

Forced Evictions and Survival Strategies in Kathmandu Squatter Community

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Abstract

The development of these squatter settlements in various cities is a representation of the ironies of the rapid urbanisation process, as the three factors of poverty, migration, and the lack of concern of the state coming together create areas of insecure livelihood. The paper evaluates a case study of Manohara squatter settlement in Kathmandu valley, Nepal, on the eviction forced in August 2025, displacing hundreds of people. This paper reviews the changes in livelihood based on a household survey of 51 evicted households, further intensified by field observations and livelihood investigation with reference to physical, financial, social, human, natural and political capitals. The findings suggest that eviction resulted in a sharp decline of housing security, economic stability, and access to ecological resources, and the household members were subjected to casual wage work and debt servitude and to a precarious status of housing. Social and human capital were not torn to pieces, yet they could not overturn long-established structural weaknesses established through displacement. The paper uncovers the fact that overlapping powers of Kathmandu Metropolitan City and Kathmandu Valley Development Authority constructed the evictions, in the context of environmental governance and organisation of urban spaces, without taking into account the experiences of the poor. Witness accounts of people living on the impacted hills support the psychological torment, loss of money and ambition, and disappointment that were caused by state intervention, and it was increased by the exploitative nature of land brokers operating on the ground. It has been found that eviction is not just an act of space but a process of compounding insecurities, compromising resilience, and an additional process of exclusion. The paper will assume that the path the Kathmandu valley must follow in an attempt to reduce poverty and inequality in a sustainable manner is inclusive urban planning, tenure recognition and rights-based housing policies.

Keywords: Squatters, eviction, livelihood, urban, Kathmandu, capital, assets, vulnerability

1. Background

The growing high rates of in-migration of cities in the developing world have triggered a multifaceted dilemma: the rising poverty in the cities. Although this problem is commonly recognised in policy communities, responses to reality on the ground prove to be lagging not only in magnitude but also in terms of the progressiveness of the problem at hand. The city is the icon of opportunity to millions, but to those on the periphery of the city, it is also a place of insecurity with their feeble livelihoods and the never-ending hardship to find housing, services, and job opportunities (Maxwell et al., 2000).

In Nepal, poverty alleviation has been given a focal role in the successive government development plans. Nevertheless, the fact that there is still a high level of deprivation shows the inadequacy of the current plans (Bhusal et al., 2004). Incidence of labour dependency among urban households is high and includes unskilled labour on a daily wage basis, semi-skilled self-employed segment and limited access to formal positions. And they seem not to have any stable jobs or dependable services, thus rendering their lives in an urban setting unstable (Baral, 2019).

The rate of urban poverty in Nepal has increased even more rapidly in the last several decades, which has been fueled by political warfare, insecurity in rural areas, and migration to Kathmandu. It has grown to be a haven for people in search of safety and livelihoods; however, this has been causing constant pressure on the city's infrastructure (Lumanti, 2008). Provision of water, power, housing and transport has been found wanting in terms of the increasing demand. There is a high cost of land, formal housing has become unaffordable and informal settlements have increased. Currently, approximately a quarter of urban dwellers reside in rental structures, and close to one in every ten in the squatter settlements (Shrestha, 2025). Such settlements characteristically do not have opportunities for safe drinking water, hygiene facilities, medical care, education, and safe tenure, and those who live through them are in a hopeless situation of life, tugging the battle of poverty despite their efforts.

Nevertheless, Squatter settlements in Kathmandu give the example of contradictions of the phenomenon of rapid urban development in exclusionary planning. On the one hand, even basic services include drinking water, sanitation, health care, education, and protective shelter that exist in such settlements and make the inhabitants trapped in vicious cycles of poverty despite years of hard labour and their contribution to the economic progress of a city (Timilsina, 2011). In the meantime, the city has not developed additional infrastructure and maintained it in the form of affordable housing, thus ensuring that large masses of low-income households enter such problem spaces at once. Such a tension can scarcely be better expressed in the recent resurgent dislocation of the Manohara squatter settlement, where those who had long been seeking some kind of stability in the absence of formal possibilities were thrown out in the name of urban order and river management (Lumanti, 2001).

In this background, this was on 15 August 2025, when Kathmandu Metropolitan City had used bulldozers to demolish houses that had been built along the Manohara squatter river bank, due to its claimed encroachment on state-owned land, and to restore river corridors. Subsequently, the eviction resulted in rioting and confrontation between the locals and law enforcers in the city, with several cops and squatters being wounded. It entailed the abrupt pauperisation of families staying there for many years, and the objects fell into the rain-filled puddles in the streets (The Kathmandu Post, 2025). Some of these homes had used their life savings to build houses, even made informal purchases via the locally based intermediaries who would make calls offering lands, provided they could not acquire it legally and provided it in their name. People stated that they were not given proper notice and cited the government as victimising poor families without regard to the fact that middlemen were involved and were exploiting the sale of land (Republica, 2025).

Besides, the consequences of such demolition were epic. It was not just the houses of families that were lost, but also properties and the stability of their livelihood. The majority of them lacked a short-term solution that put them in temporary shelters, which made them even more vulnerable. The demolition experience reflects a broader-based trend in an urban government setting: the initiation of development projects in the name of order and modernity is often initiated at the expense of the poor. These initiatives serve to promote insecurity and inequality and the continued cycles of displacement rather than look at the causes of poverty (Ghimire, 2015).

In this respect, the Manohara case raises crucial questions about whether Kathmandu should regard the development needs in the city without violating the rights and livelihood of the most poverty-stricken people in the city. Until poverty reduction can be made a bit more than a mere rhetorical goal, policies must thus abandon the use of eviction-based policies and instead embrace comprehensive planning, tenure security and provision of services on a level playing field. Therefore, both this paper and the livelihood of the Kathmandu squatters are discussed through the following essential questions: the strategies pursued, the changing patterns of livelihoods, the targeted outcomes and risks of the strategies aimed at that purpose. These objectives will examine the socio-economic status of Manohara squatters, how squatters are exposed to livelihood assets and how vulnerable they are to survive in the face of eviction situations

2. Theoretical overview

Forced evictions are a persistent and violent threat to Kathmandu's squatter communities, which respond with a combination of resistance and cooperative survival strategies. These communities, often located on precarious

land along riverbanks like the Bagmati and Manohara, are home to Nepal's urban poor, internal migrants displaced by conflict and economic hardship, and members of marginalised Dalit and Indigenous communities.

Amartya Sen's entitlement approach and John F. C. Turner's housing vulnerability framework are distinct theoretical models for analysing deprivation, poverty, and well-being in different contexts. Sen's approach focuses on a person's rights and opportunities to command resources, primarily explaining famine, while Turner's framework examines how vulnerable people use their resources to secure housing.

Sen's entitlement approach was developed in his 1981 book, *Poverty and Famines*, as a critique of the prevailing "Food Availability Decline" (FAD) theory of famine. The FAD theory suggested that famines were caused simply by a drop in the food supply. Sen argued that starvation is caused by individuals' failure to command enough food, not necessarily a lack of food in the country (Sen, 1984).

The total set of resources a person legally owns, including land, labour, and money and the range of all possible commodity bundles (goods and services) a person can acquire by using their endowment and the rules of the society (Sen, 1984). Entitlement failure occurs when a person's entitlement set does not contain enough food to survive, leading to starvation. This can happen even if food is plentiful in the market, if prices are too high or wages are too low for a certain group to access it (Sen, 1984).

John F. C. Turner, an architect and theorist, focused on the power dynamics and agency involved in housing development, particularly for low-income communities. His framework critiques top-down, centralised housing policies and highlights how self-help housing empowers residents (Turner & Fichter, 1972). Turner shifted the focus from housing as a finished product to housing as an active process performed by the people who live in it. He argued that residents, rather than external authorities, should have control over the planning, design, and management of their own housing. Turner contrasted housing controlled by the dwellers (autonomous) with that imposed by others (heteronomous). He argued that heteronomous, mass-produced housing projects often fail to meet the actual, complex needs of residents. The framework suggests that providing residents with the resources and decision-making power to build and improve their own homes is more effective and empowering than delivering standardised housing "packages".

