The KMC has yet to identify the place, but according to him it will be convenient to them as well as to the buyers. He adds that if they could provide vendors a space for trading that would end the conflict between vendors and metropolitan police. Further he said, *'If that happens, the everyday cat-and-mouse game between the vendors and the city police could end'* (nepalnews.com, dated 9-01-05).

In response to a question about relocation to the vendors, street in charge of KMC said that about 10 years ago, the KMC in its bid to keep the streets clear had relocated the vendors to the open space. They were transferred to *Bhrikuti Mandap*, which, unfortunately, has become an eyesore. It is so happened by giving the place them without organizing and managing any infrastructure. If we look at the place (*Bhrikuti Mandap*) where many stalls have been stalled, it seems look like a shed having plastic roofs standing in front of *Shingha Darbar* (a national administrative building) which gives the area a shantytown look (photo 4).

Photo 4: Plastic Roofed Market Stalls in front of Singha Durbar, Bhrikuti Mandap



Source: Field Work, 2006.

Hence, the authorities are coming up with positive signs of getting solution over increasing vending problems in Kathmandu. However, since the issue is connected with poverty, conflict, government policy and national development as a whole, one can not conclude that it will definitely solve the problem. But still we hope that in the future vendors will be able to get their livelihoods rights and Kathmandu will be a beautiful city.

7.4 Responses by Public Customers

Responses by the public customers vary from people to people. The perception by them over the street vending activities in the Capital City depends on which background the respondents belong to. Since the sector is connected to poverty and livelihoods, responses belong to the poor rather than rich people. Both urban and rural poor find that the sector is important as the service and employment provider sector. They think that it has provided basic needs to poor people in terms of cheap goods and services. On the one hand, this sector has been providing

livelihood opportunities to the rural poor whereas on the other hand, it has been providing basic necessities and services to the urban poor. The following sub-sections provide the responses made by public customers over the increasing street vending activities in Kathmandu.

7.4.1 Street Vending as an Employment Provider Sector to the Poor

Public customers see street vending as an employment provider sector for both migrants and the urban poor. According to them, street vending provides employment and income to a large number of people in Kathmandu including women, youths and conflict affected people. As discussed in previous chapters, many rural poor left their villages due to various reasons. It leads to increase unemployment in the city and compels them to involve in the street vending. So street vending has become an important employment provider sector. In response to a question, one public customer, who was buying some clothes at *Sundhara* says:

You can see the vendors around Sundhara-Khichapokhari, Ratnapark, Asan-Bhotahity, Indrachowk etc., who are putting up their mats on the street for their survival. Not only on these locations, vendors have been living everywhere in Kathmandu Valley including, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur districts. You can not easily estimate how many vendors are getting employment on the street. I think there must be significant number of vendors who have been getting employment in this sector.

Furthermore responding to a question, another public customer adds that mostly poor people have been getting employment in this sector. Among poor people, the domination is from rural migrants. There are, of course, some vendors from urban dwellers but many of them are from outside the valley.

7.4.2 Street Vending as Goods and Service Provider Sector

In Kathmandu, many poor people prefer to buy goods from the street markets. It is because of people's low level of affordability. Many poor people can not afford goods from the formal markets and supermarkets. Poor people believe that the goods vendors are selling on the street are cheaper than those goods selling in the formal markets (shops and supermarkets). With an opening market between Nepal and China, very cheap goods from China (*Khasa*) have been entering into Nepal. It is said that those goods, for example, readymade garments from China are so cheap that Nepal never can produce those goods at the price they have been selling on the street. In addition to this, high competition between vendors reduces the price, which brings in the limit of poor people's affordability. Likewise, customers feel comfortable for bargaining with the vendors. One key informant (public customer who was

buying cloths on the street) is telling about the importance of street vending activities in Kathmandu:

It is important because it provides us goods in cheap price. If the same clothes I wanted to buy in the shop, I would have to pay twice or more which I could never afford. So, street market is very important for poor people like me. Those shops are only for rich people, I have never entered into those shops.

Furthermore, poor people have psychological perception that if they entered into the shops and supermarkets, they would have to buy something, otherwise the shop owner would be annoyed. There were also some evidences that if poor people entered into the shops and supermarkets, the shop owners would treat them as thieves. Likewise, people who used to buy on the street familiarized with bargaining and think to bargain with the shop owners, which most of the shop owners refuse.

There was also some evidence that the shop owners sell the same goods as vendors are selling on the street. According to one informal informant (public customer), the price that the shop owners are selling is very expensive as compared to the vendors selling on the street. In this regard, he says:

One day I bought a towel from a supermarket in Rs.700 (about \$10). I saw the same towel selling on the street. I asked the price and got to know that it was almost four times cheaper than that of I had bought. I went to complain to the shop owner, but he refused. After then, I use to buy some goods from the vendors if they are good looking to me.

Hence, street vending in Kathmandu can be taken as goods/service provider sector for poor and middle class people. It also provides employment opportunities and serves in the national economy. In this way, one section of the urban poor helps another section of the urban poor to survive.

7.5 Responses by Nepal Street Vendors' Union

Nepal Street Vendors Union (NEST) was formed in 2002 and works under GEFONT. Its main aim was to establish cooperation and unity among vendors to protect their living and trading rights. Other aims include, raising vendors' socio-economic condition, establish brotherhood among vendors, raise consensus through education and other training programmes among vendors, raise common voice about vendors' problems, to get in touch with the urban authorities, introducing NEST in the international arena through becoming member of international vendors' organization (Street Net as an example) and taking part in the international seminars (NEST Brochure, 2006). In addition to this, the hidden but significant aim is to deal with urban authorities with collective voices and agendas.

During the field work, questions like how NEST is responding to the urban authorities, how urban authorities deal to the vendors, how NEST is dealing and tackling the problems of the street vendors, how NEST is working to protect livelihoods right of the vendors, what could be the possible solution to solve the present situation etc. were asked to the NEST representatives. Informal discussions were also conducted with the concerned people like, the Secretary (NEST), Chairman of local committee *Sundhara etc.* In response to those questions, they have come up with some important points, which I will discuss in the following.

7.5.1 Constraints for Street Vendors

In most cities, street vending is regarded as an illegal activity. There are municipal and police laws that impose restrictions on the street trading. Urban authorities do not take vending as a profession. They impose restrictions on the use of urban space for street vending. This brings up the conflict between authorities and the vendors and they try to impose each other. Metropolitan police tries to detain vendors from the public space, while the vendors claim that it is their right to work and earn for livelihoods. In addition, local shop owners and inhabitants see vendors as an enemy. On the one hand, local shop owners take vendors as unfair competitors while on the other hand, local inhabitants see street vendors as an agent of urban environmental deterioration.

Regarding the constraints, open questions were asked to all the respondents to find out major problems. Since most of the NEST members were also working on the street, the responses were similar with the individual respondents. So, here constraints faced by the NEST representatives and individual respondents have been incorporated and analyzed in an integrated way.

Table 7: Problems Faced by the Vendors (Priority Base)

Main Problems	Frequency
Eviction by the municipality police	27
Lack of investment	22
Difficult to get space	20
Place is not fixed	17
Difficult to save goods (rain, sunlight, dust etc)	17
Theft during and after the eviction	13
Threat by local shop owners	11
Difficult to stay on the street being girl	3
Cheated by the wholesalers	2

Source: Field Work, 2006.

While asking questions, all the respondents were free to tell as much as the problems they were facing. Each and every problem they mentioned was noted down. Finally, the problems were then categorized from all questionnaires and produced the above table (no 7), which shows that most of the vendors have been facing problems by KMC authority. Eviction has been the major threat of the vendors.

