CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM AND APPROACH

1.1 Introduction

Economic development implies sustained progress of the economy in all aspects. Both developed and developing nations have different economic stimulus packages in order to attain high order of economic growth. There are many factors are responsible for the speedy and sustained growth such as education, health, longevity, income and consumption pattern of the people and influence of market forces. These are collectively called socio-economic development factors in the sense that it fundamentally improves the standard of living of the people.

India is vested with both plenty of natural resources and healthy human resources and land for 125 crore population. Still, in India, poverty is major cause for blocking the development of the country. Poverty affects poor households and their generations. The impact of poverty is higher on the socially unprivileged sections of the society for example scavenging workers who constitute considerable proportion in the total population of our country.

Indian society is undergoing a process of social changes. Increasing social awareness due to the liberal opportunities and facilities in the field of education, social legislations, healthy and active participation in a democratic political system have changed the socio-cultural values in general. This is aptly observed by Jain (1988) who traces the relative change in the socio-cultural values between pre-independence and post-independence periods.
The observation of Jain that the change is a basic metamorphosis is relevant, valid and significant in the sense that it throws a good deal of light on the changes that are taking place in India. The twentieth century will go into the pages of the history of human civilization as one of the great epochs of human progress. The British regime and the post-independence have brought in many social changes in India. The old order has changed, yielding place to the new, thus bringing a perceptible transformation in society. The transformation has brought both prospects and problems. With the advancement of science and technology, new technologies have come into our daily routine and new wants have increased.

Socio-economic advancement of a country can be judged by the status and position, which it can bestow on its women. So the levels of economic equality and independence are the real indicators to measure the status of women in any society. In India, the general economic situation is far from satisfactory, the situation of women is worse than that of men. There is no doubt that, over the years there has been sea of changes in social perception of issues that relates to women in rural areas. They remain the most deprived and long neglected segment of the society, despite constitutional guarantee for equal rights and privileges for men and women. Their contribution to the economic growth of the society is quite substantial although it is a fact that the labour put in by women in discharging the economic and domestic duties hardly gets its due recognition.

India has made laudable achievements in all fields of the economy, but there are some shadow areas which are to be lighted. In India, the conditions of scavenging
workers are deplorable and no stringent actions have been taken so far to improve their conditions. In spite of all scientific and technological progress the country has made, scavengers are still carrying human excreta on their heads, hands, hip and shoulders. The reason for this sorry state of affairs is unimaginative and inhuman approach of the hard-boiled bureaucracy on one hand, and utter indifference and apathy of the public on the other. What little benefits are extended to these people today is mostly due to the great efforts of our Father of Nation Mahatma Gandhiji and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar who roused the conscience of the people towards these unfortunates.

Due to relentless efforts of Dr. Ambedkar, the society, as well the Government of Bombay became aware of their duty towards this much exploited and curbed section, and credit should go to the Government of Bombay who in 1949 took concrete steps in ameliorating the conditions of sweepers and scavengers. It was the Government of Bombay of 1949 which constituted the first ever committee in the country to go into the question of improving the living and working conditions of sweepers and scavengers. Shri. V. N. Barve headed the committee which studied the problems of sweepers and scavengers in detail. The committee submitted its report and recommendations in 1952, which contained references to the conditions of sweepers and scavengers employed in the districts of Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwar and Karwar which were the parts of Bombay State at that time.

India is a caste based society. Caste is the predominant factor and feature of Indian society. The caste in Indian society is still the most powerful factor in determining a man’s dignity, calling and profession. In India every Hindu necessarily belongs to the
caste of his parents and in that caste he inevitably remains. No accumulation of wealth and exercise of talents can alter his caste status and marriage outside his caste is prohibited or severely discouraged. It almost invariably happens that every man’s caste is known to his neighbours. In some cases, the application of the rule of caste seems almost to prescribe the means of livelihood of its members. Thus the caste system, which may have originated in the preservation of ceremonial purity in social relations and in rules designed to limit admixture of blood has in the course of the ages developed into an institution which assigns to each individual his duty and his position in orthodox Hinduism. There is a relative segregation and isolation in the social inhabitations of the Scheduled Castes in the urban areas also. However, the urban setting has witnessed more changes in the social status of the Scheduled Castes due to expansion of educational facilities, employment avenues, political changes, and the urbanized way of life of the city dwellers. The rural people are still living under the old patterns of social setting with some marginal changes. Further, political leaders of the Scheduled Castes are severing their relations with their own caste and they mostly become unapproachable to the masses, occupational structure of the SCs have traditionally designed and forcefully executed with structured hegemony, large chunk of the SCs are landless agricultural labourers, unskilled workers and sanitary workers, in which the most undignified and inhuman occupation constraints have poised on the SCs, an estimated 1.2 million scavengers in the country are involved in the sanitation of our surroundings. The working conditions of these sanitary workers have remained virtually unchanged for over a

century. Nearly a century after Mahatma Gandhi first called for the abolition of manual scavenging, the degrading practice continues. Between 2009 and 2012, the Indian Ministry for Social Justice and Empowerment admitted to the existence of 876,000 scavengers. However, these figures may have been underestimated because scavenging is illegal. According to one survey by Bezwada Wilson of the Sanitary workers Association, an estimated 12 lakh (1.2 million) scavengers are present in the country.

According to Sulabh, four to five million people were working as scavengers in 2011 and were often employed by the local civil bodies to clean excrement in public places. This situation persists despite the fact that the Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993, is in enforcement, which provides for the prohibition of the employment of manual scavengers as well as construction or continuance of dry latrines and for the regulation of construction and maintenance of water-seal latrines for assuring the dignity of the individual, as enshrined in the Preamble to the Constitution. The working conditions of the sanitary workers have remained virtually unchanged for over a century. Using only a stick broom and a small tin plate, the sanitary workers clear feces from public and private latrines onto baskets or other containers, which they then carry on their heads to dumping grounds and disposal sites. A few, however, are provided with wheelbarrows or carts by the municipal authorities. Apart from the social atrocities that these workers face, they are also exposed to certain health problems by virtue of their occupation. These health hazards include exposure to harmful gases, cardiovascular degeneration, musculoskeletal disorders, infections, skin problems and respiratory system problems.
1.2 Caste in India