Sen focused on access to food and other resources for survival, explaining famine and deprivation, while Turner focused on Empowerment and self-determination in housing for low-income communities. Sen argued that entitlement failure is the process of certain groups lacking the legal or economic means (endowments, purchasing power) to command a bundle of commodities sufficient for survival, whereas Turner believed that vulnerability due to dependency is the top-down housing policies strip residents of agency, preventing them from creating housing solutions that meet their diverse needs. The unit of analysis for Sen is individuals and households, emphasising that different social groups can face different levels of entitlement and vulnerability to starvation, whereas for Turner, it is Dwellers and communities, focusing on the dynamic social process of housing development and the power relationships involved. Sen's framework examines how endowments (assets, labour) are converted into goods and services, and how changes in markets or law can lead to entitlement failure and protect and expand entitlements for vulnerable groups, such as through employment programs, fair wages, or targeted relief (Sen, 1984). Turner's framework analyses the effects of local, autonomous control versus centralised, bureaucratic control over housing provision and provides supportive and flexible resources (e.g., land rights, credit, materials) that enable communities to build and manage their own housing incrementally (Turner & Fichter, 1972).

While "post-eviction theory" is not a standard, formally recognised term, the concept draws heavily from the work of Harvard sociologist Matthew Desmond, particularly his Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City*. Desmond's research established a framework for understanding the profound and systemic consequences of eviction, arguing that it is not merely a symptom of poverty but a primary cause of it (Desmond, 2017).

Based on Desmond's work and related academic research, a "post-eviction theory" examines the cascading failures that occur in an individual's life and community after they have been forcibly removed from their home. It provides a sociological understanding of how housing loss destabilises every aspect of a person's existence

and perpetuates cycles of disadvantage (Desmond, 2017). Eviction theory reframes eviction from a single, final event to a critical turning point that sets a person on a new, more difficult life trajectory. Before Desmond's work, eviction was largely overlooked as a major driver of poverty. His research brought attention to the long-term, compounding negative effects that follow housing loss.

Evicted families often face a series of downward spirals, such as worse housing conditions, as they are frequently pushed into lower-quality housing in more disadvantaged neighbourhoods with higher crime rates. The stress of navigating the eviction process can cause tenants to miss work, leading to job loss (Desmond, 2017). The instability of moving also makes it difficult to find and keep employment, and an eviction on a credit report makes it significantly harder to find stable housing in the future, limiting options to even less desirable properties.

The psychological and physical toll of eviction is a central element of the theory, as the trauma of eviction and the intense stress of constantly being on the brink of housing loss lead to higher rates of depression and anxiety (Desmond, 2017). Eviction is associated with increased physical health problems, including higher blood pressure and suppressed immune function from chronic stress. This can be exacerbated by living in substandard housing with greater exposure to environmental hazards.

Similarly, eviction has effects that extend beyond the individual family. High rates of eviction can weaken the social fabric of a community. When residents are constantly moving, it becomes difficult to form strong social bonds with neighbours (Desmond, 2017). This erodes the collective sense of solidarity and trust that is crucial for a healthy community. A community with high resident turnover lacks the stability and engagement to organise collectively (Desmond, 2017). This reduces its ability to demand resources or hold local government accountable for environmental issues and public services.

Desmond and other researchers highlight the disproportionate impact of eviction on marginalised communities, arguing that it is a tool of systemic inequality. Racial disparities are evident at significant levels, a pattern that points to structural racism within the housing market (Desmond, 2017). The theory describes how some landlords operate within the logic of extracting maximum profit from poor tenants. They may routinely file evictions, not with the intent to remove the tenant, but to collect back rent and fees, putting tenants in a perpetual state of financial precarity (Desmond, 2017).

The theory of post-eviction consequences suggests that policy solutions must go beyond temporary fixes. Proponents argue for changes that address the root causes of housing instability, such as a universal housing voucher program to address the affordability gap, the expansion of legal aid for tenants to prevent unjustified evictions, stricter regulation of landlord behaviour and stronger tenant protections (Lund, 2016).

In case of forced eviction in Kathmandu, this paper aimed to sketch the outline of consequences associated with the process of eviction, its impacts on individuals and community, dimensions of evictions and state policy on rehabilitation.

3. Methods and Materials

The paper assumes a mixed-method approach to the research to gain insight into the implications of forced eviction on the Manohara squatter community in Kathmandu Valley. Participants who had been removed from the settlement were found and contacted through a snowball sampling. Starting with a small number of households that the respondents were familiar with, further quota was recruited by using the household as a starting point, tracing it through the kin networks in a community and personal contacts to have a good representation of respondents by caste, gender and occupation. In total, 51 households were randomly selected (Cresswell, 2018).

The snowball sampling was conducted, and it was appropriate to find out sample households and to collect the necessary data, because it was found that all the households evicted were scattered across various locations around the city, including the urban and peri-urban areas, and therefore, the evicted households could not be found using the official records. This type of research design provided an opportunity for a rather delicate reconstruction of displacement pasts and livelihood transformations and inclusion of the most disadvantaged

voices. Together, these methods can be discussed as a stable and humanistic understanding of how eviction leads to poverty and survival in Kathmandu.

Qualitative research was based on the data triangulation of the sampled household questionnaires with several structured questions, semi-structured interviews, the Household Index and the field observation during the pre-eviction and post-eviction periods. These tools defined social-demographic characteristics, livelihood dynamics, income variation, the coping strategies and their perceived risks. Observational notes provided more information on the situation in housing areas, how they are exposed to environmental hazards and the straightforward consequences of displacement.

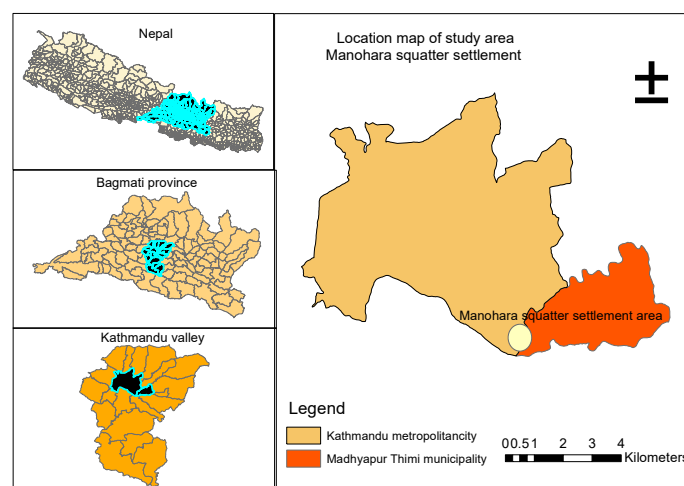
Event and photo documentation and spatial analysis have also been applied to facilitate triangulation and additional reliability of data that are particularly associated with results. Evidence in the form of pictures included buildings that were destroyed, improvised housing and resettlement complexes, and a person was informed that their lives were changing. Secondary sources, including the government announcements, urban guidelines and non-governmental organisation literature, were researched to put the practice of evictions in the broader schemes of urban governance.

Apart from this, key informants' interviews, observations and episodic or event-based interviews were conducted to gather necessary information.

3.1. Study Area

The Manohara squatter settlement of Kathmandu metropolitan city -32 in Kathmandu valley, Jadibuti Kathmandu and Pragati Nagar-16 in Madyapur Thimi municipality, Bhaktapur district, is an example of the complexity of informal urbanisation in Kathmandu Valley. The settlement lies within the floodplain of the Manohara River and is situated at the boundary between Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, and is approximately 32 ropani (1.62 hectares) of the recently formed land formed by the shifting course of the river. Its high density, linear design, which accommodates close to 600 households comprising over 3,000 residents, is indicative of the scarcity of space as well as the dire need for cheap housing in the vicinity of the economic centre of the city (Kanchana, 2011). The site is very strategic, yet very problematic: it is directly under the flight path of Tribhuvan International Airport, next to Araniko Highway and inside the no-build zone of the river, which brings great risks of flooding, erosion, pollution and noise to its residents. The settlement, although big, does not have legal documentation and tenure protection, and both municipalities and even the Civil Aviation Authority of Nepal have conflicting claims. Its advent is connected to the non-realisation of state-controlled projects, in particular, a massive land pooling project, and has been supported by political favours and pressures of migration. Manohara, also the largest squatter settlement in the Valley, is the point of severe environmental exposure, unsuccessful planning, political opportunism, and urban poverty, which present critical problems of inclusive urban governance and housing rights in Nepal (Ministry of Physical Planning, 2010).

Figure 1. Map of the study area.