Analyzing the problems faced by the respondents, it can be concluded that vendors are facing problems from authorities and individuals. According to the NEST respondents, KMC authority's eviction is the core problem. Threats by local inhabitants and shop owners are also associated with earning livelihoods for the urban poor. There are many other problems relating to those two. Problems pointed out in the table such as, difficult to get space, place is not fixed, theft during and after eviction are associated to those two problems. For example, local shop owners don not allow the vendors to put up their mats in front of their shop and municipality police also do not allow them to put up the mats on the public places. Lack of investment has become second category in the table. Since vendors belong to poor households, it is a common problem. Thus, here in the following section, problems relating to eviction and threats by local shop owners and inhabitants have been analyzed.

Threats by KMC Authorities

When I was observing vending activities at *Bhotahity*, one of my study locations, suddenly I heard vendors were shouting as saying *Nagarpalika aayo, Nagarpalika aayo* (police! police! indicating metropolitan police, who come to detain vendors). They were shouting loudly and rushing here and there to protect goods from the KMC police. At the same time some KMC police came and detained the vendors' goods and put them in a truck. Many of the street mats were put in the truck. I was observing them and I saw those people whose mats were grasped also went with the police.

I thought that it could be something interesting to my study. Then I talked with a person, who was later considered as an informal informant. I asked him about eviction by the metropolitan police, where they take those grasped goods, how vendors take back those goods, vendors coping strategy, the way vendors treat to the KMC authorities, authorities' threats, local people's reaction to increasing vending activities, relationship between local and migrants vendors and so on. Then I knew that vendors always shout loudly when the metropolitan

police come for the eviction. This is their typical coping strategy. Some vendors shout loudly so others can run away somewhere to be safe from the eviction. When vendors heard the words *Nagarpalika aayo, Nagarpalika aayo* (police! police!), they immediately run away somewhere (e.g. they run to the nearby gullies and some others enter into the shops). When police pass, they again come on the street and start their business. This is the way of vending on the street in Kathmandu.

Those vendors, whose goods were detained, go with the police to the metropolitan office, pack their goods and label their baggage. Sometimes they have to wait for few days and sometimes for several weeks to get their belongings back. Some of them start another new mat in the same day, others start the following day. Some of them can not invest for new mats and have to wait until metropolitan authorities return back their belongings. But as the activities are small in scale, most of them can restart new mats with little investment. They go to the dealers, purchase some goods and restart their street business. Among the evicted vendors, if someone was an old established vendor, he/she could get on credit from the dealers and could restart his/her mat. Metropolitan authority returns back their goods after charging them. Vendors have to pay charge according to the metropolitan rules. But there is no common understanding between authorities and vendors for making charge. Therefore, vendors blame to the authorities that they charge randomly and authorities claim that they make charge according to quantity and quality of the detained goods.

Therefore, vendors mentioned that eviction was the main problem for street vending. Eviction and sometimes seized of belongings by the KMC authority puts vendors in more vulnerable situation. Eviction is, of course, a major problem, besides that theft during and after eviction swell up loss of vendors' property. Most of the respondents said that they did not get back as much as goods that had been evicted. According to them, it must be theft by the metropolitan authorities either during the eviction or after the eviction. One respondent in this regard says:

One day when police detained my mat, I was going with them by the same truck. There were many possessions (e.g. clothes, electronics, stationery goods, shoes and sandals etc.) scattered in the truck. One of the police man was stealing and putting some pens, exercise books, electronic calculators etc. in his pocket. Another police man put a pair of sandal into his bag saying that that would be for his son. I was looking after my own belongings but could not speak single a word against him.

According to some respondents, not only during the eviction, metropolitan police steals goods after the eviction. When vendors register goods in metropolitan office and return back,

police open baggage and take out the goods. Another respondent had a similar opinion. Once when his mat was evicted he took back his goods after a week and found that many goods were lost. Expressing this he says:

When police grasped my mat, I had gone with them and had registered my goods. I was told to come back to take those goods after one week. After one week, I paid Rs. 200 (about \$3) charge to them and returned back with my baggage. When I checked my goods, many of them were missing. I lose almost equivalent to Rs. 1000 (about \$14) goods. All together I lose Rs. 1200 at that time. That's why I am telling you that eviction by metropolitan authorities is the main problem for us.

Another way of threat by metropolitan authorities, according to the vendors, is that metropolitan police stay in duty for the whole day in certain locations. Duty always comes at 11 in the morning and returns back at 5 in the evening. They do not allow vendors to put up their mats on the street during that time. It prohibits vendors main transaction time of the day. Sometimes, the day duty guard asks some money as bribe. If the vendors refuse to give it, they would come for eviction even during the off time, for example, in the evening. Therefore, vendors are threatened from two ways - one is by prohibiting putting up the stalls on the street and another is by forcing them to pay the bribe. One respondent explaining to this says:

I have been staying in this site for 10 years. During the day time (11 am to 5 pm), we are not allowed to establish stalls on the street. In the morning we do not get customers. We start our street business immediately when the police (day guards) leave. Even in the evening, sometimes the day guards come and ask for money as bribe. If we do not give them, they may come even in the evening and we will be targeted for the eviction.

Thus, there are many factors threatening vendors' livelihoods in Kathmandu. But eviction by metropolitan authorities is the main factor that pushes livelihoods vulnerability to the vendors. Moreover, stealing, loss of their belongings, random charge over the detained belongings, and misbehaviour by the authorities are also the causes that prohibit for creating livelihoods to the vendors.

Threats by Local Inhabitants and Shop Owners

During my first visit in the study areas, I got to know that vendors were not only threatened by metropolitan authorities but they were also threatened by local shop owners. When I was observing vending activities in and around *Khichapokhari-Sundhara*, one of my study locations, I saw that some people were quarrelling. People were in two groups crying and blaming each other. I thought that it could be something interesting to my study. I asked

about the quarrel to a person, who was later considered as an informal informant. I got to know that they were a vendor and a shop owner, who were quarrelling about the space for a mat. The shop owner was claiming that the space in front of his shop should be under his right to control, where he was not supposed to allow establishing stalls for the vendors. The vendor was claiming that since that was the footpath, he could put up his mat /stall wherever he would like.

I knew that conflict for getting space was the raising issue that vendors are increasingly facing at present. Not only between shop owners and the vendors, it also occurs between established and new vendors. Established vendors claim that they have the rights over the place, where they have been establishing mats and stalls. But new vendors claim that since the space (footpath along the road) is public place and everyone can establish his/her stalls wherever he/she likes.

The space where they are establishing stalls is, of course, public place. But in Kathmandu there is no such a space where one can find the space without someone's interference. Since, vendors are staying in front of local shops and supermarkets, local shop owners do not want to see them in front of their shop. Therefore, there is conflict between vendors and shop owners and between vendors and local inhabitants. But most of the vendors express that they have been threatened by local shop owners rather than inhabitants and established vendors. Analyzing the threats by local shop owners, one respondent says:

I have been vending in Kathmandu for the last 10 years. I do not have permanent place to locate my stall. Therefore, I always move here and there to put up my mat. I have to stay in front of the shops, but most of the shop owners do not allow establishing the stall. I have to find a place where local shop owners allow establishing my stall.

