

Garbage Cleaning Community and Child Labour in Nepal

(A Report of GEFONT Study on Socio-economic condition of Sweeper Community)

We have conducted this detailed study of garbage cleaners of Kathmandu Valley covering the cities & Municipalities. Along with NFE, Child Care Centre, Awareness campaign and FE support, the detailed survey through pre-designed questionnaires and also through focussed group discussions have been conducted. We feel that this report opens up a new dimension for researchers interested in the community with backward mentalities even in the very face of capital city. We hope it will prove to be an interesting study of its kind.



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Foreword

The problem of child labour is definitely associated with Socio-economic conditions of the community in question. The poverty alleviation measures are not the only solution for the problem. Therefore research and having a clear understanding of the community itself in its totality has been our priority in order to move forward against the use of child labour and victimisation of children in the Sweeper & garbage cleaning community.

As a result in the form of package under ILO/IPEC Action Programme, we have conducted this detailed study of garbage cleaners of Kathmandu Valley covering the cities & Municipalities. Along with NFE, Child Care Centre, Awareness campaign and FE support, the detailed survey through pre-designed questionnaires and also through focussed group discussions have been conducted. We feel that this report opens up a new dimension for researchers interested in the community with backward mentalities even in the very face of capital city. We hope it will prove to be an interesting study of its kind.

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Bishnu Rimal
Secretary General

Chapter-I

Introduction

1.1 General Background

Nepal is one of the poorest countries in the world lying in between the two giants of Asia - China and India. Ecologically the country is divided into three Zones- Mountain, Hill and Terai. The altitude ranges from low land to the highest peak of the world- 8848 m from the sea level. Similarly the country is divided administratively into five development regions and further into 14 zones and 75 districts. Politically there are 205 constituents, 58 municipalities and 3912 village development committees.

Nepal is considered as resource poor economy. However, water resource is the major one with high potentiality for the development of the country, its exploitation is negligible because of poor economic condition. On the contrary, the next major resource- forest is exploited haphazardly.

The volume of human resource of the country is growing rapidly but the quality of manpower is insufficient for the development of the nation. Large part of the national Labour force mainly female is compelled to involve in unproductive work. More than four fifth of this who are employed gainfully are concentrated in the traditional agricultural sector, which is already suffering from disguised and seasonal unemployment.

Nepal is suffering from unemployment problem and large mass of youth population is living the country to search job for their livelihood towards India and overseas countries Gulf countries Saudi Arab, Japan, South Korea etc. On the other, large numbers of Nepalese workers are being displaced by Non-Nepali workers both in formal and informal sector.

GDP (Gross Domestic Product) growth rate is below than the population growth rate. The agricultural sector, where more than 80 percent of the labour force is involved, is contributing slightly more than 40 percent to the national GDP. The productivity of labour is very low. About half of the population are below poverty line and a large part of the children below 14 years of age are forced to work within and outside their home to support their parents/guardians for livelihood.

1.2 The Caste System

Caste system is a social division of people based as their occupation, tasks and power access. Caste system in Nepal is strictly based on the Hindu philosophy, which always prescribes social status based on birth. In other words, caste is a matter of birth that cannot be achieved by good work and intellect or any other activities in the society. Hence, the caste system is a social institution, collective social unit and a hierarchical structure.

Caste is strictly based on the Hindu mythology of Varna system into 4 Varnas in Hindu philosophy.

Caste is based on the division of labour. The task of each caste group has been distinctly prescribed by the social and religious laws, so all people belonging to a definite caste group feel a sort of integrity and uniqueness. They share common cultural traits and enjoy endogamous social structure. So it is culturally associated social unit, which marks distinctness from the other caste groups.

Caste is a stratified placement of each caste group based on their heredity. The Four-Varna system places people vertically in their society. Thus, there are upper, middle, lower and untouchable or outcaste people within the Hindu social organisation. The Brahmins and Chhetries are placed as upper clean caste. Vaisya as a middle clean caste, Sudra labour caste, but among them there are two groups of Sudras: touchables (house servant class) and untouchables (Damai the tailor, Kami the blacksmiths and Sarki the cobbler in Hill Hindu communities, Pode, Chyame and Hara Huru in Newar community and Halhor, Chamer, Dushad, Dum, Musahar are the untouchable in tarai community). There is no caste mobility by any means and endeavour. It is fixed permanently.

The Caste system is derived from the Spanish word caste, which means seed on breed. The castes can be observed in other societies also in the world based on colour, economic power and the class and race in an undeveloped form of caste system, but is quite different in Hindu society.

1.2.1. The evolution of caste system

The Hindu mythology has its own pattern of caste categorisation based on a literary speculation centred in the creator i.e. the Lord Brahma (the father of all organic creatures). Brahma created all types of organisms including human beings after the evolution (creation of the earth). The human beings were created from the different parts of his body. He created Brahmins from his mouth, Chhetries from his shoulders, Vaishyas from his thighs and Sudras from his feet. So the vertical placement of each caste was made accordingly as they were originated. This is called the Char Varna (4 castes) principle of human origin.

1.2.2. The Varna As a social organisation

The four Varnas are the vertical division of all Hindus. The tasks and occupation of each Varna was determined first by the priests and later it was attenuated by the tribal kings and made legal bindings. The Varnas and their functions are as follows:

a. *The Brahmins:* The Brahmins were on the highest social status and were assigned to perform religious functions and rituals. They were also devoted to the teaching occupation.

b. *The Chhetries:* They were ranked next to the Brahmins as rulers, kings, defenders and warriors. Chhetries were also respected as equally as the Brahmins.

c. *The Vaishyas:* Placed in third rank in the social hierarchy, the main occupation of Vaisyas was to cultivate land and trading activities. They were also artisans and skilled workers. They were also the architects and engineers of the society.

d. *The Sudras:* The Sudras were placed at the bottom of the social hierarchy as they were assigned to serve all above-mentioned upper caste people. Among them, the main three sub-castes also were identified for 3 basic tasks

The Cobblers: who were assigned the job of removing and to prepare leather goods.

The Smiths: who were assigned for metal work in gold, silver, copper, iron and bronze. They were comparatively in better working condition.

The Tailors: who were responsible for tailoring clothes for all castes.

The above-mentioned three basic Sudra caste groups have been considered as untouchables.

1.2.3. Caste system among the Newars

Newars' society also experiences a vast division of caste hierarchy. The caste division among Newar society is rather complicated than the other hill Hindu people. There are a complete set of division of caste, occupation and professionals group of people within the Newar community. But the untouchables are - Pode, Kullu, Chyame and Hara Huru.

The duty of Podes as assigned in Newar community is to clean dead animals, to sweep streets and to deliver cleaning services to the rulers, government officials and households.

1.2.4. Pode: The sweeper and their socio-economic relations

Podes as the untouchable lower caste group among the Newars in Kathmandu valley were posed to cleaning work for all upper caste people since the Malla period. Such lower caste people were always deprived of the resources for livelihood. It can be seen that each lower caste people have been settled within the vicinity of the upper caste people to obtain their services (Damai, Kami and Sarki). Similarly in urban area also, there are definite cluster of service caste people at a close distance of old palace area, settlement of the noble families and vicinity of the renounced temple area. They used to own a small plot of residential area in the name of land.

Thus it can be said that the Podes (the garbage cleaning caste) of Kathmandu valley also have got the same socio-economic and educational situation. They have been in a long practice of depending on their own to work for all but always deprived economically and have practised to work at others for financial and subsistence issue such as the limited annual or monthly payment in form of charity and they never expected to dream a prosperous economic and social life.

1.3 Garbage Cleaners

Those who are directly involving in garbage cleaning/ sweeping the street, office as well as private house and chowk as their main profession is known as garbage cleaner. Garbage cleaning is a profession rather than caste/ethnicity. Realising this fact now-a-days, other caste/ ethnic groups have also started to join this profession whereas the traditional caste people belonging to garbage cleaning occupation have started to change their occupation as much as possible. But unfortunately Pode, Chyame, Deula, Matange, Devman, Pujari and Nepali of Newar community is synonymous to garbage cleaners in Kathmandu valley mainly because of the fact that these caste are continuously involved in this profession traditionally. All of them are known as untouchables. The number of this community is insignificant in

the total population and also backward among the untouchable. Socio-economic condition of this community was pitiable in the past. But at present their economic condition is improving due to availability of employment opportunity to whole family with the expansion of cleaning services. On the other, their social condition as well level of consciousness is still very low.

1.4 Child Labour

Child labour is a worldwide phenomenon. It has existed in different types of human society at different stages of history and continues to exist in many parts of the world. However, it has emerged as a major social problem in many of the less developed countries where stark poverty and rapid population growth have compelled children to seek employment for the survival of the families to which they belong. From the demand side, use of child labour provides for lowering of cost of production and access to labour that is unresisting, unorganised and almost inexhaustible. A distinction, however, needs to be made between child labour and child work. While child work does occur in almost all societies and is accepted as not being harmful, but child labour occurs in certain specific situations and is considered as undesirable because of its long-term implications on education, health and human development of the children.

Child labour in Nepal is prevalent in traditional agricultural sector, service sector like small hotels, restaurants, transport and tourism, manufacturing sector mainly carpet and garments factories, domestic services, etc. They are working long hours at low wages, poor working environment. But the issue of child labour has attracted considerable attention in recent years. This attention has been sparked off by the findings of some research studies. These studies showed a very high incidence of child labour in the booming carpet factories in the early 1990s.

The constitution of the kingdom of Nepal (1990) protects the interests of the children. Similarly Nepal ratified the ILO conventions, UN Convention, Colombo Resolution, Rawalpindi Resolution, male declaration etc which are related with child right and elimination of child labour. But the volume of the child labour has not declined. The major reason behind the problem of child labour is the poor and depriving economic condition of the country and also lack of dedication of the concerned authorities of the government.

