

Impact of Scheme of Training and Rehabilitation on Socioeconomic Improvement of Scavengers in Rajasthan

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DRAFT REPORT

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PREFACE

The study of the Impact of Scheme of Training and Rehabilitation on Socioeconomic Improvement of Scavengers in Rajasthan was carried out with the financial grant received from the Planning Commission, SER Division, Government of India. We wish to express our deep sense of gratitude and sincere thanks to the Planning Commission for entrusting our Institute such an important study.

Historically, The group of scavengers is placed lowest in the caste hierarchy, the members of which are bound by traditional obligation and customary rules to practice removal of night soil physically for its disposal. The scavengers pursuing this occupation are grossly underpaid, quite often abused and living a life of degradation and deprivation. Besides the efforts made by several national and international organizations and social reformers, Government of India initiated several steps since Independence to liberate scavengers from manual cleaning of night soil and rehabilitate them in alternative dignified occupations which culminated in a) launching of the National Scheme of Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers and their Dependents in 1992, b) enactment of the Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act 1993, and c) promotion of alternatives to dry latrines in the form of water-sealed latrines. These and similar other programmes were in operation for over a decade resulting in substantial improvements in the conditions of scavengers.

However, the concern is being expressed even in official circles about the continued plight of the vast majority of the scavengers, lack of data on the present status of scavengers and the scavenging, low impact different measures had on the socioeconomic improvement of the group. The present study was, therefore, carried out to meet this gap to some extent.

It was carried in Ajmer and Udaipur districts of Rajasthan with 554 beneficiaries and 138 non-beneficiaries drawn from two cities, four towns and eight villages. In addition, departmental officials and office bearers of scavengers' organisations were also approached for obtaining their perspective on the problem under study. The present report is based on the analysis of data obtained from these and similar other sources. Besides, information made available especially by Department of Social Welfare, Government of Rajasthan, the Rajasthan State SC and ST Finance and Development Cooperative Cooperation Ltd., Sulabh International Social Service Organisation and its Vocational Training Centers, Nai Disha, was also used in this study.

Data were collected during the months of May-August, 2006. The report is broadly divided in to eight chapters. Besides, eight annexures having relevance to the problem under study are also added which we hope would prove helpful in grasping the findings.

While the programmes and measures initiated for the liberation and rehabilitation of scavenging population may have many strengths as also limitations, the aspect which adversely affected the study considerably was the absence of seriousness in making training arrangements with undefined role of concerned departments therein. This was compensated partly by the information and views obtained from different categories of respondents themselves and vocational training center at Alwar run by Sulabh International Social Service Organization that imparts training to the members of scavenging community in different alternative occupations.

The successful conduct of the present study was made possible with the help and support extended by different organisations and individuals. At the outset, we wish to express our very special thanks for the information support and help extended by the Department of Social Welfare, Govt. of Rajasthan, the Rajasthan State SC & ST Finance and Development Cooperative Corporation Ltd. and its district offices located at Ajmer and Udaipur, Directorate of Technical Education, Govt. of Rajasthan, Jodhpur, District Rural Development Agency, Ajmer and Udaipur, Sulabh International Social Service Organisation, New Delhi and its Vocational Training Centers, Nai Disha, at Alwar in Rajasthan and various scavengers' organisations operating in districts of Ajmer and Udaipur.

The study was made possible also by the willing cooperation extended by our respondents from sampled cities, towns and villages, and from government offices, hospitals, educational institutions and commercial establishments. Besides, we were greatly benefited by the observations of officials of different departments concerned with the development of scavenging community. We wish to extend our special thanks to each one of them.

In addition, we were helped immensely by Shri G.S. Narwani, IAS (Retd.), Former Director, Deptt. of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj, Govt. of Rajasthan, Professor Brij Raj Chauhan, Former Professor of Sociology & renowned Sociologist, Professor K.K. Jacob, Former Principal, Udaipur School of Social Work, and Dr A.B. Phatak, renowned educationist and former faculty of the Institute of Advance Studies in Educational Research and Training, Vidya Bhavan Udaipur. We feel extremely grateful to them for the help and cooperation we received at different stages of the study.

