

Sociology of Sanitation: A Study of Scavengers of Lucknow

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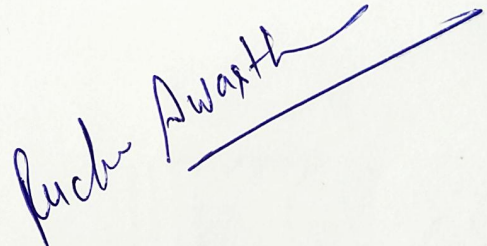
DECLARATION

I, Ruchi Awasthi, declare that the work embodied in this thesis entitled “**Sociology of Sanitation: A Study of Scavengers of Lucknow**” has been carried out by me, under the supervision of **Prof. Bibhuti Bhushan Malik**, Professor, Department of Sociology, Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University (A Central University), Lucknow.

The work included in this thesis has not submitted for any other degree and unless otherwise stated, is all original. I have duly acknowledged all the sources used by me in the preparation of this thesis. I also declare that thesis is essentially free from all kinds of plagiarism.

Place: Lucknow

Date: 28/12/2020



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CERTIFICATE

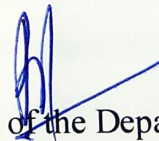
This is to certify that the thesis titled “**Sociology of Sanitation: A Study of Scavengers of Lucknow**” submitted by **Ms. Ruchi Awasthi** is an original research work and has not been previously submitted in part or full for the award of any other degree or diploma to this or any other University.

The thesis submitted to Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University Lucknow, satisfies all the requirements as stipulated in the *Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) regulations-1999 as amended in 2008/2010/2013* and it is fit for submission and evaluation for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University.

Date 28.12.2020



Supervisor



Head of the Department

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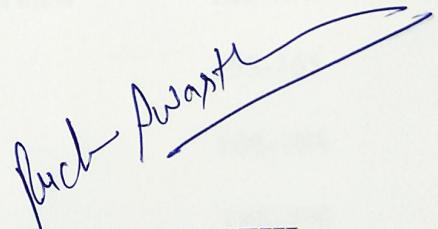
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NCSK	:	National Commission for Safai Karamcharis
SPSS	:	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
AKBVNS	:	Akhil Bhartiya Valmiki Navyuvak Sangh
BSP	:	Bahujan Samaj Party
VAMBAY	:	Valmiki Malin Basti Awas Yojna
RSKA	:	Rajya Safai Karamchari Aayog
ILCS	:	Integrated Low Cost Sanitation Scheme
IDSMT	:	Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns
SBA	:	Swachh Bharat Abhiyan
ARWSP	:	Accelerated Rural Drinking Water Supply Program
NSKFDC	:	Safai Karamchari Finance and Development Corporation
SLCFSK	:	State Level Commission for Safai Karamcharis
PMAY	:	Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana
MS	:	Manual Scavenging

CHAPTER- 1

INTRODUCTION

Scavenging is a caste created and inherited occupation, which is passed down, as an inheritance after one generation to the next generation. Scavenging is considered as a highly demeaning, impure and dishonoured occupation in India and scavengers who are involved in scavenging occupation are often supposed to be permanently polluted and this notion governs their entire sphere of interaction. The scavengers relegated at the bottom of human society in India. Even the other scheduled castes are ranked by custom and public opinion in various levels of acceptability, but scavengers have been continuously relegated to the stigma of untouchable category, due to the unclean nature of their occupation connected with the insanitary services. Scavenging is equivalent to modern-day slavery. It humiliates the dignity of human beings. “The issue of manual scavenging in India induces reactions reaching from disbelief and disgust to despair. It is generally believed to be a social practice moderately than an occupation which has its roots in the caste system of India” (Khurana, et.al, 2009, p.2). In the case of scavengers, caste is the certificate of humiliation and social shame prescribed by the caste system.

Scavengers communities considered as inferior caste and persons of these castes traditionally left out from mainstream society. Scavenging in the Indian perspective it is multifaceted, extensive and manifold. It is a rejection of genuine shared universes thus causing societal isolation as well as ghettoization, as in the case of the scheduled castes particularly scavengers. The evil situation is that a person’s birth in these caste communities remains profane due to their virtue of societal ladder as ascribed status. Caste based segregations and exclusion are flawless in Indian society. Association and rank as well as status are decided by ascription; there is a social order of superiority between the castes; there are boundaries on social and cultural interaction amongst the caste. Castes are isolated and covered not only with public and psychic civil liberties, also livelihoods and occupations are demarcated by the caste.

Scavengers are the highly long sufferer and excluded community of India. They are Insufferable, and avoided by all caste including Dalit caste they are marginalised within marginalised. The unspeakable hardship, embarrassment and mistreatment they confronted, have not found in any society excluding Indian society.

Scavenger's place in society is always considered a secondary and subordinate position. It has argued that the idea of functional position varying in their importance is difficult to support. Scavengers are an important segment of Indian society and sanitation work is the basic requirement of the society. If we interrogate, are scavengers really any less important to the survival and existence of society in comparison to other so-called clean professionals? In spite of the lower wages and respect of scavengers, they are in reality more important to the survival of the society.

Manual Scavengers generally hail from the Scheduled Castes communities and they are placed in the lowest rung in Indian society, and are considered to be untouchable among the untouchables. One who is born as a scavenger is destined to continue the same job for generations in caste based society. This occupation or social identity is enforced upon scavengers. This community is placed at the bottom of the social hierarchy. "The practice of untouchability is the burden of social disabilities on people born in specific castes. Dalits are forced to work in polluted and degrading occupations like manual scavenging and septic tank cleaning" (Barbour, et al, 2007, p.75).

In Indian context scavenging is recognized as a polluted occupation in India even though it is looked upon as evil, and people engaged in it; are treated as low as insensible substances. This shameful caste discrimination has vigorously left communities involved in manual scavenging from social and economic equity and justice. According to Harsh Mander, "The practice of manual scavenging is determined by caste, class and income boundaries. One of modern India's great stigma is the approved failure to eradicate 'manual scavenging', the most humiliating surviving practice of untouchability in the country" (The Hindu 2020, February 16). Scavenging work affects every other part and the system as a whole. Scavenging is an occupation which provides cleanliness and hygiene to society. If scavengers refuse to do scavenging work for some days it invites unhealthy conditions and in this manner various problems will start in society. Therefore this functional requirement for example cleanliness of society through scavenging encompasses a minimum amount of integration which is mainly based on harmony. Scavenging castes advocate that they are a functional community employed from many different social groups. It is predictable that one of the reasons that persons of the lowermost sections of Indian society took scavenging as an occupation especially in the urban areas was compulsion which arose out of economic necessity.

Statement of the Problem

This study attempts to examine empirically the status of sanitation workers of Lucknow city. The plight of scavengers who have to earn their livelihood in handling a work that is banned since many years due to depreciating nature. Scavenging remains a complicated socio-economic problem, which not only requires adequate funding, but also needs a radical change of mental outlook. There are three forms of manual scavenging in India: removal of human excreta from public streets and dry latrines, cleaning septic tanks, cleaning gutters and sewers. It is a prime example of the cruel inheritance of the hierarchical social order in India that the vicious work of manual scavenging is mostly done by specific sub-castes amongst Dalit community. Amongst the Hindu community in Lucknow, Manual Scavenging was historically and always assigned to some social group, for example Hindu community those working as scavengers recognized by caste title Balmikis and Dhanuk; and amongst Muslim community this work is done by Lalbegi and Hela. These sub caste of Scheduled Caste placed the lowest rank of the hierarchical caste system. Manual scavengers are considered as third-grade persons and seen through the lens of their profession, and exposes them to the nuisances of the caste hierarchy of India. Upper caste and non-scavenging scheduled castes considers this job to be the obligation of lower caste people which further isolates these sections from the mainstream of the society.

Scavengers live in deplorable conditions, suffer humiliation and deliberate discrimination. Studies on manual scavenging fail to address main problems related to work of scavenging in the current scenario. Privatization has changed the employment situation in sanitation occupation over some years. Subsequently, rather the sanitation work is the accountability of the government and the local bodies who in turn hired only some specific scheduled castes for the scavenging work through the customary rights system. In the public and private sector, most of the Safai Karmis who have been serving for more than twenty years are yet not permanent. They are lowly paid and deprived of any health care facilities and privileges in comparison to any other government employee working in fourth class. Majority of scavengers in Lucknow do not have regular or regulated employment. Also, not all are employed by the government. Many of them are employed in the private sector without any rules and regulations where, majority of them works on a daily basis. The common

problems to all scavengers are the miserable conditions of work and unstructured employment. Due to the contractual nature of this job, they are mostly vulnerable. Their wages are not fixed. It has been observed that the sanitation worker faced discrimination and untouchability identical as faced by manual scavengers in past; which becomes their way of life.

Scavengers who work as cleaner have been denied dignity as human beings. There is a strong relationship between caste and occupation. This perpetual relationship forces the whole community to experience the psychological suffering of social exclusion and monetary woes. In India, scavenging is still performed manually and is a lowly paid work. Safety of those involved in this sector is not assured. On the other hand, in the western countries, the process of handling sanitary waste is comparatively mechanized and protective gears are available, where necessary.

The other serious issue faced by sanitation workers is that those involved in sewer cleaning have to go inside the sewer lines for conducting cleaning work when machines fail to do the same. High risks are involved in sewerage work. Despite the increased focus of the government for unsafe sanitation work roughly taken under the exception of 'manual scavenging' still exists in India. According to 'The Wire' "There are over 5 million people employed in sanitation work of some sort, with 2 million of them working in high risk conditions" (The Wire, 24 November 2018). When the workers enter the manhole they are exposed to poisonous gases, which cause serious health problems, and may lead to fatal diseases and even cause deaths. But no serious research has been done in this area which is a grave matter of concern. If we carry out a study, we cannot find an appropriate mechanism and a single policy dedicated exclusively to resolve the issue of septic tank workers.

Manual scavenging Act 2013, attempts to give remedial provisions from 1993 onwards for the Manual Scavengers and it also ensures dignity of their work. As the act forbids the manual scavenging without proper equipment but the implementation of the manual scavenging act 2013 is not up to the mark; it has been 7 years since its implementation and until now, there have been hundreds of deaths of manual scavengers in sewer and manholes and not a single person have been held responsible and convicted till date. "According to NCSK, 123 people employed in hazardous forms of manual scavenging lost their lives while at work since January 2017. Officials involved in the exercise admit, however, that even this number could be a gross under-estimation, considering the lack of data" (Indian Express, 2017).

This miserable condition can be assessed by the fact that, on the one hand the government wants to be the torch bearer to eradicate this practice; on the other hand, the department of Indian Railway employs the largest number of manual scavengers on a contractual basis. In order to hide the fact that manual scavenging is still promoted by the government. Furthermore, the societal perception towards manual scavengers is disheartening and depressing. Political will is missing to improve the conditions of scavengers. No political party is taking up this section as their priority. Their welfare is left out from the developmental plan.

This research has tried to reveal the overall living and working condition of Sanitation workers. Under these circumstances it becomes pertinent to adjudge and study the comprehensive situation of the scavengers are engaged in sanitation services.

Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To find out the socio-economic status of scavengers / sanitation workers of Lucknow.
2. To explore issues and problems faced by scavenger/ sanitation workers of Lucknow.
3. To know the level of untouchability and discrimination prevalent among scavengers/sanitation workers because of their caste and occupational identity.
4. To explore occupational mobility among scavengers/ sanitation workers of Lucknow.
5. To analyse occupation mobility and change among scavengers of Lucknow city.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

The framework is based on sets of theories which have been accepted as interrelated for the present purpose. Various studies have evaluated social mobility and concluded both single and multiple methodologies. Studies grounded on a particular approach claim that occupation is the one and only standard for defining an individual's social status. But this particular approach is insufficient to analyse social mobility. Therefore most of the studies investigating the phenomenon do not help to deliver a specific and compact model for determining the real nature and degree of social mobility taking place in Indian society. Hence, attempts have been made, in this study, to measure and

analyse social mobility and the status identification of the scavengers through a theoretical framework based on the multiple approaches. In the first set of this research, the double theoretical constructions about social mobility and status congruence have been adopted to investigate social mobility among the scavengers within the caste system and class structure. For this purpose the theory of social mobility propounded by Lipset and Zetterberg has been used with needed modifications. We have relied on this approach because a comprehensive study of social mobility is possible through such an approach namely the dimension of occupation. In their theory of social mobility Lipset and Zetterberg have highlighted the dimensions of occupational and consumption positions, social class and power positions, as well as given a methodological note. They have also highlighted out causes and consequences of social mobility. According to them, social mobility of a group or individual is decided by the shift and ranking of occupations, consumptions, social power, and social class, “composed of individuals who accept each other as equals and qualified for intimate associations”(Lipset and Zetterberg, 1966, p. 563). Accepting occupation as the most common indicator of stratification, they have viewed that “occupational class is one of the major factors which differentiate people’s beliefs, values, norms, customs, and occasionally some of their emotional expressions” (Lipset and Zetterberg, 1966 p. 562). In their opinion, the recording of an individual’s occupational class also prerequisites to recording of the occupational background, i.e., the kind of social structure in which the occupation under study is located. It is on the other hand, not necessary that an individual’s consumption position drives along with Individual’s income position. “At the same occupational or income level, men will vary in the extent to which they are oriented towards acting out the behaviour pattern common to different social classes” (Lipset and Zetterberg, 1966 p. 563). Individual might change his occupational class by changing his job, but the actual upgrading in his social class position is imaginable only if Individual has admitted to friendly relationships with members of the mentioned social class. Similarly, a person’s role relationship is considered in terms of one’s authority (not political authority) implemented over others in the social system. Accepting such authority as a person’s social power, Lipset and Zetterberg have mentioned it as another dimension of social mobility. As it stated previously Lipset and Zetterberg have proposed two sets of methodological methods to the study of social mobility. In the first set, there are comparisons of the present with the past, one area with another

and one model with another articulating equal opportunity. In the second set, there is the straight operational method of determining mobility by comparing the position of father with son. The present study has adopted the multidimensional approach and the second set of the methodological portion of this theory (i.e., inquiry of father's and son's earlier and present occupations). In this method, Lipset and Zetterberg have recommended an investigation keen on father's previous occupation along with his last one and son's present as well as previous occupations. Lastly, they have proposed inquiry of social mobility in terms of causes of supply of vacant statuses, and interchangeability of positions or ranks, followed by inquiry of political consequences. Present study included a theoretical framework with two additional measurements, those of education and income.

The present study mentioned that social mobility among scavengers is related to their status in both class and caste systems. For measuring this type of mobility present study also included Homan's theory of status congruence in theoretical framework. According to Homan's theory, if there are individuals who have their status factors for example diversity of work, office accountability, pay, seniority, and work autonomy in an organization 'in line', they claim their status congruity, and those whose status factors are 'out of line' do not their status congruity. In Homan's terminology, 'in-lineness' may be a condition of relative and distributive justice for such individuals, whereas 'out-lineness' may lead to status anxiety. This theory adopted for measuring the congruence or similarity of achieved and ascribed statuses of scavengers who may be in-line in their achieved status but out of line in the ascribed one, although their out-in-line status would mean here status within the line in the traditional status hierarchy. In such a case they might face a problem of status anxiety.

This set of the theory the constructions about reference group ethnocentric and contra-identification has been incorporated to describe the status-identification among the scavengers as a result of their social mobility. The theory of status congruence is very significant. Since improvements in status in the caste system and class structure, the congruity between the twofold, and concerns like status anxiety and different stages of status identification have been investigated as several aspects of social mobility, the above cited sets of theoretical descriptions have been well included in a particular framework for the purpose of this study.

In the theory of reference group behaviour and relative deprivation, Merton and his associates have suggested that certain individuals or groups tend to adopt the behaviour (and attitudes) of other groups or individuals in order to achieve a similar social position (Merton & Rossi, 1968). But if they fail in their achievement, they suffer from relative deprivation, because they find others belonging to their group achieving success in similar situations. Further, in the course of adoption of reference group/ individual behaviour one also identifies oneself with the reference group individual. The above stated theory is centered actually on definite assumptions directly related to the study of social mobility in class based society. On the other hand a study of social mobility in India in general and among the scavengers in particular; mobility has to examine the mobility of the status in the caste system besides that in class structure. "Theoretically there were only two obvious means of improving status. One was by opting out of society and becoming ascetic. Therefore, we have included in our framework an inquiry into the types of reference groups which the scavengers/ sanitation worker may follow to reach their respective social positions. The other was by ensuring rebirth in a higher social status (caste) in one's next life" (Thapar 1974, p. 99). However circumscribed horizontal mobility was allowed among the Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaisya in ancient India. In practice, people adopted occupations which are not associated with caste. "Downward mobility was enough and upward mobility was far more difficult and not open to the individual. But the group mobility was possible through a period of time by changing, habitations, geographical location, and occupations of the entire group" (Thapar, 1974, p.120-121).

The above mentioned theories adopted for the theoretical framework of this study have been linked up with one another. In the first set of frameworks the incidence of complete social mobility can properly be examined only when the changes in scavenger's caste status are taken into account along with changes in their class status. If there is change in scavenger's class status but no change in scavenger's caste status, at that time scavenger's status will be incongruent or different then social mobility incomplete. In such a situation it has been noticed that permanent sanitation worker's class status has been improved due to better payment from other sanitation workers but there is no change has been found in their caste status therefore they suffered from status anxiety. Thus, there is sufficient ground to link Lipset and

Zetterberg theory of social mobility with Homans' theory of status congruence and status anxiety.

There are two prospects in Homans' theory of status congruence. If an individual finds his status incongruent, he will either develop status anxiety as mentioned above, or pay the cost of accepting his status inferiority. Through an exchange of social behaviour and face-to-face interaction he will learn the skills for achieving his status congruence. In this sense, his superiors become his reference group. Thus, the second possibility of status congruence may be related to the theory of reference group/ individual behaviour adopted in our theoretical framework. Similarly, the theory of status congruence can be related to the theory of status identification, because those who have congruent status may prefer contra identification more than those whose status is incongruent, as mentioned above.

Conceptual Framework of the Study

To ensure clarity, it is essential to define the concepts and framework of the study in research work used, the conceptual framework adopted in the present study defined as follows.

Sociology of Sanitation

According to Dr. Bindeswar Pathak "Sociology of sanitation is a scientific study to solve the problems of society in relation to sanitation, social deprivation, water, public health, hygiene, ecology, environment, poverty, gender equality, welfare of children and empowering people for sustainable development and attainment of philosophical and spiritual knowledge to lead a happy life and to make a difference in the lives of others". (Pathak, 2013.p.5)

Sociology of Sanitation is not only to provide sanitation, but also to abolish social injustice and discrimination. The Sociology of Sanitation, under the broader canopy of Action Sociology, strives to work for social and sanitation solutions, which ensures social equity and dignity to every underprivileged and discriminated human being. Sociology of Sanitation is the branch of action sociology. It is an applied discipline. The subject matter of Sociology of Sanitation is mainly the study about social, physical, and physiological pathology with all its complexities. The main

scope of sociology of sanitation is to make scientific study of health and hygiene with reference to the social organization and its association with structure and function.

The essence of the definition of Sociology of Sanitation is to reconstruct inclusiveness and progressive understanding of sanitation with contradictions as facilitators to sustainability of the well-being. Sanitation, hygiene, and cleanliness are the hallmarks of a civilized society.

In this study the concept of sociology of sanitation focused on an important issue; is scavenging that is ignored in all discourse, equally at the societal level along with national and state level the plight of scavengers and sanitary workers and their appalling work settings. Sociology of Sanitation is linked to issues of scavengers such as the continuation of caste-based discrimination, violence and segregation. Society inclines to associate sanitation and hygiene with goodness and pollution with evilness, therefore dirt cleaned by scavengers is invisible as hazardous, roughly to be undesirable and escaped. The continued dependence on the scavenging castes to carry out scavenging and sanitation work is appalling, government as well as private agencies basis almost all employees work as scavengers found from the Balmiki and Dhanuk people.

Sociology of Sanitation is a theme that has been extensively embedded as a tool, which assists persons, set suitable aims and is imperative to understand scavenging and sanitation as sociological issues. There are various issues and problems related to sanitation. The principal issues in sanitation are to deliver healthy living surroundings for every person to safeguard the consistent resources. Improved health and safety in such employment, especially through the use of upgraded equipment machinery technologies and put into practice which reduces direct contact dirt and other waste.

Sanitation

The word 'sanitation' is derived from a Latin source 'sanitat' which means 'health and soundness of body and mind. The Hindi word 'Swachhata' is a retrenchment of a Sanskrit word 'Shuchita' which has a still deeper meaning. It means 'sanctity of body and mind.' Sanitation is wrongly perceived as "establishment of latrines." Also, the concept is confined to dumping of wastewater and garbage, personal hygiene etc. This is a falsified connotation. The US National Sanitation Foundation gave the following definition of sanitation. "It is the quality of living expressed in clean

homes, clean farms, clean neighbourhoods and clean communities. Being a way of life, it must come from people, nourished as it is by knowledge and it grows as obligation and ideal in human relations.”

Nowadays all the efforts are directed towards creation of physical possessions for sanitation. Role of scavengers is found to be increasingly ignored at almost all the levels. Sanitation furthermore flops by being well-defined and smeared also largely and hardly inside has scavengers’ perspective. Sanitation is defined as greater hygiene and referred to as a scientifically derived person’s capability to achieve social and economic needs and entitlement. It deals with eradication of various evils in a society. In broader sense, Sanitation means the maintenance of a clean environment, privacy and safety in regard to defecation, and the practice of hygiene and behaviours conducive to good health. Sanitation requires the construction, use and maintenance of latrines or toilets and the safe collection and disposal or use of human waste, solid waste and storm water. The World Health Organization defined “sanitation” as: “Sanitation generally refers to the provision of facilities and services for the safe disposal of human urine and faeces. The word ‘sanitation’ also refers to the maintenance of hygienic conditions, through services such as garbage collection and wastewater disposal.”

Manual Scavengers

According to The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993 and Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013, manual scavenger is, “a person engaged or employed, at the commencement of this Act, or at any time thereafter, by an individual or local authority or agency or a contractor, for manually cleaning, carrying, disposing of, or otherwise handling in any manner, human excreta in an insanitary latrine or in an open drain or pit into which the human excreta from the insanitary latrine is disposed of, or on a railway track or in such other spaces or premises, as the Central Government or a State Government may notify, before the excreta fully decomposes in such as manner as may be prescribed” (The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993, p. 2-3).

According to Paul, “Manual Scavengers are people employed for manually carrying human excreta from public and private toilets. It is done removing the

bowels from the dry toilets with the help of brooms, tin plates, plastic buckets, disposing them to places allocated for their dumping. It is evidently one of the worst forms of assault that can be contemplated on the dignity of a human being and is generally identified as a profession for the lower castes.”(Paul, 2013, p.1).

Scavengers are a caste of the removers of the night soil and cleaners of drains and latrines who belong to well defined groups in the Indian society. In India all such people are included under general vocabulary ‘the scavengers’ (Raksha, 2012, p.47).

In this study, the term ‘Scavengers’ is synonymous with Safai Karmacharis engaged in all types of scavenging work, including sweepers and sanitary workers involved in sanitation occupation at least three generations and presently working as sanitation worker in Lucknow city of Uttar Pradesh State.

Safai Karamchari

“A Safai Karamchari is a person engaged or working for any sanitation work, other than domestic work” (Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Rules, 2013, p.3). In this study the word ‘Safai Karmchari’ was used interchangeably for sanitation workers and scavengers.

Sanitation Worker

“The word sanitation workers itself talk about the people employed for cleaning, maintaining, operating, or emptying a sanitation technology at any step of the sanitation chain” (Dalberg Advisors, 2017). This comprises toilet cleaners and caretakers in domestic, institutional and public, surroundings those who empty pits and septic tanks once full and other faecal sludge handlers; those who clean sewers and manholes and those who work at sewage and faecal waste treatment and disposal sites”(World Bank, et.al, 2019, p.2). In this study the word Sanitation Worker/ Scavengers/ Safai Karmchari, has been used interchangeably.

Manual Scavenging

Manual scavenging means “degrading and illegal task of cleaning human excrement from India’s roads and dry latrine. Using little more than a broom, a tin plate, and a basket, they are made to clear faeces from public and private latrines and carry them to dumping grounds and disposal sites” (Sadangi, 2008, p.225). Scavenging is the practice of manual cleaning, carrying, and disposing in any manner of excreta liquid form in bahaau toilet and sewer or a septic tank” (Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993. p. 2). In this study, the type

of work considered as dirty is described as scavenging including sweeping, toilet cleaning, garbage cleaning, and medical leftover cleaning.

Scavenging Communities

The group of people involved in scavenging work is acknowledged as scavenging communities. In this study Balmiki, Dhanuk, Hela, Lalbegi communities are found as Scavenging Communities.

Scheduled caste

The Scheduled Castes (SCs) are officially designated as deprived people in India. The terms are recognized in the constitution of India and the groups are designated in other categories. In modern literature, the Scheduled Castes are often referred to as untouchables.

Bahaau Toilet

Big drain in which latrine (human excreta) flows as a watery form and is cleaned by scavengers is considered as Bahaau Toilet. An open channel or pit obsessed by which the excreta are flushed out, before the excreta fully decomposes in such a manner as may be prescribed.

Man-hole

The sewer lines at many places in the cities are so often choked up and need constant and overhaul of sludge. For the same, a Safai Karamcharis from a scavenger's community has to get into a manhole and clean it.

Research Methodology

Following research methodology has been used for systematic approach to collect and analysis of data in this research.

Universe of the study

The universe of the present study is Lucknow city. The Lucknow city is the capital city of Uttar Pradesh state, also a large city in northern India. Lucknow is fourteenth most populous city. The sample of the study is drawn from scavenging caste a sub caste of scheduled caste. The respondents of this research are those sanitation workers who are working as Safai Karmchari involved in various types of scavenging work including manhole cleaners who enter the manhole and deep sewers as a part of their duty.

Sample

The study covers 300 sanitation worker living Lucknow city who are selected through non -probability sampling method. According to the nature of the study, non-probability sampling further adopted a purposive sampling Method to pick out respondents who are currently working as Safai Karmi. In the present study all respondents choose from those scavenging communities whose father/mother (previous generation) were working as manual scavengers/ sanitation workers since three generations and also presently respondents of the study are also engaged in scavenging work. For this reason purposive sampling is the most suitable method for the sampling.

Research Design

In this study a mixed methods approach has been used that involves collecting data, analysing and mixing quantitative e.g., surveys and qualitative e.g., focus upon groups interviews and case studies. In this Research, descriptive research design is used for explaining nature and magnitude of scavengers of Lucknow city.

Sample Design

Table 1.1

1.1 Sample area Number and Percentage of Respondents			
Name of the Bustee	Total Scavengers household and number of sample taken	Number of Respondents from each Bustee	Bustee wise Percentage in total sampling
Lav-Kush Nagar	$1000 \times 10 / 100 = 100$	100	33.33
SDA colony (Aishbagh)	$900 \times 10 / 100 = 90$	90	30.0
Mohan Making road Balmiki Nagar	$450 \times 10 / 100 = 45$	45	15.0
Balmiki Nagar Peppermill colony	$350 \times 10 / 100 = 35$	35	11.7
Sagra Balmiki Basti	$300 \times 10 / 100 = 30$	30	10.0
Total	$3000 \times 10 / 100 = 300$	300	100.0

In this study I have identified scavenging communities using census 2011. There is no separate classification of scavengers and scavenging communities has been given

in the census. I have taken sample for the study from scheduled caste and scheduled sub-caste data using census 2011. I have extracted from census those sub castes who are working as scavengers from centuries.

After identifying scavenging communities at all India level; I used census for a sub-caste of scavenging communities who are found in Lucknow city. For this purpose I have visited various scavengers' areas and identified those Slums/Bustees where large numbers of scavenging communities are residing. After visiting various scavenging areas in Lucknow city, I have chosen five scavengers' Bustees using convenience sampling. For better representation, I have taken ten percent of the total population from each scavenger's bustee. Each respondent represented 1 household as a unit of the study. For instance in Lav Kush Nagar there are 1000 households in the locality out of them I have selected 100 respondents. Likewise in SDA colony there are a total 900 households out of them 90 respondents have taken for study. Similarly, Mohan Making road, Balmiki Nagar had 450 scavengers' households out of them 45 respondents have been taken. Balmiki Nagar Paper mill colony 350 scavengers' household exists out of them 35 respondents were taken as sample. Further there are 300 scavengers' households in Sagra Balmiki Basti 30 respondents were taken as sample. (Table 1.1 has explained the method adopted for sample selection of study).

Tools of Data Collection

The study is based on primary as well as secondary data. The primary data is supplemented by the secondary data. Primary data has been mainly collected through the Interview Schedule. For collecting required and relevant information, a well examined and pre-tested structured interview Schedule has been prepared. In this interview schedule structured as well as open-ended questions on various aspects of the problem was prepared. It was modified after its pretesting on 30 respondents. Accordingly, structured interviews are a chief tool of data collection in this study. It is an effective and essential tool for acquiring information that no other research tool can ensure. An Interview schedule having opportunity of interrogations and face to face interaction which monitors an observation thoroughly and systematically is an uninterrupted technique of study. Therefore, the scavengers have been interviewed on the basis of structured schedules. From time to time, research clarified enquiries, somewhere if required the respondents have been given an opening to meet their

reaction that could be sensibly observed, the respondents throughout the interview observing the sentiment involved to their response the subject when they seems to be bore and expanses on which is maximum spoken that time researcher had to corroborate the responses gathered through discussions. Among the respondents (especially septic tank workers) were the possible important cases which need to be highlighted. The relevant information apart from responses to the questions listed in the interview schedule was extracted from them and noted down later. The secondary sources of data in this study included the reports, journals, books and other published material related to the area of study.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is the most important portion of any research. Data analysis summarizes collected data. It involves the interpretation of data gathered through use of analytical and logical reasoning to determine patterns, relationships or trends. For any research, data analysis is very imperative as it makes available an explanation of several concepts, theories, frameworks and methods used. It eventually helps in arriving at conclusions.

In this research, collected data has been analysed using statistical packages (SPSS) to tabulate and to construct frequency tabulations and percentage of data wherever required. Similar other sociological studies like the data analysis were done with both quantitative and qualitative methods. Maximum tables are the preview of real life occurrences of scavengers and are explanatory, so data is offered as such and no statistical test was applied. And data presented systematically using excel graphs as per chapter plan with appropriate diagrams and figures.

Significance of the Study

The present study is relevant from a theoretical as well as applied point of view. Studies conducted on social mobility covers relatively open societies where mobility in one sphere is directly related to mobility in the others. But in societies where social stratification has been relatively rigid, mobility in one aspect does not lead necessarily to mobility in other aspects. Therefore, in a society like India a comprehensive understanding of social mobility is possible only through an examination of cumulative impact of a number of dimensions on an ancient structure like caste or other traditional social organizations. This study will create a new

dimension of research for those academia who are really serious to study social mobility among scavenging castes.

Manual Scavengers are moving on to some extent as sanitation workers, from their traditional social ground and try hard to make their way and find a better place in the changing social structure in Indian society. Thus, while they are, at the identification level, in a state of uncertainty about their caste and class statuses, they perceive their social status of sanitation worker not the manual scavengers. The study will be significant for the government to enhance scavenger's status in the rise of their caste status through rise in their class status.

This study may help policy makers to identify the gap between the scavengers who lag behind in various reputed positions and only confined in scavenging fields. The study highlights the traditional social and ritual distances and the barriers of some types lying between the scheduled and non-scheduled castes and suggests some alternative measures that may reduce such barriers.

A far reaching consequence of the roots of this research is for civil society in turn towards the establishment of an egalitarian interaction pattern between the scavengers and other scheduled castes (excepting scavenging community) in addition to upper castes, which enable generation of the universal form of social change, mobility and development among the scavengers as well as whole country.

This study will be relevant for young researchers in the sense in which no study has been done on sanitation workers, only some studies done on manual scavengers; however due to the change of time, different magnitudes of the past studies conducted on manual scavengers also changed. The research reveals all the dimensions which need special attention with particular reference to scavenging communities in general and scavengers (especially sanitation workers) particular; correspondingly this study will provide solid sociological ground to those researchers to study the scavengers from the scientific point of view in future.

It has emerged from present research that there is a huge gap in the research conducted on Scheduled Caste and various results derived for them; all research which has focused on Scheduled Castes are not enough to provide intensive understanding of nature and magnitudes of scavenger's community. Because constitutional provisions guarantee safeguards to all the scheduled castes as well as scavengers, but there are a few castes from amongst them which have been observed as availing to the maximum extent the benefits of protective discrimination.

Traditionally, the scavenging communities had been the most exploited and down-graded sections of the society in India in comparison to any other scheduled caste therefore present research is focused on those persons who are engaged in scavenging occupation and thus the present research is relevant from abstract as well as realistic point of view to making scientific conclusions for further studies.

Chapter Scheme

The present study is divided in six chapters for systematic analysis.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This study has six chapters including introduction and conclusion. The first chapter introduction covers the important questions pertaining to the selected problem and relevance of it. Apart from it the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study and research methodology has been described in this chapter.

Chapter 2: Sociology of Sanitation: A Review

In this chapter the researcher has reviewed the existing literature to define scavengers and scavenging and draw out lines and indicators of scavenging to explain the grassroots realities of scavengers. This chapter deals with research orientation and review of literature related to study. Hence studies conducted in India specifically on the issue of scavenging are divided in various sub themes according to the nature of the study. After the reviewing literature related to the study a brief analysis of existing gaps has been given which were present in the past studies.

Chapter 3: Sociology of Sanitation and the Scavengers: A Profile

The chapter briefly describes the social and demographic profile of the scavenger's community. The chapter provides statistics based on socio-economic caste census obtained from the census 2011. Subsequently the next portion of the chapter based on important sections explaining various facts related to scavenging communities of Uttar Pradesh based on census 2011. In this section only four sub castes of scheduled caste identified as scavenging communities of Uttar Pradesh and their data based on Caste, Religion and literacy has been analysed. Thechapter further deals with socio-demographic background of scavengers of Lucknow using primary data obtained from field work.

Chapter 4:Sociology of Sanitation: Issues and Problems

The chapter has been divided in two major categories; issues and the problem faced by scavengers of Lucknow city. Further, the chapter is divided on important issues

i.e. Discrimination, Caste based occupation, hazardous work condition and Income followed by problems pertinent among scavengers of Lucknow city. The chapter explores the linkage between caste and scavenging in present context. For this various case studies were recorded and written in precise manner to know the realistic situation of the study area. The chapter attempts to establish that there has been certain association fixed between occupation and caste.

Chapter 5:Occupation, Mobility and Change: An Overview

The Chapter is based on empirical observation and scavenger's viewpoint on their Occupation, Mobility and change; which has entirely based on sanitation workers of Lucknow. The section also included important case studies that enrich the relevance of the study. The field based data represents attitudes of scavengers in terms of occupation mobility and change; also tries to explore how they perceived changes in their lives. Whole outline of the analysis attempts to focus on scavenger's experiences towards their occupation, mobility and change.

Chapter 6:Conclusion

This chapter is about Summary & finding of the research. The chapter ends with conclusion and summary policy suggestion to rectify the weakness of scavenging activity and future recommendations for welfare of scavengers engaged in various activities related to scavenging work.

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CHAPTER- 2

SOCIOLOGY OF SANITATION: A REVIEW

Introduction

The review attempts to analyse some of the contemporary research works on sanitation and scavenging closely defines the sociology of sanitation that come under the purview of scavenging. This literature review examines sociology of sanitation and manual scavenging in Indian context. Separate sets of literature review have been undertaken on various themes viz Analysis of government committee report, Studies on Socio-economic status; working and living condition and prevalence of untouchability; social and Occupational Mobility; Health issues among scavengers and sewage workers and discourse in sociology of sanitation.

The chapter discusses the perspective on sociology of sanitation through various sections. This classification helps the researcher to single out the existing problem of scavenging. While studies in rural areas focus on head-load on women workers carrying night soil, the work on urban areas are confined to septic tank workers or manhole cleaners. The review of literature confined to literature in India that have studied scavenging in context to various themes related to sociology of Sanitation. It also refers to aspects of the United Nation on scavenging and sanitation.

Thematic Aspects of Sociology of Sanitation

Scavenging is one of the important part of the Sociology of sanitation. Sociology of Sanitation includes the sociological dimension of sanitation that is associated with sanitation workers. It is embedded in social, cultural, economic, political and environmental dimensions of life improved and enhanced due to activity done by scavengers. In this research Sociology of Sanitation is a systematic and persistent study of the problems of society in relation to sanitation worker, social scarcity, community healthiness and hygiene, sanctioning people for sustainable development and fulfilment of abstract and excessive understanding to lead a happy and healthy life insures due to activity of scavengers. At the present time, Sociology of

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Sanitation is progressively being accepted by sociologists across India. Sociology of sanitation attempts in this proposition to acknowledge the relationship between scavenging and sanitation. Scavengers work and responsibilities are outstandingly important for the sanitation sector. This leads to an important observation of scavenging as an important aspect of Sociology of Sanitation.

Sociology of Sanitation is a much more comprehensive concept. In this research it deals with the perspective of scavengers related to issues of sanitation. Scavengers of Indian society for centuries cleaning the habitations of others and having the waste of others dumped into their habitations, or forced to have their habitations in the most polluted areas; According to the viewpoint of Sociology of Sanitation scavengers are main sanitation provider and they are in a sole position to delineate sanitation which is distinct from other section of society.

