Chapter-2.

Scavenging Labour as a Form of Social Exclusion: Outlining the Conceptual Framework

Before drawing upon a theoretical framework of social exclusion and deploying it to understand relation with Safai/scavenging labour processes in Indian caste-based Hindu social order, we need to look at the multi-dimensional facets of the concept of social exclusion. The origin of the concept in Europe; especially in France, and its development in Third World Asian Countries, needs to be traced. On the other hand, there are related to the concept; debates on synonymous-anonymous terminologies, qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis and criticism both by the European and Asian scholars. But primarily my aim in this chapter is to understand the concept in relation to its global operationalisation, applicability and relevance of the concept to process of scavenging labour in India. Therefore my efforts would be to explore the complexities in the available literature of social exclusion as well as to justify its robust employment for my proposed work on Scavenging Labour as a rigorous social exclusionary process even in post-independent India.

Following questions need be asked in the discussion of the concept to social exclusion so as to give a rationale for the superior analytical power of the concept of social exclusion in comparison with the conventional approach to poverty and destitution:

- What is the difference between poverty and social exclusion?
- Is it more a distributional issue than rational issue?
- Is social exclusion a European concept or does it have global relevance?
- How can social exclusion be measured and what are its indicators?
- How can the concept be used as a tool for policy-making and implementation of programmes?
- Does social exclusion refer to a problem in the distribution of wealth or a loosening in the ties that bind society together?
- How may the concept of social exclusion be operationalized with reference to safai/scavenging labour?
2.1. Social Exclusion: Origins of the Concept

The idea of social exclusion has become fundamental to everyone working with people in the major public services- health, education, neighborhoods renewal, housing and the administrative structure of society. In a short space of time, it has become as widely used as ‘poverty’ or ‘inequality’ and indeed has sometimes come to replace the latter. Many innovations in welfare services are now being propelled by this one term and it is now used so widely by government and the media that is in danger of losing it clarity. To be a useful concept, it has to be useful in more than ‘political sense’. The concept social exclusion has come into ever greater use with the deepening of the social crisis during information revolution of the last century, the rich now have less and less need for the labour power of the poor (Pierson: 2006:1-2).

The concept of social exclusion is perhaps most explicitly used in gender studies to outline how women have become excluded from the economic processes such as unequal access to resources (Boserup: 1999). The concept is broadly synonymous with another concept ‘marginalization’ and is related to numbers of other concepts, notably ‘poverty’, ‘unemployment and deprivation’ (relational aspect of deprivation such as violence, personal insecurity), ‘disengagement’, ‘withdrawal’, ‘underclass’\textsuperscript{35}, ‘alienation’, ‘lack of freedom’, as well as associated terms like ‘superfluity’, ‘irrelevance’, ‘marginality’, ‘foreignness’, ‘alterity’, ‘closure’, ‘disaffiliation’, ‘dispossession’, ‘destitution’, and ‘racial ostracism’. Social exclusion also includes ‘insertion’, ‘integration’, ‘citizenship’ or ‘solidarity’ (Prasad; Lal: 2003:147-152).

Social exclusion concept can be understood both in terms of the micro and macro level causes. Macro level factors originate beyond the purview and control of the excluded, and tend to be structural, institutional or systematic in nature. Primarily, macro level factors include many of the factors like ‘economic restructuring’, ‘globalization’, ‘population movement’, ‘discrimination’ and ‘public policy’, and on the other side, micro level factors include the characteristic of disadvantaged areas. (Disinvestment and lack of jobs, services, amenities and other integrative support) and/or people who live in them (e.g. socially perverse, non-normative behavioral values and morals, the lack of human, social, political and financial capital (Lupton: 2003).
The term social exclusion is of relatively recent origin, going back to 1974, Rene Lenoir, the former secretary of State of France for social action, is credited with contemporary use of the term. His writing about quarter of a century ago uses the term to refer to individuals and groups of people who were administratively excluded from state and its social production system (Todman: 2004; Sen: 2000). It is also seen that social exclusion concept had originated in 1970s to describe condition of certain groups on the margins of the society who were cut-off both from regular sources of employment and the income safety nets of the welfare state. Subsequently, French concerns regarding social problems that were emerging on housing estate located outside the nation’s urban centers led to an expansion of the term to include ‘disaffected’ youth and others who were socially and/or economically isolated. Still later, meaning of the term evolved and expanded yet again to include the long term unemployed, the ranks of which were greatly expanding on the French economy underwent massive restructuring. It was during the 1980s and 1990s, as other European economies came to be increasingly characterized by exclusion as structural forms of unemployment and new forms of poverty and marginalization emerged in response to unprecedented economic, technical, and social change that strained and, at times, exceeded corrective capacity of state welfare system. The concept, thus emigrated beyond France in continental and UK social policy (Pierson: 2006:4; Sen: 2000). It is important to remember that the concept of social exclusion arose in France and not in Britain or the United States, both of which have substantially different political cultures. In France in particular there has long been an emphasis on citizenship and social cohesion reflecting a strong nation (Pierson; Canaan: 1997:4)

The concept of social exclusion thus has its origin in Northern social policy discourse, and we need to see if it adds value to attempt to think about this concept in the context of social policy and development. Social exclusion discourse has evolved along several lineages first, focusing on issue of poverty and material deprivation, it is embedded in the social rights tradition. The second lineage focus derives from focus on ‘social disintegration’ ‘marginality’ ‘non-belonging’ ‘up-rootedness process’ wherein the focus is on individual’s and group’s detachment. In transition from Europe to the UK social exclusion has become a more flexible concept. While the labour government’s policies for reducing social exclusion have amalgamated with earlier strands of welfare policy in the UK, particularly around individual eligibility,
means testing and targeting resources, the importance of what is new should not be underestimated.

Achieving inclusion for all people and groups in mainstream society has wide appeal across the political spectrum. For the Left, it suggests a greater push toward equality with focus on tackling deprivation and lack of rights, for the Right it suggests shaping a more cohesive, unified society uniting behind a strong national regime. But as used in the UK the concept of social exclusion is sufficiently fuzzy to allow very different understanding of society and social problems to exist side by side. It is found that social exclusion is interpreted differently and that these different interpretations frequently relate to different political points of view. For instance, there are those using the term that prefer to focus more on the threat that the socially excluded themselves present to social cohesion and mainstream society. But there is also the view that social exclusion should primarily concern the poverty and disadvantage that people suffer in the midst of an otherwise wealthy society, only by making the UK more equal in wealth and personal resources will the problem of exclusion finally be overcome (Pierson: 2006: 5).