Caste is defined as a system incorporating within it a structure and organization, and is based on endogamy, hierarchy, and commercial restrictions. It also prescribes the pattern of group relations that may bind the interacting individuals in routine life. The groups in caste system are exhaustive, exclusive, and discrete, i.e., every person is a member of such a group and of only one. Membership in-group influences the members in their roles and activities; there is a degree of ‘role summation’. The groups are independent; each needs the services or goods provided by others. Traditional Indian society was based largely on the principles of caste. Caste is the very complex social institution deeply entrenched in Indian society from immemorial past. It is a system of social organization found in traditional India and surviving to a large extent to the present day. The earlier Vedas do not reveal the existence of caste. Careful analysis of the sacred books of India indicates that the caste system is developed in the latest phase of decline of the Vedic culture as a result of Aryan invasion and conquest of the original inhabitants.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar coined the views of Dr. Johnson on these sacred books in his writings. According to Dr. Johnson, the doctrines contained in these sacred books are responsible for the decline and fall of the country and the society in terms of caste system. According to Dr. Ambedkar, “Caste in India mans an artificial chopping off of the population into fixed and definite units, each one prevented from fusing into another through the custom of endogamy”. In his view, Chaturvarnya is the root cause of all its inequality and is also the parent of caste system and untouchability which are merely other forms of inequality. In terms of social status, the Indian population can be grouped
into four categories: Scheduled Castes (SC) or Dalits, Scheduled Tribes (ST) or Adivasis, Other Backward Classes (OBC), and Others. The caste system in its entirety constitutes a status hierarchy with the Brahmins at the pinnacle and the Scheduled Castes or so-called untouchables at the base. Scheduled Castes are persons of discrete sets of low castes who are excluded from social, cultural, religious, and other conventions of an elaborate hierarchical Indian caste system. They are in a condition of being marginalized and deprived of basic rights on account of their birth into low status social groups. Thus the Scheduled Castes are characterized by a low, in fact, the lowest, social status in the caste hierarchy, as well as by low socio-economic conditions. These strata had, on account of their low social and ritual status, been subject to a variety of disabilities. As a consequence, these castes have remained socially, economically and educationally backward.

1.3 The term ‘Status’, social hierarchy and occupational entitlement

The term status refers to social position. The status is the basis that fixes the honour and respect to stand high in social scale, on one hand, thereby some are bestowed with certain advantages and privileges and, on the other hand, the others are ranked low in the scale and put to some disadvantages and disabilities. Parkin stated that ‘Status can be regarded as one example of an important non-material reward which is unequally distributed. According to Ross, ‘Statuses are ranked, some being considered higher than others. The rank of a status is variously expressed in prestige, power or monetary reward’. Rose and Rose say that status means social standing in relation to others, on the

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2 Ibid
basis of which the individual is ranked in the society. Status is a word of Latin origin ‘standing’, which refers to the social ranking of people relevant to how they ‘stand – higher, lower or at the same level – in relation to other people belonging to a particular community. Thus status means social position in any social structure. This is to say, the status refers to ‘the relative rank of a person in terms of the degree of his possession of characteristics highly valued by the culture.

The term status, therefore, refers to a quality of social honour or rank of it, which is conditioned as well as expressed through a specific style of life. Thus the term ‘status’ is defined to denote either a persons’ social position, grade, place, rank, standing, dignity, category, relation to others or his relative importance in a given society. Accordingly, one is ranked higher or lower in position on the basis of his status. Social status means person’s station and/or placement in social relationship, i.e., person’s order or rank in relation to others in a society or community. This is to say that a person’s status refers his group standing or ranking in relation to others in society. Moreover, members of each society or group are assigned with some functions and carry with it some degree of power and prestige and the same degree of power and prestige is referred to as his status. Social status, therefore, refers to the rank or position in a society or community in which the bearer obtains and ascribes some definite power and social respect. In other words, in a social system persons are prescribed with some position and the same is termed as his

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social status, which is determined by the extent of power and prestige related with that status.

1.4 The Scheduled Castes

Several castes in Hindu society have been associated with unclean occupations and social restrictions, and suffered from socio-economic, educational and cultural disabilities. The people belonging to the castes, to which the elite of Hindu society have ascribed ‘untouchability’, are Untouchables. The untouchable caste, being on the last rung of the social ladder, was denied entry into several occupations which were relatively cleaner or well-paid and the field of its activities was restricted to somewhat unclean and menial jobs which yielded low incomes. They were associated with a variety of specialized traditional occupations such as scavenging, cobbling, disposal of carcasses, basketry, etc. These castes in the past had no access to education. The road to knowledge was closed to them. As Untouchables were outside the Varna system, they were known as ‘Avarna’, ‘Panchamas’, or ‘Antyaja’. These people were out castes and as such were socially ostracized by caste Hindus is rather a strange expression. All the Hindus come under the Varna and Caste System and as such there was no one like non Varna or non-caste Hindu. As the lower strata in the society, the Untouchables were outside the four Varna fold and formed the fifth Varna and as such were ‘Panchamas’.

The practice of untouchability developed in the course of time, some scholars argued as the conflict between the Aryans and the indigenous people became sharp. Practice of untouchability was preceded by a long history of social and cultural prejudice
of the Vedic Aryans towards some groups of the indigenous population who posed threat to their way of life, based on pastoral wealth and performance of religious rituals and sacrifices. Untouchables were hated because they spoke a different language and did not follow the religion of the Aryans. Cultural segregation increased as time passed by the habitational segregation and cultural religious prejudice practiced by the Aryans vis-à-vis certain other groups identified as hostile and unassailable, resulted in the practice of untouchability. The Aryans could not bring them under their control and these groups continued to rebel against the hegemony of the Aryan in economic and cultural spheres. Few societies have condemned one of their sections to physical segregation as the Hindu society has done in the case of the former untouchables. The mere physical touch of an untouchable was a sin, an abomination. The segregation of a section of the Hindus as untouchables, precluded from such elementary rights as entry to public temples or the use of public wells and tanks, and whose physical touch contaminated a member of higher castes, constituted a most inhuman form of social oppression. The untouchables were the outcasts of Hindu society. Hallowed with tradition and sanctified by religion, the unsociability continued to exist in all its barbarous vigor for centuries.