4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Two layers of power: Eviction and urban regulation under KMC and KVDA

The governance in Kathmandu shows that the overlapping of institutional mandates is complicated, and more so in terms of regulating the informal settlements. There are two high-profile actors, the Kathmandu Metropolitan City (KMC) and the Kathmandu Valley Development Authority (KVDA), that have unveiled directives to demolish what they term as unauthorised structures along riverbanks, public alleys, and the land owned by the government. Even though these March 25, 2023, notices are presented in terms of the discourses of legality and environmental governance, they show how various forms of authority merge in a manner that further heightens the riskiness of the urban poor(see details in annexe 1).

KMC, through its Office of the Municipal Executive, has come out strongly to target structures built on river beds, slopes, and flood-prone areas. It has even posted notices requiring occupants of such structures to pull them down of their own volition by threatening that falling short would result in compulsory removal at the cost of the occupants. The justification provided focuses on the safety of the people, control of rivers and prevention of floods. In comparison, the KVDA, which was formed under the Kathmandu Valley Development Authority Act of 1988, is backed by the national law. In its recent statement, the KVDA, further citing Section 5 of the Act, issued the directive that it would set up structures that wrongfully inhabited the government or public land to be vacant within thirty-five days, and again, that the occupants would be the ones to bear the demolition expenses.

Collectively, these two groups of instructions provide examples of the fact that both municipal and valley-wide governments have turned toward almost the same forms of enforcement, i.e. voluntary evacuation with the accompaniment of the possibility of the enforcement of the compulsory clearance. But the irony of the two forms of governance has caused not clarity but more vulnerability to the squatters themselves. The pressure on families that lack secure tenure or legal status has now come to include the local and the central arms of government, and there is little opportunity to negotiate or appeal.

This hierarchical regulatory environment cannot be characterised as solely a problem of administrative overlap, but as a greater contradiction of urban policy. Although the state organs aim to restore order, reclaim state land, and protect rivers, they hardly recognise the structural realities that motivate individuals to join informal settlements in the first place. To the squatters of Manohara and other similar settlements, the houses are not just ad-hoc intrusions but the only feasible counteraction to both being excluded from the formal housing markets and poor urban planning. The construction of the poor as illicit occupants allows the state to essentially offload the systemic failure back to the groups least capable of any such undertaking.

The overlap between KMC and KVDA notices shows how the overlapping effects of a range of jurisdictions can issue disciplinary powers that can mutually support each other without providing equal social safety nets. The result of such actions might be short-term goals of clearing the land or managing rivers, but the insecurity of households that are often already marginalised is entrenched. Without complementary eviction policies and inclusive measures, e.g., affordable housing, resettlement planning and tenure recognition, today's eviction measures will simply foster waves of displacement and re-encroachment, instead of providing any sustainable urban development.

4.2. Demolition after Clash and Eviction in Manohara Squatters Settlement

The stressors surrounding urban governance, informality and right to shelter in Kathmandu have been stripped out in the recent wave of demolition rush in Manohara squatter settlement. On August 15, 2025, Kathmandu Metropolitan City (KMC) deployed bulldozers and municipal police with the aim of destroying the illegal constructions erected on the land belonging to the Manohara Land Consolidation Project. This police measure became a conflict, and the inhabitants opposed the eviction of their dwellings, as they opposed police, stone-throwing, baton-charging and panicking being the peculiar features of the events (see photos in Annexe-2). At least 3 municipal police law enforcement officers and a few residents are said to have been injured in the fight.

The KMC officials argued that the operation was unique to newly built homes, which they termed illegal encroachments. Reports had weeks ago recommended that residents evacuate the area using advertised notices in the newspapers. This, however, was refuted by the majority of the families who argued that they had never been directly communicated with. The eviction of the neighbourhood shocked the low-income earners' households who do not read newspapers or do not have any trusted and/or reliable access to official announcements. Residents also claimed that the character and pace of the demolition took them by surprise, worsening their sense of injustice.

The loss of their livelihood to the concerned families was more than just the loss of a house. People who were tenants found it difficult to move their possessions and materials using the falling tin roof houses, and others were bawling in tears as the bulldozer passed. Women, in particular, complained of their frustration with years of subsistence and hefty financial contributions to houses that they lost. A woman who was still recovering in a hospital following an operation, told how she had spent nearly two million rupees in building her house, most of which was either on loan or subject to contractors and local agents. I lost everything now, the house and the money, and the future I had set in my mind for my children. These testimonies were a manifestation of emotional and economic trauma that was experienced during the process of eviction.

The middlemen made the controversy even more complicated. Most of the residents had demanded that they had bought land from the local brokers and committees, who assured them of future legal ownership documents. As it turned out, the transactions had no validity, which rendered the families in danger when KMC declared the settlements as illegal. The population claimed that the government was going after the poor when letting brokers escape punishment as the real beneficiaries of the illegal land sale. A man said: We are not the criminals in it. The middlemen misled us, and it is we who are paying the price.

The land brokers were recognised by the concerned authorities as a key factor in driving illegal construction. Illegal sale of parcels of land was, indeed, being done according to the legal officer of the Manohara Land Consolidation Project in the range of hundreds of thousands of rupees, with lies of future certification promises being given to unsuspecting buyers. Even though the demolition was mainly targeted against the buildings erected within recent months, the long-time residents were factored into the crossfire, and they were again displaced without knowing where to go in the city.

The Manohara case indicates the more profound contradictions of the process of urbanisation in Kathmandu. On the one hand, urban governments justify evictions by presenting the need to manage land, clear flood-prone areas and complete development and construction. To the residents, on the other hand, they are perceived to be bloody disruptions to their already relatively weak livelihoods, devoid of proper communication, planning, and places of resettlement. The clash not only presents the physical confrontation of the land but a more realistic image of the actual battle of legality, informality and survival in a more and more unequal environment of the city.

4.3. Evictions and Politics of Manohara Squatter Settlement

Manohara demonstrates the tense relations between urbanisation and poverty in Nepal and the domination of the land, as is the case in the forced removal of squatter houses within the settlement. It occurred on August 15, 2025, when Kathmandu Metropolitan City (KMC), with the assistance of a bulldozer and heavy police force, demolished informal shelters on the riverbanks when the rivers were at their peak. This act was, at one point, to the displaced households, a move largely consisting of peasants and wage-labourers, both a displacement act and at the same time, a denial act in terms of the constitutional right to housing and land.

Four mass organisations of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Centre) condemned the eviction, namely: The All Nepal Peasants Federation (Revolutionary Centre), the All Nepal Trade Union Federation (AN TUF), the Nepal Dalit Liberation Front and the All Nepal Squatter Association. They lamented in their argument that the residents had previously applied for their own certificates of land ownership (Lalpurja) through due and legal course, but their rights have not yet been taken into consideration. Rather, the state has employed the option of violent eviction to dispossess the settlers instead of regularising their tenure or providing an alternative

to eviction, which is characterised by the policy orientation that places more emphasis on the discourses of urban beautification and flood-control than on their social justice.

The eviction of Manohara Manohara is also put in a larger pattern of failed land reform in the statement. The Prachanda government that resigned previously had already set on the road the issue of issuing ownership certificates to 500,000 of the landless population, but this did not go on under the UML-Congress government. Distrust of the state orders has also been encouraged by corruption, clientelism and land expropriation by the political elites.

Importantly, the Manohara case displays the language of legality and planning as the means of exclusion. Even though they live for countless years in an area and faithfully work in it, informal settlers are exposed to being encroachers instead of stakeholders. The consequential marginalisation of the urban poor is reflected in the use of forced eviction without substantial relocation plans, as it would appear. In the war of words the organisations engage in, the land rights struggle in Nepal should not be defined as an administrative struggle, but rather as a conflict of justice, citizenship and survival.

Whereas mass organisations of the Maoist Centre have been outspoken in their disapproval of the Manohara eviction, there is mysterious silence on the part of trade unions and federations affiliated to the ruling coalition parties, CPN-UML and Nepali Congress. In spite of the magnitude of the eviction, the timing of the eviction took place in the rainy season, and the human suffering, no statements have been released by any of the party-affiliated unions or allied federations. Such silence is politically charged.

Traditionally, labour and peasant unions in Nepal have identified themselves as protectors of the marginalised, but their role today in the government highlights the contradictions of party-union connections in power. The nonexistence of critique indicates that when inalienable coalitions are involved in eviction-driven activity, partner organisations assume a position of wantonness in favour of party commitment and political practicality instead of championing vulnerable groups. This pick-and-choose attitude omits the honesty of these unions on behalf of the workers, peasants and the poor.