1.5 Child Labour Policy

The constitution of Nepal, 1990 lays down that the state shall ensure the prohibition of employment of children in any occupation, which is hazardous to life. It provides that all forms of forced labour and traffic of human beings including children; slaves and serfs are prohibited. Nepal ratified the ILO convention related to child labour, UN convention on the rights of the child making commitment to protect children from economic exploitation and to work for their physical, mental, spiritual, rural and social development. To formulate national policies towards elimination of child labour in a progressive manner and guard the rights of children the government has set up a high level task force on elimination of child labour. The Task Force consisted of representatives from different ministries, industries, NGOs and UN agencies in leadership of National Planning Commission. In 1992 Children Act was enacted to stop the practice of employing child labour and promote the status of children. The Act strictly prohibits the children below 14 years of age to engage in any work as a labour though the engagement of the

children aged 14 to 16 (Which are known as minors) permitted in certain condition. The employment of children below the age of 14 years in a cognisable offence under the Act and liable to punishment by fine and even imprisonment. The present study also considered the children below the age of 14 to the child labour as specified by the Labour Act.

1.6 Current Status of Child Labour

There is not a single study covering country as whole. Most of the studies are concentrated only on specific issues and area. The study conducted by central Department of population studies in 1997 is broad among the studies related to child labour covering 73 districts at a time. The study shows that out of the total children aged 5 to 14 about 42 percent were involved in any work within and outside household. The data also depicts that as the age advances the proportion of working children also increases. Most of the children (about 95 %) were in agriculture where 1.6 percent each in service and construction/ transportation/ communication work and rest were working in other fields. About 16 percent children working as wage worker where others were found unpaid. Looking at the working days and hours of work per day, children are working more or less equally comparable to adults - 76.4 percent working all days of the week and 10.4 percent 56 hours or more in a week (CDPS, 1997).

In the formal sector still the carpet industry seems to be a fertile area for absorbing more child labour in its different processes. Various studies related to this sector shows 1.6 percent to 50 percent child labour to the total workers in this industry (CPR, 1999).

1.7 Objectives of the study

In general this study tries to analyse the overall aspects of the Garbage cleaner community known as Poda and Chyame in Kathmandu valley. But specific objectives are:

- i. To observe the socio-cultural and demographic situation of the garbage cleaner families
- ii. To assess the types of work in particular and economic condition as a whole of the community
- iii. To find out the situation of children below 14 years of age and
- iv. To find out the means to eliminate child labour through removing social traditionalism of this community

1.8 Limitation of the study

The study is based on the garbage cleaner of the five municipalities of the Kathmandu valley – the most developed part of the country. Thus it cannot generalise as a representation of the whole garbage cleaner communities of the country.

Similarly the survey excluded scattered households from the sample frame because of time and financial constraints. So such areas are also may not represent from the sample.

Though the information were obtained from the five urban centres of the Kathmandu valley, data were integrated during analysis, because almost all characteristics of the garbage cleaner residing in different parts are more or less the same in percentage terms. Thus the research team feel that there is no need of separate analyses by municipality or district.

1.9 Organisation of the study

The present study as the Situational Analysis of Garbage Cleaners community is organised into seven chapters. The first chapter includes general background of the country including objectives of the current study. Research methodology adopted to organise the research study is presented in the second chapter. The third, fourth and fifth chapters are fully based on analysis of data available from the survey whereas sixth chapter presents the analysis obtained from the focussed group discussion. The last chapter sums up the major findings of the study and puts forth recommendations for future action.

Chapter II Research Methodology

2.1 Sources of Data

The study is fully based on primary source. The primary data is collected by undertaking a rapid census of household of garbage cleaners and a survey of representative sample household in the five municipalities of Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur districts.

2.2 Study Area

Generally garbage cleaners are concentrated in urban centres. Thus data for the study are collected from different places/Toles of Kathmandu metropolis, Lalitpur sub- metropolis, Bhaktapur, Madhyapur Thimi and Kirtipur municipalities located in the three districts of the Kathmandu valley. The major places or Toles where the garbage cleaners are concentrated are: Dhalko, Sabal Bahal, Kalimati, Swayambhu, Maitidevi, Bijeswori, Samakhushi, Budhanilankatha, Tinthana, Bouddha, Tilganga, Ramghat, Madannagar and Kirtipur in Kathmandu districts while Kumbheswor, Teta, Bungmati, Lagankhel, Pulchowk, Chapagaun in Lalitpur and Thimi, Sanuthimi and Bhelukhel in Bhaktapur district. Among these places major concentration area was covered by the study.

2.3 Estimation of Total household

It is difficult to estimate the actual number of household of garbage cleaners in different localities of the Kathmandu valley. To find out the number of household a rapid census for counting of households was conducted with the help of the Nepal Independent Garbage Cleaners Union. The census has recorded 992 households (679, 174, 139 households in Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur respectively). The estimate was used as the sample frame for determining the sample size in different localities of the community under study. Some small localities having few households are excluded with determining the sample households.

2.4 Determination of Sample

It is obvious that the larger the sample, the smaller the sampling error. Thus the sample was taken as much as possible but considering the cost and time. The ultimate average sample size has been 40.4 percent (401 household) of the total household, though there is slight variation in different places under study. The Sample was drawn on the basis of simple random sampling with replacement, which was based on the list of the households prepared at the time of rapid census.

Table 1: Distribution of Households of Garbage cleaners

Districts	Estimated Total HH	Sampled HH	Sample as % of Total HH
Kathmandu	679	272	40.1
Lalitpur	174	71	40.8
Bhaktapur	139	58	41.7
Total	992	401	40.4

The survey was carried out by using a well-structured questionnaire.

The questionnaire tries to cover socio-economic, cultural and demographic status of the family, Child labour in the family and their status, causes and consequences of child labour and the perception of the parents / guardians regarding child labour.

A central research team was formed in order to conduct the study. There were two experts - Demographer and Social Anthropologist outside GEFONT framework. Both of them working in Tribhuvan University at Central Department of Economics and Central Department of Sociology/Anthropology respectively. The experts were responsible to design the survey work - estimation of total household, sampling, questionnaire preparation, pre-testing, final enumeration from the sampled households and also editing and preparation of the report.

In addition to the central team, a survey team was formed to conduct the field work of the study. The team consists of 20 persons including supervisors and enumerators from GEFONT affiliates. They were involved earlier in other studies, too. The field staffs were divided into five groups. Each group consisted of one supervisor and three enumerators. The major responsibility of the supervisors was to build good friendly terms with the household to obtain better information prior to administer the survey questionnaire to them explaining the main purpose of the study.

The survey team was further supervised the research team frequently and helped to resolve the problem of non- responding nature of the community. Data were edited by the supervisor in the field and final editing was done by the central research team prior to enter into processing.

2.6. Status of Respondents

Out of the total estimated household of the garbage cleaner families, 401 were successfully interviewed. Among the households surveyed, information was obtained by males, from about 76 percent households and by females from 24 percent households. Considering the age of the respondents, 26 Percent belong to age group below 30 years while majority is above 30 years. From the educational point of view about 82 percent were literate with some educational background and only 18 percent respondents were illiterate.

Table 2: **Status of Respondent**

Educational Status	< 30 Yrs			> 30 Yrs			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Illiterate	2.9	26.5	10.7	21.7	17.4	20.8	17.4	20.6	18.2
Literate	73.9	55.9	68.0	52.8	54.0	53.0	57.6	54.6	56.9
Primary	13.0	14.7	13.6	20.9	23.8	21.5	14.1	20.6	19.5
Secondary	7.2	2.9	5.8	3.8	3.2	3.7	4.6	3.1	4.2
S.L.C. and above	2.9	-	1.9	0.9	1.6	1.0	1.3	1.0	1.2
Total	69	34	103	235	63	298	304	97	401

Source: Based on the survey of Garbage Cleaner Families 1999

2.7. Focused Group Discussion

Besides the quantitative data obtained from the survey of 401 households, qualitative information on the various issues of garbage cleaners was obtained from focussed group discussion. Six groups were formed for the discussion consisting 5 to 10 people (both male and female) in a group. Out of the six, 4 were from

Kathmandu district and one each from Lalitpur and Bhaktapur. In total 48 persons were the participants from different sides such as member of the municipality elected from that community, employee in government and non-government sector, school teacher, respected persons of the community, social workers, students etc. Out of the total participants two thirds were male and one third were female. The age of the participants ranged from 17 years to 65 years.

Among them, more than 56 percent were from the age group 30 to 49 years whereas those less than 30 years constitute 31.3 percents and the remaining 12.5 percent belong to 50 years and above.

Table 3: Distribution of participants by Age Group

Age Group	No. of Participants	Percentage
< 30	15	31.3
30 –49	27	56.3
50 and Above	6	12.5
Total	48	100.0

Highly concentrated areas were selected for the group discussion. They were Sabal Bahal, Dhalko, Tilganga and Kirtipur from Kathmandu, Kumbheswor from Lalitpur and Bhelukhel from Bhaktapur district. The group discussion was conducted by the central research team with the help of research assistants who were also involved in the field survey.

2.8. Tools of Analysis

The study is fully descriptive. Some rates and ratios are presented in the tables prepared on the basis of information obtained from the survey. The data were processed using SPSS program where Microsoft Excel Program was used for calculation and Tabulation the data.

2.9.1. Problems Associated with Data collection

During the survey the research team has faced various problems. Among them the major problems are as follows.

- i. Generally the respondents didn't answer all the questions incorporated in the questionnaire. They escape one or another question due to lack of awareness.
- ii. Some of the questionnaire basically related to their culture and exact amount of income were not answered carefully.
- iii. Some of the respondents tried to harass the enumerators through irrelevant answer of the question.
- iv. Some even refused to response the questionnaire.
- v. The interview with the help of the questionnaire took time ranging from 45 minutes to 1.5 hours.