‘Sociology of Sanitation’ as demarcated by the worldwide organizations, focuses on cleanliness in addition to wellbeing of the person for a gracious existence. Sociology of Sanitation in Indian context is the setting up of healthy sanitation practice in India which essentially includes and ensures that no individual is involved in cleaning human excreta manually. It should definitely ensure strict implementation of the Manual Scavenging Act, 2013 which guarantees healthy and conservational protection; confirming suitable setup and possessions. irrespective of their social responsibility; and make sure that the services and arrangement are shaped keeping the geographic and ecological settings in mind, even as scavengers are profound to the precise requirements of various sections of the Indian society and its life chains, that includes designing facilities for the whole society In this context it is necessary that sanitation must be understood in the context of scavengers’ marginalization and exploitation for ages. In this light these issues identified as key concepts related to sociology of sanitation are discussed below with particular context to scavengers. Present Review of literature has been tries to analyse these thematic aspect of Sociology of Sanitation for example socio-economic issues pertinent in literature , the way of analysis of the working and living condition of scavengers and prevalence of untouchability among scavengers in India; social and occupational mobility pattern reflected among scavengers,

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health issues among scavengers and sewage workers as well as analysing the scavenging issues in particular literature available on Sociology of Sanitation.

United Nation on the issue of Manual Scavenging

In recent times, the questions and concerns of Manual Scavengers have also been voiced on various international forums, specifically the United Nation. In 2009, the Special Rapporteurs set up by the Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, deliberate the issue of discrimination based on the nature of work or occupation and descent at global level. The report of this Special Rapporteurs which covers draft principles and guidelines for 'Effective Elimination of Discrimination Based on Work and Descent' is one of the chief developments in changing norms and standards related to discrimination based on work ,descent or caste. It has reflected upon the problems of manual scavenging by calling upon the national and local governments to take steps for complete eradication of manual scavenging and other unsafe working practices. It has called upon the government to act in compliance with international standards and asked it to enact and enforce legislation guaranteeing and ensuring decent work, proper wages and to take measures to entitle human and labour rights for affected communities. In South-Asian countries, almost 705 million people practice open defecation in rural areas. In India, 74 million people practice open defecation in rural areas. Countless people lack access to basic sanitation. Before this, in 2007, the annual report of the "Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination of United Nation" had upraisedgrave concern about the appalling and deplorable situation of manual scavengers. The resolution said that This Committee noted with concern that a very high numbers of Dalits are enforced to work of manual scavenging as manual scavengers.

Committees and Commissions on Manual Scavenging

The issue of manual scavenging and improving conditions of persons working in the sanitation sector has been an area of concern for the Indian government since independence. The Scavenger's Living Conditions Enquiry Committee was set up in

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1949 to look into the state of scavengers in Bombay. Since then, various commissions and advisory boards have tried to tackle this issue.

Barve committee (1949) Government of Bombay, in 1949, established a 'Scavenger's Living Conditions Enquiry Committee' headed by S.G. Barve to study and investigate the living standards of the manual scavengers in the Bombay province and to recommend measures to improve their working conditions and fix their minimum wages. The Barve Committee proposed for supply of wheel-barrows and better equipment to the scavengers. The committee aimed specifically at eliminating the practice of "head loads" prevalent in manual scavengers. The committee submitted its report to the Government of Bombay in 1952.

Central Harijan Welfare Board (CHWB) (1956) was constituted by the Ministry of Home Affairs under the chairmanship of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant. The board reviewed the working conditions and living standards of sweepers and scavengers in India and recommended the enactment of centrally sponsored schemes for manual scavengers. CHWB suggested the living conditions of sweepers and recommended that the funds to the municipalities should be increased to improve the conditions of quarters for scavengers. It also suggested that they should be provided quarters in different localities rather confining them in a particular restricted area.

Malkani Committee (1961) was constituted by the CHWB in 1961 to give recommendations for providing better and humane working conditions and to improve the living conditions of sweepers and scavengers. The committee proposed statutory obligation to pay wages on the basis of minimum wages act to manual scavengers. This was a welcome step in context of their social mobility and in terms of increased wages ensuring improved quality of life. The committee concentrated on three aspects of manual scavenging. Firstly, it recommended the fixing of wages in accordance to the Minimum Wage Act. Secondly, to improve the working conditions of the manual scavengers, the committee suggested that the practice of carrying night soil as head load or waste load be stopped with the introduction of State as a facilitator to promote social mobility among manual scavengers and wheel-barrows. The use of containers in private and public latrines was made compulsory. Thirdly, the housing colonies and quarters were to be built in different

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areas, to avoid Ghettoization of the scavengers. The condition of quarters was decided to be improved to instil self-respect amongst the scavengers, particularly their children.

Committee on Conditions of Sweepers and Scavengers (1969) the National Labour Commission, appointed Pandya committee chaired by Bhanu Prasad Pandya in 1968-69 to inspect the working conditions of sweepers and scavengers. However, it obtained little attention from the central or the state governments. It recommended enacting a central legislation to legalize working and living conditions of the sweeper and scavenging communities and suggested measures to ensure suitable and efficient implementation mechanisms.

Basu Committee (1991) observed that in spite of all the governments' hard work at restoration, the emphasis at the implementation-level persisted in the renovation of dry toilets. By using NSSO statistics, the task force estimated four lakh scavengers in India in the year 1989. Though they similarly suggested surveys on state-level conducted to deliver a more true valuation of facts while programs and schemes were launched. It was the achievement of the Basu committee which recognised the proper and systematic conversion of dry toilets into pour-flush latrines as the "central problem". Committee also condemned those efforts undertaken in the past, as there was not adequate effort had been done in the field of rehabilitation.

National Round Table Discussion (2012) was held to draw increased attention to the plight of manual scavengers, with special focus on rehabilitation and alternative livelihoods. The NRT aimed to mark out effective strategies to grant legal rights and other programmes to ensure dignity of the manual scavengers. It called on them to establish concrete steps that can feed into policy practices, thereby helping to alleviate the plight of manual scavengers. It was demonstrated statistically that the proportion of women engaged in Manual Scavenging were more than men. Bezwada Wilson underlined it and pointed out that the Census data on Manual Scavengers was inaccurate. He opined that civil society needed to be inclusive of the manual scavenging community as well.

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It can conclude from the above discussion that The Barve committee suggested supply of wheel-barrows and quality implements. The aim was to eradicate the practice of head loading where night soil was carried on the heads of manual scavengers for dumping. The Kelkar committee observed the 'sub-humane' conditions under which the scavengers worked. This included carrying night-soil on their heads using unsafe containers and living in isolated areas. It was monitored by the Central Advisory Board for Harijan Welfare to evaluate the working and living conditions of scavengers and sweepers in the country. The board organised a Malkani committee which proposed measures to provide humane working environment, improving the living conditions for sweepers and scavengers and to conclude, payment of reasonable wages with provision of regular leave.

If we focus all the efforts done by these committees it can be visualised, the first review committee on the living conditions of the people held confined by the tradition of manual scavenging was formed in 1949. The Central Advisory Board for Harijan Welfare endorses that the practice should be eliminated "not later than the end of the 3 five-year plan" i.e. 1965. The committee mentioned that carrying night soil on heads must be abolished. These committees suggested improvement in the working and living condition of scavengers. This comprised technological interventions to enhance and improve their working conditions, such as wheel-barrows, or containers that did not leak and outflow.

With this background several other studies here discussed below to provide a theoretical foundation to the study. The themes such socio-economic status, working and living condition, prevalence of untouchability and social discrimination, level of social and occupational mobility, health status, and unsafe sewer work condition are discussed to draw as outline for this study.

Studies on Sociology of Sanitation

Akram, M. (2015) elucidates detailed accounts of sanitation in his work. He attempts to see the sights and importance of sanitation in social life. Author used the notion of deficit in the context of sanitation. He tries to portray the scarcity in the field of sanitation culture. Author evaluates sanitation programmes in India. Author

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has given emphasis on scavenging in chapter seven entitled 'Sanitation Reforms and Social Movement'. He said sanitation problems in India are centred on the realities of caste class religion and ethnicity. He critically analyses that caste based division of Labour has created and preserved a social practice in which the cleaning of toilets or human excreta are occupation liability of specific caste; which creates sanitation unfriendly environment. The author also talked about the sewer system in a few lines. And sarcasm on sewer work is still fixed for certain castes in India. It did not break the caste based division of work rather reinforce it. In the last chapter emphasis, the role of Sulabh to improve sanitation in the public sector has been discussed. Here the author has provided miseries of scavengers related to untouchability.

Nagla B.K. (2015) discussed the manual scavenger name Usha Chaumar. Author has given detail account of the stigma and pain felt by the lady manual scavenger and her only wish to stay away from this dirty occupation. And she had offloaded from this dirty occupation and at the present time important functionary in Sulabh International, working in the field of Sanitation. The book chapter third 'Sanitation, health and Society' has talked about scavenging in a very limited way and only introducing the term scavenging. Consequently Chapter 5 'Social Structure and Sanitation' has given detailed analysis on scavenging and the problem of scavengers. Author has given causes for persistence of scavenging the major because it does not require any skill to perform sanitation work.

Saxena, A. (2015) in his book focused on the fact that sanitation is a cross disciplinary perspective and deals with all-inclusive framework as a process, tools and theme. Sanitation is the matter of dialogue in reference to social deprivation, hygiene, ecology, water, gender equality, public health. It is a great effort of the author to study sanitation in a scientific temper using the concept of Sociology of sanitation. He gives a detailed account on evolution of sanitation in India. The book covers almost all dimensions related to sanitation and emphasises on management, operation and maintenance of social ecology involving 'greater hygiene' and referring to scientifically derived people's capability to achieve their primal physical, biological, psychological, philosophical, social and economic needs and

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entitlements. This book critically analysed and systematically documented the experiences and discourses of 'Sociology of Sanitation' across the global world in general and South Asia in particular specially India. Author has talked about scavenging in chapter nine entitled 'Ramification of Cultural Practices, Caste and Sanitation on Rural and Urban India'. The author alleged in this chapter scavenger refers to animals. But In India scavenger's means human beings are considered as untouchable by caste. According to Author scavenging is an occupation which passes generation to generation. Culture of acceptance prevailing among them is also depriving them of their fundamental rights

The oldest and still most frequent approach is discovered from the above studies which have reviewed above that these books have been written in a very general manner. No study has been done in the subject matter entitled Sociology of Sanitation is based on empirical research. And it has found no research has been conducted empirically that covers all aspects of sociology of sanitation as well as scavenging.

Studies on Socio-economic Status of Scavengers

Pradhan, G.R. (1938) conducted a study primarily based on caste and manual scavenging in urban India. This study is based on social and economic conditions of the depressed classes. The study tried and attempted to find out the nature of work done by scavengers, their income and consequently their social conditions. Pradhan concluded that the 'depressed classes' such as Mahars, Bhangis and Meghwals of Mumbai constituted around 80 percent of those employed in manual scavenging. Not all engaged were untouchables. Buddhists, Christians, Muslims and Sikhs were also part of the workforce. He concluded that religious conversion did not change the socio-economic condition of the 'depressed classes'. All sanitation workers engaged in sanitation work near Mumbai are admitted that they hailed from the 'untouchable' origin in their villages.

Oldenburg (1989) Most of the studies conducted during British rule suggested that the colonial regime was not conducive for the betterment of the manual scavengers. In fact, it was the British rule which institutionalized occupation of manual

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scavenging and turned it into a hereditary one. Maximum scavengers were prone to infectious diseases like Cholera, spread by human waste. To counter this situation, the British strategized segregation of urban space and building sanitation, with the latter dependent upon manual scavengers. The colonial regime made manual scavengers to accomplish these tasks of cleaning labelling it as caste responsibility. It was easier on their part to continue the practice of manual scavenging not only because it was cheapest, but also because of easy access to labour which was ever present due to the caste obligation.

Thakur, B. (1991) focuses on the condition of the scavenging community mentions that scavengers are an economically and socially weaker section of the Indian society both in urban and rural areas. Scavengers and the sweepers who are mainly untrained and unskilled have been deprived of opportunities in various areas of life for ages.

Mishra, J. (2000) in her study said that economic status was the prime factor in social mobility among scavengers. She analysed the condition of female manual scavengers in Orissa. She added that the occupational background of the family members had a great influence on the economic condition of the family. This represented a tool of social mobility for their children. She surveyed a total of 1605 sample households with the percentage of employed females being 39.48%. The major reason behind this was that females were largely involved in activities in domestic work that are not measured as economic terms.

Mohanty, P. (2013) has discussed that social exclusion is a global phenomenon that covers an extensive range of cruel practices persisted in society. The study is considered to examine the educational status of the children of manual scavengers', the existing study shows a major connection between social exclusion and educational dropout. Right to Education Act is the recent social intervention through which India has marked out a bright road map towards her future. Undoubtedly, education will empower the two-third of populations who are socially excluded. Poverty, castes, gender inequalities, communalism, and regionalism are becoming tripping chunks for social development. Fundamental skills and knowledge in the form of education that serve as the basis for enriching the life of every citizen is the

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need of the hour. Low socio-economic position and low level of parent education are liable for children to be dropped out from the education system and those who are educationally dropped out have become prominent factors for their exclusion.

Siddaramu, B. (2013) argues about the plight of manual scavengers in India. He analysed policies and programs made for manual scavengers. He said that scavengers and sanitation workers carry out basic sanitation services in cities and towns. Several equipment are provided by some municipal establishments to clean sewers and sweep the streets, but this figure is low. This means that manual scavenging is still widely prevalent. The socio-economic situations of scavengers has on the whole still not improved despite several articles of the Indian constitution specifying that the state should promote economic and educational interests of the scheduled castes and safeguard them from being discriminated against and exploited.

All the studies conducted in this chapter under the theme socio-economic condition of scavengers, the first study done by Pradhan in 1938 'Untouchable Workers of Bombay City' is based only on Mumbai and does not focus on any aspect other than socio-economic status of scavengers of Mumbai. Another study conducted by Mishra in 2000 'The Girl Child in a Scavenging Community' is based on the socio-economic condition of scavengers in Orissa, which is empirical in nature. These literature tries to understand manual scavenging in socio-economic problem and identify the focus of social prejudice and discrimination faced by scavengers in the form of low income that create low socio-economic status.

Studies on Working Condition and Living condition of Scavengers

Richard, L. (1971) explained that scavenging as an occupation has persisted in hereditary custom. The scavengers have to work in filthy conditions, especially during the rainy season. Removal of night soil is a dreaded occupation, which finds undying pollution. Consequently, scavengers and sweeper communities are treated as untouchables and these communities are physically isolated also being confined into congested slums. These are generally situated in a smut and foul environment

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with pigs roaming around. Their families are forced to live in the vicinity of dumping grounds and compost collection spots in slums.

Chatterjee, (1981) conducted a study based on the sweepers of Banaras city. This study examines how sweepers organize their lives and what confines them as a group reserved from the other sections of society and the methods used to try to improve their working and living conditions. This study states that in spite of constant efforts by the government to eradicate caste taboo from this occupation, the occupational mobility is restricted and limited. The study also investigates the relationship between men and women and the fluctuating forms they take in different social organizations.

Kurien, C. T. (1984) commenting on the contemporary living conditions of the scavenging community in India said that due to illiteracy and lack of expertise, the scavenging community has limited opportunities of employment. They do not have proper dwelling units and always face scarcity of proper food and nutrition. Consequently, development is negligible. It is a debilitating factor in distribution of rights and guaranteeing better standards of living.

Lal, S. (1999) tries to examine in his study the relationship of caste and politics. The study focuses on changing the style of scavengers through collective representation in a union named The 'All India Safai Mazdoor Congress'. It is a caste association of Bhangis. He studies the process of Sanskritization among Bhangis. The Bhangis of different regions sanskritized their names by replacing their surname. He inspected social stratification within them and classified them into three groups namely Hindu-Bhangis, Muslim-Bhangis, Sikh-Bhangis.

Sachidananda. (2001) has given a detailed account of the living and working conditions of various scavenger castes in Bihar also examine impact of different welfare programmes for scavenger's betterment. In this study of manual scavengers of Bihar he found that numerous non-governmental organizations were involved in creating awareness about the various government schemes for the welfare of scavengers and allocation of loan to the liberated manual scavenger to start a micro-level business. He found that despite the various initiatives taken by the government

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and non-government organizations, Manual Scavenging was still predominant. It directly affected the status of women at home and outside the community. Large number of women was involved in the scavenging occupation. It was observed that the main reason for this was the tacit agreement of women to continue in the caste occupation. Thus, scavengers continued to be the most disadvantaged section of the population; socially, educationally and economically. There is also an attempt to study the implications of changing scenarios from gender and human rights perspective. Taking into account the role of Sulabh International, he noted that Sulabh adopted a multidimensional approach for the welfare of the scavengers. However, the liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers was a distant dream.

Srivastava, R.K. (2004) starts his study quoting Mahatma Gandhi's line 'The Bhangi is as important as Viceroy.' He critically studied the process of rehabilitation of scavengers started by the government of India. The study gives a momentary account of different programmes launched starting from 1917 action plan for the upliftment of Harijan community to 1997 National Safai Karamchari Finance and Development. He also described the working and living conditions of scavengers. He applauded the steps taken by the Ministry of Social justice and Empowerment to improve the social and educational level of scavengers. He concluded his study taking note of Gandhi's line in which Gandhi had compared a scavenger to a mother: "Persons who are to attend to scavenging whether a paid Bhangi or an unpaid mother, they are unclean until they have washed themselves clean of their unclean work". According to the author society should accept scavenging as the most normal and acceptable function of our society.

Chaudhary, S. N. and Chaudhary, P. (2004) observed that the adaptation of dry latrines into pour-flush latrines has displaced scavengers from their traditional work and many more are possible to be displaced in the future. As a result, their economy is distressed and job safety is at palisade. The modernization process of latrines and toilets has led to a downfall in the role of scavengers. In present time different castes are employed for scavenging. Authors criticize the fact that Sulabh International and other Non-Governmental Organizations by promoting new technology to manage night soil, etc. have led to displacement of scavengers. Also, employing the cleaners

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and caretakers from the other castes has left them unemployed. Consequently the scavengers demand a proper rehabilitation scheme to be launched on a sustained basis. This is essential because the stigma attached to their traditional occupation may bind them to getting alternate jobs. This impressive scheme should also be cost-effective, otherwise; scavengers will hesitate to move from caste occupation to non-caste occupation.

Singh, B. (2014) the book underlined the plight of manual scavengers. This is the only study of manual scavenging in India which focuses on the Bamiki Dhanuk Mehtar and other scavenging castes involved both in traditional manual scavenging (head load workers) as well as in sewage work. The work focused on caste, both in traditional manual scavenging or head load workers as well as sewer workers of India. The work exposed that in spite of various laws being passed against this inhumane occupation little was implemented on ground level and manual scavenging was still predominant in India.

The above discussion focuses on the working and living condition of scavengers which has been put in this part to understand the working condition and living condition of scavengers, only one study which has been done by a well-known journalist, Bhasha Singh, in this study she has visited in different parts of India. By visiting, she has tried to give a succinct description of the condition and plight of the manual scavengers which is related to their living and working condition. Apart from this study further studies that have been done to understand the living and working conditions of scavengers are very few in terms of research and cause very large gaps and obstacles to understand their living and working conditions.

Studies on Untouchability and Social Discrimination

William and Wiser (1967) carried out a study in Karimpura village, situated east of Agra. The book deals profoundly on the predicament of untouchables mostly related to occupation. In the first chapter, they mention the conditions of workers involved in the leather industry, washer men, sweepers and scavengers. Sweepers were the single community in the village who were still distanced from the mainstream of the society and known by an insulting name as Bhangi. Wiser has explained in detail,

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the level of untouchability practised in Karimpura against Scavengers which is humiliation of scavengers.

Gans, H. J. (1972) reviews extensive poverty as the primary concern and gives detail on how manual scavengers are compelled to clean society's filth physically. Degrading and lowly jobs are forced to be done by those people who have no other choice but to execute it at menial wages. Scavenging may be degrading in nature, but it is important for the functioning of any society. But Socio-cultural and religious reasons have not only tabooed it but also excluded the people involved in it from the society's mainstream. He further claims that sweeper and scavenger are subjected to continuous humiliation by raising allegations of theft, etc. against them. There is a general norm prevalent that the sweeper community is responsible for all the wrongs unless proven innocent.

Deliege, R. (1997) has explored the social life of Paraiyars who were the most degraded community among the untouchables in the caste ladder in India. By tradition, they were drummers. Paraiyars were responsible to keep their village clean through many interconnected practices i.e. scavenging was ritually impure since they dispensed organic waste. Both Hindu and Christian Paraiyars lived in village 'ValghiraManickam' and were inclined to abort their traditional occupation which treated them as unequal and condemned them to live in servitude.

Vivek, P. S. (1998) has described the condition of the scavengers or Safai Kamgars in Mumbai city. He states that the real-world experience in nature of association, which brought sustained contact with those involved in sweeping and scavenging, appeared to designate that this segment of the population of Mumbai is the most discriminated community. The community is suffering from several constraints like illiteracy, loose habitation, financial problems; the safaikamgar community tries to accommodate with its discriminatory practices and of willingness to struggle for generally improving its present conditions. He concluded on a positive note that the 'Safai Kamgar' of the city will tend to become more and more professionalised and in the present days profession bringing up the rear in the process the socio-cultural, religious stigma till now associated with the work and workers.

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Shinoda, T. (2002) analysis since sweeping and scavenging have been viewed as polluted occupation persons and groups who perform these jobs are discriminated against. In the course of time, scavengers and sweepers are intertwined into the caste system as a separate caste and allocated these works as their traditional occupation.

Balmiki, O. P. (2003) this literature has been reviewed here even though it is not written by sociologist but it is similar same as case study method in sociology. The term Joothan makes from Hindi. It means leftover. The food which is left behind after consuming is called Joothan. Joothan given a comprehensive picture of how scavenger's community gathers preserves and eats Joothan. It is an autobiographical account of author. Author tries to explain and questions, if one has the power to determine their caste by birth; then they 'why should I have been born in Bhangi household?' Author expresses the struggle and therefore signifies it in the form of an autobiography. The character (author himself) suffers mainly by the upper caste, especially; the author gives voice to his scavenger's community. Likewise, the author can be seen as the sign of the entire Balmiki community. The experiences denoted in Joothan cannot be found in any other literary work, particularly which represents Balmikis dwelling place, Author struggle for his education, physical and psychological harassment, his conversion into a speaking subject, recorder of the oppression and exploitation. This book hopes and observes the reasons of Dalit literature how well brought out in Joothan and how it associates individual Dalit to associated sufferers. It is likewise an effort to find out how he has used his autobiography as an instrument to stimulate against this ruthless and vicious communal order which maintenances caste-based discrimination.

Tripathi, S. (2004) points out scavengers are the most marginalised section of the society. He talks about violation of human rights by those who are served by the scavengers. He said that they are treated as outcaste in Hindu society and impartially outside the canvas of society and are held in total hatred. Scavengers are a functional community coming from different racial and social groups. Author marks the role of twin pit pour flush technology used in Sulabh Sanitation started by BindeshwarPathak, which has established a suitable alternative to manual scavenging. Sulabh upright intervention has yielded fabulous results. It has been

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able to liberate and rehabilitate over 50000 scavengers (Balmikis) during its three-decade-old campaign.

Ramaswamy, G. (2005) critically analyses the role of the Sulabh International Social Service Organisation and concludes that it rehabilitates scavengers from unorganized sectors to the so-called organized sectors in the various SulabhShauchalaya being run in the several states across the country. This kind of rehabilitation, which offers only short-term financial benefit rather than wide-ranging liberation from the dirty occupation, actually helps in the maintenance and the further subjugation of the manual scavengers. Furthermore, the Sulabh International promises the liberation of the scavengers from manual scavenging but not from the caste and the occupation in a new form. According to the Author, the Sulabh Organisation is representative of the caste system. The caretaker (who does not clean the latrine by his hands) is usually an upper caste Hindu and the real cleaner is always either a Bhangi or a Madiga, usually scavenging caste. Therefore, in this technique the Sulabh International has not been able to break the stronghold of the caste system on occupation, which is a critical part of their rehabilitation process.

Barbour, S. T. et.al (2007) mentions the annual report of the “Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination” which had expressed serious concern about the deplorable conditions of manual scavengers in India. It stated, “The committee notes with concern that very large numbers of Dalits are forced to work as manual scavengers.” According to this committee report the practice of untouchability as the burden of social disabilities on individuals due to belonging from certain castes. It identifies that lower caste people are forced to work in “polluting” and degrading jobs like manual scavenging and sewer cleaning. Moreover, this report also admits that cleaning of sewers or manholes by scavengers which are devoid of any protecting gear have led to the loss of lives and the denial of rights of sanitation workers.

Pathak, B. (2011) starts his argument from a stigmatised profession that is scavenging and said it is a spot on human civilization. He gives a detailed account of the hardships he faced during his childhood. He then narrates the unfolding of events

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and his vision of liberation of scavengers through Sulabh. He recalls an incident where, while going to market he saw a bull attacking a boy aged 10 - 12 year, who wore a red shirt. Some people rushed to him rescue. Someone from the backyard shouted that the boy hailed from the 'untouchable' colony, whereupon everyone left him. Dr.Pathak got the boy admitted to hospital but he succumbed to his injuries. Shocked at this incident, Pathak decided to achieve one of the dreams of Mahatma Gandhi viz. to get the scavengers reassured from their inhumane and health hazardous occupation of cleaning and carrying human excreta manually. In the preceding article, he gave details of the journey of the Sulabh movement from 1970 to 2010. Dr.Pathak started this Sulabh movement with the help of a handful of people; but now 60,000 people; 35,000 on regular basis and 25,000 on contractual basis are associated with the movement. Sulabh operates in 1320 local bodies of 114 towns and cities.

Azim, S. (2013) tries to examine the state of sanitation and other associated facilities in Karnataka state. He talks in his article about the struggle of individuals to have access to clean drinking water, sanitation, primary education and health. He is concerned about the fact that people in India hardly demand proper sanitation as their basic right. Indian's are waiting since Independence to be self-dependent in sanitation. In more than six decades of Independence, our country has achieved about half of the sanitation coverage. Plates and baskets from dry latrine and carrying it to disposal grounds some distance away. It is appalling to know that still humans are involved physically to remove human excreta in Karnataka. Using Census 2011 he has given statistics about 7,740 individuals who are scavengers by the caste involved in night soil disposition in Karnataka. He used the term 'Missing Toilet' for certified toilets. They were found only on official records without any building or structure. He found in his study that toilet facility is not at all a priority to most of the villagers. Poverty is a key issue that why low-cost better technology may be beyond financial reach. Toilet is an uppermost priority to women and girls than men and boys but the gender barrier delimited to women access towards toilets is significant for sanitation. He concludes Poor implementation of sanitation programmes, attitude of the public and public servants is a big hindrance to attain sanitation.

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Paul, S. (2013) the paper investigates the black reality that creeps around behind the ideas of justice which the constitution ensures its people. Because of the insensitiveness of the government, the weak incapable laws, the underlying corruptions and the fixed caste based discrimination is completely liable for scavenging in India. The paper tries to investigate into the reasons that can offer an explanation to such nonexistence of laziness both from the state as well its people, that emphasise such gross human rights violation. Also the paper reviews a recently introduced manual scavenging bill that seeks to eliminate and rehabilitate manual scavenging, by summing and critically analysing the existing laws. The paper suggests a multi-faceted methodology as regards rehabilitation of the sanitation workers should be introduced. It recommends strict prohibition of construction of dry latrines and employing of manual scavengers to be confirmed. And to ensure the above all, the law enforcing agencies of the states should function well.

Masoodi, (2013) states that inhuman practice of manual scavenging is caste-based as affirmed by Brahmins in the past and hereditary occupation for Dalits primarily linked with forced labour. It is a spot on Indian civilization. Author claims that according to Census 2011, that is 7, 50,000 families still working as manual scavengers. However, he underlines the fact that there are actually around 1.3 million manual scavengers, as overhead data excludes the railway workers who clean the human excreta from railway tracks.

Kumar, V. (2014) started his article from the story of the revered Baba who works village-to-village, cleaning and preaching hygiene, 2000-01. The Government of Maharashtra launched an innovative programme on the name of the revered Baba popularly known as SantGadge Baba. The programme is named as Gram SwachataAbhiyan (Clean Village Campaign). Author raised the very pertinent question that Why exploitation issue of scavengers not addressed in the Clean India Campaign particularly caste, which is directly linked to sanitation work across.

It is concluded from the writings reviewed in this section that the untouchability is of the pre- colonial existence and it persists even today in India. Another question is very relevant to find out the gap is ‘what has changed in untouchability practice or what has arisen?’ Some studies for example Study

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conducted by Ram swami and Dr. Bindeshwar Pathak are based on primary data but not satisfactory because these studies focus rehabilitation of scavengers only through Sulabh and not focusing on the inbuilt nature of occupation with untouchability. However, these studies not given any detail account that to state even today India has practicing the untouchability and discrimination against scavengers.

Studies on Social and Occupational mobility

Lal, S. (1984) explains the pattern of social mobility among the scavengers who live in the city of Jodhpur, in Rajasthan State. The study attempts to accommodate with political mobilization of Bhangis or scavengers by focusing on the major features of the caste social and political mobilization. It describes in detail the way in which the scavenger's community contributed in the political process for the improvement of their social conditions and for representation in local bodies, the governmental assemblies etc.

Galanter (1984) in his study on the effect of reservation on the scheduled caste of Haryana demonstrates that one out of eight Scheduled Caste families in the state welfares from reservations in one or another form. However, if one closely examines the phenomenon, it inclines to advise that the foremost beneficiaries who establish a good number of municipal street-sweepers would in any way have got the jobs due to the visible absence of other castes practicing manual scavenging even if reservation had not happened. This addition pushes the manual scavengers to endure with their traditional polluting occupation.

Ram, N. (1995) in his study of Scheduled Castes of Kanpur discusses that in the present scenario the earlier system of stratification among Scheduled Castes has got redefined through the process of social mobility among them in the urban area, which has terminated into the emergence of two distinct groups i.e. the privileged and non-privileged ones. The privileged ones are those who have improved their position mainly through the utilization of the numerous governmental measures destined for the Scheduled Castes. On the other hand, the non-privileged or the poor among Scheduled Castes (manual scavengers) have quite diverse patterns of

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mobility. In this context, it explains that the non -privileged ones are those who are still following their caste based traditional occupation and are customarily employed in jobs in the unorganized sectors.

Saberwal (1989) is categorised his study of social mobility among three sub-caste groups of Scheduled Caste communities namely Ad Dharmis, Balmikis (manual scavenging caste) and Ramgarhias (non-manual scavenging caste) in a small settlement of Modelpur in Punjab. In this study, Saberwal brings out the contradictory effects of urbanization and industrialization on the three above sub castes of Scheduled Castes. According to him, the forces of urbanization and industrialization have empowered the Ramgarhias to develop commercial activity in their traditional occupations of carpentry and black smithy. This had led them and the AdiDharmis to leave their traditional occupation of weaving, shoe making, and approve new ones. The Balmikis however, have continued in their traditional occupation of scavenging. In this context, one can argue that other untouchables' castes like Chamars have used their traditional occupation as a means of upward social mobility with the arrival of urbanization and industrialization. The similarity is with the Ramgarhias who efficiently developed their entrepreneurial activity in their traditional occupation and used it as their means of upward social mobility. But contrary to the two if we look at manual scavengers like Balmikis, we will find that far from being a tool of social mobility among manual scavengers their traditional occupation is the major reason for the disadvantage and backwardness of manual scavenging.

Sharma, O.P. (1991) highlighted while urbanization may perhaps offer more job opportunities, at the same time, it also needs more scavenging until municipal toilets and sewers are properly maintained. He emphasised the stigmatization of manual scavenging and the low income collected from it has often resulted in their increased city ward migration. But the vagueness of urban environment too, which provides adequate opportunities for occupational mobility to the depressed castes in general, has failed to relieve manual scavengers from their stigmatized occupation.

Nagla, B. K. (2004) states that income is an important element of social mobility for the people. There is no uncertainty that scavenging is a very low paid occupation

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that is equivalent to the class four employees in the formal organizations. However, the manual scavengers tangled in unorganized sector have even further little income, which is far lower than the regular employees in the government run Municipal Corporations. Despite putting in more labour on a full day basis these unorganized manual scavengers often get very low incomes for the time and energy they devoted. This low level of income is not only a major obstacle to social mobility, but it also badly affects their life opportunities. Furthermore, even when all the members of the family are earning since scavengers hardly ever plan their family budget, they hardly have any savings. Significantly, lack of savings, which is a must for upward social mobility, is not always due to the dearth of economic resources. Scavengers employed in the Municipal Corporation have a regular source of income. So, lack of savings is not due to insufficiency of means, but the existent subculture, which provides no motivations to savings. In such a situation, they get trapped in 'culture of poverty'.

Singh, R.G. (2004) in his study on the status of manual scavengers in Madhya Pradesh found that there was a particular trend towards both intergenerational and intergenerational occupational mobility among the scavengers in the state. According to Singh, there are incidences of both horizontal and vertical mobility; though horizontal mobility is more visible among them. Furthermore, the present generation of the scavengers is more occupationally mobile in comparison to the predecessors. In other words, the new generation is more mobile than their previous generation. The working, living and economic conditions of the occupationally mobile scavengers were found to be better in comparison to those who are not mobile in occupation.

Sachidanand, (2004) has critically analysed the impact of training and rehabilitation of scavengers in Bihar. He conducted his study in the two districts of Patna and Darbhanga. He discussed the problems faced by the scavengers during training. There is lacuna in the implementation and monitoring of schemes. The quality of training in different skills has been poor. The skills imparted to the scavengers could not get them employment or help them to be self-employed. Majority of scavengers remained jobless after training. In case of self-employment,

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they faced the problems relating provision of loans from banks and non-availability of raw materials. Rehabilitation appears to be a far cry as there was no one to monitor the process properly. Further, he points out that although several schemes for training and rehabilitation have been operational for the past decade, it has not led to empowerment of women scavengers.

Karbhari, D. (2004) conducted his study in Madhya Pradesh. He explains that the pathways of Government of India as well as non- governmental organizations have taken the objective of liberation and rehabilitation of manual scavengers into alternative occupations. He critically examined that rehabilitation scheme has not been properly implemented by both; the state and the non-governmental organization. There is lack of infrastructure in which training has been conducted for manual scavengers; in the training centres particularly run by the non-governmental organization, therefore producing a problem for implementation. As the equivalent time training is given at the places like community hall, open space, veranda of temple, electric shops, garages, etc.; the places did not have adequate seating arrangements, proper environment and required infrastructural facilities etc. As far as the training input was concerned, only elementary knowledge has been given to scavengers regarding their employment without providing any comprehensive knowledge have been imparted to them.

Shinoda, T. (2005) in her study, on the Bhangis of Gujarat, examines the impact of institutional reforms and reform movements which is liable for backwardness of manual scavengers. She discusses the impact of urbanization and industrialization which has weakened the traditional occupations that were not competitive in comparison to the new technology supported by mass production. Similarly, it loosens the occupational boundaries against Scheduled Castes, and offers wider choice of occupations to those who are resourceful. The other non-manual scavenging Scheduled Castes of the state like Vankars and the Chamars are almost entirely free of their traditional occupations and their socio-economic improvement has been outstanding among the Scheduled Castes. However, this has not occurred in the case of Bhangis or scavengers. Urbanization has made them even more meticulously identified with their traditional occupation.

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Singh, R.K. (2009) conducted an empirical study in the Ghazipur district in eastern Uttar Pradesh. Scavenger's occupational mobility has been investigated in the study. It has been said that some scavengers have tried changing their jobs. But, they have to return to their traditional profession because of social stigmas and the lack of support from both private and governmental organizations. The study tries to explore the causes and reasons for the perpetuation of manual scavenging in India. Author said that manual scavenging in India is a customary occupation based on caste discrimination and results in social exclusion. The law and order machinery has not proved efficient. Concluding his study, Singh says that there is a need to improve the living and working condition of manual scavengers all over India and there is a need for an outline to be set for the overall transformation of the scavengers. It is possible through provision of alternative livelihoods, abolishment of dry toilets and imparting free education to children of scavengers. Moreover, government necessity to establish them in alternative livelihoods like fruit sellers providing them livestock they can produce and sell dairy products. Women are the worst affected in this profession. Their living standards can be improved by providing them virtuous quality education through well-trained, open-minded teachers.

Raksha, V. (2012) conducts a study which reveals research conducted among the scavengers residing and working in Jammu city. This book deals with social mobility among the scavengers of Jammu City. The author has started well with concentrating on the subhuman occupation of scavenging being practiced by the scavengers. The author carefully had chosen a sample of 200 scavengers from whom data have collected through interviews and field observations. The study locates the scavengers historically and geographically and offers deep insights of their life. This study is an effort to study those engaged in scavenging occupation. The study also investigates their occupational mobility in Indian society. Most of them were continuing sweepers and scavengers as it was difficult to find another job. Across the different religious groups scavengers belong to, the different workplace they work at Municipality, and the private households, both male and female scavengers keeping in view that women work as scavengers in big numbers and across different age groups. In this study, Raksha mentions that most of the Christian-Balmikis.