Local shop owners see vendors as unfair competitors. They blame the vendors for competing with them, selling the same goods that the shop owners are selling in the shop. Therefore, shop owners do not want to see them selling in front of their shops and enforce them to leave. If they disagree, shop owners will call to metropolitan police. One respondent who was selling in a corner of the street nearby a shop had the same experience. He told a story which was like this:

One day I went early morning to establish my stall (mat) at Ratnapark and stayed for 5 hours. I could not sell anything there. Then I decided to go at Sundhara Chowk in the hope of getting some sale. I put up my mat in a corner of the Chowk nearby one shop. Immediately shop owner came and asked me to leave that space otherwise, he

would call to metropolitan police. I had just got some customers and did not leave immediately. After a while, some metropolitan police came and grasped all my goods and took me to the office. I took back my goods after one week paying Rs. 1000 (about \$14.2) charge.

Some shop owners give a space for putting up mats in front of their shops in the agreement that vendors will not sell the goods that the shop owners are selling in the shop. While doing so, vendors have to pay to them. In some location, for example, *Sundhara and Khichapokhari*, vendors want to put up mats paying to the shop owners. But when metropolitan police come for the eviction, vendors have to protect their belongings themselves. Generally, vendors expect to enter into the shop with their mats when metropolitan police come for the eviction.⁶ But sometimes some shop owners refuse them to enter into the shop, which creates conflict between vendors and local shop owners. One respondent who was putting up in a corner of a shop at *Khichapokhari* had similar experience. He says:

I have been staying here for the last 5 years. We had an agreement with the shop owners that I could enter into the shop, while metropolitan police came for the eviction. For this, I had to pay Rs. 3000 (about \$ 43) per month. We agreed that I would not sell any items that the shop owner was selling in the shop. One day when metropolitan police came, I entered into the shop with my pack of mat but shop owner got angry and told me not to enter into his shop any more.

Vendors, therefore, stay along the pavement when shops are closed, for example, in the early morning and in the evening. Shop owners generally come at 10 in the morning and close their shops at 7 in the evening. Before opening and after closing the shops, vendors become free to put up their mats everywhere along the pavement. Between these times, they put up their mats where they find comparative advantages. Therefore, some vendors have adopted multiple vending, for example, they sell vegetables in the morning and during the day and in the evening they go for different items for sale. Some others move around where they find more advantage to put up their mats. Thus, moving here and there and changing their selling items has become the coping strategy for living in Kathmandu. It is because of the lack of availability of space and threats by shop owners and local inhabitants.

⁶ If the vendors entered into the shop with their belongings, KMC police were not supposed to detain their goods, which save vendors' belongings being seized. It was told me that if vendors entered into the shop, KMC police do not have authority to detain goods from the shop.

Photo 5: Cooping Strategy for Livelihoods

Vendors are selling vegetables in the morning. They sell vegetables until the shop owners do not come to open their shops and move somewhere for vending during the day time. Many of them change their vending items during the day time; for example, some go for cloth vending, others go for labour working. In the evening, most of them again sell their remaining vegetables.

Source: Field Work, 2006.

Photo 6: Waiting Customers to Create Livelihoods

This picture shows that vendors are selling sandals, clothes on the street before opening the shops. When shop owners come at around 10 in the morning they should leave somewhere to set up their mats. These vendors thus pack their mats and move elsewhere to find the place to stall their mats. Since they are selling non-perishable items, these vendors generally do not change their items, and therefore, move here and there for stalling the mats.

Source: Field Work, 2006.

Moreover, vendors are also threatened by local inhabitants who perceive vending activity as an agent of environmental pollution. Local inhabitants think that vendors create physical and social problems. They occupy public place and footpath, create difficulty for pedestrian movement. According to them, vendors shout loudly to compete among vendors for attracting the customers, which creates a noisy environment. Old people who are living in the house become irritating hearing the noise and do not want to see putting up the mats nearby and in

front of their houses. One inhabitant shop owner at *Asan*, who was one of the key informants says:

I open my shop at 10 in the morning. From the early morning vendors come at this area and start to scream loudly. When I come to open my shop, I do not allow them to put up mats in front of my shop on the street. This is my home and I have right whatever I wish to do in front of my shop. Once if I allowed them, they would never leave this space.

Hence, increasing vending activities and encroachment of footpaths lead to conflict between vendors and authorities. Conflict between local shop owners and inhabitants are, thus, related with the scarcity of open space in Kathmandu. If vendors got sufficient space for trading or other means of livelihoods, the conflict would be minimized.

Stealing from the Poor

According to the NEST representatives, many street vendors lose a lot by way of forced offerings in kind demanded by the KMC police. As mentioned earlier, vendors loose goods during and after the eviction, and sometimes they have been forced to give bribe. Especially during the festivals, KMC police force vendors to give bribe otherwise they threaten them in the name of eviction.

In response to these issues, NEST responds that the sort of eviction and threat by the KMC authority is stealing from the poor. Many vendors on the street have hardly survived. Vendors around outer ring of KMC such as *Kalanki, Balaju, Chabahil, Balkhu, Koteswor* etc. have been trading with minimum belongings in very small amount of investment. They have been earning and expending merely for daily livelihoods. Once those vendors' belongings have been seized or evicted, they can not invest or restart their business. In this sense, KMC police are threatening their livelihoods and it is stealing from the poor. In response to a question, one NEST representative says:

Directly and indirectly, it is stealing from the poor. Many vendors invest in their mats to earn their livelihoods. KMC police come at any time for eviction and charge them how much they like. They do not run according to the rules and regulations. Once vendors have been evicted, they have to obey to the KMC police whatever they say to take back their belongings. Sometimes they ask for charge more than the total belongings. Besides that loss of goods during and after the eviction often happens. Vendors do not get back as much as the belongings that they had.

Furthermore, he added that that is why they formed NEST to make a collective voice from the vendors to protect stealing from the poor. According to him, at present KMC authorities

cannot charge whatever they like. They have to provide vendors formal bill. Still there are some cases that some staffs do not give the correct bill or they charge much but show less in the bill. But this kind of cheating has now reduced because of the pressure made by the NEST.

7.5.2 Livelihood: Our Right

Increasing unemployment and livelihoods vulnerability have become common characteristics in both rural and urban areas of Nepal. Street vending to those people has become an important opportunity for living. Vendors have been providing goods in cheap price which protect livelihoods to urban poor that neither government nor any other organizations can do. NEST representatives said that if they had right to life, street vending could be their livelihoods rights because they had no other options for survival. One NEST representative further says:

As a vendor myself and from the vendors point of view, livelihoods on the street is our right. Therefore, we all vendors have been fighting to assert our right to a dignified livelihood. It is true that if we had opportunities in other sectors, we would not involve on the street trading. It was our compulsion rather than wish. Most vendors who are staying on the street are poor. If they were not allowed to stay on the street, they would have died because of famine. If there is right to life then there should have right to livelihoods either on the street or somewhere in other sectors.

He further adds indicating to the KMC authority that there should not be right to bother others' rights. The KMC should think and deal this issue from humanitarian perspectives and have to think to provide livelihoods security to all the vendors. Providing employment opportunity or providing certain space to the vendors, in the agreement between vendors and the KMC would be a reasonable solution, which could protect livelihood rights of the vendors and regulate increased street vending in Kathmandu.

7.5.3 The Solution: Specification of Time for Trading

During the field work, questions concerning the possible solutions were asked to the concerned people. According to the NEST representatives, the national policy to deal with street vending in Kathmandu should be adopted, including providing and promoting a supportive environment for earning livelihoods to the street vendors. There should be no arbitrary eviction of street vendors in the name of beautification. Government should provide training to upgrade vendors technical and business skills. If national policies were formed and implemented, street vendors, who choose this job option due to shrinking employment opportunities in society, would also lead a dignified and contented life. National policies for

vendors should also be incorporated in the city development plan. The Government should also ensure social and financial security of the street vendors.