The Scheduled Castes were said to be carried with them the stigma of their low and impure birth. The caste system was said to be founded on the concept of ‘purity and pollution’. As the very positions in the caste hierarchy are based on the ideas of ‘purity and pollution’, the caste at the top have greater ‘purity’ in that their food, dress and occupation are regarded as more pure than those of other castes. Castes at the bottom are regarded as ‘impure’ and their food, occupations, clothes, customs and myths are
regarded as either inferior or impure. Economically completely dependent on the superior
castes and much exploited by them, educationally backward, socially degraded and
treated with contempt, deliberately deprived of the higher religious and cultural values of
the Hindu society, all the Scheduled Castes were attributed with varying degrees of ritual
impurity. Close contact with them was polluting; hence they were untouchables. Various
names have been used to refer to these people. The names that one comes across for these
‘Scheduled Castes’, ‘Ex Untouchables’ and ‘Dalit’

1.5 Occupational disabilities

The nature of one’s occupation has a direct reference to one’s status. The social
status of an individual is affected and even determined by the nature of occupation from
which he derived his livelihood. The Scheduled Castes were known for their long
association with so-called impure, unclean, degrading socially looked down and least
preferred occupations. Many Untouchables followed the hereditary occupations such as
scavenging, carcass recovery and flaying and hide tanning, leatherwork, drum beating
and grave digging. These occupations that was associated with the Untouchables with
permanent ritual pollution, barred social intercourse between them and higher caste
Hindus, in the framework of traditional Indian society. Besides these traditional
occupations, they are also involved in ‘clean’ occupations with a majority of them being
agricultural labourers. Looking into occupations of the Scheduled Castes it can be said
that the Scheduled Castes were economically poor and generally were dependent on
agricultural labour and other low-income occupations besides their caste occupation. In fact, the greatest majority of Scheduled Caste occupational force is engaged in agricultural labour in rural areas.

Besides, this all the primary leather workers, scavengers, and who deal with carcass recovery and flaying were almost the Scheduled Castes. In urban areas, a large proportion of cart pullers, hamalis, and the like manual workers and other unorganized non-agricultural wages labourers and civic sanitation workers belong to the Scheduled Castes. Even those Scheduled Castes who do follow the ‘clean’ occupations were also subjected to discrimination. It is not the polluting occupation alone, which is the reason for discrimination of the Scheduled Castes, but the very birth in the caste seems to be the reason for low status imposed on the Scheduled Castes, as the Scheduled Castes who follow the clean occupations were equally ill-treated. One of the important factors that are associated with the occupation is economic condition. Because of their lowly placed occupations, Scheduled Castes had depressed economic conditions. The Scheduled Castes were virtually denied of the right to own land for cultivation, were paid low wages as manual workers and always were in debts far beyond their capacities to repay. Although outside the rigid Varna system, the Scheduled Castes constituted a vital segment of population and performed mostly unskilled and manual labour and unclean occupations without which the smooth running of traditional system would have been impossible. Their earnings were meager and were primarily indebted and were forced to

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work as bonded labour to the upper caste on low wages. Scheduled Castes were also under obligation to perform forced labour.

The caste system in India is described as the longest surviving social hierarchy, the defining features of which have complex stratification of social groups based on religiously codified rules and norms. Indian social system is being hierarchical and determined by the individual status, rank and occupation based on birth. Untouchability has its deep roots in India’s caste system. The social discrimination is seriously engrained and affects every aspects of Indian society.

Vidyarthi and Mishra (1997) explains the term the Brahman, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya and the Sustra, have been linked to various parts of the human body, like Brahmans to the head, Kshatriyas to the army and Vaishyas to the Stomach, Sudras to the feet. Now the Sudras are call Harijans, or Scheduled Castes and depressed classes.  

This discrimination and oppression is used by dominant castes to control those who are placed in the lower strata of the caste system. This hierarchical order is what Dr. B.R. Ambedkar appropriately described as a system of ‘graded inequality’. In the graded inequality system one of the most deplorable sections are untouchable castes in the Brahminical social order of classification. In which, the sanitary workers, otherwise called as safai karamcharis, are the worst vulnerable and deprived sections. Again


Dr. Ambedkar quoted that the Dalits are not comes under this Brahminical social order, they are fall outside of caste system. The name scavengers have been called as in many names such as Han, Hadi (in Bengal); Balmiki Dhanuk (Uttar Pradesh); Methar, bhangi (Assam); Methar (Hyderabad); Paki (Coastal Andhra Pradesh); Thotti, Arundhatiyars or Sakkaliars / Chakkilars (Tamil Nadu); Mira, Lalbegi, Chuhra, Balashahi (Punjab); Bhangi, Balmiki, Methar, Chudra (Delhi) with derogatory connotation.

Generally the sanitary workers are socially and economically marginalized, being denied access to most amenities, to have a normal life in society. Many welfare measures or programmes undertaken by the both central and state government for the upliftment of sanitary workers are yet to be adequately addressed their requirements to have atleast marginal impact on their development. There a large number of welfare schemes have been developed by the policy makers of our country; it includes wage act, employees’ state insurance, and privileges death relief and family pension for workers and employment for their families in municipality domain. Though the aforesaid programmes are in existence, but it yielded neither satisfactory results.

1.6 Urban and Rural Sanitation - An Overview

The primary cause for the growing size of scavenger workers is burgeoning population and urbanisation. In India, 217 million people live in the 3768 urban agglomerations. The decade 1981-91 witnessed the urban population growing at an annual rate of 3.6 per cent and less than 20 per cent urban population use flush type toilets connected to a sewerage system. 14 per cent use water seal toilets connected to septic tanks, and 33 per cent use bucket or dry latrines and nearly one third of the
population do not have access to proper drainage system. Particularly in coastal areas where the sewage water is discharged into the sea without treatment that leads to sea water pollution.

Discharging of untreated sewage spreads disease, destroys marine life, decreases the fish catches, tourism and transfers valuable nutrients permanently to the sea. It is estimated that around 27-50 per cent of the wastages generated in town remains uncollected and scattered on the streets. At the household level, the latrine facility is extremely inadequate and a large number of families’ men, women and children are forced to resort to open-air defecation.

There is mismatch between the population and availability of latrine facilities. Latest census 2011 reveals that there are still 2.6 million dry latrines are in use in India. It was in practice that scavenger has to remover human excreta, now it is banned by the government through legislation. Despite being made punishable under the Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act 1993 and allocation of funds to rehabilitate the workers, the practice of manual scavenging continues, Bezwada Wilson of Safai Karamchari Andolan (SKA) says.

SKA, a NGO working for the welfare of the Scavengers, defines manual scavenging is the practice of removing human excreta with hands and carrying the load on their heads hips or shoulders. With the help of, usually, a pair of tin scrappers and wicket basket or bucket, the manual scavengers removes and carries human excreta from the latrines to the dumping sites. The carrying of human excreta on the head is the

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abiding image of a manual scavenger. This is an obnoxious and degrading occupation, which the manual scavengers themselves despise, but feel helpless and trapped into.