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These are the ones who had converted themselves years ago when missionaries came to Jammu and started schools and Church. Majority of the second group of scavengers are Hindu Balmikis who are also recognized and called as Chuhras. Chuhra is the caste named below which falls under the scheduled caste category. They speak Punjabi and have a strong association to their Punjabi roots including, Adi Dharma movement. Raksha also discussed that there is no interreligious marriage or other kinds of association except occupational similarities.

Parameshwara, S. (2013) examined the living and working conditions of Pourakarmikas. This community consisted of sweepers, waste transporters, sewage cleaners, toilet cleaners and scavengers in Bangalore. Pourakarmikas experienced varied forms of discriminations in their day today life as well as from the superiors and upper caste communities. In his thesis, Parameshwara also evaluated the socio-economic and educational status of Pourakarmikas working as scavengers working in the limits of Bruhath Bangalore MahanagaraPalike (BBMP). He finds that mobility among Pourakarmikas was restricted. They were not allowed to go in higher castes households.

The dominant studies on social and occupational mobility may be classified according to the units of analysis such as family, group, and individual and the sphere, such as social, economic, and political, upon which study on mobility is focused. Every scavenging caste in India, to some extent is thoroughly connected with scavenging occupation which is called as traditional occupation. All studies demonstrated there is some extent of social mobility has been seen among scavengers of India. From the calculation of reviewed studies it is clear that no occupational mobility is found among scavengers if we analyse on the bases of above studies particularly occupational mobility they do not achieve satisfactory status.

Studies on Health status of Scavengers

Mittleet, al. (2006) study comprises primary data on demographics, socio-economic conditions of sewage workers in Delhi and comprehensive investigation of their health and existing safety status. A small sample of 200 workers working at various

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places of Delhi was included in this study. The study was accompanied with the objective of collecting baseline information on the present health and safety status of sewer workers in Delhi. The information is also useful for the empowerment of sewage workers in their struggle for more honourable work. This study will help the sewage workers in achieving better working conditions and enhanced health and safety at work place.

Prasad, D.B. (2007) discovers that in diverse parts in Andhra Pradesh, different lower castes are tied up in manual scavenging. According to official data the representation of the various Scheduled Caste communities involved in scavenging occupation in Andhra Pradesh are Relli, Madiga, Mala and Yanadi. The interpretation starts with numbers of persons working customs of scavenging as an employment, their work circumstances, and work-related risks confronted by them. It is the study of their social relations, work surroundings, and effect of programmes occupied to eliminate practice of scavenging. The study has adopted exploratory research design. The respondents of the study had carefully chosen using purposive sampling methods from the scavenging communities. To obtain actual figures, semi-structured interviews were piloted with the help of the leaders of sanitation worker and former Dalit NGO frontrunners. In this study of the high reflection of females in this job, expansion of work environments of scavengers through the start of modern tools and techniques and monitor the health status of particularly women who are engaged in scavenging occupation.

Venkatesh, C.D. (2014) studies women scavengers of Bangalore in Karnataka. The study is based on Health and economic status of women scavengers. The women scavengers suffer from bacterial infection due to the polluted work that adversely affects their respiratory and gastrointestinal system. Due to the poor economic condition, women scavengers are forced to do this inhuman occupation. Researchers defined the legal framework of the government of Karnataka in bringing different policies and programmes and other affirmative action's of the city municipal in the process of rehabilitation of Scavengers.

Almost all the studies elucidate how scavengers are fallen sick due to the hazardous nature of scavenging occupation. Even head load of human excreta not

practicing nowadays introduction of sewer chambers has created new health related problems for them.

Studies on Sewage worker in India

All over the world, many studies are present on the health and safety of sewer workers. However, it is challenging to generalise results from technologically advanced countries in a country like India where the employment surroundings and practices are unrelated. Since the use of protective gear is limited and work is done manually, there is a high possibility of occupational hazards during work.

Stephanie, T (2012) in her study, reveals that Bhangis who migrated into cities in the 1880s were engaged in the sanitation sector. They were private labourers who used to manually remove dry latrines, empty drains, and sweep drainages. The introduction of the sewage system in 1893 meant less physical proximity between scavengers and faeces dirt and filth. Theoretically, it was projected that a new task of clearing out jammed pipelines was shaped. This paper discovers how the caste system resolute the way sewers were used and maintained in Ahmedabad. The chief argument put forward in the paper is that, though sewers came to be understood as indicators of legitimacy, superiority, and moral citizenship, their introduction did not eradicate the practice of scavenging. It only gave it a new dimension to it. The role of scavengers transformed from untouchable sweepers to sewer or man-hole workers, which were similarly oppressive in nature. Municipality employed only a specific caste into the sanitation department. Sewage cleaning required a physical lying down of the body that sweeping never did. The filth went in the body through the eyes, ears, and nose due to the physical contact. Sewer men were engaged in sewer cleaning without any protecting gears, tools or former training.

Sathayaseelan, S. (2013) conducted a study on the contractual sewer workers in Karnataka in 2010, Author highlights major issues concerning this inhuman occupation. 50 percent of workers described that their old generation also did the same work and most of them stated that no other job was available to them. All sewer workers stated that their existing is not safe, and they were vulnerable to serious mishaps during sewage work. Findings of the study also reveal that sewer

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workers were working without protective gears such as gloves, masks, helmets. Author claims that sewage work must be treated at par with manual scavenging. He argues that the government has deliberately unnoticed court orders on systematization and prohibitions on manual cleaning of sewage pipes. The study identifies that this work causes serious health problems and threatens the lives of those involved in it on a daily basis.

Down the Drain (2014) is the study which contained a mixed method approach as well as a survey, participatory observation for investigation and participatory video to enlarge the direct power of speech of the Man-hole workers so that they can proclaim their constitutional rights and entitlements to create a space in policy dialogues at national as well as global levels. The study has analysed various dimensions such as safety issues, health-related concerns, low wages, caste based nature of occupation and discrimination in build with scavenging, inherent stigma and bias in the work has analyse thoroughly. The study highlighted the absence of occupational safety measures protective gears with special reference to sewerage workers.

Dalberg Associates (2018) in this study estimated that 5 million sanitation workers are employed in urban places across India. They were classified into nine categories all-encompassing kinds of sanitation workers including those engaged in cleaning sewers, cleaning latrines, railway cleaning faecal sludge handling, work in waste management plants, public and community latrine cleaning, toilet cleaning at school, drain cleaning and sweeping and domestic work. The study explores these nine categories of sanitation workers frequently come into direct contact with human waste, they handle waste with no equipment or protective gears because employers had not provided them safety tools for their work, causing uncountable health issues and ailment to them.

Danger is really a part of the sewer worker's life. Almost all studies are conscious about health hazards related to scavenging occupation. All studies give more emphasis on the health risk of sewage workers no doubt they are in a high risk zone due to their nature work. But no study has emphasized the health status of other sanitation workers who are toilet cleaner, garbage cleaner, bahaau toilet cleaner.

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This is important because as long as course of action can only see the manual scavenger doing the sewer cleaning the clear picture cannot be visualised which points that sanitation workers are also victim of various forms of discrimination even not carrying 'head load' however carrying the stigma being caste of 'head loaders' altogether and became Manhole worker.

Existing Gaps

Sociology of Sanitation deals with the importance of scavenging in Indian society. The studies conducted in India have not taken into consideration several parameters which are necessary to portray the real picture of the plight of scavengers. If we look at the gap identifications the literature based on the title Sociology of Sanitation have been reviewed in this chapter are establish there is no empirical study and even no single book has a complete chapter concentrating on scavenging, only for sketchily and superficially scavenging has been included in a very general way which is its huge gap.

Apart from this, all the studies that have been done to understand the socio-economic status of manual scavengers are completely incomplete due to lack of any primary data and most of those studies are based on book view no field work data were collected to understand socio-economic condition of scavengers. And this is a gigantic gap that neglects the reasons why the status of scavengers is so pathetic and miserable.

It has found in the course of reviewing the literature that almost all studies based on untouchability and discrimination are not concerned with what is the form of discrimination perpetual among scavengers. Numerous studies in India undertaken against the caste discrimination and their ultimate ideology were to get rid of untouchability and to raise the oppressed class, most of the studies are unable to find out what are the problems related to the present-day untouchability and social discrimination of scavengers? And 'how much untouchability practice has been changed? Which extent of untouchability at the present time'? Most of the studies that have been done in India to understand the problems of manual scavengers reviewed under the theme untouchability and discrimination are commonly based on

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the secondary data. Hardly any of the studies are based on primary data and empirical in nature. No realistic sociological study is available on the pertinent issue of untouchability which is inherited part of this occupation. All studies are conducted to understand patterns of untouchability, they have become very old. All the studies in the above portion have been reviewed are almost the same and reveal the same type of facts; whereas there is a lot of difference in the nature of untouchability in a particular study area.

Present study has been search the new form of discrimination since due to the technology and mechanization in the present time, scavengers have almost left to carry night soil also method of scavenging has been changed; as well as there has been a difference in the nature of work perform by manual scavengers and today's sanitation worker. But again the question arises 'Why is the hatred and untouchability for the scavenger's community going on even today? Nevertheless there has been a change of untouchability practice perpetual for the scavenger's community which has not been ignored. There is also a difference in the way untouchability can be seen. The practice of untouchability has sustained to present times. Though, it has now been renovated into a very systematic form.

The studies have been reviewed under the subtheme on 'Studies on Sewage Worker' more or less all studies are emphasis on the safety practices and procedures, the major gap has been observed that there is no study has been done to evaluate the training of sewage workers to understand health risk inherent in this occupation, also identify the break between supply of protective gear and availability of these safety equipment on workers worksite. Present research is a multi-method study including the contribution of sewer workers not simply in data collection however also in case studies and analysing the information collected through real life experiences of these workers as case studies.

However in the present times, the occupational mobility has increased for the scavenger's children to find another employment to have honourable life. The present research tries to investigate what is the role of low education status and low income level to restrict occupational mobility among new generations of scavengers. Observing the gap, this study tries to fill it up by exposing the life pattern of the

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sanitation workers of Lucknow city who are descendants of manual scavengers and explore how they perceive changes in their three generations from their father generation to son generation.

Largely the review of literature observes that there is a shortage of empirical studies on sanitation workers in India. Also, holistic studies are missing. Though Studies have collected data mainly from diverse secondary sources, are purely quantitative, documenting some direct experience on the ground. As review of literature stated that Stigma is involved with the work as it is the traditional reserve of the lower castes. The studies on scavenging in this field mostly concentrated on a specific activity i.e. dry latrine cleaning and fully ignored other forms of scavenging those are similarly considered stigmatised and inhuman. Therefore present study focusing on all dimensions of scavenging done by sanitation workers of Lucknow city. This being an empirical field based study. The study has revealed vital aspects of the scavengers community.

Conclusion

The chapter review of literature in this study is comprehensive study to understand scavenging as one important aspect of Sociology of Sanitation coupled with recognitions focused on different thematic aspects which are directly or indirectly associated with scavengers or Sanitation workers. The literature review summarises, evaluates, synthesises and restates the crux of the outer grounds of proposed research. The screening process puts forth the relevance of present research in the larger picture presented by the plethora of the past studies conducted by various scholars and academicians on this topic. For our review, we intentionally ignored those studies which simply focus on sanitation in India without focusing on scavenging. It has been observed during review that scholarship from the social sciences has concentrated on discrimination, untouchability, health status, working and living conditions, socio-economic conditions, and occupational mobility of scavengers. The relationship between discrimination and caste is well recognised in this organisation of literature, even though the number of studies focused on different issues related to the scavengers is comparatively smaller when it compared to the universe of literature on untouchability and discrimination persistent among

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scavengers. The study reasonably concentrated on those studies that examined manual scavenging and its linkage to sociology of sanitation. The present attempt certainly remains an important attempt to bring out the existing picture of scavengers of Lucknow city. This would remain an important attempt to gather some information on scavengers of Lucknow and highlighting and underlining them through this study. The Review attempts to present a holistic study of 'manual scavenging' in Indian context based on Sociology of Sanitation.

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CHAPTER- 3

**SOCIOLOGY OF SANITATION AND THE
SCAVENGERS: A PROFILE**

Introduction

To understand the complex structure of society it is essential to briefly describe the social and demographic profile of scavenger's community. Scavengers found a well-known caste group and they are commonly distributed all over the country. Among the total scheduled caste in India, the scavenging castes such as Balmiki, Dhanuk, Hela and Lalabegi are considered as the lowest caste. The present chapter has been given data based on socio-economic caste census obtained from the census 2011. Subsequently the next portion of the chapter based on important sections explaining various facts related to scavenging communities of Uttar Pradesh based on census 2011. In this section only four sub castes of scheduled caste identified as scavenging communities of Uttar Pradesh and their data based on Caste, Religion and literacy has been analysed. Afterwards a detailed and comprehensive account of scavengers of Lucknow has been discussed which is based on empirical observation through field work.

Blemished surveys contrived numbers of Manual Scavengers

Every survey process undertaken in the past has been flawed from the very start. The process of designing the survey, lack of training surveyors and a deliberate disregard and suspicion of the community has blemished the process. Further, civil society organisations exposing the data and inefficiency of the survey process have not been taken seriously. The fact of denial by state and district authorities exposes the deeply casteist mind-set that exists among the very officers who have been given the accountability of eradicating manual scavenging.

We can easily visualise that the practice of scavenging still exists in different cities of Uttar Pradesh as well as India but census surveys continue to fail providing actual data on the total number of scavengers in India. It is a matter of disbelief and suspicion that in states where the practice of manual scavenging is clearly visible the Census reports negligible numbers of manual scavengers. Sewer workers and Bahaau

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toilets are huge spaces where manual scavengers work. But Census has not counted them as manual scavengers. Social activists, political figure and even the Supreme Court have said that this number is highly under representation; so have the government's own figures. According to the Census of India 2011, there are 740,078 households across the country where human excreta are removed by a person from a dry latrine. On top of this, there are also septic tanks and railway platforms from where human excreta are cleaned by individuals. The Socio-Economic Caste Census 2011 said that there are 182,505 families in rural India engaged in manual scavenging (SECC, 2011). According to SECC-2011 data of manual scavengers as per reports from the States and Union Territories has prearranged in table 3.2.

Table 3.1

State-wise details of identified Manual Scavengers in India		
Urban		
S. No.	State	Total number of Manual Scavengers
1.	Andhra Pradesh	124
2.	Bihar	137
3.	Chhattisgarh	03
4.	Karnataka	302
5.	Madhya Pradesh	36
6.	Odisha	237
7.	Punjab	86
8.	Rajasthan	577
9.	Tamil Nadu	462
10.	Uttar Pradesh	2404
11.	Uttarakhand	137
12.	West Bengal	104
	Total	4609
Rural		
1.	Punjab	05
2.	Uttar Pradesh	7612
	Total	7617

Sources: Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment Yearly Report 2015-16

Table 3.1 reveals state-wise details of identified manual scavengers in India. According to this table there are 4609 manual scavengers found in urban areas of India. And only 7617 manual scavengers are present in rural areas. In Uttar Pradesh alone there are 2404 manual scavengers identified in urban areas. The white lie behind these numbers is only too clear, even to the government to some extent. If one

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was to compare and analyse the number of manual scavengers and the number of dry latrines, there can be two conclusions. The 2011 census identified almost 21 lakh toilets in this country (21, 09, 042 toilets which were either “serviced manually” or where night soil was disposed into open drains). Either a big amount of these 21 lakh latrines in the country, were astoundingly getting cleaned on their own every night, or the 13,639 manual scavengers were criss-crossing the length and breadth of India every night cleaning toilets. Both scenarios are pathetic. Manual scavenging is far bigger, customary and intensely rooted than any government would like to believe.

Scavenger’s Identity and their Surname

Scavengers are these days considered as sanitation workers groups in Indian social order. All such workers in India are today included under the general terminology ‘The scavenger’s. For this occupational group there are various surnames and titles used in different parts of the country. The scavengers might have adopted the label as it introduces their name. They are known by various names in various parts of India. The title and surnames used to recognise them is often also used as an insulting social remark. Details regarding their surnames have been given in the following table 3.1.

Table 3.2

Scavengers Surnames in Various States of India	
States/Union territory	Surnames
Andhra Pradesh	Madiga
Assam	Mehtar, Bhangi
Bengal	HariHadi
Bihar	Mehtar,
Delhi	Bhangi , Balmiki,
Gujrat	Lalbegi Halalkhor, Hela, Barwashia,
Karnataka	Madiga
Kerala	Madiga
Madhya Pradesh	Mehtar, Bhangi
Maharastra	Ghare, Bhangi
Odisha	Mehtar, Bhangi ,Balmiki,
Punjab	Mira, Lalbegis, ChuhraBalashahi , Vamiki
Rajasthan	Bhangi, Mehtar, Chuhra, Balmiki
Tamilnadu	Thoti
Uttar Pradesh	Vamiki, Dhanuk

Source: Singh B. 2014 p. 171-180

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The Scavengers found a collection of groups some of them are the Dhanuk, Bhangi, Mehtar, Chuhra, Lalbegi and Halalkhor. They have integrated to arrange in one community and entitle a common origin from the saint Balmiki. These communities can be found all over the states of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab, Delhi, Gujarat, and the Union Territory of Chandigarh where they are locally known by several other names (Lal, 1999, p.1).

Profile of Scavenging Communities of Uttar Pradesh

In this section the important indicator of scavenging communities of Uttar Pradesh in particular reference to total population of scavenging caste, their Religion and Literacy level has been discussed obtained from Census 2011. In Uttar Pradesh some of the scheduled caste communities that are very high in population rate and are specifically involved in scavenging practices, but it is not clear from census data how many of them involve in scavenging occupation and are specifically involved in scavenging practices, the data representing scavenging.

Table 3.3

Population of Scavengers Caste in Uttar Pradesh			
Scavengers caste	Male	Female	Total
Balmiki	6,90,140	6,29,101	13,19,241
Dhanuk	3,46,943	3,04,412	6,51,355
Hela	27,314	25,000	52,314
Lalbegi	303	257	560

State PCA for Individual Scheduled Caste drawn from census 2011

Table 3.3 shows that there are 13, 19, 241 persons from Balmiki caste this caste is known as largest scavenging community of Uttar Pradesh. In Uttar Pradesh as well as India Balmiki caste are highly engaged in scavenging work. Second largest caste engaged in scavenging occupation is Dhanuk caste. In Uttar Pradesh alone 6, 51,355 people belong to Dhanuk caste. As well as 52,314 persons belong to Hela caste also 560 persons come from Lalbegi caste. “All these castes are engaged in scavenging occupation for more than centuries” (Singh, 2014, Lal 1999, Raksha, 2012).

Above data concentrate and confine to the scheduled caste being associated with those who are engaged in the occupation of manual cleaning of excreta of others and engage in sanitation work. Before Independence of India they were involved in scavenging occupation and till date these castes engaged as scavengers. Existence of

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this group of people is noticeably related to the Indian caste system which even today prevails in India. Unfluctuating today these communities are highly engaged in sanitation occupation. “The names of scavenging castes suggest that they are an exceptional community hired from many different racial and social groups” (Lal, 1999, p.1). It is one of the reasons may have led people belonging to the lowest divisions to take to the occupation of scavenging especially in the urban areas was the compulsion, arising due to economic necessity.

Table 3.4

Religion of Scavenging communities in Uttar Pradesh				
Scavengers caste	Hindu	Buddhist	Sikh	Total
Balmiki	13,18,265	575	401	13,19,241
Dhanuk	6,50,956	218	181	6,51,355
Hela	52,244	52	18	52,314
Lalbegi	558	00	2	560

Source: State PCA for Individual Scheduled Caste drawn from census 2011

Religion is a very important variable in census it has found from census 2011 table 3.4 shows almost all scavenging communities follow the Hindu religion. More than 99 percent of them are Hindu less than 1 percent scavenging communities are other than Hindus. There is no description has been found in census 2011 that how many persons have follow the Muslim religion.

Table 3.5

Literacy Rate of Scavenging communities in Uttar Pradesh				
Surname	Male	Female	Total	Literacy Rate
Balmiki	4,01,261	2,59,173	6,60,434	50.06
Dhanuk	1,99,908	1,26,248	3,26,156	50.07
Hela	18,612	12,813	31,425	60.06
Lalbegi	191	122	313	55.89

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Source: State PCA for Individual Scheduled Caste drawn from census 2011

Above table 3.5 shows according to census 2011 there are 50.06 percent people are literate out of 6, 60,434 people in Balmiki caste. Dhanuk literacy rate is 50.07 percent out of 3, 26,156 Dhanuk population. Hela caste literacy rate is 60.06 percent out of 31,425. And Lalbegi literacy is 55.89 percent out of 313 people.

Population of Scavenging Communities of Lucknow

Scavengers are habitually fixed in urban zones and living in ghettoized quarters in the highest crowded areas of the Lucknow city. The scavengers' work is observed as extreme hatred and they are living in particularly socially isolated areas in Lucknow city. Whereas, with the introduction of dry latrines, the practice of carrying buckets of excrement on their heads is moved out however they still work to clear blockages in sewers where they are half underwater in filth. In the city of Lucknow there are two types of sewerage workers: manhole workers and municipality road sweepers. While maintenance of the manhole is usually managed by males alone, both males and females from the Balmiki community are involved as sweepers and cleaners of private and public latrines and roadside open toilets. The stigma ruins as they are still identified with the work they do and considered untouchable and outcast.

Table 3.6

Total population of Scavengers communities of Lucknow			
Scavengers caste	Male	Female	Total
Balmiki	10,948	10,371	21,319
Dhanuk	17,424	16,169	33,593
Hela	91	81	172
Lalbegi	08	08	16

Source: State PCA for Individual Scheduled Caste District Wise drawn from census 2011

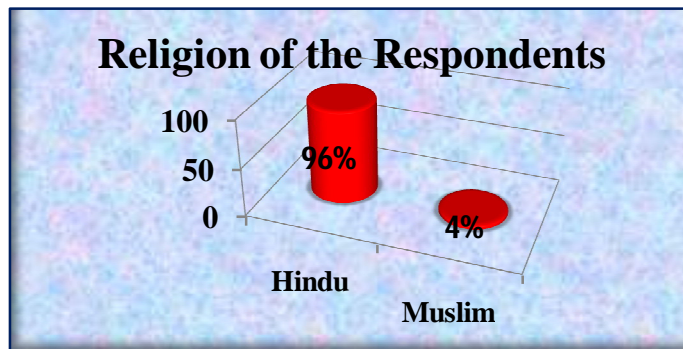
Table 3.6 illustrates that there are 21,319 persons from the Balmiki caste. 33,593 persons belong to Dhanuk caste. In Uttar Pradesh as well as Lucknow Balmiki caste are highly engaged in scavenging work. Second largest caste is engaged in scavenging occupation is Dhanuk caste; and 172 persons belong to Hela caste and 16 persons come from Lalbegi caste. All these castes are engaged in scavenging occupation for more than 60 years. These castes have been working as manual scavengers since many years (Census, 2011).

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The Scavengers and their Social Milieu: Empirical observation from field

Since the present study is based on data collected from the scavengers who work as sanitation workers in Lucknow city; it is very important to have a look at the location and the entire social background in which they live. Such an enquiry is important because a person employed in a society is expected to abide by its standards rigorously and forge a relationship based firmly on his place in the organisational structure of the civil society rather than on caste and other considerations. The chapter deals with the overall background of respondents those who are working as Safai Karamcharis in Lucknow city. In this set data has been collected such as respondents' religion, caste, age, marital status, educational status, monthly income dwelling and analysed systematically.

Graph: 3.1.



Hindu and Muslims are the two major religions which share more than two-third population of Lucknow city. Graph 3.1 reveals 96 percent respondents working as Safai Karmchari belong to Hindu religion among scavengers of Lucknow. Only 4 percent respondents belong to Muslim religion. Among Hindu scavengers two divisions were found such as Balmiki and Dhanuk. They are Hindu by Faith. Rishi Balmiki is considered their god of community. All Hindu gods and goddesses worship them regularly. Muslim scavengers follow their Islamic religion they almost come from Hela and Lalbegi Muslim sub caste.

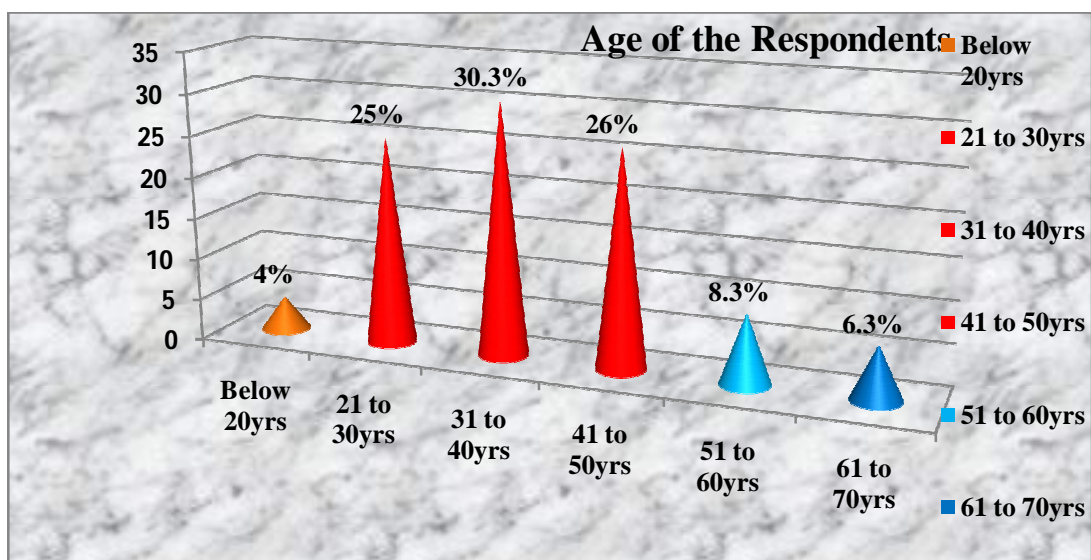
Table 3.7

Sub- caste of Respondents		
Sub- caste	No. of respondents	Percentage
Balmiki	198	66.0
Dhanuk	93	31.0
Hela	07	2.4
Lalbegi	02	0.6
Total	300	100

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Table 3.7 reveals that 66 percent scavengers belong to the Balmiki community and 31 percent Dhanuk community. 2.4 percent of scavengers come from Hela sub-caste. Only 0.6 comes from the Lalbegi community. 3 percent of persons working in the sanitation field are other than Balmiki and Dhanuk community. Muslim Respondents told about their sub caste and said ‘Hela’ in response to question related to their sub caste. In case of Hindu scavengers they are very conscious about their sub caste and provide detailed accounts in support of their sub caste. In most parts of Asia, scavenging was carried out, but there is no orientation to its existence given to one specific caste such as India. In India, the job has been traditionally and perpetually distributed to a specific sub-caste in the Sudra as Balmiki, Dhanuk, Bhangi, Hela caste, the lowermost group of the hierarchical Hindu caste system. According to Harsh Mander “In urban India some imagine that caste demarcations have become history. We need to only check the caste identity of those employed to clean the toilets in our offices and homes to recognize how victimized they are. They alone carry the burdens of disposing of animal carcasses, removing the skin of animals, scavenging and disposing of human excreta. “Today, although not written, there’s virtually 100% reservation for the lowest castes in jobs as cleaners and sweepers” (Hindustan Times: Jul 27, 2016).

Graph 3.2

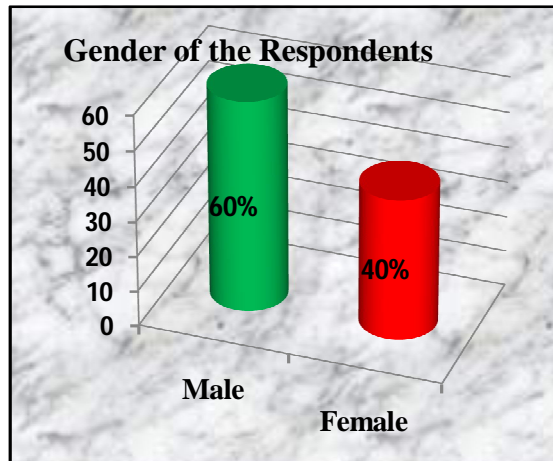


Age of individuals played a crucial role in their working life. Graph 3.2 shows 4 percent scavengers came from below 20 years age group, 25 percent respondents were from 21 to 30 years age group, 30 percent respondents were aged 31 to 40, 26 percent respondents were from 41 to 50 years age group, 8.3 percent respondents were aged 51 to 60, and 6.3 percent respondents were aged 61 to 70 years.

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percent respondents come from 41 to 50 years of age group, 8.3 percent respondents come from 51 to 60 years, only 6.3 Percent respondents come from 61 to 70 year age group. It is specious in the graphs that the majority of scavengers were found in scavenging work that falls below 50 years of age group.

Graph: 3.3



Sex or gender categorization relics to be important variable for the study to make study representative and fair it is take into reverence both men and women. Sanitation is the one such profession where women are huge number. Graph 3.3 reveals more than half of the scavengers 60 percent are males and a considerable proportion of the scavengers/sanitation workers are females 40 percent.

Table 3.8

Literacy rate among Scavengers of Lucknow				
Scavenger caste	Total	Not Literate	Literate	Literacy rate
Balmiki	198	153	45	15.0 %
Dhanuk	93	62	31	10.3%
Hela	07	06	01	0.02%
Lalbegi	02	01	01	0.06%
Total	300	222	78	26.0

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A person in a scavenger household aged 7 years and above who can both read and write with understanding in one language is taken as literate in this study. According to table 3.8 there are 15 percent scavengers are literate out of 198 scavengers of the Balmiki community. And 85 percent scavengers of the Balmiki community are not literate 10.3 percent scavengers are literate out of 93 scavengers of Dhanuk community. About 89.7 percent of scavengers of the Dhanuk community are not literate. 0.02 percent scavengers are literate in the Hela community. And Lalbegi community there is 0.06 percent scavengers are literate. The total number of respondents taken for the study 300 and out of them 26 percent scavengers seems literate.

Table 3.9

Educational status of the Respondents		
Level of Education	No. of respondents	Percentage
Not Literate	223	74.3
Primary	51	17.0
Class 8	14	4.7
High school	06	2.0
Intermediate	06	2.0
Total	300	100.0

Education plays a significant character in all over development of individuals in addition to accomplishing a sophisticated position in the existence of an individual as well as in society. It was accordingly identified crucial to distinguish the educational level of respondents. Table 3.9 reveals 74.3 percent scavengers are not literate. Only 25.7 percent of respondents involved in sanitation work are educated. This has brought about in the main reason for their illiteracy is marginalization and suppression from mainstream society. In sanitation work there is no need for education so that generally scavengers are not aware towards attaining education.

Second very important and noticeable reason responsible for scavengers low level of education is that Sanitation is an occupation where both women and men work; due to engagement of women in sanitation work their children are unable to go school; because the basic requirement of sanitation work is that the person who is employed in scavenging work have to start their work early in the morning. And usually the timing of school is also early in the morning. Scavenger's children are not

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going to school because both husband and wife going outside the home to earn their livelihood and due to the absence of child care facilities for their younger children these couples enforced their elder children of the family take care of the younger child while women go out to scavenging work; this is the foremost reason to illiteracy among scavengers. But nowadays the scavengers have started taking interest in children's education. It has been found in the field that children study up to tenth or more but due to financial scarceness they often drop.

Table 3.10

Marital Status of the Respondents		
Marital Status	No. of respondents	Percentage
Married	273	91.0
Unmarried	6	2.0
Widower/Widow	21	7.0
Total	300	100.0

Table 3.10 shows 91 percent respondents were married. 2 percent respondents are unmarried. 7 percent respondents are widower/widow. In case of Widower/Widow have additional responsibility towards families and their improvement. They have more accountability and suffer inadequacies. It has been observed during field survey scavenger's community give more importance to marriage. They all believe that it is a holy performance. Women of this community said that marriage continues even after the death of the husbands. Second observation is that in scavenger's community mates' selections is the duty of the parents. They being experienced men better evaluate the merits of forthcoming partners. The young boy and girl are raw hands and led more by temporary rather than permanent valuable considerations. Parents are morally obliged to find mates for their children and the children to accept the parental choice. It has been observed that in this community second marriage by man and women are permitted if the other half has passed away.

Economic Status of Scavengers

The economic status is an indicator of the standard of living. The higher income provides prosperity and a high standard of living, the lower income creates struggle for survival. The economic status of the family is determined by the size of the family

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and number of earning members in the family. It is quite evident if the earning members are more than one; obviously the economic status can be changed. Economic aspect can be the best indicator of the overall situation of the problem. Let us briefly look at the economic status of the scavengers of Lucknow city. The present section is based on the economic status of families of scavengers.

Most of the studies have pointed out that urban poor with distinct identifiable characteristics are poles apart from the rest of society. The poor families of any society adopt different social patterns and values in comparison to those who are privileged. The question similar other queries have been approached by Oscar Lewis in his analysis of 'Culture of poverty'. The existence of 'Culture of poverty' will have to be investigated in a society which is dominated by a cash economy and in which neither voluntary bodies nor government provide social, political, and economic support to the low income groups. His study has identified some major dimensions of 'Culture of poverty' (Poddar, 2001, p.88).

Table 3.11
Monthly and Annual income of the Respondents

Monthly income	Annual income	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Below Rs.1000	Below 12000	25	8.3
Rs.1001 to 2500	Rs.12,001-30,000	70	23.3
Rs.2501 to 5000	30,001-60,000	80	26.7
Rs.5001 to 7500	60,001-90,000	102	34.0
7501 to 10000	90,001-120,000	15	5.0
Above 10000	Above 120,000	8	2.7
Total		300	100

Annual income has been calculated on the basis of monthly income of respondents

Table 3.11 shows 8.3 percent respondents earning below 1000 rupees per month. It can assume without any statistics and evidence that income of 1000 rupees is classified as extreme poverty. 23.3 percent scavengers earn monthly Rs.1001 to 2500. And 26.7 scavenger's income falls in Rs. 2501 to 5000. It is very problematic to live on with low income. 34 percent scavengers have paid Rs.5001 to 7500. Only 5 percent of a scavenger's income is 7501 to 10000. 2.7 percent respondent earnings above 10,000 rupees in a month. 10000 and above income of those respondents who were employed as permanent Safai Karmi. It has been told by respondents that they

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spent a big portion of their income on sanitation equipment such as broom, duster, sanitary cloth, soap, detergent, cleanser because it is a basic compulsion of their work. It has been observed that 92.3 percent scavengers earned less than 8000 in a month. Due to low income scavengers lack physical assets. The scavengers are to be found improved than the other scheduled castes social group in relation to earnings, spending and ownership of transportable assets. But it has been noticed during empirical surveys of the scavenging community that they have small properties without ownership of land and their own house. Two wheelers Bike, Scooter, Mobile phones are basic requirements of their work because using two wheelers they have to reach their work site early in the morning. Most of the respondents accepted that they don't have monetary capacity to meet the expense of a bike and other two wheelers but their work site is very far from their residence and they are forced to spend their huge amount of income on conveyance and transportation. Because they have to carry brooms due to nature of their work if they prefer to go with public conveyance every fellow traveller sighted them with extreme dislike. This discriminatory attitude of society forced them to go to their workplace by bike.

Table 3.12

Monthly and Annual income of scavengers family from			
Monthly Income of scavengers family	Annual Income of scavengers family	Frequency	Perce nt
Below Rs.5000	Below 60000	167	51.7
Rs.5001 to 10000	Rs.60001-120000	73	24.3
Rs.10001 to 15000	120001-180,000	33	11.0
Rs.15001 and above	180,001and above	39	13.0
Total		300	100

Annual income calculated on the basis of monthly income

The family income of a person impacts on the availability of facilities of education and medical facilities also. Family income also special affects the availability of service and utilisations to a great amount. It is exposed from table 3.12 even today 51.7 percent scavenger's family income is below Rs.5000. 24.3 percent scavenger's family able to earn nearly 10,000 per month.11 percent families of scavengers are producing 10000 to 15000 per month. It is initiate in the course of field work that some families are able to earn more than 15000 per month where all family members are engage in sanitation related work or any other type of work it has been observed that large families where 6 to 8 members earn more than 15000 after working whole

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day; if we analyse it in form of per person 2000 rupees average income of whole family. And they spent a lot of their income on transportation.

Living Condition of Scavengers of Lucknow

Scavengers outlook as not touchable, distant and are not permitted in the house apart from for sanitation work. All scavengers' bustees have all characteristics of slums but they are pucca slums. According to Citizens' Report Card on Water, Sanitation and Hygiene in 25 slums of Lucknow estimates number of slums in Lucknow vary. Certainly, as the areas of poor housing are found on the fringes of the city, on the banks of river waterless nallahs near railway tracks, as well as other areas where land can be found. These slums are sometimes in large well defined settlements, but often in scattered clusters in the interstices between better housing zones. In Lucknow, presence of settlements of poor treated as illegal settlements categorized as illegal encroachers and they hardly considered in the city development planning rather plans are executed to evict them whereas provisions are made for the regularization of the illegal colonies in the City Master Plan (CRC, 2013, P. 7).