The first two problems were adjusted analysing whatever the information available but the third and fourth problems were resolved by substituting another house from the list.

Chapter III Demographic and Socio - Cultural Scenario

3.1 Background

The situation and extent of child labour mainly depends upon the Socio-economic-cultural as well as demographic condition of their family. Generally, the situation of the children is better off where the family is educated and does not face hand-to-mouth problems compared to the illiterate and the poor. The economic condition of the garbage cleaning families, however, is found to be more or less similar because majority of them are land less and depend upon their family earnings.

3.2 Age and Sex Distribution of population

The survey of garbage cleaning families covered 401 households. The total population in these households has been recorded to be 1863. Among them, 48.5 percent are males and 51.5 percent are females. The overall sex ratio of this community is 94.1, which is below than the national average (99.5) as reported in the population census 1991. On the other hand, the average family size is found to be 4.6, which is also low as compared to the national figure.

Table 3.1 Distribution of Population by Age and Sex of the Garbage Cleaning Community

Age Group	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0-4	82	9.1	83	8.6	165	8.9
5-9	129	14.3	124	12.9	253	13.6
10-13	106	11.7	113	11.8	219	11.8
14-16	69	7.6	66	6.9	135	7.2
17-19	66	7.3	83	8.6	149	8.0
20-24	87	9.6	109	11.4	196	10.5
25-29	72	8.0	96	10.0	168	9.0
30-34	66	7.3	66	6.9	132	7.1
35-39	76	8.4	68	7.1	144	7.7
40-44	39	4.3	36	3.8	75	4.0
45-49	32	3.5	49	5.1	81	4.3
50-54	28	3.1	22	2.3	50	2.7
55-59	26	2.9	11	1.1	37	2.0
60 and over	27	3.0	37	3.8	64	3.5
Total	903	100.0	960	100.0	1863	100.0

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families, 1999

This is not only due to low fertility rate in this community but also because of high incidence of early marriage and separation from the family. Joint family is found rare in this community though they belong to Newar community where joint family system is common. The proportion of children below 14 years of age is found to be 34.3 percent to the total population where the proportion of old age (60 years and above) is very low (3.5%). About 78 percent population of the garbage cleaning families are in the labour force as defined by the population census 1991 (i.e. 10 years and above). While computing the dependency ratio of the garbage cleaning community, it is found that it is far below than the national average, which is about

35 and 60 considering 10 to 59 years and 15-59 years respectively as productive population (Table 3.1)

3.3 Educational Status of the Families

Education is one of the major indicators of social development. Out of the total population of 5 years and above, 63 percent are literate where only 37 percent illiterate. The literacy rate in the garbage cleaner families is found high as compared to national average both for male (76.6%) and female (50.3 %). Looking at the educational attainment of the literate population, it is found that about 26 percent have never been to school but have gained literacy to some extent at home or elsewhere. More than 62 percent have completed primary school, about 10 percent have passed S.L.C. examination and above (Table 3.2). Here it is interesting to note that there is not much variation in the educational attainment among male and female. This shows less discrimination among son and daughter as most of the females also earn equally in this community.

Table 3.2: Literacy Status and Educational Attainment of the Population 5 Years and Above

Literacy Status	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Literate	629	76.6	441	50.3	1070	63.0
Illiterate	192	23.4	436	49.7	628	37.0
Total	821	100.0	877	100.0	1698	100.0
No Schooling	170	27.0	107	24.3	277	25.9
Primary (1-5)	398	63.3	268	60.7	666	62.2
Secondary (6-10)	49	7.8	57	12.9	106	9.9
SLC and Above	12	1.9	9	2.0	21	2.0
Total	629	100.0	441	100.0	1070	100.0

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaner Family, 1999

3.4 Religion

More than 93 percent garbage cleaners belong to Hindu religion, which is more than the national figure (86.5% in 1991 census), whereas the percentage of Buddhists is one third of the national figure (7.8%).

Table 3.3 Distribution of Population of Garbage Cleaner Community by Religion

Religion	Number	Percent
Hindu	1736	93.2
Buddhist	47	2.5
Christian	80	4.3
Others	-	-
Total	1863	100.0

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families, 1999

More than 4 percent of garbage cleaner population at present are following Christianity though they are not Christian by birth (Table 3.3). Generally Hindus and Buddhists have accepted Christianity due to poverty and to get some opportunities, because Christian organisations are said to provide economic as well as social benefits to those who follow the Christian religion.

3.5 Marital Status

The marital status of population aged 10 years and above shows that 55.8 percent are married, 39.3 percent are unmarried and about 5 percent are widowed, divorced and separated. While comparing by sex, the proportion of married and divorced is found high among males where widowed and separated are more in females. (Table 3.4)

Table 3.4 Distribution of Population 10 Years and Above by their Marital Status

Marital Status	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Unmarried	275	39.7	293	38.9	568	39.3
Married	404	58.4	402	53.4	806	55.8
Widowed	8	1.2	48	6.4	56	3.9
Divorced	5	0.7	3	0.4	8	0.6
Separated			7	0.9	7	0.5
Total	692	100.0	753	100.0	1445	100.0

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families, 1999

3.6 Place of Birth

While looking at the migratory character, about 78 percent (88% male and 67.8% female) were born at the same Tole where they are residing at the time of survey. Only 7 percent males and more than 20 percent females have been found migrated from other municipality or VDC.

Table 3.5 Distribution of Population by Birth Place

Place of Birth	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
At the same Tole	795	88.0	651	67.8	1446	77.6
Another Tole within the same municipality	46	5.1	115	12.0	161	8.6
Other municipality or VDC	62	6.9	194	20.2	256	13.7
Total	903	100.0	960	100.0	1863	100.0

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families, 1999

Similarly the proportion of female whose birthplace is other Tole within the same municipality where they are residing now is more than double in comparison to the males (Table 3.5).

3.7 Reasons Behind Migration from the Birth Place

As the survey reveals, 12 percent males and more than 32 percent females have left their place of birth due to various reasons. The majority (72.2%) have left their birthplace because of marriage whereas 21.6 percent due to location of service and 6.2 percent due to other miscellaneous reasons. Among the male population, about 64 percent have migrated from their birthplace due to location of service, whereas 22.2 percent and 13.9 percent respectively because of marriage and other reasons. On the other hand, among the females almost 90 percent have been found moved from their birthplace because of marriage (Table 3.6).

Table 3.6 Reasons for migration from the Birthplace

Reasons	Male	Female	Total
Marriage	22.2	89.6	72.2
Service/Job	63.9	6.8	21.6
Others	13.9	3.6	6.2
Total Number	108	309	417

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families 1999

3.8 Health condition

Health condition of a country also reflects its stage of development. Generally in developing countries, people suffer more from communicable diseases than in developed countries.

The survey data show that large number of people (both children and adult) of garbage cleaner community usually suffered from diarrhoea, cold & cough and fever. Similarly children especially suffer of sore and fainting whereas the adults generally suffer from Tuberculosis, Fever, Asthma and Gastric (Table 3.7).

Table 3.7 Types of Diseases

Fever	216	Fever	222
Cold and cough	194	Asthma	121
Sore	142	Gastric	172
Fainting	57	Others	
Others	2		

Source: Survey of the Garbage Cleaning Families, 1999

Information about the way of treatment indicates that this community still believes on traditional treatment of Gubhaju and Jharphuk, which consists of 28.2 percent households'. It is found that 21.4 percent visit first Baidya (homeopathic as well as

Ayurvedic medicine) and 42 percent believe on modern medicine and visit at private clinic of the doctors, hospital and medical shops for the treatment (Table 3.8). This indicates that still half of the population believes on traditional type of treatment though they are residing in well-advanced capital city of the country.

Table 3.8 Distribution of Families by Way of Treatment

Place of Treatment	No.	Percent
Dhami/Jhankri	79	19.7
Gubhaju	16	4.0
Baidya	86	21.4
Hospital	42	10.5
Jharphuk	18	4.5
Medical Shop	36	9.0
Private Clinic	90	22.4
Others	1	0.2
N/A	33	8.2
Total	401	100

Source: Survey of the Garbage Cleaner families, 1999

3.9 Conditions of Toilet

Of the total households of the garbage cleaners, only 12 percent do not have their own toilet. About 2 percent have Khalde (pit) toilet while 86 percent have modern toilet using pan (85%) and camot (1.2%). Among the households without toilet, 73 percent didn't construct because they have no space for it, whereas 19 percent and 8 percent respectively did not construct due to lack of money and fear of bad smell in the house.

Almost half of them used to dispose in public place, 16.7 percent on the bank of river, 6.3 percent on the road and 10.4 percent use their own kitchen garden while remaining 14.6 percent use other places. Almost all of the users of open field for disposal know that it not only makes the public place dirty, but also creates and expands diseases in the community. Some of them say in satire that they are always playing with such garbage from morning to evening so how the diseases generating form such garbage can attack them.

Table 3.9 Types of Toilet of the Garbage Cleaner families

Types of Toilet	Percent
No Toilet	12.0
Commot	1.2
Pan	85.0
Khalde (pit)	1.7
Total (N)	401

Source: Survey of the Garbage Cleaner families, 1999

3.10 Sources of Drinking Water

Quality of drinking water is directly related to health of the people. It is also a source of communicable diseases. Thus the government is responsible to provide safe drinking water to its people. But the people of the capital city of Nepal are suffering from the lack of drinking water whatever is the quality.