The dehumanizing practice of manual scavenging is closely interlinked with untouchability. It is well known that this work is socially assigned and imposed upon certain untouchable castes of India. Manual scavenging is rooted with caste and few exceptions as they are from the Scheduled Castes. Manual scavenging is thus a caste based occupation, with a large majority of them being women the continuance of manual scavenging constitutes a gross violation of human rights and the worth of the human person and flies in the face of the Constitutional guarantee assured, in its very Preamble, of a life with dignity for every individual in the country.

1.7 Meaning of Scavenging

Sanitation falls under the preventive type of public health. It is also another monopoly function to be under taken by the municipality. Sanitation includes removal of rubbish, sludge, night soil and dead animal’s controls of tiles and mosquitos, drain drainage and sweeping. Prevention is better than cure “An improvement is general sanitation in the inhabited areas of the cities and towns to provide salutary”. Our atmospheres of living are a matter of view of controlling of large part of the preventable ill health.

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Manual scavenging in India is the lifting and removal of human excreta manually, both at private homes and in toilets maintained by public authorities. It is done in either ways. First, it is through dry toilets, where the human excreta left on a stone, plate, mud, or a bucket. They must take the excreta to a place of disposal. Secondly, they clean sewage pits, both in private homes and in municipalities. While private pits are cleaned under cover of darkness, it is an apparent incidence that we can see in our street that a scavenger will be opening manholes to go down and clean them.

Whatever they are called, they belong to the bottom of the Hindu social hierarchy: they are untouchables. Indeed, manual scavenging and untouchability–caste discrimination all are hands together. Though there are many castes are in existence, the Dalit people are preferably selected for scavenging works such as cleaning, sweeping, leatherwork, and removal of human excreta, removal of human and cattle corpses, rearing of scavenger pigs and suchlike as other caste people reluctance and feel abhor about scavenging.

1.8 Historical perspectives of Scavenging

Manual scavenging is prevalent across Asia. Migrants from Andhra Pradesh went to Bangladesh and Sri Lanka to do this work. Other references to manual scavenging indicate that bucket toilet were prevalent in Africa and the Far East; China had manual

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9Bezwada Wilson recalls meeting a Bangladeshi from this community at the World Social Forum in Mumbai in 2004. The man’s grandfather had migrated from Visakhapatnam to pre-partition Bengal.
scavengers (though they were not members of any caste)\textsuperscript{10} Vault toilets (emptied by vacuum trucks) are still operable in Japan.

Manual scavenging in India has had a mixed lineage. Excavations in Lothal (62 km from Ahmedabad) show that in the Harappan civilization in 2500 BC, people had waterborne toilets in each house linked by drains and covered by burnt clay bricks.\textsuperscript{11} To facilitate operations and maintenance, this drainage system had manholes and chambers. But with the decline of the Indus Valley civilization, the science of sanitary engineering suffered a serious setback. In a later period, it was found that one of the fifteen duties for slaves enumerated in the Narada Samhita, chandalas was the disposal of human excreta. In Vajasaneyi Samhita chandalas were referred to as slaves engaged in the disposal of human excreta.

Amit Mitra, an editor of the magazine\textit{Down to Earth}, conducted a research on sewage system in medieval times. The author found that bathing rooms of the Mughal forts had small outlets for excretion. Gravity carried the waste down and out to the ramparts with the water. This can be found in the Red Fort in Delhi, in the palace of Rajasthan, in Hampi in Karnataka and in Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala.\textsuperscript{12}


Some controversy surrounds the Mughal period. A few argue that the practice of scavenging came with the Mughals.\textsuperscript{13} Prisoners of war were forced into manual scavenging and their descendants became the bhangis. This argument fits neatly into the Hindutva theory that all social evils emanate from Muslim rule, and reconstructs a glorious Rajput heritage for communities like the bhangis. Such a narrative consequently downplays the role that caste has played in India.

The practice of manual scavenging expanded phenomenally under the British rule. The British government legitimized it, while setting up army cantonments and municipalities. They created official posts of manual scavengers. All British institutions such as army, railways, courts, industries and major town were equipped with dry toilets instead of water-borne sewerage. The upheavals caused by commercialization of land, destruction of artisan trades and frequent famines, pushed people out of traditional occupations and agriculture related activities to sweep and scavenging. This is not to say that the British invented caste or manual scavengers; rather they intervened specifically to institutionalize it. Technology is supposed to remove social prejudice; however, the technology of sanitation was structured to deepen social prejudice in India.

During and after the Partition, the Pakistani state, despite the ethnic cleaning of Hindus, refused to allow the ‘untouchables’ involved in safai karamchari work to emigrate to India. While the Indian government tried to secure safe passage for the Hindus of Pakistan, there was no concern about the Dalit ‘Hindus’ left behind in

Pakistan, not that a better life awaited them in India. Ambedkar raised this issue in an epistle to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in December 1947. He expressed concern over the fact that the Pakistan government had declared sweepers as belonging to the ‘Essential Services’ and who they are were not prepared to release except on one month’s notice.\textsuperscript{14}

K. Stalin, the young Drishti film maker who made ‘Lesser Humans’, was deeply affected by his experience while making the film. He would not really think about it. He quoted after 50 years of independence, conditions could not be changed and it shocked him that people who touched bhangis would purify themselves by touching cow’s urine. So this country has not supported to this people for eliminating the manual scavenging. This Lesser Humans film won the Silver Conch Award at the 5\textsuperscript{th} Mumbai International Film Festival in 1998 and Excellence Award at the Earth Vision (7\textsuperscript{th} Tokyo Global Environmental Film Festival in March 1998. Nava Sarjan Trust (NST) (a NGO run by Martin Macwan) also a part of advocacy effort for making this film.

In Gujarat, Martin Macwan was fighting against the issue of eradication of manual scavenging. An incident happened in the Gujarat Court that usually macaw was trying to filed the case against this issues but the government was refused it, one day, before serving the legal notice, the NST had sent workers to document photographic and video evidence of the dry latrines and head loading the night soil. In the court, the government lawyer denied the existence of head loading and he accused that NST would have been paid to the women to pose for such a picture. Macwan had challenged the

statement and asked the lawyer that if you give such a poster I would pay for a lakh rupee. Finally, Macwan won the case and judgment directed that panchayats at root level must take steps to close all dry latrines.