Living areas of Scavengers of Lucknow

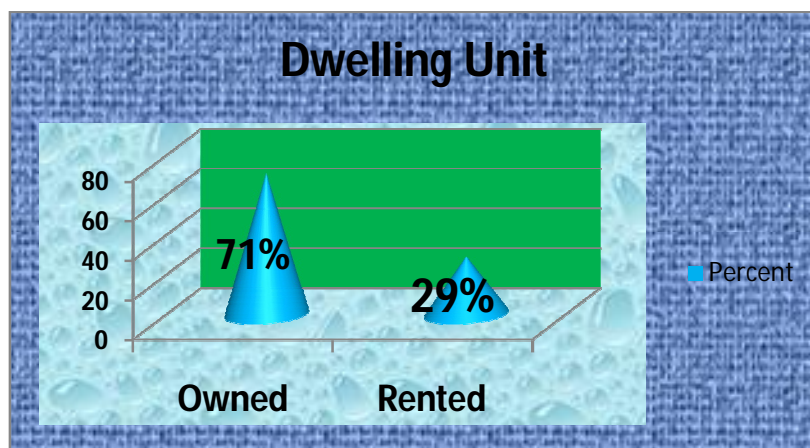
The living areas of scavengers in Lucknow city are scattered and spread over in different areas of the city. There are several scavengers' areas identified in Lucknow where there are a large number of scavenging communities in habitat. The main places of their localities are Chhitwapur, Bhedi Mandi, Raghuwar Das ka Haata, Haider Kainal, K.D Singh Babu Stadium, Cantt, SDA colony(Aishbagh Sudarshan puri), Mohan Making Road Balmiki Nagar, Machali Mohaal, Sagra Balmiki Bustee, Deen Dayal Upadhyay Nagar, Balmiki Nagar Peppermill colony, Lav-Kush Nagar. Besides, the scavengers working in Lucknow Nagar Nigam as permanent Safai Karmi living accommodations allotted to them by Nagar Nigam. Majority of scavengers live in Balmiki Nagar or Balmiki Bustee in Lucknow city. Every scavenger's Bustee is diverse in the situation of foundation, position, extents and demographic characteristics. However all characteristics are not same in the Lucknow city. It might vary due to numerous causes for example its look, monetary state, overloading of houses, dwellings, inhabitants, health and sanitation situations, standard of living, quality of life, privacy of other inhabited societies. It has been told by respondents that those scavengers who do not have their own residence are not able to take quarters in non-scavengers because of the discriminatory attitude of society associated

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with their caste title used by them. According to one respondent residing on rent share his experience that when He went to search of residence on rent; people asked them for their occupation and caste surnames after knowing their occupation that is noticeably sanitation work no one agreed to offer them house on rent and said him go and take residence on 'your' bustee. They further elaborated the word 'Your' and said with anguish 'we only fit for present in Scavenger's bustee'.

Quality of life in scavenger's bustees declined largely and unfortunately it is underestimated as well as misrepresented. The lack of income works as a stumbling block for sanitation workers of Lucknow city to access amenities which are easily in reach of others presented here. Scavengers are made to live in locations that are isolated from the rest of the community. "In practice, the hierarchy of the society is made visible by the pattern of habitation of the people in the villages, town or cities" (United Nation, 2014).

Graph: 3.4

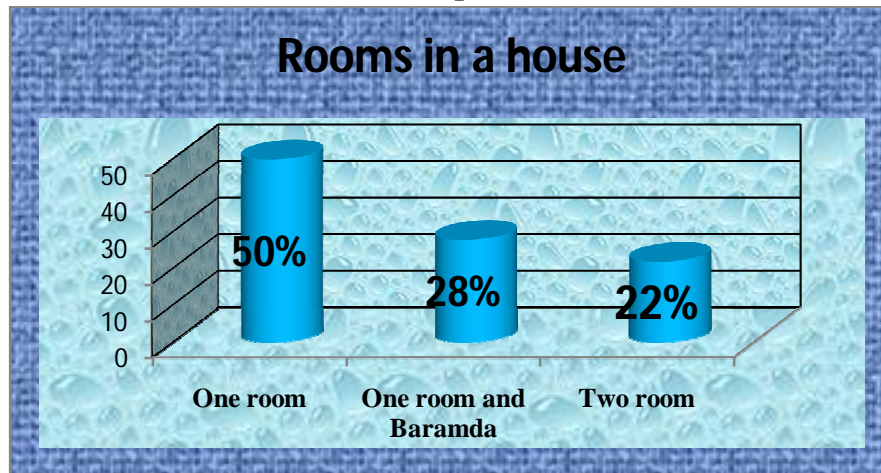


"A room is treated as a dwelling room; if it has walls with a doorway, then a roof and should be wide and long enough for a person to sleep inside, i.e. it should have a length of not less than 2 meters and a breadth of at least 1.5 meters and a height of 2 meters" (Census of India, 2011, p.5). The housing conditions of scavengers are neither upgraded nor fulfil the criteria of census definition of house. Graph 3.4 displays 71 percent scavengers having their own house. Besides 29 percent scavengers still reside on rent. Basic amenities of human beings are largely fulfilled within the boundaries of houses. The houses provide roof and shelter and are also responsible for proper development of human personality. The general scarcity of houses in most of the urban areas is resulting in overpopulation. It has been observed that in a scavenger's residential area each room has to accommodate nearly five to six

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persons. These houses are used for various purposes. Privacy is almost imaginary in these houses. The dilapidated (broken down) houses contain second hand furniture. It has found that almost all scavengers' households have electricity connections. And they use Television and Mobile phones frequently.

Graph: 3.5



Among 300 respondents there 50 percent respondents have their own house with a single room. And 28 percent respondents have one room and Verandah for residing in the entire family. Only 22 percent of respondents ensured two rooms in which the second room has been used for cooking as a kitchen. The scarcity of systematic and true statistics on the considerable homeless population in India is a similarly huge problem. Suitable accommodation is considered by numerous studies to be a major human right; irrespective of income level a basic requirement for all human beings that cannot be neglected in a rational and fair society. It is interconnected by means of additional parts of life such as education and wellbeing of person. Hence scavenger's bustee is commonly demarcated by way of dwelling somewhere elementary requirements of existence such as accommodation, occupation, health, sanitation, drinking water, education amenities, are practically not presented.

A roof over head is one of the elementary prerequisites of all human beings. Sanitary workers are often seen as the bottom level of the urban residents. A residence is bare minimum basic need but its type, quality, fixtures, and furnishing, depend on occupation because it decides one's economic condition. Being with a scavenging job, poor housing and poor health may be considered as the major problems faced by the Scavengers in Lucknow. In spite of the efforts of the government there is far-reaching unemployment among them. Their dwelling ailment is pitiable in various bustees

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where they resided. It is finding in the study area more than one family shared residence surviving beneath one roof, with separate kitchens and shared toilet. Scavengers are habitually seen as the bottom level of the urban residents. Unlimited inhabitant's density at unsatisfactory areas offers little space per individual. Maximum scavengers' family lives in single rooms. It is there one room shared by 4 to 6 members of the family. 50 percent of respondents of the study have only one room. Same room is used for cooking, sleeping and living. The deficiency of basic amenities, evident and open drainage, the lack of streets, the uncontrolled throwing away of waste and unclean atmosphere is present in the inhabited area of scavengers. Maximum houses are constructed in study area are not suitable for a human settlement; such as near a garbage dumping site. Unclean unhealthy poor drainage systems along with poor arrangement are part of life of scavengers of Lucknow.

Table 3.13

Availability of toilet in the house		
Response	Frequency	Percent
No	102	34.0
Yes	198	66.0
Total	300	100.0

Graph: 3.6

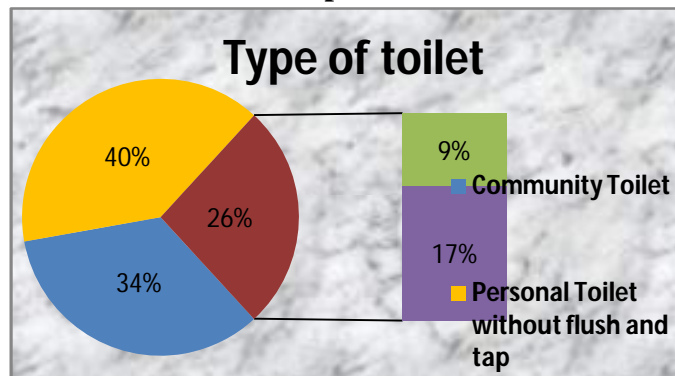


Table 3.13 shows that 34 percent respondents have used the community toilet. It is observed that the condition of community toilets has worsened and degraded; and it is used by more than 4 to 5 families having 25 to 50 members. Only 39 percent of respondents in the study area have a toilet in their house. Simply 49 percent households have personal toilets out of them only 9 percent households ensure personal toilets with flush and tap. It is observed after evaluation of toilet facilities in the study reveals that 73.7 percent of toilets are in use without having taps. After

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using toilets individuals flush excreta using a bucket otherwise mug. It is quite astonishing that 17 percent of the respondents said they have no toilet facility. They use paid toilets for defecation and use open places for urination. It is also stated by the respondents that they control their natural calls more than one time because they do not have money to pay for a toilet that charges 5 rupees for using toilet ones. Hence, it is clear from the results that the minimum civic amenities are not available for scavengers. Its irony scavengers across the country may clean toilets but their inhabited area would hardly have good toilet facilities. Even when they are cleaning toilets, urinals, and bathrooms they have no right to use them. Very limited households permit scavengers to avail toilet facilities in their toilet which is clean by the same person. It ascertained a deep-rooted belief of the contradictory human value of different groups of persons which ensure facilities of sanitation that they may avail of or are provided with. According to Zafar Adeel, Director of United Nations University's Institute for Water, Environment and Health "A Report published by UNU mentioning UN experts accomplishes that although India can be entitled a nation prosperous enough considering the fact that nearly half of its people have possession of mobile phones, hitherto about the similar number of general public do not have access to the elementary need and self-esteem and dignity of a toilet" (United Nations, 2010, April 14).

Table 3.14

Sources of water supply		
Sources	Frequency	Percent
Within the house	64	21.3
Outside from house	236	78.7
Total	300	100.0

Clean drinking water, sanitation, and a clean environment are essential for improving the health of the people and to reduce incidence of diseases and deaths. Water supply is one of the most important factors that improve the health of the population. Table 3.14 found that only 21.3 percent of households have accessible tap water within the house. About 78.7 percent households have no water supply in their house. They have to fetch water through a pipe from the main line or their neighbour. The Scavenging community receives an uneven burden of non-availability of water, as well as poor quality. It has been found in study that hand pumps mounted to deliver drinking water conveniences are non-functional. "According to Citizens' Report Card on Water,

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Sanitation and Hygiene in 25 slums of Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh Only 12.8 percent individuals have their own individual water source; confirms only 12.8 percent families have tapped within their house. Own individual water sources adequate water supplies will help people to break loses from the bonds of physical work, and apathetic unawareness of the potentials of change and improvements”(CRC, 2013, p. 7).

Table: 3.15

Quality of Drinking Water		
Response	Frequency	Percent
Poor	50	16.7
Average	216	72.0
Good	34	11.3
Total	300	100

Table 3.15 reveals responses gathered from 16.7 percent respondents report that the quality of drinking water is poor. According to 72 percent respondents' quality of drinking water is average. In the study area the presence of good quality drinking water is just 11.3 percent. Chennaiaha et al., in his study of Ghatkesar and Bibinagar areas of Andhra Pradesh, found in their study that mainly, the water accessible in the area of study was not fit for drinking purpose. The study similarly discovered that a lot of importance has been put down on site scavengers up and upgrading research laboratories at the state and district levels, and on water observing through field testing kits. Nevertheless, there immobile barriers like lack of consciousness, investigation, checking and testing, mitigation measures, non-availability of alternate water sources, and deprived hygiene reviews. (Chennaiaha et al, p.125). The facility of safe water supply is one of the most important component; that advance the health of the inhabitants. Community water provisions must be safe to drink, clean in appearance, taste and usable for households purposes. The known specifications of quality differ between habitation and over time and are related to its use. Delivery of clean drinking water, sanitation, and clean surroundings are important for improving the health of the individuals and to minimize frequency of infections and deaths. The low health status and the penalty of human potential in India can be recognized to the deficiency of safe drinking water supply and sanitation amenities. Water, which is essential for life, growth and health, can also be a source of spread of disease and cause of ill health, if contaminated or improperly handled and stored. Safe drinking

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water and improved sanitation play a major role in the overall well-being of the people, with a significant bearing on the infant mortality rate, longevity and productivity. The latest UNICEF analysis shows that approximately 783 million people are without adequate safe drinking water supply and 665 million people (72 percent) lack sanitary facilities in India. 626 million people practice open defecation and only 31 percent of Indian populace have access to sanitation amenities. Only 21 percent of rural population in India has adequate sanitary facilities against 54 percent in urban areas. 84 percent of the rural population has access to improved water supply compared to 96 percent in urban capacities.

Most studies also exposed that a lot of importance has been laid on establishments and advancement laboratories at the state and district levels, and on water monitoring through field testing tools. Nevertheless, there still exist obstacles corresponding to lack of awareness, surveillance, monitoring and testing, mitigation measures, non-availability of alternate water foundations, and poor sanitation practices. It is imperative to undertake and promote sanitary assessment and community-based water quality intensive care and investigation at the grassroots level, so as to locate the problem areas and adopt remedial measures thereof.

Conclusion

The chapter defines a multifaceted socio-economic profile of scavengers of Lucknow. Scavengers are usually resolute in urban zones and animate in ghettoized bustees in the utmost packed fragments of the towns and cities. The preceding analysis shows that scavenger's income and movable assets has been improved even though socio economic conditions have not been upgraded and improved; if it is looked at in broader perspective in their living conditions. Their income does not necessarily bring about a substantial change in their living condition unless a significant change is brought about in civic amenities for example drinking water, toilet facilities, drainage system, and sanitation status. Similarly important is the social and physical surroundings in which they live. According to Citizens report card 2013 Lucknow slum has no space in home to construct a toilet. Surprisingly, only five percent reasoned lack of money for toilet lacking house (CRC, 2013, p. 19). The situation of the scavenger's bustee is the same as a slum contingent on accessibility of elementary facilities such as housing and habitation; along with provision of safe

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water; and facilities for toilets, drainage, and light is not adequate here. Congestion in scavenger's bustee overpopulation and lack of basic needs and facilities are negative characteristics of scavenger's bustee. Unhealthy surroundings ultimately sign to vigour glitches specially the communicable disease. Sanitation is usually recognised as hygiene and put into practise that helps to reserve capability of a person. Inhabitants that do not think cleanness is at risk of pollution and infection. Improved housing, improved nutrition and improved hygiene are the essential components for the war against infectious diseases. Thus, this chapter research intended the housing and sanitary conditions of scavenger's bustee where scavenger's families are inhabitant. Slums remained the one and only kind of settlement accessible and affordable for scavengers, where they can live in ghettos. The observation reveals that these facilities are lacking in the study area. Even where houses and streets are pucca the sanitation and cleanliness is missing in their bustees. It can be said that scavengers of Lucknow city are an ostracised community. They remained marginalised because their communities are still mainly engaged to bring out the sanitation occupation. Furthermore scavenging relics a complex socio economic problem, this not merely necessitates sufficient funding but prerequisites a far-reaching alteration of perceptual viewpoint. The scavengers because of their work have been avoided by society as unclean and polluted persons. These individuals still cover-up with untouchability discrimination and social segregation. They have no option but then again to carry on sanitation work that is considered dirty work. Even though they complete an indispensable duty for the whole society nonetheless they are surrounded in marginalisation and suppression as well as poverty. They still reside in ghettoised bustees which are virtually set aside on or after other communities. They have low socio economic status since they have been hired as contractual workers. This has reserved their payment very low and down also creating them insecure and anxious. Although some of them have chosen semi-skilled jobs but low educational levels become a hurdle in their path of mobility.

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CHAPTER- 4

SOCIOLOGY OF SANITATION: ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

Introduction

In India, the sanitation occupation has its roots attached to the caste system and the structure makes sure that the community remains powerless and invisible. Manual scavengers are usually from caste groups customarily relegated to the bottom of the caste hierarchies and their arena of employment remains confined to odd jobs regarded menial by society. Their caste entitled livelihood underlines the social shame that they are “untouchables” and should be victimized. Scavengers still constitute a feasible caste based group in contemporary India. The scavengers are among the very bottom elements of Indian society in both status and economic terms. The present chapter deals with this various issues related to the scavengers problem which connects the atrocious caste system and menial jobs of scavengers. “The issue of manual scavenging, which is the only obtainable economic prospect for many, attacks at the root of human dignity and involves the humiliation of human beings into sub human beings. It is both hereditary and caste-based” (Barbour, et al., 2007 p.7).

Caste is a main standard for social stratification in India. Untouchability is a basic feature of the caste system. At the start the perception of pollution and purity is based on the need to put up with cleanliness, however, it before long gripped by an established arrangement in that situation pollution and purity associated with the birth of the person. “According to Bogle, who inscribed after Weber a caste was recognized by its place in the hierarchy and by the occupation its members monitored. Castes were controlled and other social restraints that were enforced upon them. Thus hierarchy and separation between communities were the traits that facilitated continued prestige of caste in the hierarchy order and determined interactional patterns. The workplace is alternate public domain wherever, even though the respondents have described examples of untouchability, its inflexibility is being tranquil compared to previous times” (Bogle, 1958, p. 15).

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In 2007, the annual report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination of the UN expressed serious concern about the deplorable conditions of manual scavengers in India. It stated, “The Committee notes with concern that very large numbers of Dalits are forced to work as manual scavengers (UNO, 2007, p.41)”. Due to the nature of their work they were observed as outcasts and in consequence, were isolated from the reach of other highly regarded people. This argument confirmed with the findings of various empirical observations from the field study.

Sociology of Sanitation Scavengers and Scavenging: A Framework

Few studies have previously been done to understand the conditions of the scavengers in India but no study has been conducted on sanitation workers of Lucknow who are Inheritor, successors, of manual scavengers. In this chapter an effort has been made to examine the socio- economic and occupational issues directly related to sanitation work and sanitation workers. The concept such as the sociology of sanitation is used to suggest a systems methodology in mind which includes clearly that we are dependent for personal hygiene on yourself but for sanitation of community or society dependent on scavengers or sanitation workers.

Sociology of Sanitation describes the conceptual and theoretical formulations necessary for the study of sanitation with special context to scavengers. It evolves some postulates that lead to the various visible and invisible dimensions of sanitation and scavenging. This framework uses data obtained from the field by various themes and presents a paradigm for sociology of sanitation. In this framework it has been important to discuss the sanitation situation prevailing in India is different from the scavenger’s perspective prevalent in the other western realms. The sociology of sanitation addresses the varied aspects, nuances and social complexities related to sanitation work and scavenging.

In this framework caste continues to justify discriminatory, cruel, and inhuman treatment imposed upon millions of Indians-especially in areas of sanitation work, where caste-designation still dictates rigid roles and privileges. It is ironic that on one side, sanitation work is done by machine for example collection of garbage, transference, dumping handling and recycling; on another side the member of some particular caste has been engaged for the same. Caste and occupations or employment

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processes are closely associated in Indian society. It is an uncertain point that caste character gets weak in urban places and Dalits have improved opportunities in the employment market and move into another profession, which is not caste centered and stigmatized. But some occupation viz. sanitation work remains outside of this employment procedure and caste relationships are thoroughly reinforced in various forms despite legal mechanisms that prevent such practices.

Scavenger's gets worst affected as they have to face discrimination on numerous levels that pushes them into an extremely vulnerable situation. All over this practice has been traditional and ancestral occupation among Dalits, one which is inherited from one generation to another. It is more pathetic is the fact that sanitation work is still largely a hereditary occupation. "Safai Karamcharis are no doubt the most oppressed and disadvantaged section of the population. There is unfortunate evidence that manual scavengers are considered untouchable by other untouchables" (Teltumbde, 2010, p.78)."

According to Max Weber caste was considered to be a 'status groups' whose group interactional approaches lifestyle, which in itself was curtailed by certain restrictions on interaction; members were recognized by their social and economic position. These entailed a particular kind of work which could be done. The relationship between castes was also determined by the ritual opposition between the positions of 'purity' and 'pollution' which might be linked with individuals. Therefore caste was placed in a hierarchy according to their level of purity. Thus, the upper caste level of purity was highest as they followed occupations considered as 'clean' and 'pure'. It was important too that the 'purity' be maintained through escaping from those who were impure. For this reason, caste associated occupation remained and still remains an extreme form of stratification (Weber, 1958, p.12).

The entire societies' dirt collection, sweeping of roads and streets, and cleaning of drains depend on the most deep-rooted functioning of the caste arrangement. This framework defines the health status and occupational protection of sanitation workers; it also discovers risk features related to health status of sanitation workers of Lucknow city of Uttar Pradesh. "The incidents of frequent death among manual scavengers show a strong relation with health safety and income. Health

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safety can be defined as ensuring less interaction to the risk and providing access to healthcare services along with the ability to pay for medical care and medicine when necessary” (Saikia, 2015, p.3).

A study which is conducted to examine health status of marginal communities of society “any kind of discrimination rooted in social, including caste, or racial origin affects people’s health in at least three distinct ways: first health status, second entry to health care services third in quality of health services. For instance, racism and discrimination directly slow down equal access to health services by excluding groups from health care structures, by limiting their access by law, or by discouraging their participation. Immigrants and refugees who are members of racial, ethnic or national minorities are especially subjected to discrimination” (Ramaiah, 2007, p.2).

Although the work of scavengers or sanitation workers does not differ significantly starting one place to another place, likewise everywhere contract and domestic scavengers work under the lowest payment. Their pays are very little and unequal routine. Being assigned as an important responsibility in every law, it is an utmost ignored occupation by others. Payment policy of sanitation workers is not assured by the government. Hence, scavenging questions remains necessary to target the untouched economic aspect that preserves at the community level as well as structural level. “Even as concepts of purity and pollution occupied a very crucial position in caste ideology; the economic content of the system can hardly be missed from its very early days the system had a clear economic content” (Chatterjee, 2011, p. 16).

SOCIOLOGY OF SANITATION: PERSPECTIVE FROM FIELD

Sociology of Sanitation in particular reference to Scavengers of Lucknow has been found these specific issues those continuing in research area are discussed under these themes:

- Discrimination and Untouchability
- Inherited caste-based occupation
- Employment and Work Environment
- Hazardous Work condition

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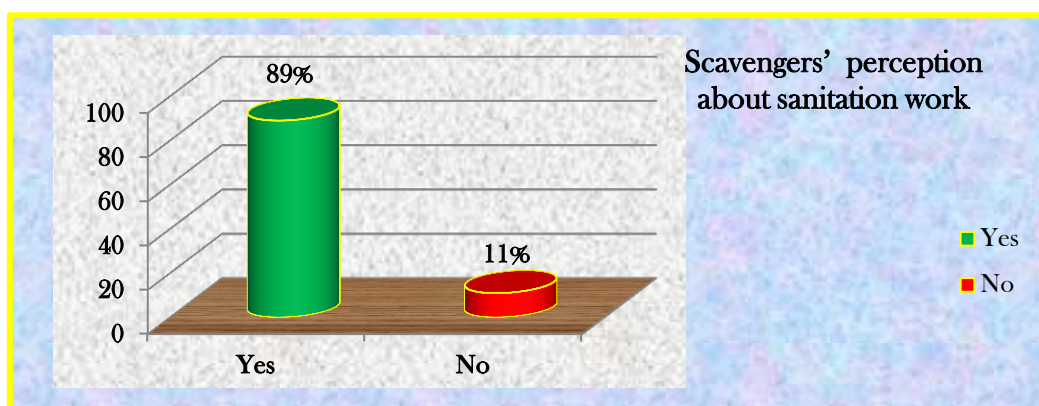
At this instant this section of sociology of sanitation has discussed all issues related to scavengers comprehensively. The main issue which is creates hurdles for scavengers are discrimination and untouchability is discussed below:

Discrimination and Untouchability

The indications of the existence of untouchability are present at various levels in Lucknow city. One such chief sign is the separated colonies in which scavengers live their identified localities which are their residential localities. Another important symbol of untouchability is people walking away when any scavengers come on their way. People are conscious of the presence of scavengers in and around them; and all their actions take place keeping these in thoughts, so that they are not made a participant in any of the activities. “For centuries, caste crippled Indian social life. It has institutionalized many forms of discrimination. These institutions of discrimination have shaped condition of social exclusion of multiple layers. Each community excluded from the other suffers an enormous amount of social and cultural exploitation and oppression” (Ilaiah, 2015, p. 14).

“This community is held at the bottom of the social hierarchy: ‘hierarchy’ and ‘status’ are also dimensions or forms of power” (Jodhka, 2012, p. 35). Accordingly this community faces discrimination within Dalit community. This section expresses the discriminatory attitude of society towards sanitation workers of Lucknow city and their existential reality can be described as:

Graph 4.1

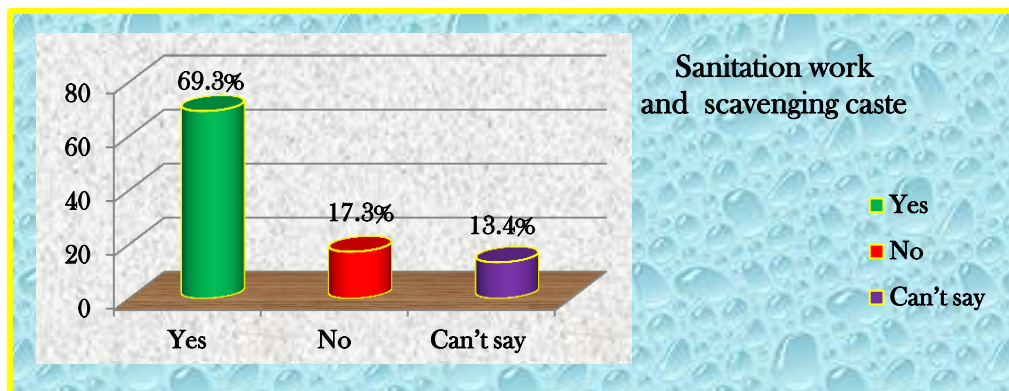


Graph 4.1 reveals about 89 percent of scavengers considered sanitation work is lowest among all types of occupations. Only 11 percent of scavengers said that it is not their

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lowest occupation. In India community existence is measured by caste individualities. Whereas few employments are appreciated by the public, some are degraded and are deliberately polluted, profane, so that they reflect socially mortifying and lowest in society. The social shame of pollution and profane associated with scavenging and leather-making shrinks the social position of the individuals or communities involved in these occupations (Ambedkar, 1979, p.93). A small number of employments are appreciated by society, some are undervalued and labelled filthy and polluted, therefore largely polluted occupation is considered undignified and lowest among all occupations. The social shame of pollution and impurity associated with scavenging work which reduces the societal position of the people involved in these occupations. In the social order, generally, people assume that - it is the liability of the Dalits to be responsible for sanitation service to society.

Graph 4.2



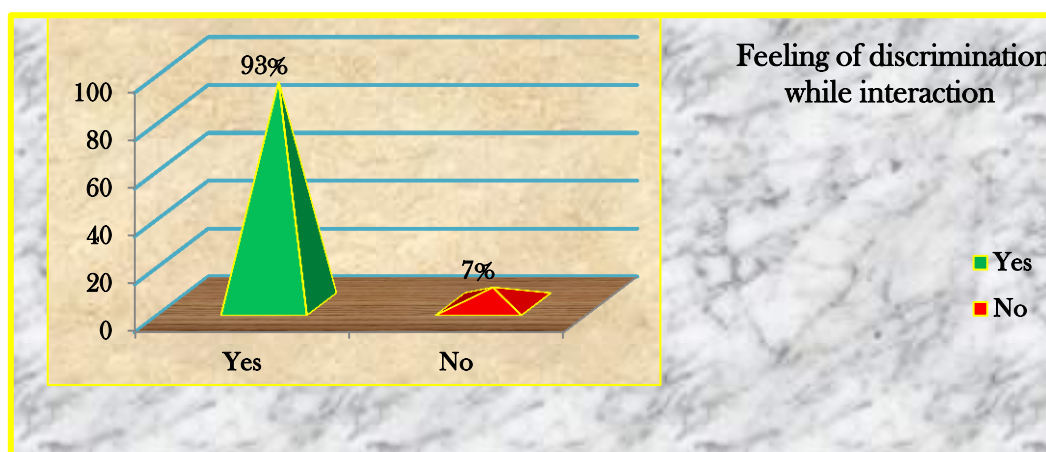
Graph 4.2 presents about 69.3 percent respondents asserts that societal perception and attitude towards sanitation work is still the same. The individual thinks that sanitation work confined only within Balmiki or Dhanuk a sub caste of Dalit community. Only 17.3 percent respondents said that they don't think society recognizes sanitation work only for scavenger's community. 13.4 percent respondents are not conscious about this question. *"One respondent shared his experience and told that he is working as a sweeper in the Yadav family (an OBC caste). One villager relative of that family asked him for any livelihood; he suggested him to do sanitation work. The response of villager is ironic "Mai Jamaadar Zaat Ka Nahi Hu, Mai is kaam ko kaise kar sakta hu". I am not the caste of the scavenging community, how can I do this scavenging work! This is only the occupation of Balmiki. He further said that scavengers are the people who are born and are meant for sanitation work for the whole society. And no*

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one wants to do sanitation work, they are acceptable for only the most “polluting” work, their role is to perform other unsanitary tasks”.

The manual cleaning of human faeces is not a form of employment, but an inequality similar to slavery. It is single most projecting systems of discrimination against Dalits or scheduled caste, and it demolishes their human rights.

Graph: 4.3



Graph 4.3 shows 93 percent scavengers are assured that they feel discriminated against while interacting with upper caste people. Whereas 7 percent scavengers said they do not feel discriminated against while interacting with upper caste people. Reactions received for the question “Do you feel discriminated against while interacting with upper caste people?” Majority of them said they feel discriminated by the upper castes; whereas only a small number of them do not feel discriminated. These high percentages of the respondents have interactions and feel discriminated against by the upper castes. Though, further inquiry reveals that the respondent’s interactions with the upper caste peoples dictate basically non-intimate, and rigid. Such interactions take place mainly at the workplace, market, in neighbourhoods or occasionally at a public place such as markets. The delicate close and sociable relations are very less. According to Thorat “In India, exclusion rotates around the societal interrelations and institutions that exclude, discriminate, isolate and deprive some groups based on their identity like caste and ethnicity” (Thorat & Louis, 2003, p.12).

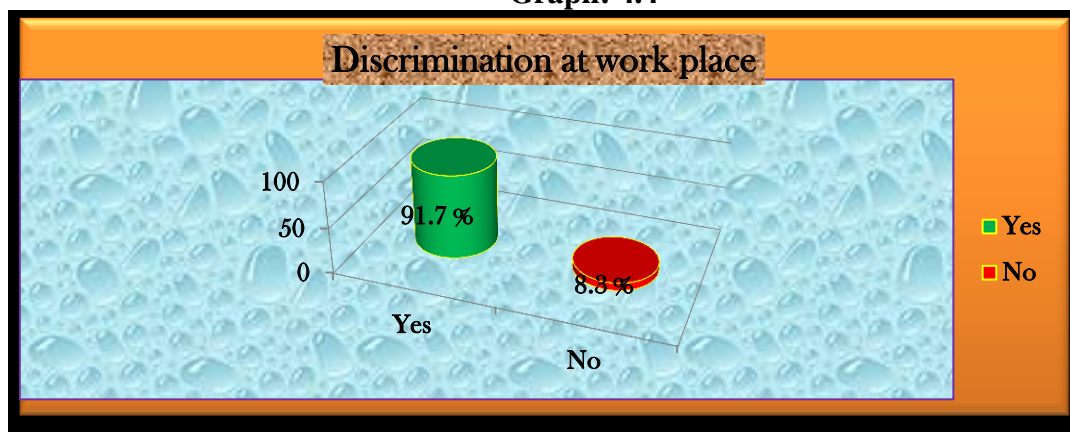
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Table: 4.1

Forms of discrimination		
Response	Frequency	Percent
Look down at you	20	6.7
Insult and abuse by caste title	15	5.0
Maintain physical distance	165	55.0
All of the above	79	26.3
Not Applicable	21	7.0
Total	300.0	100.0

Table 4.1 demonstrates that 6.7 percent scavengers opinions that upper caste people look down at them “*Unchi Jaati Ke Log Hume Neecha Maante Hai*”. 5 percent scavengers those work as self-employed said that their owner always calls them Jamadaar sometimes call them Bhangi “*Kothi Maalik humko Jamadar kahte hai kabhi kabhi Bhangi bhi pukarte hai*”. Their employer called them Jamadaar and sometimes they used Bhangi. This derogatory word used to call them. 55 percent of scavengers said that in their workplace they feel untouchability and correspondingly people maintain physical distance from them. 26.3 percent scavengers said that they feel almost all form of discrimination in their day today life.

Graph: 4.4



Graph 4.4 shows 91 percent of scavengers feeling discriminated at the workplace. One respondent who has employed as Bahaau Toilet cleaner and working under contractual basis in Lucknow Nagar Nigam said: “*Log hamka dekh kai mooh jhaapat hai, Jab hum unke nageeche se nikrit hai; ka hum mania nahi han*”. Individuals instantly cover their mouths as I way of walking past them. Are we (scavengers) not Human beings? “Caste, untouchability and ethnicity-based exclusion accordingly reflect the inability of individuals and groups like former untouchables” (Thorat,

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2007, p.21). A case study documented the untouchability explained by sanitation workers discussed below.

*“I am Sita Balmiki, aged 42 years and lives in Luvkush Nagar Lucknow. After my marriage of 20 years, I am working in a bungalow as a toilet cleaner. My owner belongs to a rich upper-caste woman and has kept a separate cup in which she puts tea from a distance for her. Once my Owner saree was fallen from the terrace and I went downstairs to bought it back and when I handed over the saree to my owner the reply I received was “Why you bought it back: You should have left it over there only, **Tum Jamadar ho tumhari himmat kaise hui ise chhune ki!**. You are a scavenger, how dare you to touch it. Why did you touch it? Don’t you know who you are? I can’t keep it any more as you a Scavenger have touched it ” now you can wear this saree for cleaning toilets. Because it’s your lifetime work done by you people only. I was very upset on saying that “we will always be treated as untouchable”. On that day when I bought back that saree for my malkin I did not have cleaned the toilet till that time, but still, my owner did not take back that saree and instead of admiration she insulted me. Even though we the scavengers work for cleanliness of the whole society, society will always consider us as untouchable. And since a long time at whatever time I go to clean toilets, every time people say “**Dekho Jamadarin aa gai hai**” look the jamadaar is here” Madam till date nobody has called me by my name Sita in my workplace. **Ek baar maine apni Malkin ko Apna Naam bataya toh usne bola ki tmhara kucch bhi naam ho; Akhir to tum ho jamadar hi! Hum tmhara naam kyu bulaiye, jamdarin shabd tumhare liye hi thik h.** Once I told my name to my owner she said whatever your name is, In fact you are a scavenger why I call you by your name Jamadarin (Scavenger) is an appropriate word for you.”*

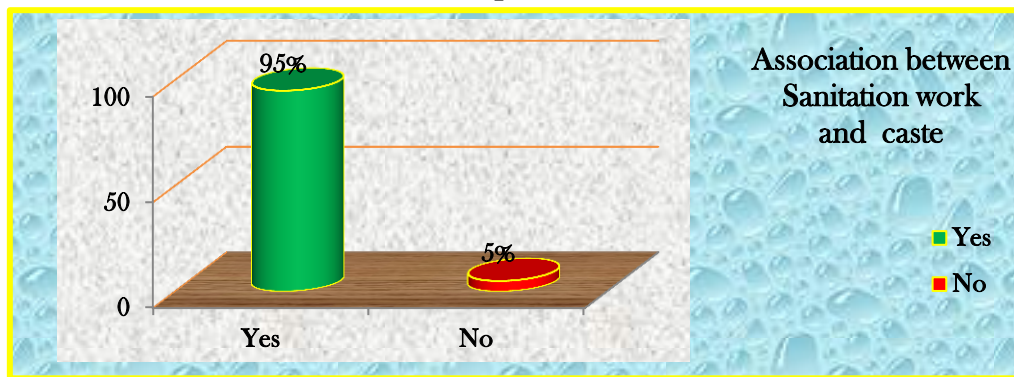
This case study supported the issue of caste discrimination has preoccupied the Indian mind for ages. Scavengers suffered this caste discrimination at all levels. Caste as system confines scavengers from oppressed to specific, lower-paid and less valued occupational positions in the category of occupations. As a significant source of inequality scavengers face deprivation due to the disadvantages associated with the precariousness of scavenging work.

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Inherited caste-based occupation

“Caste system lies in the concept of ‘purity’ and ‘pollution’ which assumes humiliation, violence and torture. The most critical feature of caste is the experience of untouchability in which the ‘line of pollution’ has been an important category in the endorsed discourse on caste. In most of the cases, the idea of untouchability is an obvious extension of the idea of pollution of purity and impurity (Jodhka, 2012, p. 71). In Sociological sense, caste-based and hereditary profession, handed down as an inheritance from one generation to the next sanitation has been a long-standing routine for the communities; which remained more or less untouched by technological advancement in the sanitation sector.