The members of the research team, namely, Ms. Deepti Bhandari, Shri Himmat Singh Chundawat and Ms. Meena Pawar deserve our appreciation for the efforts they made in collection and tabulation of data. In addition, Shri Indrajit Goswami, Faculty of Udaipur School of Social Work, Shri Laxmi Narayan Salvi, and Shri Gopal Sharma have also extended help in computer analysis of data and preparation of report for which we extend our thanks to each of them.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

An important feature of the Indian caste system is that a particular occupation is associated with each caste. While higher castes enjoy wide range of choices in occupations, the unclean jobs got associated with lower castes which include sweeping streets, cleaning drains and sewers, removal of human and animal waste, leather processing, raising of pigs and the like. As most towns and villages did not have flush latrines, sweepers were manually handling human excreta and carry it on their heads. Leatherwork includes handling of dead animals and removal of their skin and hence, it is also viewed unclean. Such jobs are considered not only polluting but are also of low paid which included payment in the form of left-over from kitchen as well.

The group of scavengers is placed lowest in caste-based hierarchy. Its members are bound not only by traditional obligations and customary rules to practice this ubiquitous occupation but mythological sanctions also oblige them to carry night soil physically for disposal. Everyone borne in the sub-caste of scavengers is destined to take up this subhuman profession (Phatak, 1991). Stephen Fuchs (1998) placed them at the bottom of Indian society i.e. lowest of all low castes. Despite, they are not without some social gradation: some are considered superior to others, their rank being determined by the respective origin, and the type of work they perform. The lowest place is occupied by those who manually clean latrines where scavengers come in direct contact with human excreta. The scavengers cleaning latrines are grossly underpaid, quite often abused and living a life of degradation.

Many noted the historical existence of scavenging as a profession. The disposal of human excreta was mentioned as one of 15 duties of slaves enumerated by *Naradiya Samhita*. The terms *Chandal* and *Paulkasa* were mentioned for those engaged in the task of disposal of night soil (Nagar, 1980:8). These two terms were used also during Buddhist period. The scavengers and sweepers were known to clean the city and disposal of night soil in *Patliputra* during *Maurya* Period. The warriors who were defeated in the battle and made captives were forced to perform scavenging work (Malkani, 1960). The invading Muslims brought with them women observing purdah and wearing burqua (veils). As these were disallowed to defecate in the open, bucket privies were developed for their defecation and those made captives were made to clean latrines/ bucket privies and to dispose the same in distant places. As captives were not accepted by castemen, they were named as *Mahtar* by *Akbar* constituting a separate caste of *Bhangis*. People's Commission also holds that the persons from all religions, viz, Hindu, Sikh, Muslim and Christian are scavengers and "once a scavenger always a scavenger." Those who entered into the profession under compulsions of war or

earning a living never came out of it; they became untouchables forever. Their numbers grew steadily because of general growth of population and growing demand of their services in fast growing urban and semi urban settlements. These developments resulted in the emergence of a special class of scavengers as a hereditary occupational group with a fixed unalterable role in Indian society occupying lowest position in the caste hierarchy.

The practice of manual cleaning of night soil was not unique to India; it was prevalent in European countries and America as well (Hamlin 1982). Prior to the emergence of the water closet, the sewage of European cities used to be disposed off by "scavengers", the men making nightly rounds, collecting the contents of privy vaults and carting them to nearby farming areas. The practice was followed in America as well. However, the scavenging system came to an end by the middle of 19th century with the development of higher technology and other changes. (Pathak, 1991). The circumstances prevailing in Muslim countries also suggest existence of cleaning night soil and its disposal. The religious sanctions related to *Bait-al-Khola* (latrine) in Arabia and sanction of *purdah* restricting free movement of women made it necessary to have a place of defecation by women within the house and the disposal of night soil elsewhere.

Sinha and Sinha (1986), who peeped into the history, noted women and *sudras* as the most oppressed communities in Hindu society. This permeates the whole Indian history. Kings have come and gone, empires have built and vanished but these two groups suffered all through the ages. The residences of *sudras* in towns and villages are segregated and secluded from the rest of the community members. Numerous *harijan* colonies/ *basties* have sprang up all over the country amounting to permanent ostracism of *harijans*. The women and *shudras* were condemned forever by *Manu* in *Manusmriti*. The myth of caste superiority is so strong that the pious teaching of renowned social reformers during 16th to 19th century has cut no ice with those who consider the oppression of these two groups a matter of divine rule.