It is not as if all Dalit migrants were brought in only for scavenging. When the madigas (now arundhatiyars) were brought to Tamil areas by Telugu-speaking Nayaka kings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they were not then employed for manual scavenging. There was no need either, because of the absence of towns and the absence of closed dwellings without open spaces. The arundhatiyars were actually brought along to fight wars and later used for menial jobs. They yanadis of Chirala also recall that they were brought from Prakasam to lay roads and rail networks by the British, and later pushed into manual scavenging. The enrolment of four people from non-scavenging Dalit communities into scavenging by the Nandikotkur gram panchayat, shows that poverty coupled with untouchability-by-birth can push people and communities into scavenging.

At the national level, during the tenure of G.B. Pant, the then Minister for Home Affairs, Government of India, a National Committee was set up in 1957 under the Chairmanship of N.R. Malkani to prepare a scheme to put an end to the degrading practice of scavengers having to carry night soil as head loads. The report of the Malkani Committee was submitted to the Government of India in 1960.

Some of the Committees are appointed by Central, as well as State Governments to go into the question of improving the lot of sweepers and scavengers are as below.


5. Committee to study the working and service conditions of sweepers and scavenger (Chairman Bhanuprasad Pandya) set up by the National Commission on Labour in 1967.

Various committees so far formed have made valuable recommendations concerning with the improvement of socio-economic conditions, living and working conditions of sweepers and scavengers.

But even today the scavenging, though officially abolished, it is still persisting in many parts of the state. What the scavengers was doing a hundred years ago to remove the night soil in a leaking basket and carry it as a head-load are still prevalence without any improvement in spite of the recommendations made by Prof. N. R. Malkani in his report in 1960. Apart from lukewarm attitude of government on one hand, and the public apathy on the other, the problem is bristling with many difficulties as Prof. Malkani has rightly pointed out in his book “Clean People; and Unclean Country”, as follows: “No serious study has been made of its various aspects and the methods of approach for
solving its problems. As it is, there is an utter lack of sanitation consciousness at all levels.

1.9 Manual Scavengers in India

The Eleventh Five Years Plan which formally proclaims for the inclusive growth through inclusive polices, refers issues of manual scavengers as an agenda of priorities. It states: “Among the SCs, persons engaged as manual scavengers need special attention to put an end to the degraded practice of manual scavenging. Despite commitments made to the eradication of the obnoxious and dehumanizing practice of handling night soil manually, it still continues.”

Manual scavengers are the most excluded and exploited communities among Dalits. They are the lowest in Hindu caste hierarchy and therefore suffered by social exclusion at the hands of caste Hindu and state’s functionaries like the municipal officials, police, railways and defense. They are found in almost all cities of India—cleaning, sweeping the streets and manually engage in carrying out night-soil. Women are the worst victims as they constitute more than eighty per cent of work force of manual scavengers. Apart from social stigma, work of scavenging is lowly paid, it causes health problems and many manual scavengers have died during cleaning up the sewage. There are different caste name for manual scavengers like Balimiki, Bhangis, Mehatar, Lalbegi, Chuhara, Mira (UP, MP, Bihar, Punjab, Maharashtra) Hadi (West Bengal), Paki (Andhra Pradesh), Thotti (Tamil Nadu) etc. Their number is not counted separately under census
because they fall under the legal category of Scheduled Castes; however, their total population would not less than 13 lakhs.

As per the annual report of the Ministry Social Justice and Empowerment (Government of India, 2009), there are 7,70,338 manual scavengers and their dependents in India. The highest number of manual scavengers was in Uttar Pradesh (2,13,975) followed by Madhya Pradesh (81,307), Maharashtra (64,785), Gujarat (64195), Andhra Pradesh (45,822) and Assam (40,413). The same report of 2009 mentioned that a total of 4,27,870 manual scavengers have already been assisted under the National Scheme of Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers (NSLRS) and therefore ineligible for availing any assistance. The remaining number of manual scavengers are yet to be rehabilitated is 3,42,468. While the official report asserts there are no manual scavengers are found in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Punjab and Chhattisgarh, since all of them have been rehabilitation under the policies and schemes meant for them; studies of Gita Ramaswamy and experiences of rights activists and community organization like the SafaiKaramchari Andolan reveals that state machinery hide the inhuman practice in those states as the manual scavengers are very much found in above mentioned states. Scavengers earn anywhere between Rs 20 to Rs 160 a month and are exposed to the most virulent forms of viral and bacterial infections that affect their skin, eyes, limbs, respiratory and gastrointestinal systems.

The national commission for safaikaramcharis, a statutory body, pointed in its reports to the use of dry latrines and continued employment of manual scavengers by various departments of the Union of India, particularly the railways, the department of
defence and the ministry of industry. While states like Haryana deny employing manual scavengers, other states like Andhra Pradesh employ them through municipalities. The practice is on in almost all states, including Bihar, Maharashtra, Jammu & Kashmir and even Delhi. The Indian railways is one of the largest employers of manual scavengers.

1.10 Centrally Sponsored Schemes under Five year Plans

1.10.1 Third Five Year Plan

In 1956, Government of India constituted a Central Advisory Board for Harijan Welfare. The Board reviewed the working and living conditions of scavengers in the country and recommended introducing a Centrally Sponsored Scheme for liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers. The scheme was introduced in the Third Five Year Plan. However, this scheme failed and was discontinued during the Fifth Five Year Plan following the realization that the practice of scavenging was inextricably linked to the evils of a stratified social structure.

1.10.2 Sixth Five Year Plan

Since the beginning of the Sixth five year plan (1980-85) and the launch of the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade in 1980, India has been strengthening its effort for rural and urban water supply and sanitation. During the decade 1980-90, it was aimed to cover eighty per cent of the urban population through proper sanitation facilities and eradicate manual scavenging.
1.10.3 Seventh Five Year Plan

During seventh five year plan (1988-92), a new programme of sanitation was introduced at the village level for health centers, schools and anganwadis. Individual household latrines were also constructed under this programme. The factors which came in the way of implementation of the programme was low priority given to sanitation by the State Governments and the people in general, low emphasis on Information, Education and Communication, promotion of single model, that is twin pit pour flush latrines, heavy reliance on subsidy and lack of motivation efforts. It was soon realized that investment and subsidies alone would not ensure improved coverage of sanitation.

1.10.4 Eight Five Year Plan

Safe drinking water supply and basic sanitation formed vital component of the Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-97). Subsidies were discontinued except for the households living below poverty line. The new dimensions in this plan were to include user responsibility for the operation and maintenance of facilities, and allowing local bodies to charge for sanitation services. Though the Eighth Five Year Plan target was to cover 5 percent rural population with sanitation facilities, the progress was hardly 4 percent of the target in 1996.