Graph: 4.5



Graph 4.5 reveals about 95 percent scavengers agreed that sanitation work is well known as scavenging occupation is directly related to caste. Only 5 percent scavengers denied this fact. “In India a set of castes in the sanitation sector due to the prevailing belief that ‘caste’, particularly for the Dalits, had something to do with the occupation” (Prasad, 2000, p.14). The significance of caste for scavengers is likely described by their deepened isolation aquiline in the sanitation work. The soundless control of the social order has left scavengers outside the machinery of traditional and social synthesis.

“According to sewer workers, Rinku, A 22 years old boy said about his suffering “Hum jamadar ahin yahi khatir safai kaam karit ahin ko ee jaanleva kam ka kraiek chaahit h”. I am a scavenger even so I work for sanitation. Who would work in these hazardous fixtures? I also do not like to work but I induce myself before I get into the sewerage that I have to do. I negotiate with myself. But then again when I come out of the gutter I feel like a

Sociology of Sanitation: Issues and Problems

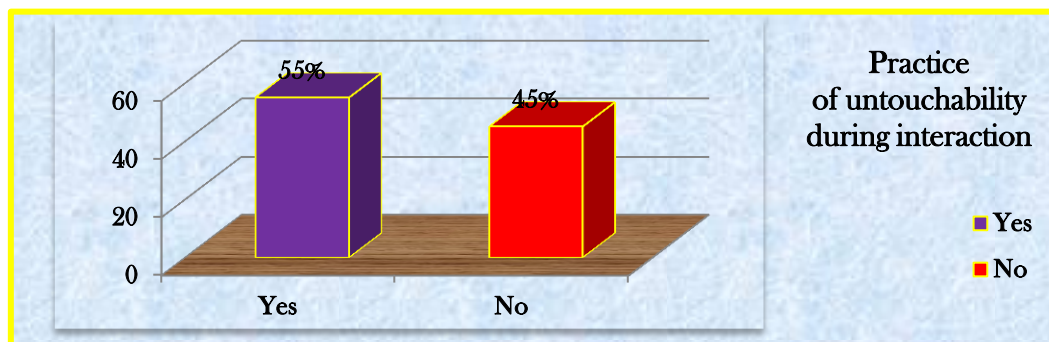
criminal who has just derived out of a prison. If there are people nearby the septic tank in which I am working, I feel ashamed to walk and even my work fellows stand far. Routinely when I sit down for my meal I induce the sight and the odour. At times I instigate to unease myself, have I not a human being constraining any crimes in the previous birth? It's my firm belief that Inferno (narak) is better circumstances from the gutter in which I work."

Table: 4.2

Linkage between sanitation work with particular caste		
Linkage	Frequency	Percent
Yes	283	94.3
No	17	5.7
Total	300	100.0

As table 4.2 shows 94.3 percent respondents said that individuals keep untouchability with them for they are involved in sanitation work. The experiences of untouchability at workplaces stated are: they are not permitted to enter into the house by the upper caste employer; people keep a distance while interacting. They offer water from the top, if glass or bottle is offered to them; that is separately set aside for them, sometimes tea or meal is served in the house where they go for sanitation work usually in utensils which are not used by them. Only 5.7 percent of scavengers do not feel untouchability due to their caste.

Graph: 4.6



Graph 4.6 shows 55 percent respondents feel untouchability, during interaction with others. Wherever 45 percent scavengers do not notice any form of untouchability and discrimination during interaction with others. They said distance pollution is no more practiced, public amenities are only partially denied to them and many agencies extend economic and moral assistance to them. But the basic disabilities still prevail and the scavengers themselves still suffer from their social degradation. Respondents

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elaborated they know that untouchability is abolished by the law but they untouchability in their workplace everyone tries to keep a distance from. If they touched people even by mistake, the person whom they touched abused them. Scavenger's shame is very extraordinary due to their work of cleaning and sweeping makes them polluted. The actual form of the caste system is imitated in the relations that we find between the touchable and untouchable. Untouchability is the long-gone influence of the caste system. In Indian society, one section of society rested upon the idea of the superiority over another on accounts of their birth. Untouchability is officially eliminated, but in reality, it is persisting all over India. This is a reality of Indian society which needs no underlying principle. The scavengers' have been anguishing the problem of untouchability followed by subjection, due to doing sanitation work.

The constitution of India has numerous provisions to remove the stigma of untouchability exploitation and injustice by roots. The scavengers have been made equal to the rest of the population, but this happens only in the paper, not in real sense. A case study has been recorded to show untouchability in present-day persisted for sanitation workers as follows.

“According to Ramu Dhanuk, 45 years old. He lives in Balmiki Bustee near Sagra Swarg Dham Vikas Nagar Lucknow. He has worked as Safai Karmi on contractual basis. He said “untouchability and discrimination is the part of his life. At the workplace, Even when I am not doing this scavenging work people make distance from me. I perceive there is a separate pen kept for signing the register when I receive my wages. I can read and write but due to my unclean occupation and caste, my supervisor prohibited me from signing in the attendance register and my Supervisor himself gives attendance after seeing me. I also want to describe my worksite. Where I am sweeping the road and collecting garbage door to door. People come with their dustbin and put garbage in the wheelbarrow; if I touched that dustbin people said (Ab to turant nahana padega jamadar ne chhu liya) they have to take bath immediately because scavenger has touched them. He questioned with anger (Madam Ka hum kudeddan se zada gandhalie hun, log kudedaan chu sakat hain lekin humka naahi, humka laagat hai ki unke ansuar hum gande aur paapi hun jo jamadaari karit hai)” Madam are we much polluted and dirty than dustbin? People

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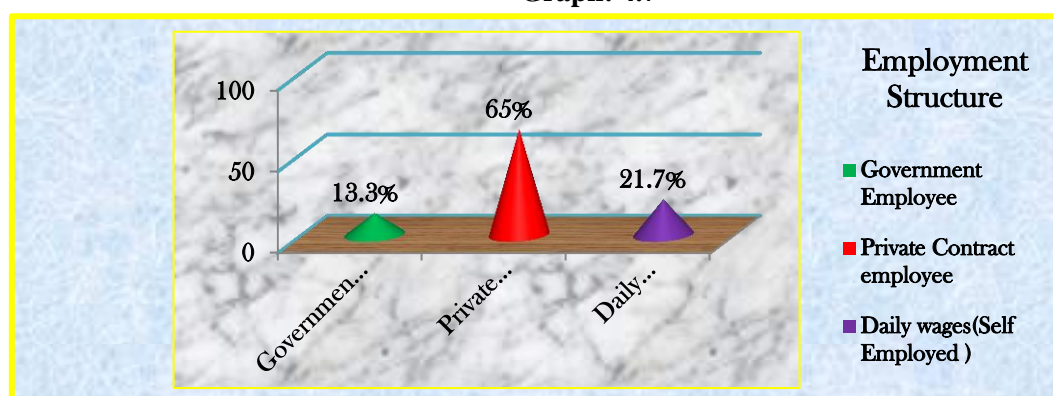
can touch that dustbin but don't touch us. I think according to them we are evil and sin therefore we are engaging in sanitation work".

A caste system is a powerful tool of social discrimination. It runs deep in the minds of Indians and its application in the day to day life. While most of the civilized realm has recognized the idea that an individual's caste must not come in the way of exercising his choice of profession, Indian society still stands manual scavenging that has always been predictable to be taken up only by particular communities, that it creates a socially certified and obligatory practice in which caste one is born into decides whether he/she will be a victim or a recipient. Dr. Ambedkar said that "Our society is like a multi-storeyed pyramid and there are no stairs or doors for entering into these storeys. One has to die in the storey in which one is born". "The ultimate characteristics of caste structure is fixed civil, traditional and financial privileges for each caste with limitations for change, involves "forced exclusion" of one caste from the rights of another caste, or from undertaking the occupations of other castes" (Thorat, 2006, p.10).

Employment and Work Condition

Dalits are relegated to the most menial task as removers of human waste scavenging and sweeping. In other words scavengers were in the less valued occupation accordingly, scavengers attained low social prestige. Further, it had its negative impact on their economic, political and educational development.

Graph: 4.7

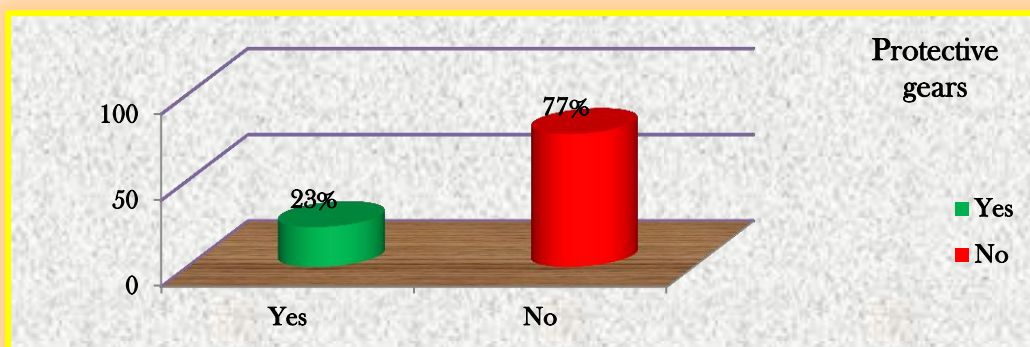


Graph 4.7 shows 13.3 percent scavengers are working as a government employee. They work regularly and have a permanent salary. These workers' income is much

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higher. 65 percent of scavengers work as private contractual labour. These both permanent and contractual sanitation workers work for Nagar Nigam of Lucknow. Some contractual sanitation workers are employed by 'Jal Sansthan'. Their conditions are better from private contract employees and have much more job security. Some of the sanitation workers working as an employee of a private organisation such as school, hospital, banks, university their condition are not good. 21.7 percent of scavengers are self-employed most of them work in the domestic household and cleaning toilets and bathrooms. In the case of daily wage sanitation workers, almost all of them got employment 15 to 20 days in a month. In Lucknow city, there are three types of employment found among sanitation work. One is a government employee working as permanent sanitation workers. Second is a contract employee working under Nagar Nigam, but they are employed by an outsourcing agency whose wages remain fixed by the contractor. The third category is sanitation workers those working as daily wages such as toilet cleaner, bathroom sweeper public toilet cleaner they work more than 10 places. Even their sanitation related work takes 30 minutes maximum to clean the toilet on the other hand after performing the task they carry the stigma with the whole day even in their whole life. On the basis of response among sanitation workers of Lucknow city, it has been found that conditions of sanitation workers are worse and daily wages employees are working in horrendous conditions.

Graph: 4.8



Graph 4.8 shows that only 23 percent scavengers confirmed that their employer provides them protective gears for sanitation work. 77 percent of scavengers said that their employer does not provide the protective gears for sanitation work. And when the checking and monitoring process has been started the contractor under whom

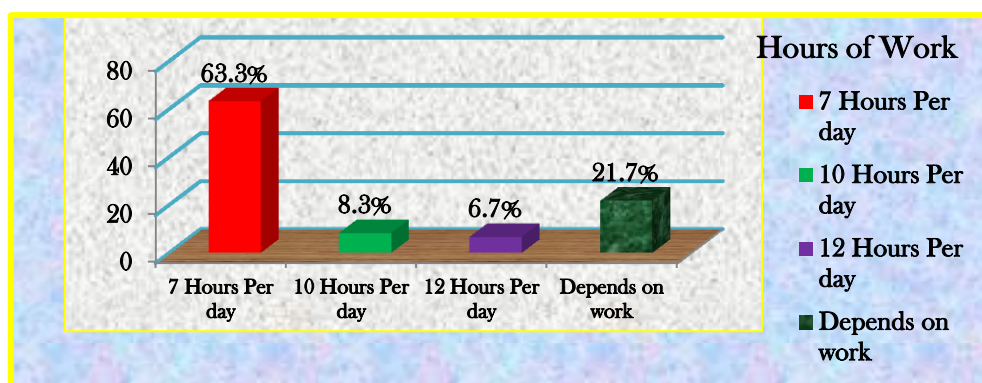
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these sanitation workers worked; they blame that these illiterate sanitation workers are not able to use safety equipment but reality is beyond this. During the fieldwork sanitation workers informed that they have not received a uniform for this dirty task. Most of them affirm this if they provided safety tools they will definitely use this equipment. The case study discussed below stated the basic reason to work without safety equipment by the scavengers.

“I am Alam Balmiki age 35 working as Sewer workers in Lucknow. I handled all the problems I came across during cleaning of the septic tank with bare hands and naked body. But I do this work and agree to go inside the septic tank without safety equipment. I went inside the sewer on the faith of God. It’s my firm belief God will save my life until today. “Ye Hamra bhagya aur shrap h jo hum sewer safai ka kaam kate hai”. It is my fate and dooms to do septic tank work. When I am known anytime due to inhalation of toxic gases I possibly will die but then again I don’t have any right to ask for safety equipment. Hum kise se suraksha upkarn mange kahan jaye kiske pas jaye. Agar hum ye upkaran dene k liye malik ko dbaav denge to wo kisi aur ko bula lenge aur hum bhukhe mareng bhukhe marne se accha sewer ki ek din mar jaana hai. Whom I shall ask for safety equipment? Where shall I go? If I compelled the contractor to provide safety equipment he would just call some other person for this work and me and my family would die of hunger. It is better to die in sewer instead of die with starvation”.

This case study proves that poverty and unemployment enforced scavengers to do scavenging work without any safety equipment.

Graph: 4.9



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Graph 4.9 shows 63.3 percent sanitation workers employed by Lucknow Nagar Nigam works 7 hours on an average. 8.3 percent sanitation workers those employed by the private system have to work 10 hours per day. 6.7 percent scavengers work 12 hours per day because they have all responsibility for sweeping, cleaning the urinals, commodes, lavatories, washrooms, or any type of work-related to them as a part of sanitation work. 21.7 percent of scavengers who work on daily wages as domestic scavengers, the maximum number of scavengers in the study area start their work early in the morning; their hours of work are determined by a Graph of households that they work.

In Lucknow a very small number of scavengers are employed as a government employee. In the present time, there are no government jobs available in the sanitation sector. The reason is behind it the policy is to hire contract workers and pay them a fixed salary. The hours of work usually 7 to 8 hour it is further divided in shift wise. The sanitation workers works in morning and the afternoon shift. The morning shift starts from 7 AM early in the morning, it has been noticed women who are more than 40 years are works in this shift. In Evening shift mostly young scavengers (male) involve in this work because the primary duty of scavengers to clean drainage system so that it works smoothly. Women scavenger does not clean drainage or Bahaau toilet. Although working hours of scavengers are smaller than other labour of north India who works any type of labour excepting sanitation work. But sanitation workers undertake the dangerous and dirty task that nobody wants to perform. Subsequently, we cannot perceive their work burden in time perspective. *In their words “Jab sab log pooja path karte hain hum log Narak saaf karte ha”* (When everyone is performing worship we are cleaning dirt).

Table: 4.3

Pressure to work		
Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	220	73.3
No	80	26.7
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.3 displays that 73.3 percent scavengers confirm that they have been forced to work more than the allotted working because they work on contract basis. They affirm that when any VIP has visited from their worksite they have been forced to do extra work. Sometimes some inspection visit of ministers generates extra work burden for

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them. If they are forbidden for additional work, contractors will take them out from their job; they will become unemployed and jobless so that it's their obligation and requirement to do extra work and keep up their job. 26.3 percent of scavengers affirm that they do not work more than the allotted working hours. If it is supposed by the employer they said they are Government Safai Karmi and they will not do any extra work. Permanent scavengers get a separate stipend for unclean wok allowance. We can see the conditions of contract scavengers are most awful in the sense of income, job security and allowances.

It is clear from above analysis sanitation workers who are government employees with health benefits, pensions, and clear authorized securities to some of the most marginalized members of society who take on substandard, labour concentrated and hazardous work. For those employed contractually their work is economically deprived, with meagre pay and insufficient assistance. But the common fact is almost all sanitation workers frequently suffer from weak legal laws, weak regular working events and weak implementation and inaccuracy of policies and laws protecting their health and rights.

Hazardous work condition

In spite of the appropriate legal framework, no attention has been paid towards the occupational hazard faced by scavengers to perform their daily sanitation work. In India's prominent cities septic tank cleaners continue to die during the cleaning of septic tanks. These are usually the contract employees, and usually hail from the most deprived castes communities. Without any protective gear safety protections, they go in the sewer tanks, endangering their lives every time, for some rupees. If they pass away, post-mortem reports often determine that they expired of suffocation into the sewer tank. "Most city corporations do not provide sanitation employees protective equipment and force them to enter without safety gears into poisonous sewers to clean blocks with their naked hands. One study on Hyderabad by the Basthi Vikas Manch, as reported in The News Minute suggests that "there are at least 10,000 people in the city even today, who lower themselves into raw sewage, as part of their profession. They might climb into six or seven sewers in a day for a salary of Rs 6700 a month" (The wire, 2017 March 26).

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Sewer work in India is a present-day extension of manual scavenging or the long-standing exercise of 'Scavengers' are made to carry human faeces from dry latrines. The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993, superficially stops the practice of manual scavenging; on the other hand, the social stigma and embarrassment of work are now extended to sanitary workers such as the sweepers and the corporation workers in India's growing urban centres. "Casteism is so deep-seated in the Indian mind that the sewer workers, who perform a life-threatening work in the maintenance of urban living, are still considered untouchables. For many years, work in the sewage treatment field was replicated the most injurious, mainly due to deaths concerning septic tank" (Mittal & Goswami, 2007, p.4). It is unfortunate to discuss one incident that took place during fieldwork and the researcher has taken the interview of fellow workers who are working with departed sanitation workers who died during the cleaning of the sewer tank in Lucknow city.

"31 May 2018, a sewer near Faridi Nagar trisection located in Picnic Spot road on Lucknow city Uttar Pradesh; in Wednesday morning, four sanitation workers – Jameel 45 years, his son Kareem 16 years, Safeer 22 years and Atir 24 years go into twenty feet deep sewer to clean it in the supervision of contractor of Jal Nigam. The Safeer (Respondent) told that they were not delivered any protective equipment such as oxygen mask, oxygen cylinder, helmet, rope, ladder or gloves by the contractor. When his fellow sanitation workers Jameel fell unconscious and they sensed discomfort and called for assistance and help they had not received any gears and equipment of safety to help them out. Some of the bystanders tried to rescue and save them. Unfortunately in this accident Jameel (45) sanitation workers passed away and three sanitation workers were unconscious and faint after inhaling toxic gas. Some of the onlookers called the ambulance and fire brigade and police. According to Kareem We don't want to go inside the manhole but the contractor had forced us and said that no problem happens inside the sewer. If any problem happens I stand with you. But finding us trapped by poisonous gases, the contractor runs away from the place of incident. Safeer said that Shafeek (A taxi driver) passing from there, who had a rope, went inside and brought

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the trapped Jameel and my three fellow workers out. All of them were taken to Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital where the doctors declared Jameel dead. Me and my fellow sanitation workers were admitted to hospital for treatment. I have entered the septic tank to save Jameel trapped inside it. Afterwards leaving Jameel, Safer became fatal due to inhalation to high absorptions of poisonous sewer gases. I was brought in a fatal condition to the emergency where I was given all supportive medical treatments. I know the fact I have to die during the cleaning of the manhole still, so I do not have another livelihood to survive. The irony fact that two of them belong to Balmiki community and the other two belong to Hela Muslim community. Their actual names are Safer Balmiki and Aatir Balmiki”.

This case study reveals that even today scavengers who clean sewer manhole belong to Balmiki sub-caste of Hindu Dalit community and Hela sub-caste Muslim Dalit community are still hired for scavenging work.

Table: 4.4

Categorizations of sanitation work		
Scavenging work	Frequency	Percent
Cleaning the septic tank	43	14.0
Cleaning the drainage	84	28.0
Sweeping	53	17.7
Cleaning the toilets	84	28.0
All the above	36	12.0
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.4 reveals septic tank cleaning done by 14.0 percent manually. This work is highly hazardous for health and socially and ethically inhuman. 28 percent respondents are employed for cleaning the Bahaau toilets. Cleaning drainage is the basic work of contract employees employed by Nagar Nigam. 17.7 percent sweeping the roads and cleaning all garbage and filth found in roads during sweeping. 28 percent of scavengers clean the toilets; most of them who clean the toilet are females.

This is a gigantic graph that disperses still manual scavenging exists in the form of cleaning septic tanks by human scavengers. This type of work was done by young scavengers because contractors employed cleaning of septic tanks only those

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scavengers who fell 18 to 35 age groups. If go through the Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013 it does not cover those who work manually in sewer lines and this is irony that; this form of manual scavenging is directly out of this act. Their work environments, irrespective of whether they are working officially or casually, are extremely no availability to protective gears, health care, elementary employment, constitutional rights and self-esteem. According to Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Rules, 2013 it is the basic duty of the employer to provide better wages, improved and better working environment and better entree to government schemes but in case of scavengers of Lucknow city they obtain neither better work environment nor access to government-welfare schemes. All the assistance like the support of the fund, medicinal facility, safety gear, uniforms, and gratuity should be delivered to the contract workers and this should be confirmed by the principal employer but they find nothing in the name of assistance.

During the field work subsequent problems are prevalent among scavengers of Lucknow are discussed under these themes

- Life threatening Work
- Poor Health Status
- Low Educational Status
- Backwardness
- Unawareness

In this section data obtained from field has been discussed comprehensively under following themes are as follows:

Life threatening Work

“The cleaning of sewerage and handling of human waste are in general still carried out primarily by Dalits in India” (Srivastava, 1997, p. 15). In Response to health risk question scavengers informed various health risks during their work. Sewer septic tanks endure health risks as they yield poisonous gases to human beings. Septic tank gas injuries can be serious, if they breathe it in high absorptions. It is compulsory for sewer workers to adopt appropriate safety measures before moving manhole, and sanitation workers who clean sewer need to be trained on the health risks of sewer gases. All essential safety measures should be taken by the septic tank workers to save

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themselves from getting trapped inside the septic tanks. The MS Act 2013 prohibits employment of manual scavengers, the manual cleaning of sewers tanks without protective gear and the construction of insanitary latrines (Baruah, 2014, p.14).

Table 4.5

Work Safety		
Work safety	Frequency	Percent
No	270	96.6
Yes	30	3.4
Total	300	100.0

In response to the question do you work in a safe condition Table 4.5 shows that only 3.4 percent of them perform sanitation work in a safe condition. And 96.6 percent said that they do not work in safe condition. After analysing the scavengers' response those who are working in Manhole as manual sanitation workers all of them are forced to work in deadly and harmful conditions. A case study has been recorded to explain exploitation of scavengers for providing safety equipment from the person who works as a manual sewer cleaner in Lucknow city discussed below.

*“I am Shiva Balmiki, 21 years old. I have been cleaning septic tanks for 3 years. One day I was very surprised after seeing safety equipment Boots, hand gloves, Medicated Mask, Apron emblem, materials for washing/cleaning provided by the contractor on 20/05/2015. **“Hamka wah tithi taniko yaad nahi; Janune Din hum naukari ma aaye hun mul hum ou din kabahu na bhulab jaun tarrikh aur din ka hum pahli dafa safai kai saman deklha”**. I never remember the date when I joined this work as an occupation. On the other hand, I will never forget that date and day when I found and saw first-time safety equipment. I am very pleased to take delivery of these safety gears and think that beginning of today I work with protective gears. Contractor strictly said to me and other fellow workers “come in duty with uniform and mask, if you come without provided item you will lose your job. After 3 days Contractor advised me to “upkeep your uniform and other safety gear for VIP meetings when you will have to wear it, don't use them to perform scavenging work; even not in septic tank work”. I came to know the whole story behind the wall after the conversation of some officers that the DM of Lucknow will visit here*

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from 21.05.2015 to 22.05.2015 held a meeting with Principal Secretary, and Safai Karamcharis association to sort out their grievances.

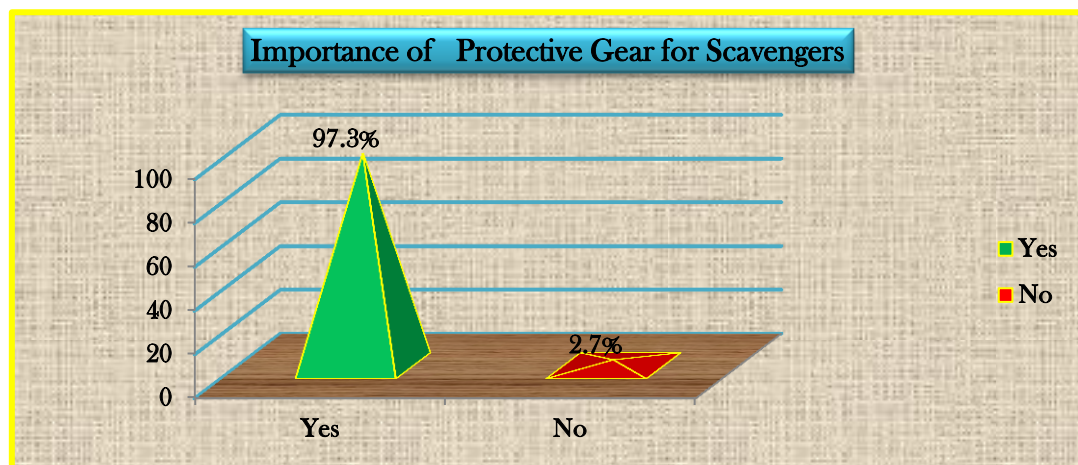
This case study evidences exploitation involves providing safety equipment and a scavenger receives safety equipment only when any VIP meeting will be held. Structural discrimination is deep rooted to make available safety equipment.

Poor Health Status

In the present scenario, it has been observed scavenging is a social problem. Scavengers are suffering from various problems due to the virtue of their occupation. These problems are specific among them. Scavenging work is full of social shame and less paid, causes life-long health problems and even death for those who risk entering manholes without proper protection.

In this study the workers were enquired about the procedure of cleaning waste. They were also enquired whether they came into direct dealings with human excreta or not. Most of the workers said that they have to touch human waste with bare hands during sanitation work. Although, most sanitation workers use self-invented equipment like scoop and baskets.

Graph: 4.10



Graph 4.10 explains 97.3 percent sanitation workers thought that they must be provided protective gear that is functional and easy to use. Only 2.7 percent respond

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negatively. Through the provision of worldwide social protection, all workers must, at least, have access to pensions, unemployment insurance and health insurance, Sanitary tools, clothes, gloves, cleaning product sterilizer and covers mask. Question-related access of scavengers towards apparels, uniform, gloves, detergent, sterilizer and masks is confirmed by them if they revive them they use it the proper way. According to all sewer workers most of them voiced for protective gear, but still they have not found anything on the name of protective gear. Researcher individually talks about this issue with the contractor of sanitation workers. The contractor alleged that everything is available for scavengers, but they are not taking interest to avail these facilities. When the researcher encountered this question to scavengers they disclosed there is a long process of applying to avail apparels, uniform, gloves, detergent, sterilizer and masks. Most of them are illiterate so they are not able to take these facilities. It is observed during fieldwork that scavengers are extremely cognizant and aware of sanitation and hygiene-related activities.

Table: 4.6

Sanitation workers' viewpoint on sanitation		
Viewpoint	Frequency	Percent
Personal cleanliness	25	8.3
Treatment of garbage safely	105	35.0
For better Health	70	23.3
All of the above	100	33.4
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.6 shows in response to the importance of sanitation scavengers express their perspective in three major viewpoints. 8.3 percent respondents consider sanitation as personal cleanliness such as washing hands, bathing, and wearing clean clothes and using clean and safe toilets. While 35 percent opined sanitation is related to keeping water sources clean and disposing of garbage safely. 23.3 percent said that sanitation is essential for better health. 33.4 percent opined that sanitation included all of the above.

The health of the scavengers is very poor in Lucknow city. To understand the health status of the scavengers of Lucknow city it is observed that almost all of them suffer from cuts and injuries and most of them suffer from Tuberculosis. Falling sick is very common amongst scavengers. Maximum of them were not observant of the health hazards related with the surroundings of their occupation; during the fieldwork

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it has been observed that majority of scavengers are aware of health risk related to scavenging work. It seems ill health is an outcome of sanitation occupation. Physical cuts injuries of scavengers are presented very commonly. Life of Scavengers is at risk in every stage, looking at health-related issues will make it draw a clearer picture of the problem. The working conditions of these sanitation workers have remained virtually unchanged for over a century. A person engaged in such inhuman work is bound to become the most stigmatized, undesirable and ultimately outcasts. Such people are also suffering from various health problems. The scavenging work unfortunately impacts on society as well as the mental and physical health status of those engaged in scavenging. It is felt the need for the study to look at whether ones' low caste background is responsible for access to health care services. Here two case studies have been recorded to understand the health status of scavengers. A respondent has given a detailed account of health-related problems that have been recorded below.

*“I am Nanhey Dhanuk 25 years old sanitation workers working as septic tank workers employed by Jal Sansthan on contractual basis for the past 5 years. My father also worked as a sewer worker in the same place. My father died some year back at the age of 40 years. My father had suffered from asthma due to the nature of his occupation. I observed many wounds and cut in my father's body. I am witnessed of my father's death that is directly related to septic tank work. I saw almost these types of death are negligible cases of carrying on this routine. My father had been working as a septic tank cleaner for 15 years. And he had become a patient of asthma due to inhalation of poisonous gas, but the government has not provided any medical assistance to him. Nanhe Dhanuk asked with anger “Where he goes for compensation? Who will give him compensation?. He elaborated **“Humka Mavaaja Tab milat jab hamaar baap gutter ma mar jaat, magar wai zindagi bhar sewer ma kaam karein jike karan unka dama hoi ga.... bakki ghar ma mare ka karan koi sabot nahi hai ki unke maut sewer me kaam karek karan jaharwali gas ma saans se hoi gai kai kaam hi unka mar daris.”** I will get compensation in that case when my father dies during the cleaning of the septic tank. But he*

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died due to inhalation in a septic tank however I don't have any evidence to ascertain that sewer cleaning is the only reason for my father's death". After the death of his father, Nanhey Dhanuk took up the job of cleaning the septic tank. The reason to choose this job is to lack the income to run the entire family. He said that even knowing entering sewer lines without safety gears should be a crime even in emergencies. But he is forced to perform sewer work because he had no option to do any other work."

Table: 4.7

Health problems		
Health Problems	Frequency	Percent
T.B. Malaria, Typhoid	269	89.7
Skin disease, Asthma	31	10.3
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.7 reveals about 89.7 percent of scavengers said that they were suffering from numerous diseases. 10.3 percent of scavengers were suffering from various types of infections. The outcome of scavenging work adversely affects not only the social but also the physical and mental health status of those engaged in scavenging. The work of scavenging creates various danger and risk. In the absence of proper sanitation scavengers agonized from extreme stages of infectious ailments leading to high incidents of mortality and morbidity. It has been observed during fieldwork that the scavengers are not capable of obtaining suitable health care due to poverty, caste perception, and lack of awareness about proper healthcare services. They have no access to health care, and their families receive no vaccinations, and escapable infectious diseases like Malaria, Tuberculosis, and Hepatitis spread rapidly. Scavengers are unprotected to record infectious virus-related and communicable infections that affect their skin, eyes, limbs, breathing and intestinal systems. The poisonous gases from sewers create death threats for them.

It clears despite carrying a ruttled burden of health hazards common too many sanitation workers do not have affordable and suitable access to preventative and remedial health care or social protection.

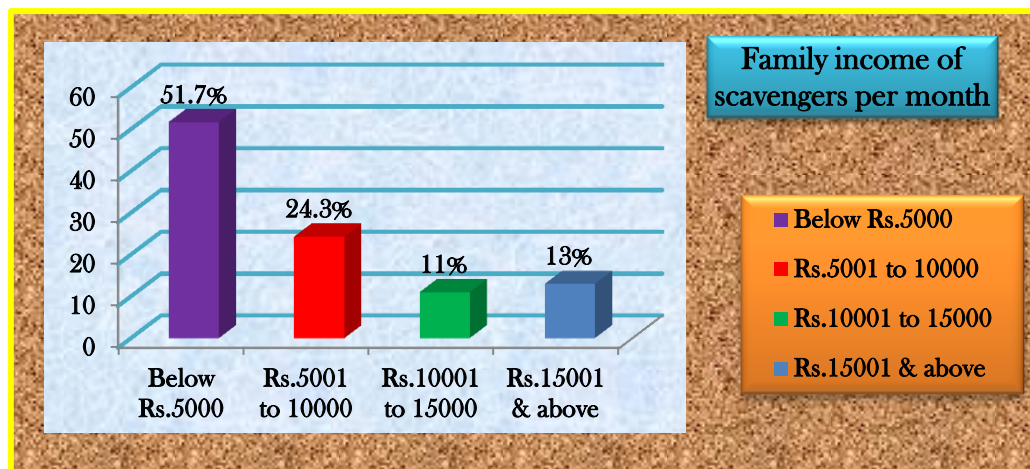
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Backwardness

Scavenger does not come in those criteria of poverty which is prescribed by the government of India. The economic condition of scavengers in Lucknow is undoubtedly poor in comparison with the people of other scheduled castes of Lucknow as well as Uttar Pradesh as whole. Poverty is a great curse for scavengers. The majority of the scavenger's do not come under the prescribed poverty line but their income level is insufficient to maintain a good standard of living as judged by the society. And they, therefore, carry the hidden burden of poverty and live with extreme food uncertainty, leading to malnutrition and countless levels of ill health and earlier deaths. "The economics of caste becomes evident if we note that, as per caste norms certain occupational functions were to be rightly performed by members of certain castes and not others. It was the dirty work, un-remunerative and involving hard physical labour, which earmarked for the untouchable" (Chatterjee, 2011, p.16). However mostly scavengers depend completely on the mercy of their employer, their access to food is bound to be limited due to their low level of earning. The scavengers, on the whole, have not escaped from poverty, despite the excess of government anti-poverty programs. Moreover Scavengers are socially backward as well as economically backwards too.

Maximum scavengers of Lucknow city live in ghettoized slums due to poverty because of essential factors as near to the ground family income on account of being tied up with low repaying livelihoods, and special issues as their huge family size and male members' involved in smoking, drinking and gambling.

Graph: 4.11



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Graph 4.11 presents 51.7 percent scavengers family income is below 5000. 24.3 percent of scavenger's family income is between Rs.5001 to 10000. If we analyse the poverty among scavengers we find that 1/3 scavengers family have 4-5 members and a maximum income of the family is below 10000. If this amount is measured per head; 1 member of the family has the capacity to consume 2000 rupees. And if we calculate this amount an average 66.66 rupees per day. This amount is very insufficient to survive in urban areas. 11 percent scavengers' family income is Rs.10001 to 15000 they are comparatively in better condition. Only 13 percent scavengers family income is Rs.15001 & above. They do not have the financial means to create assets and savings. Getting out of poverty is problematic for them, possibly as, at its worst, poverty can become a self-perpetuating cycle. Children of scavengers are at an extreme disadvantage in the job market and in opportunity, the work of scavenging continued poverty. The cycle ends up repeating the situation until the pattern is by hook or by crook destroyed. According to Harsh Mander concludes that the "Dalits face barriers to have access to food even if they have the economic means owing to the prevailing caste prejudice against them in the society and argues that caste continues to be a determinant of hunger and thus causes undernourishment, which is obviously the root causes for many types of vitamin deficiencies and eventually leading to diseases of one type or the other (Ramaiah, 2007, p.10)."

Low Educational Status

The absence of incentives to pursue the education by the scavengers in India outlined a long past of mistreatment and oppression. Still occurring today, caste harassment makes teaching environments insecure for scavengers children and they are unable to pay for their children's education. Lack of education becomes the primary weapon to maintain the efficient and inhuman caste hierarchy. Consumed in a vicious cycle, the intergenerational lack of access to education, influenced by geopolitics and traditional practices, restrict empowerment and the capacity of these communities to move towards better-paid and dignified occupations.

Table: 4.8

Highest level of Education in scavengers family		
Educational Level	Frequency	Percent
Not Literate	18	6.0
Primary	30	10.0
Junior High school	80	26.6
High school	60	20.0

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Intermediate	57	19.0
Graduation	40	13.4
Post-graduation	15	5.0
Total	300	100.0

Table is based on a person having highest education level in the entire family

Table 4.8 reveals 6 percent scavengers' families are not literate. Their question is whether to reveal or hide their caste identity. Among 300 families 10 percent out of them are having a person who has the highest education is primary level. 26.6 percent of families have the highest educational level is class 8. 20 percent have a high school level education. Only 19 percent have intermediate education. It is to a certain extent satisfactory that 13.4 percent scavenger's family has a minimum Graduation level education. 5 percent scavenger's family at least one member of having post-graduation level education.

Unawareness

This section tries to reflect the present-day situation of the scavenging community and imitate their socio-economic development. This section attempts to focus on the initiatives of the government to empower this community and tries to understand in which level they had benefited from these initiatives. The attempt brings forward the negligence by the government and society. Even today scavengers have no information about various policies programs enacted for them specially. This section is based on fieldwork data obtained from research known as the 'awareness level of scavengers' of Lucknow.