About 15 percent residents of this community still depend on traditional source of water like well, Tube-well, Roar Pump, Dhunge Dhara, Kuwa, etc. On the other hand, among the families depending on public source for drinking water, altogether 73.3 percent rely on Dhungedhara and Kuwa whereas 3.3 percent fetch drinking water from well, Tubewell and roar pumps. Among those who have private source

(55.1%), only 5 percent are dependant on well, Tubewell or Roar-pumps and the overwhelming majority of 95 percent have safe pipe water. Still 45 percent households of the Garbage cleaner community depend on public source of water, which may or may not be safe (Table 3.10).

Table 3.10 Distribution of Families by Sources of Drinking Water They Use

Source	Public	Private	Total
Piped Water	73.3	95.0	85.3
Well, Tubewell, Roar-pump	3.3	5.0	4.2
Dhungedhara, Kuwa	23.3	-	10.5
Total	44.9	55.1	100.0
Total (N)	180	221	401

Source: Survey of the Garbage Cleaner families, 1999

3.11 Culturalism

The garbage cleaners (Pode and Chyame) fall under lower untouchable caste of the Newar community. They are the deprived section in the community.

Newar community is rich in their cultural traditions. The then Malla ruler of the Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur had started various festivals and Jatras on different occasions. They have their own particular Guthi and festivals. They also celebrate all Hindu as well as Buddhist festivals.

On the basis of the information from the household survey, we find that they used to spend up to Nrs. 30,000 in an average in a festival or Jatra based on their economic condition, family size and relatives. Each festival and Jatra is celebrated by organising Bhoj(feast) where they prepare various types of foods and beverages to serve the guests as well as family members. Most of the food items will be prepared in the house and some will be brought from the market. This community is much more conscious while celebrating such festivals and Jatras and organising feast (Bhoj) because they consider it a part of their prestige in the community. In other words, they feel that their prestige is associated with such feasts. So now, there is a feeling of competition among them to influence the community by spending and organising feast.

There is a social obligation of this society under their tradition of collective way of living. The guthiyar, relatives and neighbour should help in cash or kind as well as extend other necessary cooperation in each function or ceremony.

Chapter IV Economic Condition of the Garbage Cleaning Families

4.1 Current Activity of the Population

Data on current activity of the population aged 5 years and above were collected by the survey. More than 55 percent males and about 51 percent females are found gainfully employed. Generally as the age advances; proportion of gainfully employed also increases up to 59 years and then starts to decline. More than three fourth of the population of productive age is employed. The proportion of female in household work is five times greater in comparison to males. Similarly, proportion of students has been found amounted to 36 percent in males and 30 percent in females. Among the children aged 5-13 years of age, about 95 percent are students while this proportion starts to decline after 14 years of age. Proportion of job seekers and living idle without doing anything is 4 percent in the male population and 2.6 percent in the females (Table 4.1)

Table 4.1 Percentage Distribution of Population

Activities	All years		Below 14		14-16		17-59		60+	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Employed	55.4	50.7	0.9	3.8	37.7	42.4	83.3	72.2	68.0	52.9
Household Work	3.4	15.6	0.9	2.1	8.7	12.1	3.3	20.9	16.0	32.4
Job Seekers	2.2	1.0	0.9	-	2.9	1.5	2.4	1.5	8.0	-
Idlers	1.8	1.6	-	0.8	4.3	3.0	2.4	1.5	-	5.9
Students	35.9	30.4	97.4	93.2	44.9	40.9	7.1	3.5	-	-
Others	1.2	0.6	-	-	1.4	-	1.4	0.4	8.0	8.8
Total (N)	821	877	235	237	69	66	492	540	25	34

4.2 Occupation

Generally most of the Nepali people are found involved in more than one work within and outside their household. Considering the fact, question was asked to identify both the occupations (Primary and secondary ones), but the information about secondary occupation was provided by an insignificant number only, so it is excluded from the analysis and only major occupation is analysed.

Most of the gainfully employed population both male and female from the garbage cleaning families are found involved in their traditional garbage cleaning occupation. About 2 percent are in trade and commerce and less than one percent in other services besides garbage cleaner (Table 4.2). This indicates that still this community is fully dependent on traditional work and shift in other works is negligible. Looking at the age-wise involvement, it is clear that almost all productive age population are in garbage cleaning whereas old age ones above 60 and those in the age group 14 to 16 are more in small retail businesses as compared to other age groups. The children below 14 years of age are very few in

gainful activities and all of them are working as garbage cleaners with their parents.

Table 4.2 Occupational Distribution by Age and Sex (in %)

Occupation of employed Population	Total		5 -13		14 -16		17-59		60 +	
	Male	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Garbage Cleaner	96.3	97.5	100.0	100.0	88.5	92.9	97.6	99.0	76.5	72.2
Service	1.3	0.4	-	-	-	-	1.5	0.5	-	-
Trade /Commerce	2.4	2.0	-	-	11.5	7.1	1.0	0.5	23.5	27.8
Total (N)	455	445	2	9	26	28	410	390	17	18

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families 1999

4.3 Formal Workplace or Enterprise

The employed population is also categorised on the basis of their work place or the enterprise where they work. Almost two-third (64.8 percent) are working in government offices and more than 14 percent in semi-government jobs as in public enterprises, banks and municipalities. About 5 percent have been found working in non-government sectors including NGOs and INGOs whereas 12 percent are in private sector and only 2 percent work in their own private business as self employed. The variation in the proportion involved in various sectors by sex is insignificant (Table 4.3). This is because of the fact that there is equal opportunity of employment in garbage cleaning both for males and females.

Table 4.3 Employed Populations by Their Enterprise or Workplace and Sex (in %)

Enterprise or workplace	Male	Female	Total
Government Office	65.7	63.8	64.8
Semi-Government	13.6	15.3	14.4
NGO/INGO	4.8	4.9	4.9
Private Self employed	2.4	2.0	2.2
Private Enterprises	11.6	12.4	12.0
Others	1.8	1.6	1.7
Total (N)	455	445	900

Source: Survey of the Garbage Cleaner families, 1999

4.4 Hours of Work

Generally more than 40 percent workers reported that they used to work for seven hours per day while 18 percent work for eight or more hours per day. Among the remaining, 42 percent workers work one hour (3.6%) to 6 hours (7%) per day.

Female workers work less hours as compared to males in outside work but they are involved more in household works (Table 4.4), which is not accounted.

Table 4.4 Distribution of Employed Population by Working Hours Per Day and Sex (in %)

Hours of Work	Male	Female	Total
One	2.2	4.9	3.6
Two	3.7	4.3	4.0

Three	3.5	5.6	4.6
Four	3.3	3.6	3.4
Five	14.7	24.0	19.3
Six	6.4	7.6	7.0
Seven	46.6	34.2	40.4
Eight and more	19.6	15.7	17.7

Source: Survey of Garbage cleaner families, 1999.

4.5 Earnings of the Garbage Cleaners

Wage and salary is the major income of the garbage cleaning families. Majority of the population employed in any sector of this community earns rupees 50 to 75 per day, whereas 7.5 percent have better earning (i.e. Rs. 150 and more). More than 30 percent employees are getting Rs. 75 to Rs 149 as their daily earning.

The daily earnings of females are comparatively lower than those of males (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Percentage of Employed population by Age, Sex and Average Daily Earnings

Average Earning (in NRS)	Male	Female	Total
Less than 50	2.4	4.9	3.7
50-74	51.7	67.0	59.5
75-99	15.5	13.4	14.4
100-149	18.4	11.6	14.9
150-199	6.9	2.3	4.6
200 and Above	5.1	0.8	2.9
Total (N)	375	388	763

Source: Survey of the Garbage Cleaner families, 1999

4.6 Sources of Income

As mentioned above, the major source of income of the garbage cleaner families is their wage and salary they earn each month. Besides, some families have rented their houses or rooms from which they earn additional income, which supplements their family budget.

Table 4.6 shows that the monthly income per employed person is low for those who work as garbage cleaners (Average Rs. 2812 per month) whereas the salary of the service holders in other sectors is greater by more than 650 rupees per month. Similarly, the earnings from trading and other businesses are more than the service holders.

The families of the garbage cleaner community have rented 313 rooms from which they earn Rs. 163386 per month and Rs. 1960632 per annum on an average, which is 6 percent of the total income of this community. On the other hand, 3.3 percent of their income is from private trading and businesses of self-employment and most of their income that is 90 percent comes from wages and salaries of the employed population. Among the employees, the share of Garbage cleaners is 89.5 percent of the total income of this community.

Table 4.6 Average Family Income by Sources

Sources of Income	No. of Person Engaged	Income (RS.)		
		Monthly Per Person	Annual Total	Percentage
Garbage Cleaning	851	2812	28716144	89.5
Other Services	8	3480	334080	1.0
Trading	20	4431	1063440	3.3
House Rent	-	-	1960632	6.1
Total			32074296	100.0

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families, 1999

While analysing the total annual income it is found that per capita average annual income will be NRs. 17,216 (equivalent to US \$ 251.00 at current buying rate). This reflects that the per capita income of this community is higher than the national average of US\$ 210. This reflects that this community is economically in a satisfactory condition at present though there are still few families below poverty line.

4.6.1 Expenditure Pattern

In resemblance with the national practice, this community is also spending major part of their earnings on food items. Out of their total expenditure, they spend more than 55 percent on food, 14 percent on festivals and feast, 9.6 percent on clothing, approximately 6 percent on schooling of children and 4 percent on health and medicine.

Table 4.7 Annual Expenditure Patterns of the Families

Major Items of Expenditure	Percentage Share of the Total Expenditure
Food	55.2
Clothing	9.6
Medicine/Health	4.3
Festivals & feast (Bhoj)	14.0
Schooling of Children	5.8
Building construction & Maintenance	3.1
Payments on Electricity, Water, telephone etc.	5.5
Others	2.5

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families, 1999

Rest of the expenditures go on other activities such as building construction and maintenance, paying bills of electricity-water-telephone, entertainment, debt repayment and so on (Table 4.7). Spending on festivals and feasts is considerably higher in this community in comparison to expenses on major items like schooling of children, health and building construction as well as maintenance.