To fill the gap, the Government of India made a paradigm shift from a supply driven to a demand driven approach through reform programme of rural water supply and sanitation (RWSS). The aim of the programme was to generate more demand responsive
and participatory approaches by empowering local governments and community groups to fully manage their own services.

1.10.5 Ninth Five Year Plan

The Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) emphasized the need for undertaking all possible measures for rapid expansion and improvement of sanitation facilities in urban and rural areas. At that time, it was estimated that 20 percent of the households would be provided with sanitary facilities through Central Rural Sanitation Programme (CRSP) that was entrusted to the Ministry of Rural Development way back in 1986. The programme guidelines were revised in March 1991 and further in March 1993. The guidelines included the amendment of an appropriate mix of central and state investments, institutional finance, strengthening of operation and maintenance and more importantly the involvement of communities at various stages of programme implementation. The main objective of the scheme was to eradicate manual scavenging by converting all existing dry latrines in rural areas into low cost sanitary latrines.

1.10.6 Tenth Five Year Plan

The Tenth Five Year Plan also envisaged taking all possible measures for rapid expansion and improvement of sanitation facilities in urban areas with local participation. The issue was accorded immense importance by the Prime Minister also in his Independence Day speech on 15 August, 2002 wherein he announced that the Government would amalgamate all the different schemes presently being run by Ministry
of Social Justice and Empowerment, Ministry of Rural Development and Ministry of Urban Development for speeding up the liberation and rehabilitation of Scavengers.

1.11 Sanitary condition in Tamil Nadu

Sanitary Workers before 1991-92 they were doing all function given by sanitary development of Municipal Corporation. After 1991-92 this system was abolished by government of India. But in 1995 it was implemented in few places, or Districts in Tamil Nadu. Now nowhere this system prevails like night soil removal work, in each door to door swelling. They are doing only official function of municipal sanitary workers a sweeping, rubbish collection, drainage cleaning like these function. If any individual privately wishers to clean his swelling latrines, Sanitary workers has the option whether to go or not. Throughout country the conditions of scavenger is pitiable and needs more attention to improve their socio-economic status. Some minor differences are there between state to state and District to District, working condition, living condition, welfare measures etc.

Scavenger name was replaced by sanitary workers as Government order was called from 1995. In Tamil Nadu after independence especially the government introduced all community introduced all community may joined in this occupation do work properly. They ask the Scheduled Caste instead people to work in their places and pay them an amount. Now a day some Government of offices still practice this system and this system should be abolished.
Among the Scheduled Caste those who are engaged in unclear occupation take sweeping and scavenging and those who are bonded labours, benefited tribes and nomadic tribes are classified as vulnerable group. The Government of India emphasises that special attention, should be paid for the socio-economic development to those group. To make it more practical the effort of the state Government in this attention are taken into account dividing the assistance of special centre to the status.

In Tamil Nadu it is enumerated that there are 35,651 sanitary workers. There are 6 Municipal Corporations, 152 Municipalities and 561 Town Panchayats in Tamil Nadu, most of the peoples are working as sanitary workers in local bodies.

1.12 Occupational hazardous of sanitary workers

Apart from the social atrocities that these workers face, they are exposed to certain health problems by virtue of their occupation. These health hazards include exposure to harmful gases such as methane and hydrogen sulfide, cardiovascular degeneration, musculoskeletal disorders like osteoarthritic changes and intervertebral disc herniation, infections like hepatitis, leptospirosis and helicobacter, skin problems, respiratory system problems and altered pulmonary function parameters\(^{16}\). This can be prevented through engineering, medical and legislative measures. While the engineering measures will help in protecting against exposures, the medical measures will help in early detection of the effects of these exposures. This can be partly achieved by developing an effective occupational health service for this group of workers. Also,\(^{16}\)

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\(^{16}\)Esrey, S. and Habicht, J. (1986), ‘Epidemiological evidence for health benefits from improved water and sanitation in developing countries’, *Epidemiological Reviews*. 
regular awareness programs should be conducted to impart education regarding safer work procedures and use of personal protective devices.

1.13 Social status of sanitary workers

Though those who have taken up the profession of sweeping and scavenging belong mostly to the scheduled caste community, who are untouchables in the eyes of other sections of Hindu community, the sweepers and scavengers themselves are considered ‘Untouchables’ by the other sections of scheduled castes. In many parts of the state the sweepers and scavengers are forced to live separately away from other sections of scheduled castes because of the stigma attached to the profession. Unwanted and undesired by their own communities the sweepers and scavengers have given up all hopes and have accepted their present degeneration as ordained by destiny. This social segregation from their own brethren has made them develop a reticent outlook on life.

1.14 Educational status

One of the reasons for the utter backwardness of sweepers and scavengers is lack of education. There are reasons for this sorry state of affairs. From the Vedic times these people were never allowed to enter seats of learning, because the rigid caste system which existed then made education the sole monopoly of only a few people at the top of social hierarchy. Secondly, they had also created a fear complex in the minds of Scheduled Castes that it was sinful either to hear or read the sacred texts. The scheduled castes who believed in this superstition kept away from the seats of learning. So this illiteracy is several centuries old. It is a happy augury that most of the scheduled castes
have now realized that education alone is the right kind of passport to all happiness and prosperity in life.

There is another problem that deserves consideration. While the other sections of scheduled castes are educated, it is only the children of sweepers and scavengers who are totally neglected in the educational field. There are many reasons for this sad neglect.

1.15 Social Integration

Untouchability has been a great obstacle for the social and emotional integration in India. Many social reformers have tried hard for the eradication of this evil but it has not been possible to wipe it out completely. This can be done by the people themselves with or without a social revolution. Social and political revolutions do take place whether people want it or not. In the words of Sri Aurobindo, the French Revolution would have taken place just as it did and when it did by economic necessity even if Rousseau and Voltaire had never written anything and the 18th Century Philosophical movement in the world of thought had never worked out its bold and radical speculations.