Table: 4.9

Scavengers awareness about reservation policy		
Awareness	Frequency	Percent
Yes	47	16
No	100	33.4
Not Aware	153	51.0
Total	300	100.0

As table 4.9 obtains, the response of this question is very shocking; only 16 percent of the total respondents said that their community members have been able to take advantage of reservation policy. While 33.4 respondents said their community members are not able to take advantage of reservation policy. It's appalling that 51 percent of respondents have no information regarding reservation policy. The

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illiteracy makes the problematic situation, for scavengers are still unaware about reservation policy. In fact, under the constitution, Scavengers fall under the Scheduled Caste category; but practically they are outcasts in the caste system. Then under the reservation policy, they are not the beneficiary of government jobs, they are educationally the most backward section of society. Their representation catches only sanitation work. But it's contemptuous if we analyse power-related jobs within the sanitation sector almost all contractors, sanitary inspectors all belong to Chamar, Kori, Dhobi rarely Balmiki, Dhanuk and Hela. We can imagine if the community was not conscious about reservation policy how the community shall take benefits of reservation. Approximately 17 percent of seats in government educational institutes and jobs in the public sector were held in reserve for the Scheduled Castes. The Scavengers are unable to achieve the benefits of reservations, as they have not until then made sufficient advancement in any areas.

Table: 4.10

Opinion on Beneficiaries of Reservation policy		
Reason	Frequency	Percent
Lack of Education	75	25.0
Lack of Awareness	42	14.0
Both of them	30	10.0
Total	147	49.0
Not Applicable	153	51.0
Total	300	100

Table 4.10 reveals in response to community members of scavengers have been able to take the advantage of Reservation policy only 49 percent scavengers are aware about reservation policy whereas 25 percent respondents considered scavengers are not able to take advantage of reservation policy due to lack of education. 14 percent of respondents considered lack of awareness is the reason not to take the advantage of reservation policy. 10 percent of respondents said a lack of education and lack of awareness are equally responsible for not receiving benefits and benefitted with reservation policy. *Respondents said we know reservation policy generates new openings and will create new opportunities for us. But for gaining a good job we will go to the well-educated and education is not in our reach.* Educational backwardness of scavengers is prevailing all over India including study area.

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Table: 4.11

Importance of political power for Scavengers		
Opinion	Frequency	Percent
Yes	223	74.3
No	77	25.7
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.11 seems 74.3 percent scavengers are agreed that political power is necessary to bring change in the social and economic status of scavengers. While 25.7 percent scavengers are not considered that political power is important to enhance the social and economic status of scavengers. In the constitution, the scheduled castes have been guaranteed proper representation in democratic India both central and state assembly. But the poorest victims of this negligence have been scavengers. The scavenger's representation in the central and state legislature is minor in comparison to other scheduled castes.

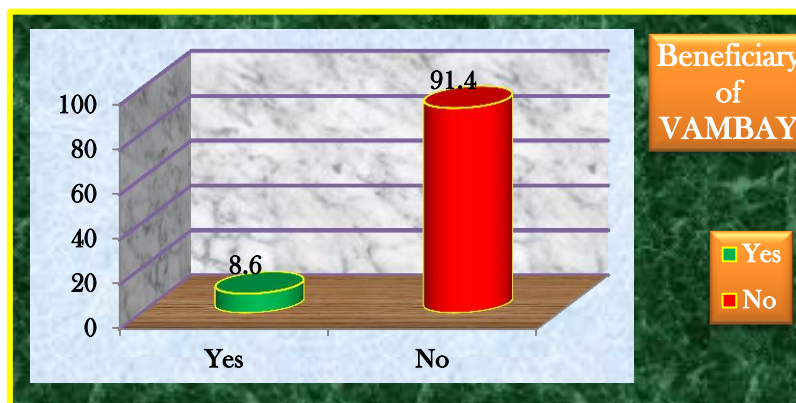
Table: 4.12

Scavengers' Awareness on VMBAY		
Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	163	54.3
No	137	45.7
Total	300	100.0

The Government of India had launched the VAMBAY scheme in 2001 to upgrade the conditions of urban slum dwellers living below the poverty line who do not have adequate shelter. The scheme had the chief objective to enable the building and up-gradation of the dwelling units for the slum residents and to make available health and assisting environment through community toilets under Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan, an element of the scheme under the scheme, 50 per cent subsidy was provided by Government of India whereas the balance was to be paid by the state government with maximum costs of toilet and dwelling units (Annual report 2005-06, p.25). Table 4.12 reveals that 54.3 percent respondents have information about Balmiki Malin Basti Awas Yojna. While 45.7 percent respondents heard about this; but not properly know about this scheme and not informed what the criteria to get benefitted from VAMBAY.

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Graph: 4.12



Graph 4.12 reveals only 8.6 percent scavengers get benefited by VAMBAY. 91.4 percent respondents said that they apply many times for upgrading their shelter but still they are not helped with the scheme. Respondents of the study informed that bribe is involved in allotment and distribution of VAMBAY in every level. And they are not economically well off hence they are unable to offer bribes to officials. It has been observed that scavengers are not benefited by any scheme enacted for urban poor. Even present day no scavenger family gets benefited with the scheme Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana 2015 that ensures housing for all urban people. The criteria of PMAY are a hurdle for Scavengers of Lucknow city which has been defined “households should not own a pucca house in any parts of the country either in his name or any of his family member’s names”. Because the basic criteria of this scheme are not fulfilled by the scavengers therefore they are not beneficiary of PMAY. Since Scavengers have pucca houses but their roof is made of teen shed these houses are neither pucca houses nor kuchha houses; although these are semi pucca houses. While Scavengers fulfilling all the criteria prescribed in the current PMAY scheme and eligible for up-gradation of their shelter their semi pucca houses are considered full pucca houses by the officials. And they are the worst victim of corruption involved in every level of distribution of government enacted programs.

Table: 4.13

Beneficiary of construction of toilet Scheme		
Beneficiary	Frequency	Percent
Yes	12	4.0
No	288	96.0
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.13 reveals only 4 percent of respondents helped scheme for construction of toilets. 96 percent respondents told that their toilets are not upgraded even if they are

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fulfilling the prescribed criteria of this scheme. It has been observed during fieldwork that scavenger's bustees are present without a toilet and if the toilet is available they are not connected with the sewerage system. It is observed in the study area that selected bustees mostly have an existing poor condition of toilet. And almost all toilets of bustees run without a sewage system.

Table: 4.14

Awareness on NSKFDC		
Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	19	6.3
No	281	93.7
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.14 reveals only 6.3 percent respondents are little aware about NSKFDC and 93.7 percent scavengers are not aware about NSKFDC. The NSKFDC established under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment provides subsidy and loans at a concessional rate of interest to the identified manual scavengers through state channelizing agencies (Annual Report: 2015-16). The main objective is to evaluate the implementation of the programmes and schemes related to the social and economic rehabilitation of Safai Karamcharis. It has been found In Lucknow that The AKBVNS is the association in which sanitation workers and scavengers are actively involved in Lucknow.

Table: 4.15

Awareness on SLCFSK		
Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	80	27.0
No	220	73.0
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.15 shows only 27 percent of scavengers are aware about the State Level Commission for SLCFSK. 73 percent are not aware about SLCFSK. However, it is self-contradictory that states having a separate commission for Safai Karamcharis should have to be found to successfully deal with such situations. Nevertheless in the case of Safai Karmis of Lucknow majority of them are not aware about this commission.

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Conclusion

The issues and problems of sanitation are beyond the sanitation arrangements and groundwork. The issue is unswervingly related to a victim of sanitation workers in India. Sanitation concerns and problems in the Indian context are focused on the certainties of caste. The caste constructed separation of sanitation workers has well-kept-up inside its notion of purity and pollution. Balmiki and Dhanuk caste in Lucknow were deliberated as polluted and considered a caste assigned role. The problem linked with sanitation is related to numerous invisible factors.

The Indian government has passed laws and adopted policies aimed at ending caste discrimination, but has done too little to address widespread failure to implement these measures and the role of local government officials in perpetuating discriminatory practices. While handling an entirely neglected issue like scavenging, it is very important to study its sociological aspect. The Indian caste system may be disappearing out of public opinion, but for the sanitation workers its control is equivalent as it used to be in the distant past.

Undermined physical capacity and the feeling of vulnerability and hopelessness connected with this form of discrimination have produced a vicious cycle of pauperization, low educational attainment, and social immobility for scavengers and their families. The problems related to sanitation occupation can be resolved by the same rights as other government workers. Stigmatization and discrimination in place of work and society seems that the scavengers need more improvement on behalf of mortality and self-esteem. Uplifting the disadvantaged in terms of education, privileges, power and employment expands the progression of the scavenging community. Given safety equipment and protective gears for hazardous sanitation work, conducting regular medical camps, avoidance of manual cleaning of septic tanks, creating awareness about government schemes will certainly improve quality of life. Social workers can be appointed to provide psychosocial help to sanitation workers.

Despite this, the issues of sanitation have been pending at a large level. There may be several recent reasons overdue the catastrophe in sanitation policies and programs. Amongst them, scavenger's problems such as negligence and casualness by

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society remain to be a serious matter. It is a common acceptance that sanitation has been rendered only in the scavenging community. But there is a felt need to study the situation and issues impacted the status of scavengers must be solved diagnostically as well as systematically.

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CHAPTER-5

OCCUPATION MOBILITY AND CHANGE: AN OVERVIEW

Introduction

This chapter focused on the inhuman occupation of scavenging being practiced by the scavengers; and community underneath and exposed to multiple evils all over India, scavengers and their community members have experienced some changes due to education, political awareness, change in occupation are discussed systematically. The chapter explores approaches adopted by scavengers to protect themselves from stigma and describes how these approaches are temporal and incomplete. It also addresses the perception of scavenger's son education, social status for their children's social mobility. Social mobility has described among scavengers and its relationship with changes taking place among scavengers of Lucknow. In this section an effort was made at two levels to know the nature of status identification of the respondents. At one level, they were asked about their interaction with the non-scavenging community of other-scheduled castes. And their interaction pattern with the upper caste. They were asked about their surnames, their disclosure of caste identity, and their observation regarding mobility in different aspects of life in the society. This was followed by an enquiry about their class identification. At the second level, the nature of their behaviour towards their own castes and the reference individuals and or groups was inquired about. Finally, their perception of the status identification of their fathers, at both levels, was recorded. In further analysis first this chapter has discussed occupation followed by mobility, its various forms and its significance in scavenger's life and finally, focus on social mobility in the scavengers' context. As we proceed, social mobility is an important aspect that is closely related to individual as well communities. And when it comes to scavenger's society, the intensiveness as well as the broad view of mobility; the chapter examines scavenger's perception on the economic and occupational changes taken place time to time. The chapter focuses on why are persons enduring this employment in spite of accessibility of other distinguished occupations? The chapter

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further observes occupation structure pertinent among scavengers with important indicators related to scavengers' life.

A detailed discussion 'social mobility' is carried out in this chapter supported by empirical data. At the applied level, the present study may help to identify the aspirations and expectations of the scavengers. In other words; it has been provided an indicator of measuring desires and efforts of the scavengers for their status in the caste or the class structure or both.

Occupation, Mobility and Change: A Sociological Viewpoint

“Occupation is one of the best indicators of class, because people tend to agree on the relative prestige they attach to similar jobs occupation which affects our belief, values and preferences, and thereby our choice is a vital factor for the economic progress of any community. Thus occupation is one of the best indicators of class, because people tend to agree on the relative prestige they attach to similar jobs and occupation reflects the stage of economic progress” (Karade, 2009, p. 3).

Caste, occupations and work processes are closely associated in Indian society. A fundamental characteristic of the caste system in India is that a specific occupation is related separately to each caste. The development processes in Independent India have not been equally circulated across all castes and communities. The same is open in the comparative analysis of the patterns of social mobility between the non-manual scavenging caste and the scavenging castes. Since the non-scavenging castes do not feel pain from stark stigma of performing polluted jobs of the scale performed by the scavenging castes, the other scheduled castes are far more mobile than the scavenging castes and are relatively less vulnerable to caste atrocities.

According to Gidden “Occupation is the most critical factor in an individual's social standing, life chances and level of material comfort. Individuals in the same occupation tend to experience similar degrees of social advantage or disadvantage, maintain comparable lifestyles, and share similar opportunities in life” (Gidden, 2009, p. 443). Scavenging castes are more susceptible and vulnerable to the stark form of exclusion than the other Scheduled castes. This has resulted in not only Hindu higher caste practicing severe untouchability against them but also the other untouchable castes themselves practice the same against their own. Even when they

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migrate to the urban cities they continue to work as manual scavengers and their chances of getting into other employment remain very low. This is how manual scavengers get imprisoned into the vicious cycle of untouchability, poverty, illiteracy which leads to their comparative backwardness and dependence on the traditional occupation of manual scavenging. Now their chances of upward social mobility remain very poor. This becomes clear when we compare them with the Jatavs of Agra, a caste of shoemakers and cobblers. (Lynch, 1969, p.8).

Occupation certainly gives the basis of economic standards of the family and it has a link with the caste and the structure of Hindu social organization in the context of Indian society. Despite the fact that upper castes people revel in varied choice of selections in jobs, the filthy occupations became accompanied with lower castes which comprise cleaning drains and sewers, sweeping streets etc. The scavengers should realise that caste is a mischievous sprite innovation of society. Those at the topmost stage of the occupation ladder generally have the maximum earnings, the top education, and the utmost of the power and prestige. Occupation and restricted mobility usually is the situation designed as an outcome of discrimination.

Social mobility indicates how open or closed a society is. An investigation of social mobility allows us to understand the level of openness in a society. “When we say an open society, by that we mean a society in which it is possible for people to rise higher or fall lower in the socio-economic ladder as compared to their parents” (Tumin, 1985, p. 132). All societies that are present in the world are stratified societies, i.e. societies are divided into different strata. While the strata in different societies might be different, every society displays some form of stratification. Hardly would someone find a society that is totally egalitarian. Also, it is exceptional for societies to remain immobile. Societies are always dynamic and there is always some movement between the different strata. Social mobility, therefore, in common manner of speaking, means movement of individuals or groups from one section to another. “The movement – usually of individuals but sometimes of whole groups – between different positions within the system of social stratification in any society” is called social mobility (Dictionary of Sociology 1994, p. 480).

Hence, social mobility might also refer to individual or group movement within a stratified system. The work of Sorokin on social mobility is practically well

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known and comprehensively used in sociology. Sorokin in his famous work *Social and Cultural Mobility* defines the notion of social mobility in intricate detail and its implication. According to Sorokin, “social mobility is understood as any transition of an individual or social object or value of anything that has been created or modified by human activity from one social position to another” (Sharma, 2013, p.165).

Social mobility is important to the study of social structure and relationships. The practice which constrains and enables social mobility plays a dynamic role in creating and communicating social inequalities. The aspects that mark an individual's life chances comprise practically every aspect of social life containing work of family, education, location, social linkage, gender, ethnicity and race. Finally, an individual's experience of mobility through social space is determined in their lifestyles, actions and attitude, both collective and individual. A variety of changes taken place so far in India have donated to changes in the caste system and in other systems of primordial relations. These changes have also helped the emergence of a new social structure inclusive of both the class structure and the systems of primordial relations. Though such a structure has not yet crystallized fully at the universal level, it has certainly helped the people of different backgrounds to improve their socio-economic condition and to seek social status outside the traditional system of social stratification. Moreover, the emerging structure entails social inequalities different from those preserved in the traditional system, but it enables the people to compare themselves across their primordial loyalties, look back at their status in the traditional system, and claim an enhancement in it. Thus, the new structure, with its variant parameters, provides a lot of mobility opportunities to even those people and groups whose chances of moving up were almost blocked in the traditional system of stratification.

Mobility in the class hierarchy occurred in the form of improving one's socio-economic position: one claimed, and sometimes also succeeded in getting a claim accepted, for an enhancement of one's initial class position to the subsequently higher one. Thus mobility which occurred in the class hierarchy was in some extent mobility between lower, middle and upper classes found in each caste (Beteille, 1966) and in some other context across the sub castes. In the first case, they certainly improved their class position but could not succeed in interacting on an

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egalitarian basis with members of the same class drawn from another caste. Similarly in case of mobility in the class structure of the second type the different sub castes of a single caste came closer on the basis of their class position. Finally over a period of time a type of class polarization, exactly not identical to that envisaged in the Marxian frame of analysis has emerged. This has caused in certain ways, upward or downward mobility of people in the class hierarchy (Ram, 1988, p.4).

The occupation of sanitation work is deeply integrated with caste in India. This association assigns sanitation as the exclusive concern of some castes, the Dalits and among them Balmiki and Dhanuk. In present time many changes have taken place in all over the place and entire world, but Indian society and the complication of the caste system frequently prevent the bottom of the social hierarchy. Truthfully in present Indian society Dalits remain to overlook the positions of the scavengers or sanitation workers. According to Annual report published by Government of India Scheduled Caste form approximately 60 percent of the sanitation workers in central government paralleled to merely 18 percent of other Class 4 workers (GOI, 2006, p.6). “Accordingly it is not shocking that various researchers have found a firm connection between caste and economic position” (Deshpande, 2000, p.322-325). Where society is distributed on the bases of works of the lowest in the social order alike the sanitation worker ensure to work presenting to their caste specifications such as manual scavenging “a small group of persons characterized by endogamy, hereditary membership, and a specific style of life which sometimes includes the pursuit by tradition of a particular occupation and is usually associated with a more or less distinct ritual status in a hierarchical system” (Beteille, 1996, p.1-13). It is satirical to explain that the manual scavenging communities that had progressed to other occupations in rural India have to move back to manual scavenging to stay alive in urban India. “Dalits cannot aspire for securing respectable: jobs. Dalits are overwhelmingly found in the sanitary section of Indian society. They are scavengers, sweepers, rag pickers, coolies; they do other kinds of odd jobs which are not only considered to be unimportant, but a sense of wretchedness and filth based on the notion of purity-pollution is attached to them” (Guru, 2000, p.113). Social mobility has come to be defined in relations of movements of individuals along the single vertical dimension of overall social

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status, on which an entity's status is virtually always evaluated in terms of the occupation he follows.

Social mobility has been measured in numerous studies in the horizontal and vertical directions, though these studies differ in their methods of enquiry and Classification. Ramsay (1965), for example, has studied the direction of mobility in the forms of upward, downward, and stable horizontal (stable). Tumin and Collins (1959) have mentioned four types of mobile persons, which represent four directions of social mobility taking place among them: (1) high statuses (high status of sons of high status fathers) - horizontal; (2) upwardly mobiles (high status of sons of low status fathers); (3) downwardly mobiles (low status of sons of high status fathers); and (4) low stationaries (low status of sons of low status fathers) - horizontal. Accordingly, in their scheme the inter-generational horizontal mobility takes place at two phases: one, where fathers begin with whatsoever base but retire with low status even towards the end of their career, and their sons also start with some base and end with a status alike to that of their fathers; and two, where fathers have acquired high status and their sons also start from a relatively favourable vantage point and end with a status similar to that of their fathers. In fact, at the second stage sons start with upward vertical mobility and end with the horizontal one, where they equal their status with that of their fathers. Though such a scheme provides for more preciseness, it fails to suggest accuracy of both upward and downward mobility (Ram, 1988, p.64). Most of the studies on social mobility in India (except the one edited by Silverberg (1968) "...have undermined the importance of ascriptive ritual status such as criterion of mobility by emphasizing "achievable" aspects of status such as education and occupation..." (Bhatt, 1971,p.103). Thus, a comprehensive study of social mobility, especially among the Hindus in India, is possible only if we consider the effects of changes in social, economic, religious and political spheres on the caste system.

OCCUPATION, MOBILITY AND CHANGE AMONG THE SCAVENGERS EMPIRICAL DATA FROM FIELD

This section is based on empirical observation and scavenger's viewpoint on their Occupation, Mobility and change; which has entirely based on sanitation workers of Lucknow. The section also included important case studies that enrich the relevance of the study. The field based data represents attitudes of scavengers in terms of

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occupation mobility and change; also tries to explore how they perceived changes in their lives. Whole outline of the analysis attempts to focus on scavenger's experiences towards their occupation, mobility and change.

Table: 5.1

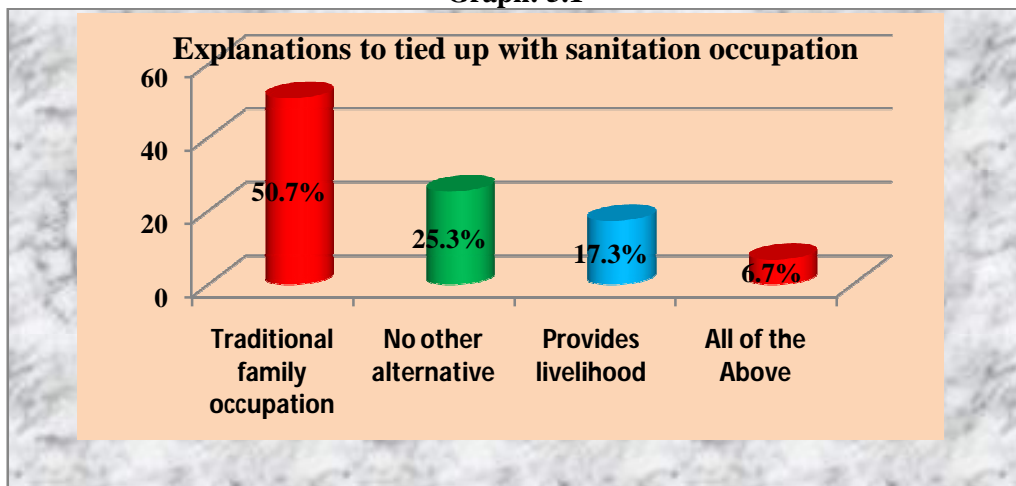
Occupation of Scavengers' family		
Occupation	Frequency	Percent
No other member is working	39	13.0
Scavenging	170	56.7
Other than scavenging	91	30.3
Total	300	100.0

“A closed society is one in which most children end up in the same positions where their parents were” (Tumin, 1985, p. 132). In such societies status is acquired by inheritance. Examples of such societies are caste-based societies as in Indian societies such as those characterised by feudalism. In the intergenerational mobility, the employee changes their occupation compared to the occupation of their fathers (Miller, 1960, p.5). In the intergenerational occupational mobility, it would be observed whether a father influences the occupational position of their children. Table 5.1 shows occupational mobility among the scavengers of Lucknow. There are 13 percent families where no other members are working as scavengers with the exception of respondents of the study. Apart from it 56.7 percent family members of scavenger's community are engaged in sanitation related work. *“The respondent told that the label of being a scavenger family member nobody gives them a job other than scavenging”*. The question has examined historically disadvantaged scavenging communities that are economically backward, commonly very poor, determined in low-skill occupations such as scavenging. When Dalit workers who were farming scavengers in rural area migrated to a city like Lucknow, only the caste definite job of scavenging was open to them as an alternative range of opportunities that urban space promises. This job approached them through their caste communities' networks. Their journey pulling them into a caste-based job from which they were free so far indicates a form of caste association. However, 30.3 percent family members of this community are engaged in non-caste occupation and have taken up occupation other than scavenging. Occupational mobility is least and literacy levels are low even though they show signs of change. In the second generation, the work profile of the sanitation worker shows only a

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little up gradation. ½ percent scavengers other family members get rid of scavenging occupation to other low level occupations. Significant percentage of individuals of this community are involved in almost low graded work as labour in different types of work such as egg roll selling, meat selling, fish selling all these work considered unclean work considered by the society and contains lowest in the occupation group. However, it is the substance of some improvement in this community that few persons are taken profession as salesman in shop, skilled work (self-employed), vegetable, fruit seller & petty shopkeeper, peon and guard, rickshaw & E- rickshaw pulling.

Graph: 5.1



It reveals from Graph 5.1 that 50.7 percent respondent still consider that scavenging is their traditional family occupation. 25.3 percent scavengers doing this work because they do not have other alternative with the exception of this work. “The existence of the inhuman practice of manual scavenging reflects the overt and covert legitimisation of the practice. It is a proof to the fact that a group of scavengers are made to believe that this is their destiny, that they are meant for manual scavenging or this is what they are only capable of” (Shahid, 2016, p.246). 17.3 percent of scavengers do this work because they can easily attain this occupation without any investment for their livelihood. 6.7 per cent scavengers responded that they cannot explain a single reason to engage in this occupation they consider all factors are responsible to yield sanitation work as their occupation. “It is a common argument among both the officials and community ‘elites’ that families engaged in manual scavenging could not undertake jobs requiring hard labour and skilled expertise and that manual scavenging provides them easy money” (Shahid, 2016.p.248).

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Sanitation work does not require any skill and make available roughly extra profits without any competition. These features associated with lack of substitutes which compel them stay in this work. It has also been originate that in some cases in the study area that scavengers also face a trouble in find alternative livelihoods owing to the prevalent social shame and stigma. The group of scavengers is placed lowest in caste-based hierarchy. Its members are bound not only by traditional obligations and customary rules to practice this ubiquitous occupation. “Everyone born in the sub-caste of scavengers is destined to take up this subhuman profession” (Pathak, 1991, p.17). “Over three generations one observes that the members of the marginal castes from rural areas who were predominantly agricultural labourers in the rural economy are assimilated in the urban labour market as scavengers first largely in the organized sector in local bodies and then in the informal sector (Noronha et al., p.8-9)”.

Table: 5.2

Availability of Scavenging work		
Availability	Frequency	Percent
Yes	166	55.3
No	134	44.7
Total	300	100.0

In response to above question table 5.2 reveals 55.3 percent scavengers considers that it is easy to get scavenging work at the present time in comparison to other work; 44.7 scavengers said it is difficult to get sanitation work because private contract agencies had taken responsibility to hiring Safai Karmis. Sweepers are beginning to bargain not because of government policies; however they are better placed than other low castes because their sanitation work is now in high demand and few lower castes are prepared to challenge their monopoly of a ritually polluting yet indispensable task. “Sweepers are working in the spirit of trade union and their radical potential along with other low castes must not be take too lightly” (Chatterjee, 1981, p10). AnandTeltumbde (2010, 2014) who highlights how lower castes are prohibited from moving up the occupation ladder. Instead, sanitation work is seen as their natural occupation.

Table: 5.3

Availability of scavenging work easily		
Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Not easily available	134	44.7

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Private contract system	55	18.3
Education not compulsory	70	23.26
Technological Lag	33	11.0
All of The above	08	2.7
Total	300	100.0

Table: 5.3 reveals that 44.7 percent scavengers do not consider that work of scavenging easily attained. 18.3 percent sanitation worker (scavengers) considers due to private contract system the work of scavenging acquire without difficulty. 23.26 percent respondents consider it is easy because education does not require for getting this work. 11 percent scavengers' opinions technology has untouched scavenging field so almost all work must have done manually. While 2.7 percent scavengers consider all of the above reasons are responsible to get scavenging work easily present time.

Table: 5.4

Views of Scavenger's to leave scavenging occupation		
Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	265	88.3
No	35	11.7
Total	300	100.0

Table: 5.4 reveals 88.3 percent of scavengers absolutely confirmed that they want to give up scavenging work if they got another job. All Respondents quoted "*Narak ko saaf keen chahat hai?*" means who wants to clean hell? Although, in present times these persons desire to leave the occupation but their social, financial, illiteracy aspects have made it problematic for them to discover alternative jobs. The social humiliation of untouchability continues to stick, in one form or the other mainly because of the impure nature of their occupation. The practice is deep-seated profoundly in the traditional social and economic commitments of different castes and sub-castes and therefore the liberation of scavengers from scavenging occupation infers violation of traditional burdens which many scavengers may not like. The emancipation of scavengers is meticulously associated with its economic associations. In the traditional structure, the work of scavenging remained an elementary means of producing livelihood whether in cash or kind paid by families served by scavengers. In accumulation to the incomes regularly paid for the service, gifts are offered to scavengers on events like childbirth, thread-ceremony, marriage and festivals. This creates scavenging work as the single source of continued

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existence in absence of alternative occupation and many scavengers even today therefore, do not want to leave scavenging occupation. While only 11.7 percent respondents do not want to give up their work. In this category mostly government permanent Safai Karmis are present and whose age has been crossed 50 years in this field. They said today government jobs are very rare so they do not want to leave this job. Even government Safai Karmi accepted the fact that although they are government servants still they are not respected as other government employees. One respondent, in a very precise manner, revealed an important illustration stating his approach to government jobs, which is being given further details.

“According to Shantnu Balmiki age 49 years, I am permanent sanitation worker working as government employee. Being permanent job no one can get me out of this job, Because of this Even after facing untouchability and humiliation; I want to do scavenging work because I would not get another job due to being illiterate; and I cannot even dream of a government job. I can do it, hence no matter, how insulting I have to go; I would not leave this government job at any cost. Now call it compulsion or my good luck. At least I have a government job even I accept there is no respect”.

Table: 5.5

Reasons to leave scavenging work		
Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Do not want to leave	35	11.7
stigma of untouchability	142	47.33
feeling uncomfortable	102	34
better paid	10	3.3
All of the above	11	3.6
Total	300	100

Table: 5.5 shows more than 1/3 scavengers want to give- up this occupation. 47.33 percent is associated with the stigma of untouchability. They want to give up because of societal and traditional shame associated with scavenging work. 34 percent of scavengers are feeling uncomfortable doing scavenging work due to bed smell, nauseous make them uncomfortable many times this smell restricts them to breath. 3.3 per cent scavengers want to leave this occupation because another work is better paid and has respectable social status. 3.6 percent respondents admitted that all reasons are predisposed to leave this occupation. Young boys of the scavenging community feel a sense of shame to belong with this community. They responded

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they did not want to do this work after having better paid in comparison to other work. In India, dirt is taboo, and regarded as a nauseating and precarious irritant not to be conversed seriously. No one desires to be associated with excreta; even those who really unblemished its unpleasant appearances for scavengers are insulted by relationship with dirt. Issues cannot be resolved if society wants to talk about these persons, and do not associate them with dirt observers.

Mobility

The first part of the mobility section deals with scavenger's mobility in terms of occupational mobility. Occupational mobility is only foremost a signal to acquire accomplished status in the society. This may occur in two different directions, horizontally and vertically. It refers to the movement of an occupational group itself, or of an individual member of an occupation through the stratification system of social space.

Occupational mobility in reality adapts the actual income and related changes in social and economic condition of family or an individual. The occupational mobility may perhaps act as a substance in case of scavenger's upgrading because they are excluded and subjugated since centuries. They are involved in low graded immovable livelihoods. If they would be incapable to express upward occupational mobility then their socio-economic position would certainly be enhanced. The present chapter is an empirical and observed study searching the work-related mobility among the scavengers community; which has been situated in the urban area of Lucknow city. Sociologists have carried out strong connections between occupation and caste. With respect to some caste sets and at the similar time the elasticity and competence for occupational mobility, this was organised and controlled by the caste structure.

Upward mobility of the respondents with regard to variations of their positions from those of their fathers in the different dimensions. This set of analysis measured the degree and direction of their social mobility within a multi-dimensional framework, as stated earlier. The chapter had analysed such dimensions of social mobility from the points of view of the respondents' age, caste, social status, and permanent and private nature of job in the present situation. In addition to this, the chapter is dedicated on the inspiring aspects, which ought to lead obsessed by

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occupational mobility among Scavengers of Lucknow. But such types of occupational mobility among scavengers' are meagre. Occupational change actually modifies the real labour income and consecutively changes the socio-economic profile of a person or a family. The occupational change may act as a promoter in case of scavenging caste upliftment because they are subjugated since time centuries. They are still engaged in low hierarchical static occupations. If they are capable of showing upward occupational mobility, then their social and economic position would certainly improve. But such studies on the change of Scheduled Caste population particularly in case of scavengers are insufficient. Thus in the present chapter an attempt is made to study observation of scavengers on change between self and their parents and their children. In this chapter the second generation of scavenger's experiences has been recorded for the analysis to understand the degree of change between them. Most of the respondents are middle age scavengers and they have been given comprehensive elaborations of their experiences. Occupational mobility in this chapter categorised into following groups.

Table: 5.6

Intergenerational Occupational Mobility		
Mobility	Frequency	Percent
Not employed	39	13.0
Scavenging	170	56.7
Labour	28	9.3
self-employed	21	7.0
petty Shopkeeper	21	7.0
Peon and Guard	15	5.0
Teacher/ clerk	6	2.0
Total	300	100

Occupational immobility associated with caste, for instance, fixed the occupation of the Scheduled Caste population. Labour and capital fail to shift from one occupation to another even if the wage rate and rate of return are higher in the alternative occupation. Thus, the factor immobility brings gross inefficiency in resource allocation and economic outcome (Ambedkar, 1936, 1987, p. 10). Table: 5.5 shows the calculation of surveyed data, it is clear that 56.7 percent scavenger's family has not found any type of occupational mobility of Lucknow city; still they are involved in polluted scavenging occupations. As Table 5.5 presents 9.3 percent Scavenger's young family members (Son/daughter/ daughter in law) are employed as labour in different types of work such as construction site factory etc. 7 per cent are self-

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employed mostly in unskilled work. Again 7 per cent members of scavenger's are family engaged in selling fruit and vegetable: in their minor (petty) shop. Data collected from the field it is clear that among the young generation of scavengers 5 percent of them are working as peon and guard in mostly private organisation. 7 percent of respondent's son/daughter shows upward occupational mobility in the third generation but this is called marginal upward mobility. In case of reputed jobs only 2 per cent members of scavenger's family those members are working in teacher and clerical jobs.

“One respondent of the study told that his son is working as a teacher in private school and his younger brother also has a mobile repairing shop and the other has some smallholding machineries. This elaboration shows shift of small proportion of scavenger's family from scavenging to other occupations. But this mobility is very low; it comes under upward occupational mobility.

Intergenerational Occupational Mobility

The intra-generational occupational mobility is not seen in case of scavengers of Lucknow city. In intra-generational occupational mobility, one position or one point of an individual's career is compared with another position or point of his/her career (Miller, 1960, p. 5). The data collected through the household survey suggest that sanitation workers do not show any occupational mobility in the same generation. Occupational mobility denotes the change in the position of people in the social professional hierarchy. In older times a person working in a dry toilet collecting human excreta now belonged to this category of scavengers moving to a sanitation worker as toilet cleaner, sewer worker, Bahaau toilet cleaner. From the collected data, it was observed that no intra-generational occupational mobility is found in any of the Balmikis, Dhanuk and Hela. They are involved in dry toilet cleaning in the first generation and flush toilet cleaner in the second generation. We can say shift from dry toilet cleaning to flush toilet cleaning is the example of horizontal social mobility. “According to Sorokin, horizontal mobility refers to the transition of an individual or a social object from one social position to another situated at the same level” (Sharma, 2013, p.165). In horizontal mobility, the socially stratified structure as such remains unaffected and only signifies a positional change of the individual. In horizontal mobility, the socially stratified structure as such remains unaffected and only signifies a positional change of the individual.

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Change

This section provides a sign of changes among scavengers in the real world, Indian society even though is observed as less open. Social mobility has been considered this chapter in terms of different indicators, such as earnings, asset holdings, educational achievement and occupational status. Likewise this set also tries to explore changes in terms of economic condition, standard of living and attempts to record changes taking places in between three generations i.e. from grandfather to father generation and to his son generation. The important aspect of chapter deals change in terms of social change included intergenerational change the movement up and down in social, economic, cultural hierarchy that a scavenger experiences within their three generation and intergenerational mobility and change the achievement of children compared to their father. In case of scavengers the chapter attempts to find out changes taking place in this community.

It is a renowned fact that a huge majority of the scavenging caste as people still lives a miserable life, though their condition has slightly improved during the recent years. The scavenging caste among the scheduled castes suffer from an inferiority complex, as they generally compare their social status with that of other scheduled caste communities as well as the people of upper castes communities. Compared to the poor masses, the problem of identification of the marginal of the scavenging caste persons are the most crucial and totally different because they feel pain of dual identity.

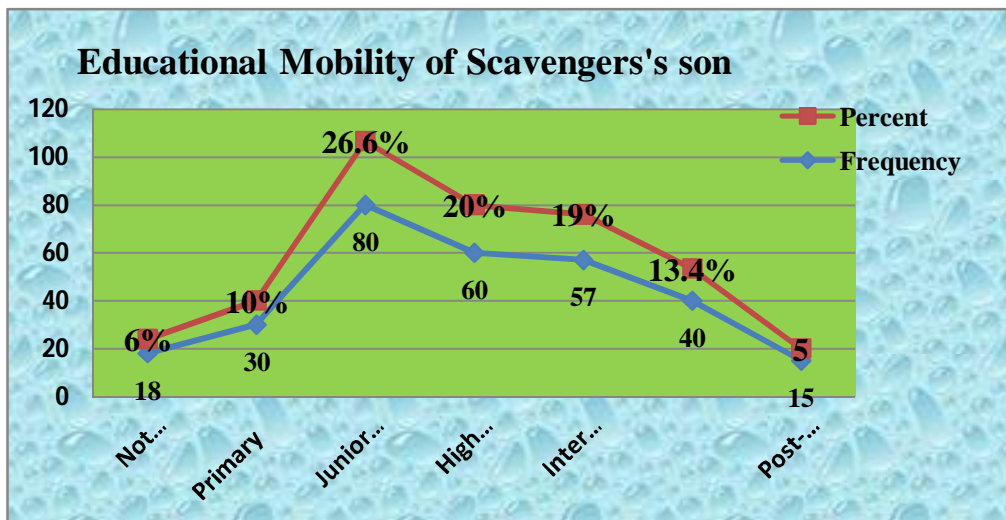
This section has been analysed scavenger's observation on the basis of both objective and subjective criteria. We have enquired about their social status as evaluated by them through their own and their associate's subjective perception. Thus we have evaluated statuses with those measures through the objective criteria to find out congruity between scavengers. Systematically, a study of social mobility in India would be different from that in western societies. "As against a study of mobility in western societies where it includes the achievement criteria like, education, job, income, etc., a study of 'complete' social mobility in India should have to take into account, besides the achievement criteria, major framework of caste and other primordial categories of social relations" (Ram, 1988, p.70) Overall it can be said present situation of scavengers of Lucknow city to be to a certain degree satisfactory.