4.7 Use of Savings

Out of the total surveyed household, 76.6 percent (307 household) have been able to save some amount from their earnings. They have been using their savings in different ways. Majority have used it to buy means of transportation and luxury goods (38.5% and 27.4% respectively), while 7.5 percent have deposited their savings in the bank. Mobilization of saving for productive purpose is insignificant. (Table 4.8)

Table 4.8: Use of Savings

Use of Savings	Number of Families	Percentage
No Saving	94	23.4
Bank Deposit	30	7.5
Buy Land	4	1.0
Investment in Business	4	1.0
Buy means of Transportation	154	38.5
Buy Luxury Goods	110	27.4
Lending for interest	5	1.2
Total	401	100

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families, 1999

4.8 Loans and Indebtedness

Slightly less than one fifth of the surveyed households have taken loans from different institutions or persons. More than two thirds have taken loans from relatives and friends and 15 percent from local moneylenders whereas only 13 percent have taken institutional loans from banks or financial sector (Table 4.9). This indicates that this community is still unaware of the services of banks or financial institutions and depends on individual loans where rate of interest is higher than in the bank loans.

Table: 4.9 Sources of Loans and Families Indebted

Sources of Loans	Percentage of Families indebted
Bank and Financial Institutions	12.7
Local Moneylenders	15.2
Relatives	35.4
Friends	32.9
Others	3.8
Total (N)	79

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families, 1999

Considering the use of loans, the percentage of families using loans on house construction and maintenance (34.2%) comes first followed by medical expenses (17.7%), marriage, Bratabandha and Bhoj (16.5), Land purchase and daily consumption (5.1%), whereas 6.3 percent households have used loan to invest on trade and commerce (Table 4.10).

4.9 Ownership Pattern

The survey also tries to collect information of houses, land, livestock etc. under the ownership of the garbage cleaner families. Data obtained from the 401 household show that 86.5 percent have their own house and only 13.5 percent is in rented houses.

Table: 4:10 Use of Loan by the Garbage Cleaner Families

Use of Loan	Percentage of Families
House construction and maintenance	34.2
Land purchase	5.1
Medical	17.7
Marriage, Feast etc.	16.5
Trading	6.3

Daily Household consumption	5.1
Others	15.2
Total (N)	79

Similarly out of the 347 private houses, only one third have the land in their own name where they have constructed their house and the two thirds are still residing or constructed their houses on barren land (ailani Jagga)

It is surprising that only one respondent has responded that he has land for kitchen garden.

Generally sheep, goat, pig, duck, chicken are the domestic animals being kept by this community but only for their domestic purpose.

Not a single family has used such domestic animals for the business purpose (Table 4.11).

Table 4.11 Ownership position of the surveyed household

Particular	Number of households
Total surveyed ouseholds	401
Private House owners	347
Rented House	54
Land ownership	117
Land for Kitchen Garden	1
Sheep	4
Goat	3
Pig	176
Duck	210
Chicken	75
Others	10

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families, 1999

It has also been found that this community is rich on holding luxurious electronic goods such as Radio, Television, Deck, VDC, Refrigerator and in Vehicles - two wheelers, three wheelers as well as four wheelers (Table 4.12). Most of them have television of different sizes.

Table 4.12 Luxurious Electronic & Other Durables in Use by the Households

Types	Quantity
Radio/Telephone/Camera	425
TV/Deck/VCD/CD	480
Clock/Watch	942
Refrigerator/Fan/Rice Cooker/ Gas Stove	250
Washing Machine/Solar/Guise	16
Cycle	180
Motorcycle/Scooter	34
Motor/Jeep/Car/minibus/Tractor/Tempo	11

Source: Survey of the Garbage Cleaning Family, 1999

Females of the garbage cleaning community possess one or more set of gold ornaments and some have silver ornaments (Table 4.13). By wearing such ornaments, they feel that their status will increase in the society. Similarly it is also a traditional way of saving which can be used in difficult times and emergencies.

Table 4.13: Type of Ornaments Under Family Ownership

Name	Total Quantity	
	Gold	Silver
Ear Rings	160	-
Jhumka	178	-
Sikri	289	1
Mundri	127	1
Had Mala	38	-
Gold Bracelets	153	-
Gold Rings	273	2
Bengal	17	-
Pauju	-	10
Other	36	1

Source: Survey of the Garbage Cleaning Family, 1999

4.10 Use of Leisure Time

Most of the adult family members of the community are employed in one or more places and have no more leisure. When they get some leisure, they enjoy it differently. Table 4.14 highlights that leisure time of the people in this community is being spent unproductively and also in harmful activities like gambling, drinking alcohol, etc. though it is low in percentage.

Table 4.14 Distribution of Respondents by Use of Leisure

Types	Percent
Relaxing with family members	29.9
Meeting and gossiping with friends and relatives	30.2
Involvement in Social work	3.0
Smoking & chewing tobacco at home	4.2
Watching Television	23.9
Playing cards/ Gambling	2.0
Drinking alcohol	3.5
Others	3.2

4.11 Perception on Development

A large amount of money is being spent each year for the socio-economic development of the country by the government as well as by the INGOs through various social organisations active in the community. Less than half of the respondents are aware of the existence and activities of the social organisations.

Regarding the perception on development or observed changes in various infrastructures in comparison to past, most of the respondent observe that there is improvement in all types of urban infrastructures like road, electricity, drinking water, school, hospitals and so on.

4.12 Level of satisfaction From Current Job

There is a mixed version on the issue of satisfaction from the current traditional job. Majority of them (61.3%) has been found satisfied and less than 40 percent dissatisfied and willing to change their profession. Mainly modern youth males fall

in the second group. The respondents have given some reasons in favour of their satisfaction and dissatisfaction as shown by the chart below:

Reason for Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction

Satisfaction	Dissatisfaction
Easy to find	No prestige in the Society
All member of the family involved	Humiliation by others
High earnings	Tedious job
Less working hours	Unhealthy job

However in general, it is observed that the respondent themselves are confused to answer the question on job satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

Chapter V

Children in the Families

5.1 Background

Children are known as the future of the society. But they need proper education and guidance in their childhood, because at this age they can be compared with wet clay, which can be given shapes as we like. In developing countries like Nepal, large part of such children is deprived of their rights of education and the rights of childhood. The reasons are economic as well as lack of awareness of their parents. They are compelled to work within and outside their household for livelihood, which causes them to fall into misery for the whole life.

The rapidly expanding urbanisation and modernisation of the country have also caused widespread uses of child labour in formal as well as informal sector. The government, trade unions, NGOs, INGOs, UN Agencies like UNICEF and ILO have made efforts to root out child labour but the impact of their activities has been limited due mainly to acute poverty and the exploitative socio- economic relations and conditions of the society. The concept of child rights and that 'children should not be compelled to work' has not been able to take effect in societies like ours.

Mentionable here is the new initiative in the form of ILO Convention No. 182 concerning elimination of worst forms of child labour. According to ILO estimates, the number of working children in the age group of 5-14 has been 250 millions, of which 120 millions work full time every day. As many as 70%, toil in dangerous environments. Among the 250 working children, some 50-60 millions are below the age of 11 years. This Convention defines the worst forms of child labour and asks all governments to ban ensure that everyone would know about the forms, pass new laws if needed, monitor and enforce the laws and launch creative efforts to wipe out the root causes.

The worst forms of child labour comprise:

- All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery – trafficking, bondage, forced or compulsory labour
- Children for prostitution and pornography
- Children in Drug trafficking
- Works harmful for health, safety or morals of children

With regard to the context of garbage cleaning and sweeping, whether children below 14 years of age work or the young below 4 years of age carried on the back of the mother, it is harmful for the health and safety of children. So garbage cleaning work is not only hazardous and worst to the working children, but also equally or more harmful to the infants and babies on the back of the working mother.

5.2 Proportion of Children in the Families

The survey shows that 25.3 percent of the total population are children belonging to the age group 5 to 13 years. The proportion of boys and girls is almost equal (49.8% boys and 50.2% girls). Among the boys, 54.9 percent belong to the age group 5 to 9 whereas the percentage of girls in this age group is 52.3% - slightly less than the boys. In total, around 54 percent are concentrated in this age group (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Total Children Aged 5-13 years by sex

Age Group	Boys	Girls	Both
5-9	54.9	52.3	53.6
10-13	45.1	47.7	46.4
Total (N)	235	237	472

Source: Survey of Garbage cleaning families, 1999

5.3 Children Attending School

The information on enrolment of children at schools shows a better position of this community in education.

Out of the total children under the age group 5-13 years, almost 87 percent are enrolled in schools at present.

The proportion of boys is slightly higher (89.6%) than that of girls (84%). Among the boys, 88.3 percent and 90.5 percent are enrolled from the age group 5-9 and 10-13 respectively. On the other hand, 84.7 percent and 83.2 percent girls from the same age groups respectively are enrolled at schools (Table 5.2). The figure shows that the proportion of girls enrolled at schools declines as the age advances which is indicative of high dropouts among girls in comparison to boys because of various reasons.

Table 5.2 Percentage of Children Attending School by Age and Sex

Age group	Boys	Girls	Total
5-9	88.3	84.7	86.6
10-13	90.5	83.2	86.8
Total %	89.6	84.0	86.7
Enrolled Children Total (N)	210	199	409

Source: Survey of garbage cleaning Families, 1999

Just the enrolment at schools, does not contribute to increase the educational attainment. Regularity and seriousness for education are important factors for the improvement of the academic qualification.

But on the basis of observation and discussion with parents during the survey as well as discussion with the focussed groups, it can be easily concluded that both regularity and seriousness are lacking in the community with regard to education. This is mainly because of the fact that the parents are uneducated and cannot guide their children properly. They send their children to schools but they have no time to monitor whether they have been regular to school or not and also their

performance in the school. This is one of the major causes of dropouts of the children.