Whatever that may be, the problem now is how to achieve social and emotional integration. After the attainment of freedom, these two processes ought to have taken place side by side. But unfortunately this has not taken place at all and at the present rate it may take a few more decades to achieve this objective. But the country cannot wait so long. Unless there is perfect unity among all sections of Indians the country may not be able to face external aggression and internal disorder when they take place. The country has suffered in the past on account of disunity and differences of opinion among various sects and castes.
Never before was there a greater need than at present to forget a united front and achieve complete and solid unity in the country. This cannot be achieved as long as large sectors and masses of men and women are labelled as untouchables and kept aloof. In the larger interest of the country, this curse has to be removed and throughout the country there should be no distinction of caste, colour or creed. It is therefore necessary that a phased and systematic programme has to be adapted to eradicate untouchability and bring about social integration.

In the year 1955, the Union Government enacted a central legislature prescribing condign punishment for the practice of untouchability. The act is comprehensive and applicable to all sections of the people. All the state governments have also made it a punishable offence by legislative enactment.

Secondly, it is necessary to educate the people by publicity and effective educational campaigns because ultimately all evils are rooted in the mind. Therefore, the minds of the people should be disabused and they must realize that untouchability is a crime on social, moral, political and economic grounds. It is also necessary to press into service all publicity media like the radio, films, posters, pamphlets and well-written books. In spite of a great cultural heritage, our people as a rule generally do not recognize the importance of personal cleanliness and also group cleanliness as applied to any specific area. Our cities and towns are still mediaeval in their set up.

Nowhere else in the world except in India will you see so many people shamelessly defile the railway lines and highways; urinating against walls and fouling footpaths. Nowhere in the world will you hear people clearing their throats with raucous
noises, coughing up phlegm or bloody betel juice and spit. These habits are ugly, nauseating. They are the cause of the entire unbearable stench that pervades our bazaars. They cause diseases like typhoid, cholera, tuberculosis. Singapore and Hong Kong, which were as dirty as our cities, are today clean cities. If they could do it, so can we.”

Our people are in the habit of throwing out whatever is unwanted at home to the public streets. No Local Body can cope with the work of clearing this kind of rubbish which goes on accumulating minute by minute. The people themselves should realize the importance of preserving and depositing the rubbish in a particular place so that the same may be cleared at stated intervals by the concerned Local Bodies.

It is necessary that the citizens of a place should realize that others also have equal rights in the matter of maintaining public health. The present method of throwing out the rubbish in an indiscriminate manner and defecating in the public is a direct contravention of civic rights of other citizens. At present the mothers of children are in the habit of owing their young ones to ease themselves in public streets front of their houses. This is a very nasty habit which all not only fouls the entire atmosphere, but also creates health hazards of a serious nature.

In all countries of the world people have developed a high sense of civic consciousness and they keep their cities clean about anybody’s intervention or advice. Unfortunately India any amount of request falls on deaf ears. The adults, both men and women have developed the unwelcome it of attending to calls of nature in public view. Although there is an Act known as The Public Nuisance Act, nobody takes it seriously with the result that our public though fares are always dirty and unclean.
It is no doubt true that a developing country like India cannot afford to build public lavatories in all places. It is therefore necessary that the public themselves should concentrate with the Municipal authorities to keep the cities clean. In countries like Japan, there is no need to appeal to the public to maintain the cleanliness of cities. The committee appeals to the general public to take all necessary steps to maintain absolute cleanliness in all the case of a township.

Another dirty habit that our people have developed is sitting indiscriminately on public streets. There can be nothing more obnoxious than this habit. When people can to spit in the open streets, many diseases get wildly read causing havoc as far as public health is concerned. This is not done in any country except in India. The committee strongly appeals to the public that they must not spit in the open streets.

The conservancy workers and sweepers come out early in the morning to clean the cities and towns. As at present they will finish their work and after completing their work in one street, they proceed to the next one for cleaning, and go away to attend to other items of work. After they go away our merchants and shop keepers who open their establishments late in the mornings are in the habit of cleaning their premises and throwing all dirt and dust to the open streets, which have already been kept clean and tidy by the sweepers. This habit is very deplorable. The committees appeal to the Chambers of Commerce and other mercantile organizations to advise their members to desist from polluting the streets as they are doing at present.

The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes mostly employed in the Municipalities as sweepers and scavengers were the most exploited class among the down-trodden
masses. For centuries on end no one had taken any interest in their welfare and they were
totally neglected. Even the governments of those days were not very particular about
improving their social and financial standards. It can be said that their living standards
were the lowest in the country.

1.16 Welfare of Sanitary Workers

With a view to eradicating the abhorrent practice of manual scavenging and
rehabilitating those who were engaged in this profession, this Government has been
implementing rehabilitation schemes for manual scavengers to the tune of Rs.56 crores.
Having regard to the fact that the persons engaged in sanitary work belong to the lowest
strata of the society, the Tamil Nadu Government has established a separate welfare
board for them and is providing various welfare benefits to them.

In the interest of development of Adi Dravidar and Tribal communities, separate
allocations are made for them in the divisible plan schemes of the Government under the
Special Component Plans for Adi Dravidars and Tribals. The size of the Special
Component Plan, which was Rs.567 crores during 2005-2006, has increased to Rs.1,085

1.17 Statement of the Problem

Sanitation includes management of liquid and solid waste, personal, domestic and
environmental hygiene. As human settlements grew and the cities expanded, the
sanitation problem increased. In some ancient cities like Harappa and Mohenjodaro, well
laid out drainage and street system were in existence. In the early part of the 20th century
and even today, open defecation is practiced in both rural and urban India. In urban areas open ditches, pit latrines and bucket system were used. The dehumanizing practice of removal of night soil by human hands was also prevalent. The antiquated sanitation system (bucket latrine) in India used scavengers drawn from the downtrodden communities to carry the buckets, which undermined their social position in society and health. The first sanitation bill in India was introduced in 1878 which made the construction of toilets compulsory and also proposed the construction of public toilets.

Mahatma Gandhi laid the foundation for a rural sanitation movement by establishing the ‘Harijan Sevak Sangh’ for the liberation of scavengers. Subsequent to this, on October 15, 1947, a private member bill was moved in Greater Bombay to abolish the practice of manual scavenging. This was followed by the setting up of several commissions and debates in Parliament. The major recommendations contained in a commission report were circulated by the Government of India to the state governments for wider application in 1955. It was in 1954 that the rural sanitation programme was introduced for the first time in India.

Sanitary workers are economically deprived, socially isolated and segregated, culturally exiled from the mainstream structure. The vulnerability of the sanitary workers has been exploited by government officials as well as money lenders and other agents of vested interests. They can largely be traced to their illiteracy, outside the narrow cosines of this traditional environment and bad pollution, moreover they are living near flows of drainage water with attract mosquitoes and pigs which forced them to inhale the polluted
air resulted in various health hazards. Sanitary workers found to give bribe to the official to ensure their sustainability in the job.