According to the NEST representatives, two possibilities could be useful to think by the authorities for a long term solution. They are about giving certain space to the vendors and allocating specific time of the day for trading on public open spaces in specific rules and regulations. Among these two, according to them, the latter one could be an appropriate solution for both parties. Authorities can allocate certain time of the day, for example, before 10 in the morning and after 5 in the evening with vendors' own cleaning responsibility to their surroundings. For the first possibility, about providing specific location for trading, vendors do not agree with the KMC. NSET representatives in this regard say:

The KMC is thinking to provide vendors certain unused space for trading somewhere far from the core city. But we as a representative of the vendors do not agree with this. Those vendors who are living on the street with very small amount of belongings, for example, Char Mana Amala and Dui Mana Timbur (forest products with very small amount). How they will survive because customers do not go to buy one Rs. Amala by Bus or Taxi.

They further said that they could agree for the second possibility that was about allocating specific time of the day for trading. NEST representatives in this regard say:

We can agree on the second condition. We can also discuss among the vendors about keeping the surroundings clean. If authority gave us certain time, for example, before 10 in the morning and after 5 in the evening, we can limit our street trading with in the given time. But authorities always want to remove us and do not listen us, so that we have united to fight against them.

Hence, increasing street vending in Kathmandu has become a complex issue with increasing conflict between authorities and vendors. On the one hand, street vending has become livelihoods for both migrants and urban poor. On the other hand, physical and social environment of the city has been deteriorating. However, recent initiations taken by the KMC authorities and dialogues with vendors union can come up with some solution.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the responses made by concerned authorities and public customers on increasing street vending activities in Kathmandu. Authorities (KMC, NEST) and public customers have realized and agreed that street vending in Kathmandu is an important livelihoods opportunity to both urban and rural poor. Response by the KMC authority was more concerned with increasing problems including, encroachment and overcrowding, social evils and conflict between vendors and KMC staffs. Since vending in Kathmandu has been

providing livelihoods to poor people, KMC is now thinking to solve the problem by providing some open space for trading to them. Response by NEST, however, is more concerned with the threats by the KMC authorities, shop owners and local inhabitants. Therefore, there are confrontations between vendors' union, authorities and local people over licensing, encroachment, taxation etc.

Hence, both issues - livelihoods right of the vendors and management of city environment - are important and should be taken into account by the authorities. Vending activities provide goods and services and livelihoods opportunities to the urban poor. However, the city environment that has been deteriorating by increasing informal activities in Kathmandu should be managed. Therefore, authorities should agree to solve this problem through various dialogues that could be to provide vendors with an open space to carry out business in peace or creating other livelihoods options to them.

Chapter Eight

Livelihood Outcomes

8.1 Livelihood Outcomes

Looking at the previous chapters, it is important here to look at the livelihood outcomes. This chapter, therefore, analyzes the overall livelihood outcomes engendered by the street vending activities. Livelihood outcomes are the achievements and benefits that communities hope to derive through obtaining specific strategies. These outcomes can also be interpreted as the aspirations of the community. As the study is concerned with livelihood changes of the street vendors before and after migration, livelihood outcome has been presented as compared to their previous occupation. Examples of livelihood outcomes are: changes in income, food security, health, education and vulnerability. The livelihood outcome will affect how the livelihood platform can be utilized, and also affect participation in organisations, and social relations (Tofte, 2004:121). Overall livelihoods of the street vendors have improved as compared to their previous occupation. Vendors have earned cash income in Kathmandu getting better access to physical and political capitals. Increased income has also positively impacted to improve livelihood outcomes in the origin. From the analysis of this thesis, the overall livelihood outcomes of the street vendors can be categorized as the following.

8.1.1 More Income with Increased Access to Assets

The foremost change after migration is more income. As compared to rural agricultural work, people have earned more income by involving in the urban street trading. Of course, there are few vendors who have not been able to compete with established vendors. However, they are positive and like to invest, because they see that street vending has given them a good opportunity for income earning. Income has not only increased among the vendors in Kathmandu, but it has also supported back at the rural households by the regular flow of money. Increased income has also enabled people to invest in education, training and investment in other income earnings. Investment in education and skills is the improvement of human capital, because skilled and trained people are the resources for positive livelihood outcomes. In this sense, urban people are having more access to human capital because they have earned relatively more and have invested in good education for their children; some of them (youths) have invested in getting skills and education themselves, and others have invested in other income earnings. Therefore, as compared to previous occupation

(agricultural work in the origin), most of the vendors have improved their livelihood assets in Kathmandu having good access to physical and political capitals there. But in rural households, people are losing the youth (able bodied) workers, which affects the livelihood outcomes negatively, because the remaining old and children are not as able as youth.

However, as the contexts are rural and urban, livelihood outcomes in the origin was basically based on natural and social capital assets. But in the urban areas, social capital is found weaker than rural areas. This is because of a heterogeneous mix of population from different backgrounds, cultures and communities. Likewise, political capital in the urban areas is stronger than rural areas, where people become psychologically strong and ready to work hard. It ultimately fosters positive livelihood outcomes in the urban areas. Hence, it can be concluded that livelihoods of the street vendors have increased positively, having more access to physical and political assets than before.

8.1.2 Well-being

In addition to income and things that money can buy, people value nonmaterial goods. Interaction and playing in the urban environment, viewing the city lifestyle and people's well-being, the lifestyles of the vendors have changed positively. They can get encouragement and work hard to achieve an urban lifestyle that may bring them positive livelihood outcomes. Their sense of well-being is affected by numerous factors including, their self-esteem, sense of inclusion, security of household members, their health status, access to services, political participation etc. People's well-being is enhanced and increased by having good access to assets. Vendors in Kathmandu have invested in education and are getting training and skills (mostly young vendors), which ultimately improve their livelihood outcomes. They are more aware than before about political inclusion by getting involvement in vendors union and clubs. With increased access to assets, vendors have connected with outer world through media and other entertainment facilities in Kathmandu. Some of the vendors are getting higher education and broadening the horizon of knowledge. Even if they have been working on the street, some of the vendors look like other urban people. This was observed by their dress up and the way of dealing with me while I was asking them questions.

8.1.3 Food Security and Reduced Vulnerability

Improved food security both in the origin and destination is also a livelihood outcome that can be pointed out. Earning cash income and investing in other income earnings (investment in permanent shops in Kathmandu and investment in agricultural production in the origin)

have increased food security. Many vendors expressed that even if vending on the street is a hard working job, it has given them food, cloths, and other necessities that neither other jobs could provide nor agricultural work. Some vendors have been regularly sending money and other necessities back to their family in the village. Others, who have been working on the street to engage seasonally, have managed household risk and vulnerability by acquiring seasonal necessities and some agricultural input (seasonal and circular migrants). Investing in agricultural input, e.g. fertilizer, improved seeds, pesticides can increase agricultural production, which enhance positive livelihood outcomes. Increased production reduces food insecurity in the rural households and has improved livelihoods. Some of the vendors mentioned that they have been able to pay back the debt of the family after getting involved in the street vending in Kathmandu, which is also an indication of reducing vulnerability.

