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**Living on Pavement: 'Home' in a homeless situation**  
A reality in *Dhaka*, Bangladesh

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## Summary

Pavement dwelling is part of *floating homelessness*, which has quite a significant existence in developing country like Bangladesh, among the various patterns of *homelessness*. Pavement dwelling is possibly the synthesized outcome of rural, urban poverty and failing of state provision, which is manifested through the number of pavement dwellers (14,999 according to the *Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics*) currently living in *Dhaka* city. This large group of pavement dwellers are beyond any infrastructural framework and are deprived of basic human rights. They can not afford to rent a shelter even in slum or squatter. All these result in living without roof and resource. They are socially excluded and treated inhumanly irrespective of age and sex. Search for gainful livelihood is difficult for them as they are lacking skills and resources.

This research addresses this urban reality of living without home by focusing two areas, the '*nonexistent home*' and the '*survival strategies*' of pavement dwelling, to fulfil the main objectives of this research. The main objectives of this research are to contribute to the livelihood of pavement dweller in *Dhaka* city in Bangladesh, thus the purpose came like an accurate and realistic understanding of the lives of the pavement dwellers. Depending on these, this research attempts to investigate the survival strategies of pavement dwellers in their homeless situation and to search whether the pavement dwellers acquire a "sense of *home*" in their livelihood process as a survival strategy. At the end this research tries to know the role of government and NGOs in the perspective of pavement dwellers.

Since this research seeks to know the unanticipated, it is an exploratory research of pavement dwellers' livelihood in the context of *homelessness*. The research studied mainly selective case in *Green Road, Dhaka*. The primary respondents are pavement dwellers and the secondary respondents are NGO and government personnel. The primary research instruments used are in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation; and documents are used as secondary instrument. The *DFID Sustainable Livelihood Framework* is adopted to formulate the Theoretical Framework of research.

Survival strategies of pavement dwellers were found through the management of their livelihood assets after the identification of their livelihood assets. This research reveals that, although pavement dwellers have limited livelihood assets, they manage to cope with any given situation and to adapt their living pattern according to available resources and limitations by the optimal use of their very limited set of capitals. They gain their basic livelihood earnings as an outcome of social interactions with surrounding peoples by means of employment or charity. And they create a sense of community by exercising intimate mutual relationships among themselves. They have made their survival possible on the pavement because of their livelihood assets, their adaptation, their social relations, their communal living and above all their shelter. Even though their shelter is makeshift, they perceive and use it along with their open pavement as their own *home*. Their sense of *home* is not limited to the basic physical entity, rather extended to the surrounding built environment of their livelihood activities and social relations. Thus the physical asset (shelter) and the social asset (mutual relationship) are the aspects of livelihood framework which constitute their sense of *home*. In their livelihood process, they receive some direct livelihood

assistances from NGOs and indirectly from government too, which all helps to alleviate their poverty level and reduce their vulnerability context.

*Keywords: Pavement dweller, home, homelessness, survival strategy, social relation, livelihood.*

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## Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ASA	Association for Social Advancement
BAWO	Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Wohnungsenhilfe
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BDT	Bangladesh Taka
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere Inc.
CARDO	Centre for Architectural Research and Development Overseas
CUP	Coalition for Urban Poor
CUS	Centre for Urban Studies
DCC	Dhaka City Corporation
DFID	Department of International Development
DMA	Dhaka Megacity Area
FEANTSA	European Federation of National Organizations
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GCP	Gross City Product
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOB	Government of Bangladesh
ICDDR,B	The International Centre for Diarrhoeal Diseases Research
LGED	Local Government Engineering Department
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NIPORT	National Institute of Population and Training
OXFAM	Oxford committee for Famine Relief
PDC	Pavement Dweller Centre
READ	Research Evaluation Associations for Development
SL	Sustainable Livelihoods
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approach
SLF	Sustainable Livelihood Framework
SPARC	Society for Promotion of Area Resource Centre
UN	United Nations
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

*“Car horns blast in the hazy darkness. It is 10 pm. Babu is waiting to make his bed. He points to the bare concrete beneath the stadium’s outer terraces where distorted, headless-looking bodies lie curled in blankets. There are no walls, no doors.*

*‘This is where I sleep’, he says quietly in Bengali.*

*First one floodlight goes out, then another. Only now it is safe for Babu to unfurl the dusty sheets that make his home.”(Adams 2010).*

*Babu*, a boy of only four years old, is one of the thousands of children, men and women live on the pavement in *Dhaka*, the capital of Bangladesh.

This is a scenario of *floating homelessness*<sup>1</sup> in Bangladesh, a South East Asian country. Among the various pattern of homelessness, floating homelessness is quite a significant existence in developing country like Bangladesh. This home is there without any physical entity i.e. home in terms of roof or shelter. But as home is not only confined to a physical entity, rather it has social, cultural, psychological dimensions revealing in the study of Hayward (1976), this research will carry on accepting this urban reality that living without home is a context, where the sense of home is generated possibly to make the livelihood sustainable through some unique survival strategies. This research will address those two areas, the ‘nonexistent home’ and the survival strategies of pavement dwelling. Intervention of government and NGOs in the perspective of pavement dweller will be brought to reveal the role of actors other than pavement dwellers themselves in their survival realm. An in-depth and better understanding of the true scenario will enable practical policy development in the future and that is the purpose of this thesis.

## 1.2 Rationale and Motivation

This research is concerned about pavement dwelling in the context of homelessness in the developing world, and the study area is the capital city *Dhaka*, Bangladesh. Ghafur<sup>2</sup> (2004, p.271) identified the types and extent of homelessness in Bangladesh. According to him, *floating homelessness*, *situated homelessness* and *potential homelessness* are the three types based on the nature

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<sup>1</sup> It is the most visible type of homelessness based on the physical criterion of roofless ness which refers to people living in streets or other public spaces without permanent shelters of their own (Ghafur 2004, p.271).

<sup>2</sup> Ghafur, S. was a researcher from Bangladesh in the project “Homelessness in Developing Countries” (SSR Research No. ESA 343) is UK Department for International Development (DFID) supported project which covered ten developing countries across Asia, Africa and Latin America. Purpose of this research is to improve understanding of homelessness in developing countries, locally and internationally, to enable better policy making. Each of the country report has been carried out by a terms of reference (TOR) developed at the Centre for Architectural Research and Development Overseas (CARDO), Newcastle University upon Tyne (UK). This research is a follow up exercise of an earlier research on homelessness (UNCHS 2000) that is related to the “Global Campaign for Secure Tenure” by the UNCHS (Habitat).

of their residential circumstances. He described the floating homelessness as the extreme form of homelessness based on the physical criterion of rooflessness (Ghafur 2006, p.45). This situation refers where the people live in streets or other public spaces without a permanent shelter of their own, often they are called 'pavement dwellers' or 'street dwellers' or 'destitute' (Ghafur 2006, p.46). Addressing this group as 'Street dwellers', Islam *et al* (1997, p.265) defined them as people who sleep on the streets, railway terminals and platforms, bus stations, parks and open spaces, religious centres, construction sites and around graveyards and other public spaces having no roof. They recognized the street dwellers in *Dhaka* are the poorest of the urban poor. According to Ghafur (2006, p.48), the government of Bangladesh has frequently used the term homeless in different policies and documents but it never defines, counts people within a category of homeless, as a result homelessness remained unexplained and unexamined theoretically and empirically. Ghafur (2006, pp. 51-52) explain the implications of homogeneous representation of homeless people, under which he reveal the exclusion of floating homeless people with an example: when shelter sector try to solve the homelessness in cities as a housing problem, housing policies propose settlement improvement and squatter rehabilitation as interventions, which only serve the situated (slum, squatter etc.) homeless people. Ultimate result is the exclusion of pavement dwellers, though Ministry of Social Welfare intervene for this excluded group which as a consequence isolates floating homeless people from the mainstream as a morally and socially deviant group as 'others'.

Tipple & Speak (2004, p.2) as well try to explain the reason to construct the word 'others' in a different perspective i.e. the negative and exclusionary language used to describe homeless people. Attitude to and intervention in are highlighted in Tipple & Speak (2004) while they raise questions about the way in which governments and NGOs deal with homeless people and finally they suggested to underpin the development of interventions. Their study has undertaken in nine rapidly urbanizing countries (Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, China, Peru, Ghana, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Egypt) and reviewed the attitude towards homeless people comprising the pavement dwellers. They explained the attitude towards pavement dwellers to be vague. They assumed that homeless people, the street homeless people in particular are expected to be mentally ill, but their study found no evidence to support this view, because the street dwellers must be emotionally robust in order to construct the complex strategies by which they survive. Pavement dwellers are perceived to be all transient, constantly wandering with their few possessions due to their extreme insecurity of place which is misleading (Tipple & Speak 2004, p.7) revealed through their study that they live together in stable cluster, in some cases for a considerable time. In case of the perception of 'loner', they brought some example which determined that pavement dweller stay in a group that migrated from same village.

Under the above scenario, it is quite rational to try to increase the understanding of the realities of life on the pavement, which has a good potential not only for changing attitude towards them but also intervene them successfully in both policy and action regime. In the concluding remark, Tipple & Speak (2004, p.12) stated like "*a change in attitudes towards homeless people is required. Action to change attitudes might begin with increasing the understanding of the realities of life on the streets and the worst housing in cities*".

According to Ghafur (2004, p.267) home is a concept, can be varied across culture, social groups, individual and times. He focused on dimensions of home and homelessness. According to him home is not confined to the physical and special area, it has subjective dimensions (social, psychological, affective behavioural issues) too. Like home, homelessness has a physical state and a state of mind, mentioned by Hart & Ben-Yoseph (2005, p. 5). Their study, with an objective of attributing different ways of experiencing home, explains how a condition of placelessness denies the homeless the reality of a social space, which either put them a social space of moral deficiency or makes them socially invisible. Research suggests that homeless people also have home making goals (Kelletha & Moore 2003, p. 127). They argue that some people living on the street value their sense of independence, lone survival while others in the same condition value the social contacts, sharing of resources, knowledge and social care which they can get through the contact with those in similar predicaments. To understand pavement dwelling as a livelihood the survival strategies of pavement dwellers are to be investigated and only by so their aspirations to alleviate existing conditions can be rationally brought to a practical development policy.

### 1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of this research are to contribute to the livelihood of pavement dweller in *Dhaka* city in Bangladesh by a comprehensive understanding of the reality. Depending on these, this research attempts:

- To investigate the survival strategies of pavement dwellers in their homeless situation and to search whether the pavement dwellers acquire a “sense of *home*” in their livelihood process, as a survival strategy and finally to address the role of government (both positive and negative way) and NGOs in the perspective of pavement dwellers.

### 1.4 Problem Statement

The urban population of Bangladesh is estimated at over 24 million people (UN-HABITAT 2005, p.13) which are 25% of total population (over 130 million) in country. Metropolitan *Dhaka* is the largest urban area. This country has experienced one of the highest urban population growth rates in the last three decades, at more than 6% per year, which compares with a national population growth rate of about 1.5% per year (Perry *et al* 2007 cited in Uddin *et al*, p. 386). Employment, shelter and basic services accessible to the growing number of urban poor have become a major socio-economic and policy issue in Bangladesh (Islam *et al*. 1997, p.265). Pavement dwellers are among the most deprived people in urban areas in terms of living conditions, access to basic facilities and health indicators (NIPORT 1994, Thwin & Jaha 1996, Alamgir *et al*. 2000, Ray *et al*. 2001, NIPORT 2004<sup>3</sup>). Pavement dwelling in *Dhaka* is perhaps a synthesized outcome of shear urban poverty and failing of state provisions. Here economic development has been a catalyst for increased rural to urban migration;

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<sup>3</sup> These are reports (except one article) published by key health research institutions of Bangladesh, where the referred statement is found common for pavement dwellers.

simultaneously the structural adjustment policies have resulted in the deregulation and privatization of urban services and housing sector.

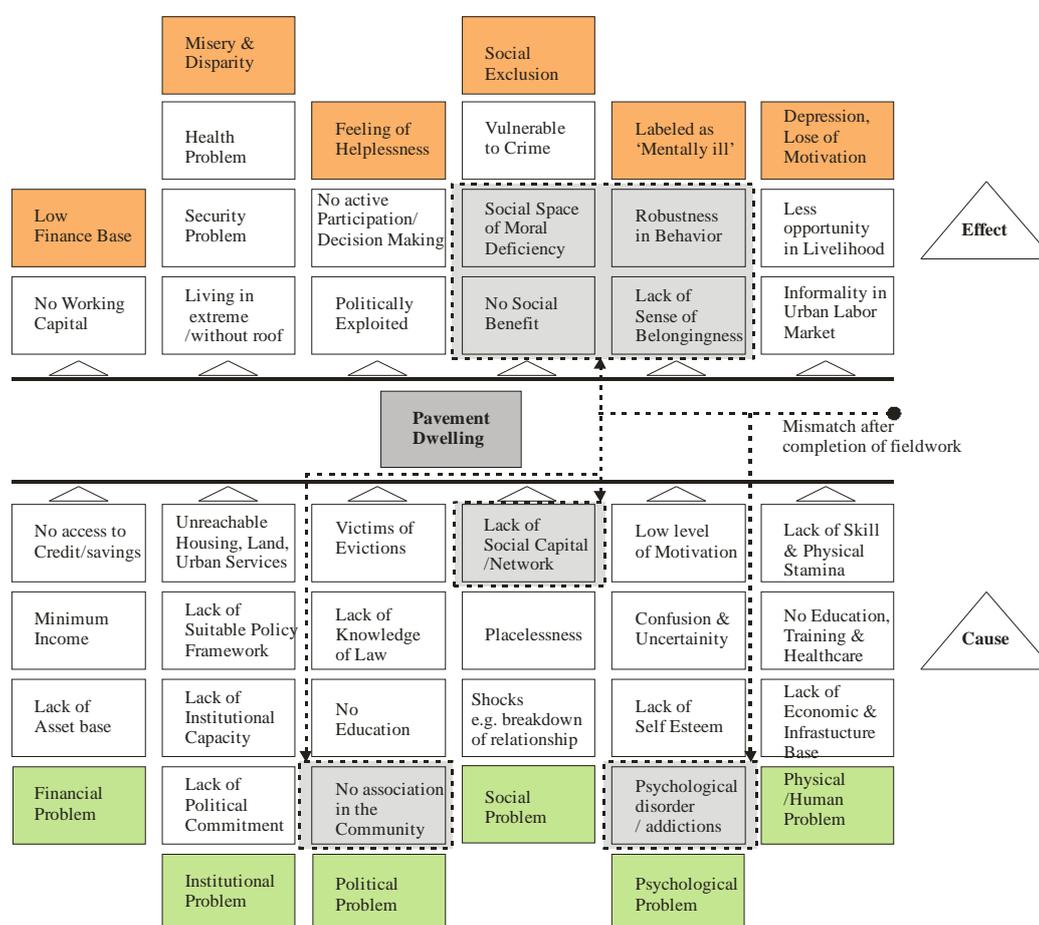
According to BBS (1999, p. 191) the number of pavement dweller in *Dhaka* city is 14,999. In the absence of well-established formal land and housing markets in cities in Bangladesh, informal sector has been playing the major role to supply the housing needs of a vast majority of urban low income population (Ghafur 2002, p.7). Unfortunately these pavement dwellers could not be covered by the informal sector housing lacking their financial ability to rent a shelter in slum or squatter. The result is manifold. The primary consequence is a state without roof and resource which affect pavement dwellers more than any others. Society in Bengali life imposes a homogeneous identity on people living in the pavement, based on prejudices and class consciousness (Ghafur 2004, p. 272). They are socially excluded and treated inhumanly irrespective of age and sex. The lack of social identity obstructs them from access to jobs, education and healthcare. Search for gainful livelihood is impossible as they are lacking skills and resources. As a result their earnings opportunities are fewer and lower-paid than those available to squatters and slum-dwellers.

Surviving on the street and making a living day after day result in a lot of mental stress and ill health (Mamun 2001, p.17). The apparent poor mental state is compounded by their poor physical health due to their lack of regular nutritious food intake.

Pavement dwellers are not only victim of social exclusion but also political exclusions as Ghafur (2002, p. 45) stated “...*homeless people...the poorest of the poor-in Bangladesh are generally excluded from all forms of social and political participation and benefiting from basic civic amenities*”. Edgar and Meert (2005, pp.14-15), while presenting a typology of homelessness based on exclusion on three domains-physical, legal and social; put the “*rough sleeping*” among the seven categories of their western typologies which conform the above three states. This “*rough sleeping*” is similar to pavement dwellers in developing countries and can be attributed by these three domains of exclusions.

Based on the previous discussion with the help of a number of literature reviews the statement of problem is prepared in form of a tree in the following. The causes and effects are presented in the problem tree are not linear rather interrelated, though it is presented in linear form for simplicity of model.

**Figure 1.1: Problem Tree with causes and effects**



## 1.5 Research questions and Scope of Research

Question no. 1. How do the pavement dwellers manage their livelihood assets to survive on pavement?

Question no. 2. What is the “sense of *home*” to the pavement dwellers, which aspects of livelihood framework give them “sense of *home*” and how do they feel that?

Question no. 3. How do pavement dwellers interact with the government and NGOs in improving lives and how is their role perceived by pavement dwellers?

This is an exploratory research with the aim of exploring pavement dwelling in context of homelessness in *Dhaka* city, emphasizing the survival strategies of pavement dwellers in their livelihood process.

The first section of this research will address some theories in literature and the second section will be the field research, where the findings from in depth interview and observations will be analyzed with the help of the theories and concepts stated in the literature review.

An in depth understanding of home, homelessness and homeless people is perceived to be the very first area of investigation to fulfil the objective of this research. Then the focus on theory will be more concentrated on the sustainable livelihood framework to answer correctly the first research question asked. The notions of home by the pavement dweller in their livelihood will be examined as the answer of the second research question while synthesizing and analyzing the survival strategies.

As pavement dwellers are not the sole actors of their living, passive actors like government and NGOs are significant issues in their livelihood; this research will finally address the interaction of pavement dwellers with the government and NGOs to progress their existing situation through its third research question.

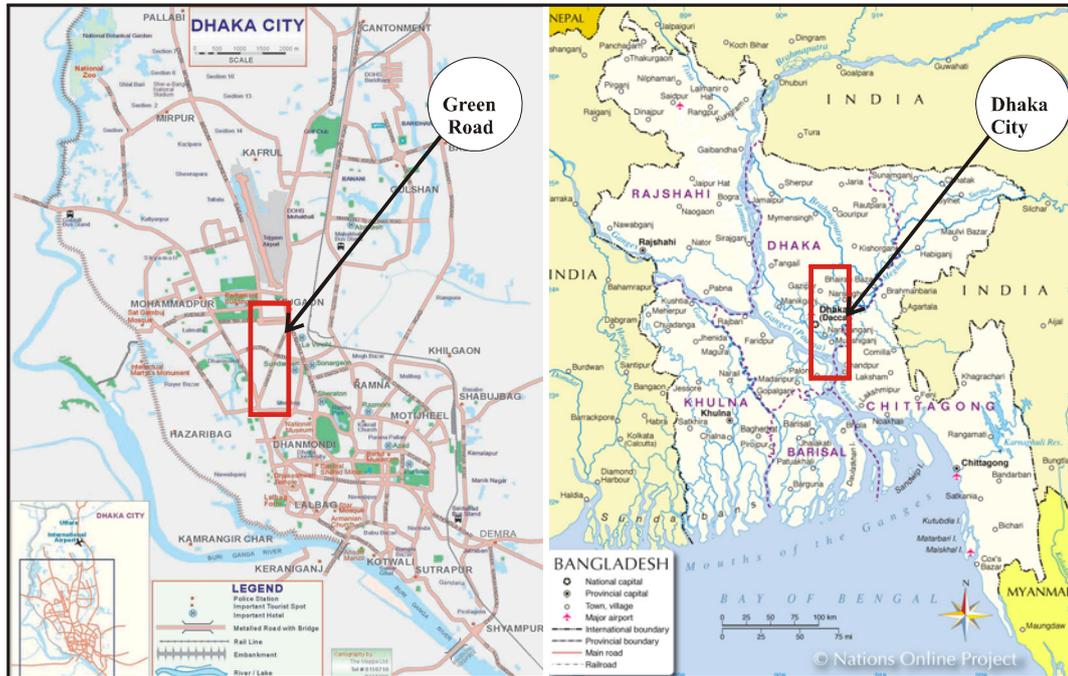
## 1.6 Operationalization of Terms

**Table 1.1: Operationalization of Variables**

Variables	Operational definition
Home	Home is physically, psychologically and socially constructed in both real and ideal forms (Someville 1992, p. 532).
Sense of home	Home is simultaneously concrete and abstract and the <i>sense of home</i> has both its tangible (physical environment) and non-tangible (non-environmental issues such as identity) aspects (Rapoport 1995, pp.27-28).
Livelihood Vulnerability	Insecurity and sensitivity impeding well-being for individuals, households and communities in a changing environment (economic, social, political) and their responsiveness and resilience efforts to risks during that time (Moser 1998, p.3).
Livelihood capital	Capabilities and assets at disposal and activities pursued or required for a means of living or in response to socio-economic stresses and shocks, which is not totally consumed in use (Rakodi 2002, p.10).
Survival Strategy	The range of adjustments made by households in response to internal and external factors to survive at the same time level or attain upward mobility (Lingam 2005, p.16).
Adaptive mechanism	Strategic management of complex asset portfolios for income-raising, consumption modification and “strategy-sequencing”, intended to meet up immediate and future needs and respond to shocks and stresses in changing circumstances (Moser 1998, p.16).
Institution	Formal and informal, public and private structures and arrangements that influence, govern and transform how individual and societies interact (Rakodi 2002, p.15).

## 1.7 Research area

Figure 1.2: Study area: (a) Identifying *Green road* in *Dhaka* city map, (b) Identifying *Dhaka* city in Bangladesh map.



(a)

(b)

Source: Dhaka City Corporation (DCC)

The study area selected here is *Dhaka*, the capital city of Bangladesh. *Dhaka* is one of the oldest major cities in South Asia. As located centrally in the country (fig. 1.2a), the city has been enjoying most of the physical, economic and social advantages and has thus been receiving primary impulses for its steady growth. *Dhaka* has experienced an extremely rapid growth in its population in the recent decades. Much of the growth has taken place due to in-migration of the rural people, especially the poor. Other contributing factors are natural growth of population and annexation of new areas the existing city limit. The estimated population of *Dhaka* mega city (greater *Dhaka*) and Dhaka City Corporation (DCC)<sup>4</sup> at present (march 2005) would be 12 million and 6.7 million respectively (Islam 2005, p.12).

Mega city gross city product, GCP, (3 billion US dollars) was no less than 12% of the national GDP (924 million US dollars) although the population share was less than 6% at that time (Islam 1996, p.16).