The excited reaction is also an indicator that the political space that is allowed to raise dissent in the coalition set is shrinking. Comparatively, the Maoist-affiliated organisations have gone ahead to contextualise the eviction as a land rights and justice struggle. The contrast helps to point out how evictions in urban areas will reveal the cracks in the political structure of Nepal to explain which voices are magnified and which tragedies are obscured.

4.4. Socio-demographic characteristics of evicted squatters

The evicted squatters have a socio-demographic profile depicting a community in youthful pulse, but one with structural frailties.

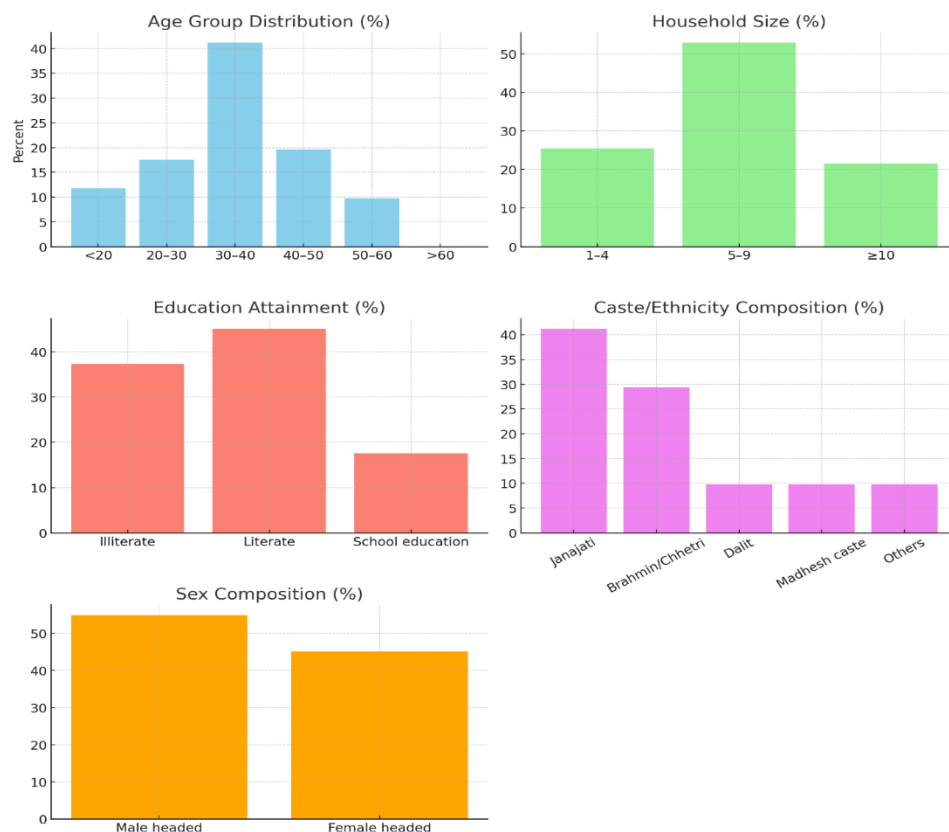
Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of evicted squatters (n=51)

Category	Sub-Category	Frequency (n)	Per cent (%)
Age Group (years)	Below 20	6	11.8
	20–30	9	17.6
	30–40	21	41.2
	40–50	10	19.6
	50–60	5	9.8
	>60	0	0.0
Household Size	1–4 members	13	25.5
	5–9 members	27	52.9
	≥10 members	11	21.6

Education attainment	Illiterate	19	37.3
	Literate	23	45.1
	School education	9	17.6
Caste/Ethnicity composition	Janajati	21	41.2
	Brahmin/Chhetri	15	29.4
	Dalit	5	9.8
	Madhesh caste	5	9.8
	Others	5	9.8
Sex Composition of Squatter Households	Sex	No. of HH	Per cent (%)
	Male headed	28	54.9
	Female headed	23	45.1
Total		51	100%

(Source: Field Survey, 2025)

Figure 2. Socio-demographic characteristics of evicted squatters (n=51)



Age discrimination indicates that the majority of the heads of the households were within their productive age of 30-40 years (41.2), and then this was followed by those in their forties (19.6). This means that the occupation was predominantly within the working age, which brings out the economic prospects, as well as the life struggle of survival, which compelled them to relocate to the cities. Notably, there were very few households with heads aged or younger than 20 years, and this indicates the centralisation of squatter leadership among the adults who have family commitments.

The household size also indicates these pressures. The population size of between five and nine was 50 per cent (52.9 per cent), with a population size above ten being 21.6 per cent. Such long-term family systems are a pointer to the traditional kinship associations as well as a pointer to the strain on shelter and resources, particularly in informal settlements where the resources and spaces are constrained.

Educational trends show that persistent inequalities exist. They were found to be 37.3 per cent illiterate, with 17.6 per cent of the households having had some formal school education. Although 45.1 per cent of them can be counted as literate, the lack of higher education restricted their access to stable jobs and even reduced them to additional reliance on the city's labour markets.

It is another aspect of caste and ethnicity. The largest percentage was that of Janajati households (41.2) and then Brahmin/ Chhetri (29.4). The Dalits, Madheshi and others constituted below 10 per cent. This form presents a reflection of the different rural backgrounds of the Kathmandu squatters, but also reflects on certain social stratification of vulnerability and reaction to it.

Finally, it is also curious that the aspect of household leadership is gendered: 45.1 per cent of the households had their heads headed by women. The magnitude of such a connotation is suggestive of the interpolation of the gendered and the precarious women, the majority of whom are widowed or left behind, bear, disproportionately, the weight of survival in the face of eviction threats. All these trends are indicative of not only a strong but also a disadvantaged community that must live and move in the urban exclusion with very few resources.

4.5. Spatial distribution of evicted squatters based on their origin

The environmental and socio-economic factors create a complex scenario of migration, and the class, ecological and provincial origin of displaced squatters demonstrates a complicated situation. The origin of extra valley districts (approximately 76.5 per cent) is the belonging of most of the houses to the extra valley districts, which means the inclination towards the rural-urban migration.

Table 2. Spatial distribution of evicted squatters based on their origin

Ecological distribution	Provincial distribution	District-wise origin	No. of Households	Per cent (%)
Hill	Bagmati	Kathmandu Valley	12	23.5
Hill	Bagmati	Kathmandu	7	13.7
Hill	Bagmati	Lalitpur	3	5.9
Hill	Bagmati	Bhaktapur	2	3.9
		Other Districts	39	76.5
Hill	Bagmati	Kavreplanchowk	8	15.7
Hill	Bagmati	Sindhuli	4	7.8
Hill	Bagmati	Makawanpur	4	7.8
Mountain	Bagmati	Dolakha	3	5.9
Terai	Koshi	Morang	2	3.9
Terai	Madhesh	Sarlahi	2	3.9
Hill	Bagmati	Nuwakot	2	3.9
Terai	Madhesh	Rautahat	2	3.9
Hill	Gandaki	Kaski	1	2.0
Hill	Gandaki	Tanahun	1	2.0

Hill	Gandaki	Gorkha	1	2.0
Mountain	Bagmati	Ramechhap	1	2.0
Mountain	Koshi	Khotang	1	2.0
Hill	Bagmati	Sindhupalchowk	1	2.0
Hill	Bagmati	Dhading	1	2.0
Terai	Madhesh	Dhanusha	1	2.0
Total			51	100

(Source: Field Survey, 2025)

In Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur in the Valley, the residents formed 23.5 per cent of the households, an index of internal urban conglomeration. The hill districts were the dominating areas of genesis, among ecological areas, and included more than half of the total number of households, the Bagmati and Gandaki areas. The mountainous areas provided a smaller number of households, which indicates that difficult geography cannot permit frequent movement, yet the Terai/Madhesh areas provided an insignificant but substantial percentage of migrants, thereby indicating the financial motive to migrate and not the geographical proximity.

The points of origin are also different in district-wise illustration: Bagmati Hills settlements such as Kavreplanchowk, Sindhuli, and Makawanpur were very strong, but the Terai districts such as Sarlahi, Rautahat and Dhanusha point to cross-regional migration in search of livelihood. The distribution brings out the mixed origin of the squatters, and the eviction may be impacting the communities differently, not only in the ecological origin, but also in regard to the province of growth. These tendencies illuminate the interplay of environmental situation and urban push and/or socio-economic vulnerability, which determines migration patterns and hence context-specific urban policy development/adoption and establishment or resettlement process.