However, the livelihood outcomes of the vendors in Kathmandu are primarily affected by interventions (authorities – KMC, and individuals - local inhabitants and shop owners). Confrontations and conflicts between authorities and vendors, between vendors and inhabitants and between vendors and local shop owners are threatening for the livelihoods to the vendors. But with initiatives taken by the authorities to resolve the problems associated with the vendors, KMC's plan for solving the problems can protect livelihoods of the street vendors.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion and Recommendations

9.1 Conclusion

Development means positive change of individuals and communities. This change can be accomplished through getting access to various assets or resources by the individuals and communities. In light of the objectives of this study, informal sector activities including, street vending have been found increasing and relating to rural-urban migration in Nepal, which has impacted positively on people's livelihoods in the urban areas in general, and Kathmandu in particular. This situation has also been found linked to rural conflicts in Nepal. It has been found that increasing informal sector activities (street vending) and its contribution in the national economy through employment generation and by providing way of livelihoods to the urban poor is significant. In the urban context, formal and informal sectors are found coexisting in an economic system through activities such as trade and business. But urban authorities have neglected and underestimated the informal sector by considering it as an illegal sector of the urban economy.

The informal sector, street vending in particular, in Kathmandu is composed of internal migrants. Increasing population pressure at the household level in rural areas, increasing socio-economic disparities between people and communities, disparities between urban and rural areas, increasing unemployment, unequal land ownership, difficult rural life in general, and conflict in particular have stimulated increasing rural-urban migration in Nepal. As it has been explained in the third chapter, rural poor see opportunity in the urban areas in terms of work, employment and livelihoods, even if they are working in the informal sector. Many of low and semi-skilled migrants have been working in the informal sector (street vending) for their livelihoods. Street vending is thus, a way of life for those migrants poor in Kathmandu.

Livelihood sustainability of the people is in the activities that people are engaged in making a living. It can be determined by the use and access to natural, physical, human, social, financial and political capital assets to the people for making a living. It has been found that most of the capital assets have increased in terms of access to assets after involving in the street vending. Vendors in Kathmandu have improved the financial and human capital assets

significantly having more access to physical and political capital as compared to the origin. Most of the vendors have been investing for the future generation by providing education and skills to their children. It can be concluded that livelihood of the urban poor who have involved in the informal sector in Kathmandu can be termed as 'struggling for living' and 'living in the present, investing for the future', which indicates livelihood sustainability for the future generation.

Access to assets varies according to the individuals' socio-economic background and the location where they have been putting up their mats and stalls. It has found that those vendors among the higher economic background and those who have been putting up their mats and stalls nearby marketing centres and super markets such as *Sundhara* and *Khichapokhari* have progressed much than others. Therefore, it can be concluded that location and vendors' economic background play crucial role for earning livelihoods in Kathmandu.

There is conflict between authorities and vendors over the licensing, encroachment of the public places and pavements, congestion, overcrowding and social problems. Despite the frequent harassment from the urban authorities, street vending in Kathmandu is increasing and expanding. It is important to think from the ground below after all who are responsible for making decent living, instead of stealing, loitering etc. of those people. Government and its policies are, of course, responsible for this. If government could provide an adequate employment opportunity to them in the origin, they would not migrate and would not be forced to live on the street for their meager livelihoods. Thus, increasing street vending is the result of increasing unemployment both in rural and urban areas of Nepal in general and increasing livelihood vulnerability in rural areas in particular.

Realizing the importance of street vending as work, employment and livelihoods to urban poor in Kathmandu, concerned authorities are now thinking to solve the increasing problems. KMC is therefore, thinking to provide some space to the vendors to carry out business in peace. But vendors union disagrees with this arguing how very poor people, who have been earning livelihoods on the street selling very few belongings can get customers in somewhere far from the core city that municipality is thinking to provide them. However, they are aware of increasing problems in Kathmandu and want to resolve the problem in the long term. Therefore, they have been demanding the pavement and open space for trading in time specification i.e. before 10 am and after 5 pm. as alternative solution.

Consumers are getting benefit from the street trading having an easily accessible and cheaper market. Because of the high competition among the vendors, they sell goods at minimal profits. Likewise, having low level of affordability of the consumers, most poor people buy goods with the vendors. On the one hand, vendors have been making a living on the street, on the other hand, one section of the urban poor provides goods and service to another section of urban poor that otherwise government should have provided. Hence, it has been found that one section of the urban poor, namely, street vendors, subsidizes the existence of the other sections of the urban poor by providing them cheap goods.

It is therefore important to conclude this thesis that with the increasing unemployment and livelihood vulnerability in the rural areas of Nepal, street vending in Kathmandu is means for living to the urban poor in general and migrants poor in particular. If we accept development is positive change through accessing different capital assets, street vending in Kathmandu can be accounted as a resource rather than a problem. Only the need is to think about policies and programmes that should be formulated for getting sustainability of city environment by protecting poor people's livelihoods. There is no doubt that if the government formulates policies, provides opportunities, facilitates for upgrading to the vendors, creates favorable environment including, access to credits, effective coordination, street vending in Kathmandu will definitely be developed in sustainable manner, providing a way of livelihoods to both urban and rural poor.

9.2 Theory Revisited

The livelihood approach has become one of the core concepts within debates on poverty and deprivation. It provides a suitable analytical framework within which to capture the complexity of poverty, as well as the diversity between poor people in coping with adversity. Various scholars and organizations have used the livelihood approach to analyse poverty and deprivation and other livelihood issues. They have focussed on livelihood assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social assets), giving emphasis on one particular asset (most often the economic) and have ignored the dynamics of the full asset portfolio and their interdependency. Livelihood activities usually demand the mobilization of several assets simultaneously, to shield against stresses such as trend and shocks.

Political capital which is very important asset to make, shape and reshape livelihoods strategies to poor people, is a missing dimension in most of the research works. However, as

rights are politically defended, political capital can influence significantly in accessing assets to poor people in different contexts and circumstances. For example, in Nepal, rural people are affected more than urban people by the conflicts, which have magnitude effect on people's access to assets. Thus, progress with regard to one asset does not mean improvements and access in other assets to the poor. Furthermore, in developing countries, migration (both internal and international) has become one of the key sources for building capital assets and diversifying livelihood strategies to make a living. So, analysis of livelihoods of the urban poor must be linked with migration, its consequences and effects.

This study reveals that political capital is a significant factor to rural people, for taking migration decision and for making a living. Some better off people are also getting involved in the street vending because of the lack of security situation in the rural areas. This means that some better off people are also compelled to live on the street of Kathmandu for living. This conflicts with the conventional definition of migration which is generally defined as movement of people from one place to another for the betterment of life.

Furthermore, livelihood analysis is not just to explain and show available assets portfolio in a particular society and household. Access to assets can be modified and improved by diversifying and intensifying livelihood strategies, and it varies according to the specific contexts and circumstances. Thus, for some, rural urban migration is a way of diversifying livelihood strategies and an earning opportunity, for others it is just to live in a safe place in the urban areas to save themselves being caught in government and the Maoist conflict. This study on the one hand, incorporates migration theories to explain migration as diversifying livelihoods strategy and a safe living in the urban areas in Nepal. Livelihood approach on the other hand, looks at how migrants people are making a living in the urban areas. These concepts have been combined and incorporated in the analytical framework (chapter three p. 35), which gives reflective insights to understand increasing rural urban migration, increasing informal sector activities, the way migrants' survival strategies in the urban areas, the way they are building/modifying assets portfolio and the way they are living with the changing circumstances.