For the European countries, concept of social exclusion is not radically new, the growing European literature on social exclusion has helped to enrich casual understanding and empirical analysis of certain aspect of poverty and deprivation If poverty is seen in terms of income deprivation only, than introducing the notion of social exclusion as a part of poverty would vastly broaden the domain of poverty analysis. However if poverty is seen as deprivation of basic capabilities, then there is no real expansion of the domain of coverage, therefore social exclusion has been placed within the broader perspective of poverty as capability deprivation. Since the problem of persistent unemployment can cause deprivation in many distinct ways, therefore there are extreme differences between practical use of social exclusion in Europe, UK and Asian countries, because it’s universal importance. There is basic dichotomy between two different classes of economic experience because Asian countries have achieved major transformation of economic affluence, particularly in the form of massive industrializations and enhancement of the per-capita income (except Japan, as an East Asian country, has high economic opulence). According to Sen (2000), therefore, social exclusion problems faced in many economies in Asia (mainly in South and West Asia) suggest complexity for its application in Asian
countries. In these countries, there are severe consolidate problems concerning caste discrimination, ethnic conflict, gender discrimination, religious ethnocentrism and so on (Sen: 2000: 24-34).

In the Indian context, ‘caste and gender’ is a `bivalent` category. It is partly rooted in economic disadvantage the religiously-sanctioned segregation and ordering of occupation, with the lowest castes associated with more stigmatized occupations. The needs of excluded groups are particularly likely to be overlooked or ignored in absence of such purposive effort, since almost by definition, their excluded status is the product of the asymmetrical working of the mainstream yet the persistence of the social exclusion and the social inequalities, which underpin it, has profound implications for the collective goods. Gender structures the division between productive and reproductive labour, giving women unequal distribution of land and property, rejection of primary entitlement of needs by the family which functions as primary violent space for women. Gender also encompasses elements of injustice, which stem from the dominant value of society. This abstract gender discrimination by family, society and states is not considered in policy-making adequately so that it results failure the system often (Kabeer: 2000:20-25). Under the customary rules of the ‘Hindu Social Order’, the untouchable, is denied right to properly pursue business (except manual labour). The consequences of these traditional restrictions in the past are to be seen even today as modern forms of discrimination. Exclusion revolves around institutions that discriminate isolate, shame, and deprive subordination groups on the basis of identities like caste, religion and gender. Ultimately institutional structure of Hindu Social Order obstructs their progress, social, economic labour market, political, and cultural freedom of gaining it. (Thorat: 2005; 2007:2-5:4121-4124).

In addition to market discrimination, social ostracism, coupled with economic penalties, acts to strengthen the caste system by creating deterrents to change. Only if the magnitude of the social costs (in terms of ‘social isolation and deprivation’) and economic costs (transaction and enforcement) begin to outweigh the economic gain (profit and surplus extraction), are we likely to see significant change in the shape of the caste system. Ironically, the opposite prevails: the cost of enforcement is low and the economic gains associated with exploited labour conspire to prevent change (Akerlof: 1976; Scoville: 1991). The conceptualization of social exclusion relates to
the alienation or disenfranchisement of certain people within a society. It is often connected to a person’s social class, educational status and living standards and how these might affect their access to various opportunities (Marilyn Carr; Martha Chen: 2004; Todman; Miranda: 2004). Social Exclusion refers to the exclusion from economy, social participation, and political processes (DFID: 2005). Social exclusion is defined as “the inability of our society to keep all groups and individuals within reach of what we expect as a society and the tendency to push vulnerable and different individuals into the least popular places (Social Exclusion Unit: 1997).

**DFID Social Exclusion Multidimensional Framework (DFID: 2005)**

Buvinic (2005) summarizes the meaning of social exclusion as “the inability of an individual to participate in the basic political, economic and social functioning of society, and goes on to add that it involves “the denial of equal access to opportunities imposed by certain groups in society upon others”. These definitions capture three distinguishing features of social exclusion, its affects culturally defined groups, is embedded in social relations between them, and results in deprivation or low income for those excluded (Hann: 1997; Sen: 2000). From the perspective of policy and
practice social exclusion is “a process that deprives individuals and families, groups and neighborhood of resources required for participation in social, economic and political activities of society as a whole. This process is primarily a consequence of poverty and low income, but other factors such as discrimination, low educational attainment and depleted living environment also underpin it. Through this process people are cut off for a significant period in their lives from institution and services, social networks and developmental opportunities that the great majority of a society enjoys” (Pierson: 2006). It also encompasses a multiplicity of dimensions for understanding the various notions of deprivation and poverty. It means social exclusion serves to link poverty and employment and social integration to link the economic with the political and the social dimensions of poverty, to examine the role of social processes and institutional structures in creating deprivation or generating inclusion, to explore the nexus between the concatenation of issues like rights (civil, political and social), access to livelihood and markets, it interrelates both the material and non-material (institutional) bases of exclusion (Rodgers:1995: 63-64).

While analyzing exclusion, the role of the ‘process of social closure’ becomes more important even through these concepts are very often inclusive of each other. Closure is a process whereby groups boundaries are formed on the basis of exclusion of those who are outside one’s own groups. Sometimes groups having no or very less power-gradient mutually close their ranks to each other, but in most circumstances there is an underlying power-hierarchy among the groups in which groups closure goes with resources allocation, institutional inequality in the distribution of wealth and scarce goods, even exclusion involves the use of power in a downward direction. The opposite of the process of exclusion is ‘usurpation’. A collective action by the excluded to win a greater share of resources monopolized by the dominants is known as ‘usurpation’ (Nanda: 2006:62-65). Therefore exclusion and usurpation are two dialectical processes, the latter always being a consequences of and a collective response to the former. Sometimes the excluded had also successful in closing off access to the remaining rewards and opportunities thus multiplying the substrata among the excluded.