5.3.1 Classes and the Children

The children of the age group 5-13 have been found attending nursery to class seven. In every succeeding class, the proportion of student decreases as a common practice in this community (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Percentage of School Going Children (5-13 years) by Their Class

Classes	Boys	Girls	Both
Nursery & Pre-Primary lasses	30.1	30.2	30.1
Class One	28.1	27.1	27.1
Class Two	19.0	23.6	21.3
Class Three	12.4	10.6	11.5
Class Four	5.2	5.0	5.1
Class Five	3.8	2.0	2.9
Class Six	1.4	1.5	1.5
Class Seven	-	1.0	0.5
Total (N)	210	199	409

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families, 1999

Table 5.3 highlights that there is a sharp decline in the proportion of students in upper classes. Nearly 80 percent children are attending only from nursery to class two whereas it is slightly higher than 20 percent in other grades. The proportion is more or less equal in the boys and girls. The last grade is seven where only one-percent female children are attending.

No single boy is reported in this grade. From the data presented in table 5.3, high drop out is clearly visible among the students of this community.

5.4 Type of Schools

Now, there are two types of schools - government financed and private. The government owned schools provide free education with regard to the tuition fee up to grade ten and also free text books up to primary level, whereas private schools fix tuition fees as well as other dues themselves. As a result private schools are highly expensive as compared to government schools. On the contrary, it is believed that the quality of education in government schools is low as compared to private schools. Thus, there is a fashion and/or competition increasing to enrol their children at private schools paying a considerable sum of money with a hope of quality and competitiveness.

Table 5.4 Distribution of Children by Sex and type of School

Type of School	Boys	Girls	Total
Government	41.0	56.3	48.4
Private	59.0	43.7	51.6
Total (N)	210	199	409

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families, 1999

Table 5.4 depicts that a slightly higher proportion of children of this community are enrolled at private schools (51.6%) as compared to in government schools (48.4%).

The proportion of boys enrolled at private school is remarkably high as compared to girls. Generally, this community does not seem to practice discrimination between male and female, but data on type of school clearly indicates that there is discrimination within the family with respect to education as a large proportion of boys are admitted in private schools and opposite is the case of the girls.

Of the total respondents under the survey, only few have responded on the reasons to send their children in the government school or private school. In total, 3.7 percent of the respondents have pointed towards the economic reasons to send their children at government schools. On the other hand, 3.5 percent send their children at private school with the hope that their children will be able to get good job in future.

5.5 Reasons for Low Enrolment of Girls

While interacting with those who have admitted their son at school, and not the daughters, response was made by 21 families. Among them, 43 percent said that the age of their daughter is not appropriate to join school (even though they have reached 5 years) and 14 percent did not enrol their daughter because of their economic condition too poor to afford school expenses for all children and they have given priority to their sons rather than daughters. This is also a clear example of gender discrimination.

Table 5.5 Reasons for not Sending Daughter to School

Reasons	Percentage
Under age	42.9
Not wanted to go School	28.6
Taking care of Home	9.6
Cannot afford for all	14.3
Others	4.8

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families, 1999

Similarly, 9.6 percent of the parents have not allowed their daughters to go to school, because they have to take care of household work while elders go to work outside. But a considerable percentage tried to avoid the question by saying that daughters did not like to go to school.

5.6 Status of Children not Attending School

Of the total children in the age group 5-13 years, only 13.3 percent are found not enrolled at school during the survey period. Among them girls exceed boys. Among the children not enrolled at school, some are working within and outside home whereas others are passing the days by playing marbles and as idlers.

As revealed by Table 5.7, out of the total children not attending school, more than half were idlers whereas 27 percent were engaged in household work and 17 percent employed outside. The proportion of girls employed within and outside home is higher than that of boys. Idle boys consist of more than three fourth of the

total boys not attending school whereas the proportion of girls in the same category is slightly higher than one third.

Table 5.6 Percentage of Children (5-13) not Enrolled at School

Sex	Percent of the Total
Boys	10.6
Girls	16.0
Total	13.3
Total (N)	63

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families, 1999

In an enquiry to know the reason behind engaging the children of school going age at work, 28 respondents have responded. Among them, more than 64 percent engage their children at work when they (Children) refuse to go to school and about 11 percent engage them to earn their livelihood. It is to be noted that 7.1 percent feel social discrimination in the school and do not send their children (Table 5.8). Some of them engage their children in order to train them which makes easier to get job in future.

Table 5.7 Current Activities of Children not Attending School

Activities	Boys	Girls	Total
Employed	8.0	23.7	17.4
Household work	8.0	39.5	27.0
Job seekers	8.0	-	3.2
Idlers	76.0	36.8	52.4
Total (N)	25	38	63

Source: Survey of Garbage Cleaning Families, 1999

Regarding the enquiry related to the willingness of parents to send their children to school, the overwhelming majority of 97.2 percent have shown their willingness if they do not have to face above-mentioned problems. But a small proportion suffering from negative attitude ignore the importance of education and opine that their children cannot compete in other job except garbage cleaning where there is no need of education.

More than 80 percent of the respondents realise that it is injustice to the children to engage them at work instead of sending school. On the other hand, about 19 percent express negative views that if they have to join the job where education is not needed, why do they waste time and money on education.

Table 5.8: Reasons to Engage the School-Going Children at Work

Reasons	Percent
Lack of Food	10.7
Reluctant to go school	64.3
Looking after siblings	7.1
Social Discrimination in schools	7.1
Others	10.7
Total (N)	28

Source: Survey of the Garbage Cleaner families, 1999

Similarly, with regard to the earnings of the child workers, they say that it is difficult to estimate the amount earned as all of them are helping their parents and non-of them working independently. But it is true that their contribution to their family budget is significant.

Chapter VI

Findings of Focussed Group Discussion

6.1 Type of Groups

In addition to the quantitative data obtained from direct interviews with the heads of the households on various issues of garbage cleaners including the status of child worker in this community, a focussed group discussion was conducted to obtain qualitative information with regard to the socio-economic condition, cultural realities, status of children below the age of 14, level of awareness and so on.

Altogether six groups were formed for the discussion comprising 5 to 10 persons in each group representing different status, age and sex. Four groups were organised from different localities of Kathmandu district namely – Sabal Bahal, Dhalko, Tilganga and Kirtipur. Similarly two groups in Kumbheswor and Bhelukhel were formed for the purpose in Lalitpur and Bhaktapur districts respectively. Research team felt that there is no need to organise separate group of males and females as males and females are found equally vocal. In this community, women express their views without any hesitation in the presence of their elder male members which is generally not seen in other communities.

6.2 Major Issues Discussed

In order to fill the gaps in the collection of quantitative information and also to dig out more information, the discussion was mainly based on nine major issues covering a number of sub-issues related:

- a. General information about the community
- b. Social status
- c. Economic situation
- d. Cultural backwardness
- e. Level of awareness
- f. Status of children
- g. Attitude towards previous programs launched
- h. Perception on development, and
- i. Knowledge and perception about the union of Garbage cleaner

6.2.1 General Information

Garbage cleaning is a profession adopted by various castes and ethnic groups in the country, but generally within Kathmandu valley, the 'untouchable caste' Poda and Chyame are known as synonymous to Garbage cleaners. Most of the participants are of the opinion that Poda and Chyame are among the different castes of Newar community but not a caste for garbage cleaning. From a long historical period, they have adopted this profession because of poor economic condition, backwardness in education, humiliation and no knowledge and opportunity to involve in other types of jobs or profession.

To these days, all caste/ethnic groups, especially the poor, are adopting this profession mainly due to competitiveness and difficulty to find other jobs. Consequently traditional garbage cleaners are slowly and slowly being displaced from the new comers. This process is taking momentum with the introduction of subcontracting system in this field like other areas of work. Now the traditional garbage cleaners have started to feel insecurity of their job and think that if they do not become capable to compete with others they cannot improve their status and may remain idle or unemployed.

On the contrary, a few participants analysing the traditions argue that from ancient times garbage cleaning has been the profession of Pode and Chyame, but, now, other ethnic-caste groups are entering in this profession, which is an interruption over the occupational rights of this community and it should be controlled immediately.

Regarding the self-humiliation, it is found that in early period this community was neglected badly by so called upper caste groups. Consequently, they themselves were humiliated. But at present there is no such strong humiliation in youths though old people still do have the psychology of fear to mix up with the upper caste people because of superstitions prevalent in the society.

Some of the participants remark that Pode and Chyame are not the lower caste. They are the guard of the god in the temple known as 'Deopala'. Each and every devotee of god including king used to take 'Prasad' given by Deopala. Thus, there is no reason to feel humiliation. They are aware of it, but still the social psychology is dominated by the fear of humiliation and of untouchability. Fortunately, the degree of it is declining every year. As a result, this caste has also started to open grocery shop, meat shop, hotels and restaurants where upper caste people also come, buy and consume.

The process of humiliation to the lower caste is prevalent in all communities including garbage cleaner community. In this connection some of the youth participants express their views that first they themselves have to improve their thinking.

6.2.2 Social Status

This caste is socially depressed. Generally, the status of other untouchable castes like Kami, Damain, Sarki etc is far above than this caste on the issue of social prestige, education and level of awareness. They are representing the Dalits even in the parliament. But Pode and Chyame are not in such position. They can send their representatives only as ward members only in those localities where they are in majority.

The level of education in this community is very low. Those who have crossed S.L.C. Examination and above examination can be counted in finger. The major reasons responsible are:

- They are suffering from strong feeling that their children cannot get other jobs except garbage cleaning. Even though with academic qualification equal to other community people, they have to face discrimination in the job market.
- Economic condition of this community in general was highly miserable in the past. After 1980, the economic situation of the community especially in

Kathmandu valley has improved remarkably as compared to their neighbouring communities. Due to poor economic condition they became unable to send their children to school previously.