9.3 Recommendations

Based on the information gathered during the field study and the analysis of this thesis, I wish to make the following recommendations:

- First, and most importantly, the recommendation which can be made here is that Nepal should achieve permanent peace. To achieve this both warring parties (Government and the Maoist) should take initiation from their inner heart for the long term peace. People in all areas should have environment to work without having any fear in mind, which reduces rural to urban migration and displacement. Besides, national government should adopt decentralized policies and programmes to create employment opportunities in the rural areas of Nepal to reduce unemployment, hunger and livelihood vulnerability.
- Street vending in Kathmandu should be taken into account as a resource rather than a problem. Since it has been providing work, employment and livelihoods to the poor people, it can be a resource to solve the increasing unemployment rate. This study reveals that poor migrants have somehow developed their capital assets but only the need is to think about management and planning how to preserve beauty of the city environment and provide place for trading to the vendors in a sustainable way. For this, the government and authorities should formulate policies and programmes according to practical needs.
- The conflict between authorities and vendors is necessary to have solutions by identifying specific problems faced by the vendors, i.e. eviction and threats by the KMC. For this, there is need of a policy framework for vending activities, which should be based on solving the problem on the ground that can be framed through dialogue between authorities and the vendors union. The policy framework should be embedded in the city development planning framework. Moreover, research on various issues linked with the informal sector should be carried out that enable city planners to deal with the raising problems.
- One way of solving the problems of increasing street vending activities can be by providing vendors with a specific location for trading. It can be done with the help of local clubs giving them responsibility for controlling and managing the surrounding environs (night market at *Bashantapur* can be taken as an example, where people put up their stalls 6 to 9 pm.). Such other locations can also be identified and provided for trading that can protect livelihoods right of the vendors and manage the city environment.
- Upgrading of the vendors into formal shops should be facilitated. Providing loans and encouraging them to establish formal shops by giving training, skills can be taken into consideration.

- Consensus about the need of preservation of the city environment should be provided to the vendors through education and training so that they would be aware of cleaning their surroundings.
- Reorganization of street vendors and recognition of different pockets for street trading in Kathmandu and providing them in rent can also be a way of resolving the problem. Some of the pavements and pockets in Kathmandu are very fruitful in terms of street business where vendors are interested to pay for their stalls (*Khichapokhari* as an example). It broadens the increase of municipality income and also facilitates vendors to upgrade into the formal shops.
- Municipality and the Government should take the initiative to upgrade vending activities by approaching various NGOs to work in the management of vending activities in the city. Appropriate and effective programmes for employment generation to urban poor in Kathmandu should be designed and implemented.

References

- Afsar, R. (2003), "Internal Migration and the Development Nexus: the Case of Bangladesh", *Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies*, Dhaka, Bangladesh, in www.livelihoods.org.
- Anafi, P. (2000), *Working for Survival: A Study of the Role of Women in the Informal Sector in Koforidua, Ghana*, Mphil Thesis, Department of Geography, NTNU, Trondheim Norway.
- Berg, B.L. (2006), *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*, Sixth Edition, Pearson Publication, Boston New York.
- Bhattacharya, P. C. (2002) "Rural-to-Urban Migration in LDCS: A Test of Two Rival Models, Economics Division," *School of Management, Heriot-Watt University*, Edinburgh, UK, vol.14, pp. 952-972.
- Bhattacharya, P. C. (1998), "Migration, Employment and Development: A Three-sector Analysis", *Journal of International Development*, 10(7), pp. 899-922.
- Bhattarai, K. (2004), "Armed Conflict and Migration: A Threat for Development and Peace, A Case of Nepal", *Center for East and South East Asian Studies, Lund University, Sweden*, in <http://nepalresearch.org/publications>, accessed on 02-02-07.
- Bhowmik, S. K. (1999), "Urban Responses to Street Trading: India", in http://www.nasvnet.org/docu_centre.htm, accessed on 12-12-06.
- Bhowmik, S. K. (2005), "Street Vendors in Asia: A Review", *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 28-June 4 pp.2256-2264, in www.worldbank.org, accessed on 12-12-06.
- Boli, R. (2005), "Livelihood Assets of Rural Kenyans", *Final Seminar Paper in International Development Studies (IDS)*, University of Winnipeg.
- Brown, A. (2005), "Claming Rights to the Street: the Role of Public Space and Diversity in Governance of the Street Economy", *School of City and Regional Planning*, Cardiff University.
- Brun, C. (2003), "Not Only About Survival: Livelihood Strategies in Protracted Displacement", *In the Maize of Displacement: Conflict, Migration and Change*, edited by Shanmugaratnam, N., Lund, R. and et. al (2003), Høyskoleforlaget, Norwegian Academic Press.
- Cahn, M. (2002), "Sustainable Livelihood Approach: Concept and Practice", *Massey University*, in http://www.devnet.org.nz/conf2002/papers/Cahn_Miranda.pdf, accessed on 20-12-06.

- Carney, D. (1998), "Approaches to Sustainable Livelihoods for Rural Poor", *ODI Poverty Briefing Paper 2*, in <http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/briefing/pov2.html>, accessed on 01-01-07.
- CBS (2001), *Statistical Year Book of Nepal 2001*, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kathmandu, Nepal.
- Chambers, R. and Conway, G. R. (1991), "Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century", *Discussion Paper, 292, Institute of Development Studies*.
- Chambers, R. (1997), *Whose Reality Counts?: Putting the First Last*, London Intermediate Technology Publications.
- DFID (1999), "Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheet", in www.livelihoods.org/info/guidance_sheets_pdfs/section1.pdf, accessed on 12-12-06.
- Dowling, R. (2000), "Power, subjectivity and Ethics in Qualitative Research", *Qualitative Research Methods in Geography*, edited by Hay, I. (2000), Oxford University Press, New York.
- Dwyer, C. and Limb, M. (2001), "Introduction: Doing qualitative Research in Geography", in *Qualitative Methods for Geographers, Issues and debate*, edited by Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (2001), Arnold, A member of the Hodder Headline Group, Great Britain.
- Ellis, F. (2000), *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*, Oxford: Oxford University press.
- Ellis, F. (2003), "A Livelihoods Approach to Migration and Poverty Reduction", *Paper Commissioned by the Department for International Development (DFID), Overseas Development Group*, University of East Anglia.
- Ellis, F. (2005), "Small Farms, Livelihood Diversification, and Rural-Urban Transitions: Strategic Issues in Sub-Saharan Africa", *School of Development Studies*, University of East Anglia, U.K.
- Fetterman, M.D. (1989), *Ethnography step by step, Applied Social Research Series 17, Sage Publication*, Newbury Park, California.
- Gill, G. J. (2003), "Seasonal Labour Migration in Rural Nepal: A Preliminary Overview", *Working Paper 218, Overseas Development Institute*, 111 Westminster Bridge Road, London.
- Golafshani, N. (2003), "Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research", *The Qualitative Report* Vol. 8 (4), pp. 597-607.
- Gottdiener, M. and Budd, L. (2005), *Key Concepts in Urban Studies*, Sage Publication, Thousand Oaks and India.
- Gurung, H. (2005), *Nepal Regional Strategy for Development, NRM Working Paper*, no. 3, Asian Development Bank.