The sweepers and scavengers in India are known by different names, the most common among them are *Mehytar*, *Bhangi*, *Chura* and the like. Besides the term *Jharna* is also used in Punjab and *Lal Begi* and *Valmiki* in Uttar Pradesh. These are the names of two great saints, the first being a Muslim and the other *Hindu*. The People's Commission on Abolition of Scavenging (1998) reported the use of many other terms for groups performing the task of sweeping and scavenging: *Hela*, *Hari*, *Hadi*, *Bhumali*, *Halalkhor*, *Doms*, *Dumras*, *Dhanuks*, *Bansphor*, *Mazhabi*, *Mikhair*, *Thoti*, *Chachati*, *Pakay*, *Relli*, *Ghasi*, *Olgana*, *Zadmali*, *Jamphoda* and *Metariya*. Col. Tod described them as "refuse of mankind." The Gazette of India Extra Ordinary - 9, Part II dated September 20, 1976, Part XV-Rajasthan (enforced w.e.f. July, 1977) identified 59 scheduled castes in Rajasthan which included scavenging castes known as "*Bhangi*, *Chura*, *Mehtar*, *Clgana*,

Rukhi, Malkana, Halalkhor, Lalbegi, Balmiki, Kerar, and Zadmall" (Govt. of Rajasthan, 2006).

Status of Scavengers and Scavenging :

During 1931 census, J.H. Hutton estimated the total population of various scavenging castes in undivided India which works out to be 19,57,460--10,38,678 males and 9,18,782 females. However, during 1961 census, their population was estimated to be 8.2 lakh, 40.20 % of which belonged to scheduled castes. This means over half of the persons pursuing the job of sweeping and scavenging were from non- scheduled caste category. This was due to the fact that many of the scavengers have converted themselves into Christianity, and therefore, ceased to be the members of scheduled castes despite continuing their scavenging job. Besides, there were many *Muslim* scavengers in states like Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, and Uttar Pradesh etc. Likewise, many persons of tribal groups perform the job of scavenging. However, no reliable estimates of the Christian, Muslim and tribal scavengers have been made (People's Commission, 1998).

To overcome the problem, Planning Commission constituted the Task Force in 1989, which submitted its report in 1991. Accordingly, the population of scavengers was estimated to be 4,00,999 – 3,33,779 in urban areas and 67,220 in rural areas forming respectively 83% and 17%. Sex-wise distribution showed that there were 2,06,612 males and 1,27,167 females in urban areas, the later constituting about 35% of total scavengers. A rapid survey was carried out by the Ministry of Social Welfare, Govt of India also to identify scavengers and their dependents as also to ascertain their attitude towards alternative trade/occupations. It revealed that there were 7,36,114 scavengers in the country, notwithstanding the complaints of non-inclusion of many scavenging families in the survey. Taking into account the number of non-scheduled caste scavengers and growth of population of scavengers since 1989, the People's Commission on Abolition of Scavenging came out with a rough estimate of scavenging population in India as about 8 lakhs.

The manual scavenging of night soil is expected to continue till dry latrines will remain in use. The condition of scavenging population is determined mainly by the quality of toilets and availability of flush arrangements. It is estimated that 750 million people out of total population of 950 million in 1991 either defecate in open fields or use dry privies, which are required to be cleaned manually. As regards urban population is concerned, about one third either had access to water-born toilets connected either to sewerage system or a septic tank. In contrast, only 3% rural population has access to sanitary toilets. The Task Force set-up by Planning Commission also estimated 76.4 lakh dry latrines in the country – 54 lakh in urban areas and 22.4 lakh in rural areas. During 1991 census, 23.70% households had toilet facilities in the country and over three fourth households had no toilet facilities. Data also showed that 58.15% urban households in 1981

and 63.85% in 1991 had toilet facilities. In contrast, only 9.40% in the rural household in 1991 had toilet facilities. Further, more than half of the urban household in 177 districts and more than one-third of urban households in most of the Indian states and UTs had no toilet facilities. (People's Commission, 1998)

The traditional system of service latrines in urban and rural communities has been a most importance source of insanitation and pollution in various ways. The bucket latrines are judged to be unsuitable for replication. Problems of odor, insects, spillage and generally unsanitary conditions at transfer points were ubiquitous in all of the cases surveyed. (Kalbermatten, 1980). The system is held responsible for breeding insects and infectious germs not only at the places of disposal, but also on the route through which the human waste is carried by the scavengers either in buckets or trolleys, besides bad smell causing irritation and restlessness (Pathak, 1991).