Though *Dhaka* has been one of the fastest growing major cities of the world for the last three decades it is possibly the world's poorest and most ruralized mega city with per capita annual income of only about Tk. 35,000 (US \$ 550). (2000,

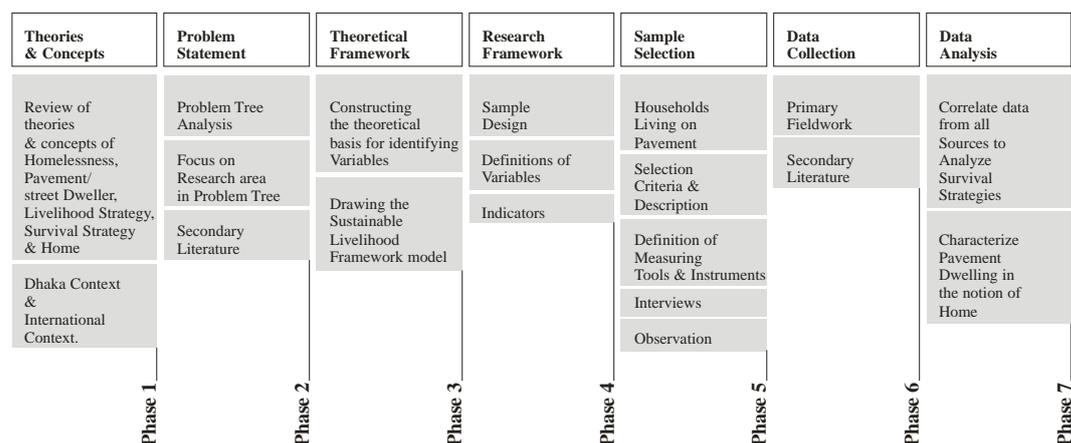
<sup>4</sup> DCC is the largest and the most visible and important local government within the Dhaka Mega city limits. It holds and performs various responsibilities under the departments of Establishment, Urban Planning, Engineering, Revenue, Health, Estate, Social Welfare and Cultural, Accounts, Store and Purchase, Internal Audit, Law, Public Relation, Transport, Conservatory and Slum Improvement (DCC 2004, pp.3-13).

DCC) (Islam 2005, p. 28). The city has one of the highest levels of illiteracy, one of the lowest levels of consumption, motorized vehicles and other utility services per capita. It is also a poorly managed city (*ibid.* p. 2). Most of the new or recent poor migrants get shelter only in the existing slums or develop their own squatter settlements. Some live as pavement dwellers. According to a current ongoing CUS study, about 3 million people (or about 37 % of the present population) of DMA area may be considered to be living in slums and squatter settlements (CUS 2005).

*Green road*, a mix used area with residential, commercial, educational and business activities, is under the jurisdiction of Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) zone number 5<sup>5</sup>. A substantial number of pavement dwellers<sup>6</sup> are observed living in this busy area. The rationalization for selecting the study area (*Green Road*) will be discussed in chapter 3(section 3.4), given that pavement dwellers are scattered all over *Dhaka* city.

## 1.8 Research design

Figure 1.3: Phases of research



<sup>5</sup> The DCC administrative set-up is decentralized into ten Zonal Offices each headed by a Zonal Officer (DCC 2004, p.6).

<sup>6</sup> Total pavement dwellers in *Green Road* area is 648 comprising adult male 125, adult female 247, child male 140 and child female 136 (information collected by researcher personally from 'Partner Agencies Liaison Officer' *Mr. Suvashish Karmakar*, *Concern Worldwide, Bangladesh* from "*Amrao Manush*" project dealing with pavement dwellers of *Dhaka* city).

## Chapter 2: Literature review

### 2.1 Introduction

The literature review in this chapter has been done focusing on the objectives of this research i.e. to understand the livelihoods of pavement dwellers. It is felt very necessary to have a clear and comprehensive understanding of a set of theoretical concepts like home, homelessness and sustainable livelihood which are diverse but correlated. This research tries to combine them to fulfil its aim. It starts with identifying the pavement dwellers in a holistic perspective. Studying and analyzing thoroughly the *homelessness* and the *typology of homeless people*, not only in the country of study area (Bangladesh), but also worldwide literature on it created a sound knowledge base about pavement dwellers. Then the concept of *home* came in response to the investigation about pavement dwellers' notion of *home* in homelessness context. To examine the research questions in light of knowledge base of *home* and *homelessness*, the concept of *sustainable livelihood* brought in. The *sustainable livelihood framework* presented next as an analysing tool of livelihood. This literature ends up with some examples of intervention for homeless people by government and NGOs keeping in mind that their role has significant influence in homeless peoples' survival. Finally after a brief summary of literature review, a *theoretical framework* for this research is constructed.

### 2.2 Homelessness and the typology of homeless people

Homelessness is as wide as multidimensional because by the numerous perspective it is defined, being defined and will be defined in the literature over time in respect of different circumstances, culture and countries. One of the strong notified perspective in the literature is the context of developed and developing country. While exploring the ways in which the process of homemaking and the goal of home may form a route to belonging for disadvantages group, Kelletta & Moore (2003, pp. 124-125), stated that literature within the developed world focuses mainly on incidence, support, management and prevention of urban homelessness which is linked to a wider set of debates on sub-standard housing, health, family and social problems in a variety of settings such as street, hostels and squats while the housing and homelessness within a developing world context has not intended to explore the more complex meanings and use of home, other than a form of physical shelter. 'Homelessness' and 'the homeless' are frequently used in the literature on housing in developing countries but they tend to be freely applied as to be meaningless (Tipple & Speak 2009, p. xi). Under this context, definition and counting are the fundamental task to making policy and framing interventions. If homelessness were defined very widely to include anyone with substandard housing, or lacking in water and sanitation services, or sharing with others not in their household, perhaps half the population would be included in many countries. On the other hand, if only street sleepers were counted, the figure will be reduced to be only few thousands in each country.

As this study is concern solely on the pavement dwellers, the search for the definition of homelessness and the typology of homelessness is basically for identifying this group in different definitions and typologies provided by different organizations and persons. While defining different groups in homeless people, a

variety of title like ‘street sleepers’, ‘pavement dwellers’, ‘rough sleepers’ etc are given to describe the homeless people those live in the street.

Two concepts which underpin an understanding of homelessness are the citizenship and human rights, in which this literature review will shed light too, but not in a very elaborate way.

*“There are as many classifications and definitions of homelessness as there are different points of view. A definition of homelessness might refer to a special housing situation, to special minimum standard, to the duration and frequency of a stay without shelter, to lifestyle questions, to the use of the welfare system and to the being part of a certain group of the population, to the risk of becoming houseless and to the possibility to move or not if desired”* (Springer 2000, p.479).

A quality oriented definition has been developed by the European Federation of National Organizations working with the homeless (FEANTSA). They have used a fourfold classification of housing situation which can be used to define the condition of homelessness:

- Rooflessness (sleeping rough)
- Houselessness (living in institutions and short-term ‘guest’ accommodation)
- Insecure accommodation
- Inferior of substandard housing

(Daly 1994 cited in Tipple & Speak 2009, p. 50)

The Economic and Social Council of United Nations discussed on the definition of ‘homelessness’. According to them, one way of defining homelessness is to characterize it narrowly in terms of roof, shelter and houselessness though such definitions are inadequate. In developing countries, the most commonly used definitions of homelessness recognize that an element of social exclusion is part of the experience of the homeless, underlining that *“homelessness carries implications of belonging nowhere rather than simply having nowhere to sleep”* (UN 2005, p. 6). The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (1999) describes that definitions of homelessness usually focus on five conditions. They are:

- Living on the street
- Living in crisis or refuge accommodation
- Living in temporary arrangements without security of tenure, for example, moving between the residences of friends or relatives, living in squats, caravans or improvised dwellings, or living in boarding houses
- Living in unsafe family circumstances, for example, families in which child abuse or domestic violence is a threat or has occurred
- Living on very low incomes and facing extraordinary expenses or personal crisis.

(The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 1999 cited in MaIntosh & Phillips 2000, p.2)

Beyond these definitions, typology is another way to understanding homelessness and identifying the pavement dwellers. Research shows that homelessness has been given in the western world, especially in the last few decades and from there many different typologies of homelessness have emerged (UNCHS 2001). Such typologies were developed on the basis of house quality (FEANTSA 1999), the

relative degree of homelessness (Cooper 1995), the level of risk homeless people face (BAWO 1999) and the length of time for which a person has been homeless (Hertzberg 1992) (Cited as Ghafur 2004, p. 270).

In Austria the 'Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Wohnungsenhilfe' (BAWO) defines risk of potential for homelessness as follows:

- *Potential homelessness* includes those where the housing loss is not imminent but may be approaching because inadequate housing or income.
- *Imminent homelessness* concerns those who are threatened with the loss of their current abode, who are incapable of keeping it or who cannot provide a replacement for themselves.
- *Acute homelessness* includes living in the streets, in buildings meant for demolition, subway tunnels, railway wagons, in asylums, emergency shelters, institutions, inns and pensions and people evicted from their former residence, staying with friends or relatives and living in housing that is an acute health hazard.

(Tipple & Speak 2009, p.60)

Hertzberg (1992) took the approach for making typology the way in which homeless people themselves would classify their situation. Her approach comprised of an understanding of the lived experience of homelessness in the United States. She offers three groups of homeless people: teeterers, resisters and accommodators which are defined by their characteristics, the length of time they have been homeless and their perceptions of their homelessness. It suggests that 'teeterers' are undecided to homelessness, 'resisters' are fighting against it and 'accomodators' have accepted it (Hertzberg 1992, pp.150-151).

**Table 2.1: Hertzberg's threefold classification of homeless people**

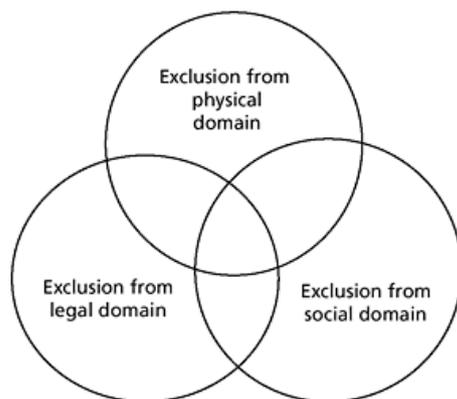
Characteristics	Resistors	Teeterers	Accomodators
Length of Homelessness	Brief (2-4 years)	Longer (4-10 years)	Long-term (10+ years)
Attitude to condition	Fighting against	Ambivalent	Accepting
Staying where?	Inside	Most outside	Outside
Reason for homelessness	Not own decision	Not own decision	Some own decision
Desire for home education	Most want	Some want	Few want
Literate	National average	Most	Half
Severe family dysfunction	Some	Almost all	Most
View childhood positively	Almost all	Most	Almost none
Desire for own place	Almost all	Soma	Few
Realistic hopes for the future	Most	Few	None

**Source: Hertzberg (1992)**

Based on exclusion, Edgar and Meert (2005) give a typology of homelessness. They talk about exclusion from three domains: physical, legal and social (fig.2.1). The physical domain meant here is the adequate and appropriate physical

dwelling. The social domain speaks about to the privacy and development of social relations. The legal domain describes the security and legal title. They have presented seven theoretical types of homelessness, across three major domains, ranging from rough sleeping to living within a physically adequate but legally adequate dwelling.

**Figure 2.1: Domains of Exclusion**



**Source: Edgar and Meert (2005, p.14)**

Speak (2004) tries to categorize homeless people not by their shelter situation but by the degree of choice they have over that situation and by how they exercise that choice in relation to improving other aspects of their lives. Her typology based on the CARDO<sup>7</sup> study where she suggests three categories of homelessness: supplementary, survival and crisis. Each has arrived at this state of homelessness via a different route (Speak 2004, p.470).

### **2.3 Home**

Home is quite difficult to define. It has many attributes and levels of meaning, but at its centre it is a complex system of ordered relations with place that orientates us in space, in time and in society. At one level, it is concerned with the domestic spaces and activities of everyday life and simultaneously it has broader dimensions that relate to issues of identity, economic and social positions (Kellett and Moore 2003, p.127).

The concept “Home” varies across cultures, social groups, individuals and time. It also embodies many ideas such as comfort, belonging, identity and security. Different definitions could be addressed in literature. One of the earliest explanations of home is given by Hayward (1976) and this has been used for as a basis for further definitional updates (Lawrence 1987, Despres 1991). Despres (1991) distinguishes ten characteristics of home:

- Permanence and continuity
- Centre for family relationships

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<sup>7</sup> Centre for Architectural Research and development Overseas, Newcastle upon Tyne (UK) , where the research of understanding of homelessness in developing countries has been carried out and funded by DFID (ESCOR Project: R7905).

- Security and control
- Mirror of personal views
- Influence and place for change
- Retreat from the surrounding world
- Personal status indicator
- Centre for activity
- Concrete structure and
- A place to own

These studies reveal that the meaning of “home” is not confined to the physical-spatial realm. They argued that the subjective dimension makes a house or a shelter a home. Social, psychological, affective behavioural issues are emphasized in the subjective interpretation of home.

On the other hand, Habraken (1998, p.3) uses “social agreement” and Rapoport (1969, p.48) presents it as a product of socio-cultural components in combination. Further thoughts have given in the context specific research (Benjamin 1995 & Kent 1995) in a fast changing world while allowing for the so called “homeless” or “poor” people’s views. Kellett and Moore (2003, p.216) stress the need to examine the context of homelessness in the “*wider process of home-making and belonging in society*”. Writers such as Dovey (1985), Somerville (1992), Watson and Auserberry (1986) and Kellett and Moore (2003) have explored the meaning of home and homelessness in depth (Cited as Tipple & Speak 2009, p.2).

According to Dovey (1985 cited in Tipple & Speak 2009, p. 4), home can be defined as a relationship between people and a place as he stated “*an emotionally based and meaningful relationship between dwellers and their dwelling places*”. From the qualitative evidence in Colombia, Kellett and Moore (2003) suggest that the owning some tangible structure called home, no matter how poorly constructed it may be, is very important for a household’s security, freedom, autonomy, well-being and opportunity. Their research suggests that homeless people also have home-making goals and evaluate qualities of home in their temporary accommodation. In this regards Moore et al. (1995) have demonstrated that people living on the street, despite the lack of physical comforts, many make sense out of their situation through pride in their lone survival, while others value the social contacts, sharing resources, knowledge and social care which they can gain through contact with those in similar predicaments (Cited as Kellett and Moore 2003, pp. 127-128). Dordick (1997) stresses the importance of the social context in her study of homelessness in New York but she underestimates the role of physical environment in shaping improvised survival as she says: “*Homelessness encourages a process in which personal relationships are mobilized in the production of what the physical environment fails to provide: a safe and secure place to live*” (Dordick 1997, p.193).

Home is “*physically, psychologically and socially constructed in both ‘real’ and ‘ideal’ forms. It is where we construct and manage our relationship with the physical and social worlds. It represents not only how we live but who we are*” (Somerville 1992, p. 530). He also discuss about the multi-dimensional nature of the meaning of home and its converse, homelessness. Seven key signifiers of home are presented in his research: shelter, hearth, heart, privacy, roots, abode and

paradise. In addition, the connotations that home have for dwellers (warmth, love etc.), the nature of the security they give (physiological, emotional etc.) and how these affect them in relation to themselves (relaxation, happiness etc.) and others (homeliness, stability etc.). Homelessness is the condition that represents the opposite of these, expressed in connotations of coldness, indifference etc., presenting stress, misery, alienation and instability (Somerville 1992, pp. 532-534).

While discussing both Despres (1991) and Somerville (1992)'s approach, Tipple & Speak (2009, p.4) argue that 'home' as a place where a person is able to establish meaningful social relations with others through entertaining them his/her own space, where the person is withdraw from such relationships. According to them, home is "a *should be*" place where a person is able to define the space as their own, where they are able to control its form and shape and this may be through control of activities and of defining their privacy in terms of access to their space.

Home is simultaneously concrete and abstract as the *sense of home* has both its tangible (physical environment) and non-tangible (non-environmental issues such as identity) aspects (Rapoport 1995, pp.27-28). This multi dimensional concept is also interpreted in terms of feelings and emotions, practices, as a 'state of being' and 'sense of place'. Rapoport also saw the home in a perspective of interpretation of relation between individual and society and mediated by sets of affiliations including family, community, government, education, employment, religion and recreation. Collectively, these affiliations define and are defined by the 'duties and claims', 'rights and obligations' and the 'social status and role of persons and groups'. They influence self, social and place identities and shapes how the concept of home is interpreted in specific situations in a given time. So, in this way, image of home depends on the insider or outsiders' view- on actual persons experiencing or evaluating it (Rapoport 1995, p.28). However, home is also about expression. In many languages e.g. Spanish or French, 'home' and 'house' are alike and carried similar meaning (*ibid*, p. 56). Thus, the *sense of home* is relative, not absolute.

#### **2.4 Homelessness in Bangladesh**

As Ghafur (2004) says, it is difficult to set a single criterion for homelessness in Bangladesh. In this country context, to live in a public space without a roof over one's head which is the physical perspective, should not be the only way of defining homelessness. *From a social perspective, people can be homeless even when living in a legitimate shelter for reasons beyond their control. Loss of identity instead of, or in addition to, loss of shelter contributes to a given individual's or group's perception of homelessness* (Ghafur 2006, p.45).

Ghafur (2004) gave a prelude of the studies of homelessness in Bangladesh before developing a typology of homelessness. According to him homeless people in Bangladesh are usually referred to as 'the floating population' or 'rootless people' (Ghafur 2004, p.269). The Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) defined 'floating population' as "*The mobile and vagrant category of rootless people who have no permanent dwelling units, however bad and who are found in the census night.....in the railway station, launch ghats (water transport terminals), bus stations, hat-bazaar (market places), mazar (shrines), the staircases of public/*

*government buildings, open spaces etc.*” (BBS 1999, p.4). In this definition rootlessness<sup>8</sup> is the central concept with rooflessness<sup>9</sup> and resourcelessness<sup>10</sup>. Some studies including surveys or research approaches are carried out in Bangladesh, either academic or commissioned research (Siddiqui et al. 1990, Rahman 1993, ADB-GOB-LGED 1996, Begum 1997, READ 2000). They didn’t analyze much beyond the physical criteria of rooflessness. Analysis on homelessness in Bangladesh, rooflessness i.e., people living in public outdoor or indoor spaces, specially in streets without shelter has been taken as the primary basis for understanding and enumerating homelessness (Ghafur 2004, p.270). Thus the social perspective has remained almost unexplored. During the discussion about the categories of homelessness, Ghafur (2004) pointed a very important fact that not all pavement-dwellers are homeless; they might have homes in their ancestral villages, which they usually visit periodically.

ADB-GOB-LGED (1996) presented a classification of homeless people in Bangladesh by the nature of their residential circumstances: slums and squatter settlements; servants living in upper or middle-class residences; floating population; garment workers living outside the slums and squatter settlements; people living in industrial buildings; people living in shopping areas, construction sites, *katcha bazaars* and on trucks/push-carts/rickshaw vans and other vehicles; and poor families living outside the slum settlements in various arrangements (ADB-GOB-LGED 1996, p.20). In summary three types of urban homelessness have been identified in Bangladesh by Ghafur (2004) based on residential circumstances. They are, floating homelessness, situated homelessness and potential homelessness. This study is only concerned about the floating homelessness as pavement dwellers are in this group. Floating homelessness is the most visible type and is based on the physical criterion of rooflessness. It refers to people living in the streets or other public spaces without permanent shelters of their own. Floating homeless people are often pavement dwellers, street dwellers or destitute (Ghafur 2004, p. 271).

## 2.5 Sustainable livelihood

The definition of ‘livelihood’ has been extensively discussed by academics and development practitioners (Chambers & Conway 1992; Bernstein 1992; Carney 1998; Ellis 1998; Batterbury 2001; Francis 2000; 2002; Rakodi 2002). Livelihood is about the ways and means of *making a living*. Wallman (1984, cited in Anon 2010) in the early 1980s approached livelihoods as always more than just a matter of finding or making shelter, transacting money and preparing food to put on the table or exchange in the market place. This is equally a matter of the ownership and circulation of information; the management of social relationship; the affirmation of personal significance and group identity; and the inter relation of each of this tasks to other. All these tasks which are productive together constitute a livelihood. According to Wallman (1984), livelihood is an umbrella concept,

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<sup>8</sup> The loss of the identity, privacy, comfort and protection given by a home (Ghafur 2004, p.269).

<sup>9</sup> The loss of shelter from the elements (*ibid*, p.269).

<sup>10</sup> The loss of resources that severely affect one’s ability to earn, learn and live for a long time (*ibid*, p. 269).

which suggests that social life is layered. These layers overlap both in the way people talk about them and the way they should be analyzed. The most widely accepted definition of livelihood came from the work of Chambers and Conway which states that “*a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for means of living*. On the other hand Ellis suggests a definition of livelihood as *the activities, the assets and the access that jointly determine the living gained by an individual or household*” (Anon 2010). The *Brundtland Commission*<sup>11</sup> Report of 1987 offered the first appearance in policy debate, which was conceptualized later as Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLA). This report brought in the sustainable development firmly on the global political agenda and defined sustainable development as: development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It contains within it two key concepts. One, the concepts of ‘needs’, in particular the essential needs of the world’s poor, to which the propriety should be given and two, the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment’s ability to meet present and future needs (Solesbury 2003, p.4).

The origination of sustainable livelihood as a concept is widely attributed to Robert Chambers at the Institute of Development Studies. In Chambers and Conway (1992), they offered a working definition of sustainable livelihood (SL) which is very much similar with the definition adopted by DFID. It says that “*a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living; a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets; and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long-term*” (Chambers & Conway 1992, p. 7). In this paper, they criticized much previous analysis of production, employment and income as industrial and reductionist, which do not capture the complex and diverse realities of most rural life (*ibid*: p.4).

The search for SLA’s nature is strengthened by some other research. Of them ‘asset vulnerability framework’ presented by Moser (1998) by categorizing the asset of the urban poor. This study was a shift from considering what poor people do not have to what they have. It focuses on their assets both tangible assets, such as labour and human capital, less familiar productive assets, such as housing, as well as intangible assets, such as household relations and social capital (Moser 1998, p.1). It tends to see how the poor manages asset portfolios for their survival. Here the poor themselves are considered managers of complex asset portfolios and the central assumption being the more assets people command in the right mix, the greater their capacity to protect themselves from external shocks. The research was conducted to see how the five assets (labour, human capital, productive assets, household relations, social capital) are used by the poor in their survival process. Moser also discuss about the fundamentals of vulnerability, asset portfolio, coping strategy and capacity to manage assets. While illustrating how

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<sup>11</sup> Created by United Nations in 1983 to address growing concerns about the deterioration of human environment and natural resources and their consequences for economic and social development.

poor households manage their portfolios, she raised a number of critical questions: “*What risk do poor households take in order to withstand long-term economic crisis, without irreversible damage to their net asset position? Under the condition of prolonged uncertainty, how do household diversify their assets, minimize vulnerability and prevent asset erosion? Finally, are some assets more finite than others? At what stage are assets so depleted that even an upturn in the economy cannot reverse the damage-in other words what are the implications for households when all ‘capital is cashed in’?*” (*ibid*: p.26)

Rakodi (2002) drawing the references from Chambers and Conway (1992) and Carney (1998) to throw light on the definitions of livelihood. A livelihood approach is the conceptual framework developed for analyzing, understanding and managing the complexity of livelihoods, enabling complementarities and trade-off between alternative supporting activities to be assessed and providing a basis for identifying policy objectives (Carney 1998 cited in Rakodi 2002, p.4).

## **2.6 Organizational roots of livelihood approaches**

Sustainable livelihood approaches are not linked to any single organizational type, moreover they have developed within research institute e.g. the Institute of Development Studies, NGOs e.g. CARE and Oxfam and donors like DFID and UNDP (Ashley & Carney 1999, p. 5). CARE’s livelihood approach is flexible enough to address constraints that are context specific and is considered to be sufficiently inclusive to address the challenge of large scale poverty. It is basically a framework developed for programming, to cut-cross its development initiatives supporting issues like promotion, protection and provisioning of livelihoods for households (Carney 1999, p. 4). Oxfam took the definition of SL from Chambers and Conway (1992) and afterwards DFID developed Sustainable Livelihood Framework depending on Oxfam’s concept. Oxfam strengthen the issue that sustainability needs to be looked at from several perspectives including economic (e.g. functioning of markets, credit supply); social (networks, gender equity); institutional (capacity building, access to services and technology, political freedom) and ecological (quality and availability of natural resources) (*ibid*: p.11).