The traditional caste systems in India provide a classic illustration of the pattern of social closure, as it follows monopoly paradigm. Thus caste is as an institutional base of social exclusion in India (Thorat: 2005; Nanda: 2006). A process of social closure
is practiced against those who are outside one’s own group of privilege, quite a process of `social distancing`. Amartya Sen (2000) draws attention to the various meanings and manifestation of the concept of social exclusion. He draws distinction between situation in which individuals are kept out (or left out) and circumstances of inclusion (including forced inclusion) on deeply unfavourable terms and described the two situations as `unfavourable exclusion` and `unfavourable inclusion`. The unfavourable inclusion, with unequal treatment, may carry the same adverse effects as `unfavourable exclusion`. Further, he explicates social exclusion as `constitutively a part of the capability deprivation as well as instrumentally a cause of diverse capability failures`. He places it within the broader perspective of poverty as capability deprivation, and this conceptual linkage both provides more theoretical underpinning for the social exclusion approach and helps to extend the practical use of the approach. To understand the differences between poverty and social exclusion, he delineates categories of Active exclusion and Passive exclusion. He gives the example of immigrants or refugees who are not given a usable political status, it is an active exclusion and it applies to many of the deprivation from which minority communities suffer in Europe and Asia and elsewhere. However when the deprivation comes about through social processes, in which there is no deliberate attempt to exclude, the, the exclusion can be seen as `passive kind` (Sen: 2000). Another concept of social exclusion connects relations with poverty and discrimination; social exclusion is a product of institutional processes, group’s dynamics and social practices. This helps to draw attention to the positive role that social policy can play in contracting the adverse implications of exclusion as well as its negative role in reproducing them (Kabeer: 2000). According to Northern scholars, the dimensions of social exclusion are conceptualized in four ways: (Todman: 2004)

- Consumption: (E.g. the capacity to purchase goods and services).
- Production: (E.g. participation in economically or socially valuable activities).
- Political Engagement: (E.g. involvement in local or national decision-making)
- Social Interaction: (E.g. integration with family, friends and community).

In the first place and as Ajit Bhalla and Federic Lepeyre (1997) have noted, the concept of social exclusion- that generally comes within the domain in sociology, whereas studies of poverty are usually taken up by economists. A pattern of social exclusion tends to be closely correlated though not synonymous with the incidence of poverty (Mearns; Sinha: 1999:1-5). Assuming that the term is relevant in all places,
exclusion conjures up the word (integration) more than poverty does. Though exclusion and poverty often intersect; they are not synonymous terms (Bessis: 1995:22). Poverty is one of the factors contributing to exclusion but does not necessarily bring it about and poverty is also consequence of series of political and social exclusions. Most of the authors have argued that poverty studies have concentrated on a lack of access to material resources, but the concept of social exclusion provides a framework to look at the Social relations of power and control, the processes of marginalization (the definition of marginalization is the process whereby some people are pushed to the margins or edges of society by poverty, lack of education, disability, racism and so on) and exclusion, and the complex and multifaceted ways in which these operate (Abrahamson: 2001). As a part of his definition, further Abrahamson draws useful description or dichotomies between these two concepts.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>POVERTY</th>
<th>SOCIAL EXCLUSION</th>
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<td>Situation: insufficient resources</td>
<td>Situation: denial of ability to exercise rights</td>
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<td>Cause: unmet needs</td>
<td>Cause: discrimination denial of access to institution of social integration.</td>
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<td>Stratification: vertical (e.g. lower versus upper class.)</td>
<td>Stratification: horizontal (e.g. outsiders versus insiders)</td>
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<td>Perspective: static condition</td>
<td>Perspective: dynamic process</td>
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<td>Policy: social transfer (e.g. minimum income guarantees)</td>
<td>Policy: social services (e.g. activation measures to ensures access to service delivery institution)</td>
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World Development Report (2000) which operates in the poverty paradigm focuses on low-consumption and low-achievement in human capital. In 1990, it moved to a broader approach dealing with opportunity, security and empowerment. Although vulnerability is not synonymous with poverty, it contributes to it. It implies both an exposure to risk (whether short-term or long running), and a difficulty in coping with these risks. Thus, social exclusion, which prevents the poor from having access to assets and markets, and from participating (and being represented) in society. Social exclusion is associated with discrimination on the basis of age, ethnic origin or gender, among other characteristics, and thereby with poverty. Still another influential concept is that of social capital, with its focus on the role of networks and
relationships as assets. Many of these new concepts acknowledge that both the questions that we ask and how our knowledge is organized are mediated by pre-existing social structures. To deal with this new concept, along with other international agencies, the World Bank has enriched its traditional quantitative analysis of poverty with qualitative and participatory research.

The Social Exclusion Framework (SEF) has been proposed as a heuristic device to understand the linkages and interaction between different risk factors (economic, social, cultural, political, and institutional) which generate poverty and inequality (Gacitua-Mario: 2001:1-41). The SEF acknowledges that the risk factor are not linked through linear causality, but rather in a complex process of reciprocal causation and interaction, poverty being `goods-centered`, the SEF is also `people-centered` (importance of freedom and capabilities to achieve functioning) and `institutions-centered`, where role of institutions creating exclusion. The SEF also contains both an objective and subjective dimensions, to the degree that is considers both the objective conditions of people’s lives and their perception of being connected or disconnected from wider spheres of social, political, and cultural life. The SEF is not substitute for traditional poverty frameworks (see. social scientists usually distinguished between three definitions of poverty). First, Absolute Poverty, it defines the conditions characterized by severe deprivation of the basic human needs, including food, safe-drinking water, sanitation and health facilities, education and information it depends not only on income but also on access to services. Second, Relative Poverty, it refers to poverty, which is relative to the standards of living- that exist in a society at particular points in time. Thirdly, the Subjective Poverty, it indicates to whether or not people feel themselves to be in financial hardship or vulnerable analysis. SEF fully recognizes the importance of the traditional dimensions of poverty, such as the inability to generate a sufficient and stable income and to have access to quality social services in order to meet basic needs. The advantage of the SEF is that it provides a framework for interrelating different levels of analysis (multidimensionality) and cumulative processes that maintain or pull social groups into social disadvantage. It also incorporates other dimensions that belong to the relational/symbolic domain; the socio-organizational cultural and political

Social exclusion thus is a process through which social groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live due to the
cumulative effects of risk factors. The problem develops when risk factor start to build up in time and space and the affected groups are exposed to the cumulative pressure of a multiplicity of risks, one of them being the lack of income, engendering a more or less permanent state of deprivation and destitution. Thus the distinction between social exclusion and poverty as a social condition allows the policy-maker to find ways and instruments to fight the risk factors, before it is too late, that is before the processes of social exclusion results in extreme poverty (Gacitua-Mario: 2001: 70-88).