The practice is rooted deeply in the traditional social and economic obligations of different castes and sub-castes and therefore the liberation of scavengers from unclean occupation implies breaking up of traditional bondages which many scavengers may not like. The liberation of scavengers is closely linked with its economic implications. In the traditional system, scavenging remained a basic means of earning livelihood whether in cash or kind paid by families served by scavengers. In addition to the wages regularly paid for the service, gifts are offered to scavengers on occasions like childbirth, thread-ceremony, marriage and festivals. In his study of two districts of Rajasthan, Sharma (1995) noted relative deprivation of scavenging caste from *tewari* (gifts of food on festival), *roti* (gifted food on other social occasions, feasts on marriages etc.) and *inams* (gifts in the form of cash or kind), which they receive from upper castes. This makes scavenging work as the only source of survival in absence of alternative occupation and many scavengers, therefore, cannot think of doing away with it.

This necessitated taking up of programmes at the national level to abolish service latrine system and substitute it by techniques like sewerage or septic tank system using flush. However, the immense cost involved in developing, constructing and maintaining the sewerage system requiring regular and sufficient supply of running water for the waste disposal made the system beyond the reach of the common man and coverage of rural and urban areas extremely difficult. The scheme of Sulabh Shauchalay has contributed a great deal in liberating scavengers and in rehabilitating them. Besides, it improved significantly sanitary conditions and cleanliness of the surroundings and encouraged people to adopt low-cost sanitation system. The scheme has been supported and adopted by large number of organizations at all levels.

The liberation of scavengers from traditional occupation in absence of alternative job amounts unemployment and starvation. The introduction of rehabilitation programme therefore is considered necessary alongwith liberation of scavengers.

The process involves rehabilitation and change in the means of livelihood and change in social status and social relationships. In a caste-based society, every caste was associated with a particular vocation and every individual borne into it was required to pursue the occupation of his or her own caste. Thus, the scope of occupational mobility in traditional caste based social order was virtually non-existent. Under the situation, liberation of scavengers from traditional unclean occupation implies improvement in the social status and change in the notion of pollution associated with cleaning of night soil. The scavengers who are liberated earned them higher status when compared with unliberated ones. This tends to give rise to class-cleavages and social tensions and changed relationships between two groups of scavengers.

The liberation of present generation of scavengers from demeaning job does not necessarily prevent next and younger generation to enter into scavenging in absence of alternative vocations for them. The liberated scavengers in large numbers are absorbed in municipalities or corporations but once the available vacancies are filled, scope to employ their sons and daughters becomes extremely limited. They will thus be forced to engage themselves elsewhere, many of **who are** likely to revert to scavenging.

Early Attempts to Improve Conditions of Scavengers :

Improvement in sanitation: Mahatma Gandhi was first to take up the cause of *Bhangis*, made a move towards liberating scavengers from cleaning night soil and raise their status in society. During 1901 convention of National Congress held in Calcutta, he advised volunteers against employing scavengers for the purpose and himself set the example by cleaning his own night soil with a broom. This encouraged volunteers to act upon Gandhi's advice whenever All-India Congress conventions were held. In Sabarmati Ashram also, he advised inmates to do the job themselves rather than employing professional *Bhangis*.

Rockefeller Foundation made the earliest organised attempt towards prevention of manual handling of night soil in 1930 through introducing bore-hole latrines with pre-cast squatting slabs at its centers located in different states. However, not much success could be achieved. Simple water seal pan over the dug pit, an improved version of the bore-hole, was introduced in Singur Health Center in Bengal but due to requirement of large quantity of water to flush the excreta, the shape was further modified by reducing water seal as well as construction cost.

The improvement of health and sanitary conditions has attracted attention of many international agencies such as WHO, UNICEF, UNDP. The programmes of improvement of water supply and provision of adequate system of waste disposal have been initiated on a large scale. These concerns occupy important place in deliberations during Habitat Conference at Vancouver in 1976, UN Water Conference at Mar del Plata in 1977, and International Conference of Primary

Health Center at Alma Ata in 1978. The period 1981-90 was declared as the International Drinking Water and Sanitation Decade by UN General Assembly.

Committees and Commissions : The Governments of Bombay appointed the Scavenger's Living Conditions Enquiry Committee in 1949 under the Chairmanship of V.N. Barve which submitted its report in 1952. The Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India circulated its recommendations to all the state Governments for action thereon. Similar action was taken by the Ministry of Health also.

The first Backward Classes Commission was appointed in 1953 under the Chairmanship of Kaka Kalelkar, which submitted its report in 1955. It studied the living conditions of sweepers and recommended that the municipalities should be provided enough funds for improvement of the quarters for scavengers and that they should be provided quarters in different localities rather than segregating them in restricted area. The Ministry circulated its recommendations to all the state governments and stressed the need for introducing mechanical devices for cleaning latrines and to prevent scavengers to carry night soil on their head.