4.6. Spatial distribution of squatters post-eviction

This agglomeration of squatters by geographical areas after eviction is an indicator of disorganised and unbelievable resettlement, that is, no well-developed plan of rehabilitation. According to the table, the biggest portion of the displaced households, that is, one-third (29.4), settled in the peri-urban margins of Kathmandu Valley; Kirtipur, Bhaktapur and Lalitpur.

Table 3. Spatial Distribution of Squatters Post Eviction (n = 51)

Residual Location after Eviction	Frequency	Total percentage (%)
Local river banks/ open spaces (Bagmati, Bishnumati)	12	23.5
In-city rented rooms (Thapathali, Teku, Kalimati)	10	19.6
Peri-urban fringes (Kirtipur, Bhaktapur, Lalitpur)	15	29.4
Planning back in the rural place of origin	8	15.7
Spatially transferred to other unofficial settlements in Kathmandu Valley (Bansghat, Thapathali, Ramhity)	3	5.9
Lived with family members in a room/shelter (Koteshwor, Bhaktapur, Imadol)	3	5.9
Total	51	100

(Source: Field Survey, 2025)

It is what is relocating that creates consciousness to rent and unfinished land on the outskirts of the city with lower charges. A larger portion (23.5) was even more captured by the relocation and settlement on the riverside

and open spaces that reenact the paradoxical impact of evictions in replicating the informality that they were supposed to destroy. And slightly less (19.6 per cent) had occupied little lodgings in the inner city, which may be expensive and unsafe. In the meantime, 15.7 per cent of the respondents would turn to the places of origin in rural areas where they get limited opportunities in the urban areas, which ironically would lead to their economic marginality since by this time they would not have alternative sources of livelihood. A further lesser percentage (5.9 per cent) had moved on to other Informal settlements, and 5.9 per cent depended on kin systems (and shared a household with in-laws). Taken together, these paths suggest not only the socio-spatial helplessness of urban poor areas, but also the inability of eviction policy to offer long-term solutions and cause further displacement and insecurity.

4.7. Works/Occupations of Squatters Before and After Eviction

The occupational profile of evicted squatters reveals that there is an extensive population shift to informal and uncertain work, which indicates precarious livelihood conditions which are produced through eviction. Small and medium-sized businesses brought more or less a third of every occupation before eviction, thus a comparably fixed income source in the settlement. In nine months after eviction, this share reduced to less than a fifth when location-specific markets and networks upon which these enterprises relied were lost. Wage labouring, on the other hand, rose considerably by 9.8 per cent to 35.3 per cent. Such a migration highlights the forceful assignment of casual construction, portering, and daily wage workers who are subject to instability, underpayment and manual labour. The decrease was also observed among the employees of the private sector tailoring and mechanics, but garbage collection, domestic work and cooking became new or growing occupations of survival work. These professions, however lowly in rank, indicate a policy of diversification due to necessity and not to choice. The increase in secure employment in the transport, government, or welding sectors did not increase much and did not alter its structure to give more opportunities to the lower classes. Collectively, these trends reveal that eviction had ruined the livelihood arrangements at the ground level and caused households to search for alternative places in unstable and stigmatised working arrangements, an aspect that intensified their economic precariousness.

Table 4. Works/Occupations of Squatters Before and After Eviction (n = 51)

S.N.	Work/Occupation	Pre-Eviction Frequency	Pre-Eviction %	Post-Eviction Frequency	Post-Eviction %
1	Business (small/medium)	15	29.4	10	19.6
2	Wage labouring	13	25.5	18	35.3
3	Private sector work	7	13.7	5	9.8
4	Tailoring	4	7.8	3	5.9
5	Mechanic helper	3	5.9	2	3.9
6	Driving	2	3.9	2	3.9
7	Foreign employment	2	3.9	1	2.0
8	Sporting	1	2.0	0	0
9	Civil servant	1	2.0	1	2.0
10	Agriculture	1	2.0	2	3.9
11	Welder	1	2.0	1	2.0
12	Cottage industry owner	0	0	0	0
13	Social service	0	0	0	0
14	Garbage collection	1	2.0	3	5.9

15	Cleaning (housemaid)	0	0	1	2.0
16	Cooking (housemaid)	0	0	1	2.0
17	Painting	1	2.0	2	3.9
Total		51	100	51	100

(Source: Field Survey, 2025)

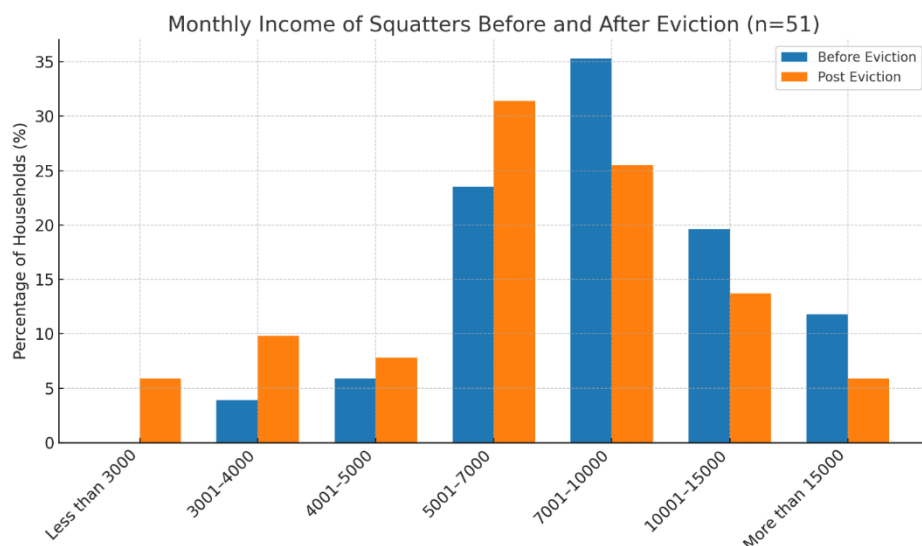
4.8. Monthly income of squatter before and after eviction

A downward mobility and economic precariousness characterise a graphic trend in the comparative income distribution of squatter households prior to and following an eviction.

Table 5. Monthly income of squatter before and after eviction (n=51)

Income Range (Rs.)	Before Eviction (n)	Before Eviction (%)	Post Eviction (n)	Post Eviction (%)
Less than 3000	0	0.0	3	5.9
3001–4000	2	3.9	5	9.8
4001–5000	3	5.9	4	7.8
5001–7000	12	23.5	16	31.4
7001–10000	18	35.3	13	25.5
10001–15000	10	19.6	7	13.7
More than 15000	6	11.8	3	5.9
Total	51	100.0	51	100.0
Average Income (Rs.)	10,450	–	8,539	–

(Source: Field Survey, 2025)



Prior to the eviction, the majority of households (35.3 per cent) were nested in an income range of 7,001-10,000, and the remaining 31.4 per cent in a higher income range of above 10,000. The average monthly wage is also regarded to be quite low at this age and was 10,450, where a large percentage of households also made an amount that compensated for the cost of basic urban living. However, even the post-eviction situation alone shows a severe reduction in the levels of income as the percentage falls to Rs. 8,539 (18 per cent).

This economic marginalisation is the marginalisation of households that are represented in the distribution of households across incomes. The level of inequality in the households that earned below 5000, i.e. 9.8 per cent, turned into 23.5 per cent towards poverty. Conversely, there was a categorical growth in the middle-income category (Rs. 5,001-10,000), although to a large extent, it was attributed to the movement of households in the upper-income category downwards into the middle-income category. The upper-income households, which comprised the highest reduction of households, that is, where the households with above Rs. 10,000 incomes per month decreased to 19.6 per cent post-evacuation of slums, where the pre-evacuation percentage was 31.4.

The proposed changes mean that eviction not only disrupts the economic stability of households but also their physical stability. The informal income-making processes, which are typically linked to the urban networks system, mobility and the marketplaces, also appear to have been destroyed. A fundamental component of the loss of livelihood opportunities, coupled with the enhanced vulnerability of the squatter communities due to forced displacement, is reflected by the decreasing average income and households' concentration into the lower levels.

In conclusion, the income dynamic is the reason why the cost of housing was structural: the already marginalised households were pushed further towards the edges, and even the few options of restoring or sustaining their lives in the post-eviction environment were accessible to them.