UNDP addressed the livelihoods as the means, activities, entitlements and assets by which people make a living while the assets here are defined as natural/biological (i.e. land, water, common property resources, flora and fauna); social (i.e. community, family, networks); political (i.e. participation, empowerment-seldom included in ‘social’ category); human (i.e. education, labor, health, nutrition); physical (i.e. roads, clinics, markets, schools, bridges); and economic (i.e. jobs, savings, credit) (*ibid*: p.14).

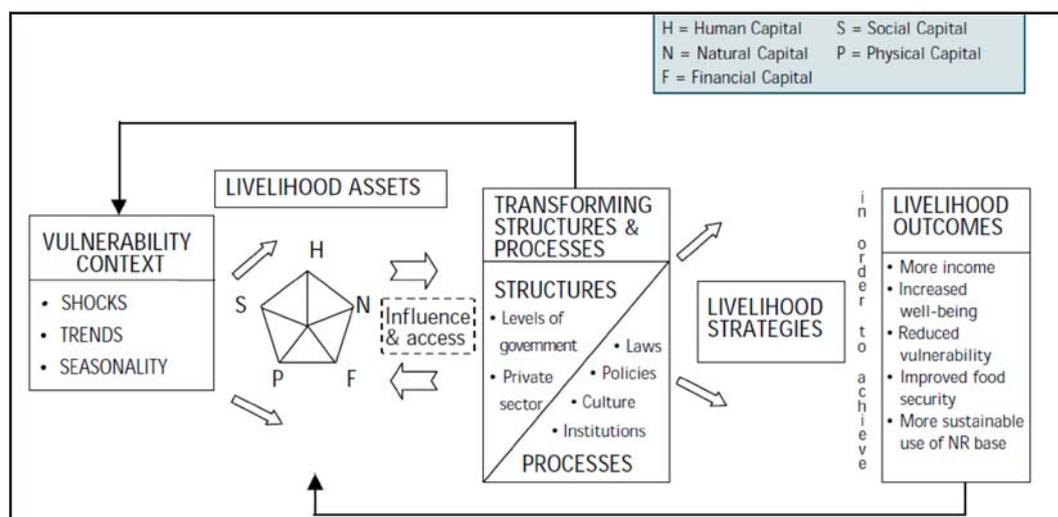
DFID put importance to livelihoods of capital assets. It presents five main category of capital assets: natural (resource stocks, from which livelihoods are derived; e.g. land, water, wildlife, biodiversity, environmental resources); social (networks, membership of groups, relationship of trust, access to wider social institution upon which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods); physical (basic infrastructure, i.e. transport, shelter, water, energy and communications and the production equipment and means); human ( skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health, important to the ability to pursue different strategies) and financial (resources which are available to people, i.e. savings, supplies of credit

or regular remittances or pensions and which provide them with different livelihood options) (*ibid*: p.8).

## 2.7 DFID Sustainable Livelihood Framework (DFID 1999)<sup>12</sup>

The original idea behind DFID’s SL approach was to increase its effectiveness for poverty reduction. The framework is designed to figuring out a set of core principles in the programming of its activities to ensure that these correspond to the issues/areas of direct relevance for improving poor people’s livelihoods. The framework (figure 2.2) is originally people-centred. Its primary objective is to help identify the factors affecting livelihoods, their relative importance and the way they engage with each other. As livelihoods are shaped by a number of different forces and factors that are also themselves constantly shifting and changing, the analysis therefore commences with simultaneous investigation into people’s assets, their objectives (livelihood outcomes which they seek for), and the livelihood strategies (which they adopt to achieve these objectives). And precisely because of its systematic nature (discusses context, assets and strategies in a non-linear yet cohesive manner.

**Figure 2.2: DFID Sustainable Livelihood Framework (DFID SLF)**



**Source: DFID (1999)**

In this livelihood framework, the vulnerability context represents the overall external environment in which people live (DFID 1999, p.22). People’s livelihoods and their access to and control of resources can be formed by events largely beyond their control. For example, population-growth trends, macro-economic trends and policies, availability of natural resource, politics both internal and international, dynamics of technology, sudden shocks or events such as health issues, earthquakes, floods, droughts, conflict or war, agricultural problems such as pests and diseases, inflation and seasonal vulnerability of prices, production, employment opportunities or health can exert impact on livelihoods (Chambers and Conway 1992). Culture and household dynamics can also

<sup>12</sup> This section is written in the light of *DFID Sustainable Guidance Sheets (1999)* which is composed of 8 sections (sec1, pp.1-10; sec2, pp.1-26; sec 3, pp.1-12; sec 4-1, pp. 1-14; sec 4-2, pp. 1-12; sec 5, pp. 1-16; sec 6, pp. 1-18 & sec 7, pp. 1-24).

contribute to risk and vulnerability as discussed by Cahn (2002, p.3). All the trends listed here are not cause vulnerability. For example economic indicators can move in positive directions, diseases can be eradicated and new technologies may prove valuable to the destitute.

**Table 2.2: Vulnerability context: example of trends, shocks and seasonality**

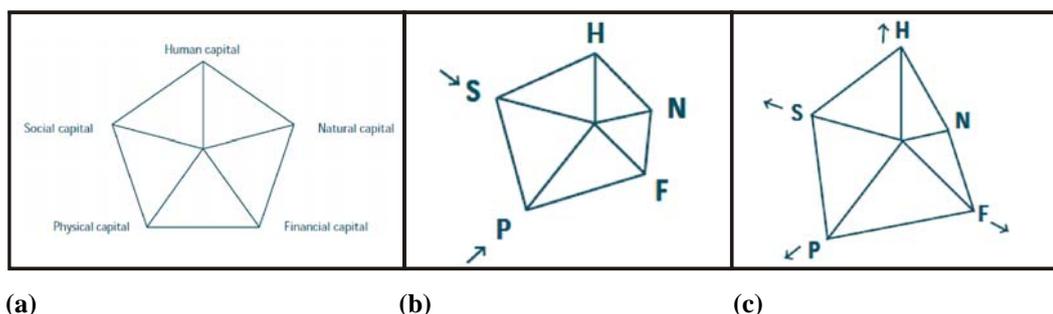
Trends	Shocks	Seasonality
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Population trends</li> <li>• Resource trends (including conflict)</li> <li>• National/ international economic trends</li> <li>• Trends in governance (also politics)</li> <li>• Technological trends</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Human health shocks</li> <li>• Natural shocks</li> <li>• Economic shocks</li> <li>• Conflict</li> <li>• Crop/livestock health shocks</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Of prices</li> <li>• Of production</li> <li>• Of health</li> <li>• Of employment opportunities</li> </ul>

**Source: DFID (1999)**

The use of the concept of vulnerability addresses the series of influences that are directly or indirectly responsible for many of the hardships faced mostly by the poorest in a society. It is common for them to be in a vicious circle. Because, on the one hand, the inherent fragility of poor people’s livelihoods makes them unable to cope with stresses, while on the other, it also makes them less able to manipulate or influence their environment to reduce those stresses. As a result, their vulnerability increases gradually and even when trends move in the positive or favouring direction and the poorest remain unable to benefit because they lack assets and strong institutions working for them.

The livelihoods approach is concerned first and primary around people. It seeks to realize not only an accurate and realistic understanding of people’s strengths (the assets/capital they possess) but also how they go about their livelihoods to convert these into livelihoods outcomes. No single asset on its own is sufficient enough to yield the desired livelihood outcomes that people seek. This is particularly true for people whose access to any given category of assets tends to be very limited and that make them seek for alternative assets, to combine in creative ways to make it up for the limitation to ensure survival.

**Figure 2.3: Different shaped pentagons showing changes in access to assets: (a) Pentagon with all assets used equally (more ideal), (b) & (c) Deformed pentagon with asymmetric asset usage (more practical)**



**Source: DFID (1999)**

The asset pentagon lies at the core of the livelihoods framework (figure 2.3) contained within the vulnerability context. This pentagon is developed to provide information about people’s assets/capital graphically. It is presenting interrelationships between the various assets. The shape of the pentagon can be used to show schematically the extent of people’s access to five assets. The idea is that the centre points of the pentagon, where the lines intersect, represent zero

access to assets while the outermost ring represents maximum access. On this basis, different shaped pentagons could be drawn for the different social groups or households. As asset management change constantly, the pentagon configuration changes accordingly (b & c). At this point, it is important to incorporate a time dimension into the analysis of assets; to cover the effect time has on livelihoods as well as to make the model more comprehensive.

**Box 2.1: Livelihood capitals by DFID**

**Human Capital:** The labour resources available to households, which have both quantitative and qualitative dimensions. The former refer to the number of household members and time available to engage in income earning activities. Qualitative aspects refer to the levels of education and skills and the health status of household members.

**Social and political capital:** The social resources (networks, membership of groups, relationships of trust and reciprocity, access to wider institutions of society) on which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods.

**Physical Capital:** Physical or produced capital is the basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water, energy, communications) and the production equipment and means which enable people to pursue their livelihoods.

**Financial Capital:** The financial resources available to people (including savings, credit, remittances and pensions) which provide them with different livelihood options.

**Natural Capital:** The natural resources stocks from which resources flows useful to livelihoods are derived, including land, water and other environmental resources, especially common pool resources.

Source: Rakodi (2002, p. 11)

**2.7 Critique on Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA)**

SLF has been criticized for undermining the importance of some critical factors. It represents the reality and complexity of livelihood systems in a simple and logical way and by doing so, the relative importance of some other factors and the relationships between the factors are lost in the framework is assumed. Though, these depend on the perspective and experience of the user. There are a number critical issues rose by several researchers and users as SLF’s drawbacks:

- Poor people’s livelihood is also determined by *mental capital*. It is the mood that makes the difference in efficiency, social interaction, emotional responses and judgement of life. The factors and changes on the socio-economic position, neighbourhood context, social capital and other circumstances surrounding the individual or household influenced by the level of mental capital (Arnot 1999).
- The role of local government, power and rights to understand “*how people relate to the institutional environment, where power lies and how and why change takes place*”, this could be termed as political capital for people’s livelihood (Rakodi 2004, p. 69).
- Violence and growing sense of insecurity affect the overall *well-being* of the poor (Moser 2004, p.3), as violence and insecurity directly affect the livelihoods of the vulnerable groups in the society. It must make its way explicitly into SLA framework. Conflicts of interest are also not sufficiently acknowledged in SLF (Murray 2001, p. 7).

- A three dimensional framework, with the third dimension representing time could facilitate a positive change to the overall outcome of the assessment. Which is impossible within a two dimensional framework. It is important to calculate the historical trends affecting the livelihoods over the years (DFID 1999, section 3, p.8).
- Flexible design and openness to change makes the SLF adaptable to diverse local settings and groups. Hence it makes the outcome more subjective to analyze (Kollmair and Gamper 2002, p.8).

## 2.8 Interventions for homeless people

It has been seen at a number of different levels. At one level, they include interventions to include the housing market in order to address the housing shortage underpinning much of the problem in developing countries. At other levels, they include policy addressing welfare support and the legal context of the homeless population and those facing, or who are already victims of, major trauma such as eviction and disaster.

### Box 2.2: Intervention in homelessness

*Intervention in homelessness is probably as old as the recognition that there were homeless people in society; the major religious creeds enjoin assisting those who are destitute and without a home. In the modern era early accommodation-led responses to destitute and homelessness, such as workhouses in the UK (Driver 2004), tended to be punitive. They emphasized the need for homeless people to mend their ways and adopt conventionality respectable lifestyles. As these harsh institutions were phased out in the post-Second World War welfare state, the emphasis of policy turned away from housing. Assistance for homeless people through the 1950s and 1960s tended to be through the welfare ministries or departments of local authorities rather than housing departments. The film “Cathy Come Home”, screened in the UK Housing (Homeless Persons) Act of 1977 shifted responsibility away from welfare services and onto housing departments. However, the idea that some households were more deserving than others was enshrined in the legislation (Neale 1997).*

Source: Tipple & Speak (2009, p. 235)

But in current practices, in many developing countries, traditional social systems have catered for anyone who became destitute or lost their home. Family values, neighbourly relations, obligations under Islamic social structures, etc (Tipple & Speak 2009) have all been important to make sure that no one was left without assistance. As it is difficult to interfere directly with social networks, it is possible to restore the physical and fiscal contexts in which they thrived. Government and NGOs are currently trying to intervene in the way which can reinforce surviving traditional safety nets. They also trying to reintroduce, if possible, those that have recently disappeared could help vulnerable people to survive without other help. *For example, the family house culture can be encouraged by banking practices which enabling joint-owners and owners-in-common to raise capital together for maintenance, by planning regulations that allow incremental building of large structures, and by inheritance laws which protects family loyalties. Similarly, the family itself can be protected and enhanced by laws governing taxation, marriage and divorce, and assistance with children’s health, education and subsistence (ibid p. 236).* As this research is focused on the pavement dwellers/street dwellers, following are some interventions regarding on this group only.

**Night shelters:** UNCHS (2001) features interventions in North America in which people are protected from freezing to death in winter. Shelters specifically designed for destitute people have been considered in only a few of the countries in the CARDO survey and developed only in Bangladesh, India and South Africa. In India, local authorities for HUDCO have provided night shelters for major cities like New Delhi, but they have not been very popular. The main concern seems to be about personal security, location, lack of storage, sharing with other castes, having to separate household members by gender and very poor hygiene standards (Garg 1999 cited in Tipple & Speak 2009, p. 240). As he stated, in winter, local authorities in New Delhi provide large tents as emergency night shelters to prevent people dying from hypothermia and cold-related illness.

Shelters are provided by NGOs in many cities in the developing world. In many cases this seems more popular, partly because they are clean and occupants have a stake in how they are run. For example, “*Ashray Adhikar Abhiyan run several shelters near Old Delhi in which rules and modes of operation are agreed with the clientele. In Kolkata, the Lutheran World Service and Ramakrishna Mission have shelters and Mother Teresa’s Nirmal Hriday provides shelter for the destitute*” (Bannerjee Das 2002 cited in Tipple & Speak 2009, p. 240).

**Assisted returns to rural areas:** There have been several institutionalized attempts to encourage or force homeless people to return to the rural areas from where they migrated. For example, repatriation stations were used in China to send mangliu/ sanwurenyuan back to their places of registration before August 2003 and many millions of people passed through them (Li 2002 cited in Tipple & Speak 2009).

In Bangladesh several program was launched by different institution including public and private, with varying success, to address the landlessness and destitution, the long-term causes of homelessness. One of them is the Adarsha Gram (Ideal Village) Project which establishes cluster villages on state owned *khas* land or on *char*<sup>13</sup> land, to help households who have lost their land through river erosion. Recipients are involved in establishing homesteads and community facilities, including latrines, kitchens, tube wells and community centres. The target is to establish 1,104 Adarsha Grams for 45,647 homeless households (Ghafur 2002, pp. 75-80). The similar Asrayan (shelter) Program promotes shelter and socio-economic development for homeless households where housing is provided in barracks, each accommodating ten dwellings of 21 square meters, with only basic servicing. It is intended that 50,000 homeless households will receive 0.8 acres of *khas* homestead land, in the joint ownership of wife and husband and micro-credit for income-generation activities (*ibid*).

**Food distribution:** Some interventions with homeless people are survivalist in objective. Because they attempt to keep people alive and well rather than move them out of homelessness. Like some night shelters, food distribution is in this vein. It has long conditioned by religious groups and other NGOs-so much that the ‘soup-kitchen’ or ‘soup-run’ is a regular part of the popular conception of homeless people’s lives. In New Delhi, street dwellers can be found, early in the

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<sup>13</sup> Land formed from river delta and deposits.

morning, lining the pavement edge on a highway near the Red Fort awaiting the food distribution (Tipple & Speak 2009, p. 242).

### Box 2.3: Successful NGO intervention

*Pavement dwellers are among the poorest of India's urban poor and undeniably among the most vulnerable. When SPARC (Society for Promotion of Area Resource Centre) started its activities in 1984, staffs were clear that the pavement dwellers should be the central focus of their work. The first grant that SPARC received allowed them to start talking with women pavement dwellers, providing them with a better understanding of their experiences and perspectives. The group with which SPARC started their work was living in an area of Bombay called Byculla, and they were in constant danger of having their homes demolished by the Bombay Municipal Corporation. SPARC did not have any solution to the problems of these people. What they provided was a space (an area resource centre) for women to meet together and discuss their problems. Initially very modest open-ended funds were sought to simply enable staff to explore these possibilities.*

*For the first three years, SPARC worked directly with women pavement dwellers in Byculla. Together, they sought an organizational form that invested knowledge into women's collectives rather than male leaders. New teaching and learning strategies were developed along with new ways of undertaking research. Most importantly, SPARC assisted in the setting up of an organization of women's collectives known as "Mahila Milan" (women Together), decentralized groups of women pavement and slum dwellers who come together around savings and credit activities. SPARC did everything possible to help the women explore how to break their isolation from the rest of the city. New strategies and tools were developed that are still in use today. These include an enumeration of residents, the sharing of stories, dialogue to resolve community divisions or disagreements, credit and savings and house construction. The women pavement dwellers worked out these strategies for themselves and the logic of these processes is very much the logic of the informal city dweller. From a joint investigation on pavement dwellers in the city of Bombay (later renamed Mumbai), SPARC and pavement dwellers from Byculla developed a methodology for gathering socio-economic statistics and life histories. This led to the creation of an information base on the pavement dwellers (published as "We the invisible") and established within SPARC a new way of creating knowledge in partnership with people.*

*Although SPARC has moved on considerably in their work, the pavement dwellers have remained at the centre of all activities. The pavements form the context where all strategies for change are designed and tested. The leaders of the pavement settlements have become the main trainers for Mahila Milan and the National Slum Dwellers Federation. Both these organizations now work with many other groups of the urban poor but the perspectives and experiences of the pavement dwellers remain central to their activities.*

Source: Patel & Mitlin (2001, p. 2-3)

## 2.9 Summary of literature review

This section will provide a brief summary of literature review as a prelude for developing a theoretical framework for this research. *Homelessness* was the very first study area here. While discussing the typology of homelessness, study reveals that western typologies and developing country typologies are quite different. Nevertheless, pavement dwellers are identified in both typologies with different terminologies. And some significant characteristics reveals through this terminologies, e.g. 'rooflessness', 'sleeping rough' and 'living on the street' which speaks itself about the living conditions of pavement dwellers.

To understand the *homelessness* through the survival process for pavement dwellers, the concept of *home* has been brought next. Study shows that *home* is multidimensional concept with various definitions and meanings given from different perspectives. Some of them are highlighted below:

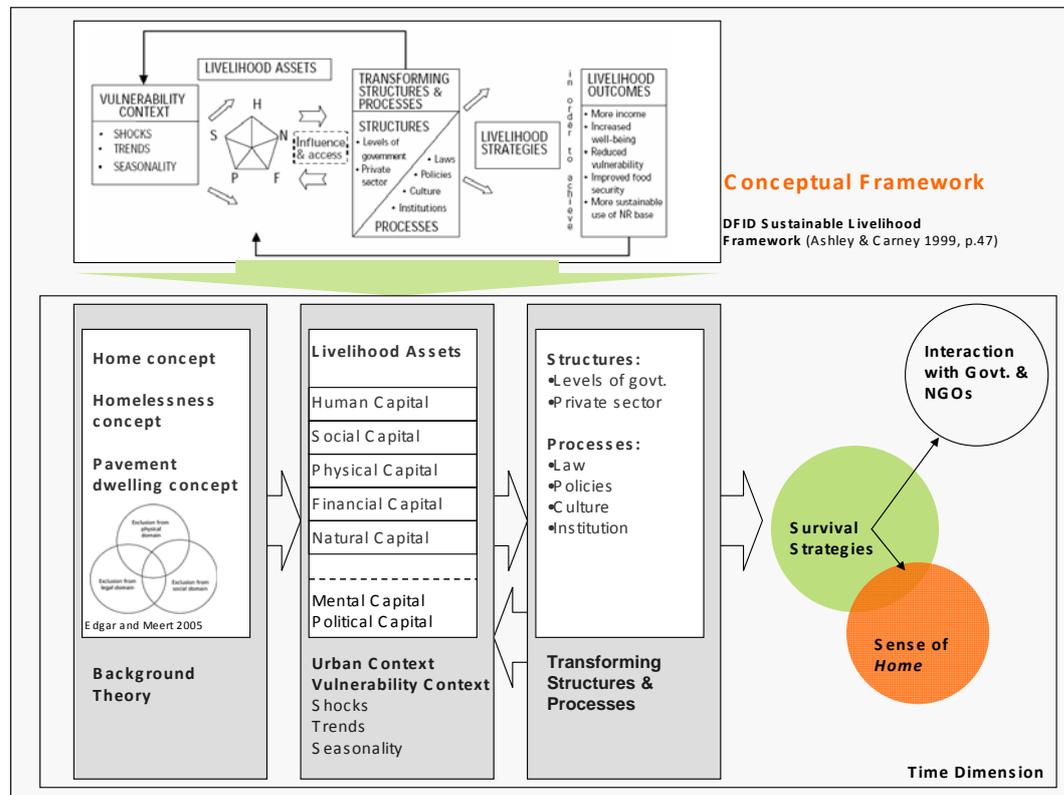
- It is concerned with the domestic spaces and activities of everyday life.
- It is related to issues of identity, economic and social positions.

- It varies across cultures, social groups, individuals and times.
- It is not confined to the physical-spatial realm.
- *Sense of home* has both its tangible and non-tangible aspects.

*Homelessness* in Bangladesh (study area) is discussed next and it is identified that pavement dwellers in Bangladesh is under the type of ‘floating homelessness’. The concept *sustainable livelihood* has been discussed elaborately with definitions of ‘sustainable’ and ‘livelihood’. Livelihood expressed in the literature as the ways and means of making a living which is coincided to this research aim and which could be analyzed through the livelihood assets stated in the *DFID Sustainable Livelihood Framework*. Then *DFID Sustainable Livelihood Framework* studied in detail which afterwards adopted as a theoretical framework.

## 2.10 Theoretical Framework

Figure 2.4: Theoretical framework



Source: Researcher, based on DFID (1999)

## Chapter 3: Research Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the detailed methodology of the research. At first, it describes the research objectives and research questions<sup>14</sup>. Then it derives the sub-research questions depending on the elaboration of research questions made. Research type and research instruments come next. After a brief outlines on sampling, next section tries to illustrate the indicators to measure the variables derived from sub-research questions. A detailed discussion on data collection experiences with limitations and the procedures for overcoming those follows next which is very significant for this research. Then validity and reliability of data are discussed. Finally this chapter will end with explaining the method adopted in this research to analyze data.

### 3.2 Research objectives and Research Questions

As stated earlier, the main objectives of this research is *“To investigate the survival strategies of pavement dwellers in their homeless situation and to search whether the pavement dwellers acquire a “sense of home” in their livelihood process, as a survival strategy and finally to address the role of government (both positive and negative way) and NGOs in the perspective of pavement dwellers.”* There are three distinct parts in these objectives which are correlated. In light of these objectives three research questions has been developed, which are corresponding to the three parts of objectives:

**Part 1:** *“To investigate the survival strategies of pavement dwellers in their homeless situation”* which could be investigated through the research question number one, “How do the pavement dwellers manage their livelihood assets to survive on pavement?”

*Pavement*<sup>15</sup> is not a place for living, nevertheless pavement dwellers are living there. This reveals that poor people managed to survive on a place though it is not suitable for living. The primary aim of this question is to understand the livelihood process of these people as their survival is quite unique. Like Moser’s (1998, p.21) research, *“Identifying what the poor have, rather than what they do not have, focuses on their assets...”*, this question seeks to reveal pavement dwellers’ asset portfolio management. To seek the answer, this question has been broken down into three sub-research questions, which are developed in light of the theoretical review:

- *What is the context of pavement dwelling?*

The aim is to understand the physical, social and legal situation. (Corresponding theory: chapter 2, section 2.2)

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<sup>14</sup> Chapter one stated the research objectives and research questions without discussion.