Thorat S K (2008); Kirsch Max (2006); and David Ray Cox (2003) present a significant academic position for analyzing the concept of social exclusion and its contemporary reference to the overall disturbance of livelihood, disenfranchisement and the state’s idea of citizenship. They argue that individuals existing at the lowest status in the mainstream society stratified by the political strategies and ideology of the nation-states. On the other side, global market forces usually have come into existence with consistence and extreme impact and consequences on regular socio-cultural-economic lives of marginalized, deprived groups and communities in the different parts of the world. These three scholars mainly try to bring out the consequences of globalization process for the state policy of community welfare. In other words, the current onslaught of globalization has been weakening the social development and creating immense marginalization within minority groups, women, labouring class, and into the other kinds of racially and ethnically deprived or under-privileged sections of castes groups. These scholars have primarily grappled with the importance of inclusiveness of distanced social groups based on caste, class, race, gender and minority status as well as superficial convenient rehabilitation policies by the state- government regimes in the dynamic process of globalization. Elaborating these authors arguments and critical questions related to new trend of the inequalities and discrimination in the market place, social services and in the societies itself, therefore we need to look upon interlinkages of inclusive or exclusive growth along with process of globalization and skill-information revolution as a world phenomenon.

Max Kirsch (2006) in his book ‘Inclusion and exclusion in the global arena’, has addressed the wide gap in various studies or literature of the globalization and
reactions of local communities against included stakeholders exclusion of others from decision-making particularly in regard to the global integration of industry, and the legislation of planning and trade. Therefore this gap has often led to narrow, specific, and sometimes misleading ways of presenting the results of globalizing processes. Seeking to bridge this gap, he emphasized the need to conceptualize a framework focusing on constructs of space and place, indigenous strategies for autonomy, polity and global planning mechanisms, and the role of transnational corporations in community disintegration and resistance. Further he sees serious negative consequences of globalization process and its effects on peoples, communities, regions and nations driven toward differential pressures on economic and social participation, autonomy, social movements, human rights, and the attributes of power for the applied problems of basic human survival particularly since the advent of the 'neo-liberal policies' enacted by governments around the globe. Methodologically, the author has explored inclusion and exclusion pattern, where he raises significant questions: like what kind of inclusion, what it represents, and the resources and the specificity of place where groups, communities, corporations, states, governments, and civil society intersect. Wallenstein’s provocative and widely debated formulation or argument was critiqued by Kirsch. Wallenstein’s analysis of World-System as a single entity, uncomplicated by the multiple modes of production, uneven and combined development, or processes of development and change that went from the periphery and semi-periphery to the core. He contended that the binary of power, that between the core and periphery, could not tell us much about how people dealt with those bureaucracies and contending imperialism. Wallerstein’s focus was much on the binary between core and periphery, but Kirsch argues that with the disappearance of boundaries and communities, capital intensive states just like industries overpower potential obstacles to their expansion (and the ideologies that accompany them) with ideology, industrial reorganization, capital relocation, or force (Kirsch: 2006).

In these new currents of analysis; space and place have become recurrent issues in the present anthropological analysis. It is termed that ‘spaceless world’ resulting from the incorporation of globalization and its consequent emphases on time, access to resources, and control over labour and social reproduction have altered the way in the current studies. While the strategies of global are often aimed at controlling geographical spaces, they may also reinforce the resistance of local struggles based on
the politics of place. Further, following Manual Castells, Kirsch (2006) argues that globalization proceeds selectively, including and excluding segments of the economies and societies in and out of the networks of information, wealth and power that characterize the new dominant system. It means the local then, may include social fields as complex and differentiated as many description of global arena. In addition, the elites, governments and their agents, workers, communities, and struggles all exist within “Local” frameworks that are historically specific and include the categories of class, status and power that compose that arrangement.

Kirsch’s position shows that even in the complex web of legislative politics and policies directed from outside communities and regions, local organizations can and do have a substantial effect on the way that global managers are allowed to carry out their strategies and frame their actions. While carrying out his work in Florida Everglades, he concluded that combination of a large and powerful industry, highly profitable real estate development, and the need to redirect natural resources to high density coastal areas has resulted in a complex web of interaction among community organizations, politicians, and global managers of capital.

The inclusion or exclusion of social actors in the processes of globalization, enculturation and development are products of power and policy, but they are also, often, the failure of analyses to recognize the role of stakeholders play in the development of social organization and production. The State’s “Neo-liberal policy” supported or made NGOs agenda of Human Rights focus on right rather than structural change runs the risk of masking the underlying principles that initiated the conditions that led to the abuse. Legal redress is difficult on both the local and the global levels, and in some cases, the focus on human rights has even strengthened neoliberal policies of nonintervention. Often focusing on individual abuses rather than collective oppression, the discourse around human rights has occupied the space where discussion about collective interest, class-consciousness, and power are positioned. In this process, structural violence is characterized by social inequality that is exerted systematically within a concrete social order. The concept of structural violence is intended to inform the study of the social machinery of oppression. When we speak of structural violence, then we need to identify the way in which structural power operates in order to obtain in full understanding of how it is generated and
rationised in social arena. The structural power that maintains a capitalist mode of production is global, and it is those global relations or production that constrains or allows the parameters in which social fields operate, therefore this reasoned utopia involves the rejection of the neo-liberal society defined by banks and bankers and the documentations of the social costs of economic violence. Eventually, this policy has enabling description and involvement that can show the many ways in which people are exploited; therefore one of the more insidious characteristics of structural violence is the erasure of history and the machinery of suffering, and how suffering and poverty generate violence. In conclusion, all the statements of Kirsch advocates a moral philosophy of inclusion based on the rights and beliefs if the peoples in their own surroundings. In a rapidly globalizing world, the movements of peoples from exclusion to inclusion will require fundamental changes in the way in which societies organize social reproduction and in particular, social labour.