4.9. Vulnerable condition of evicted squatters

Vulnerability is a condition of being incapable of coping with risks, shocks or stresses with minimal capacities of coping, adjusting and healing. It is affected by the combination of the social, economic, environmental and political processes that shape the experiences of individuals or communities in crisis and their reaction to it. The concept of vulnerability does not only imply bare exposure to a threat but also the absence of unequal access to opportunities, resources, and inappropriate control over the decision-making process. In this regard, it isolates the material deprivation as well as the structural marginalisation, as individuals who are poorer and more vulnerable on safety nets are more exposed to insecurity and more likely to fall into a cycle of poverty and exclusion.

5.9.1. Deteriorating health post eviction

The mental and physical morbidity of a post-eviction health profile of squatter households proves that the health burden of the evicted households is long-lasting and manifests itself in the form of a two-dimensional burden of psychological distress and physical morbidity. The households with mental health issues have been over two-thirds (72.5%), with anxiety being nearly 43%. The next lower level of problems is stress and depression (13.7 and 15.7, respectively), but still a momentous one based on the already fragile socioeconomic condition of this population. These are just some facts that create a lead to the psychological turmoil of eviction, where displacement of shelter and not knowing what the future will bring for you (i.e. livelihood) is the same as mental stress.

Table 6. Post-Eviction Health Conditions and Treatment Status among Squatter Households (n = 51)

Health Condition	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Mental Health Issues	37	72.5
Anxiety	22	42.9
Stress	7	13.7
Depression	8	15.7
No Mental Health Issues Reported	14	27.5
Other Illness		
Physical Illness	19	37.3

Fever/Diarrhoea/Skin problems	8	15.7
Gastric/ulcer-related problems	6	11.8
Headache/body pain/ Respiratory problems	5	9.8
No Physical Illness Reported	32	62.7
Treatment Seeking Behaviour		
Government hospital	31	60.8
Private nursing home	4	7.8
General pharmacy shop	6	11.8
No treatment (lack of money)	10	19.6
Total Households	51	100.0

(Source: Field Survey, 2025)

Also correlated with this is that 37.3 per cent of households reported physical illness among them, with Fever/Diarrhoea/Skin problems (15.7), gastric complications (11.8) and chronic pain (9.8) being of the greatest concern. Such circumstances are most likely to relate to the poor standard of life in temporary shelters, the risk of contaminants and unbalanced nutrition. The majority of them, however, did not report any physical illness, which may be a consequence of underreporting due to poor access to health services facilities and not necessarily because of the absence of the disease.

Treatment-seeking behaviour is also a sign of systemic limitations. Though 60.8 per cent have accessed government hospitals, 19.6 per cent did not get any chance to seek any treatment due to financial constraints. The reliance on pharmacies (11.8%) and low usage of the personal facilities (7.8%) also presupposes the possibility of coping with the problem of the lack of resources. The aggregate of data reveals how eviction exacerbates vulnerability through overlapping mental affliction, physical malady and limited access to healthcare.

4.9.2. Social exclusion and Isolation after eviction

These quantifiable results underscore the fact that eviction has created additional vulnerabilities in various facets of vulnerability, with the worst of all being the loss of shelter and protection based on the 88.2 per cent of households which are affected. The only precious item of most families was housing, the lack of which made them susceptible to such demographic factors (weather, violence, and other acts) and constant displacement. This is most closely associated with economic insecurity (76.5%), in which eviction disrupted the routine daily wage labour and plunged many households into debt and food insecurity, lowering the ability of households to withstand.

Table 7. Social exclusion and Isolation after eviction, total households reporting one or more vulnerabilities: 51 (100%)

Theme	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)	Key Observations
Loss of Shelter & Security	45	88.2	The majority lost their homes and were forced into temporary shelters or unsafe camps.
Economic insecurity (income loss, food insecurity, debt)	39	76.5	Daily wage disruption, rising debt, reduced meals
Health & Wellbeing Risks	34	66.7	Anxiety, stress, child illness, and limited access to treatment

Fragmentation of Community & Social Cohesion	28	54.9	Households dispersed, unity and collective bargaining weakened
Heightened Stigma & Marginalisation	25	49.0	Branded as “illegal encroachers,” discrimination in host areas
Erosion of Rural Ties (no return option)	18	35.3	No fallback to villages, landless status reinforced

Source: Field Survey, 2025)

The other significant impact is health vulnerability (66.7%). Eviction and poor environmental conditions that result in unsanitary living in the camps have significantly exposed the children and women to mental disorders and constant sickness. Despite these weaknesses being encountered on the household level, the breakdown of community fabric (54.9) demonstrates a social punishment. The unity has been compromised with the collective bargaining power taken away as they have been scattered by the camps, thus weakening their chances of opposing marginalisation. Nearly half (49 per cent) of the households (those who were stressed out) emphasised increased stigma in the host neighbourhoods where they lived as evictees were considered the usurpers, rather than their fellow citizens who had a right to live. This is aggravated by the fact that the rural attachments (35.3%) are lost, which means they have no safety net. Overall, the vulnerability chain knows that the loss of housing, livelihood insecurity and the health crisis are the most dangerous post-eviction effects, which are transferred to long-term social exclusion.

4.9.3. Unemployment, uncertainty and income indebtedness

The post-eviction life in the research area assists in the understanding that the vulnerability is amplified by the poverty cycles. Among the 51 households surveyed, it has been noted that unemployment/irregular income is the worst source of insecurity (33.3%), in which the work-a-day labourer is never sure of getting a job tomorrow.

Table 8. Unemployment, uncertainty and income indebtedness

Theme of Vulnerability	No. of HH	%	Rank
Unemployment & income uncertainty	17	33.3	1
Indebtedness & asset loss	13	25.5	2
Lack of assets & housing insecurity	11	21.6	3
Female-headed & elderly-headed HH	6	11.8	4
Other vulnerabilities (social disintegration, health burden)	4	7.8	5
Total	51	100	

(Source: Field Survey, 2025)

This insecurity sends a great number of households into debt (25.5%), and in some cases, the sale of property in distress and then failure to emerge out of poverty. Critical conditions, such as the one that Mrs Bhandari faces, demonstrate how the interplay of indebtedness, old age, and caregiving turns into an abject dependency on such precarious modes of income as weaving. Another contributing factor is that of housing insecurity (21.6) since the makeshift shelters are neither secure nor dignified, and the people lack funds to fix something. The most vulnerable are the women-headed and the elderly headed households (11.8), the households that have been left to languish as a result of social reliance and the households experiencing social pressure because of the burden of care. The coping mechanisms include the maximisation of livelihoods, including seasonal work and weaving, and distress coping through sending children to school, which increases the cycle of poverty between generations. This ranking illustrates the disparaged vulnerability: the places where income insecurity may be

combined with indebtedness, assets-scarce families in the cycle of survival instead of recovery are the most vulnerable.

4.9.4. Multiple Dimensions of Vulnerability among Evicted Households

Various dimensions of vulnerability of evicted households are reported as statistics that manifest the poor grounds of events that we have seen in forced displacement. The greatest concern is the tenure insecurity (82.4%) of the households, structural exclusion of the household lacking any legal guarantees of either housing or land. This does not just put them at risk of being caught in the instantaneous homelessness, but more importantly, they are maintained at the seat of fluctuation. Closely connected to this is the health vulnerability (72.5%), according to which, after eviction, there were sudden changes in the state of mental distress and physical ailments, which were an indication of the feelings of dispossession and the inadequacy of healthcare services. Food insecurity (68.6%) also makes daily life more difficult. Due to the inaccessibility of basic nutrition, households are in danger of developing long-term malnutrition.