- Hay, I. (2000), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Oxford University Press.
- HimRights, Population Watch and Plan Nepal (2005), "IDPs Dynamics in the Kathmandu Valley, A Rapid Assessment Report", Kathmandu, Nepal.
- IDMC Nepal (2006), "Population Figures and Profile, Sub-section: Global figures", in <http://www.internal-displacement.org>, accessed on 21-01-07.
- ILO (1998/99), "World Employment Report 1998/99", in <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/inf/pr/1998/33.htm>, accessed on 11-12-06.
- ILO, (2004), *The Informal Economy & Workers in Nepal*, International Labour Organization (ILO), Series 1, Kathmandu, Nepal.
- Jones, L. and Somekh, B. (2004), "Observation", in *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, edited by Somekh, B. and Lewin, C. (2004), Sage Publication, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Johnston, R.J., Gregory, D. Pratt, G. and Watts, M. (2000), *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 4th Edition, Blackwell Publishers.
- KC, B.K (2003), "Internal Migration in Nepal", *Population Monograph of Nepal*, CBS, Nepal, Vol. II, pp.121-168.
- Kitchin, R. and Tate, J. (2000), *Conducting Research into Human Geography: Theory, Methodology and Practice*, Pearson Education Limited, Edinburgh Gate, England.
- Kvale, S. (1996), *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative research Interviewing*, Sage Publication, California.
- Lall, V. S., Selod, H. and Shalizi, Z. (2006), *Rural-urban Migration in Developing Countries: A survey of Theoretical Prediction and Empirical Findings*, Development Research Group, World Bank Washington DC.
- Lee, E. S. (1966), "A theory of migration", *Demography*, University of Pennsylvania, 3 (1), pp. 47-57.
- Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (2001), *Qualitative Methods for Geographers, Issues and debate*, Arnold, A member of the Hodder Headline Group, Great Britain.
- Lynda, J. H. and Myers, D. M. (1995), "Scholarship and Practice: the Contribution of Ethnographic Research Methods to Bridging the Gap", *Information Technology & People*, MCB University Press, 8 (3), pp.13-27.
- Maxwell, J.A. (1996), *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*, Applied Social Research Methods Series Volume 41, Sage Publication, Thousand Oaks, London.

- McAlsan, E. (2002), "Social Capital and Development", *The Companion to Development Studies*, edited by Dasai, V. and Potter, R. B. (2002), Arnold Publisher, London.
- Meikle, S. (2002), "The Urban Context and Poor People", in *Urban Livelihood: A People Center Approach to Reducing Poverty*, edited by Rakodi, C. and Lloyd-Jones, T. (2002), Earthscan Publications London.
- Mohammad, R. (2001), "Insiders and/or Outsiders: Positionality, Theory and Praxis", *Qualitative Methods for Geographers, Issues and debate*, edited by Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (2001), Arnold, A member of the Hodder Headline Group, Great Britain.
- Montello D.R. and Sutton, P.C. (2006), *An Introduction to Scientific Research Methods in Geography*, Sage Publication, Thousand Oaks, London.
- Morse, M.J. and Richards, L. (2002), *Read Me First for a User's Guide to Qualitative Methods*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, London, Delhi.
- Mugisha, P. T. (2000), *The Role of Informal Sector (Micro Enterprises) in Development, A Case Study of Katwe Small Metal Industries in Kampala (Uganda)*, Master Thesis in Development Studies, Specialising in Geography, NTNU, Trondheim Norway.
- Nepal Street Vendors Union (2006), "Nepal Street Vendors Aims and Activities" (in Nepali) *Brochure*, NEST.
- Norwegian Refugee Council (2003), "Training Workshop on Protecting IDPs and UN Guiding principles on Internal Displacement", *Global IDP Project*, Dhulikhel, Nepal, in www.internaldisplacement.org, accessed on 11-01-07.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002), *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* (3rd ed.), Sage Publication, London.
- Peri, B. (2000), "Sustainable Livelihoods and Political Capital: Arguments and Evidence from Decentralisation and Natural Resource Management in India", *Working Paper 136*, Overseas Development Institute, 111 Westminster Bridge Road, London.
- Pradhan, P. and Parera, R. (2005), *Urban Growth and Its Impact on the Livelihoods of Kathmandu Valley, Nepal*, Urban Resource Network for Asia and Pacific (URNAP) , UMP-Asia Occasional Paper No. 63, AIT, Thailand.
- Pun, D. P. (2004), *Rural Landscape Change: Landscape Practices, Values and Meanings The Case of Jagatpur VDC, Chitwan, Nepal*, MPhil Thesis in Social Change, Department of Geography Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim, Norway.
- Rakodi, C. and Lloyd-Jones, T. (editor 2002), *Urban Livelihoods: A People-Centred Approach to Reducing Poverty*, Earthscan Publications London.
- Schafer, J. (2002) "Supporting Livelihoods in Situations of Chronic Conflict and Political Instability: Overview of Conceptual Issues", *Working Paper 183*, Overseas Development Institute, London.

- Schwandt, T. A. (2001), *Dictionary of Qualitative Inquiry, Second Edition*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks-London-New Delhi.
- Scoones, I. (1998), "Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis", *IDS Working Paper No. 72, Institute of Development Studies*, No.201570.
- Husain, K. and Adhikari, J. (2003), "Conflict and Food Security in Nepal: A Preliminary Analysis", *European Commission Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management Unit*, in http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external_relations/cfsp/cpcm/mission/nepal03.htm, accessed on 12-02-02.
- Seddon, D. and Husain, K. (2002), "The Consequences of Conflict: Livelihoods and Development in Nepal", *Working Paper 185, Overseas Development Institute*, 111 Westminster Bridge Road, London.
- Sethuraman, S. V. (1997), *Urban Poverty and the Informal Sector, A Critical Assessment of Current Strategies*, Development Policies Department, International Labour Office, Geneva, UN Development Programme, New York.
- Sharma, P. (2003), "Urbanization and Development", *Population Monograph of Nepal*, CBS, Nepal Vol. I, pp. 375-412.
- Shurmer-Smith, P. (2001), "Methods and methodology", in *Doing Cultural Geography*, Edited by Shurmer-Smith, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks-London-New Delhi.
- Shurto, E. (2002), "Human Development and the Urban Informal Sector in Bandung, Indonesia: the Poverty Issue", *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 4, pp. 115 -133.
- Siddiqui, T. (2003), "Migration as a Livelihood Strategy of the Poor: the Bangladesh Case", *Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit*, Dhaka University, Bangladesh in www.livelihoods.org.
- Silverman, D. (2005), *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*, Second Edition, Sage Publication, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Silverman, D. (2001), *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talks, Text and Interaction*, Second Edition, Sage Publication, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Singh, A. (2000), "Organising Street Vendors", in www.india-seminar.com, accessed on 28-09-06.
- Singh, A. (2005), "Migration, the Informal Sector and Poverty, Some Indian Evidences", *Erasmus University, Rotterdam Section International Economics*.
- Solesbury, W. (2003), "Sustainable Livelihoods: A Case Study of the Evolution of DFID Policy", *Working Paper 217, Overseas Development Institute*, 111 Westminster Bridge Road, London.
- Srinivas, H. (2004), "The Informal Sector and Some Development Paradigms", in <http://www.gdrc.org>, accessed on 15-10-2006.

