Integration of the formal and informal sector — waste disposal in Hyderabad, India

Mariëlle Snel

Could integration provide a solution to waste management problems in the South? This case study highlights some of the potential benefits — and problems — with such a scheme.

Most studies of the informal sector in India, especially during recent years, have focused on waste pickers, and have discussed issues such as waste retrieved from footpaths or transfer stations, the participation of municipal staff in selling waste, the sale of refuse to farmers near dump sites, dump scavenging, and the various arrangements negotiated among pickers, itinerant buyers, waste buyers and wholesalers in the waste exchange networks. Only a limited number of studies have actually considered the integration of the formal and informal sectors.

Informal waste recycling

The informal sector has been defined as comprising ‘unregistered, unregulated activities, individual and family enterprises, small-scale and low capital inputs, local materials, and labour-intensive techniques’. It may occur at several stages in the management of solid waste, starting, perhaps, at the household or business level, where waste materials are accumulated and are either sold or disposed of at the communal storage area(s) or thrown away elsewhere; or it may start or continue at other stages, such as during formal collection when refuse collectors sort out recyclables for sale, or at the municipal dump site(s) where waste pickers look through refuse for leftover recyclable items.

Figure 1 illustrates the structure of formal SWM and its relationship to the informal recycling sector in India; it shows the sources of waste and the different economic factors involved in the recycling process. Recyclable items may be collected by the formal sector, by municipal workers dealing with the actual collection, transportation and disposal of waste, or such items may be accumulated by informal ‘collectors’ of waste. This latter group comprise itinerant collectors, or kabari wallas, who buy or barter waste materials directly from households, offices and shops; waste/street pickers who collect waste from the street bins or surrounding areas; and dump pickers who do the same, although only at official and unofficial dump sites. All useful recyclable waste, collected by either sector, is sold off to other informal SWM actors or enterprises involved in this type of business.

An interlinkage can exist between the street waste and storage section of the formal sector and informal street waste pickers (refer to the thick dark arrow in Figure 1). The interlinkage in Hyderabad takes place through community waste disposal schemes.

The waste disposal scheme in Hyderabad

Since 1992 the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad (MCH) has been experimenting with waste disposal schemes in different neighbourhoods, or

Notes and references
‘colonies’, by integrating formal municipal waste management services with informal recycling activities. These schemes represent an integration model developed by the MCH with the assistance of NGOs and CBOs (Community-based Organizations) and involve a collaboration between Unicef, the UK’s Department for International Development (DFID), and city-based voluntary organizations for the rehabilitation of waste pickers.

There are various economic objectives in this particular waste disposal scheme which include:

- making waste management more effective by establishing a house-to-house collection scheme with the help of waste pickers and other informal recycling sector actors; and
- pursuing the recycling of biodegradable waste by re-establishing the production of compost using vermiculture (see box).

The main interlinkage to the formal sector in Hyderabad is through the inclusion of waste pickers from the informal recycling sector. The pickers are not only capable of handling the collection of waste from every household (which MCH trucks may not be able to do), and transporting it to the municipal waste bin, but can also integrate the collection of waste with the existing recycling activities of the informal sector. Operators of the waste schemes are provided with gloves, a broom and other equipment so as to reduce risks to health such as receiving cuts and potentially infectious wounds. It is hoped the schemes will eventually provide a large proportion of waste pickers with sustainable work that is not only economically, but also environmentally, viable.

**Difficulties with integration**

Within this specific scheme the ‘integration’ between the formal and informal sector is the hiring of waste pickers — yet many NGOs and CBOs have avoided this aspect as it is not explicitly written into the guidelines as provided by the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad. In informal interviews, the heads of many NGOs and CBOs revealed that a specific person (usually an unemployed youth) from a nearby low-income community, rather than a waste picker, had been hired at the start of the scheme, confirming a tendency among residents to be suspicious of waste pickers, who are still perceived as unruly and unreliable street people.

Throughout India, the perception of waste, due partly to Hindu culture and the caste system, unavoidably affects peoples’ behaviour and attitudes towards waste management, especially with regard to the actors involved in collection. A survey conducted by the author on the scheme in Hyderabad between 1993-4, indicated a growing understanding among households of the specific capabilities of waste pickers as a result of the educational activities of NGOs and CBOs. Nonetheless, around half of the citizens remained reluctant to hire street pickers, who often belong to the untouchable class. Undeniably, the prevailing system of waste collection by kamatees (male sweepers) and kamatans (female sweepers), still affects how people view the waste issue.

Within urban areas traditional roles are less defined and allow for more flexibility; cities have always given rise to opportunities for people from all walks of life, and in this respect Indian cities are no exception. In addition, there is also a movement in cities such as in Hyderabad, toward the view that waste pickers are entrepreneurs in their own right; it appears that earning an income, however much or little this may be, can override social stigmas attached to this work.

**Privatization dangers**

Nevertheless, so long as social stigmas continue to prove problematic, the danger remains that in future the MCH may decide to contract private companies to perform more functions of municipal waste management, a move which is likely to have a negative affect on the more vulnerable groups of waste pickers (see box opposite).
Private companies working on door-to-door collection will jeopardize the livelihood and development opportunities for large numbers of waste pickers, and may also try to monopolize waste management in certain communities, thus posing a threat to community waste disposal schemes. In addition, private waste companies often work with costly technologies which do not promote sustainable development.