Table 9. Multiple Dimensions of Vulnerability among Evicted Households (N = 51)

Dimension of Vulnerability	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)	Key Implication
Food Insecurity	35	68.6	Households unable to meet daily meal needs risk long-term malnutrition
Tenure Insecurity	42	82.4	Lack of legal housing/land rights, risk of repeated displacement
Political Vulnerability	27	52.9	Absence of citizenship/voting rights, exclusion from state entitlements
Health Vulnerability	37	72.5	High mental distress and illness post-eviction, limited access to care
Livelihood Vulnerability	33	64.7	Decline in household income, unstable jobs, loss of informal markets
Educational Vulnerability	21	41.2	Children are withdrawn from school due to cost, mobility, or documentation
Social Vulnerability	29	56.9	Breakdown of community networks, stigmatisation, loss of solidarity
Overall Multiple Vulnerabilities	47	92.2	The majority of households experience overlapping insecurities

(Source: Field Survey, 2025)

Another area of concern (Livelihood vulnerability) (64.7%) is that the largest number of families lost their source of income once informal jobs and markets had been shut down. It has one additional layer, which is political vulnerability (52.9%), according to which they cannot have a document of citizenship and enjoy the privileges of a state even further. Social (56.9) and educational vulnerabilities (41.2) are underlined by the crumbling of the related community, as well as intergenerational effects of interrupted schooling. Appreciably,

only a shortcoming of 92.2 per cent will concur shortcomings that depict the fact that eviction fails to create a one-dimensional problem, but rather a latticework of insecurities. These findings reveal that eviction is not only an incursion within space, but it is an operation that practically annihilates the social, economic and political foundations of already vulnerable lives.

4.10. Coping Strategies squatters post eviction

Coping strategies are measures and modifications that are responded to by households or individuals to make ends meet, survive, adjust and cope with shocks, stresses and crises. Such strategies may include both immediate, such as a cheapened consumption, property sale, wage labour or assistance of the kinship and long-term, such as skill acquisition, migration or income diversification. The coping mechanisms are more likely indicative of resilience than of vulnerability, based on the fact that they are debt-based and asset-based erosion matters, education, and healthcare desertion. Coping can be a source of the dependability of a household to survive the crisis, or can further result in a deeper despair. The second one winds up demonstrating how people cope with the feeling of insecurity with the few resources and choices they have.

Table 10. Post-eviction coping strategies

Coping strategy	Specific Strategy	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)	Example / Observed Practice	Implications for Resilience
Immediate Survival & Housing	Picking up leftover housing resources	28	54.9	Use of material left over in the eviction place to reconstruct the shelter	Allows survivability and continuation of life as usual
	Building temporary shelters	33	64.7	Putting up makeshift shelters in the area	Gives instant protection from exposure and insecurity
Livelihood recovery	Seeking alternative income, business survival tools	35	68.6	Informal work, daily labour, small trade	Holds up the minimum household consumption, income flow
	Sale of personal property	22	43.1	Use of savings, or emergency items	Short-term liquidity avoids conditions of severe want
Social network and support	Support of relatives/families	30	58.8	Borrowing and the provision of resources, the shelter, and labour	Enhances the social capital and mutual aid systems
	Community solidarity	25	49.0	Choreographed assistance amongst evictees	Increases communal ability to deal with adversity
Institutional / External Support	NGO micro-credit support	18	35.3	Small loan for income-generating activities	Enable investment in livelihood and gradual recovery

	Skills and income training	15	29.4	Vocational or sector-specific training	Development of human capital in terms of sustainable income
	NGO advocacy	20	39.2	Intervention at the point of the eviction process	Protect the household from complete loss, and enhance the right claims
Long-Term Resilience and Adaptation	Change in lifestyle and consumption	40	78.4	Cutting down costs and focusing on basic needs	Facilitates survival in scarce conditions
	Alternative capacity and tolerance	35	68.6	Developing powers and capacities to face adversities with the mind	Developing mental powers and capacities to survive future shocks
Strengthens household empowerment and claims to rights	Continue engagement with the institution	22	43.1	Advocacy for recognition and protection	Strengthens household empowerment and claims to rights

(Source: Field Survey, 2025)

The results of post-eviction coping processes of Manohara houses indicate that a multiple dimension vulnerability type is subject to a chain and dynamic response. The survivalist reactions are apparent immediately after the eviction, in which the majority of the households (64.7) inhabit temporary homes and a fifth (54.9) utilise residual materials at the eviction point. These types of acts not only represent the need for procuring basic habitation, but also that of mobilising the underprivileged resources of the society towards the purpose of life procreation. The precariousness of tenure insecurity and the need to have the necessary materials at hand in alleviating the exposure to the environmental and social risks are swept away by the immediate survival challenge.

The process of livelihood recovery is one of the basic approaches to be implemented because two-thirds of families are attracted by alternative means of income and business equipment, and nearly half of households resort to the selling of personal belongings. These data show an image of great reliance of decoded families on informal economies, where daily wages and petty trade are primarily their means of living to allow them to invest in consumption and income tap. The ease of liquidity of assets is a temporary dispensation attracting relative inference of vulnerability to financial shocks and the ineffective safety nets due to the non-existence of formal safety nets.

The level of importance lies with relatives and community solidarity because 58.8 and 49.0 per cent of them resort to the representatives of need. Such mechanisms have facilitated social capital that gathers through which society depends on responding to adversity and being able to withstand the community. Outside support is important and includes institutional interventions in the form of NGO micro-credit (35.3), skills and income training (29.4), and advocacy (39.2).

The elements which are considered to be long-term adaptive are reflected in such actions as consumption adjustment (78.4%), capacity development (tolerance and alternative capacities) (68.6%), which involved the components of psychological resilience and of achieving the capacity of adaptation to unexpected hardships in the future. Constant interaction of the institutions with the households (43.1) lends weight to the households to give them the capacity to bargain for security on the basis of rights. Overall, these survival strategies show how the ossikoma of survival in the short term, and sites' perspective on restoring livelihoods on one hand, intersect with the social capital, external support and resiliency over the long run in urban poor who are evicted.

On close observation, this has demonstrated that despite the prevalence of the immediate survival strategies, the addition of the social, institutional, and adaptive mechanisms is relatively significant in the adjustment of the household agony amidst the post-eviction degrees.

4.11. Household Capitals before and after eviction (n=51)

Household capitals determine the category of goods and resources consumed by a household to continue living and improve, as well as. The latter are normally put into perspective at the Sustainable Livelihood Approach: physical capital, i.e., housing, infrastructure, tools; financial capital, i.e., income, savings, credit; social capital, e.g., networks, trust, reciprocity; human capital, i.e., skills, education, health; natural capital, i.e., land, water, forests; political/institutional capital, i.e. access to rights, representation and state services. Compounded, these capitals determine the capability of a household to absorb shocks, counter risks, and pursue opportunities. Their abstraction (as forced evictions) injures resolute and propels families into the realms of fragility and seclusion.

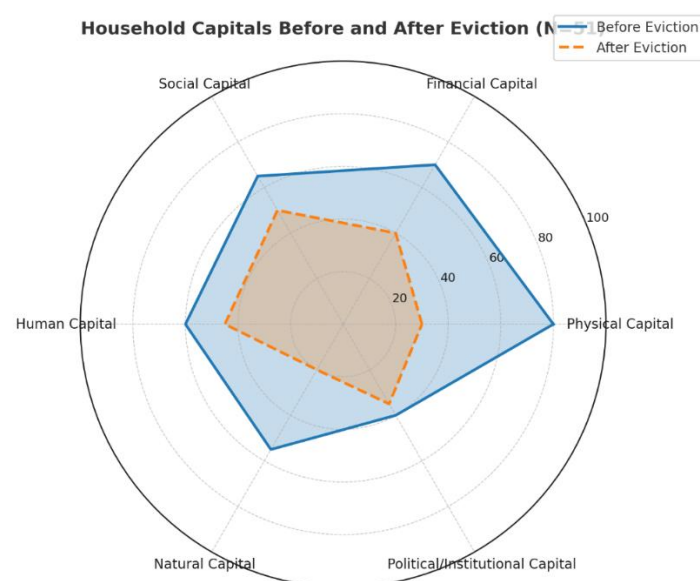
Table 11. Household Capitals before and after eviction

Livelihood Capital	Before Eviction Asset	After Eviction Asset	Before Eviction	After Eviction	Net change	Observed Change / Implication
Physical Capital	Semi-permanent structures, electricity, tap water, household/furniture, small livestock	Makeshift housing (wood, tin, bamboo, tarpaulin), little furniture	80%	30%	-50%	Severe loss of stability, housing becomes temporary and insecure
Financial Capital	Amount of trade on a regular basis at petty levels, savings made periodically, payments received by the migrant relative, and occasional gains from daily wage work	Sales of personal belongings (22; 43.1%), daily wage labor(35; 68.6%), NGO micro credit(15; 29.4%)	70%	40%	-30%	Erosion of stable cash flows, hinged on short-term liquidity and debt
Social Capital	Neighbourhood associations, settlement committees, and family-based reciprocity	Relative support (30; 58.8%), collective solidarity support (25;49%)	65%	50%	-15%	Social capital remains strong, but has disintegrated due to migration and pressure.