- Garbage cleaners have given less importance to education because of easy availability of garbage cleaning job to this community, which does not need any educational qualification.

In order to increase the social status of the community, it is necessary to improve their level of education. Improved educational status is essential to get other quality jobs.

6.2.3. Economic situation

Traditionally, the community was backward both socially as well as economically. They used to suffer from hand to mouth problem even though they had the responsibility of very important work in the society. But they were compelled by the societal system to earn their livelihood by begging and collecting rejected or fallen grain, vegetables, etc from the field in addition to the hard and hazardous work for the society. Here it is relevant to quote a saying "*Sadeko, Padeko Ra Kholale Bagayako Podeko*". This is still true in the rural areas but in the major urban centres including Kathmandu, the economic condition of the garbage cleaner families has improved considerably with the fast developing service sector. Generally all adult family members of either sex are employed. Besides, some of them are also involved elsewhere in part-time jobs as well as overtime. Mainly the economic condition of the garbage cleaner community has improved with the introduction of Garbage Management Committee under the financial and technical assistance of Germany.

This community feels that the reason of their backwardness is the poor economic condition. So they pay emphasis to earn money by compelling their children to join work (Garbage Cleaning) with their parents/ guardians or even independently rather than sending them to school. Recently few young and energetic people of the community has started to shift in other sectors like driving, teaching mainly within their community schools, financial and government services, trade and commerce, construction etc.

Most of the members of this community spend their leisure time on unproductive works:

Adult and old males - playing cards, gambling, watching television- especially film, and gossiping with neighbours and relatives.

Male children - Playing marble (Guchha), Pool, watching television, etc

Adult Female - Watching television films, gossiping with neighbours and relatives

At present most of the families of this community in Kathmandu valley can save from their earnings. Some of them spend their saving on gambling and playing cards, drinking alcohol, most of them compete in buying luxury items like colour television with more channels, Deck, Cassette player etc, house construction, gold ornaments by the females and so on. Few of them have developed banking habit and have bank balances. Investment in productive sectors is also started by some family members of the garbage cleaner community.

Most of the participants express their dissatisfaction with their traditional job because of neglected position and humiliation in the society by other castes/ethnic groups. On the other hand, some of them express that this occupation is easy in getting job and also generates more earnings. One can find much time to work for more than one place and can earn more in this occupation, which is not possible while adopting other occupation. They express that they should be satisfied with their traditional work.

In general number of children in this community is found high. In other words total fertility rate is high in this community. On the other hand, most of the family members eligible for work (with the age of 10 years and more) go to work. Small kids and siblings of the family are taken care in the following manner:

- Mother goes to work by carrying her baby on her back.
- Elder sister or brother looks after the siblings being absent in their school.
- Sending school or childcare centre (only a small number).

All the participants realise the need of childcare centre but at the same time they also express their bitter experience in the past. The childcare centres were closed in most of the places and some are in a position to be closed mainly due to non-co-operative nature of the community influenced by traditional superstitions.

All participants of each group unanimously accepted that their unity has broken into pieces after the introduction of party politics. The members of this community because of the low level of awareness blindly connect each programme of community welfare with politics and show non-co-operative nature to feel it against their interest. The urgent need is to improve the level of awareness.

6.2.4. Cultural Backwardness

Cultural backwardness is heavily observed in the community. This community is suffering from strong religious superstitions. However, the trend is declining slowly among the youth.

The major share of their earnings after regular food and clothing goes on feast or social gathering rather than on education, health and other productive or useful items, which could improve their social condition. Feasting is their traditional custom, which is usually organised in every event from birth to death like Guthi, Jatra, Bratman (Secret thread wearing ceremony), marriage, funeral etc. They incur heavy expenses in such feasts mainly because of

- Traditional culture which cannot be broken easily even if they dislike
- The feeling of social prestige and competitiveness among the families
- Fear of humiliation in the society or in their community and the tendency to show off high standard
- Social obligation
- Exchange of eatables during festival/function

All participants feel that the expense in feasts is unproductive but feel it beyond their control and cannot leave it due to fear of humiliation in the society. They organise feasts even by taking loan on high interest, but never think to send their children to school.

The proverb 'Parbate Bigriyo Mojale, Newar Bigriyo Bhojale' is appropriate to quote here because the garbage cleaners of Kathmandu valley belong to the Newar community. This indicates that Bhoj (Feast) is one of the major reasons responsible for poor economic condition in Newar society in spite of high income in comparison to other communities.

6.2.5. Level of Awareness

The level of awareness in this community in the past was very low regarding health and education. At present, it is increasing slowly but not sufficient and needs further improvement. The residential area of this community is generally full of dirt in comparison to other communities, though they themselves are garbage cleaners and clean private as well as public buildings, roads, hospitals, temples etc. elsewhere, but never bother to clean their own place. This is the example of lack of awareness about health in this community. Now, the youths of this caste are conscious about health, consequently the residential area as well as their residential building within and outside are clean than in the past. Most of the households have made their own toilets and they use it whatever may be its quality.

Watching as outsiders to this community, it can easily be observed:

- They never care about uniform even if it is available.
- They take dry or semi-dry food without washing hand during work.
- They never put mask and gloves including other safety measures.

Similarly, regarding education all the parents feel that there is no need of any educational qualification to adopt the traditional garbage-cleaning occupation. Consequently, they never recognised the importance of education. They do not think that it is important in their daily life to improve family and society.

Verbally all the participants have refused that there is any discrimination between son and daughter with regard to education, health, work, food, etc. But in practice, daughters are found deprived of the opportunities as compared to their brothers. Generally, daughters have to leave their school willingly or unwillingly to take care of their younger siblings. According to the traditional family attitude, ability to read and write letter is the sufficient level of education for daughters.

6.2.6. Status of Children

There is no uniformity in the percentage of school-going children in each of the area of group discussion. It ranges from lowest 25 percent (Kirtipur) to 97 percent (Tilganga). Majority of the participants viewed that the NFE(Non Formal Education) programme conducted by GEFONT has been able to raise consciousness of the community to send their children to schools. The percentage of school enrolment is increasing remarkably but the educational attainment is not satisfactory up to now and they hope to have improvement in future.

The children do not want to attend school because of discrimination among the students from the garbage cleaner and other community in the classes. According to them, the children of garbage cleaning families are not only humiliated often by their classmates of upper castes but also by the teachers.

All the parents want to send their children to schools, but children do not want to go and parents further do not press them. Among those who do not attend school, some are involved in looking after their younger siblings whereas others are passing the days by playing marble, telcasa, etc all over the day.

Among the school-enrolled children, too, dropout rate of the students of this community is very high, the major reasons behind this high dropout are:

- Early marriage due to influence of films
- Work with parents
- Work independently
- Failure and dislike to repeat the same grade
- Humiliation by classmates and even teachers
- Discrimination in the classes and schools by the teachers
- Doubled or tripled responsibilities such as: to go to school, to take care of household work, to join outside work to earn etc.

Among the various reasons early marriage and easy availability of work are the major reasons for high dropouts. Parents themselves compel their children to leave school when they get appropriate job.

Some of the parents do not want to send their children at school because of almost the same reasons:

- Very low awareness on the importance of education
- Involvement of children in household work
- Wage employment outside the home
- Unable to provide school expenses
- Afraid of humiliation to their children in schools

6.2.7. Attitude Towards the Previous Programs Launched

Most of the members of the garbage cleaner community know about the programmes conducted for their upliftment. They have positive attitude towards the programmes, but they comment it in two ways.

- I. The organisers get money from outside especially from foreign donors, so they execute the programmes for their own benefits
- II. The programme is brought for the betterment of their community

Whatever may be the approach, most of them feel that the programs conducted with the help of various organisations including GEFONT have been beneficial for the upliftment of socio-economic status of the community. The major defect observed among the community people is politicisation of each programme without looking at the objectives and activities of the programmes. Generally, they try to view the programmes with political belief and party-connection of the individuals who come in the front to implement programme and the organisers suffer from non- co-operative nature of the people of other party-connections.

6.2.8. Perception on Development

On the development of the country and their community, the discussion has been of the opinion that outstanding achievements have been seen during the past few

years. People have, now, become more conscious about education and health. Consequently, large number of schools, hospitals, and nursing homes has been opened in the country. Physical infrastructures like transport, communication, electricity, drinking water etc have improved. Industrial and service sector is increasing. The garbage cleaner community is also benefited from such development of the recent years.

6.2.9. Knowledge and Perception About Union of Garbage Cleaners

Most of the garbage cleaners of the Kathmandu valley are aware of the existence of the union, but unionisation is poor. Most of the union members including local level leaders do not know about the rights and responsibilities of the workers. Thus there is an urgent need to provide trade union education in this community.

Chapter VII

Major findings and Recommendations

7.1 Major Findings

Nepal is an agricultural country having poor economic base and diverse topographical situation. The major resources of the country- Human, water and forest are not properly utilised. On the one hand, large number of Nepali people is suffering from unemployment and underemployment, on the other; non-Nepali workers are displacing the Nepali workers both from formal as well as informal sector. GDP growth rate is not much higher than the rate of population growth causing thereby a low pace of development mostly dependent on foreign assistance.

The people of the country are divided into different caste and ethnic groups from upper high-class Brahmin to low and untouchables. The traditional garbage cleaner or broadly known as Poda and Chyame belong to the untouchable and humiliated group of the society.