<sup>15</sup> *Pavement* may refer to road surface (the durable surfacing of roads and walkways), sidewalk (a walkway along the side of a road), pavement (architecture, a floor-like stone or tile structure) etc (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pavement>).

- *What are the assets they have to live in their context and how do they use it over the life span of their livelihood?*

This question intends to identify of assets they have, with investigation on access to and control on assets. (Corresponding theory: chapter 2, sections 2.5, 2.6, 2.7)

- *What are the challenges they have in their livelihood?*

This refers to the vulnerability context made by the natural and man-made factors which the pavement dwellers have to face to survive on pavement. (Corresponding theory: chapter 2, sections 2.5, 2.6, 2.7)

**Part 2:** *“To search whether the pavement dwellers acquire a “sense of home” in their livelihood process, as a survival strategy”* which could be revealed by answering the research question number two, “What is the “sense of home” to the pavement dwellers, which aspects of livelihood framework give them “sense of home” and how do they feel that?”

The basic idea in this question is to explore the meaning of “home” for pavement dwellers. Living/sleeping in a place for several years/days may generate belongingness irrespective of the characteristics and context of that place and this belongingness could be a major part of survival mechanism. While analysing the asset portfolio/asset management for the first research question, a careful attention will be given for searching experience for “home” by conforming the checklist of tangible and intangible characteristics of “home” (Rapoport 1995, pp.27-28). Finally pinpointing the characteristics in livelihood framework may accomplish the answer of this research question. For effective operationalization, this question has been broken down into two sub-research questions below:

- What are the aspects of “home” of pavement dwellers?
- While managing asset portfolio what are the experiences of “home”?

**Part 3:** *“To address the role of government (both positive and negative way) and NGOs in the perspective of pavement dwellers.”* which may possible only through searching the interaction between them, so the research question number three is “How do pavement dwellers interact with the government and NGOs in improving lives and how is their role perceived by pavement dwellers?”

The intension of this question is to investigate whether the govt. is helping them in their survival or acting as hindrance against their livelihood on pavement which could only be sorted out by asking them if they face any problem/ assistance in their daily livelihood activities from govt. If the government has some assisting/ non assisting/ preventive policy for them, how they react those policy –expected to be revealed through this question. On the other hand, the presence of NGOs in the realm of this pavement dwelling is significant given that their objective is assisting (example in chapter 2, section 2.8). But the aim here is by asking them whether the pavement dwellers feel this assistance really helpful or not to continue their survival and what are the expectations they have. Following two sub-research questions are constructed to full fill the aim:

- What is the relationship between pavement dwellers and NGO?
- What is the relationship between pavement dwellers and Government?

### 3.3 Research type and research instruments

This research is exploratory as it seeks to look into the context of homelessness, with reference to specific cases of pavement dwellers' livelihood approaches to disclose the unanticipated. It is a case studies which mainly looking at selective case of pavement dwellers in the *Green Road, Dhaka*. To perform this exploratory research a number of instruments are applied for greater validity, which are followings:

- **In-depth interviews/ thematic semi-structured interviews:** Information was gathered from here are mostly qualitative.
- **Focus group discussion (FGD):** It is a socially oriented tool to capture real-life qualitative data. It was conducted in a participatory social environment in the presence of a small group. The basic idea is to collect information that is more difficult to be discussed in a normal interview.
- **Participant Observation:** It was comprised of different levels from only observing to spending time with the respondents for days. The basic intention was throughout the interaction to share as intimately as possible in the life and activities of the people under observation.
- **Field notes, photographs, especially videos** as supporting documents.
- **Secondary source** from documents (reports/ publications etc).

### 3.4 Research population and sampling

The research population here is the pavement dwellers and the sample is the number of respondents which is eight pavement dwellers from *Green Road* area. The respondents in this research are very small in number. Because the key notion for this research is to investigate each case from a very close-by situation to bring out unique characteristics rather than quantifying facts, which is time consuming. A bigger sample size would not allow me to make in-depth interviews of my respondents within this very short (only 4 weeks) period of field work because it is difficult to get in touch with such a vulnerable group<sup>16</sup>. Hence, a small number of respondents were *purposively* selected with the implementation of *snowballing* to represent pavement dwellers from various categories<sup>17</sup>. Among my eight research respondents, six are female and two are male. The higher number of female samples is mainly caused by their higher ratio in the research population.

In addition to these eight respondents, four respondents from NGOs and one respondent<sup>18</sup> from government are selected purposively as supplementary respondents. The additional five respondents are termed in this research as secondary respondents.

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<sup>16</sup> Section 3.6 (Data collection and experiences) in this chapter explains why this group is vulnerable as a research respondents.

<sup>17</sup> See footnote 6.

<sup>18</sup> He has been transferred to other place within the timeframe of this research. He was a Chief Slum Development, Social Welfare and Cultural Officer in Dhaka City Corporation (DCC), Government of Bangladesh (GOB). He was also working as a Project Coordinator, DCC-Amrao Manush Project.

**Research area selection:** The *case study area* here is *Green Road* in *Dhaka*, Bangladesh<sup>19</sup>. Though pavement dwellers are not limited only in this area, rather scattered all over the city, the followings are some reasons behind selecting this as study area:

- The familiarity of this place for a long period of time to researcher as a significant pavement dwellers' presence.
- As *Green Road* is one of the busiest and diversified mix used area (commercial, residential, educational and business), it was expected that a diverse characteristics of pavement dwelling will be revealed.
- *Green Road* is under the catchments area of an ongoing project (*Amrao Manush*, "We are human too") conducted by *Dhaka city Corporation*, *CONCERN Worldwide-Bangladesh*<sup>20</sup> (NGO) and *SAJIDA Foundation*<sup>21</sup>, *Bangladesh* (NGO), dealing with pavement dwellers of Dhaka city. Hence, this area could be an appropriate case study to investigate the interaction with government and NGOs.
- It is observed that a stable form of pavement dwelling exists in *Green Road* for long time which is convenient and feasible for doing research with such vulnerable groups. Moreover this area could be potential for further continuation/ extension of this research as pavement dwellers here are quite settled and be likely to continue their livelihood in *Green road*.

### 3.5 Variables and indicators

**Table 3.1: Variables and indicators**

Research question	Sub-research question	Variables	Indicators	Instruments
1. How do the pavement dwellers manage their livelihood assets to survive on the pavement?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is the context (physical, social &amp; legal, Edgar and Meert 2005) of pavement dwelling?</li> <li>• What are the assets (low to high, DFID 1999) they have to live in their context and how do they use it (asset management, Moser 1998) over the life span of their livelihood?</li> <li>• What are the challenges (DFID 1999) they have in their livelihood?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vulnerability Context, structure &amp; processes</li> </ul>	<p><b>Social context of city</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social network, structure &amp; tradition</li> <li>• Safety &amp; crime</li> </ul> <p><b>The urban economy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Market: income source</li> <li>• No. of household members earning</li> <li>• Formal/informal sector activities</li> </ul> <p><b>Environment &amp; health</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Location of living spaces</li> <li>• Access to infrastructures</li> <li>• Working environments/ type of employment (formal or informal)</li> <li>• Natural calamity</li> </ul>	<p><b>Qualitative</b> <b>Quantitative</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In depth Interview</li> <li>• Focus group discussion</li> <li>• Participant observation</li> <li>• Document</li> </ul>

<sup>19</sup> Chapter two (section 1.7) have an overview of case study area.

<sup>20</sup> An Irish based organization that funding the project "Amrao Manush (we are human too)".

<sup>21</sup> Project Implementing partner agency for the project, "Amrao Manush (we are human too)".

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Capital Assets</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Affordability to medical services</li> </ul> <p><b>Governance</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Legal status: constitutional rights</li> <li>• Basic social services (health, education)</li> <li>• Financial services (e.g. bank)</li> </ul> <p><b>Others</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gender</li> <li>• Cast or ethnicity</li> </ul> <p><b>Human Capital</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Education</li> <li>• Health</li> <li>• Skills &amp; labor</li> </ul> <p><b>Social Capital</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Networks &amp; mutual support between households and communities</li> <li>• Relation between poor and non poor</li> </ul> <p><b>Physical Capital</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Housing</li> <li>• Public infrastructure</li> </ul> <p><b>Financial Capital</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Income</li> <li>• Employment</li> <li>• Credit</li> </ul> <p><b>Natural Capital</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Land, vegetation , weather, water body</li> <li>• Common property resources</li> </ul>	
<p>2. What is the “sense of <i>home</i>” for pavement dwellers, which aspects of the livelihood framework give them a “sense of <i>home</i>” and how do they feel that?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the aspects (tangible &amp; intangible, Rapoport 1995) of “<i>home</i>” of pavement dwellers?</li> <li>• While managing asset portfolio (Moser 1998) what are the experiences of “<i>home</i>”?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Home</li> </ul>	<p><b>Tangible aspects</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Physical environment (built)</li> <li>• Material expression (architecture)</li> <li>• Behavior (use of space)</li> </ul> <p><b>Intangible aspects</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sense of security &amp; comfort</li> <li>• Identity</li> <li>• Individual/residential biography (place of birth, history)</li> <li>• Daily household activities</li> <li>• Interpersonal relationship</li> <li>• Hope</li> </ul>	<p><b>Qualitative</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Observation</li> <li>• In depth Interview</li> <li>• Focus group discussion</li> <li>• Document</li> </ul>

<p>3. How do pavement dwellers interact with the govt. &amp; NGOs in improving lives and how is their role perceived by pavement dwellers?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is the relationship between pavement dwellers and NGO?</li> <li>• What is the relationship between pavement dwellers and Government?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Awareness of policies, acceptance/ rejection of policies</li> <li>• Participation of policy making</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>Qualitative</u></b> <b><u>Quantitative</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In depth Interview</li> <li>• Focus group discussion</li> <li>• Document</li> </ul>
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### 3.6 Data Collection and Experiences: Limitations and overcomings

On-field data collection is crucial for this research, which mostly depended on the existing situation and the nature of setting. Some limitations were felt while conducting the field work. Although with limitations, all the instruments (discussed in section 3.3) were applied successfully in fieldwork. The following detail descriptions of data collection procedures could explain the strategies adopted to overcome those limitations.

- **Means of contact:** Reaching to my target group (pavement dwellers) for data collection in *Green Road* was the very first concern I have faced when commencing my fieldwork. They have strong reluctance to open up themselves to people other than their own community because of non-believing and lack of confidence. Moreover, they are mostly reluctant to participate in any formal program fearing of deportation or eviction from their living place. I have experienced a very offensive behaviour from a female pavement dweller living on the pavement in *Palashi, Dhaka*.<sup>22</sup> It was no use to introduce myself as a researcher while talking with her, since she was so angry about people who occasionally show interest to talk or take photos but at the end she remains as pavement dweller without any improvement. But some NGOs have managed to achieve pavement dwellers' trust by spending a considerable amount of time working with them closely and deeply. Under this scenario, joining with a NGO was essential for me to get the opportunity to be very close to my target group. The first week was a desk work period with NGOs people from *CONCERN Worldwide-Bangladesh* and *SAJIDA Foundation, Bangladesh* and with my research assistant to plan for an effective schedule with strategies to perform the fieldwork within the very short (3 weeks) period of time (A time-planning for the fieldwork is provided in the Annexure). Then, after introducing me to the pavement dwellers of *Green Road* by *CONCERN* and *SAJIDA* not only as researcher but also as part of them, finally I got the opportunity to spend time with the pavement dwellers. This is the way the trust has built between me and my respondents in *Green Road*.

<sup>22</sup> *Palashi* is a busy mix used (commercial, residential and educational) area in capital city *Dhaka*, Bangladesh where I did my first pilot survey (October 03, 2009), while preparing my research proposal. She is living on pavement in that area for 15 years.

- **Trust building:** Before starting the in-depth interviews, I was trying to get to know the respondents in person first, by visiting them in their sleeping places on pavement, resting places in fields and in Pavement Dweller Centre<sup>23</sup> (figure 4.2 showing the places on arial view of *Green Road*) with the help of NGO community mobilizers and research assistant. It really worked to strengthen the trust. As a result, the respondents even do not have any objection for using their real name and photographs in my research document, except some confidential information which I have promised to them to use anonymously.
- **Sampling adjustment and prioritization:** Long spending time with the pavement dwellers with informal conversations and with a careful observation of their behaviour and living settings were helpful and effective to implement the snowballing method of sampling. It also enabled me to make some necessary adjustments and prioritization of data collection instruments. They are:
  - While taking the in-depth interviews individually, I have addressed lacking of accurate information/ incident from my respondents. FDGs were also not so effective to reveal that, sometimes even harder because of group presence. In that case it became mandatory to interview some secondary respondents from NGOs for cross checking the information.
  - I have managed to accomplish two focus group discussions (FGD), one with a group of 12 women ranging different ages and another one was a mixed group of 15 including men, women and children. It is necessary to mention that the participants of two FDGs were not always present at a time, while some have joined later and some of them left earlier because of their work. The women group FGD was done to get more and detail information as I have noticed earlier in the pre-survey period that women feel shy to talk in front of men.
  - After taking two in-depth individual interviews, I realized that this instrument is more appropriate with this vulnerable group as they were more expressive individually in privacy rather than in the FDG. This happened because of the tendency of the pavement dwellers to keep secret about their pavement lives from each other. This inspired me to spend more time in individual interview, sometimes sitting with a respondent twice when needed.
  - I found the FGD is very crucial to acquire the collective information, individual data other than selected research respondents and sometimes the missing data of selected respondents. It acted more like an add up information tool rather than cross checking my selected respondents' information. Still it helped to understand the selected respondents better.
- **Technical support:** I used to take field notes in the FDG, individual in-depth interviews and in the field observations. But I found the audio and video recording quite useful rather than field notes since it enabled me not only to keep all conversations, movement, and expression of my respondents in detail but also allow me to listen and watch it repeatedly. But, it was possible because

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<sup>23</sup> A PDC is established in *Green Road* by NGOs mentioned, for the pavement dwellers with the facilities of sanitation, bathing, washing cloths, cooking, resting, day-care for children, medical treatment and savings. It opens at 9 in the morning till 5 in the afternoon (figure 4.2).

of my respondents allowed me. I took the technical assistance in this respect from my research assistant.

- **Risk in fieldwork:** My research assistant accompanied me every time I was in field observation both in day and night times, which was very helpful since the pavement dwelling places are not considerably safe to go through alone especially in night times because of the possibility of hijacking, mugging or aggression shown by unfamiliar pavement dwellers.
- **Especial measures:** According to my fieldwork experiences, I have realized that this particular kind of fieldwork with vulnerable group required some especial measures.

-Firstly, I needed to be very careful in every moment about the ethical issue by asking permission while taking photographs, video and even writing about them.

-Secondly, a great deal of patience was required to go through long consecutive interviews and long FGDs. As I have taken the interviews without any structured questionnaire (but guided by a prepared checklist, which is enclosed in the Annexure), to get the required information a lot of informal and casual conversations were required. And during the participant observation in the field, I had to be always very cool and patient especially when some of my respondents were occasionally get annoyed.

-Thirdly, to conduct the field works properly, I required unusual visiting times in the nights and at dawns only when the pavement dwellers could be found in their dwelling places, which sometimes become more difficult due to heavy rainfall<sup>24</sup>.

- **Constrain of secondary sources:** Unavailability of data seemed difficult as I intended to use them as a secondary source. I used my personal connections and finally found some organizational reports regarding pavement dwellers of *Dhaka* city, which to some extent, proved useful. For example Alam (2009) and Begum (1997) were two of those reports.

### 3.7 Objectivity, reliability and validity

Designing instruments with clear, unambiguous questions as well as neutral questions ensured to confirm the objectivity of the research. For reliability, as consistency and dependability of the data are most important, careful design and implementation of instruments are carried out throughout the fieldwork. As most of the instruments used in this research are field orientated with a long and in-depth interaction with respondents, it was very important to review of the information collected at the end of the day to ensure the desired data has been collected properly. For the literature, references from books, reports, reviewed journals and articles published in famous academic institutions, reports published and well-known websites are only cited.

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<sup>24</sup> Monsoon (rainy season) in *Dhaka* is from May to July with a heavy rainfall in June, July and August. See also footnote no.40.

Finally, the major concern was whether the instruments measure what it is supposed to measure. Data triangulation is conducted for ensuring validity and comprehensiveness. Semi-structure interview, FGD and participant observation is used for the same queries to complement each other. Moreover, secondary respondents' interviews were used to fulfilling the validity.

### 3.8 Data analysis

Being a qualitative research, data analysis followed the framework method (ed. Ritchle & Lewis 2009, pp. 199-262) for analyzing the qualitative data obtained from fieldwork. The core nature of this research is very qualitative (stories, words through interviews and document; descriptive/explorative; processes/in-depth and asking questions how/why) in contrast to quantitative (numbers by frequencies, percentages and correlation; testing; generalization and asking questions like how much/ many/is there a relationship etc). Still this qualitative research could not be completed without incorporating some quantitative input, which actually will enhance and complement the qualitative data.

However, data analysis in this method is a composition of three mandatory jobs: *data Management (raw data)*, *descriptive accounts (classifying)* and *explanatory accounts (how and why?)*. To gain an effective and satisfactory result from later two jobs, the first job i.e. data management is very crucial which again has broken down into five components:

- Familiarising and indexing data
  - Labelling/ tagging data
  - Sorting data
  - Categorizing data
  - Making a typology
- (ed. Ritchle & Lewis 2009, pp. 219-262)

After accomplishing the first two parts, I want to present the third part in the next chapter. By answering how and why, *explanatory accounts* has come under the headings "analysis".

## Chapter 4: Research results and analysis

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises of research findings and analysis. The findings here are narrative presentation of collective fieldwork data, and are presented based on the research objectives and research questions<sup>25</sup>. A brief introduction of research respondents is given at the beginning for clear understanding of these findings and analysis. Then the section “Findings and analysis” starts with some acknowledgement remarks, structure of findings and a brief sketch of pavement dwelling of *Green Road, Dhaka*.

### 4.2 Research respondents

Eight persons who live in the pavement of *Green Road* area in Dhaka city are the primary respondents of this research. They are purposively selected in a snowballing method, thus careful consideration has been paid to include different type of dwellers living in *Green Road*. Six of them were interviewed individually, while one respondent- *Majeda*, was first interviewed individually and later with her husband to catch the impression of a family interaction. The followings are the details of the primary respondents and further details have been provided in the Annexure.

**Table 4.1: Primary Respondents details**

Name	Sex	Age (yr)	Living period in Dhaka	Marital Status	Current Occupation	Monthly Income (BDT, EURO)
<i>Ambia</i>	Female	32	25	Married (abandoned by husband)	Beggar	1500 (15 )
<i>Sufia Begum</i>	Female	35	8	Divorced	Maid Servant	2500 (25 )
<i>Mohammad Saiful</i>	Male	34	20	Married	Rickshaw puller	2000 (20 )
<i>Firoza Begum</i>	Female	60	25	Married (abandoned by husband)	Beggar	1500 (15 )
<i>Shahida</i>	Female	16	12	Unmarried	Nil	Nil
<i>Md. Kalimuddin</i>	Male	32	25	Married (Husband of <i>Majeda</i> )	Rickshaw puller	2000 (20)
<i>Majeda</i>	Female	40	20	Married (Wife of <i>Md. Kalimuddin</i> )	Maid servant+waste paper picker	2500 (25 )
<i>Shima</i>	Female	28	3	Married (living alone)	Maid servant	3000 (30 )

<sup>25</sup> Chapter three stated the research objectives and research questions with explanations in section 3.2.

**Figure 4.1: Photographs showing the respondents in their sleeping place on pavement, (1) Ambia with her two children, (2) Sufia Begum with her two children, (3) Mohammad Saiful with his wife, (4) Shahida, (5) Md. Kalimuddin and Majeda with their son and (6) Shima with her children.**



**Photo by: Researcher**

Another set of respondents which are termed as secondary respondents has been used to formulate the research result as supplementary to the primary respondents. They are followings:

**Table 4.2: Secondary Respondents details**

Name	Sex	Personal Details
<i>Subash Gomes</i>	Male	<b>Project Coordinator</b> , <i>Amarao Manush</i> Project (We are Humans too Project), CONCERN worldwide.
<i>Md. Ershad Ali</i>	Male	<b>Project Coordinator</b> , <i>Amarao Manush</i> Project (We are Humans too Project), SAJIDA Foundation (Project Implementing partner agency).
<i>Ms. Parvin</i>	Female	<b>Community Mobilizer</b> , <i>Green Road</i> Pavement Dweller Centre, <i>Amarao Manush</i> Project (We are Humans too Project), SAJIDA Foundation (Project Implementing partner agency).
<i>Saiful Alam</i>	Male	<b>Media Specialist</b> , <i>Amarao Manush</i> Project (We are Humans too Project), Coalition for the Urban Poor (Advocacy partner agency).
<i>Khandker Millatul Islam</i>	Male	<b>Chief Slum Development, Social Welfare and Cultural Officer</b> , Dhaka City Corporation (DCC), Government of Bangladesh (GOB); <b>Project Coordinator</b> , DCC- <i>Amarao Manush</i> Project.

### 4.3 Findings and analysis

**Introduction:** Findings in this section are solely regarding pavement dwellers of *Green Road, Dhaka*. As mentioned earlier (Chapter 4, section 1.4), according to BBS (1999, p. 191) the number of pavement dweller in *Dhaka* city is 14,999. But this research result is derived from 648 pavement dwellers and mainly studied deep inside into 08 respondents among them. Majority of findings came as general statements here, which are drawn from sources like focus group discussion, individual interviews of both primary and secondary respondents, observations and secondary sources.

It is worth mentioning that it is possible to find several kinds of pavement dwellers throughout *Dhaka* city. Location is one of the major indicators to classify them (Alam 2009, pp.34-35). Therefore it is important to notify that all these following findings and respective analysis are solely regarding the pavement dwellers of *Green Road* area of *Dhaka* city and hence the consequentially formulated survival strategies and the “sense of *home*” might not be generalized without further in-depth analysis of pavement dwelling on other parts of the city.

**Figure 4.2: Aerial view of research area, *Green Road, Dhaka* identifying respondents’ sleeping place (note: Respondents usually sleep in the same spot every night)**



- Sample in their sleeping places.
- Field used by the pavement dwellers.
- Pavement dweller centre by NGO.

Source: Adopted from *Google Earth*

**Structure of findings and analysis:** The findings and analysis of the collected data here is structured in respect of variables and indicators, and then an attempt to locate respective capital asset is also presented. For the first research question, I have discussed their livelihood pattern in respect of vulnerability context, structure & process according to specific indicators (chapter 3, section 3.5), then this synchronized data is filtered by shocks, trends and seasonality. For the second research question I have discussed home in terms of tangible and intangible indicators. Lastly for the third question I focused on policy-interaction of government and NGO oriented findings and analyze respectively.

**Pavement Dwelling in *Green Road*:** Pavement dwellers in *Green Road* live on the wide footpath of both sides of this road. As it is a mix used (commercial, residential, educational and business) area, the road is mostly edged by row of shops. In addition residences, apartment buildings, hospitals, schools, garment factory buildings, hotels, restaurants, office buildings, shops, are lined along this road.