Human Capital	Reading, writing, basic business understanding, construction work, and a young working population	Same skills but adapted to the needs of a day-to-day survival; vocational training programs sponsored by NGO/INGOs (15; 29.4%)	60%	45%	-15%	The skills base holds, but it is underused; re-skilling seems to be needed
Natural Capital	The loss of natural capital, Access to riverbank land (informal tenure), small garden plots, and occasional firewood collection	Informal tenure of vacant/open lands, roadside spaces	55%	20%	-35%	Access to natural resources became tenuous; most of the natural resources have been lost.
Political / Institutional Capital	Little regard taken by the state, ineffective lobby groups, and some political forays	Minimal engagement with the state (20; 39.2%), irregular assistance, some peripheral presence	40%	35%	-5%	Political marginalisation continues, but external actors provide a partial voice.

(Source: Field Survey, 2025)

Figure 3. Household Capitals before and after eviction



Institutionalising the shifting apart of 51 families on the Rivalry Bank of the Bagmati river has been marked by an untillable loss on multidimensional fronts and change of livelihood capitals, both bodily and conceptually. The movement is the steepest in the physical capital segment, given that the accessibility to live in semi-permanent houses, availability of electricity, tap water and small ruminants plummeted by two-thirds, to 30 per cent. The focus here is on how suddenly this stability has gone with the shift of improvised buildings of wood, tin, bamboo and tarpaulin to subject families to unstable and vulnerable lifestyles. Even the financial capital reduced, as well as routine petty trade, periodic savings and remittance-connected income had been reduced at least by half, from 70 per cent to 40 per cent. They began to rely more and more on the sale of personal property, daily wages and work based on relations, and started to shift to precarious and short-term liquidity and debt-related adaptation.

Although juggling was the least susceptible to social and human capital. The previously unified social networks based on neighbourhood associations and settlement committees, along with family reciprocity experience, declined, which constituted 65 to 50 percent per cent. The lack of mobility and emphasis on individuality undermined support systems, although the family and the local society were still towering citadels of support. Basic literacy and construction factors, and young working age population (both at 60 per cent) fell to 45 per cent, which suggests in the skills that Chinese would be having but not utilising; area-based skills would need to be re-skilled to reflect the change in livelihoods that have been emerging.

There were also huge depreciations of natural capital as the casual occupation of the riverbank area and garden land and firewood reduced by 55 to 20 per cent, shaking the households that had valuable ecological resources and making their subsistence strategies dilapidated. The weakest aspect in terms of decline in political and institutional capital recorded 40 per cent and 35 per cent respectively, representing chronic marginalisation despite the occasional interaction between it and state actors and NGOs.

All the livelihood aspects also changed towards increasing vulnerability as a result of the eviction. The numerous capital losses, physical, financial, and natural, social and human capitals, are offering some relief, but the necessity to turn the losses of those with physical housing, stable revenue source, and ecological provisions will make appropriate interventions significant to reverse the losses. These findings illustrate how the lack of livelihood capitals is closely interconnected with one another in a way that the lack of livelihood capitals increases the plights in another capital, thus producing an unstable livelihood situation following an involuntary eviction.

5. Conclusion

The thing is that the situation of Manohara suggests that forced eviction is not a matter of the urban order only; it is the process which makes the poor urbanites more vulnerable. The findings say that already houses which were already living on the outskirts of the Kathmandu economy and also had what little wealth to spare and the medium of access to what little nature they could have to offer to them, lost what they held the most- their secure shelter- their weekend savings and their recourse to the ecological sources at their disposal have not been offered alternative sources of livelihoods. The small-scale businesses were destroyed and livelihoods collapsed, people relied more and more on wages, and the average household income was dropping. Besides the material losses, eviction brought the weakening of the solidarity in communities, exacerbated the level of social stigma, and led to the following physical /mental strain. The unified state counteraction also contributed to these insecurities because there was a range of institutions which were concerned with the legality and flood control, but they were not concerned about the rights and needs of the displaced citizens.

The events which transpired in the case of Manohara are the fundamental reflection of the contradictions which comprise the urban government of Nepal: the policy that is not only centred on beautification of urban landscapes and recovery of landed property, but whose own direction is also linked to the policy philosophy that is both inclusive and focused on social justice. The displacement and subsequent poverty will develop into a vicious cycle unless property assurance renders affordable housing and livelihood security agendas being followed in urban development. The message of the affected families cannot be overlooked: eviction is not a

technical exercise devoid of politics but a highly human activity of displacement, which needs equity, dignity and respect policies towards the urban poor as fully-fledged stakeholders in the future of the city.

Compliance with Ethical Standards

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Annex-1

Figure 4. Public notice of KMC and KVDA about demolishing the illegal structure



नेपाल सरकार
शहरी विकास मन्त्रालय
काठमाडौं उपत्यका विकास प्राधिकरण
अनामनगर, काठमाडौं



जरूरी सूचना

उपत्यकाका नगरहरुको पुनर्निर्माण, विकास र विस्तार मार्फत काठमाडौं उपत्यकालाई व्यवस्थित गर्ने उद्देश्यका साथ उपत्यकामा योजनाबद्ध भौतिक विकासका लागि आधारभूत मापदण्ड तय गर्न काठमाडौं उपत्यका विकास प्राधिकरण ऐन, २०४५ को दफा ३ बमोजिम काठमाडौं उपत्यका विकास प्राधिकरणको स्थापना भएको र उक्त मापदण्डको कार्यान्वयन सम्बन्धमा नियमित, नियन्त्रण र निषेध गर्ने अधिकार काठमाडौं उपत्यका विकास प्राधिकरण ऐन, २०४५ को दफा ८ बमोजिम यस प्राधिकरणमा रहेकाले काठमाडौं उपत्यका भित्रका सरकारी, पति, ऐलानी तथा खोलाको मापदण्ड बमोजिमका जग्गालाई अतिक्रमण गरी निर्माण गरिएका अनाधिकृत संरचना ३५ दिनभित्र खाली गरी सो को जानकारी यस प्राधिकरणलाई गराउन यो सूचना प्रकाशन गरिएको छ । त्यसरी नहटाएमा उक्त अतिक्रमण गरी निर्माण गरिएका संरचना प्राधिकरणले हटाई सो हटाउँदा वा भत्काउँदा लागेको लागत सम्बन्धित व्यक्ति वा संस्थाबाट असुल उपर गरिने व्यहोरा समेत जानकारी गराइन्छ ।

नायव विकास आयुक्त

नदी किनार, नदी उकास तथा नदी बहाव क्षेत्रमा बनेका अनधिकृत संरचना हटाउने सम्बन्धी काठमाडौं महानगरपालिकाको जरूरी सूचना

(सूचना प्रकाशित मिति : २०७९।१२।११)

काठमाडौं महानगरपालिका क्षेत्र भित्रका नदी बहाव, नदी उकास, नदी किनार र नदी कोरिडोरको सार्वजनिक क्षेत्रमा संरचना निर्माण तथा अनधिकृत रूपमा कब्जा गरी भोगचलन गरिरहेका सम्बद्ध सबै सरोकारवालाहरुका लागि यो सूचना प्रकाशित गरिएको छ । अतः यो सूचना प्रकाशित भएको मितिले ७ (सात) दिनभित्र त्यस्तो नदी बहाव, नदी किनार, नदी उकास तथा नदी कोरिडोरमा बनेका संरचनाहरु हटाई अन्यत्र लैजान सूचित गरिन्छ । उल्लिखित व्यहोराको सूचना मार्फत महानगरपालिकाबाट पटक पटक अवगत गराइएको व्यहोरा सम्बद्ध पक्षलाई जानकारी नै छ । यो सूचनाको परिपालना नगरी अनधिकृत संरचना नहटाएमा स्थानीय सरकार सञ्चालन ऐन, २०७४ तथा विषय सम्बद्ध अन्य प्रचलित कानून बमोजिम हटाइने र हटाउँदा लाग्ने खर्च समेत पुनः सम्बन्धित पक्षबाटै असुल उपर गरिने व्यहोरा समेत यसै सूचना मार्फत सूचित गरिन्छ ।



काठमाडौं महानगरपालिका
नगर कार्यपालिकाको कार्यालय

Source: KMC and KVDA, 2023

Annex-2

Figure 5. Bulldozer demolition after clash and eviction in Manohara Squatters Settlement