Secondly, key-arguments stated by David Ray Cox (2003) argue that ‘marginalization cannot be quantified’, nor even defined in a precise sense because what it basically signifies is a situation in which a section of the population is pushed to margins of society, for whatever reason. As a result, the human rights of these people are not sufficiently respected, the principles of equity and equality, however defined, are flouted, society is fragmented and many people suffer from the insecurity and poverty which is almost invariably identifies with a situation of marginalization. Cox argues that initially the nature of marginalization, similarly its widespread occurrence impact current trends in globalization and resulting weakness of the nation state, as well as the links between social development processes and marginalization particularly the potential of social movements, within the context of civil society, which contribute to a reduction in marginalization in modern world. Here, while explaining the level of global, national and local context, the author clarifies that we are confronted with highly competitive and extremely unequal sets of social systems in which significant numbers of people would have suffer marginalization and exclusion.

According to Cox (2003), on the mid sixties in the sociological literature, cultural marginalization model become significant, because it defined the situation in which people sat on the borders of two cultures existing within the society but were fully members of neither culture. More recently, social exclusion comes on the forefront to
capture the level of marginalization, wherein the socially excluded are persons who ostensibly have no significant role in a society. They tend to be excluded from the regular productive systems within society and are problematic consumers of the benefits of society as a result largely of their economic situation, while they may also belong to some minority group within society. Cox has given the global exclusionary example of certain minorities in Europe to put forth the social reality of marginalization and social exclusion, wherein their minority status derives from their religion, ethnicity, race, immigrant status. This may involve some other such characteristics—being effectively excluded from the employment market, experiencing as a result a significant degree of at least relative poverty, and, as result of their minority status and economic situation, being socially excluded. This exclusion may take the forms of a lack of acceptance by the members of the majority social grouping, but even more significantly, it may give rise to discriminatory behaviour and even to violence. In such situation, we may well have a serious combination of cultural, economic, political and social exclusion, with the possibility of significant consequences at the personal level in terms of lack of self-esteem and confused self-identity, which might well mean that the individual withdraws into a world of his or her own. In this context, to the other forms of exclusion is added personal exclusion, as personality becomes another barrier to necessary levels of interaction with other people.

A second example of the exclusion or marginalization is type of grouping which in some countries is marginalized is that of specific castes and classes. Members of these castes or classed are born into a situation of inferior status and are therefore in danger of being marginalized. The caste system of India is a good example, while in many countries those whose education and living standards result in them being perceived as lesser beings can find themselves excluded from society at many levels, even if the degree and seriousness of the exclusion varies markedly from country to country. As far as gender and its exclusion or marginalization is concerned, it would be wrong in this context to ignore the serious situation which women face in many societies. The realities of gender inequality, arising from deeply entrenched attitudes among males that the female gender is the inferior gender—an attitude which social institution often reinforce—are responsible for pushing women into many marginal situations.
Today it is common to speak of ‘the feminization of poverty’, of refugee movements of civil war casualties and pattern of violence, each of which, in at least some situations, contributes to the degree to which women find themselves marginalized in society. Finally, Cox has highlighted the marginalization into the many links between the state and globalization; there are several interrelated ways in which globalization is adversely affecting the roles and the strengths of the state. It means changes in the functioning of states affect marginalization. First, it is quite clear that the process of globalization has been marginalizing some states. The Second and related implication of globalization is the increasing degree of inequality within states. In most states there exists a section of the population, which is reasonably well placed to take advantage of world developments. By dint of their education, wealth or power, they can become participants in the global competitive market place. The great majorities of their compatriots, however, have little chance of doing so, and face danger of becoming marginalized. There are some clear reasons for this state of affairs. An era of intense competition, when the state is unable to exercise much control over development, will almost inevitably give rise to the situation where people are, on the one hand exploited, and on the other hand, provided with no access to any forms of safety nets or protection, so that they have no choice but to acquiesce to unfair systems. A second reason, in many countries, is that the economical structural adjustment packages, which the international structures have imposed on the many states, have had a very uneven impact. States have been obliged to reduce the extent of social provision for the poor, to it back on the employment of those who can be most easily dismissed, to remove price controls which were often on the essential on which the poorer people relied, and to place more emphasis on exports from which the poor would profit but little, if at all. A third, and related, reason was the imposition on states of the economic rationalist ideology, which emphasized liberalization and privatization. These policies appear also to have exerted an unfair and uneven burden on the poor. All of these situations tended to increase the degree of marginalization within countries. In other words, marginalization is essentially consequences of poorly planned or managed social development with reflecting parallel and interactive initiatives at the global, state and local levels. And ultimately this situation of marginalization always leads to formation of the social movements. (Cox: 2003)
The critical understanding on caste based social exclusion as a historical root, in the analysis of the ‘Ambedkarite perspective’ of the Social Exclusion or Marginalization in a context of India, is propelled by S.K. Thorat (2008), in his edited book’s title “Perspectives on social exclusion and inclusive policies”. Thorat has tried to raise critical questions about the reservation policies implemented by Indian state since the post-independence era, as well as the glimpse of present situation related problems of exclusion and inclusion into the Policy of Reservation. That is why, reminding readers of the initial ideas behind the emancipatory project against social discrimination, he tries to address the historical overview of Dr.Ambedkar’s intellectual and political efforts for introducing the reservation policy as a socially inclusive policies providing thus in Indian Constitution protective, comprehensive remedies against institutions of Hindu social hierarchical order and its caste-based untouchability to the groups like SCs, STs, OBCs, Women, religious minorities such as Dalit Christian and Muslims, and other excluded groups too. As a part of Ambedkar´s legacy, Thorat (2008) raises numbers of critical questions such as present warranted reservation policies to overcome the problem arising out of historical denial of equal civic-cultural-educational and economical rights or entitlement, nature of these policies, coverage of policies in the spheres of employment, education, housing, business and others too, difficulties for implementation of Reservation Policy from confined state sector to private sector, provisions of targeted Government policies to poor within the socially disadvantaged or to apply to group as a whole, expected longitivity or time-bounded continuation of these welfare policies.

Thorat (2008) delineates the concept of Isolation and Exclusion of untouchables as a unique feature of prior Hindu social order because it provides no social and economic rights to deprived castes, and it gives multiple privileges and rights to the higher castes. To put in a brief, it is a system of governance in general and a system of production, organization, and distribution based on three inter-related elements. These include fixed rights, unequal and hierarchical (or graded) division of social and economical rights across castes and provision of strong instruments of social and economic ostracization to sustain the rigid system with philosophical justifications in Hindu religion. The origin of caste system had exploitation rather than economic efficiency as it. The manner in which the rules concerning the right to property, occupation, employment, wages, education, social status of occupation, dignity of
labour, rules governing graded slavery, and other economic relations were defined, these involved in themselves essentially an elements of economic exploitation, particularly of castes located at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. This, in fact, implied that the caste system was primarily based on the principle of economic inequality and exploitation.