- Sthapit, D. (1999), *Urban Informal Sectors of KMC: Case Study of Commercial Vendors*, MSc Thesis in Urban Planning, Pulchowk Engineering Campus, Lalitpur, Nepal.
- Suharto, E. (2003), "Accommodating the Urban Informal Sector in the Public Policy Process", *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 4, 2, pp.115-133.
- Timalsina, K. P. (2002), *Impact of Bhimdhunga-Lamidanda-Road on the Livelihood Strategy of Rural People: A Case Study of Jivanpur VDC, Dhading District*, M. A. Thesis in Geography, Central Department of Geography, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal.
- Todaro, M. P. (1976), "Urban job expansion, induced migration and rising unemployment: A formulation and simplified empirical test for LDCs," *Journal of Development Economics* 3, pp.211-225.
- Tofte, A. F. (2004), *War and Cattle Livelihood Strategies and Perceptions of Wealth and Poverty in Southern Sudan*, Master Thesis, Noragric, Agricultural University of Norway.
- Turton, D. (2002), "Forced Displacement and the Nation State", *Development and Displacement*, edited by Robinson, J. (2002), the Open University, Oxford.
- Warren Carol, A. B. (2001), "Qualitative Interviewing", in *Handbook of Interview Research, Context and Method*, edited by Gubrium, J. F and Holstein J. A. (2001), Sage Publication, London, Thousand oaks, New Delhi.
- WFP (2005), "Internal Migration: Rapid Assessment", United Nations, World Food Programme, in <http://un.org.np/reports/WFP/2005/Internal-Migration-March2005.pdf>, accessed on 11-12-06.
- World Bank (2003), *Poverty Reduction and Economic Management*, Report Document South Asia Region, World Bank.

Internet Sources

- <http://ebn.bmjournals.com>, accessed date, 11-09-06.
- <http://en.wikipedia.org>, Free Encyclopaedia, accessed date 19-09-06, 22-09-06.
- <http://web.worldbank.org>, accessed date, 04-09-06, 05-09-06.
- <http://www.chronicpoverty.org>, accessed date, 12-01-07.
- <http://www.lirung.com>, accessed date, 11-12-06.
- <http://www.soc.surrey.ac.uk>, accessed date 05-09-06.
- <http://www.undp.org.np>, accessed date 22-09-06)
- <http://www.inseconline.org>, accessed date 02-02-07.
- <http://www.idproject.org>, accessed date 02-02-07.
- www.internal-displacement.org, accessed date, 11-01-07, 21-01-07.
- www.nepalnews.com, published date, 09-01-05, accessed date, 09-02-06.

Appendices

Appendix I

In-depth Interview Guide

The purpose of this interview is only academic and will not be used for any other purposes. Each respondent is assured that any response provided will not be publicized in the future. All the information will be treated anonymously and confidentially so that it cannot be traced back to the respondent.

NB. All questions were asked in Nepali

A) Personal characteristics of respondents

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Educational level:
4. Religion:
5. Ethnic affiliation:
6. Marital status: Yes No
7. If yes, what is your spouse doing for living?
8. What is the size of your household? And how many children do you have?
9. What are the ages of your children?
10. What is the children's educational status?

B) Working on the street: why and how?

1. Why do you decide to work on the street, why do you choose to be street vendors?
2. How long have you been working in this job (vending)?
3. Do you like being street vendors?
4. Do you have plans of expanding your trade?
5. What is your business hour?
6. Do you always get busy at work on the street?
7. When are you so busy: in days? The time? The season?
8. What time do you see yourself less busy?
9. Do these times have any effect on your day's sales or your returns? (positive and negative effect)
10. What type of commodities do you sell?

C) Trading on the street: problems and prospects

1. How did you secure this place as trading site? Any license required?
2. Do you face any problems for trading in this site? If yes, what problems do you face?
3. If no, what makes this site so good to trade or run your business?
4. What are your other major problems for your business?
5. Do you pay for stalling your shop on this place?
6. If yes, how much do you pay as tax/toll for occupying this site or stall/shop to the local municipal administration daily? Weekly? Monthly? And annually?
7. Do you see any gains in paying these levies?
8. If yes, what are the benefits? If no, what are the reasons for paying?
9. Do you have associations that help you to agitate for your right?
10. If yes, what is the name of the association you belong to and how was it formed? How did you become a member? What benefits do you get being a member of your association?
11. How are you treated by the municipal authority? And, how do they see your trading sites?

12. How do you treat them? Do they allow you to stall your shop? If no, how are you running your business at this site?

D) Migration decisions

1. Which part of the country do you originated and where do you live now?
2. Why did you leave your origin? Why do you choose Kathmandu for your business?
3. What was your main occupation before coming to this place? Was it sufficient to fulfill your household requirements?
4. How do you relate/compare your previous occupation with present business?
5. What changes have you seen after being involved on street business? How was your income before involvement and how about now?
6. Are you regularly visiting your home village? If yes, why do you visit and if no, why?

E) Contribution of the activities to their livelihoods

1. How do you combine your activity and other sources of income in the household?
2. Who bears the cost of the following in the household?
 - i. Food:
 - ii. children's education:
 - iii. health:
 - iv. rent:
 - v. clothing:
 - vi. other:
3. How is the role of your activity in the household? Which types of costs in the household do you cover?
4. What do you feel about social relation here as compared to your home? Does your neighbor society help you to solve any problem in any way?
5. Do you interact and participate with local people's social activities?
6. If yes, what type of activities do you participate? If no, why?
7. In what ways have you developed your human assets (skills, education, and knowledge) in your family?
8. I think, there is quite difference in physical assets (infrastructure and other facilities) between your home place and here, do you believe this assets contribute to improve livelihood in any way?
9. In what ways do your spouse's /other family members' contribution in your household budget?
10. What is the difference between your activities before leaving your home and now in terms of economic situation?
11. Do you save from your earning? If yes, what amount are you able to save after all expenses are made?

Appendix II

Key Informants Interview Guide

i) Interview Guide for KMC Authority

- 1) What do you have to say about the situation of street vendors in Kathmandu Metropolitan City? (general view)
- 2) Do you see any problems by increasing street vending activities in Kathmandu Metropolitan City?
- 3) If yes, what kind of problems do you face?

- 4) What the specific policies are you adopting to deal them?
- 5) What challenges do you encounter in dealing with the issues of street vendors?
- 6) How important do you think street vending as a poor peoples livelihood strategies?
- 7) Is Kathmandu Metropolitan City looking some possible alternatives for those street vendors who are getting subsistence livelihood on the street?
- 8) What are the possible causes do you think about the increasing street vendors in present decade?
- 9) What are the activities that KMC is doing to control/manage the increasing street vending activities in Kathmandu?
- 10) Do you have any suggestions regarding improving to the situation?

ii) Interview Guide for Representative of Nepal Street Vendors Union

- 1) What are the aims of Nepal Street Vendors Union? What activities are you operating while working with street vendors?
- 2) What problems are you feeling while working as a representative of Nepal Street Vendors Union?
- 3) Do you see any problems by increasing street vending activities? If yes, what kind of problems are they?
- 4) As you are working as a representative of Nepal Street Vendors Union, how important do you think street vending as a poor people's livelihood strategy? And how are the vendors earning livelihoods on the street?
- 5) If you think street vending is an important for providing livelihood options to the poor people, what programmes and actions are you adopting to protect their livelihoods?
- 6) How do urban authorities treat on those issues? And how do you deal as a vendor's representative?
- 7) What could be the possible solution to manage street vending activities in a way to protect livelihoods of the poor and to manage urban environment?
- 8) At last, do you have anything to say about street vending activities and its future prospects?

iii) Interview Guide for Public Customers

- 1) Background information
 - i) Name:
 - ii) Age:
 - iii) Sex:
 - iv) Education:
 - v) Occupation:
- 2) Where is your home (origin) place and where do you live now?
- 3) Do you usually prefer to buy goods with vendors?
- 4) If yes, why do you prefer to buy with them?
- 5) Do you think these street markets are important? If yes, why? If no why?
- 6) Do you feel any difficulties by the street vendors on the way during your walk?
- 7) If yes, in what ways do you feel difficulties? And how?
- 8) At last, do you have to say any more about street vendors and their activities in Kathmandu?