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Education

To understand the dimension of education we have adopted two fold analyses one is based on scavenger's qualification who are also the respondents of the study and another analyses based on educational status of scavengers' family members having the highest level of education in their entire family. In this section for analysing son's educational status only the education of the respondent son has been analysed. Thus, we have measured educational mobility adopting the simple procedure of measurement of scavengers' son education. For this purpose the educational level has been divided in post-graduation, graduation intermediate, high school, junior high school, primary, and illiterate to understand mobility pattern taking place among scavengers presented in the graph.

Graph: 5.2

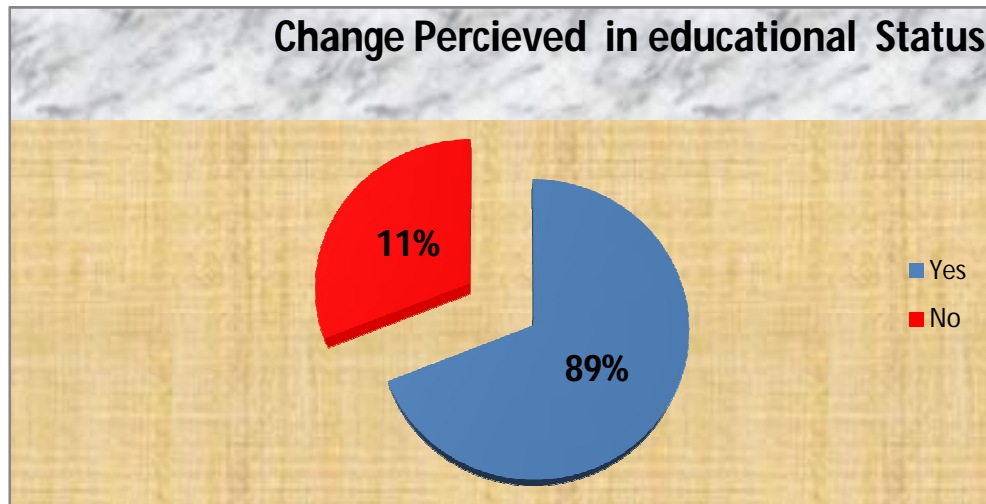


If we compare the educational level of a scavenger's new generation, particularly the education of sons in comparison to their fathers, we find almost 90 % of them showing upward mobility. Graph 5.2 shows most of the scavengers' sons having an education at least junior high school to intermediate level. In the case 40 members of different families of scavenger's sons had taken education at graduation level. Even all fathers whose son took education at graduation levels almost all fathers who are previous generation are illiterate. Thus in comparison to their father the educational level of almost all the respondents was very high. After analysing the educational level of scavenger's son, the next part of analysis is based on scavenger's self-perception towards improving the educational status of the new generation (particularly their son).

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“According to Ravi Balmiki age 35 said that he does not disclose his identity to belonging from a scavenging community with those they do not know. He assumed our children were going to school. We are not expressing school authority that we are belonging from the scavenger's community. And in case of occupation we never disclosed it with school, if we disclose this nobody would touch us.”

Graph 5.3



Graph 5.3 reveals that 89 percent respondents observed their new generation is taking education and they observed that their educational status among new generations has been improved and enhanced. While 11 percent respondents said they do not observe a change in the educational level of the new generation. “It is found that the level of education and nature of employment is closely associated” (Chandna, 1989, p.90). The low educational level of the scavengers augmented with poverty and traditional social system forces them to continue their out-dated employment from childhood. The low education of the Scheduled Caste people augmented with poverty and the traditional social system forced them to continue their traditional employment from childhood (Tripathi&Tiwari, 1991, p. 61). As far as the education of the age group of 40 plus scavenging communities’ people it found negligible. It is found maximum scavengers are not literate and some of them are only primary level education. However, a new generation of scavenger’s family are taking education. Therefore, the aspiration to acquire educated and skilled job scavenger’s son is individually open. Meanwhile a big amount of the desirability of getting education is; its assessment in attainment of good occupations. There is a

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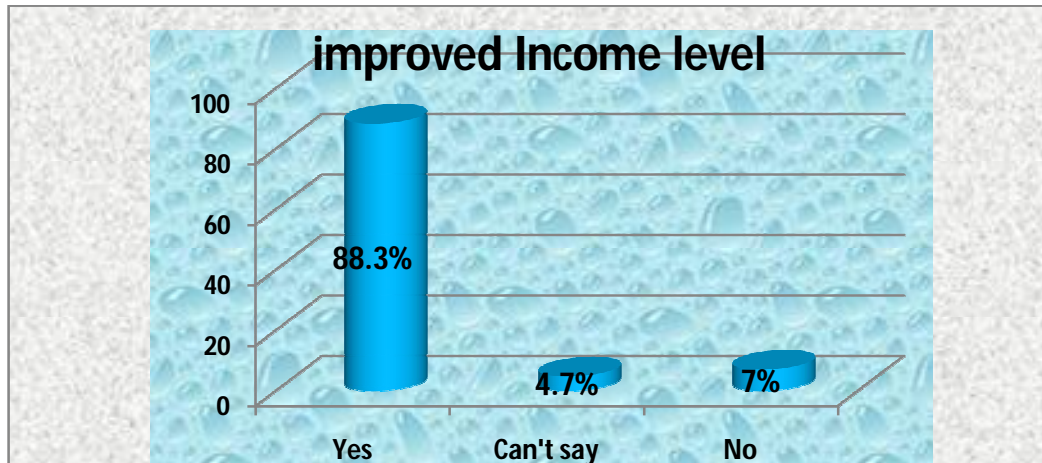
justifiable agreement told by respondents that the average educational level of scavengers' younger population has significantly improved, especially in the past two generations. Remarkable improvements have been recorded in the share of children going to schools as well as in the average years of formal education. These Children who are attending school come in the age bracket 3- 25 years respectively. Therefore, there has been a clear indication of intergenerational mobility in education rates between three generation has been improved. Scavengers accepted that they observed that the new generation is better in position in terms of education and social status. New and more educated children of scavengers' family are more likely to change occupations. It is observed that education has helped in occupational mobility. *“During the survey, it was found that 40 people are graduates and 15 people of scavengers' family; of a total 300 household and they are in the age of 19 to 25. They wish to do another job except scavenging but nowadays unemployment is a very big problem in India as well as UP. Even after being educated, there is a lot of disappointment among the people of the scavenging community due to these educated people not getting any respectable work. Education has always been understood as associated with employment and people of the scavenging community say that; “Madam kalam pakad k jhadu na pakad mili Agar BA pass kar jhadu hi pakaddek hai..... to iise neek to unpadh rahek jhadu lagawak hai.....” even after studying B.A. If it is to catch a broom; then it is better to catch a broom without education and being illiterate. Therefore the government must provide some respectable: employment especially for the educated people for this community, otherwise this community would not give importance to education in any way. And this mind-set and approach creates a big hurdle for the whole nation”.*

Income

In this section it is appropriate to analyse scavengers' self-observation to understand their economic status. An adequate consideration of Social mobility has to cover the entire field from mobility through economic status. We have mentioned in chapter four that although in the country scheduled caste particularly scavenging caste as a whole are poor. Their economic condition has improved somewhat in the recent time, especially due to the developmental and welfare measures as well as due to their own efforts.

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Graph: 5.4



The upward mobility with regard to essential and semi-essential expenditure was observed among a large majority of the respondents with income variation. Graph 5.4 shows 88.3 percent scavengers were better in comparison to their father's generation. But their monthly expenditure on essential items was more than that of their fathers. 4.7 percent scavenger's income level has not been improved. It has been found 80 percent scavengers drawn from the entire employment category in the sample also had more income; but then again their expenditure also increased that of their fathers. In above graph 5.4 reveals 88.3 percent scavenger's perceived change between three generations. 4.7 percent scavengers said that they cannot explain how much change they feel but they cannot deny the fact that their income level has been changed. 7.0 percent scavengers do not perceive a change in their income level. Mostly income of daily wages sanitation worker is very low in comparison to permanent and contractual sanitation workers. Scavengers due to their polluted occupation were also subject to centuries of systematic caste based discrimination both economically and socially. In India even today holds that the son of the scavenger, is to be expected to similarly end up as a Safai Karmi , unschooled uneducated scavenger because, liberated of his virtual knowledge individualities, it is very difficult unbreakable for the son of a scavenger to catch job in new employments. *“One respondent describes that they are performing the chores of cleaning due to the increase in the demand for domestic helpers who can share and help in starting household chores. Scavengers entered the households of upper caste people as domestic servants. They are performing the everyday jobs of cleaning the bathroom, gardening, washing clothes. But cooking and kitchen*

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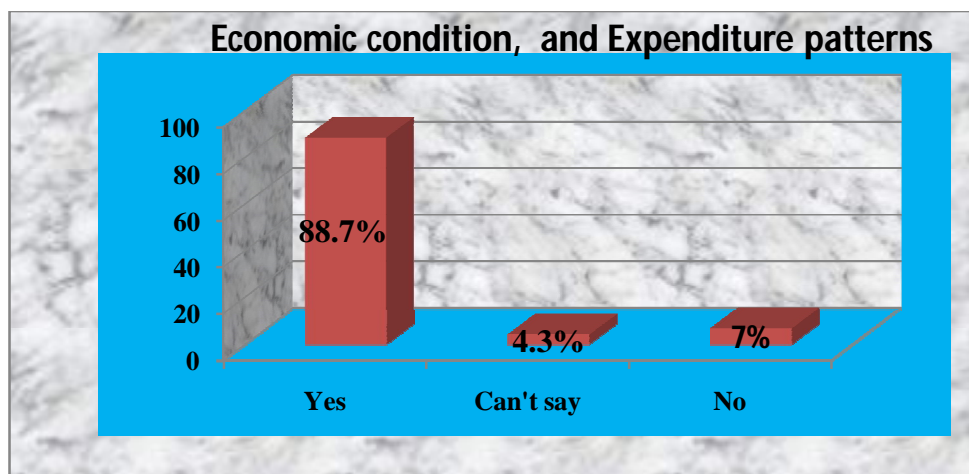
routines still remained to be works that these persons kept away from the kitchen. In fact some scavengers do not recognize this is a form of untouchability.

Although in order to overcome the practice of untouchability and get a mental satisfaction that there is no more untouchability practices; but sanitation workers prohibition in kitchen and preferences for the cleaning the toilet again underline the ideology of untouchability practiced by higher caste against scavenger's community although in a severe manner. There are households in Lucknow where scavengers working on daily wages practices of separate utensils like cup, glasses are still practiced; even today owners giving them water in plastic bottles and then not taking those bottles back. Thus practicing the untouchability in keeping their used articles away. However it is very clear that it is a modern way of practicing untouchability by upper caste.

Expenditure pattern

In our sample most of the respondents including permanent Safai Karmi, contractual Safai Karmi and daily wages sanitation worker, spent more than 1/3 of their income of their monthly salary on essential consumer items such as clothes, food, schooling of children, etc. It is the respondent's observation that fathers of more than 80 percent spent more than 2/3 of their income on basic items. In the case of the government Safai Karmi and their father the expenditure on essential items is similar but in case of semi essential items for example TV, fridge, Air conditions, Bike and other luxuries item they spent more than their father. Below the graph representing the scavengers' self-perception on improved economic condition has been discussed.

Graph: 5.5



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Graph: 5.5 reveals 88.7 percent scavengers observed their economic condition and standard of living has been changed and improved in between three generations. Respondents inform that they observed their economic condition is better in comparison to their parent's economic condition. Expenditure pattern is some better from my father's generation. Presently they live in Lucknow city so that electricity connection is in their reach. It has been observed that electric connections are found in all houses of scavengers. Modern dress pattern and style adopted by majority of scavengers. Being located in urban areas, the consumer market also influences the scavengers. 4.3 percent scavengers said that they cannot explain the degree and extent of change they feel but they accepted their economic status has been improved. 7.0 percent scavengers do not perceive any change. In terms of income, the field survey put forward that the income levels of scavengers have improved in real sense in Lucknow as an urban area. It is the level of income that mainly defines the change.

The scavengers earning and expenditure has been improved in comparison to their father's generation. *"It is told by scavengers that they are earning more as compared to their father's income. However the economy has expanded in the Lucknow city and many service areas are required now, scavenging caste people now deliver services such as running a milk booth and starting a tea stall fruit stall juice shop at the crossroad of the city"*.

Therefore as a researcher see some change in the socio-economic status of scavengers than before and some resources like mobile phones, motorcycles etc. which shows their economic status also increases still, according to respondents, they have purchased these items on instalment and to reimbursement this amount they have to pay a large part of their earnings as instalment. Being in the city, their living has also included the inclusion of urban life.

Social status

We shall analyse such dimensions of social mobility from the points of view of the respondents observation regarding change in their social status, change perceived by them in their housing and basic amenities, change in their perception regarding their caste identity, change perceived by them in interaction pattern, change in their family size, change in housing facilities, civic amenities, observation of scavengers towards their political view and change in family size. The process of identification

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of status has been dealt with from both the psychological and sociological point of view. Psychologically, the phenomenon of identification is related to the concept of self. This section of chapter has analysed the perception of scavengers to understand their social status.

Table:5.7

Change perceived in social status		
Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	153	71.0
No	147	29.0
Total	300	100.0

The concept of social status in this set has been taken from Prof. Nandu Ram analysis of status identification. According to this “The concept of identification has been analysed in sociological literature in terms of an individual’s adjustment in his social milieu. Such identification generally seeks the behaviour and attitudes of other individuals in groups, and after internalizing that in his own self identifier projects his ‘self before’ other” (Ram,1988,p.93). Table 5.7 demonstrates 71 percent scavengers said that their social status has been changed in comparison to their parent’s status. Nowadays however in case social status it has been partially changed. Whereas 29 percent scavengers perceive their social status is the same as their father’s generation. The scavengers who are doing polluted work as an occupation their social status is not good. It is observed during study that scavengers, who are working in private organizations and not dealing with filth directly with hands, have much better social status in comparison to toilet cleaners, drainage cleaners and sewer workers. Below the case study has been recorded to understand the perception of scavengers about their social status.

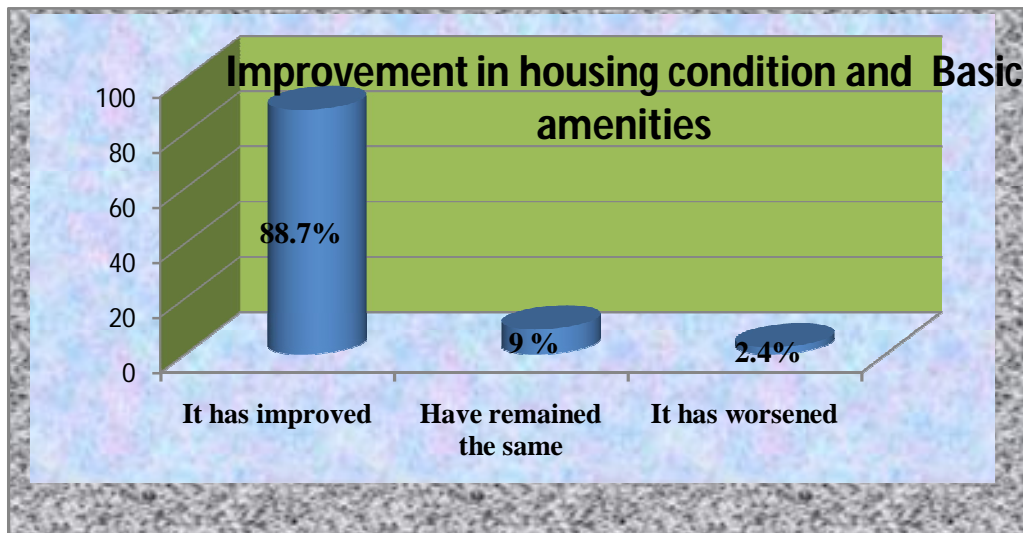
“Chamole Dhanuk, aged 32 is resident of Balmiki Nagar, Lucknow Uttar Pradesh. He is self-employed and working as daily wages Safai Karmi in different houses in Lucknow. He is cleaning toilets or any other type of sanitation work. He said that I feel a change in my economic condition in such a way that earlier in my father's time. My father used to get ₹ 10 for manual scavenging every day; but in present time I earn ₹ 160 per day, so that we can consume some of the good quality foodstuff which we could not able to purchase during my father’s time, if I remember my childhood I never get tea which is made with milk . But at the present time there has been a

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slight increase in the availability of living standards. If I look at the standard of living, then there has been a change in our households. Now TV has come for entertainment, even if I talk about education, my earnings are somehow improved from that earning I can able to manage good quality meal for entire family. I want to provide good quality education to my children; but If I spent my earning on education of my children; it is very difficult for me to manage meal of two times. Yet my children's go to the government schools for primary education but they are not even to read and write Hindi”.

This case study proved that scavengers' income level has been improved to some extent. But the income levels of daily wages sanitation workers are very low to fulfil all the required needs of their families.

Graph: 5.6



Graph 5.6 shows 88.7 percent scavengers observed that they feel enhancement in their basic amenities, and housing facilities have been improved in comparison to their father generation. 9 percent of scavengers said that their level of basic amenities and quality of housing was similar to their father's time. 2.4 percent scavengers said that basic amenities and quality of housing has been degraded in comparison to their father's time.

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Table: 5.8

Scavenger's caste identity		
Caste title	Frequency	Percent
S.C./ Dalit	148	49.3
Balmiki	90	30.0
Jamadaar	16	5.3
Dhanuk	10	3.3
Dalit	3	1.0
Safai Karmi	33	11.0
Total	300	100.0

Table 5.8 shows 49 percent answer when they asked to disclose their caste identity they simply react they are form Scheduled caste or Dalit. 1.3 percent releases their identity as Balmiki. 5.3 percent disclose their caste identity as Jamaddar.3.3 percent respond Dhanuk and 11.0 percent did not disclose their caste identity they respond we come from Safai Karmi caste.

Interaction patterns of Scavengers

The interactions with others have a major impact on not only our social lives, but our physical, mental and emotional health as well. Thus we analyze interaction of scavengers with upper caste and other non-scavenging to understand change taking place among their social relationship.

Table 5.9

Interaction with upper caste		
Interaction	Frequency	Percent
Yes	264	88.0
No	36	12.0
Total	300	100.0

Table 5.9 reveals 88 percent scavengers said that they have a very unusual type of interaction with the upper caste. Majority of them describe their relationship with the upper-caste as only the relationship of Maalik (owner) and Scavenger (Jamadaar). Whereas 12 percent scavengers said that they have a relation with upper caste at the market place and marriage and some festivals. One respondent has expressed his view that “*Wo hamare yahan nahi aate, magar hume apne yahan shadi vivah aur tyohaar me bulate hai. Hum log shadi vivah me jo hamare unchi jaat ke mitra hai unhe bulate hai to hume garva hota h. aur aisa mehsoos hota h. ki hum bhi ab acchut nahi hai*”. They do not come to our home but they invite us to

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their home on special occasions such as marriage and festivals. We feel proud to invite our upper caste friends in our community and family gathering.

Table : 5.10

Interaction with other non-scavenging scheduled caste		
Interaction	Frequency	Percent
Yes	264	70
No	36	30
Total	300	100

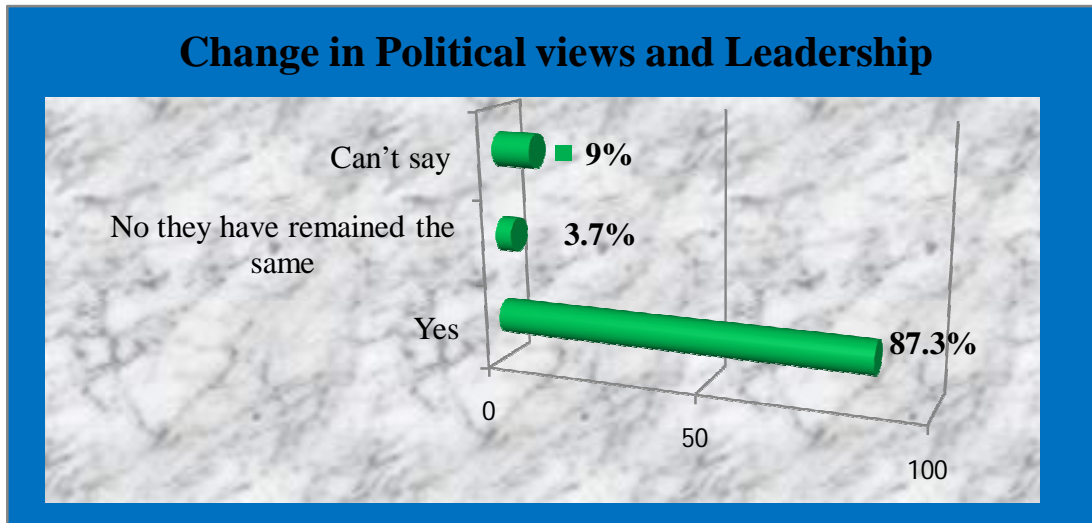
In this section we have accepted the definition given by Heek “Who consider themselves more or less to be social equals. Each social class has its own style of life and is as such group-conscious, though its boundaries are difficult to indicate” (Heek, 1956, p.129). In response to the above question it is very shocking that scavenger’s interaction with other scheduled castes are not scavenging caste; is also non-intimate. 30 percent scavengers told that they have no interaction with other scheduled caste because the attitude of other SC’s is more discriminatory towards them. In their own words

“Dusri neech jatiyan jo Chamar, pasi, kori, hai; wo apne ko uncha manti hai aur hame achhut; yahan takki wo humse baat bhi karna pasand nahi karte; pandito ka to naam badnaam hai; unse zada kharab vaohaar to neech jaat ka hai. Mughe to aisa lagta ki Brahmin, thakur hume apna lenge. lekin Chamar pasi hume apne brabar kabhi bathne nahi denge”

People of Scheduled caste who are Dalit same as us are from Chamar, Pasi, Kori sub castes always consider them superior and consider us untouchable. Even they do not like to talk to us. The name of Brahmin is only defamed and maligned; even though other non-scavenging Scheduled Caste people treat us below par. I hope that Brahmin, Thakur would accept us but other non-scavenging scheduled caste people would never allow us to sit as equals. This illustration ascertains scavengers are still untouchable due to their occupation even by other non-scavenging scheduled caste.

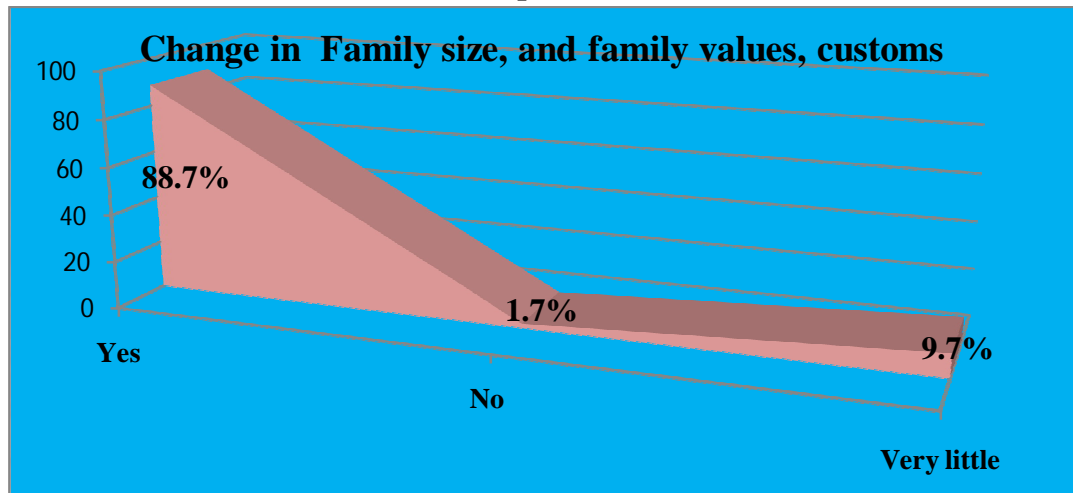
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Graph: 5.



Only the silent elements concerning mobility mentioned here. Graph 5.7 shows 87.3 percent scavengers observed that their political status has been improved. 3.7 percent said that their political status has remained the same as their father's generation. 9% scavengers said that they cannot clearly explain the degree of change in their political status but they cannot deny the fact that their political status has been changed in comparison to their father's time.

Graph: 5.8



There are studies which make available a lot of fine points about the structure of family in India. For example, Kolenda (1968) has given a model of family structure in rural India which is equally applicable to urban areas. There are 11 classifications, including that of a single-person household, in her model under which the conformation of the entire Indian family composition has been analysed. We have

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found that the family structure of the scavengers is similar to that provided by Kolenda, with minor differences such as absence of a single-person household. Graph 5.8 represents 88.7 percent scavengers said that they feel change in their family size values and customs. 1.7 percent scavengers said that their family size has remained the same. 9.7 percent scavengers' family size values and custom has remained the same. On the basis of preceding analyses we can differentiate the level of Occupation mobility and change found among them discussed below.

First generation

The generation wise distribution of the combined occupational categories shows that first generation members the parents of the respondents were engaged in manual scavenging related works and traditional occupations like sweeping and cleaning. The first generation members continued working with the scavenging occupations and very few among them diverted to other non-scavenging occupations. It has been demonstrated by the respondents of the study who are present day sanitation workers elaborated that the first generation of scavengers doing the work of manual cleaning of human excreta therefore they face the worst form of untouchability. Their occupation has given them very low social status even by other untouchable Dalits. First generation was considered inferior and their condition was completely pathetic and they had a very low level of education.

Second Generation

Mostly the second generation members were engaged in scavenging related occupations. Those who moved to the municipal areas and those who were already in the urban areas engaged themselves in scavenging related occupations. In order to survive, they struggle against these social, economic, health chances of this scavenging occupation. It is a result of an alternative basic indicator of forced labour and social double standards. In excess of three generations one perceives that the scavengers in the urban labour market as sanitation workers first largely in the organized sector in local bodies and then in the informal sector. The data highlights that the urbanization process strengthens caste economy and instead of secularizing caste-occupation associations, urbanization has reinforced the same.

It is important here to see the historical development of occupational shift among the scavengers of Lucknow city. One of the important changes is that of manual scavengers becoming Sanitation workers in the city. But no significant change has

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been seen in their occupation. The scavengers doing scavenging because society made them believe that they are meant to do sanitation occupation. But formerly, they engage in these occupations because individuals of these communities are not really expert to discover any other occupations for themselves. Nowadays the social status has improved a bit compared to the first generation. The main reason behind this is that the handling of human excreta, a worst form of manual scavenging, has been done by them, has now been banned and they have been engaged in other types of scavenging work. There have been some positive changes in their social status compared to their parents. The level of education has increased slightly in comparison to their parent's time. The fear of being discriminated against has decreased and they have started coming in contact with other communities of the society. Now they have adopted the urban lifestyle.

Third Generation

A major shift is indicated among the members of the third generation – the parents of the respondents the second generation members remained employed in scavenging with the above two types of occupations and very few among them averted to other non-scavenging occupations. On the other hand, most new generations appear to have motivated outside the house to find livelihood. But due to lack of awareness and low level of education they are taking up to lower level secondary occupations and semi skill based works. It is to a certain extent satisfactory that younger family members of this age group have equipped themselves and some reputed work too.

All those who are now established inhabitants of the city have become the permanent sanitation workers of Lucknow and to some extent sanitation workers in private organisations in the city. Over three generations it has been observed that the Bhangis from villages who were mainly agricultural workers in the rural economy are adapted in the labour market in Lucknow city as scavengers, first mostly in government Safai Karmi in local bodies and then in the private sector. The data underlines that the urbanization process strengthens caste economy and instead of secularizing caste-occupation relations, urbanization has reinforced the same. The data also displays that there is marginal 'occupational mobility' among the scavengers of Lucknow city. Third generation who have expanded into other occupations have largely been engaged in lower level occupations. Third generation

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members continued working with other than scavenging occupations and a small number of them shifted to other non-scavenging livelihoods.

Conclusion

According to Chandrasekhar and Malik there are five major areas of progress of scheduled castes due to the constitutional measures: access to religious and other public places and lessening of ritual and social distances; integration of all caste groups, including scheduled castes, in schools, colleges and universities; share of political power; residential desegregation; and occupational mobility (Chandrasekhar, & 1972, Malik, 1979). According to these criteria they have not progressed much. But above assessment and investigation of scavengers of Lucknow city; it is clear, from both subjective and objective criteria of status evaluation, that a large majority of the respondents had realized improvement in their status in the class structure. As almost all the respondents were showing upward mobility, the degree of their upward mobility was not very high. That is, a big majority of them were upward mobility, to the same degree at least, on a medium of horizontal and vertical mobility. Many had attained better status along one dimension or the other. There were only 08 respondents who were in the position of downward mobility in comparison to the social mobility of their fathers. The movement of social mobility among the scavengers is upward however the amount of mobility is increasing gradually. And they attained it in the multiple status hierarchy on the basis of subjective, composite and community criteria of status evaluation. In other words, a majority had 'improved' their caste status along with their improved social status in the multiple status hierarchy. They were asymmetrically distributed from the points of view of their caste, age and permanent and private nature of their job.

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CHAPTER-6

CONCLUSION

In this study an attempt has been made to explore and find out the socio economic educational demographic status of scavengers / sanitation workers of Lucknow city. The whole study has been divided into six chapters including introduction and conclusions.

The first chapter started the exploration of the scavenging perspective with a complete picture of India. Further the study does the micro level analysis of sanitation work and scavenging from sociological point of view. The first chapter introduction covers the important questions pertaining to the selected problem and relevance of it. Apart from it the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study and research methodology has been described in this chapter.

Chapter two review of literature principally concerned how literature describes the people and activities that encompass the term manual scavenging. This chapter discusses several ideological and social aspects of scavenging in a comprehensive manner. In direction to do this, these reviews related to government reports and policies, sociological books and documents on around untouchability, caste and scavenging, rights based discussions by protesters, issues discussed by social activists and field-based studies on the topic. These selected works focus on their analysis mainly manual scavenging and manual scavengers. The chapter has reviewed several aspects of scavenging such as cultural, structural, and multi-dimensional approach to understand the magnitude and problems associated with scavenging and scavengers. This review of literature emphasizes understanding literature considered the persons engaged in manual scavenging; how have these been described and defined in sociological writings. The review has initiated a number of research questions. The issue of the practice of scavenging and the persons engaging in manual scavenging need to be taken out by the literature. This is important because on the assumption that policy can only see the manual scavenger doing the scavenging, these policies are not able to create broader systems to put in place to eradicate the activity altogether. Though these studies

have basically based on secondary sources are meagre and insufficient to understand scavenging in holistic manner.

Chapter three deliberates the demographic profile of scavenging communities of India; in this chapter statistics of traditional scavenging communities has been specified such as religion, sub caste, literacy rate, among scavenging communities of India followed by Uttar Pradesh. The present chapter has been provided data based on socio-economic caste census obtained from the census 2011. Subsequently the next portion of the chapter based on important sections explaining various facts related to scavenging communities of Uttar Pradesh. In this section only four sub castes of scheduled caste identified as scavenging communities of Uttar Pradesh and their data based on Caste, Religion and literacy has been analysed. Afterwards a detailed and comprehensive explanation of scavengers of Lucknow has been discussed which is based on empirical observation through field work. The chapter had a detailed account of religion, caste, sub-caste, age, and educational level, monthly income of respondents followed by condition of housing, dwelling units and other civic amenities available for scavengers of Lucknow city.

Chapter four delineates issues and problems faced by scavengers of Lucknow. These issues are identified as discrimination, caste based occupation, hazardous work condition incomes discrepancy among scavengers. And basic problems confronted by the scavengers fell in the broad categories of health-related concerns, poverty, caste based occupation and discrimination, inbuilt stigma and prejudice in the job, precarious work condition which are further compounded by the workers poor knowledge of existing laws and apathy from government agencies concerned. Against this background, the chapter also covers specific dimensions of the condition of the sewer workers such as nature of work, contract labour and its effect, and work-related safety and health issues. The chapter touches the entire aspect of scavengers life. The chapter explores the linkage between caste and scavenging in present context. For this various case studies are recorded and written in precise manner to clear the real and authentic situation of the study area. The chapter attempts to establish that there has been certain linkage fixed between occupation and caste. This

association assigns scavenging is one and only concern of just some scheduled castes such as the Dhanuk or the Balmiki castes in Lucknow as well as India.

Chapter five examines occupation, mobility and change among the scavengers of Lucknow. The chapter starts with a brief introduction of occupation, mobility and change related to scavengers. Subsequently, chapter describes occupation, mobility and change discussed by renowned sociologists. The chapter explores approaches adopted by scavengers to protect themselves from stigma and describes how these approaches are temporal and incomplete. It also addresses the perception of scavenger's son education, social status for their children's social mobility. Social mobility has described among scavengers and its relationship with changes taking place among scavengers of Lucknow. In this section an effort was made at two levels to know the nature of status identification of the respondents. Chapter covers scavengers opinion about doing sanitation work with the support of primary data collected from the field.

Chapter Six is derived mainly from analysis and findings put so far in this study. It relies mostly on the presentation and explanation of data discussed in the previous chapters. And finally summarises and discusses the main arguments of the study to ultimately produce related suggestions

On the basis of the above analysis following conclusions are drawn:

Scavengers categorises a disadvantaged community treated as undesirable and hence rigidly avoided. They are considered unwanted and sometimes less than human. They reside in Lucknow city on the margin of the road side near rivulet (naala) or near filthy places. They are almost excluded from social interaction, even though their services are recognized as highly valuable but their work has not been given importance by society.

Scavengers have been given the lowermost status in social order. As untouchable they have grieved humiliations all the way through the time without end. They have been treated as contagious disease for a disrespectful space and the extreme negligible social association. Because of their social appalling conditions, they have been forced to survive as socially deprived peoples destined to accept their social humiliation, discernment and lacking reverence as part of their destiny.

It is almost compulsory for them to follow the occupation of their particular caste. This also brings to visible the fact that historical social exclusion has had a long-run outcome and the inaction is quite strong. It is said that caste identity gets distorted in modern time and Dalits have better opportunities in labour market and move into alternative profession that are not caste based and stigmatised. But some occupation viz. sanitation work residues outside of this work process and caste associations are thoroughly strengthened in different forms anyhow lawful mechanisms that exclude such practices.

Prohibition of Sanitation workers in kitchen and preferences for the cleaning the toilet again underline the ideology of untouchability practiced by the society correspondingly by scheduled caste against scavenger's community in a undecorated manner. There are households in Lucknow where scavengers working; the practices of separate utensils like cup, glass are still experienced; even today owner giving them water in plastic bottles and then not taking those bottle back. Thus practice of untouchability has been prevailing in the form of keeping used articles outside which has been used by the scavengers. However it is very clear that; it is a modern way of practicing untouchability taking place in Indian Society.

Due to social discrimination scavengers are financially backward as well. Maximum scavengers families living in scarcity due to structural influences as near to the ground family income because of being tied up in low paid sanitation works, and particular issues as male scavengers almost indulge in smoking, drinking.

Majority of scavengers are uneducated and hence educationally backward. Despite the schemes for free education, scavenger's children are not going to school. The educational backwardness has deprived many scavengers' families from taking advantage of reservation policy. Politically also, scavengers are low status as compared to other scheduled castes.

Government has launched several welfare and rehabilitation schemes for scavengers and sweepers though starvation is not observable among scavengers of Lucknow but other phases such as access to civic amenities, education, health and nutrition is quite low among scavengers of Lucknow city. The bare fact is that

scavengers do not fall within prescribed parameters of poverty, the observation of the field; the condition under which they live and endure their lives is the evidence of poverty. Poor housing conditions, low standard of life, illiteracy, poor health status all are examples of their vulnerable status. And it has been observed that scavengers are sufferers of a dual form of poverty because they are not fulfilling criteria of poverty prescribed by the government and unable to take advantage of various schemes which are enacted for the urban poor.

It has been observed that the biggest problem for scavengers is that they do not live in planned colonies approved by the government; and they are compelled to live in places which are the vicinity of dirty sewer or empty filthy places. These scavengers' bustees are often as declared illegal by the government, the scavengers residing in these illegal bustees do not have any type of government identity card and due to the mandatory identity card address in most of government schemes they are unable to register themselves in various schemes and deprived of numerous advantages of their welfare.

There have been some positive changes in scavengers' social status compared to their parents who are manual scavengers. The level of education has increased slightly in comparison to their parent's time. The fear of being discriminated has decreased and they have started coming in contact with other communities of the society. Now they have adopted the urban lifestyle. Since they have become conscious the benefits of education, they are providing education their children and improving the socio-economic status of their families. Though they have not succeeded in improving significantly their socio-economic status, their status is undoubtedly not better than that of the scheduled castes as a whole. But from this; it cannot be interpreted that all the members of these castes have improved their socio-economic status.