The most pertinent principle of the caste system is fixation of rights and continuance thereof by heredity, it means in economic field every members must follow the occupation assigned to the caste to which he/she belonged. In other words, analyzing the economic relations under the caste system, particularly those between high castes to low castes in the economic sense, the Hindu social order involves a slave-like character for the lower castes.

A slaves means a person who accepts from another the purpose which controls his conducts, it means slaves is not an end in himself; he or she is only a means of fulfilling the end desire of others. In their economic significance, the rules put an interdict on the economic independence of the deprived castes. They were required to serve others, not themselves, which means they were not allowed to strive after economic independence but had to forever remain economically dependent on others. Besides this, the Hindu Social Order also recognized slavery in the more direct forms. (Thorat: 2008:1-6). As far as market-based caste discrimination is concerned, Thorat argues that Dr. Ambedkar pointed out continuation of the discriminatory working of the markets including the labour market and private education, housing services may not in a practice enable them to make use of these opportunities. Thus, Ambedkar suggested complementary remedy of ‘Equal and Fair Opportunity’ to ensure fair access to employment, capital assets, and social needs like education and housing canalized through market and non-market channels. This text recognizes that ‘group based exclusion’ essentially generates outcomes, which are detrimental for the excluded groups. Exclusion results in deprivation and poverty in so far as it involves denial of equal rights to persons from these groups. In the Indian context, given the multiple forms of exclusion associated with groups identities like caste, ethnicity, gender, religion in various spheres of economy, polity, society and culture. It is important to formulate an inclusive policy to overcome deprivation associated with multiple forms of discriminations.
The arguments were made by Thorat (2008) to explicate caste-based discrimination in the market in the reference categories of the caste, gender, labour and its related societal ostracism consolidated by the hierarchical caste social order; and therefore author emphasized on Ambedkar’s Legacy concerned with theory of origin of caste and protective discrimination supportive Indian constitutional safeguard provision for the deprived and marginalized castes groups in the Indian society. Above discussion on various forms of social exclusion point to micro and macro exploitative internal and external factors in the society itself and outside too as causal. An outlining of the weaknesses and criticism of concept of social exclusion is needed as this which would make me very clear the limitations of this concept in the academic arena and my proposed research too.

2.2. Concept of Social Exclusion: Limitations and Criticisms

Despite the current widespread usage of the concept social exclusion by politicians and social scientists, scholars have offered several criticisms pointing to weaknesses largely emphazing the politicized and analytically confused nature of the concept;

- According to Murard (2002), Social Exclusion is an ‘empty box’ given by the French state to the EU, which social scientists, as well as others, have subsequently ‘filled’ with a huge numbers of studies and publications. This filing is rooted in an analytical impression, which means that social exclusion encompasses large numbers of quite distinct phenomenon ranging from poverty, unemployment and racism to crime and ‘anti-social behaviour’.

- Social exclusion concept is in need of better understanding of marginality and power. He points to the limits of dualistic formulations and the necessity to animate ideas on processes of exclusion with stronger concepts of the excluded as agents. The concepts need to be conceptually embedded. (Jackson: 1999)

- Scholars point to several other problems with the concept of social exclusion; first, there is the question about epistemology who decides on parameters of exclusion? Do the poor consider themselves to be an ‘excluded’? And how does the theory handle ‘self-excluded’ groups. Secondly, there are issues about the extent of overlap between income or consumption, poverty and social exclusion. Is it possible to be poor but not socially excluded? or socially excluded but not poor? (Jackson: 1999).

- The concept of social exclusion remains imprecise and all encompassing. It seems that social exclusion is merely a metaphor, covering an unspecified range of
problems. A further problem lies in the potentially exclusionary nature of social exclusion as a concept. What about the position of indigenous groups, women, and others who might find themselves marginalized in a society, where the conditions for inclusion were set by others. There is perhaps a need to make the concept more operational (Murard: 2002).

- The term social exclusion is so evocative, ambiguous, multidimensional and expansive that it can be defined in many different ways. Prior to recasting social exclusion as a general phenomena or scientific concept transcending national and political context, the values underlying its usage should be made explicit. This would serve to clarify the implicit objectives of any policies introduced to combat exclusion.

- Social exclusion, similarly poverty, focuses on narrow social groups and therefore it downplay class inequalities. (Savage: 2003) While doing so, the broader impact of changes associated with globalization and welfare structuring are downplayed. For example, attempt by the French state to depoliticize issues of welfare and retrenchment.

Exclusion is a word to denote a small numbers of excluded people, the issues raised by the word are in fact a source of anxiety for a very large part of society, especially in the working class and lower-middle class. (Murard: 2002). Further, analyzing the concept of social exclusion with emerging pattern, its uniqueness, discussions collapse into poverty and marginalization.

By and large, the concept has been criticized as an ambiguous, multidimensional to be useful. But the question also is about its utility to study Asian countries, especially diverse and caste structured Indian society. This research will try to explore how traditional occupations like scavenging constitute a form of Social Exclusion in Indian contemporary society. I shall argue that social exclusion framework allows us to grasp the interrelated processes of power and control, marginalisation and exclusion. The following questions will unravel why scavenging may constitute a form of social exclusion:

- Why are scavenging castes relegated to class IV in all government institutions despite several rehabilitation programmes and schemes for their emancipation by central government as well as states government too?, what are thus the objective conditions of exclusion?
- How does the scavenging labour become a rigid caste-based occupation wherein scavengers begin to think that is their privilege and right to do the hereditary occupation of scavenging and manual jobs? What are subjective positions of exclusion?
- How do women scavengers perceive dual kind of labour exploitation mediated by caste and gender? What are subjective positions on intersections of caste and gender exclusion?
- What does national development and progress engineered by in process of globalization mean when seen from the standpoint of safai-karmacharis who have no say on or benefit from such progress? Should not the quality quantum and scope and such progress be measured against the rights status of the Safai-Karmacharis?