**Figure 4.3: View from north-east of *Green Road*, showing pavement dwellers are sleeping in early morning (2<sup>nd</sup> July, 2010) inside their *home*.**



**Photo by: Researcher**

The general pattern of pavement dwelling in *Green Road* is using the wide footpaths and or shop front spaces as living spaces. This space is occasionally elevated 20cm-60cm high from the street level and sometimes partially covered by a projected upper storey. During night after the shops close and other daily activities are over for the day, these people make hasty preparation for night stay. With a mosquito net or with a wide plastic sheet attached to the shop shutter and other end to some collected bricks some of them make their night shelter, while others just put a brick under head and cover their body with rags and pass the night. Usually they keep these belongings near to their specific lie down places. They wake up very early in the morning before sunrise to do the morning freshening under the curtain of darkness and get ready for the day. During day time they usually go to works or to look for work, perform other activities near and around this space and return to their selected places after work hours.

### **4.3.1 Findings from research question 1: survival strategies through vulnerability context, structure and processes**

#### **4.3.1. a. Social context: surrounding neighbourhood**

**Findings:** “*Man is a social being*”. Wherever they are, they live in a group, form a society. Pavement dwellers are no exception. They too live in a society, a society formed by themselves but a society excluded (exclusion from social domain by Edgar and Meert 2005 described in chapter 2, section 2.2) from mainstream society surrounding them. One of my respondents, *Md. Kalimuddin* said to me with expressing despair about their position:

*“Our life is valued lower than dogs.”*

The closest and most interactive relation that the pavement dwellers have outside their own community is with the local shopkeepers. It is revealed through my conversations, observations and interviews with almost all of the respondents. Some shopkeepers let the pavement dwellers stay at night in the paves in front of their shops. In Bangladesh shopkeepers use the shop front area as an extended part of their shop regularly and they enjoy an authority over that area without having any legal rights. So to use that particular space for dwelling at night, the dweller has to obtain permission from the shopkeeper first. Some of these shop keepers

are closer with pavement dwellers, sometime they keep money as savings for the pavement dwellers; they also collect changes from the pavement dwellers. Though not all the shopkeepers are alike, some of them strictly keep the pavement dwellers off their area. Some shopkeepers are also known for using this opportunity as a means of extortion. For instance, one of my respondents, *Majeda Begum* expressed her anger while telling me the story of her extortion. Once she saved money with a shopkeeper and when she took her money back for going to her village home, she found one of the notes was fake.

Generally these shopkeepers are helpful and co-operative to the pavement dwellers, but every now and then shopkeepers get very annoyed because of the dirtiness of dwellers. I have observed that at night and in the early morning when the shops are still closed, pavement dweller's children defecate and urinate in the footpath and in drains adjacent to footpaths, this makes the shopkeepers get angry with them. Respondent *Sufia Begum* said that sometimes they quarrel with each other which disturb the surrounding people especially the shopkeepers. From my field and PDC observation, I found that a very small matter of conflict can cause a huge quarrel and eventually involves a large group of pavement dwellers.

Another prominent type of interaction that I found here was between the surrounding household's mistresses and pavement dwelling women, as a master-servant relation is develops between them. Most of the female pavement dwellers work as maid servant in the neighbouring houses. Sometimes they save money with the mistresses. *Firoza Begum* saved some money with the housewife of a nearby house of her sleeping place and when she took the money back, she was given extra 500 BDT (5 EURO).

Apart from these two types of more permanent relations other short time regular and irregular interactions are also developing and diminishing constantly. For instance, once when *Sufia Begum's* younger daughter (at that time only 02 years old) was almost dying because of severe diarrhoea caused by easting rotten fish, a passer-by noticed and took *Sufia Begum* and her daughter to the National Cholera Institute where she received treatment and was thus saved. *Sufia Begum* was very emotional while narrating me this life saving story and I felt her gratitude towards the unknown passer-by who saved her daughter's life. The other major voluntary interactions with people outside their group are mainly from their seeking help from surrounding people. This may include seeking permission to keep belongings in some stairway of a building, especially in the rainy season, or may be seeking some drinking water, or some medicine from a pharmacy shop, or might even be in a form of seeking information. From fieldwork observations and in-depth interviews it is very clear to me that the pavement dwellers are not reluctant to interact with others if needed and generally surrounding people are also not hostile towards them. As a result there are all forms and types of regular social interactions occurring between the pavement dwellers and the surrounding inhabitants.

**Analysis:** The life of pavement dwelling can continue and becomes bearable because of a successful symbiotic relationship develops between the pavement dwellers and surrounding peoples. In this scenario mainly the shopkeepers and housewives of the surrounding area come into this mutual relationship with the pavement dwellers. The shopkeepers allows them to use space for night stay in

front of their shops, this is a fundamental gain for the dwellers because this space gives them the opportunity to settle down. To have a fixed space means a sense of stability, an address that helps to form an identity upon which their survival is depended in this particular road. On the other hand the shopkeepers get free security during night time. As the shop front which is the only accessible way to these shops, is occupied by sleeping people is impossible to break into. They also use children of the dwelling families for small works like bringing waters, cleaning footpaths or garbage disposals with very little or no payment at all. Mainly for security purposes and for these small benefits the shopkeepers allow the pavement dwellers to stay in front of their shops even though from the perspective of the potential customers pavement dwellers are often dirty, noisy and create disturbance.

From these relationships both parties have their gains, but the shopkeepers holds the authority to control the relationship and thus the pavement dwellers remains in a vulnerable situation, relying on the mercy of the shop owner and his moods. As a result a scope for extortion is inherent within this system and often the pavement dwellers falls victim to it. They may be evicted by the shopkeeper without any given reason. As the pavement dwellers often keep savings with these shopkeepers they are again at the mercy of the shopkeeper as there is no legal or documentary evidence of such savings. Even the counting is done by the shop owner, though generally they do not mishandle this small amount of money out of generosity. Still the pavement dwellers are at his mercy and have to rely on his attitude and moods. But interestingly this money savings also put the pavement dwellers in a better position because it makes him or her a reliable and responsible, working and progressive person.

The second important developed relationship that I observed is the relationship between housewives and the female pavement dwellers. This can be characterized as a master-servant relation. As pavement dwellers women seek for maid's job and demand lower salary, surrounding inhabitants use this opportunity to meet their need of house maids, which at this point is rather difficult to get in *Dhaka* city, because of a result of semi industrialization of the country, for which a large number of female workers are engaged in garments industry, and people prefer industry works to house maid works as the maid work has less or no dignity in the society and also less payment. As a result the house wives of the surrounding locality employ pavement dwelling women as their daytime maids, which normally they would not allow because of mostly pavement dwellers poses threat of contagious diseases, rude behaviour, threat of theft and non presentable appearance. This is a relationship from which both parties get equally benefited and from this relation the female pavement dwellers primarily get a secured job, which not only ensure their fixed regular income but also provides an opportunity to clean themselves by means of using the bathroom, prepare food from the kitchen, wash cloths and save money with the female employer.

Long time living in the same place creates a sense of identity with the information of their sleeping places as addresses. This identity helps both male and female pavement dwellers to obtain a job. The other way around, if they attain a secure job they do not want to leave the place in fear of losing their work and identity.

This is the fact that *Mohammad Saiful* mentioned while talking about the importance of his identity in the locality of *Green Road*.

All other short time interactions are mainly based on humanitarian grounds where only the pavement dwellers benefit from the interactions. Whatever the way may be or however small the benefit may be, it is very important for the pavement dweller as every small bit of help minimizes the vulnerability margin for them.

**Table 4.3: Deriving Livelihood Assets in External Social Context**

Context of Relation	Beneficiary	Structure & Process	Livelihood Assets
Symbiotic	Both participant in mutual benefiting condition	Demand and supply in mutual accord.	Social capital, Financial capital, Mental capital
One beneficiary	Only the pavement dweller benefits	By means of Generosity & Humanitarian ground	Social capital, Mental capital
One beneficiary	Only the other participant benefits	By means of Extortion & Power Play	Social capital

#### 4.3.1. b. Social context: internal community

**Findings:** Interactions between the pavement dwellers reveals the existence of a personal community of the pavement dwellers within the broader community. Within this community special interaction patterns are observed. Strong relation among the community members is present, though there is no formal appearance or boundary of this community and no visible or tangible norms to be a part of it. These invisible norms are strongly existing and maintained by the member of this community –the pavement dwellers. In *Green Road*, most of my respondent pavement dwellers are people from the same village, some of them are even relatives. During continuous field survey it is observed that generally mutual cooperation between them cannot be seen; rather a sense of hostility is felt among them. The cooperation is only revealed during extreme conditions. From secondary respondents who work closely with my respondents for a long time, I come to know about this tough side of their character. For instance if one fails to manage food one day he or she is supposed to endure, but if it continues due to sickness only then someone from the community would come forward and provide for that person. Even this help is not given without some harsh words or successive reminder of the help. In danger there is always some kind of help from each other. Lending and borrowing money is also common. And so is to see shouting and fighting among them because of failure of returning money and such falters which I observed several times during my visits.

Because of their partial employment and sometimes unemployment they pass more leisure times which is mostly occupied by gossiping and chatting or simply lying down in quiet place. Gossiping and quarrelling is common both in men and women specially focused on extra marital affairs, sex and several marriages, as they all know each other's life history too well and in detail. A personal life with normal sense of privacy is impossible among them because of their vulnerable living condition. One of my family respondents told me about their lack of privacy and interference of by other in their personal family matters. *Mohammad Saiful*, seemed very annoyed with surrounding people while describing their family life in the pavement. According to him sometimes they act like enemy while interfering in husband-wife's quarrel and personal matters. *Saiful* also particularly

complained against addicted people for interfering into husband-wife's relationship.

As pavement dwellers my respondents often come in close contacts with street prostitution, which they generally despise as a means of living and violently condemn and exclude from their community. According to local NGO workers young people, both girls and boys are more exposed to a threat of sexual extortion and abuse which ultimately leads the abused one to prostitution, though they say in *Green Road* this threat is lesser than other pavement dwelling areas of the city. they explain the scenario with one of my respondent vulnerable situation. *Shahida*, the 16 years old girl is my youngest respondent, her time is occupied by dreaming of having a betel leaf shop and making friendship with a lot of boys and girls. Surrounding shopkeepers, gatekeepers and tempo<sup>26</sup> helpers are becoming her boyfriends frequently and this may lead her to the much criticized life of prostitution. Like her, younger people of the community maintain more relations with people outside the community and generally are more exposed to a threat of falling in a further vulnerable context.

Within their community new relations are developed and change their life. Like my respondent *Md. Kalimuddin* and *Majeda* get to know each other in this pavement of *Green Road* and eventually they get married and now live in these pavements with their son. They both work and earn now and dream to rebuild their village home in near future.

Another particular behaviour expressed during focus group discussions is that any newcomer in the pavements is generally very unwelcome. He or she is treated very roughly without any sympathy regardless of his or her vulnerable context. Only after few months of showing much resilience and capability to cope with the pavement life, he or she gradually becomes an accepted part of this pavement dwelling life.

**Analysis:** Life on pavement is a set of circumstances which has its own grammar. That is a hidden grammar full of challenges tackled continuously by asset implementation and management. The internal relationship between the pavement dwellers are strong but it cannot be observed as a positive progressive behaviour to each other all the time, rather a common scene is a fight and quarrel among themselves, but in times of emergency a helping hand within the community is always found. This particular behaviour reveals that the sharing of assets is not welcomed amongst themselves and they want everybody to get his or her share on their own by earning it from the surrounding. So they even engage their children in garbage collection or in begging. As a result none of my respondents take the education facility for children provided by the PDC. This is easy to understand because there is no scope of easy access to livelihood capitals for the pavement dwellers and they cannot afford to feed one idly. As a result this basic method of asset management is developed and practiced among the pavement dwellers. This results into special behavioural patterns amongst the pavement dwellers. They are

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<sup>26</sup> It is a customised human hauler which generally carries maximum 10 persons and provides a cheap transportation to the Dhaka city dwellers. Along with the drivers it always has a driver's assistant, who is called "*tempo helper*". He not only collects the fares from passengers but also assists driver.

usually seen rude while talking, sometimes very frustrated, sometimes careless about everything and next moment too conscious about very small things, like may be a torn rag or some found materials. Loosely looking at this gives an impression of unorganized thinking patterns of pavement dwellers. The absence of privacy also causes a harsh mental state. As a result of lack of privacy, their personal secrets are exposed often within the community. But this information, they guard from others outside the community and again violently use as criticizing element while quarrelling. This also shows their sense of internal community, and their desire to keep the equilibrium and general respect of the community upheld. This is also part of their unique survival strategy- surviving as a community and as a part of it. The young and lonely pavement dwellers are more vulnerable to external and internal extortions. Here is no formal sense of community guiding for the younger one, only extreme criticizing can be seen after something harmful has occurred, but not before it had occurred. As a result the young ones can be easily excluded from the community and lost into more vulnerable situations.

**Table 4.4: Deriving Livelihood Assets in Internal Social Context**

Internal Social context	In General times	In Extreme Vulnerable times	Structure & Process	Primary Survival strategy	Livelihood Asset
Asset sharing	Not common	Common	Basic asset management	Coping with the situation	Mental Asset
General behaviour	Harsh, Rude & Hostile	Helping & Caring	Basic survival strategy		
Privacy	None within community	Strictly kept secrets	Sense of a group formation		
Working as a group/community	Not common	Common	basic survival strategy		

#### 4.3.1. c. Social context: safety & crime

**Findings:** Pavement life is vulnerable because of the absence of safety and security. Pavement dwellers are always in vulnerable extremities in terms of safety and security. A threat of formless imminent danger is always present in this life of pavement dwelling. As the form of basic shelter is absent, insecurity is daily life feelings. Though interestingly enough I found from interviews and focus group discussion that my respondents feel the pavements more safe and secured than before. Occurrences of harassment by the law enforcing agencies and other government bodies are rare now mainly because NGOs intervene. Though insecurity of belongings is there, as these are often kept in open spaces like footpath, can be stolen and does get stolen sometimes. Mainly addicted pavement dwellers are engaged in such crimes to collect their money for drugs. Previously the thieves were among themselves but now-a-days it is almost absent. *Mohammad Saiful* mentioned that once he caught a thief who was also a pavement dweller. Sometimes hijacking also take place, if the pavement dwellers count money carelessly in the footpath they sometimes get hijacked. Sometimes thieves cut their cloths for money when they are sleeping, as women pavement dwellers tie money in their cloths (*Saree*) which is a traditional way of putting money for a woman as they do not have pocket in their *Saree*. From individual interview and focus group discussion it came out that there is no problem of security or

harassment. But discussions with the NGO community mobilizers reveal a different picture about harassment of women. According to them, women here frequently face physical harassment but they never speak about it. For example, one female pavement dweller from *Green Road* went to a nearby place for begging and was sexually harassed by a man there. This also happens when everybody is sleeping at night. Surrounding men like street *mastaan*<sup>27</sup>, gatekeepers of buildings, men from surrounding area, even relatives propose them or force them into sex. But no woman ever complains or speaks about it to others because of the fear of being labelled as a “*bad woman*” in their community. If anybody is branded in their community as a “*bad woman*” it is tough for her to live among them as part of their society because of continuous severe criticism.

As mentioned earlier, pavement dwellers living in *Green Road* know each other very well because of coming from the same village, kinship relations or because they have been living together for so many years. They do not only have community here on the street but also in the village too. To keep their identity upright and respectable they keep these occurrences secret and hidden from the village community. Though the lack of privacy in the streets makes these secrets “open secrets” they deny such harassments happening to them. Again it is a trend in Bangladeshi society to also blame the victim of the harassment for the incident, as a result these harassment and abuses are rarely revealed. It is a kind of adaptation that women think they have accept in order to survive on street. But this survey also found some exceptions in some woman like, *Shima*, *Sufia Begum* and *Nazma*. Here it is worth to mention *Shima*’s words, “*I never give chance to the men*” and “*No body harass me as they won’t get chance from me*”. Teenage girls like *Shahida* experiences from surrounding men (police, shopkeepers, street *mastaan*) that they want to talk with her. Some shopkeepers want to make her work like bringing tea from nearby tea stalls. Because of surrounding men *Shahida* sometime cannot seat on the open pavement. Except this, there are some cases where surrounding men act as protection, for example, *Sufia Begum* is always tensed about safety of her children, But as one of her cousins works as a night guard in this area, she can rely on him for security. *Majeda* was harassed while she was not married and living alone on the pavement. Some nearby living young boys stepped over her leg while she was sleeping. After complaining, the police had beaten the men. While asking about the street *mastaan*, she replied, “*who gives damn about street Mastaan?*” She always keeps bricks with her as a safety measure.

Pavement dwellers’ vulnerable lives become more vulnerable when judicial cases are filed against them. It is another common trend in Bangladesh to file case for inheritance of family property- mainly land. This is caused by the shear crisis of land in proportion to population. *Mohammad Saiful*’s uncle filed a case to the court against him for land dispute. He had to manage the money needed for defending the case by pulling rickshaw and rickshaw van. Other criminal cases are also common among male pavement dwellers; *Ambia*’s husband was once caught by the police for selling a theft rickshaw. It is significant that women rarely get

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<sup>27</sup> It is a *Bengali* word which could be defined as a thug, a tough, often aggressive and violent youth.

involved in criminality here in *Green Road*, while men are very prone to illegal works and criminal activities.

Family violence is also a common picture of the pavement life, like beating wife and children. My younger male respondent *Saiful* beat his wife as she did not cook food for his uncle, who came from village to visit relatives; when asked *Saiful* expressed his emotions like “you see she is sitting there for three days ,doing nothing, because I have beaten her! But I did that only because of her disrespectful behaviour towards my guest”. Most of my female respondents here work as maid servants; sometimes they also face torture by employers. *Majeda* had bad memories about being tortured when she was working as a fulltime maid servant in a house in nearby *Boubazar*<sup>28</sup> area.

**Analysis:** The most vulnerable aspect of pavement dwellers life is the lack of security and a continuous presence of an imminent threat of danger. This continuous presence of danger makes them psychologically unsecured form a normal person which results in an ill tempered, irritated, edgy person who can also be very numb or careless in some cases. This emotional behaviour is an outcome of their vulnerable context. A sense of group or communal protectiveness also develops because of external harassments.

Though they face and faced different kinds of oppressions and extortions none has ever given any formal complaints to the police, as they consider themselves illegal and do not want to stir things up, but rather want to endure the harassment and consider it as a part of life, this reluctance to a formal complaint and ignorance of rights is interconnected and results in the stable presence of a vulnerable livelihood for the pavement dwellers of *Green Road*.

Hiding their misery especially women, shows their aspiration for a respected and clean living which they cannot easily attain in street life. Still they try to carry on putting behind their shocking memories to become respected by others; this is an example of mental adaptation the pavement dweller has to go through as survival strategy.

**Table 4.5: Locating Vulnerability Context in Social Context in terms of Safety & Security.**

Social Context	Vulnerability context
Child lost/ theft	Shock
Arrested by police	Shock
Reluctance to formal complaints	Trend
Involvement in land cases	Trend + shock

<sup>28</sup> It is a nearby neighbourhood of *Green Road, Dhaka*.

**Table 4.6: Deriving Livelihood Assets in Social Context in terms of Safety & Security.**

Social Context	Supports	Livelihood Assets
Formal Support by NGO	Space facility, education, training, information, legal help	Physical capital, social capital, mental capital
Informal assistance by Law enforcement agencies	Protection	mental capital
Individuals Support	Charity, employment	Physical capital, social capital,
Community support	Relationship, protection, food, economic	Physical capital, social capital, ,human capital, mental capital

#### 4.3.1. d. The urban economy: employment, income & expenditure

**Findings:** People living on the street in *Green Road* do not have any access or opportunity to get formal jobs. Their lacking of formal trainings including education and other professional skills bounds them to work as cheap daily labour. Women here are mostly maid servants or beggars. Men work as rickshaw puller or rickshaw van puller. Their income is very low which even cannot ensure all the meals of a day let alone providing other necessities of life. Maid servant work is the most stable form of work; it has fixed work hours and payment with other extra facilities. Begging is also considered as a better earning job and as there are two major traffic joints nearby begging is easier. Any physical disability is considered as advantage for begging. Some of them feign to be disabled to get sympathy get charity. For instance, one of my respondent *Ambia's* brother in law pretends to be visually impaired during day time and beg for charity in the traffic joints. For men getting work is a daily uncertainty, they sit down in the road corner in groups to be picked up by labour contractors for daily labour, mainly used in the construction sites for earth excavation, brick batting, carryings loads. Getting a rickshaw or a van to drive is also not always certain, and usually it can only be used for half days, and someone else uses it the other half of the day.

**Table 4.7: Primary Respondent's economic details**

Name	Sex	Age (yr)	Education	Vocational Skill	Occupation Work hour	Job Security	Monthly Income in BDT (EURO)
<i>Ambia</i>	Female	32	illiterate	None	Beggar 8.00 am – 9.00pm	Voluntary	1500 (15 )
<i>Sufia Begum</i>	Female	35	illiterate	None	Maid Servant 7.00 am – 3.00pm	Fixed job	2500 (25 )
<i>Mohammad Saiful</i>	Male	34	illiterate	Partial training in Industrial Knitting	Rickshaw puller 7.00 am – 2.30pm	Regular but uncertain	2000 (20 )
<i>Firoza Begum</i>	Female	60	illiterate	None	Beggar 8.00 am – 9.00pm	Voluntary	1500 (15 )
<i>Shahida</i>	Female	16	illiterate	None	Nil	N/A	Nil
<i>Md. Kalimuddin</i>	Male	32	illiterate	None	Rickshaw puller 7.00 am – 2.30pm	Regular but uncertain	2000 (20)
<i>Majeda</i>	Female	40	illiterate	None	Maid servant +wastepaper picker 7.00 am – 5.00pm	Fixed job	2500 (25 )
<i>Shima</i>	Female	28	Studied up to class 10	Skilled and experienced in industrial sewing	Maid servant 7.00 am – 6.00pm	Fixed job	3000 (30 )

In case of family, both husband and wife are working, thus earns more than single parent family and less vulnerable. They make their expenditure management like husband doing the daily bazaar and wife providing cloths etc for family members. This is how parents of *Shahida* generally manage their income and expenses. On the other hand, in single parent families there is only one person earning. There are some exceptions too. In the case of *Ambia*, her eldest daughter works as a fulltime housemaid which is quite helpful for her. Single parent like *Sufia Begum* also get some financial help from her eldest son who works in a shop in the village. In the case of two parent families, the husband wants to keep his family in village home as he despises to keep his family in pavement. But doing so means not only losing an earning member but also an increase in expenditure as husband has to send money home.

Apart from these direct financial involvements in the surrounding micro urban economy they have no other kind of formal financial involvement like banking, or loan facility in this locality. But most of my respondents have regular financial involvement with their rural economy. Some of them have livestock in the village, usually it is a cow or she goat which they give someone to take care of in return of taking the milk or half of the offspring. Some of them also participate in small poultry farming with someone stable in the village. Money investment for interest in village homes is also very common among the pavement dwellers of *Green Road*. Though the pavement dwellers live in a vulnerable context, their involvement in economy in terms of cash handling is frequent and greater in comparison to their counterparts in the village. The village relations may own some land or a home but are frequently in need of cash flow which the pavement dwellers provide for benefit of interest. *Ambia*, *Sufia Begum* and *Shima* are engaged in cattle herding, money investment and poultry farm in village respectively.

During the main Islamic religious festival - two EID<sup>29</sup> festivals each year offers great opportunity for the pavement dwellers to collect money and other livelihood assets like cloth and food. This Islamic trend of giving and sharing money, food and cloth to the needy ones not only enjoyed by the stable pavement dwellers, but the resident dwellers like my respondents also bring in their relatives during this period to collect more than he or she alone could.

**Analysis:** Though some of the pavement dwellers are permanently staying in this area for many years, their main economic life is in and around their village. All through the year they barely manage to survive in this vulnerable context and in festival seasons they collect a major portion of their yearly income. They only participate in this urban economy as cheap daily labourer or beggar and by staying in the pavements save the outmost to be able to engage in his traditional economic circle. Every money they earn here and can save will be invested in the village either through loans towards some village relatives, or buying crops, or livestock.