The Central Board of Harijan Welfare was constituted in 1956 under the Chairmanship of Govind Ballabh Pant, then Minister of Home Affairs, which studied the working and living conditions of scavengers and recommended the introduction of a centrally sponsored scheme for them. The Central Advisory Board for Harijan Welfare constituted a Scavenging Conditions Inquiry Committee in 1957 under the Chairmanship of Prof. N.R. Malkani with the purpose to formulate a scheme that can liberate scavengers from carrying night soil as headload as also to improve their working and living conditions. The Committee, which submitted its report in 1960, made concrete recommendations and observed that as long as dry latrines continue, the problem will continue to exist. The Ministry of Home Affairs circulated its recommendations to all the state governments for implementation.

The Government of India, Department of Social Welfare appointed a Committee on Abolition of Customary Rights in 1965 under the Chairmanship of Prof. N.R. Malkani to explore the possibilities of abolition of customary rights of scavengers. The Committee observed that where latrines are cleaned privately, a scavenger acquired hereditary rights to do so. In return, scavengers receive payments in cash or kind or both. The Committee, therefore, suggested that the Municipal Act should be amended, house scavenging (scavenging of service latrines) may be declared essential and obligatory function of municipalities, females should not be involved in scavenging work or they should be appointed as sweepers or part time scavengers. The response of the state governments to these suggestions was, however, very poor.

Role of Non-Governmental Organisations : Besides massive efforts made by Sulabh international to liberate scavengers, Harijan Sevek Sangh, Safai Vidyalaya and Gandhi Smarak Nidhi are known for their pioneering work towards improvement of the working and living conditions of scavengers. The Harijan Sevek Sangh sought cooperation of local bodies and municipalities in improving the working and living conditions of scavengers, made provisions for credit through cooperative societies and provision of houses at cheap rate. It helped cooperative societies of sweepers at different places to construct houses for sweepers.

The Sangh setup a Safai Vidyalaya at Ahemedabad under the Chairmanship of Ishwar Bhai Patel that implemented *Bhangi Kashta Mukti* programme with the central grants, provided training in methods, approach and use of improved implements for cleaning latrines and made efforts to convert dry latrines into flush latrines. As a result, out of total 1.86 lakh dry latrines, 1.80 lakh latrines were converted into flush latrines in Gujarat by 1988.

The conversion of service latrines into pour-flush sanitary latrines for abolishing manual scavenging was attempted also by Gandhi Smarak Nidhi under the leadership of Appa Saheb Patwardhan. The *Bhangi, Mukti Yojana* cell was also setup for propagating construction of sanitary latrines and imparting training for social and municipal workers.

Sulabh International played a significant role under the leadership of Dr. Bindeshwar Pathak to liberate scavengers from carrying night soil as headload through introduction of low cost public sanitation in both rural and urban areas and research and development of cheap and appropriate sanitation technology indigenously developed consuming less water. The scavenging free technology it developed had backing of WHO, World Bank and UNDP. The Sulabh Technology, which offers an alternative to bucket privies and open-air defecation, is not only sustainable and replicable but easily available, economically affordable and socially and culturally acceptable.

Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers : Government Intervention

With the launching of community development programme in 1952, the bore-whole squatting plates and dug pit latrines were propagated as part of rural uplift programme. However, its large-scale adoption could not be achieved. Planning Research and Action Institute (PRAI) Lucknow developed its own design of water seal squatting plate having two pits and subsequently one-pit option was propagated to save the cost but not much success could be achieved.

To restore the dignity of scavengers, Government of India advised states to supply wheel barrows/ handcarts to sweepers employed by municipalities so that the practice of carrying night soil as head load could be eliminated. The Ministry of

Home Affairs in 1957 – 58 offered to contribute 50% of the cost to cover the cost of purchase of wheelbarrows. However, desired results could not be achieved for the poor response of the state governments, piece-meal approach, non-utilisation of sanctioned amount and wheelbarrows being heavy and improper.

A centrally sponsored scheme for improving working and living conditions of the scavengers was also introduced during Third Five Year Plan. The financial assistance was provided to the state governments for (i) purchase of hand carts/wheel barrows, scrappers, gum- boots and other protective devices, and (ii) subsidy for construction for houses for those engaged in unclean occupations or allotment of house sites. However, the scheme did not succeed much because the wheelbarrows being too heavy, absence of financial provision for maintenance and repairs, and poor coverage.