2.3. A Moral-Political Perspective on Exclusion

The marginalization of scavengers in hindu caste-system has been evident in religious, social, economic and even spatial aspects and their degradation, deprivation and exploitation have fostered their separate identity as social and occupational groups. Scavengers have been the victims of extreme untouchablity practice and segregated, un-approachable and un-seeable, they have been historically the victims of social apathy, detest and stigma (National Commission for Safai Karmachari Report: 1995). The scheduled caste (SC) constitutes the largest social group, accounting for about 16.23 per cent (equivalent to 167 million) of India’s population (Economic Survey: 2006-07:205). According to Census of India for Maharashtra, Scheduled Caste scavengers were at 19584 and SC scavengers, in 1981 were 30680 and subsequently 1989- 35118 (Census of India: 1961; Vol. Part-II-B, 1998 Part-III-B: Navsarjan Trust Report: 1998). The Reservation Policy has been instrumental in creating microscopic middle class among the dalits, but following privatization attempts that some sectors and heavy cut in government expenditure and also closing-down of public sector, the employment of SC has reduced after 1991. As a result, there is heavy concentration of Dalit employees in the class III, IV and sweepers categories of Central government services (16.15 in class III, 21.26 in IV and 44.34 per cent in sweeper categories, but even though there is heavy backlog in class I and II categories. It is proposed both by the State as well as Central government in the name of globalization, that not to create a new jobs and posts in government offices where huge backlog exists. There has been a jobless growth in the Indian economy,
which will definitely affect the employment pattern of the dalits (Jogdand: 2002:54-55). Thus social exclusion and discrimination has been a common feature throughout the period of modern industrial period to till globalization world (Papola: 2005: 105). Government shrinking Reservation Policy has resulted substantial reduction of jobs not only in the different sectors of government, but also in the private sector as well. The state is rolling back the benefits that it had extended earlier on. At present, in a hierarchically structured society like India which is divided on the bases of caste, religion, class, the so called 'upper castes' have dominated the modern institutions of governance viz. legislation, bureaucracy and judiciary, etc. ever since their inception. Moreover upper caste dominated NGOs, as a work civil society took a position for diminishing this discrimination on a superficial level completely all condition. But the leadership based NGOs could not fulfill the condition of rule therefore dalits were excluded from the society and have/had hardly any capital to pool or any access to state assistance. It was difficult for them to organize a voluntary organization; hence the Dalits have been again left behind in the areas of NGOs/voluntary organizations (Kumar: 2006: 254-273). In urban Areas, there is indeed discrimination by caste, particularly job discrimination and that `discrimination appears to operate at least in part through traditional mechanism, with untouchables, disproportionally represented in poorly paid dead-end jobs` even if discrimination is no longer practiced, the effected of past discrimination could carry over the present (Banerjee; Knight: 1991).

In India exclusion involves social processes that exclude, discrimination, isolate and deprive some groups on the basis of group characteristics like caste and ethnicity. The numbers of such social groups exist, constituting a significant section of population. These includes untouchable, tribal, nomadic, semi-nomadic, de-notified tribes as well as ex-criminal tribes etc. together accounting for about 250 million population in 2002 (about 167 million untouchable, 86 million adivasis, and other small minorities). It should be noted that although these social groups experienced exclusion and isolation, there are differences in the sources and process of deprivation. A pattern of social exclusion tends to be closely correlated though not synonymous with the incidence of poverty. It is well-recognized that people of scheduled Castes and Tribe in India are more likely than other groups to live below the poverty line, so it is called them as ‘socially excluded groups’ refer to people of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, women and the rural poor. All of such groups are more likely than the better off or more
powerful and influential groups to suffer from forms of discrimination at the hands of those government officials with whom they come into contact, and to be more or less excluded from receiving entitlements (India-Social Development Report: 2006: 64; Mearns & Sinha: 1999:1).

As far as economic distribution and exclusion is concerned, while the exclusion in the past from right to property and income earning capital assets possibly explain the lack of the past, they also continue to suffer from economic exclusion and discrimination in the present, therefore chronic poverty and continuing inequality of the SCs has its roots both in historical exclusion, whose impact is carried forward in the present and also in the continuing economic exclusion and distribution in the present, particularly the land, capital, labour, and non-market transactions. A recent study of Action Aid (2002) revealed that labour market exclusion and discrimination is practiced both in hiring and wage payment in a significant number in villages. Belief in purity and pollution also affects hiring of SCs wage labourers in housing construction in about excluded from employment for construction of houses. In a sizable number of villages, the SCs were forced to carry on their traditional occupation whereby they were considered to be unclean (Thorat: Dalit and Globalization: 2006:64-76). Under the process of globalization characterized by the decreasing government role in economic governance and expenditure on social welfare, and by the exclusion of non-educated and non-skilled persons from diversified job opportunities, the compulsion for scavengers to stick with their only profession is going to increase, as has happened in case of sweepers.

The social exclusion of an ex-untouchable is so overpowering that even though, it attains economic and political mobility, through their hard labour, they are not accepted by the caste located higher up in caste hierarchy and their achievements are basically associated with caste identity only. Another impact of social deprivation on dalits is that loss of social capital that could give them potential to develop consciousness and motivation among them amelioration. Further on the one hand, the forms of social exclusion for SCs, based on hindu hegemony in terms of their status in the caste hierarchy, occupation, commensality etc., but tribes kept away from hindu social order are, in addition, excluded due to their independent social system with its own social hierarchy and their geographical locations in hilly or forested terrain. That
is why on whole tribal differed from the *dalits* in political, religious, economic and psychological aspect and on the other hand, all the women also cannot from a part of the category of *dalit*. One, women in India society became exploited on the gender basis, do not constitute a monolithic whole, therefore one has to differentiate *dalit* and upper caste woman on caste and class lines. A woman belonging to the caste located in upper echelons of the caste hierarchy has the same attitude towards the *dalits* as her counterpart as a practicing untouchability by caste *hindu* male in the same manner. Therefore as far as *dalits* woman in caste hierarchy is concerned, she has to face cumulative deprivation.*40* The socio-economic and cultural inertia and lack of what Pierre Bourdieu calls ‘cultural capital’ are internal reasons for the arrested development of the *dalits* in Indian society through caused lack of primary education centre, non allocation of enough funds for it have further unfavoured educational curriculum which made by upper castes. Thus *dalit* failed to identify themselves with the educational content of their books, the labour, history and cultural elements are mostly absent in books which are taught in schools, colleges and universities and if at all they find a place, they are ridiculed or have stigmatized identity in and even. Fee structure in education that favours upper strata of the society. It results dropout among this class; in addition we see the process of modernization, Dalits lost their traditional occupation and now this has deepened with the contract system in the process of globalization and privatization. It is their traditional hereditary occupation like sweeping, washing specially in public sector are being taken over by the highest bidder, rendering the *dalit* further impoverished. Thus registration of *dalits* atrocities, corporate killing, desecrate of *dalit* idol status, exploitation of *dalit* agricultural labourer is becoming widespread (Kumar: 2006: 254-273).