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<sup>29</sup> EID is an abbreviated form of “*Eid ul-Fitr*” and “*Eid ul-addha*”, which are two major *Muslim* Celebrations.

**Table 4.8: Primary Respondents' details: urban and rural economic life**

Name Living period in <i>Dhaka</i> (yr)	Sex (Age)	Current Occupation	Involvement in Urban economy				Involvement in Rural economy			
			Key involvement	Institutional Loans	Investment / savings	Property	Key involvement	Institutional Loans	Investment/ savings	Property
<i>Ambia</i> (25)	Female (32)	Beggar	Voluntary employment	None	Savings in NGO	None	One Ox	Micro credits	yes	Father's home
<i>Sufia Begum</i> (8)	Female (35)	Maid Servant	Secure employment	None	Savings in NGO	None	Loans for interest	Micro credits	yes	None
<i>Mohammad Saiful</i> (20)	Male (34)	Rickshaw puller	Partial employment	None	Savings in NGO	None	none	None	None	None
<i>Firoza Begum</i> (25)	Female (60)	Beggar	Voluntary employment	None	Savings in NGO	None	Loans for interest	None	yes	None
<i>Shahida</i> (12)	Female (16)	Nil	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	Father's home
<i>Md. Kalimuddin</i> (25)	Male (32)	Rickshaw puller	Partial employment	None	None	None	None	None	None	Broken Home
<i>Majeda</i> (20)	Female (40)	Maid servant +wastepaper picker	Secure employment	None	Savings in NGO	None	Loans for interest	None	yes	Broken Home
<i>Shima</i> (03)	Female (28)	Maid servant	Secure employment	None	Savings in NGO	None	Poultry	Life insuran ce	Loan repay	Husband 's home

Rural seasonality has a low effect on these urban pavement dwellers. They are not directly affected by the seasonality of agriculture anymore, rather the urban seasonality like festivals or political turmoil directly increase or decrease their income. Though they are living in the pavement their dream is to settle in the village they migrated from and hence they try to get involved in the rural economy by all means, however small that maybe. As a result even if any of the pavement dwellers progress in terms of asset-wealth, it might not reflect on his or her pavement life, only when they can afford to move to a slum or back to village to support their livelihood that may be recognized. This is the dream of every pavement dwellers but only few may be able to achieve this.

**Table 4.9: Vulnerability context of pavement dwellers in the urban Economy**

Respondent's name	Monthly income BDT (EURO)	Seasonality increase in income	Savings, investment return BDT (EURO)	shocks	Economic vulnerability	Vulnerability context
<i>Ambia</i>	1500 (15)	Additional 1500 BDT (15 EURO) in months of <i>EID</i> festival	Additional 200 BDT (2 EURO), from interest	Relative got burnt	Loaned 4000 BDT (40 EURO) For treatment	Vulnerability increase
<i>Shima</i>	3000 (30)	Additional 3000 BDT (30 EURO) in months of <i>EID</i> festival	Additional 100 BDT (2 EURO), poultry keeping.	Husband got mentally disabled	Resigned from work for nursing husband	Vulnerability increase

#### 4.3.1. e. Environment and Health: Living conditions

**Findings:** Pavement dwellers perform all necessary household activities like sleeping, cooking, bathing, playing etc. But their mode of doing all these household activities is adapted according to the available spaces, which by no means are appropriate for performing those activities. They have to wake up very early (6 am/6.30 am) in the morning before the commercial activities at the footpath have started. Breakfast usually takes place on the footpath after having a wash of hand and mouth with storage water. Usually water is collected and stored in bottles from different sources like mosques taps, nearby water pumps, broken water pipes, overflowed water from water tanks, hotels etc. This unfiltered and unclean water is used for drinking and cooking. Footpath drains are used by them as open toilets in the darkness of the early morning. It has been only few years, the NGOs came to the arena and they have a pavement dweller centre (PDC) for day use only. They open at 9 am in the morning. So, some pavement dwellers, especially women, now-a- days wait until 9 pm for toilet facilities. After a very short breakfast on the footpath they all go for work or to look for work. Some buy cake from a footpath shop, some buy bread from hotel, some might eat previous day rice or some might not eat at all. Most of the women go for work in nearby houses and a few do begging and waste paper picking. Women sometimes get chances to take a bath and cook in houses where they work, but it depends on the mood of the employer's housewife. Also, some used to take a bath in the nearby lake (*Dhanmondi Lake*<sup>30</sup>), but now-a-days it is very difficult for them to take a bath there because of the security guards. Children and men also take bath in that lake. All of them occasionally use nearby slum toilets too, depending on the availability and convenience. The PDC mentioned earlier has facilities for cooking, bathing, resting and day care facilities. Thus, now it is possible for women, men and children to bath, cook and rest there but only up to 5 pm at afternoon. But before this facility was established the pavement dwellers used the *Staff Quarter Field*<sup>31</sup> and *Dormitory Field*<sup>32</sup> as day time cooking, resting place. In the *Staff Quarter Field* and in the *Dormitory Field* they use wood for cooking. There are a few sources of water in these two places like overflow water of the quarter buildings overhead water tank, broken pipe and water pump machine. Drains there are also used as toilets. Grass fields are used for resting under trees, chatting and drying up cloths. Mainly female pavement dwellers use these two spaces as they are less public than the pavements during day time. But sometimes it also difficult to enter in these fields because of security guards. It is not possible to do any household works like cooking or resting in the footpath before 10/11 at night. Because of various activities that take place in the footpaths besides being

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<sup>30</sup> *Dhanmondi Lake* is a prominent depression within Dhaka metropolitan area. It is situated in the middle of *Dhaka* city [23°43' N latitude and 90°26' E latitude]. It lies within the vicinity of *Dhanmondi Residential Area* which is nearby of *Green Road*. The lake offers attractive panoramic views to many thousands of people of the city and works as a recreational zone. ([http://www.banglapedia.org/httpdocs/HT/D\\_0185.HTM](http://www.banglapedia.org/httpdocs/HT/D_0185.HTM)).

<sup>31</sup> A large field inside the premises of a government employers' quarter in *Green Road* (figure 4.2).

<sup>32</sup> This is an open field in the premises of government employers' dormitory adjacent to *Green Road* (figure 4.2).

very busy with pedestrians, especially for women. But men most of whom works (rickshaw/ rickshaw van/ cart puller) half day, thus have more leisure time and these they spent by sleeping, chatting and playing in footpath.

There is this behavioural usage of space according to gender which is very common in Bengali culture. After the PDC has been established women cook there at noon and some of them cook for night too. Then enjoy their meal with their family in particular space of the footpath before sleeping at night. But some still cook in the footpath at night with a kerosene stove like *Shahida's* mother, showing a characteristic of personal belongingness of space and assets.

Life on pavement turns more vulnerable during extreme weather conditions like in the rainy season, when it rains continuously in every night for few days. Then it becomes impossible to sleep in the open pavement. They have to spend such nights without sleeping; sometimes have to take refuge in surrounding residential building staircases or guard rooms. Though the winter in Bangladesh is not so severe normally one could not stand the bitter northern wind in the middle of the night in an open pavement. But the pavement dwellers have to endure these conditions with their minimal winter preparation by means of thick rags, wrappers, blankets etc and occasionally by making fire to warm up. Exposure to these extreme weather conditions results in a poor health condition.

People living in footpath in *Green Road* usually do not go to any medical facility for many reasons. First, they think it is expensive and does not have enough money without knowing any proper information about health facilities available in the government or in the private philanthropic organizations. They are not aware about the free facilities given by any public or private hospitals/ doctors and again even if sometimes it is affordable, they do not want to treat it unless it is very severe. Almost everybody go to any nearby pharmacy and wants medicine from the salesman, who gives them medicine without any proper knowledge of it for money or sometimes for free. Like one day during my fieldwork I found *Shahida* taking some tablets, after enquiring her I come to know that she is having and headache and so get these tablets from the pharmacy. One important trend of these pavement dwellers is to take indigenous medicine from the village medicine man, which they consider more reliable as a man of their locality, cheaper and even better than city doctors and their unnecessary expensive medicine. Moreover, their concept is like that, “*If I die, I want to die in my village home.*”

**Table 4.10: Pavement dwelling: Living in a vicious circle**

Livelihood context	consequences	Vulnerable context	Livelihood Effects	Vulnerable context
Inadequate food, chronic malnutrition	Sudden sickness, disability, death	Shock	unemployment, loan, savings usage	Vulnerability increase
Suffering during heavy rains and cold	reduced physical conditions, reduced labour demand	Seasonality	unemployment, loan, savings usage	Vulnerability increase
Relying on village quack rather than city doctor and system	Maltreatment, disability, death	Trend	unemployment, loan, savings usage	Vulnerability increase
Opportunity from bad weather	Increase in labour price	Seasonality	Increase in income	Vulnerability decrease

**Analysis:** The vulnerability of pavement dwelling life primarily depends on the health condition of the person, as in this concrete jungle one is for his or her own self. People are totally exposed to nature and surrounding built environment, surrounded by a society that they are excluded from but again from them receives basic survival assets just to survive. As a result any simple illness or sickness causes major setback in one's life.

As the weather of Bangladesh is not so extreme almost all year round except some heavy rainy days and few cold nights of the winter, pavement dwellers can live on the footpaths. Except for the weather they have to rely solely on the built environment as natural assets, like the pavements as living place where they do everything a human life needs to be done, but being exposed to weather all the time, living in bare footpaths which are often very dirty besides dirtier open drains that they use as toilets and drinking water from unhygienic sources all of these causes chronic contagious diseases along with malnutrition. As an outcome most of this I found none of my respondent in sound health, specially the children. And so they often fell to serious illness causing break in works, draining out savings and making loans for treatments. As a result they get economically fragile and exposed to further vulnerable situations.

Sometimes sudden illness may cause deaths and create shocks for a family. Their continuous malnutrition and extreme lifestyle keep them in an unhealthy physical and mental condition resulting in less working capability and a pessimistic attitude towards the future. A lack of a public health system and ignorance of the existing system which they can afford, along with a reluctance of using public system based on superstitious beliefs about modern medication its expenses comparing to well known, reliable village quack and “*kabiraj*”<sup>33</sup> tends these pavement dwellers to go back to village during illness and get treatment.

#### **4.3.1. f. Governance: involvement in associations**

**Findings:** Most of my respondents originally migrated from the rural areas of Bangladesh for several decades as part of the continuous rural to urban migration. Before coming here they were actively involved in the rural economy and some of them were engaged in micro-credit<sup>34</sup> programs, which generally requires at least a permanent address. Mixed reactions have been found while talking with them both in the focus group discussion and in individual interviews. While some are satisfied with the system others are not so, some are rather outraged by such programs. Respondents like *Ambia* had bad experience with the micro credit program. But *Sufia Begum* thinks that it is a good program as it helps to do business by lending a good amount of money at once. *Sufia Begum* built her house from micro credit while she was living in the village. When *Saiful* was in village

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<sup>33</sup> “*Kabiraj*” is one type of illiterate village quack.

<sup>34</sup> Micro credit is the extension of very small loans (micro loans) to those in poverty designed to encourage entrepreneurship. These individuals lack collateral, steady employment and a verifiable credit history. Therefore they cannot meet even the most minimal qualifications to gain access to traditional credit. Micro-credit is a part of micro finance, which is the provision of a wider range of financial services to the very poor (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/microcredit>).

home in his childhood his mother was attached with micro-credit program of “ASA”<sup>35</sup>. He thinks it was helping them a little. On the other hand *Firoza Begum, Majeda, Md. Kalimuddin* and *Shima* were never attached to any kind of program. *Shima* have done some life insurance while was back in village. But after coming to Dhaka, they have not joined in any financial institution.

In the urban context their economic life is very informal and there is no attachment to any formal programme, among many reasons the primary one is their homelessness – lacking of any permanent address. Most financial institutes like public and private banks and NGO’s that give small loans without any mortgaged assets requires at least a permanent address for loan sanction. This is not possible for a pavement dweller to provide because of his homeless and hence address less vulnerable context. Their only involvement to any institutional financing is in time of receiving aids unconditionally given by different philanthropic organizations.

Apart from direct engagement with any financial institution the pavement dwellers are attached to different NGO’s which are mainly concerned in poverty alleviation, health support, education and other development programs in the urban context. Like one disable man “*Kamal*” among them is a member of an organization called “*Obolombon*”<sup>36</sup> which only works for disable people and provide basic instruments for disability coping like wheelchair, walking stick, spectacles, Hoover Cane for blind people etc and sometimes takes measure for relative medical assistance. Another person named *Delwar*, being addicted, is under the supervision of an organization “*Podokhep*”<sup>37</sup> working for addicted people. Like *Delwar*, there are few addicted persons living in *Green Road*. This is common in pavement dwelling life. It has been only two and half years that *Green Road* Pavement dwellers are attached to the NGO program “*Amarao Manush*”<sup>38</sup>.

**Analysis:** Pavement dwellers of *Green Road* have no direct access to any formal banking or financial institution for loans or saving facilities. Mainly because they cannot provide a proper address. Living in such vulnerability, they are forced to be involved and remain in an informal urban financial context. This leads to getting loans from individual loan brokers without proper rules and regulations resulting is a financially vulnerable situation.

Again their voluntary involvement with any association is only seen when it offers direct financial benefits to the respondents. Other than financial organizations they

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<sup>35</sup> ASA (Association for Social Advancement) is a non-governmental organization based in Bangladesh which provides micro credit financing. It was established in 1978 and the micro finance lending began in 1991. Since then it has become one of the largest fully self-sufficient microfinance institutions (MFIs) in the world. ASA’s mission is to “*reduce poverty and improve the quality of life of poor through the provision of qualitative and responsive micro finance services in an innovative and sustainable way*” ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Association\\_for\\_Social\\_Advancement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Association_for_Social_Advancement)).

<sup>36</sup> A NGO in Dhaka, Bangladesh working for disabled poor people.

<sup>37</sup> A NGO in Dhaka, Bangladesh working for drug addicted people.

<sup>38</sup> *Amrao Manush* (“*we are human too*”) is a five-year (March 2008-February 2013) which CONCERN worldwide is implementing with local partners to address the needs of pavement dwellers of *Dhaka* city ([http://www.dhakacity.org/amrao\\_manush/index.html](http://www.dhakacity.org/amrao_manush/index.html)).

only get attached with associations that directly contact them and encourage them to join like the NGOs for various development programs. These programs most of the time being short ranged and of short period help the pavement dweller to barely sustain their vulnerable survival. From these programs they increase their minimum survival assets by means of getting temporary places for cooking, toilet and bathing, resting as provided by “*Amarao Manush*” or by receiving health assistance from some other NGO. It is understood from the above scenario that these involvements increase successful survival context for the pavement dwellers but cannot promise any up gradation or salvation from this vicious circle.

#### **4.3.1. g. Governance: Legal status**

**Findings:** People living here are legal citizens of the country and they have the identity card for casting their vote. But most of my respondents are voters in their village home, not here in *Green Road*. But as a citizen of the country they never get the basic social services like health facilities, education, and housing. While talking with project co-ordinator of “*Amrao Manush*” project from “*SAJIDA Foundation*” *Md. Ershad Ali*, he mentioned that Government has a policy that 30% services of any public and private health institutions will be provided for the poorest people in the country. But pavement dwellers do not know about their rights. People from civil society, philanthropic organizations and sometimes Government helps them by distributing foods, quilts and warm cloths for winter among them.

Living in pavement is like living in uncertainty. Anytime a policeman can come and beat them up to clear up the footpath. Local people can forcefully evict them, can be arrested by police, and can be kidnapped by *mastaan*. This is the way it is, this the way how it used to be. From the focus group discussion and from the individual respondents it is revealed that police is not a problem these days for them in *Green Road*, moreover they are co-operative with pavement dwellers. These days’ dwellers do not have to bribe the policeman to stay in the footpath. Though in the past bribery was common along with getting beaten up or picked up by police. Now-a-days if the pavement needs to be cleared for special occasions, like a visit of the local MP or passing of an international guest through this road, pavement dwellers are informed by the police to clear up the pavements for that time. It is kind of a mutual understanding now. The NGO programs played some role for this by creating an enabling environment for pavement dwellers. And for this mutual understanding between the police and the pavement dwellers, it is not easy for other street *mastaan* to extort or harass these pavement dwellers.

**Analysis:** any association between the pavement dwellers and local urban governance is subjected on their legal status. Which is mostly ambiguous, as for Dhaka City Corporation rules it is illegal to use the footpath as it hinders pedestrian access flow, but the Corporation itself permits various small shops – hawkers to use the pavement for business and there is not a clear law stating that it is considered illegal to use the pavement as sleeping place in the night time. Though all around the city, not only in *Green road*, pavement dwellers consider themselves as outsiders and illegal people themselves. Though they are legal citizen of the country they have no clear idea about their rights neither about their responsibilities from and towards the city. Usually the only time they come in

contact with any democratic process is around the time elections and it only happens if they go to their village where they have listed themselves.

In these pavements they are ruled by the laws of the street; by the policemen, by their employers, the shopkeepers and all others that has some power over them. This whole scenario is informal and outside of any governance system that is implied by any government of Bangladesh. The NGO's intervened with the scope of providing information and making them aware of their rights. These NGOs succeeded in some cases, like stopping the police bribery incidents by making the pavement dwellers aware that they are not allowed to do so by the constitution of the country and they has their right to protest it. As an urban citizen every bit of information especially regarding rights and legal status helps to form a survival strategy for the pavement dwellers.

#### 4.3.1. h. Others: gender issue

**Findings:** from the field work studies it is clearly seen that the female pavement dwellers are fairly more actively engaged in the earning process and are also more positive in future planning. Most of the women work from morning to evening. On the other hand the majority of men to work half days. But the interesting fact is women blame themselves for their misery in life. *Sufia Begum* told, “*we the women race are very bad*” while referring to the frequent ugly quarrels between them. She also judged the men as bad saying, “*The men are also bad*”. As the men do not put enough effort to improve their conditions, though having more opportunity than their female counter parts. She gave her opinion while talking about the disadvantages to live on footpath as a woman,

*“If men are sleeping or lying on street, it is not a problem but being a woman it is very problematic”.*

*Majeda* said like this, “*It would be easier to sleep on footpath if I were a man*”. *Ambia*, a woman of 32 and *Shahida*, a woman of 16, also shares similar views, “*If I were a man, by this time I would done a lot of things and I would stay in my own home*”. But *Shima* – another female respondent from the same pavement disagrees with this view and said, “*I am well to be a woman*”.

Children in the pavement life are very vulnerable to different forms of harassment and abuses. If not observed closely by guardians they can easily get involved in hazardous activities like drugs peddling for others, in forced prostitution, in theft and other criminal activities. More dangerously, children can get lost or stolen by human traffickers. *Sufia's* younger boy got lost once, fortunately though he was sheltered by a nearby orphanage from which was found later by her.

**Analysis:** being man or women does not give any relief in the pavement life, but traditionally a man requires less privacy then a woman in the open life of the pavement. A man living on the pavement is generally considered as a common thing, and is seen a strive of life. On the other female pavement dwellers are often associated with floating prostitution and despised by the surrounding society. As a result men enjoy a better interaction platform than the women. It puts the women in a more vulnerable situation not only by means of physical and other tangible aspects but also by means of mental aspect too.

But once they are settled in a specific space for a considerable amount of time and earn some reliability of the surrounding households the women can get better jobs than men and can earn more. They then also enjoy a better sympathetic attitude towards them. Gender discrimination cannot be distinguished as the whole entity is in a vulnerable condition, no discrimination can be outlined among this. Women are more reliable than men and enjoy better relationships with people. But the women being more vulnerable and having fear of scandals are often extorted by opportunists. As whole, men, women, children all are vulnerable and can be exposed to various types of danger and levels of extortions at any time in their vulnerable pavement life.

**Table 4.11: Primary Respondent's gender discrimination**

Primary Respondent	Name	Age (yr)	Job Security	Sexual / Physical harassment occurrence
<b>female</b>	<i>Ambia</i>	32	Voluntary	yes
	<i>Sufia Begum</i>	35	Fixed job	None
	<i>Majeda</i>	40	Fixed job	yes
	<i>Firoza Begum</i>	60	Voluntary	yes
	<i>Shima</i>	28	Fixed job	None
<b>Children</b>	<i>Shahida</i>	16	NA	yes
<b>Male</b>	<i>Md. Kalimuddin</i>	32	Regular but uncertain	None
	<i>Mohammad Saiful</i>	34	Regular but uncertain	None

### Summary of Analysis:

This analysis is structured in respect of variables and indicators and also the capital asset is identified from that. Now this analyzed data will be filtered by shocks, trends and seasonality for better understanding of the livelihood process and the structure of the pavement dwelling life in the context of livelihood asset management and implementation.

**Trends:** *Dhaka* city is the major economic centre of the country, unparalleled to any other location in terms of economic transaction and scopes and is located in the centre of the countries transport network. As a result it is a common trend to flock around this city for people from all aspects of life from around the country. Not only the destitute but everyone and anyone is trending to go to *Dhaka* not only for the big city lights but also for the commodities, facilities, scopes incomparable to other areas of the country. Pavement dwellers of Green road are no exception, at their moment of migration or eviction they had only one way to go, to *Dhaka*, where there are opportunities and they can survive somehow. This is a one way flow towards *Dhaka* city which is the most common trend for the urban migration of Bangladesh. Once settled on the city pavement, the dwellers tries to get the most out of it, as they always continue their connection with the place they originated from. They rarely improve their situation visibly in the pavements rather just live on by as minimum as possible and tries to improve conditions in village, which though succeeds rarely.

Social trends like giving charity by all aspects of general people, sharing wealth during religious festivals, sympathizing the poor reduce vulnerability and improve survival context for the pavement dwellers. Again trends like blaming women for being victim of harassment puts very negative impact on the victim, thus women remain more vulnerable. Another trend of pavement dwellers is relying on village quakes rather than modern medical system and without proper information considering it expensive often puts deadly impact on their life. As without any proper knowledge and skill those quakes treat serious patients and put their life to danger.

**Shocks:** Shocks are imminent in the life of pavement dwellers. If it is not present, it can be happening in any form at any moment in their lives. Often a shock is perceived as a common phenomenon of pavement life, it is seen from the lifestyles of the respondents that pavement dwelling life starts from a shock, either someone has died or been evicted or failed to keep up with poverty and moved to the city and starts to live in the pavement. In this life of pavement dwellers shocks occur that can put them in a more vulnerable situation, like accidents, sudden illness, losing of a life partner through death or divorce, police custody, sexual harassment, anything can happen at any time without any prior indication and puts a life in complete jeopardy. If any of the above happens to someone in the pavement the first logical consequences is to lose employment leading to more vulnerable situations in terms of economic stability.

**Seasonality:** Seasonality always affects the life of a Bangladeshi as its economy is largely agricultural and is very much weather depended and seasonally regulated. As with the seasons the demand of workers in agriculture is raised or lowered so is the price of labour cost. Also the availability of the crops on market changes the livelihood expenses and thus directly affects the pavement dwellers life. Other types of occasional occurrences like seasonal festivals also directly affect pavement dwellers life, like the EID festivals and other big festivals when people largely pay charity to the distressed ones. Around this time the pavement dwellers also collect money, clothing and also food which they keep as dry bread and eat through the year, these occasional earnings importantly increase their savings and reduce the level of vulnerability at for the time.