As liberation from manual scavenging of night soil was closely related to flush latrines, a special programme of conversion of dry latrines into water – borne was initiated during the Gandhi Centenary Year (1969). The householder was offered 25% subsidy and 75% loan for participation in the scheme. The local bodies and municipalities were directed by the Ministry of Health to disallow new buildings without provision for flush out latrines. The Ministry of Works and Housing also initiated a pilot project during Fifth Five Plan for the conversion of dry latrines into flush latrines in selected towns. However, the scheme had to be dropped as there was no provision for subsidy.

Government of India has launched the National Scheme of Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers and their Dependents (NSLRS) since 1992. The objective of the scheme is to liberate the scavengers from their existing hereditary, obnoxious and inhuman occupation of manually removing night soil and filth and to provide for and engage them in alternative and dignified occupations through provision of facilities, loans and grants.

The programme has three necessary components, (1) Legislative back up to prohibit dry latrines and manual scavenging in the form of ‘the Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act. 1993’ (Annexure 4); (2) an alternative to dry latrines in the form of low cost sanitation units for which loan and subsidy are provided under the ‘Centrally Sponsored Scheme of Low Cost Sanitation Scheme for Liberation of Scavengers’; and (3) the National Scheme for Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers and their Dependents (Annexure 3) for training and rehabilitation in alternative occupations.

Legally, cleaning of dry latrines and transporting of human excreta has been banned since 1993, Under the 1993 Act, the employment of scavengers or the construction of dry latrines can result in imprisonment upto one year and /or a fine of Rs 2000. Offenders are also liable to prosecution under the Scheduled Castes

and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989. Despite such laws, manual scavenging continues. By April 2002, sixteen states had adopted the 1993 Act, which include Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Goa, Gujarat, Harayana, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Jharkhand, Karnataka, and West Bengal. Later in the same year, Rajasthan had also adopted it and cabinet approval was awaited in Delhi.

There is a separate scheme of scholarships for children of families practising unclean occupations under which children of families engaged in manual scavenging are eligible for pre-matric scholarships. Despite these provisions, the programme has not achieved success in removing the practice of manual scavenging.

The National Safai Karamchari Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC) was also set up under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. The Corporation provides loans at a concessional rate of interest to target groups through State channelising agencies in 27 States and Union Territories and NGOs. The Corporation has disbursed a cumulative sum of Rs. 212.07 crores till the end of 2004-05. It includes a sum of Rs. 33.60 crore disbursed under micro credit finance including loan component for implementation of National Scheme for Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers (upto 2002-03). During 2004-05, the Corporation disbursed loans amounting to Rs. 43.77 crore to 9,539 beneficiaries (Govt. of India 2005, The Press Information Bureau, 2004).

Towards rehabilitating scavengers, projects costing upto Rs. 50,000/- for each beneficiary are financed by way of a prescribed financial package comprising of 50% subsidy subject to a ceiling of Rs. 10,000/- per project, 15% of project cost as Margin Money Loan (MML) which is shared between the Central Government and State Government in the ratio 49:51 and the rest through loan from banks and NSKFDC. Some of the parameters in the scheme were modified in the year 1996 for its effective implementation.

In order to accelerate the pace of NSLRS, the concept of sanitary mart was introduced in 1999-2000 for rehabilitation of scavengers in groups. A sanitary mart is composed of a group of 20-25 people who form themselves in a society or self help group. It meets and the sanitary needs of people and produces materials and equipments such as pans, traps etc at its production center. The aim of the scheme is to establish sanitary marts in towns and cities also where scavengers are prevalent. The sanitary marts are established to meet mainly three purposes: (a) rehabilitating scavengers, (b) eradicating manual scavenging, and (c) creating demand for latrines through motivation.. Each member is eligible for receiving a benefit Rs.20,000-00, of which 50% is subsidy amounting to Rs.10,00-00. Rs.3000-00 are provided as Margin Money Loan from the Corporation at 4% interest and Rs.7000-00 are paid as term loan from National Safai Karmachari

Finance and Development Corporation. Unfortunately, the scheme launched in 2000 so far has met with limited success.

Initially, the scheme covered only scheduled caste scavengers and those belonging to Muslim and Christian communities were left out. But from 1995, non-scheduled caste scavengers were also brought under the scheme. The scheme was also transferred from Ministry of Home Affairs to the Ministry of Social Welfare. Besides, the component of conversion of dry latrines into water pour flush latrines was also transferred to the Ministry of Urban Development and Poverty Alleviation from 2003-04 to be implemented through HUDCO retaining the component of training and rehabilitation of liberated scavengers with the Ministry of Social Welfare.