Child labour is a common phenomenon of Nepali society, which is prevalent both in formal as well as informal sector. Rapid population growth has compelled children to seek employment for the survival of the families to which they belong, even though it is considered undesirable because it has long-term implications on their education, health and human development aspects as a whole. The child labour problem in the country is a serious problem though the 'Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990' protects the rights & interest of children. The government of Nepal also has ratified various conventions related to child right and elimination of child labour. The reason behind the problem of child labour is not only the economic condition of the country, but also the lack of dedication of the concerned government authorities for effective implementation of the labour policies and Acts.

The different estimates of child labour show diverse figures mainly due to the variation in sector of employment, area coverage, methodology used, etc. The national survey (1997) of child labour based on the information obtained from 73 districts of the country estimates that 40 percent children of Nepal were working within and outside their home both in formal and informal sector. The major share was of agricultural sector. Similarly, they work all Seven days without any weekly leave up to 56 hours or more in a week.

The present study is based on primary information obtained from 401 households (40.4% of the estimated households) of the garbage cleaning families located at five urban centres of Kathmandu valley (Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Madhyapur Thimi and Kirtipur). The data and information obtained through the primary survey were further supported and justified by the information obtained from the focussed group discussions organised in six major localities of the garbage cleaners.

- The population recorded is 1863 in the 401 households covered by the survey. Among them, number of females is higher than males with a sex

ratio of 94.1 and average family size of 4.6, both below than the national average.

- The proportion of children below 14 years is 34.3 percent of the total population whereas 3.5 percent of the total population belong to 60 years and above.
- Almost 78 percent (while using the definition of workforce as adopted by the 1991 census) of the total population of the garbage cleaning families is in the labour force.
- The literacy rate in the garbage cleaning families is found high as compared to national average both for male (76.6%) and female (50.3%). But the educational attainment is very low in this community only about 10 and 2 percent have completed secondary (6-10 class) and higher education respectively.
- More than 90 percent garbage cleaners are Hindus, but among Christians and Buddhists, the number of Christians is nearly double than that of Buddhists. From Hindus and Buddhists, people have changed their religion to adopt Christianity in the hope of some economic as well as social opportunities.
- On an average about 56 percent are married. On the contrary of national figure proportion of married male is found higher than of female.
- About 78 percent population of the garbage cleaner families are born in the same Tole where they are residing now, 8.6 percent from another Tole of the same municipality and rest 13.7 percent from other municipality or VDC. Of course, especially female are more in this migrated group.
- Nearly three fourth (72.2%) left their birthplace due to marriage. Altogether 22.2 percent males have also left their birthplace due to marriage where as females are 90 percent in this category. Service is another important reason to leave the birthplace.
- Generally Nepali peoples both children and adult are suffering from communicable diseases and mostly prefer to traditional methods of treatment.
- In total surveyed family, 88 percent have their own toilet and those who have not is due mainly to lack of space as reported.
- Safe drinking water (piped water) is available for more than 85 percent people of this community. Dhungedhara and Kuwa are the secondary sources.
- Garbage cleaner community is rich in traditional culture. They celebrate various festivals and Jatra. Such celebrations take various forms including feast based on high competition, which is one of the superstitious practice of the society.
- Out of the total 1698 population aged 5 years and more, 53 percent are gainfully employed. Number of the female is also almost the same, which is not found in most of the communities. The proportion of student is 33.1%. As reported by the community people, this number has increased in recent years as the outcome of the influence of non-formal education (NFE) programme conducted by the GEFONT.
- Almost all gainfully employed population both male and female from the garbage cleaning families is found involved in their traditional garbage cleaning occupation.
- Slightly less than two thirds are found involved in government offices whereas rest in others- the public, private and self owned.
- Total working hours of the workers of this community is less in comparison to the workers of other sector of work. On the other hand, average earning of the workers of this community is considered better with compare to the workers of other sectors having same qualification.

- Wage and salary is the major source of income of the garbage cleaner families. Trade and commerce and house rent are the subsidiary sources contributing 9.4 percent in the annual income.
- The average per capita annual income of this community is found NRs 17, 216, which is equivalent to US\$ 251 at current buying rate of Nepal Rastra Bank. This indicates that this community is better off than the average Nepali People.
- The major proportion of expenditure goes on regular and daily consumption. Expenditures on festivals and feast constitute a significant proportion. On the contrary, the expenditure on schooling of children and health-care of the family is considerably low (10%).
- Majority of their savings goes on purchase of luxury goods including motorbike, while investment in productive areas is very low.
- One fifth of the surveyed household have taken loan form various institutions and individuals. Data show that this community is still unaware about importance of financial institutions and depends on personal loan paying arbitrarily high interest rate.
- The loan is mostly used on construction and maintenance of houses and also to cover marriage and feast. In addition, loan is also used for emergency Medicare.
- Among the households surveyed, 86.5 percent have their own house and 13.5 percent are on rented rooms. Two-thirds houses have been found on barren land (Ailani).
- Buying electronic goods like television, Deck, Cassette Player has become one of the major measurements of family prestige in the society.
- Almost all people of this community spend their leisure on unproductive and unhealthy activities such as gossiping, gambling, drinking alcohol, taking tobacco etc.
- Most of the respondents feel that there is improvement in all types of urban infrastructure.
- More than three fifth respondent are satisfied with their traditional profession. And further they feel worry about entrance of people from other castes in this profession.
- Out of the 637 children below 14 years of age, 74 percent are in the age group of 5-13 years, where 50.2 percent are girls and 49.8 percent boys.
- Among the children aged 5-13 years, 86.7 percent (89.6% boys and 84.0% girls) are enrolled in schools. However, significant dropout is being observed as the regularity and seriousness is absent caused by caste-based discrimination they face even in the school. This has resulted into a sharp decline in the proportion of students in upper classes in the community.
- The earlier interventions by various NGOs and civil society organisations in favour of formal schooling also could not control the dropout rate as those were based on the wrong notion that poverty is the only cause of Non-schooling of children.
- On the contrary, GEFONT intervention based on formal schooling of children with the package of NFE, Community based off-time tuition, childcare centre and strong awareness building programme for the parents has established different trend. Enrolment was diverted towards private school with conducive-environment in order to boost up their morale. So, the dropout rate has become zero in the case of those children enrolled under this action programme.
- It is observed that the number of children enrolled in private school instead of government school is increasing. The preference of the families to admit their children in private school by spending more is associated also with the hope of better chance to get gainful employment in future.

- Of the total children (5-13 Years), 13.3 percent (10.6 % boys and 16% girls) are not enrolled in formal schooling. Among them, more than half are passing the days as idlers, where as 17.4 percent are involved in paid job outside household and 27 percent at household chores.
- About 7 percent parents have engaged their school-age children in looking after younger siblings whereas 11 percent are at work to earn livelihood. Some of the parents even have engaged the young at work to train them in order to get jobs easily in future.

7.2 Recommendations

- The level of awareness of garbage cleaning community is considerably low mainly because of illiteracy. Thus the situation should be improved through strong & continuous awareness campaign.
- Still the practices of the use of children in looking after younger siblings on the one hand and carrying the young baby by the mother on her back while at work is in continuation. This is based on their superstitious belief prevalent there such as if one baby is fed spare food (such foods considered as jutho and they believe it as common in childcare centres) left by another baby; former one will be attacked by evil spirit. Such beliefs have been the obstacle to operate childcare centres. It can be minimised only through strong awareness campaign in the community.
- Awareness on health and sanitation to the parents is necessary to discourage carrying babies on the back while working and to prevent them from health hazards.
- The percentage of school enrolments has increased remarkably after the introduction of NFE programme but in general the drop out rate among the children especially girls is still high. It is proved by practice that a package of formal schooling of children with the NFE, Community based off-time tuition, childcare centre and strong awareness building programme for the parents can well control the dropout rate.
- In addition, other forms of community support and social reforms would be beneficial to discourage & minimise the extent of child labour problem.
- Worker education especially the trade union education is essential as large number of the garbage cleaners including leaders do not know sufficiently the rights and responsibilities of the workers. Development of practical curriculum and launching trade union education by covering the issues of right to work & right at work, trade union right, CBA, child rights, women & gender issue and the OSH has become an urgent need.
- To encourage organising Garbage Cleaners in the union would be the effective instrument to combat child labour and to initiate remarkable social reforms. Garbage cleaner's union can create conducive atmosphere to carry on the process of change and makes it sustainable.
- Priority should be given to the educated people of this community in government services and socially recognised jobs so as to enhance social reform and discourage the superstitious belief & discrimination.

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Glossary

Ailani Jagga :	Ideal State owned land
Baidya :	Doctor in the Ayurvedic medical tradition
Bhoj :	Feast, party
Bigriyo :	Damaged, broke, spoiled
Brahmin :	The highest of the four caste categories into which Hindu society is traditionally divided.
BrataBandha:	Sacred thread ceremony
Chetries :	The second highest of the four categories into which Hindu Society is traditionally divided
Chyame:	sweeper caste according to Hindu tradition
Damai:	Tailor caste
Dhaami :	Shaman
Dhunge	Stone Tap

Dhara:	
Guthi:	Traditional community based organisation
Guthiyar:	Members of <i>Guthi</i>
Jatra:	Festival
Jhaakri:	A traditional medical practitioner, Shaman
Jharfuk:	Traditional way of treatment by Jhankris & Dhamis
Jutho:	Spare food used by some one
Kami :	Blacksmith
Khalde :	Ditch, pit
Kuwa :	Pound
Pode:	Sweeper caste according to traditional Hindu society
Prasad:	Food items devoted to the God/Goddess and to be distributed among the devotees of God/Goddess who come to worship in the temple
Sang:	With, belongs to
Sarki:	Shoemaker, cobbler caste
Sudra :	The lowest of the four caste categories into which Hindu society is traditionally divided
Telcasa:	A kind of children's game
Terai:	The low-lying plains in the south of Nepal
Vaisya :	The merchant caste according to Hinduism.
Varnas:	The four categories of people in traditional Hindu society loosely referred to as "Castes"