**Table 4.12: Primary Respondents details: livelihood Assets**

Primary Respondents Name Living period in Dhaka(yr)	Livelihood Assets						
	Human Capital	Social Capital	Physical Capital	Natural Capital	Financial Capital	Mental Capital	Political Capital
<i>Ambia</i> (25)	Language, labour, Earning family member	Kinship, social interactions	Makeshift shelter and households, built environment, rural assets	Lake, Fields,	Monthly income, savings and investments	Hope, Ambition,	Citizenship, voter ID Card <sup>39</sup>
<i>Sufia Begum</i> (8)	Language, labour,	Kinship,	Makeshift shelter and households, built environment,	Lake, Fields,	Monthly income, savings and investments	Hope,	Citizenship, voter ID Card
<i>Mohammad Saiful</i> (20)	Language, vocational training, Labour, Earning family member	Kinship, social interactions	Makeshift shelter and households, built environment,	Lake, Fields,	Monthly income	Hope, Ambition, Optimistic	Citizenship, voter ID Card
<i>Firoza Begum</i> (25)	Language, labour	Kinship,	Makeshift shelter and households, built environment,	Lake, Fields,	Monthly income, savings and investments	Hope,	Citizenship, voter ID Card
<i>Shahida</i> (12)	Language, labour, Earning family member	Kinship, social interactions	Makeshift shelter and households, built environment, rural assets	Lake, Fields,	None	Hope, Ambition, Optimistic	Citizenship, voter ID Card
<i>Md. Kalimuddin</i> (25)	Language, labour, Earning family member	Kinship, social interactions	Makeshift shelter and households, built environment, rural assets	Lake, Fields,	Monthly income,	Apathetic	Citizenship, voter ID Card
<i>Majeda</i> (20)	Language, labour, Earning family member	Kinship, social interactions	Makeshift shelter and households, built environment, rural assets	Lake, Fields,	Monthly income, savings and investments	Hope, Ambition,	Citizenship, voter ID Card
<i>Shima</i> (03)	Education, training, experience, Labour	Kinship, social interactions	Makeshift shelter and households, built environment, rural assets	Lake, Fields,	Monthly income, savings and investments	Hope, Ambition, Optimistic	Citizenship, voter ID Card

### 4.3.2 Findings from research question 2: sense of *Home*

#### 4.3.2. a. Tangible aspects of *Home*

**Findings:** The term “Pavement dweller” speaks for itself: people dwell on pavement, not in a house. There is no proper physical entity of home in the pavement. Some basic physical characteristics of a home denoted by Despres (1991): concrete structure, ownership, permanence are absent in the pavement. Yet the pavement dwellers are living here, considering it as their home.

The built environment, meaning the footpaths that are elevated from the road level and sometimes partially covered by extended upper storey, is the stage where the makeshift home is built by the pavement dwellers. Nevertheless they have some belongings that make it possible for them to survive in the pavement and perform the household activities with unique adaptations. Here is a gross listing of all belongings that constitutes the alternative home for the pavement dwellers: some beddings like a blanket or quilt, a pillow, sleeping mat, mosquito net, piece of polythene plastic sheet of around 183cmx305cm (6’x10’) size, pieces of ropes,

<sup>39</sup> This *Voter ID Card* is introduced in Bangladesh in 2008, which acts like a national identity for the citizen of Bangladesh.

bricks, wooden sticks, cooking utensils-a kerosene stove, a cooking pot, 1 glass, few plastic water bottle, blade, cutting knife, polythene packets for stored food, small boxes for spices and betel leaf, toiletries like soap, toothpowder, toothbrush, coconut oil, few sets of cloth, a pair of sandals. The quantity and extent of these elements changes according to user, affordability and availability. Importantly all these belongings have to be manageable within two or three carrying bags, because a quick and efficient mobility is inherent in the usage pattern of every day making and removing of the shelter.

This special home of the pavement dwellers takes its physical form every day only in the night time. Only very private acts like sleeping and sex is done in this shelter, they also enjoy a late night meal with the family inside this home. Usually it is a tent type structure (figure 4.1), more or less within 152cmx249cm (5' x 8') in dimensions accommodating 2-4 persons. The built form has a pattern developed out of minimum basic necessity, daily practice and using of common materials. Construction materials of this shelter are large piece of plastic sheet wrapped over a mosquito net which is tied with the shop front gates and other end is inclined and tied with bricks, the higher side is the headside, scrapped building materials like bricks, pieces of ropes, papers are used to strengthen the structure against wind and rain. This common shaped home changes in sizes depending on the places and number of people sleeps inside it.

To sleep in this shelter, some respondents do not feel secured and are afraid of street hoodlums and addicted people while others seems rather comfortable. *Sufia Begum* is uncomfortable every night and sleeps with fear. On the other hand *Ambia, Firoza Begum, Shahida, Shima*, expressed similar feelings.

*“I have no fear at night while sleeping”*. *Shima* said, *“Whenever I make my children sleep inside my paper home, I pray to God to protect them; I don’t have fear, God will protect us.”*

Whatever the feeling of security is nobody wants to change her/his sleeping place unless there is opportunity for better place. They feel it comfortable to be at their chosen places each night. Protection from nature is a kind of comfort for my respondents. Their shelter protects them from moderate rains, winter cold<sup>40</sup>, mosquito and also creates scope of retreat from the surroundings. During rain and winter they cover their shelter top with extra layers of polythene or papers for protection enhancement, while on the hot-humid summer times they sometimes sleeps outside their shelter, mainly men, to get some night breeze and comfort. Interestingly this is similar to the traditional rural lifestyle.

*It is common in rural lifestyle of Bangladesh, particularly for men, to sleep outside the house, in the adjacent verandah, or in adjacent interior open*

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<sup>40</sup> *Dhaka* city has three distinct seasons: winter (November-February), dry with temperature 10 degree to 20 degree C; the pre-monsoon season (March-May), some rain and hot with temperature reaching up to 40 degree C; and the monsoon (June-October), very wet with temperatures around 30 degree C. *Dhaka* experiences about 2000 mm rain annually of which about 80% falls during the monsoon ([http://www.banglapedia.org/httpdocs/HT/D\\_0147.HTM](http://www.banglapedia.org/httpdocs/HT/D_0147.HTM)).

*courtyard or in open roof mainly during the hot-humid summer time. Because outdoor is more comfortable with cold night breezes comparin to hot, humid interiors. Similarly the pavements dwellers also lie around and outside their shelter during summertime for the cooler night wind and the comfort.*

All my respondents expressed that they cannot sleep if their place is changed. This shelter of the pavement dwellers is of temporary existence, no concrete structure hence no permanence or stability is present yet some people are living in them for years. As this shelter is a daily made product of simple arrangements of simple materials, it is easily and daily repaired or updated as required.

All other household activities are performed in the surroundings, from pavement to PDC centre to other people's house and any space available, accessible and usable to them. For cooking they sometimes make a temporary burner with some half bricks laid in a triangular shape leaving a space for wooden sticks, papers to burn inside and put their pot over it, some of them own kerosene stoves, some have the opportunity to cook in the house they work as maids, and now a days use the PDC cooking facility. Cutting, washing and preparing of the food is done in the open pavement. And dining is also done on there. For bathing the women require privacy more than men and try to get enclosed bathroom facility which is provided these days in the PDC, but prior to this establishment they would try to use nearby slums common toilets but that is subjected to availability and access, some other times they also use the nearby *Dhanmondi lake* for bathing and washing clothes. Men usually wash in the lake. For sanitation they use the darkness of the night and early morning and use any leftover, unused or less frequently used space without any proper means of toilet.

Other daily life social interactions also regularly occur between the pavement dwellers and surrounding people in and around the open footpath and adjacent pavements. These relations and interactions are discussed in detail in respect of intangible aspect of home in the following.

**Analysis:** From the qualitative evidence in Colombia, Kellett and Moore (2003) suggest that the owning some tangible structure called home, no matter how poorly constructed it may be, is very important for a household's security, freedom, autonomy, well-being and opportunity. Pavement dwellers of *Green road* are in an extremer condition than this; their home is not of any concrete reality and is permanent only for a night. Yet they boldly and comfortably consider, refer and use this structure and discussed areas as their home.

*".....This is my home...". Firoza Begum (60).*

By going through relative literatures of home, homeless and homelessness this is clear that by no means of definition this temporary structure can be considered as a home. Most basic tangible aspects of home like – permanence & continuity, centre for family relationship, security & control, Retreat from surrounding world, concrete structure, ownership are absent but again present in a limited , deformed and adapted mood. But the reality of using it as a dwelling place for more than decades by a large number of peoples certainly demands recognition of that structure as home. It is inappropriate by all means of characteristics required by a home still these pavement dwellers are using it as a home.

In the pavement reality there are always more vulnerable people who do not possess belongings and float around and simply lie on bare footpath, comparing to their context this shelter is used for decades- so very permanent & Continuous, protect from nature -so comfortable, controlled, separates from outside- so safe and secured and personal. So in this severe vulnerable context this sanctuary is a successful living place “a home”. It is a home for the and by the pavement dwellers.

Successes of this shelter as a home largely depend on other external context rather than its physical qualities or inadequacies. The pavement dwellers mental frameset of universal acceptance of situation and coping to it, along with accessibility and availability of a favourable external community makes it feasible for the pavement dwellers to use this shelter as a home for a long period of time. The extent of success of this dwelling place by means of these intangible aspects of home is discussed in the next section.

#### **4.3.2. b. Intangible aspects of Home**

**Findings:** In the previous section it is shown that pavement dweller’s household activities are performed broadly in two places, the sleeping and private part in the shelter itself and all others outside it. The social networking that entirely takes place in the outside arena is discussed here from a perspective regarding as the intangible aspect of home.

Social activities of the pavement dweller can be clearly divided in two parts, firstly as interactions within their internal community-with other pavement dwellers and secondly as all other social contacts and relations with people of the surrounding neighborhood. These social interactions are identified here regarding as inherent constructive component of a home.

The interaction within community majorly rotates around their mutual transaction of livelihood assets, information, money and mostly daily life chitchats. In the pavement dwelling life sharing of space and assets are more common because of less availability and also because it provides security, as a result they are usually found in small groups in times of eating, or going to bath or cooking. Apart from these basic activities women also flock together during leisure time just to groom each other’s hair and gossip, while men get along each other gossiping, smoking, sleeping, sometimes playing board games or just resting together. While the children play along the sides of the pavements. All of these activities essentially take place in the pavement area, in comparison to a common rural life which is similar to some extent in the pattern of rural outdoor life.

The second part of socialization is with people surrounding them but who are not pavement dwellers. For every aspect of their urban life pavement dwellers have to rely on this particular social interaction. Their survival and livelihood depends and based on this part of their social life. Their main motive of this interaction is to gain or improve livelihood assets, like- to obtain permission to use the shop front space and more importantly to get employed. Living in the same place for a long time make the pavement dwellers known to the local people, this helps the pavement dweller largely to gain reliability and trust of the surrounding society. Upon this trust and reliability they get chances of employment.

**Analysis:** From literature review a key set of intangible aspects of home can be presented like – a centre for family relationships, a centre of activity, an emotional attachment to a place, a psychological and social construction and also the previously discussed sense of safety , security, comfort, control and ownership. These intangible aspects of home are a product of socio-cultural components in combination (Rapoport 1969, P. 48).

All these socio-cultural activities of the pavement dwellers are performed in the open pavement area without much exception. Their employment and financial engagements also occurs in the open footpaths of the *Green road* .They meet peoples in the pavement, they treat their guests there, their children grow up here with other pavement children, they gossip, play & relax in the pavement, the greet each other in the pavement, they quarrel here, they get extorted here, they get involved in crime here. As a whole they laugh, cry and keep on living with a hope of a better future in these pavements.

No matter how small and insignificant their physical shelters are, those are the functional dwelling hubs of the pavement dwellers and are not only a night time shelter rather a permanent living place, where people continue to live on for a long period of time forming a sense of identity. Pavement dwellers live in severe vulnerability in all aspect of their life, their strange ability to sustain and progress in this context is a reality because of a social grouping formed by these people, who might not be able to live alone without the help and continuous protection of their internal & external social relationships.

An emotional attachment also gradually develops between these pavement dwellers and their specific places as is nicely expressed by the elderly female respondent *Firoza Begum*:

*“I have to sleep here in my place, I can’t sleep elsewhere; it’s like.....my room where I sleep, this is my home”.*

This emotional attachment is found in *Dovey’s* (1985 cited in Tipple & Speak 2009, p.4) definition of home. “An emotionally based and meaningful relationship between dwellers and their dwelling places”.These socio-cultural components, physiological & psychological outcomes, social - communal life, these behavioral pattern all acting together in a complex way forms the “sense of *home*”.

**Sense of Home:** in this severe vulnerable life of the pavement dwellers there is no physical entity of a home, all their livelihood struggles and efforts succeeds in integrating them in a wider socio-cultural network, a set of relationships between individual and society, including family, community and institutions. The other outcome of their relentless effort results as a small shelter. This two aspects one tangible and other intangible together along with the pavement dwellers capability to perform livelihood activities compose psychological, social and emotional attributes home like sense of security and control, safety and comfort, permanence and continuity and this is the ideal formation of a home.

#### Box 4.1: Brief Life histories of respondents

**Ambia:** *Ambia* was born in a village in *Mymensingh*, a district in *Bangladesh*. Her father died during her childhood. They were four brothers and two sisters. Later, one of her brothers had died. She is the youngest among the siblings. In past they were in a good economic condition with sufficient wealth. As her father was irregular in income, day by day they have lost all of their wealth. After her father had died livelihood became difficult, thus her mother migrated to *Green Road* in *Dhaka*. She accompanied her mother, leaving the rest of the siblings in village home. She was only seven then. Life in *Green Road* had started, but not in the pavement. At first they used to sleep under staircases of a residential building. Her mother was working as a maid servant of surrounding buildings. Later *Ambia's* mother had started to visit home occasionally with *Ambia*. *Ambia* got married in *Mymensingh* with her maternal cousin who was a rickshaw puller over there. Though the new couple was settled in *Mymensingh* first, poverty did not let them stay there for long time. After having a baby girl they were obliged to leave village home to search for a better livelihood. They had ended up living on *Green Road's* pavement since that is what they could afford with their earnings in the capital city. But the misery of *Ambia* was not finished yet. After having two sons, her husband left her and married another woman. Now *Ambia* is living on the pavement without her husband. Two sons stay with her on pavement but her eldest daughter lives in a house as a fulltime maid servant.

**Sufia Begum:** She was born in a farmer's family in *Kisoregang*, a sub-urban area. Their livelihoods were managed somehow with her father's agricultural works. But life became very painful when her mother had got sick mentally and had left home. Then her father got married again. Her step mother left them too when her father had died. Before her father died *Sufia Begum* had got married in the same village. Her husband was doing livestock business. Unfortunately he got addicted and lost his property by gambling. He had got sick mentally and *Sufia Begum's* misery started again. Her husband was trying to beat her though she was pregnant. By that time she was a mother of three children. At the age of 21 days of her daughter (youngest child), she had decided to come to *Dhaka* with a woman. She divorced her husband and came to *Green Road* bringing her daughter with her and leaving 2 sons with her sister back in village. Since her daughter was an infant, *Sufia Begum* was earning her livelihood by begging but now she is working as a housemaid. Afterwards her two sons came to *Green Road* too to live with her in pavement. While she was talking about her life story she satirically said, "In village I was well as long as my husband was well, but when my husband turned bad, everything turned bad".

**Mohammad Saiful:** *Mohammad Saiful* was born in a village of *Kisoregang* in a farmer's family. They were two brothers and two sisters. His father was a daily labour as he did not have any agricultural land of his own. For searching livelihood, he sold his village home and came to *Dhaka* with family. *Mohammad Saiful* was then only five months old. At first his father was pulling cart and the whole family was staying in a relative's home in *Farmgate*, a nearby locality of *Green Road*. At that time, they had connection with village. Occasionally they visited and stayed in village. *Mohammad Saiful* used to live both in city and village wherever it was convenient to stay. When he was in village he worked as agricultural day labour, sometimes as a hotel boy and as a cowboy. But now *Mohammad Saiful* is settled in *Green Road* after getting married and the couple is now living on pavement with their two children. It is been two years he is pulling rickshaw in *Green Road*, but previously he was pulling rickshaw in *Mahakhai*, and *Rarebazaa* (both of them are far away from the *Green Road* area). His parents are also now living on pavement here in *Green Road* but separately.

**Firoza Begum:** This old woman was born in *Muhudda*, a sub-urban place in *Bangladesh*. Her father was doing agricultural works there. Father had land and house but day by day the property were lost because of kinship dispute. *Firoza Begum* was married with her paternal cousin in the same village. *Firoza's* husband left her when she was a mother of seven days old boy. Then life became very struggling for her. She was earning her livelihood by crop processing work in village. At last she migrated to *Dhaka* and took shelter of a female pavement dweller in *Green Road*. When her son was adult she went back to village home. After two years she again came back to *Green Road*, but she occasionally visits village. At first she was doing household work but now she is a beggar. Now her son is 25 years old and got married in village home. The new couple are also pavement dwellers in *Green Road* and her daughter-in-law working as a maid servant. *Firoza* has two grandchildren. She lives separately here in pavement, not with her son's family.

**Shahida:** *Shahida* was born in *Dhanbari* in *Tangail*. She was living in village with her mother and siblings, but her father was living in *Dhaka* because of work. Unfortunately, her father was not regular to send money for them. Afterwards they came to *Green Road* in search of livelihood and have started to stay with her father there. Her father is a footpath shopkeeper in *Green Road*. Her eldest sister got married in village home and living there with his husband, who is a rickshaw puller. Though they have land and house in village, her grandmother does not let them live there because of kinship dispute. So, *Shahida* with her family is now living on pavement of *Green Road*.

**Md. Kalimuddin:** He was born in *Kisoregang*. *Md. Kalimuddin* came to *Green Road* with his mother at the age of 7 from village home. His mother was a beggar at that time and he was a waster paper picker in *Kalabagan* area, a nearby neighbourhood of *Green Road*. He was working in a group of four boys. After a few days later he had started to work as a human hauler helper. But that job was not also continued for long time, as there was an accident. The driver fled away but general people had caught *Md. Kalimuddin* and beaten him severe. After the incident he has started to pull rickshaw till now. He got married with his paternal cousin *Majeda*, a pavement dweller in *Green Road*. They have one child. Now they are living together on pavement.

**Majeda:** *Majeda* was born in *Dinajpur* in a solvent family. *Majeda's* father's original home was in *Mymensingh*, but he migrated to *Dinajpur* to stay close to his relatives. In *Dinajpur*, he managed to buy land and build house, but day by day those properties were lost. Big theft of all livestock and property cases were the major reasons behind the lost of properties. Then the economic situation was degraded. During that time *Majeda* got married and two sons were born. Both of them were died later. Since his husband did not take care of her around three years, *Majeda* had no other way but leave him for her livelihood and came to *Dhaka* with her sister-in-law, named *Fatema*. At first she was a fulltime maid servant in a house in *Bhuter Goli*, a nearby neighbourhood of *Green Road*. Afterwards she worked as a full time maidservant in *Boubazaar* which is also a nearby neighbourhood of *Green Road*. The mistress of that house used to torture her by beating her and did not give her food and cloth properly. With the help of her relatives she managed to escape from that house and rented a house in *Green Road* with 150 BDT (15 EURO). But she did not stay there for long. She got married again with her maternal cousin *Md. Kalimuddin*. Now *Majeda* and *Md. Kalimuddin* live together with their son on the pavement of *Green Road*.

**Shima:** *Shima* was born in *Mymensingh* in an educated and solvent family. His father was doing agricultural works. She was married with a graduated man in *Mymensingh* and they had a son. When she was conceived again, her husband went to *Malaysia* as a migrant worker. Unfortunately, her husband had fallen into the situation of absconding in *Malaysia*. *Shima* got the information and with the help of her father-in-law she had managed to bring her husband back from *Malaysia*. *Shima's* father-in-law had to sell his land to manage the money needed for bringing him back. Afterwards *Shima* had settled in *Narayanganj*, a nearest city of *Dhaka*, with his husband and children. *Shima* was working in a garment factory there on a salary of 4500 BDT (45 EURO). But within few days her father-in-law had died and his husband got mentally sick as an after effect of the incident in *Malaysia*. Then the whole family went back to village home. *Shima* tried to make treatment of her husband but he never got well. Day by day livelihood became very hard for them which ultimately forced *Shima* to start for *Dhaka* with one of her sister-in-law, leaving sick husband with mother-in-law back in village home. As she said, "after my husband got mad, I did not have any other way except coming to *Dhaka* for survive; my parents took care of me and my children a lot, now it is time to take responsibility on my own". This is the story how *Shima* had ended up living on pavement of *Green Road* with her children. She visits her husband occasionally and sends money regularly. Her last words were to me, "now I am living very happily by blessings of God".

#### Box 4.2: Hope and future Plan of respondents

**Ambia:** *Ambia* wants to go back village home after buying land and building home there.

**Sufia Begum:** She is dreaming to buy land and build home for her two sons. She do not want to get married again as her sons are adult. She hopes, one day she will get her daughter married. She told, “*I will not go to village for ever as I am used to stay in city. I do not like to stay in village; this pavement is good for me. I do not have my parents, siblings where I can live peacefully. It is sometimes inconvenient to live in other’s house. I like to live here, as I have freedom here.*” She wants land in village; big loan for do some business or a good job in city.

**Mohammad Saiful:** *Saiful* wants to live in village and if possible he wants to buy a land in village. He said to me, “*I do no’t want to stay in Dhaka. If I can earn enough I will go to village with my family, but income is not increasing. I hope when the children will be adult, income will increase; then we can stay in village*”.

**Firoza Begum:** “*I did not sell all my ornaments in nose, hand, ear and west, my father gave me those; when I will die, money by selling those ornaments will provide my funeral cloth*”- this is how she expressed her future thinking while showing me her ornaments that she was wearing. She wants to live in village home. She added, “*I want to live happily; I make tension of myself as I am too old, if I would fall in sickness, who will take care of me?*”. She believes that nobody would give her anything according to her demand, so she is satisfied on whatever people give.

**Shahida:** *Shahida’s* dream is to open a shop of Betel leaf if she can save money. Again she says, “*I want home in village, I am trying to save money for that. I will stay there with my mother, sisters and grandparents, not with father because he beats my mother*”.

**Majeda & Md. Kalimuddin:** *Majeda’s* village home is in a broken situation, she wants to fix that. She said, “*I want to buy a cow in village home and my husband will take care of that staying there, but I do not want to go to village*”. But her husband *Md. Kalimuddin* is planning defferently. He wants to do business if he gets money as he said, “*I am living with my tension as I need money (5000/6000 BDT) to do business of raw materials*”. While talking about his plan to save money for renting house in city he said, “*I hope to buy land for my son*” though he sounds very pessimist.

**Shima:** She wanted to work in garments factory for higher payment, but as her daughter is still infant, she could not do that. While talking with me about her future planning she said, “*When my daughter will grow a little, I will keep her with my sister; then I will start working in garments. After saving some good amount of money finally I will settle in village*”. *Shima’s* husband has house in village, so they do not want to live here on pavement. About renting house, she told, “*when my children will be adult then it may be needed to rent house*”. She was very hurt and sad to be a maid servant and while she was talking about her employment, she was about to cry in front of me and said, “*I have studied a little, I want a good job with respect*”.

#### 4.3.3. Findings from research question 3: Policy-interaction with government and NGO

**Findings:** From the focus group discussions, interviews of the primary respondents and from discussion held with some NGO personnel (secondary respondents) it is found that pavement dwellers are only recognized as “*others*” in case of any policy development and programme taken for them, as a result these policies often misjudge their true nature and offers nonviable solutions resulting in no development after using up national resources designated for the purpose. On the pavement dwellers part they consider themselves as illegal occupier of the space and is not aware of any rights , not responsibilities, most of the case they are reluctant to participate any formal programme fearing of deportation or eviction etc, thus they most of the time keep themselves out of any formal participation and live by themselves. In cases of NGO programme who works more closely and deeply with the pavement dwellers, achieve to get involved in their life cycle even that is only after they have spent a considerable amount of time to gain their faith.