It has been traditionally justified even the organized structure of the sanitary workers can’t afford to question the imposed brief structure. This implies that their inability even to obtain their basic rights. Debt trap is unique situation among the sanitary workers as a result of low income corresponding to their demographic size of the family. It is reported that death happened to sanitary workers due to poisonous gas while working (Dinakaran, a Tamil daily Newspaper, dt 27-3-2012). Such types of incidences remain unexplored and hence one has to make an attempt to study the conditions of sanitary workers. Moreover, research studies in the above said areas are inadequate and restricted. Therefore, an attempt has been made in the present study, to study the socio-economic background, standard of living, health and social attitudes with a view to prepare a profile of scavenger workers.

1.18 Objectives of the Study

The core objective of the study is to examine the socio-economic conditions of sanitary workers in Chennai Corporation. The ancillary objectives of the study are;

1) To examine the income and expenditure pattern of the sanitary workers

2) To analyse the savings and debt conditions of the sanitary workers

3) To analyse the educational status, living and working environment of the sanitary workers.

4) To study the health practices followed by the sanitary workers.
5) To find out the awareness level of sanitary worker regarding welfare schemes offered them.

6) To identify the problems of the sanitary workers in the study area.

7) To suggest measure to ameliorate the conditions of sanitary workers based on the findings of the study.

1.19 Hypotheses

Based on the objectives and literature, the study has formulated the following hypotheses. They are;

1. Increasing Work Experience Leads to Income Augmentation.

2. Proportionate on Food Expenditure will be increasing as Family Size increases.

3. There is a positive correlation between income and expenditure.

4. There is no significant relationship between expenditure on food items in Total monthly expenditure.

5. There is perfect correlation between total income and expenditure on health.

6. There is an association between Employment and Caste of the respondents.

1.20 Methodology of the study

This is empirical study as it depends on both primary and secondary data. The primary data for the study has been collected through structured interview schedule, which has been validated through pilot survey of 50 respondents. The schedule contains questions which are probing detailed information regarding their socio-economic aspects. The schedule has been structured in various parts. Part one deals with personal profile of
the respondents; part two deals with family size and set up of the respondents; part three deals with employment aspects; part four deals with income and expenditure pattern; part five deals with savings and debt position and part six deals with health practices and general problem faced by the sanitary workers.

The secondary data for the study derived from published sources such as Books, Journals, Reports published by Government and NGO bodies, and web sources.

1.21 Sampling Design

The study adopted non-proportionate random sampling method for inward conclusion. The sample size selected for the study is 300. The samples have been culled from 10 zones namely Royapuram, Triplicane, Washermenpet, Ayanavaram, Perambur, Mylapore, Nungambakkam, Ananagar, Adyar, Mandaveli, and Royapettah. The researcher has narrated below the sampling procedure for selecting 300 samples in the study area.

The formula for sample size is as follows

\[ n = \left( \frac{ZS}{E} \right)^2 \]

Where,

\( Z = \) Expected confident level of 95 per cent \( \Rightarrow 1.96 \)

\( S = \) Population Standard Deviation (which is calculated from the pilot survey of 30 questions)

\( E = \) Acceptance level of sampling errors

\[ n = \left( \frac{(1.96)(0.448)}{0.05} \right)^2 = 308.4098 \]

then,
\[ n^* = \left( \frac{N - n}{N} \right) n \]

\[ n^* = \left( \frac{3049 - 308.4096}{3049} \right) 308.4098 \]

\[ = (0.8988)(308.4098) \]

\[ = 277.198 \]

Sample Size = 300 (round up)

1.22 Pilot Study

The researcher made few visits to the study areas (10 zones in Chennai City) to test the possibility of conducting the study. The visit was made to the field by the researcher with the intention of collecting the general information and the present conditions on Scavenging Workers. The researcher met some Scavenging workers in Chennai city. Researcher also had gone through the various literatures pertaining to the socio-economic and educational conditions of the Sanitary Workers. Moreover the researcher held discussions with the experts of that particular field regarding the problem and selected appropriate inventory to measure the various aspects of the problem.

1.23 Tools of Analysis

The collected data have been carefully examined and grouped according to its nature. Before that they were thoroughly examined whether there is any discrepancy or missing in the responses. Simple classification techniques called percentage analysis has been used to present the data in understanding format and diagrammatic representations were made wherever required. Further, the researcher has applied correlation, regression,
Chi-Square and ANOVA tests to standardize the hypothesis and proper inferences were given in appropriate sections of the study.

1.23.1 AIDS Model

Since the study is concerned with socio-economic aspects, it is therefore necessitated the researcher to apply demand models such as Almost Ideal Demand System (AIDS) advocated by Angus Deaton and Muellbaur (1980b). This model is considered to be superior over Rotterdam model in many ways. The model is stated as follows:

\[ W_i = \alpha_i + \sum_{j=1}^{n} \gamma_{ij} \ln p_j + \beta_i \ln \left( \frac{X}{P} \right) \]

Where

\( W_i \) is the share associated with the \( i^{th} \) good

\( \alpha_i \) - constant coefficient in the \( i^{th} \) share of equation

1.24 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study examines the social and economic aspect of the scavenger workers. It studies the consumption pattern of the workers and health practices followed by them. Though, there are several aspects have been taken into analysis, there are some aspects which the study has not touched upon. The limitations of the study are;

- The study is micro in nature and therefore, the results arrived thereof may not be generalized.
- The sample size is restricted to 300; therefore it is subject to sampling limitations.
Another limitation related to time constraints. Due to time constraint and distance, the researcher interviewed the respondents in the work spots. If they have been interviewed in their homes, some more information about the working condition might be collected.

1.25 Arrangements of the Chapters

The present study consists of six chapters.

The first chapter presents the theme of the study, introduction statement of the problems, importance of the study, objectives, hypotheses, limitation and plan of the study.

The second chapter is review of earlier studies which are immediate relevant to the present study. The studies are studied two sections. Section one refers to the review of related literature; Second section deals with government reports and commission reports.

The third chapter explains the Constitutional safeguards and Measures and Policies, Prohibition Act, Court Order, Welfare programmes.

The fourth chapter is profile of the study area in which the researcher has presented various aspects of the study area relating to the problem of the study.

The fifth chapter is analysis the socio-economic conditions of the scavengers. The sixth chapter provides summary of findings along with suggestions and Conclusions.