By way of special interventions, four schemes are being implemented to encourage SCs students for continuing their education from school to higher levels. During 2006-07 up to December 31, 2006 Rs.14.45 Crores was released for 5.75 lakhs beneficiaries under the scheme of pre-matric scholarship for the children of those engaged in unclean occupation such as post-Matric scholarship, up-gradation of merit of SC students, *Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship* for higher education. *Special Central Assistance* (SCA) to scheduled castes sub-plan is a major scheme for economic advancement of SC persons. From the allocation of Rs.450.15 Crores for this scheme in 2006-07 (BE), up to December 31, 2006, Rs.296.28 Crores had been
released to states, UTs, benefiting 1,54,640 persons. National-level Finance and Development Corporations provide credit facilities to the beneficiaries who are living below double the Poverty line. Up to December 31, 2006 National Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation disbursed Rs.52.69 Crores benefiting 26,990 persons and National Safai Karmacharis Finance and Development Corporation disbursed Rs.42.64 Crores to 20,099 beneficiaries. A new scheme of self-employment for rehabilitation of scavengers has been in waiting since March 2009. To abolish the practice of untouchability and curb the high incidence of crimes and atrocities against SCs, efforts are made for effective implementation of the Protection of Civil Rights (PCR) Act-1955 and the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act-1989, with the help of 22 special court under the Protection of Civil Rights (PCR) Act, and also 137 special courts under the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 (Economic Survey: 2006-07: 205-229).

The review of implementation of the National Scheme for Scavengers (NSS) has noted that large numbers of eligible scavengers and their dependents have not been included in the survey, which is pointer to the inaccuracy in the estimated/surveyed numbers of scavengers all over the country. According to statistics compiled by NSKFDC, around 1,88,212 persons have been rehabilitated from the inception of the National Scheme up to 31 July 1996, as against a target of 3,32,533. Moreover, there is a wide gap between release of funds and actual expenditure incurred. During 1992-93 to 1994-95 it reached as high as 44.72 lakhs indicating that the bulk of funds for the eradication of manual scavenging lie unutilized. These facts indicate the lack of interest in the welfare of dalit safai-karmacharis, if not sheer negligence on the part of Government (Wilson; Safai Karmacharis Andolan: 2003). According to the National Commission for Safai Karmacharis, progress “has not been altogether satisfactory” and befitted only “a handful of these workers and their dependents”. One of the reasons for unsatisfactory progress of the scheme appears to be inadequate attention paid to it by the state governments and concerned agencies. State Government often denies the claim and cites lack of water supply is posed as preventing the construction of flush latrines. This despite the sum of Rs.4,640 lakhs (US$ 116 Million) allocated to the scheme under the government’s eight five-year
plan. Activist’s claims that the resources including government funds, for construction and rehabilitation exist; what is lacking is political will.

Members of the National Commission for Safai-Karmacharis consider it imperative that the commission be “vested with similar power and facilities as are available to the National Commission for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes”. Currently, the commission has only advisory power and it has no authority to summon or monitor cases. The political class has failed to exert any will in acknowledging the gravity of the situation and its own duty to eradicate it. Even the central government pleaded lack of resources in failing to implement the law effectively. The Judiciary, however, has taken exception to the fact that money was squandered, but yet at the ground level, there are no results (India Together: 2007; Aloysius: 2005: 33-36). In addition due to privatization of service sectors, there have massive changes in the public and private sector through casualisation, contractualisation of labour, the easy way out for the government to escape its constitutional responsibilities. As awareness of the rights increase among Sanitation workers, so there is protest from civil society regarding the abject failures of the government to abolish the system of manual scavenging, the government has found easy way out- to engage private contractors. The scavenging work is nothing but continued slavery with added exploitation. In addition, privatization of sanitation work ensures the perpetuation of the practice of manual scavenging, without any legal protection of safai-karmacharis socio-economic rights. An inequality, discrimination, exclusion and stigmatization conjointly contribute to the utter marginalization of scavengers in India (Oommen: 2004: 24). The discussion on caste and scavenging labour point to complex institutional discrimination of particular social groups.

Social Exclusion is a process, which restricts the access of certain social groups to valued resources and entitlement, relegating them to the status of social outsiders. It is a multi-dimensional concept, conceived to capture different forms of Social disadvantage- economic; social, political, and cultural - those persist, in multiple variants and with different intensity. However the concept is broadly synonymous with the concept of marginalization and is related to a number of other concepts, notably poverty, unemployment and deprivation. Social Exclusion appears to occur within all economies and societies, but manifests itself in different forms, with
different intensities and with different degrees of salience to the members of a society or their representatives. What is critical in one country may not be so perceived in another. The approach of social exclusion is particularly important for those social scientists, the role of NGOs and philanthropists who have attempted to outline and explain pattern of exclusions with reference to empirical research on contemporary social condition, and it’s embedding within official policy documents. As far as Asian experience of social exclusion is concerned, Asian countries in general and Indian context is particular, the most vulnerable groups like scavenging castes have constantly suffered high-proportionate exploitation, harassment, social ostracism, extreme poverty, stigmatization due to the hereditary status of scavenging labour. This study’s observations bring out failures of commissions, schemes for scavengers by State as well as Center, dual kind of exploitation of female scavengers, distorted socio-cultural relations because of their occupation, a new privatized contract system, their constant professional activities and institutional inequalities.

The next chapter will try to seek and put together the history of scavenging and its institutionalization in colonial India and in old Pune Municipality in particular. Other sections of chapter will outline research methods, tools and techniques used such as reflexive ethnography method.