Only then thus the NGO's can help to survive them in their present condition and to upgrade their lifestyle if possible.

*CONCERN worldwide-Bangladesh* has been implementing a project known as “*Amrao Manush* (we are human too)” on the pavement dwellers of *Dhaka* city. Their objectives is to uplift the socio-economic conditions of pavement dwellers by providing some basic services and also by helping them to accumulate assets to be able to eventually return to their homes or to find locations off the pavement in which to settle (Alam 2009, p.i). *Green Road* is under their catchments area where *SAJIDA Foundation, Bangladesh* is working as implementing partner agency. Pavement dwellers here had interacted with *SAJIDA* for the first time during the inception period of the project, which is collecting some data before implementing the services (*ibid* p.2). In the initial days these people were quite reluctant to co operate them. They were suspicious about their intervention and always trying to reserve their information/identification hidden. Although occasionally express, in that case the information was fake. Community Mobilizer *Ms. Parvin* often faced up to words like this, “*You people are fake.....do not waste our time*”. They value their working and leisure time rather than talking with a NGO worker.

But things have been changing as the present situation reveals. Now, majority of the pavement dwellers from *Green road* are receiving some supports from *SAJIDA* through their Pavement Dwelling Centre (PDC). The respondents expressed their positive responses regarding the supports they get from PDC. According to them, it contributes to improve their livelihood.

Comparing to these relations with NGO's Pavement dwellers in general do not have much formal or direct interactions with any government agencies in the city. Pavement dwellers of *Green road* have no formal recognition or identification by the local city corporation. There are no legal ties between them and government. Though they live in the city, sometimes for many years, they obtain their national identification cards from their villages and remain excluded from the local city corporations.

Any voluntary participation of the pavement dwellers in any government programme is only observed in the case of receiving benefits by means of unconditional charity and donations like mobile paramedical treatments, occasional food, money distribution and occasional winter cloth distribution. Pavement dwellers are deprived of beneficial policies of the government because of their identity crisis. In general the existing policies and laws to protect and support the destitute people primarily require a basic identification and address or reference from and of the victim, which is unaffordable for the pavement dwellers. As a consequence, the pavement dwellers cannot even make a formal report of harassment or extortion in the police station.

Observation from the field works reveals that though the pavement dwellers cannot make formal complaint to the law enforcing agencies, local police stations and officers often informally supports them. As was in the case of my respondent *Majeda* (see section4.3.1.c), in another incident policemen helped a female pavement dweller to retrieve her money from a pavement dweller guy who was refusing to give her money back.

Local government have indirect impact on the livelihoods of pavement dwellers of *Green Road* through various NGOs. Like being a partner agency of “*Amrao Manush*” project, *Dhaka City Corporation* is providing legal support for conducting the project activities. This project is now trying to acquire some land/ abandoned house from government for night-shelter. Sometimes related NGOs like CUP arrange programs and gather pavement dwellers to aware them of their rights and to demonstrate their destitute situation to the society and the government demanding their basic human rights.

**Analysis:** Because of their vulnerable context of the pavement life, pavement dwellers grow an expectation to receive livelihood assets unconditionally and to achieve that they rely on assistance from willing organizations. In any intervention either by government or NGO or individuals, the pavement dwellers only seek the direct benefit and assistances. Thus pavement dweller’s perception about any intervention is as opportunities to obtain livelihood assets.

NGO’s involvement and attachment with the pavement dwellers are more direct and formal comparing to Government’s informal and indirect involvements. This informal and indirect approach gives the government an opportunity to deal with Pavement dwellers within general development policies for poor. As a result pavement dwellers are not defined or identified by the government as any special vulnerable group. On the other hand, pavement dwellers on their own cannot put effort to get directly or indirectly involved in any policy development regarding them. Generally without NGO assistance they are unaware of their constitutional rights and national development policies. Only through direct actions of related NGO’s pavement dwellers get aware of their rights, policies regarding them, and by these NGO’s get organized to claim the rights, individually or in group.

Pavement dwellers vulnerable context compel them to cope with existing policies and adapt their livelihood according to new policies, they are not in a position to judge a policy or to decide about its acceptance or rejection, the only thing they can do about any government policy is to comply with it. Usually the NGOs develop their respective policies for pavement dwellers with adequate feedbacks from them and thus include the pavement dwellers in policy making, this form of participation is quite absent in the case of government policy making.

**Table 4.13: Interaction with Government and NGO**

Primary Respondents Name Living period in Dhaka(yr)	Involvement in NGO: PDC facility				Involvement in Government Organization	
	Sanitation, Bathing, washing cloth. cooking	Resting, Day care for children	Child Education	Savings	Aids distributions	Others Government involvement
<i>Ambia</i> (25)	Sanitation, Bathing, washing cloth. cooking	Resting, Day care of 2 boys 6, 3.5 yrs old	Not received	yes	Aids receive	Informal contact with law enforcement force, Voter ID Card
<i>Sufia Begum</i> (8)	Sanitation, Bathing, washing cloth. cooking	Resting, Day care of 1 5 yrs old girl	Not received	yes	Aids receive	Informal contact with law enforcement force, Voter ID Card
<i>Mohammad Saiful</i> (20)	Sanitation, Bathing,	Resting, Day care of 2 boys 5, 2.5 yrs old	Not received	yes	Aids receive	Informal contact with law enforcement force, Voter ID Card
<i>Firoza Begum</i> (25)	Sanitation, Bathing, washing cloth. cooking	Resting,	Not received	yes	Aids receive	Informal contact with law enforcement force, Voter ID Card
<i>Shahida</i> (12)	Sanitation, Bathing, washing cloth.	Resting,	Not received	yes	Aids receive	Informal contact with law enforcement force, Voter ID Card
<i>Md. Kalimuddin</i> (25)	Sanitation, Bathing,	Resting, Day care of 6 year old boy	Not received	None	Aids receive	Informal contact with law enforcement force, Voter ID Card
<i>Majeda</i> (20)	Sanitation, Bathing, washing cloth. cooking	Resting, Day care of 6 year old boy	Not received	yes	Aids receive	Informal contact with law enforcement force, Voter ID Card
<i>Shima</i> (03)	Sanitation, Bathing, washing cloth. cooking	Resting, Day care of 3 year old girl	Not received	yes	Aids receive	Informal contact with law enforcement force, Voter ID Card

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

### 5.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter principally reflects what this research adds to the existing theory. It begins with a retrospect on the research's study and background information. Then the section "conclusion and discussion" starts with interpreting research result and conclusions are drawn with a description what the study has added to the existing body of knowledge. Finally, this chapter tries to give some directions for further development and continuation of this research.

### 5.2 Retrospect: research purpose

The purpose of this research is to make an accurate and realistic understanding of the lives of the people who lives on pavement in the *Dhaka*, the capital city of Bangladesh. How they go about their livelihoods in urban area by using their assets; how these assets convert into livelihoods outcomes; while managing the assets how they feel the "sense of *home*" and whether this "sense of *home*" is a survival strategy for them- these are the expected result for this research. In short this research wants to know the "*survival strategies*" and the "*sense of home*" as a survival strategy of pavement dwellers of *Dhaka*. After formulating a realistic research framework in respect of time and feasibility researcher concentrates only the group of pavement dwellers living on the footpath of *Green Road*<sup>41</sup>.

For the successful accomplishment of research aim, researcher tries to understand the context of the target group first. Given that these people live without any *home*, which is quite a significant and unique micro context prevailing in a macro context of urban system, a system completely different and incomparable with the rural system from where these pavement dwellers come and become *homeless*. So, study on *Homeless people*, *Homelessness* and *home* was crucial to recognize them locally and globally.

The ultimate goal for becoming familiar with the pavement dwellers' livelihoods is to improve their livelihoods, thus reduce poverty, which is very much identical with the DFID's sustainable livelihood (SL) approach. This SL framework is people-centred and it discusses context, assets and strategies. Its primary objective is to help identify the factors affecting livelihoods, their relative importance and the way they engage each other, what exactly this research is trying to do. So, after reviewing the DFID's SL framework in depth, researcher uses this framework as a tool to analyze pavement dwellers' assets, their objectives (livelihood outcomes which they seek for) to find out the livelihood strategies (which they adopt to achieve these objectives) and thus identify the livelihood asset which build up their "sense of *home*".

### 5.3 Conclusions and Discussions

The research result here meant what this study is searching for. Thus results are discussed as answers of research questions to examine whether it really answers the queries by question or not. Appropriate answers and the process of deriving

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<sup>41</sup> Chapter 1, section 1.7 has the description of *Green road* area.

those by applying theories, ensured the quality of research result, the research methods and the collected data.

Research question 01: How do the pavement dwellers manage their livelihood assets to survive on pavement?

**Livelihood Assets:** Livelihood assets of the pavement dwellers are a set of very limited capitals (Details in chapter 4) ,in concise this set comprises of capitals like -pavement dwellers casual labourer as temporary and permanent jobs, human resources like earning family members, social networking like kinship and other human relations, a set of portable belongings like the elements of the temporary shelter, few usable natural resources like the open fields and Lakes, a temporary or permanent employment, some savings or investments, and an overall positive attitude towards life expressed by common hope and ambitions.

**Asset Management:** Pavement dwellers primary asset management is to cope with any presented situation and to adapt their living pattern according to available resources and limitations. This coping and adaptation succeeds through their simultaneous sharing of assets and stresses, and working together to perform simple daily life works. Pavement dwellers gain their basic livelihood earnings as an outcome of social interactions with surrounding peoples by means of employment or charity. They exercise intimate mutual relationships among themselves and compose a sense of community. They circulate gained assets within this community by means of loans, barter or simply giving in times of extreme needs.

**Sense and Survival:** Temporary but continuous existence of the small shelter along with these intimate relationships gives the pavement dweller's a sense of safety, security and comfort; a sense of permanence, identity and authority. Pavement dwellers successful survival on the pavement is the complex synthesis between their livelihood assets, their coping attitude, their adaptation, their social relations, their communal living and above all their shelter.

Research question 02: What is the “sense of *home*” to the pavement dwellers, which aspects of livelihood framework give them “sense of *home*” and how do they feel that?

**Home on the Pavement:** Pavement dwellers of *Green Road* do not live in an adequate home, they live in the open pavements in makeshift shelters, but they perceive, recognize and use this shelter along with the open pavements as their own home. The pavement dwellers sense of home is not limited to the basic physical entity of their shelter; rather their sense of home is extended to the surrounding built environment, where they perform most of their livelihood activities. To the pavement dwellers home is not confined within a boundary rather it is a spread out composition where different activities are performed in different detached spaces. Apart from sleeping, sex and occasional eating all other activities are performed in the pavements around their shelters. They adapt their livelihood activities according to availability of spaces and livelihood capitals.

**“Sense of Home”:** Pavement dwellers shelter, surroundings and their social relations altogether enable them to perform their livelihood activities successfully, though within limitations. A combined effect of this living place and livelihood encircling it composes pavement dwellers sense of home. Though all aspects of the livelihood framework play role; the physical asset- shelter and the social asset – mutual relationships are the aspects that play direct role in composing the sense of home. Their inadequacies of tangible assets to construct a home are complemented by successful performance of their social relationships.

**Perception of “sense of home”:** Pavement dwellers shelters are very temporary but they are consistent and used continuously for decades with regular modifications and adaptation which in terms gives the pavement dweller a feelings of permanence and continuity. This shelter gives them the feelings of identity. Using it as a base they perform all livelihood activities in and around this. And feel an emotional attachment with their shelter. But rudimentary attributes of a home like the sense of security, safety and comfort are achieved simultaneously by the shelter and even more by their social life, their intimate mutual relationships. Thus this “sense of home” is felt in the presence of the household persons, here the physical entity of the home is small but the social assets - relations are always present and thus create the ideal state home for the pavement dwellers. The strength of the construction of this small home is in its psychological and emotional components and it overcomes the shortcomings of its physical qualities, and hence provide the pavement dweller a space to live, feel safe and comfortable, continue and aspire to carry on to a better future.

Research question 03: How do pavement dwellers interact with the government and NGOs in improving lives and how is their role perceived by pavement dwellers?

Pavement dwellers first priority is to obtain livelihood assistance from anyone or any organization, they cannot afford to judge provider’s identity, method, purpose or structure of that organization. Each and every assistance provided by any organization, government or non government help the pavement dwellers to improve their sustainability of livelihood. The NGOs formal and direct developments programmes positively effect by providing direct livelihood assistance to them while government’s more informal and indirect involvement also provide livelihood assistance to the pavement dwellers.

Pavement dwellers are more comfortable and satisfied with NGO programs after they get involved to it and start to receive direct benefits; they are not as satisfied with government activities as they cannot perceive indirect benefits from government through NGOs. They are solely focused in receiving livelihood assistance from all interventions and cannot afford to put effort to participate in government policy making, though sometimes get chance to participate in the NGO policy making process.

**The interpretation of Research Results:** Pavement dwellers of *Green Road* do not live in an adequate home, they live in the open pavements in makeshift shelters, but they perceive, recognize and use this shelter along with the open pavements as their own home. This cannot be generalized for any other pavement dwellers without further in-depth. Though they do not pose a defined home they have a shelter and perform all household activity within limitations. Both governments indirect and NGO's direct intervention in their livelihood improve their vulnerability context.

**An addition to existing body of knowledge :** This research is an exploratory research which revealed details of less number of respondents , and I think this can be easily fitted to the existing knowledge and data and enhance the understanding of each individual for better policy development , I also think this is a starting and other areas where pavement dwellers reside should be observed and analyzed through selected respondents and thus help to develop realistic policies regarding pavement dwellers.

#### **5.4 Potentials for further study**

The following areas should be considered as potential for further study or continuation of this research:

- This research is an attempt to understand the pavement dwellers in depth. By doing so, it reveals that going deep into the issues of survival strategies is essential for understanding the whole about pavement dwelling. Which is the very first potential for further study, as time constrain limited this research to dig inside enough of these pavement dwellers' livelihood.
- Different people living on pavement have distinctive experiences and distinctive needs, thus distinctive ways of life in pavement exists. Locality is one of the big factors for this distinctiveness, which ultimately responsible for building distinctive survival strategies for different group of pavement dwellers living in different locality. This is the second research scope that researcher found quite potential to search "*whether the survival strategies are context specific or not*".
- The next and third major potential area for study could be concerning the sustainability of livelihood of these pavement dwellers. While commencing this research I have felt a big question about the future generation, "*what is the sustainability of livelihood of pavement dwellers regarding the future of future generation?*".
- Exploring the pavement dwellers in depth in their homeless situation in different location may reveal different feelings /sense of *home*, which must characterize their living thus survival strategies respective to different location. This variety of attribution of *home* could be another big arena of research by "*defining home for the different pavement dwellers living on different locality*".

Except these four significant potentials for further study, the following areas could be essential study aspects to be further investigated.

- Conducting a qualitative and quantitative livelihood study on the pavement dwellers that have come out from the pavement dwelling situation.

- Preparation of a quantitative database for all the pavement dwellers in *Dhaka* city scattered in different locations.
- Comparative studies regarding livelihoods between different pavement dwellers group from different location with different socio-economic characteristics.
- Comparative studies regarding the NGO and government intervention consequences between different pavement dwellers group from different locations.
- Conducting a qualitative and quantitative study on the migration cause of pavement dwellers to the city of *Dhaka*.
- Conducting research on other urban areas of *Bangladesh* apart from capital city *Dhaka* to make it possible intervening them too.

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## Annexure

### Annex 1: Checklist of enquiries

Variables	Indicators	Possible enquiries
Vulnerability Context, structure & processes	<b>Social context of city</b>	
	Social network, structure & tradition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relationship with surrounding neighbourhoods: co-operative/ enmity.</li> <li>• Relationship in internal community (with other pavement dwellers).</li> <li>• Member of any associations/organizations/ religious organizations.</li> <li>• Benefit after joining in any organization.</li> </ul>
	Safety & crime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Level of safety and security in both day and night times (theft, kidnapping, physical harassment etc).</li> <li>• Involvement in criminality.</li> <li>• Criminal case against family member/ individual.</li> <li>• Subject to violence.</li> <li>• Institutional support or harassment.</li> </ul>
	<b>The urban economy</b>	
	Market: Income source	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Income expenditure management.</li> </ul>
	No. of household members earning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Persons in a household working to support the economic need of family.</li> </ul>
	Formal/informal sector activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Involvement in formal/informal job (detail about the employment).</li> <li>• Option to get formal/informal job.</li> </ul>
	<b>Environment &amp; health</b>	
	Location of living spaces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Areas for household activities (sleeping, cooking, bathing, toilet, playing etc.).</li> </ul>
	Access to infrastructures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Have/have not access to municipal infrastructure.</li> <li>• Existing practice for waste disposal, water, sanitation, electricity etc.</li> </ul>
	Working environments/ type of employment (formal or informal)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formal/ informal work.</li> <li>• Risky/hazardous work.</li> </ul>
	Natural calamity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Flooding/inundation, cyclone.</li> <li>• Seasonal natural impact (rain, sun, cold etc.).</li> </ul>
	Affordability to medical services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to health care.</li> <li>• Response to illness.</li> <li>• Access to hospital, if needed.</li> </ul>
	<b>Governance</b>	
	Legal status: constitutional rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bribery to leaders/ bad cops or any another disturbance for living in illegality.</li> </ul>
	Basic social services (health, education)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Benefits from the basic social services or not.</li> </ul>
	Financial services (e.g. bank)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to loan from a bank.</li> <li>• Access to any credit/ loan service from other than bank.</li> </ul>
	<b>Others</b>	
	Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advantages/ disadvantages to be man/ woman/ children.</li> <li>• Gender discrimination for accessing the living on pavement.</li> </ul>
Cast or ethnicity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Presence of ethnic people/ not.</li> <li>• Presence of different cast people.</li> </ul>	
Capital Assets	<b>Human Capital</b>	
	Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Educational background.</li> </ul>

	Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most frequent illness.</li> <li>• Health status (how healthy).</li> </ul>
	Skills & labor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Number and composition of family members (husband/wife, parents, son/daughter, nephew/niece etc.).</li> <li>• Skilled/unskilled.</li> </ul>
	<b>Social Capital</b>	
	Networks & mutual support between households and communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Presence of insults/ harassments or discrimination in the neighborhoods or not.</li> <li>• Involvement in political party.</li> <li>• Internal community support.</li> <li>• Support from external community.</li> </ul>
	Relation between poor and non poor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social interconnectivity.</li> </ul>
	<b>Physical Capital</b>	
	Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to/ existence of housing on pavement or back in home (rural area).</li> </ul>
	Public infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access &amp; availability and two way response.</li> </ul>
	Property	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Own any property (home, land etc.) back home (rural area).</li> <li>• Own any livestock here/ back home.</li> </ul>
	<b>Financial Capital</b>	
	Income	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Daily/monthly income.</li> <li>• Average family/household income</li> <li>• Savings possible/ not possible.</li> <li>• Receiving fund regularly from family member working out of city/overseas.</li> </ul>
	Employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Employment type: regular/irregular, full time/occasional, seasonal/ permanent.</li> </ul>
	Credit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to formal credit.</li> <li>• Access to informal credit.</li> </ul>
	<b>Natural Capital</b>	
	Land, vegetation , weather, water body	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Own any land back home (rural area)</li> <li>• Collecting free vegetable, tolerable weather, access to water bodies.</li> </ul>
	Common property resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Existence of any common property internally.</li> <li>• Sharing any common property with other communities.</li> </ul>
Home	<b>Tangible aspects</b>	
	Physical environment (built)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Existence of any structure.</li> <li>• Existence of footpath, pavements, road divider, any other unused / leftover hard surfaces etc.</li> </ul>
	Material expression (architecture)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use of scrapped building materials: few bricks, polythene sheet, pieces of rope, some sticks etc.</li> <li>• Use of cooking utensils, make shift burner.</li> <li>• Existence of bedding.</li> </ul>
	Behavior (use of space)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Specific usage of various spaces.</li> </ul>
	<b>Intangible aspects</b>	
	Sense of security & comfort	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Existence and intensity of the relative sense of a secured and comfortable life.</li> </ul>
	Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relative group or individual identity buildup leading to self-respect, esteem and future.</li> </ul>
	Individual/residential biography (place of birth, history)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Living period.</li> <li>• Individual and group life history. (Background, origin, migration cause, present stability / vulnerability, next step).</li> </ul>
	Daily household activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Routine household activities.</li> <li>• Family ties.</li> <li>• Recreational interactions.</li> </ul>

	Interpersonal relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relations within and outside kinsmen.</li> </ul>
	Hope	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Survival drive to any upgradation.</li> </ul>
Policy	Awareness of policies, acceptance/ rejection of policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Local government policies are helpful or not.</li> <li>• Satisfaction with the NGOs and govt. has done so far or not.</li> <li>• Opinion about municipality work for them.</li> </ul>
	Participation of policy making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Direct involvement in any policy development by means of participation in any form of organizational bodies.</li> <li>• Scope of involvement.</li> </ul>

Prepared by: Researcher

## Annex 2: Household details of primary respondents

Respondent's Name	Marital status	No. of family member	Household details				
			Mother (age, occupation)	Father (age, occupation)	Child 1 (age, sex, occupation)	Child 2 (age, sex, occupation)	Child 3 (age, sex, occupation)
<i>Ambia</i>	Married (adandoned by husband)	4	Respondent (32, beggar)	<i>Fulmia</i> (45, rickshaw puller)	<i>Ratna</i> (14, female, maid servant)	<i>Shah Alam</i> (6, male, nil)	<i>Alam</i> (31/2, male, nil)
<i>Sufia Begum</i>	Divorced	4	Respondent (35)	<i>Md. Chan Mia</i> (42, farmer)	<i>Borhan</i> (12, male, waste picker)	<i>Raihan</i> (10, male, nil)	<i>Khadija</i> (5, female, nil)
<i>Mohammad Saiful</i>	Married	4	<i>Maleka</i> (26, maid servant)	Respondent (34, rickshaw puller)	<i>Badshah</i> (5, male, nil)	<i>Apon</i> (21/2, male, nil)	
<i>Firoza Begum</i>	Married (adandoned by husband)	1	Respondent (60, beggar)	Deceased	<i>Md. Mobarak</i> (32, male, rickshaw puller)		
<i>Shahida</i>	Unmarried	5	<i>Chaina</i> (42, maid servant)	<i>Md. Jalaluddin</i> (50, footpath shopkeeper)	<i>Kabir</i> (17, female, housewife)	Respondent (16, female, nil)	<i>Sharmin</i> (6, female, nil)
<i>Md. Kalimuddin</i>	Married	3	<i>Majeda</i> (40, maid servant+ waste paper picker)	Respondent (32, rickshaw puller)	<i>Kabir</i> (6, male, nil)		
<i>Majeda</i>	Married	3	Respondent (40, maid servant+ waste paper picker)	<i>Md. Kalimuddin</i> (32, rickshaw puller)	(6, male, nil)		
<i>Shima</i>	Married	4	Respondent (28, maid servant)	<i>Md. Arju</i> (36, unemployed)	<i>Shawon</i> (9, male, nil)	<i>Oishy</i> (3, female, nil)	

Prepared by: Researcher

### Annex 3: Time-planning followed in the fieldwork

	Week 01 04.07.10- 10.07.10	Week 02 11.07.10- 17.07.10	Week 03 18.07.10- 24.07.10	Week 04 25.07.10- 31.07.10	Week 05 01-02.08.2010
Data processing					
Individual interview (secondary respondent)					
Field observation					
Individual interview (primary respondent)					
Focus Group Discussion (FGD)					
Adjusting checklist of interviews					
Pilot visit in field					
Deskwork with Research Assistant					
Meeting, desk-work with NGO					