Performance of scheme and future strategy

Today the scavengers continue to face severe discrimination. Tea shop owners in some localities still keep separate (often broken) utensils to serve valmikis; barbers refuse to give a hair cut and one has to spend Rs 75-100 to get a hair cut in some town. This was borne out in a random survey conducted in 2001 in six states including Rajasthan. Survey also indicated that 95% of the manual scavengers are women and girls and 94% of villages latrines in Madhya Pradesh are dry. Even municipal offices recruit only Dalits to keep the latrines clean. Despite laws banning dry latrines and the transport of human excreta, thousands of people still make their living this way, sometimes working even in government departments. The social structure also forced nearly all of this work on Dalit women and girls (Kumar 2006). Besides, social biases act as huge barrier in the liberation of scavengers. People find it difficult to accept the new role being performed by liberated and rehabilitated scavengers. Citing cases from Madhya Pradesh, Kumar (2005) reported that a Dalit women who opened a cloth shop was boycotted by village people and was forced her to shut the shop after incurring financial loss and revert to the traditional occupation. Besides, children lost their scholarship whose families quit scavenging and adopted dignified occupations.

The review of the implementation of the scheme during the period from 1992-93 to 2001-02 undertaken by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment provided a disappointing picture (Annexure 3). It summarized the results as below :

"The National Scheme of Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers and their Dependents, implemented by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment since 1992 has failed to achieve its objectives even after ten years of implementation involving investments of more than Rs 600 crores. The Scheme was undoubtedly well intentioned but ill conceived as it failed to harness its operational parameters to the complex structure of a highly stratified society resisting occupational reform. Nobility of purpose was not enough, as the scheme

failed to deliver its social vision after ten years of continuous but regrettably half-hearted efforts. It failed in working out a coherent strategy for policy initiatives, as it could not take advantage of an existing Law that prohibited employment of Scavengers. Divorcing liberation from rehabilitation was an error of judgment that weakened the foundation of the Scheme and led to uncoordinated efforts without focus. It failed in enhancing or re-orienting the skill-levels of the beneficiaries necessary for change of occupation. For the same reason, it failed in its mission of replacing the hereditary practice by skill-based choice. Absence of base-line survey, non-involvement of district development authorities, commercialisation of the assistance patterns and ruptures in the monitoring format led to a certain loss of locus. Achievements so far can at best be described as sporadic, uncoordinated and generally poor, without the strength required for catalysing the future course. It is the lack of purpose in aligning the parameters of the Scheme and lack of will in implementing it that led to the Scheme floundering on its own assumptions" (downloaded from website)

The Minister for Social Justice and Empowerment, Smt. Meira Kumar, in her letter of July 19, 2005 addressed to the Chief Ministers of States and Administrators of Union Territories, expressed grave concern over the continuing inhuman manual scavenging and urged them to make necessary efforts to end geographical and social segregation of safai karamcharis to ensure their integration in the larger society resulting in an 'inclusive society'.

Action Plan for 2007 :

Based on the review of different schemes and the measures needed to make them fully effective to eradicate manual scavenging, a draft "Action Plan for Total Eradication of Manual Scavenging By 2007" was prepared and revised in a joint meeting of concerned ministries convened by the Planning Commission on November 2, 2002 which amalgamates the schemes of various central government departments. The stress was laid on seven main points:

- a) Identification of manual scavengers to remove uncertainty regarding their number as defined in the 1993 Act. This is necessary both for purposes of their liberation and rehabilitation, and for knowing the magnitude of the problem and progress in its alleviation.
- b) The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993 does not prohibit dry latrines and manual scavenging in a direct fashion. It operates after State Government issues a notification fixing a date for enforcing the provisions and the notification itself can only be issued after giving a notice of ninety days, and only where adequate facilities for the use of water-seal latrines in that area exist.