Conclusion
In the context of this specific voluntary waste disposal scheme, although social stigmas remain, there are grounds for some optimism as support among citizens continues to grow. Nevertheless, this is but one example; there have been a few other case studies in Bangalore, and in Colombia and the Philippines, but none of these have been designed by local government as was the case in Hyderabad. This scheme remains experimental and will need a few more years to develop; in the meantime in order for schemes such as these to survive, it is essential that:

- political backing comes from local municipalities;
- there is social acceptance by communities with regard to waste pickers; and
- there is financial backing, both from local municipalities through possible subsidies (paying for tricycles, uniforms and shoes for the waste pickers, for example) and from citizens.

Overall the integration of the formal and informal sectors through voluntary waste disposal schemes is just one possible connection between the two sectors. Further examples could be schemes set up at dump sites involving waste pickers at the sites, or schemes designed to take place between the transportation of waste and the municipal workers stage.

Many challenges remain as we face the next millennium. Schemes such as that found in Hyderabad reflect true partnership between local government, non-government/community-based organizations and citizens; only through a positive attitude and support from all of these stakeholders for the essential role of the informal sector, will more interlinkages between the two waste management sectors emerge in the future.

Privatization in Pune

In Pune, a private municipal waste management entrepreneur negotiated a waste collection contract in an area where an organized group of women waste pickers used to do a house-to-house collection of recyclable materials. The private entrepreneur convinced residents that his company could do a better job of collecting the waste, at a lower cost. At the same time he promised to get rid of the waste pickers in return for being able to carry out the house-to-house collection and acquired the sole right to buy recyclable materials.

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Water metering — the new poll tax?

Despite announcements that there will be ‘no compulsory metering’, December 1998 saw the UK government rushing through legislation in the Water Industry Bill that will introduce wide-spread metering, a move that, it is argued, will hit the poorest and those with special needs and medical conditions.

Around 12 per cent of households in the UK have already been metered. In Bradford, families saw their bills soar to four times those of their unmetered neighbours. Trials in the early 1990s found one in 12 households claiming difficulty in affording water bills; only 11 per cent of these said they had difficulty before metering. In addition, the trials saw 18 per cent of those metered saying they needed more water than they could afford; this rose to 62 per cent for people with medical conditions.

The bill says that there will be ‘no compulsory metering’: that people will remain unmeasured while they stay in their present homes; that consumers have the right to choose to be metered; and that meters will be installed free of charge. However, meters cost about £200 and cost more to bill; these costs will be recouped from unmetered consumers. It is argued that the more affluent will opt for metering and see bills fall, whereas the poor will see bills rise and will have to cut back and those with special needs must face the humiliation of registering to pay on an unmeasured basis.


Caveat report on Mark Osola’s article ‘A few buckets more — reducing sand-invasion and siltation in Angola’ (Waterlines 17.2)

There are two aspects to sand invasion of boreholes:
- Entry and accumulation of sand in the borehole itself — this leads eventually to the clogging of the screen slots, blocking inflow of water;
- Movement of sand within the borehole into the pump intake, causing wear on impellers or piston seals, leaking foot valves and disconnection of pump rods.

Both cause reductions in yield from the well which finally becomes non-operational, and both caused problems in the systems described in the article.

Entry and accumulation of sand
Where the outer gravel pack is of unsuitable-sized particles, or is not well distributed around the screen, fine sand from the surrounding aquifer may pass into the borehole, if the screen slots are of larger diameter than the particles in suspension. In emergency situations such a condition is likely to occur, with suitable pack difficult to obtain and installation often having to be done in a hurry. Entry of sand into the borehole depends on the velocity of water being drawn in, the distribution of particle sizes outside the screen, and the size and number of slots (open area) in the screen. All these affect the ability of in-flowing water to pick up particles and carry them into the well. Since none of these factors appear to be altered by the remedial measures mentioned, the tendency for sand to enter the borehole may be expected to continue.

Movement of sand into the pump intake
The inner pack suggested would seem to act simply as a filter to protect the pump, not as a system to protect the borehole itself. Such protection of the pump could also be achieved by:
- Reducing intake velocity by increasing and dispersing the area for the intake of water to the pump cylinder;
- Making a filter for the intake itself;
- Setting the pump intake above the screen and so away from the point at which sand is entering the borehole, or the level at which it is accumulating. In the case of Kuito in Angola, pump cylinders appear to have been set originally within the screened section and then raised above the screen as part of the rehabilitation. The latter is the usually recommended position to allow any sand entering the well to drop out of suspension, rather than passing directly into the pump, and to encourage water to flow in more regularly from the whole screened area. Raising the intake into the blank casing may have played an important part in the noted reduction of pumped sand observed immediately afterwards.

In Sept/Oct, 1997 some three to six months after installation of the internal gravel pack, 50 per cent of Kuito boreholes were observed to provide clear water but 50 per cent were already sanding again. Those with high use were sanding heavily1 (though it is not known what proportion of boreholes were sanding before the remedial action was carried out).

The actions described by Mark in his article are interesting as a way to provide short-term protection to handpumps in an emergency situation. However, as a remedy for sanding/silting boreholes, the internal gravel pack does not seem to provide the solution. Such boreholes will still need regular cleaning out, or better still from an economic aspect, proper replacement as soon as practicable.

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