Rather, a few members of scavenging castes have improved their status in general and in relation to the scavenging castes in particular. There is marginal 'occupational mobility' perceived among the scavengers of Lucknow city. Third generation who have expanded into other occupations have largely been engaged in lower level occupations. Third generation members of scavengers continued working with other than scavenging occupations and a small number of among

them shifted to other non-scavenging livelihoods. A majority of the respondents in our sample hailed from parental families with low socio-economic status. But, most of the respondents were showing upward mobility in comparison to their fathers and their forefathers generations, along each of dimensions such as education, employment, income, etc. included in the framework. From the point of view of a multi-dimensional framework also they have upward mobility in comparison to their fathers,

In the second generation of scavengers, the work profile of the sanitation worker shows only a little up gradation. ½ percent scavengers other family members get rid of scavenging occupation and shifted in other low level occupation. Significant percentage of individuals of this community involve in almost low graded work as labour in different type of work such as egg roll selling, meat selling, fish selling all these work consider as unclean work considered by the society and contains lowest in occupation group. However its substance of some improvement in this community that few persons are taken profession as salesman in shop, skilled work (self-employed) ,vegetable, fruit seller & petty shopkeeper, peon and guard, rickshaw & E- rickshaw pulling. However, if we look at their number and the varying amount of social mobility achieved by them, we find that our earlier observation about social mobility achieved by members of scavenger's families seems to be valid. At least they have upward mobility along all the dimensions included in the theoretical framework.

Major findings of the Study

More than 1/3 scavengers come below the 20 years to 50 years age group. This age set includes the largest number of sanitation workers. This is known from the statistic that maximum numbers of scavengers engage in sanitation work in Lucknow are a very productive age group; they are mature enough and experienced also to undertake sanitation activity in the city. If we analyse this fact we find that this age group is full of energy and potential but sanitation workers are not able to achieve their basic amenities. In this study the newer age group that falls 21 years to 40 years are not satisfied with sanitation occupation and criticisms of it. Case study has been documented in this research and also confirmed the information.

1/3 scavengers are not literate. Only 1/4 of scavengers have primary level education. This has resulted in the main reason for their illiteracy are marginalization and suppression from mainstream society. In sanitation work there is no need for education so that generally scavengers are not aware towards attaining education. Scavengers' new generation also face untouchability and discrimination practices associated to their caste and parents work. This frequently leads to children having little entree to education or dropping out of school to move gradually into the only job society prescribes for them that is scavenging. In this study in a given socio-cultural setting, economic factors like low levels of income, parental education arise as the major determining factors behind youngster's education. Children leave education due to economic compulsion of lower income households or working as earned members in the household. Case study has been recorded to understand the reason for doing scavenging work and confirmed that illiteracy is the foremost reason to indulge in scavenging occupation among them. The educational level of scavenger's new generation particularly education of sons in comparison to their fathers, we find more than 1/3 scavengers showing upward mobility. In comparison to their father the educational level of almost all the respondents was high.

More than 1/3 scavengers' family income is below 10000 rupees per month. The lack of income limits them to access services which are available in Lucknow as an urban area. The better location is liable for better educational and socioeconomic facilities, but the scavengers of Lucknow city are still lagging behind due to reasons specifically low income and discriminatory societal attitude towards them as they are least benefited by all these facilities. The vicious cycle of poverty, apart from deficiency of income, but lack of properties, lack of power, lack of legal rights, lack of assets, lack of access to education and deprived quality of accommodation scavengers have to live and the various health problems take along by way of it, particularly where health care facilities is also insufficient. All magnitudes of the deficiency due to low income have created a kind of hindrance in scavenger's life.

The standard of living mainly included access to healthcare facilities, quality and availability of education, literacy rates, life expectancy, and occurrences of disease gives the glimpse of the economic status of scavengers' life. 1/3 scavengers' houses were made of impermanent resources teen shed clay or brick floors. Availability of

education for scavenger's children comparatively improved but quality of education which is available to them is very poor. Life expectancy among scavengers is low. Occurrences of disease are very frequent among them. All these important factors has been observed to know standard of living of scavengers after counting all the fact standard of living found very low among scavengers of Lucknow.

More Than 1/3 scavengers working in Lucknow are employed by private organisations. The ratio of government Safai Karmi is only 13.3 percent. Contract sanitation workers who are appointed by contractors are extremely exploited in terms of wages and not receiving any equipment which are necessary for sanitation such as masks, hand gloves and adequate quantity of soaps. The case study has been documented to know the awareness level of scavengers towards using safety gears to perform sanitation work is noticeably indication of exploitation of scavengers by their contractor.

1/3 scavengers admit that society recognizes sanitation work only for scavengers' communities. It is a general assumption of society that sanitation is only the work of a particular scheduled caste and even among Dalits this opinion is prevailing that it is only the work of Dhanuk and Balmikis.

94.3 percent of scavengers experience people keeping untouchability with them due to their caste. Most scavengers' family members never carry out sanitation work even though they are facing untouchability due to caste labels tagged with their scavengers' caste identities. Entitlement of Sanitation occupation with particular caste makes scavengers untouchable. Members of non-scavenging communities look them as inferior and there is deep inferiority complex among scavengers.

Almost 99 percent of scavengers those work under sewer lines carry out their work without any protective gears. 1/3 scavengers those are appointed for sewage cleaning are not trained in proper manner. The situation is very risky in terms of safety of the sewer worker who works inside the Manhole. They are not provided any kind of protective gears and safety equipment by their employer. Information obtained from study in the form of case studies recorded during research both confirmed the fact that safety gears are not offered to sanitation workers to carry out hazardous sewer work.

16 percent scavengers have aware about reservation policy. Maximum people of scavenging caste do not have any information about reservation policy and they are not aware of it. The Scavenger community has not benefited with the reservation policy due to unawareness and low educational level.

56.7 percent of scavengers' family members are still doing sanitation occupations. It seems certain cases; the scavengers have a preference to change away from the further lower ranks of jobs to sanitation occupations. Marginal mobility is visible that 30.3 percent scavengers are involved in non-scavenging occupations and they are entering those livelihoods which are not considered polluted; it seems there is some occupational change. Among the third generation of scavengers of Lucknow city peripheral mobility has been seen these days. New generation of scavenger's has started doing work as labour work or other types of self-employment. At present, the biggest problem of the scavenging community is illiteracy, due to which they are not getting highly regarded occupation. Only 2 percent family members of scavengers are working in reputed positions. This shows marginal and partial upward mobility among them. The societal attitude of hatred for scavenging caste has reduced to some extent and now there is collective action, which signifies a positive change.

Suggestions and Recommendations

- The study recommended primary schools might be located in a distance of 1 or ½ kilometre around their settlement. There have to be an Education Centre in their bustees to enhance the literacy levels among the senior persons because the senior members in the household can emphasize the significance of education to the earlier generations. There might be separate reservations for scavengers' children in all government and private schools and colleges. Awareness camps might be thought of on a systematic basis, for spreading the benefits of education with a provision of on-the-spot admission.
- The scavengers are the most vulnerable and pathetic segment of the Indian society. Their dilemma is further compounded by the fact that even today; untouchability is still experienced by them. It is recommended by this study that educated members of the scavengers' community should appoint in higher

level posts inside the sanitation department so that they ensure an unbiased and non-discriminatory environment for sanitation workers.

- To rehabilitate the sanitation workers/scavengers in a significant manner, it is very important bring to an end of unclean environments in which scavengers forced to live. The sanitation worker might be provided low-priced houses in general societies; this determination creates to their integration and assimilation with the larger society.
- Scavengers are inclined to numerous life threatening ailments. The risk section in their work is multiple as related to the other works. In reference to this danger, the scavengers might be paid an extra amount as allowance along with free treatment at the government hospitals as well as private hospital in case of any accident. The study recommends free of cost health care camps might be structured at monthly intervals in their locality for suitable diagnosis and treatment of diseases.
- The study recommends the government should impose proper setup for contract workers and daily wages workers so that they cannot be exploited by their contractor as well as private employers. All scavengers either they permanent or contract daily wages employee should provide minimum wage by their employer; and follow the rules of The Minimum Wages Act primarily to safeguard the interest of the sanitation workers; specifically engaged in unorganized section as domestic sweeper who are vulnerable to exploitation due to illiteracy and lack of bargaining power. Recruitment of contractual sanitation workers might be strictly regulated; and in depth records of seniority of contractual sanitation workers might be keep up, it is the recommendation of the study that registration of candidates as sanitation worker and issue of call-letters and appointment orders might be maintained.
- The study recommended government agencies should formulate special rules and regulations for safe use and maintenance of septic tanks. It is the government liability to implement an awareness programme for scavengers to all necessary precautions might be taken by septic tank worker to avoid themselves and others from getting imprisoned inside the septic tanks. Proper

precautions might be taken before entering septic tanks and all scavengers must be educated about the health hazards of sewer gases.

- The study recommended there might be a separate system for the grievance of sanitation workers /scavengers; with the help of this grievance redressal system government might convey importance of sanitation work to society with the help of the media and newspaper. In addition, society has given importance and equal respect to sanitation workers as the people engaged in another occupation receive. Governments should set any platform where they can easily present the problem of their occupation.
- The study recommended there might be proper separate changing rooms for male and female scavengers. Subsequently they can maintain their dignity of being human and society should acknowledge their importance that nobody can survive without their support.
- The study recommended that government should frame strict rule for sanitation worker's employment agencies is that; all sanitation worker employed in those respective organisation; transportation facilities for sanitation workers from their residence to their workplace must be provided. This is needed because of the early morning work requirement of sanitation work.
- Sewerage work is technical even though it is not considered as technical work. It might be recognised and declared as 'skilled labour' status for the determination of wage calculation.
- Death in a septic tank is a serious occupational risk confronted by sanitation workers. Several deaths in sewer even Lucknow city are unreported as these scavengers generally work on contract basis. There might be administrative authority to make spot official visits to such misfortunes. The authorities also try to avoid paying compensation to the families of victims of sewer deaths on weak grounds; there might be provision of government jobs according to education and skill of dependent persons; if a family member of a departed person is educated they have to provide job such as clerk and other reputed job except scavenging. The study recommends that a direction might be issued to

all the authorities to include a section in the agreement with the contractor that the provision of the Manual Scavenging Act, 2013 shall be applicable. They will pay compensation of Rupees 10, 00000 as ordered by the Supreme Court in the sewer death cases. And also ensure that no middle persons or mediator are misusing the departed scavengers' family in any way.

- The sanitation worker who works under the sewer, the moment they get hired even though on a contract system their accidental insurance might be mandatory processed. Several times they get injured and fatal must be provided with accidental insurance. And those who died due to sewer infections or diseases should also be compensated by the government. Those scavengers retracted due to long time work; there is a specific rule for that sanitation worker those who die due to sewer infection might be compensated by the employer. Measures for quick evacuation must be ensured in the event of any accident; and the authority of taking action has been given to senior scavengers who work under sewer at least 20 years. So mediators do not create problems for injured and departed scavengers' family to avail compensation.
- Scavengers' life in India is even untouched by technology. It would be possible to eliminate manual scavenging when we create the right technologies to stop manual scavenging practices. The main cause of scavengers' untouchability in society is that they come directly in polluted things. Finally, it is suggested if technology has gone rich and improved; scavengers would not contact direct polluted things during cleaning and performing other type of scavenging work then societal attitudes must be changed. Government and civil society yield extra effort to introduce technology.
- This was so widespread that the constitution of India accumulated these castes into a schedule of the constitution and provided them with affirmative action cover in both education and public sector employment. There must be serious efforts to encourage and make available alternative employment opportunities for the scavengers. The government of India might aid various funding agencies on the basis that they study the mobility pattern among the scavenging communities. And review the reservation policy based on the facts

obtained from these studies. At least 5 % reservation has to be provided scavenging communities.

- Provision of scholarship for the students of scavenging communities without using their caste title. Earlier the scholarship has been launched by the government entitled “Pre- matric scholarship to the children of those engaged in unclean occupations”. Many students of scavenging caste are not applied for these scholarships due to the fear of disclosing their identity. Therefore it is the recommendation of the study that the name of scholarship entitled for the scavengers is ‘Talented scholarship scheme’ or any other dignified term can be used without using their caste identity.

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Sociology of Sanitation: A Study of Scavengers of Lucknow

उत्तरदाता का नाम

परिवार का मुखिया कौन है।

पिता-1, माता-2, पुत्र-3, पुत्री-4, स्वयं-5

जाति (एस.सी.-1, ओ0बी0सी0-2, सामान्य-3)

. Sub-caste: 1.6. Age: 1.7 Sex: (Code: Male-1, Female-2)

उपजाति आयु लिंग (महिला-1, पुरुष-2)

1.

शिक्षा : (कोड: अनपढ़-1, पढ़ा लिखे बिना औपचारिक शिक्षा-2, पढ़े लिखे मगर प्राइमरी से नीचे-3, प्राइमरी-4, जू0 हाई स्कूल-5, हाई स्कूल-6, इण्टरमीडिएट-7, डिप्लोमा/सर्टीफिकेट कोर्स-8, स्नातक-9, परास्नातक-10, परास्नातक तथा प्रोफेशनल कोर्स-11, प्रोफेशनल कोर्स-11)

वर्तमान व्यवसाय

व्यवसाय

परम्परागत / जातिगत / गन्दा व्यवसाय (उल्लेख करें.....)

1.11. How many members in your family?

आपके परिवार में कितने सदस्य हैं।.....

1.12. Family Details (begin with the head of the household)

पारिवारिक विवरण

Sl.No.	Name of the household members परिवार के सदस्यों के नाम	Relation with household मुखिया से सम्बन्ध	Marital status (Married-1, Unmarried-2, Widower-3, Widow -4) (विवाहिक स्थिति-1, अविवाहित-2, विधुर-3, विधवा-4)	Age in years आयु वर्षों में	Sex (Code: Male-1, Female-2, other-3) लिंग पुरुष-1, महिला-2,	Education (Code *) शिक्षा	Health (Code: Good-1, Average-2, Below Average-3, Anemic-4)	Main occupation मुख्य व्यवसाय	Monthly Income मासिक आय	Any other occupation अन्य कोई व्यवसाय	Total Monthly Income कुल मासिक आय
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10	11	12	13
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
7											
8											

Socio demographic profile

2.1. Number of rooms in the house..... मकान में कमरों की संख्या

2.2. Do you have a separate kitchen room? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आपके पास अलग रसोई है। (हाँ -1, नहीं-2)

2.3. Do you have bathroom in the house? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आपके घर में स्नानघर है। (हाँ -1, नहीं-2)

2.4 Do you have toilet within your house? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आपके घर में शौचालय है। (हाँ -1, नहीं-2)

.यदि हाँ तो किस प्रकार का शौचालय है। (खुला शौचालय-1, परम्परागत शौचालय-2, सामुदायिक शौचालय (सुलभ शौचालय)-3, आधुनिक शौचालय (सैप्टिक टैंक) -4)

सामुदायिक शौचालय कितने लोगों द्वारा प्रयोग किया जाता है। (15 से 25 -1, 26 से 35-2)

2.6. Cleanliness of Toilet/latrine Maintainby whom. (Code: All individual who use toilet-1, Only Female-2, children of locality-3, anyother person -4)

शौचालय की स्वच्छता किसके द्वारा की जाती है। (सभी लोग जो उसका इस्तेमाल करते हैं-1, केवल महिलाओं द्वारा-2, पास-पड़ोस के बच्चों द्वारा-3, अन्य किसी भी व्यक्ति द्वारा-4)

5)

जलापूर्ति के स्रोत: (मकान के अन्दर हैण्डपम्प-1, सामुदायिक हैण्डपम्प/ घर के बाहर से -2, वाटर टैंक-3, सामुदायिक नल-4, अन्य स्रोत-5)

2.8 What is the quality of drinking water? (Code: Very Good-1, Good-2, Moderate quality (Average) -3, Bad quality-4)

पानी कैसा आता है (बहुत अच्छा-1, अच्छा-2, ठीक-ठाक (औसत)-3, खराब-4)

2.9. What are the points of discharge of household's used water? Piped sewer-1,Open channel -2,Street surface-3,Space outside premises-4,Water body (lake, river, etc.) -5,Other (specify.....)

घर का गन्दा पानी बाहर कैसे निकलता है (सीवर पाइप द्वारा-1, खुले में-2, गली में-3, घर के बाहर गद्दा में-4)

2.10. Any member of the household is a regular salary holder. (Code: Yes-1, No)

घर को कोई व्यक्ति स्थाई नौकरी करता है। (हाँ-1, नहीं-2)

2.11. Which Type of Energy Source use for cooking?(Code: Kerosene-1 Cole-2, L.P.G.-3, Electricity-4,Solar Energy-5.)

खाना बनाने के लिए किसका प्रयोग करते हैं। (कैरासीन-1, कोयला-2, एलपीजी-3, बिजली द्वारा-4 सौर ऊर्जा द्वारा-5)

2.12. Whether you or your family members own any land, plot, home?(Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आपके या आपके परिवार के पास स्वयं का भूमि, प्लॉट, घर है। (हाँ-1, नहीं-2)

2.13. Consumption of food, pan,tobacco and intoxicant of your family during last30days.(Code: Rice-1, Wheat-2, Sugar-3. Pulses PulseProducts (Arhar, Matar, Chana etc.)-4,Milk & Milk product-5, Edible

oil-6,Egg, fish & meat-7,Vegetable-8,Freshfruits ,Dry Fruit -9, Salt-10,Spices-11,Beverage (tea, cold drinks, ice-cream)-12,Paan, tobacco, Intoxicants13.)

आपके परिवार के द्वारा उपभोग की गयी वस्तुओं का विवरण दे- (चावल-1, गेहू-2, चीनी-3, दालें और दाल के पदार्थ-4, दूध व दूध के पदार्थ-5, खाद्य तेल -6, अण्डा, मछली, मांस-7, सब्जी-8, ताजे फल/सूखे मेवे-9, नमक-10, मसाले-11, पेय पदार्थ -12, तम्बाकू और अन्य नशीली चीजें-13)

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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Religious Belief

3.1. Which God /goddess (kul-devi) do you worship? _____

आप किस देवी-देवता की पूजा करते है। _____

3.2. Where do community members perform their religious rituals?(Code: In the House -1, Community worship place in our own locality-2, In common temple-3)

आपके समुदाय के लोग धार्मिक कर्मकाण्ड कहाँ पर करते है। (घर में-1, पास-पड़ोस के सामुदायिक पूजा स्थल में-2, मन्दिर में-3)

3.3. Do women in your household participate in common activities of the community? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

आपके घर की महिलायें सामुदायिक क्रियाकलापों में भाग लेती है। (हाँ-1, नहीं-2)

3.3.1.If yes, which one?_____

यदि हाँ तो किसमें

Scavengers: The work & Equipment

4.1. आपके व परिवार के लोग किस प्रकार का कार्य करते है। (नगर निगम के कर्मचारी-1, टेके पर-2, दैनिक सफाई कर्मी-3, अन्य-4)

4.2. (विभाजन के श्रेणी (लखनऊ नगर निगम में मेहतर-1, कूड़ा गाड़ी ड्राइवर, मैन होल विभाग-2, बड़ी तथा छोटी लाइनों के सफाई कर्मचारी-3, सरकारी/प्राइवेट अस्पताल में वार्ड बॉय/लेडी-4, अन्य-5)

4.3.यदि दैनिक सफाई कर्मी है तो कितने दिन काम मिलता है।

4.4. कार्य के घंटे कार्य का समय

4.5. क्या आपको निर्धारित घंटो से अधिक काम करना पड़ता है (हाँ-1, नहीं

4.6. क्या आपको देर से मजदूरी का भुगतान होता है। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

4.6.1.यदि हाँ तो कितनी देरी से भुगतान होता है।

4.7. आपके के द्वारा किस प्रकार का सफाई कार्य किया जाता है। (शौचालय की सफाई-1, सड़कों पर गन्दगी की सफाई-2, जानवरों के शव को उठाना-3, अस्पताल इत्यादि की सफाई-4, नालियों की

सफाई-5, कूड़ा गाड़ी में भरना-6, रेलवे लाइन पर मल-मूत्र की सफाई-7, ट्रेन के शौचालय की सफाई-8, अन्य कोई भी-9

4.8. क्या आपके नियोक्ता द्वारा आपको सफाई सम्बन्धी उपकरण मिलते हैं। (हाँ-1, नहीं)

4.8.1 यदि हाँ तो बतायें कौन से

4.9. क्या आपको लगता है सफाई कर्मियों को आसानी से इस्तेमाल किये जाने योग्य उपकरण मिलने चाहिये (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

4.10. क्या आपको लगता है कि समाज को स्वास्थ्य बनाये रख

(हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

4.11. According to you sanitation is essential in which sense. (Code: personal cleanliness washing hands, bathing, and wearing clean clothes-1, using clean and safe toilets-2 keeping water sources clean, and disposing of garbage safely-3, All of the above-4)

आपके अनुसार स्वच्छता किस लिए आवश्यक है। (व्यक्तिगत सफाई के लिए-1, साफ तथा सुरक्षित शौचालय के इस्तेमाल के लिए-2, जल स्रोतों को साफ रखने तथा कूड़ा करकट ठीक प्रकार से फेंकने के लिए-3, उपर्युक्त सभी-4)

4.12. Do you think that Sanitation is one of basic determinant of Quality of life? (Code: Yes-1, No-2, Can't say-3)

क्या आप मानते हैं कि स्वच्छता जीवन की गुणवत्ता को निर्धारित करती है (हाँ-1, नहीं -2, कह नहीं सकते-3)

4.13. Do you think there is sanitation that unifies all engaged in scavenging work? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आप मानते हैं कि स्वच्छता सभी सफाई का काम करने वालों में एकता लाती है। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

4.14. Do you perceive various groups or segments within scavenging community but work is almost same. (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आप मानते हैं कि सफाई कर्मी समुदाय में बहुत से समूह होते हुए भी काम लगभग एक जैसा है। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

4.15. What do you know about the health risk of doing sanitation work? Please give detail.

सफाई का काम करने से स्वास्थ्य सम्बन्धी खतरों के बारे में आप जानते हैं। यदि हाँ तो क्या जानते हैं तो बताये

4.16. Do you think that people identify sanitation only with the scavengers' community? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आपको लगता है कि लोग ऐसा सोचते हैं कि सफाई केवल आपके समुदाय का कार्य है

(हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

4.17. Do you think that Sanitation is related to the issue of caste? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आप मानते हैं कि स्वच्छता का काम जाति से सम्बंधित है (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

4.18. Do you think other people keep untouchability with you due to your caste (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

आपके जाति के कारण लोग आपसे छुआ छूत करते हैं। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

4.19. Do you think that Sanitation work is an occupation which considered lowest in hierarchy of occupations? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आपको लगता है कि स्कैवेजिंग एक ऐसा पेशा है जो सबसे निम्न है।(हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

4.20. Do you think Sanitation is a healthy and hygienic action? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आपको लगता है कि स्वच्छता एक स्वस्थ एवं हाईजिनिक प्रक्रिया है (हाँ-1, नहीं -2, पता नहीं-3)

4.21. Do you take bath or wash hand after work and before making or having food? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आप खाना बनाने तथा खाने से पूर्व हाथ धोते व नहाते हैं (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

4.22. Are you using soap while taking bath and washing hand after work? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या स्कैवेजिंग का कार्य करने के बाद साबुन से नहाते व हाथ धोते हैं। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

4.23. How often do you change/wash cloths? (Code: before work-1, After work-2)

आप कितनी बार कपड़े बदलते हैं। (काम के पहले-1, काम के बाद-2)

Sanitation Caste discrimination & scavengers

5.1. You are working as scavenger what are the main reasons for doing sanitation work?(Code: It is our traditional family occupation -1, No other alternatives-2, Provides livelihood -3, Any other 4,NA-5)

स्कैवेजिंग का काम करने का मुख्य कारण (यह आपका परम्परागत पेशा है-1, कोई दूसरा काम नहीं मिला-2, इससे जीविका चलती है-3, अन्य कारण-4)

5.2. Do you think it is easy to get scavenging work nowadays? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या वर्तमान में स्कैवेजिंग का काम प्राप्त करना आसान है। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

5.2.1. If no, what are the reasons?(Code: Private contract system-1, Other caste people are getting into this occupation-2, Government is not recruiting more workers -3 Technology has improved so less work-4, Any other Reason-5)

यदि नहीं तो क्या कारण है (प्राइवेट ठेका व्यवस्था-1, दूसरी जाति के लोग इस पेशे में आने लगे हैं-2, सरकार ज्यादा लोगों को सरकारी नौकरी नहीं दे रही है-3, टेक्नोलॉजी आ जाने से काम कम हो गया है-4, अन्य कारण-5)

5.3. Would you like to give up scavenging work? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आप स्कैवेजिंग का काम छोड़ना चाहते हैं। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

5.3.1. If yes, why you want to give up scavenging work ?(Code: It is associated with stigma of untouchability -1, feel uncomfortable doing scavenging work-2, another work is better paid-3, Not get scavenging occupation-4, other reason-4)

यदि हाँ तो क्यों छोड़ना चाहते हैं (यह छुआ-छूत के कलंक से जुड़ा है-1, इस काम में असहज महसूस करते हैं-2, दूसरे काम में ज्यादा पैसा मिलता है-3, स्कैवेजिंग का काम नहीं मिलता-4, अन्य कारण-5 .
.....)

5.4. Do you think that your community members also want to change their traditional occupation?(Code:Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आपको लगता है कि आपके समुदाय के अन्य लोग भी स्कैवेजिंग का काम छोड़ना चाहते हैं (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

5.5. What are the reasons for taking up the occupation other than sanitation work by you and your family?(Code: You are Educated-1,Better social status and acceptance-2, Don't want to do scavenging work-3, Any other-4)

आपके व परिवार के लोगों द्वारा स्कैवेजिंग को छोड़ दूसरे पेशे को अपनाने के कारण है (आप शिक्षित है-1, स्कैवेजिंग का काम नहीं करना चाहते-2, अन्य कारण -3)

5.6. Do you think that sanitation shifted one category of occupation from other categories? (Code: Scavengers to Rag pickers-1, Scavengers to lower level labour works-2, Scavengers to Skill based works-3,)

क्या आपको लगता है कि स्वच्छता एक श्रेणी व्यवसाय से दूसरी श्रेणी व्यवसाय में बदल रहा है(स्कैवेजर से कूड़ा बीनने वालों में-1, स्कैवेजर से निम्न स्तर के श्रमिक-2, स्कैवेजर से कुशल कारीगर-3)

Occupation Mobility and Change

(पिता से बच्चों की पीढ़ी तक)

5.7. Do you perceive any change between three generations - from your fathers' generation to your children?(Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आप अपनी तीन पीढ़ियों में कोई बदलाव महसूस करते हैं (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

5.8. Did you feel that your economic status, Occupation, standard of living change between three generation- your fathers' generation to your children. (Code: Yes-1, No-2, can't say-3)

क्या आप अपनी तीन पीढ़ियों (पिता से बच्चों की पीढ़ी तक) आपकी आर्थिक स्थिति रहन सहन के स्तर में बदलाव आया है (हाँ-1, नहीं -2, कह नहीं सकते-3)

5.9. Did you feel that your Social status position, education change between three generation- your fathers' generation to your children.(Code: Yes-1, No-2,Can't say-3)

क्या आप अपनी सामाजिक प्रस्थिति शिक्षा में पिछली तीन पीढ़ियों में परिवर्तन महसूस करते हैं। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2, कह नहीं सकते-3)

5.10. Did you noticed any form of untouchability or discrimination, during interaction with others. (Code: Yes-1, No-2,Can't say-3)

क्या आप दूसरों के साथ अन्तर्क्रिया के दौरान भेदभाव का अनुभव करते हैं। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2,)

5.11. Did you noticed the condition of Residence or housing, facilities, amenities in between three generation.(Code: It has improved -1, Have remained the same -2, It has worsened-3)

क्या आपकी तीन पीढ़ियों में मूलभूत सुविधाओं में परिवर्तन हुआ है। (हाँ आया है। -1, पहले जैसी ही है -2, पहले से खराब हुई है-3)

5.12. Did you noticed Political rights voting, representation, leadership has been change between three generation- your fathers' generation to your children. (Code: Yes-1, No they have remained the same-2, Can't say-

क्या आप राजनैतिक अधिकार जैसे- वोटिंग, प्रतिनिधित्व में परिवर्तन महसूस करते हैं। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2, कह नहीं सकते-3)

5.13. Your Family life, family size, values, traditions has been change between three generation- your fathers' generation to your children. (Code: Yes-1, No they have remained the same-2, Can't say-3)

आपके परिवार का आकार, मूल्य, परम्परायें तीन पीढ़ियों में बदली है। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2, कह नहीं सकते-3)

5.14. Did you noticed the Religious and cultural belief, practices rituals has been change between three generation- your fathers' generation to your children. (Code: Yes-1, No they have remained the same-2, Can't say-3)

क्या आपने धार्मिक और सांस्कृतिक विश्वास कर्म-काण्ड में बदलाव महसूस किया है। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2, कह नहीं सकते-3)

5.15. When people ask you which caste you belong, what do you say?

(Code: Harijan -1, Bhangi or Mahtar -2, Valmiki -3, Safaikamdar(Jamadaar) -4, Dalit -5, Hindu -6, You Ignored that question -7)

जब लोग आपसे आपकी जाति पूछते हैं तो आप क्या बताते हैं। (हरिजन-1, भंगी /मेहतर-2, वाल्मीकि-3, जमादार-4, दलित-5, हिन्दू-6, प्रश्न को अनसूना कर देते हैं-7)

5.16. Which of the community titles represent you best? (Code: Harijan -1, Bhangi -2, Valmiki -3, Safaikamdar (Jamadar) -4, Dhanuk-5, Any other-6)

आपको कौन सा जातिसूचक शब्द व्यक्त करता है। (हरिजन-1, भंगी /मेहतर-2, वाल्मीकि-3, जमादार-4, धानुक-5, अन्य-6)

5.17. Do you have any interactions with other dalit community (accepting scavengers)? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

आपकी आपनी जाति के अलावा और किसी जाति से अन्तर्क्रिया है (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

5.18 Do you have any interaction with upper castes people? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आपकी उच्च जातियों से अन्तर्क्रिया है (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

5.18.1. If yes, where? In and around your locality -1 Work place -2 ,market -3, During function/festivals -4 Any other-5)

(यदि हाँ तो कहां (आपके आस पड़ोस में-1, कार्य स्थल पर -2, बाजार में-3, त्यौहार/उत्सव में-4, अन्य-5)

5.19. Do you feel inferior while interacting to an upper caste member? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आप ऊँची जातियों से अर्न्तक्रिया के दौरान नीचा महसूस करते हैं।(हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

5.19.1. If yes what is the nature of discrimination? (Code: Look down at you -1, Insult and abuse -2, Pay lower wages-3, Anyother-4)

यदि हां तो किस प्रकार का भेदभाव का महसूस करते हैं (आपको नीचा समझते हैं-1, बेइजत करते हैं-2, कम मजदूरी देते हैं-3, अन्य कोई कारण -4)

5.20. Do you experience any discrimination at work place? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आप कार्य स्थल पर भेदभाव महसूस करते हैं (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

5.21. Do you think other people keep untouchability with you because you are doing scavenging work? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आपको लगता है कि स्कैवेंजिंग का काम करने के कारण लोग आपको अछूत मानते हैं।

(हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

5.22. Do you feel that there will be a redressal system for your grievances at government level? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आपको लगता है कि आपकी समस्याओं का समाधान करने हेतु कोई व्यवस्था सरकारी स्तर पर होनी चाहिए। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

Sociology of Sanitation: Issues and Problems

6.1. Are you work in septic tank? (Code: Yes-1, No-2, N.A.-3)

क्या आप सैप्टिंग टैंक में उतर कर कार्य करते हैं। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2, लागू नहीं-3)

6.1.1 .If yes you do to be safety in work? (Safety measures...)

यदि हां तो आप सुरक्षित स्थिति में कार्य करते हैं (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

6.2. You are appointed by whom? (Code Nagar Nigam -1, Private contractor-2)

आपकी नियुक्ति किसने की हैं (नगर निगम-1, प्राइवेट ठेकेदार-2)

6.3. Do you employer provided elementary tools sending you into the gutter? (Code: Yes-1, No-2, N.A.-3)

क्या आपके नियोक्ता द्वारा आपको गटर में उतरने हेतु जरूरी उपकरण उपलब्ध कराये जाते हैं।(हाँ-1, नहीं -2, लागू नहीं-3)

6.4. What are these sanitary Equipment? (Code:Rope-1,Box(contained medicine,detol)-2,oxygen cylinder-4,Mask-5,Any other-5)

उपकरण कौन से है। (रस्सी-1, फस्टएडबाक्स (दवाये)-2, ऑक्सीजन सिलेण्डर-3, मास्क-4, अन्य कोई-5)

6.5. Are you injured during cleaning the septic tank or gutter? (Code: Yes-1, No-2, N.A.-3)

क्या आप सैप्टिक टैंक की सफाई के दौरान जख्मी हुये है (हाँ-1, नही -2, लागू नहीं-3)

6.5.1.If yes do you get adequate compensation? (Code: Yes-1, No-2, N.A.-3)

यदि हां तो आपको मुआवजा मिला? (हाँ-1, नही -2, लागू नहीं-3)

6.6. Did you know any your fellow worker who died during cleaning the septic tank or gutter? (Code: Yes-1, No-2, N.A.-3)

क्या आपके किसी साथी की मृत्यु सैप्टिक टैंक में काम करने के दौरान हुयी है। (हाँ-1, नही -2, लागू नहीं-3)

6.8. Did His family getting adequate compensation? (Code: Yes-1, No-2, very little-3)

क्या उसके परिवार को उपयुक्त मुआवजा मिला (हाँ-1, नही -2, बहुत कम-3)

Government policy & benefits

7.1. Do you think the community members have been able to take the advantage of Reservation policy of the Government in educational institutions and employment? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आपके समुदाय के लोग आरक्षण का लाभ प्राप्त करने मे सक्षम है।(हाँ-1, नही -2)

7.1.1. If no, what are the reasons _____

यदि नहीं तो कारण _____

7.2. Do you support any political party or political organization? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

आप किसी राजनेतिक दल को सपोर्ट करते है। (हाँ-1, नही -2)

7.2.1. If No, which one _____

यदि नहीं तो क्या कारण है

7.3. Do you think various political parties take advantage of you as vote bank? (Code: Yes-1, No-2, Don't know-3)

क्या आपको लगता कि सभी राजनैतिक पार्टियां आपके समुदाय को वोट बैंक मानती है। (हाँ-1, नही -2, पता नहीं-3)

7.4. Do you think political power is necessary to bring about change in the social and economic status of scavengers? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

आपको लगता है कि आपकी सामाजिक आर्थिक स्थिति में परिवर्तन के लिए राजनैतिक शक्ति आवश्यक है। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2, पता नहीं-3)

7.5. Do you know about Valmiki MalinBastiAwasYojna (VAMBAY)?(Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आप वाल्मीकि वस्ती आवास योजना के बारे में जानते हैं। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

7.5.1. Do you benefited with this scheme? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

यदि हां तो इसका लाभ मिला (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

7.6. Did you get benefited withany schemefor construction of toilet.. (Code: Yes-1, No-2, N.A.-3)

क्या आपको शौचालय बनाने के लिए कोई सरकारी सहायता मिली है (हाँ-1, नहीं -2, लागू नहीं-3)

7.7. Do you Know National SafaiKaramcharis Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC)?(Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आप राष्ट्रीय सफाई कर्मचारी विकास कार्पोरेशन के बारे में जानते हैं। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

7.8. Did you receive any financial aid or Assistance from SCDCs (State Scheduled Castes Development Corporations)?(Code: Yes-1, No- ,Don't know about the SCDCs-3)

क्या आप राज्य सफाई कर्मचारी विकास कार्पोरेशन से लाभान्वित हैं। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2, इसके बारे में पता नहीं-3)

7.9. During the last 6 months whether you or any member of your household is a beneficiary of Government programme?

पिछले छः माह से आपके परिवार के किसी व्यक्ति को जिन सरकारी कार्यक्रम का लाभ मिला है। उनका उल्लेख करें।

7.10. Does the household possess ration card? (Code: Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आपका राशन कार्ड बना है। (हाँ-1, नहीं -2)

7.11.1If yes which type of Ration Card do you have? (Code: BPL-01, APL-02,Any other please specify-3)

यदि हां तो कौन सा (बीपीएल-1, एपीएल-2, अन्य कोई-3.....)

7.11.2.Which articles you receive being holder of Ration card. (Wheat-1, Rice-2, Sugar-3, Kerocin-4)

कार्ड होने के नाते आपको क्या क्या चीजें मिलती हैं। (गेहूं-1, चावल-2, चीनी-3, कैरोसिन-4)

7.12.Did you get benefit by any scheme enacted by non government of organisation during Last Six month. Please give detail.

किसी गैर सरकारी संगठन द्वारा आपको पिछले छः महीने में कोई लाभ या योजना मिली है।

(हाँ-1, नहीं -2)



Housing condition of study area



Interview of lady sanitation worker



Case studies recorded during field work



Filthy Housing conditions of Scavengers of Lucknow



Self arranged sanitation equipment by scavengers



Bahaau Toilet cleaning by scavengers of Lucknow without using protective gears



Filthy condition of scavengers' habitation



Hazardous work condition





Enforced to perform sanitation work without protective gears