- c) Conversion of dry latrines is the key to removing the practice of manual scavenging but the present subsidy scheme is inadequate. Instead, subsidy should only be given to BPL households who may have dry latrines.
- d) Involvement of NGOs: The scheme does not specifically envisage NGO participation in enforcement of law or identification of manual scavengers and their rehabilitation or conversion of dry latrines. There is a need for involvement of NGOs, who can adopt whole towns, or in the case of large cities, specific areas of cities.
- e) Urban Local Bodies should be given incentives for achieving 100% conversion of dry latrines, and total liberation and rehabilitation of manual scavengers.
- f) Nodal ministry at the center: Under the Constitutional scheme as laid down in the Twelfth Schedule, Urban local bodies have the mandate both to provide sanitation as well as to safeguard the interests of weaker sections of society. The entire programme of liberation of manual scavengers need to be implemented by the Ministry of Urban Development and Poverty Alleviation.
- g) Cleaning of septic tanks is also a form of manual scavenging. Mechanization of cleaning of septic tanks needs to be implemented. The practice of manual scavenging may not be common in rural areas where use of latrines itself is not common.

Present Study :

The studies conducted to assess the impact of different measures on the scavenging groups of the state reported mixed consequences. A study of Bhilwara and Udaipur districts of Rajasthan (Sharma, 1995) attributed continuation of scavenging work among *harijans* in absence of organizational and opinion mobilization attempts and lack of viable alternatives. An Orissa study revealed that while *harijans* were not pursuing scavenging work, about four-fifths of them reported underemployment and faced discrimination in village festivals, travel etc (Tripathy, 1994). A Rajasthan study of Bhangis (Shyamlal, 1984) reported socioeconomic mobilization among the group but noted continuation of traditional work, caste discrimination and untouchability. Sharma (1995) also revealed isolation and discrimination at tea-stalls, hair-cutting saloons, and social feasts. However, a positive impact of occupational mobility on social interactions of the scavengers and on weakening of social disabilities was noted by Pathak (1991). The appraisal of state interventions also showed encouraging results as manifested in conversion of large number of dry latrines into water-borne latrines, shift of liberated scavengers in variety of non-traditional wage employment and self-employment ventures, availment of grants and loans and skill development. At the same time, the central and state governments have acknowledged that despite

several measures, the problem continues to exist and scavengers and their family members are still involved in different variety of scavenging work; they are still characterised by below poverty-line economic status and low income occupations and the efforts made towards their socioeconomic development were far from the required critical level and therefore the economic base...remained almost stagnant (Govt. of India 2003; Govt. of Rajasthan 2001; 2006)

In view of such mixed consequences of state interventions, it is quite difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the impact different measures had on the socioeconomic conditions of scavenging population. The state government has also acknowledged that there exist no reliable data on the conditions of sweepers and scavengers and expressed the need for evaluation of the efficacy of SCP and similar other schemes (Govt. of Rajasthan 2001). The present study was, therefore, undertaken to bridge this information gap with focus on ascertaining socioeconomic improvement among scavenging group as a result of the scheme of liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers.

Objectives of Study :

The present study was carried out to meet following specific objectives:

1. To find out the socioeconomic profile of the scavengers and the nature of occupational services being offered by them in rural and urban areas.
2. To find out magnitude of different policy interventions and their differential acceptance.
3. To assess the impact of different policy interventions particularly acceptance of the scheme of training and rehabilitation of scavengers on the labour absorption, occupational mobility and improvement in socioeconomic conditions of the group.
4. To locate the emerging changes in the caste relations, gender differences and inter- generational adjustments among scavengers as a consequence of policy interventions.

Research Questions or Hypotheses

The study was expected to answer following main questions.

1. Whether the desired objectives have been achieved and to what extent?
2. What were the handicaps in achieving the objectives during plan periods as envisaged?
3. Whether the traditional practice of lifting night soil by hands/head is still prevalent?

4. What is the impact of population growth of the city / town on the practice of scavenging?
5. To what extent the state intervention has contributed in social and occupational mobility of scavengers and their social, economic, education and health status?
6. Among the two, which sex group was affected more by training and other intervention programmes.
7. How can we remove the impediments in successful implementation of the intervention programme?

The objectives were sought to be achieved through the study of both beneficiaries, with and without institutional affiliation, as well as non-beneficiaries drawn from cities, towns and villages. Besides, departmental officials and those holding offices in scavengers' Organisations were also approached for obtaining their views and perceptions relating to the implementation of the scheme of liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers in alternative occupations.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD OF STUDY

For the purpose of study, the districts of Ajmer and Udaipur were taken up each having a population of over 3 lakhs. Among the two, former had relatively higher concentration of scheduled caste population (17.71%), higher even than the state average of 17.16%, whereas the later has the lowest concentration of SC population i.e. 6.01% as per 2001 census.

Recognizing the fact that the size of habitat and urbanization influence greatly the level of development and hence improvement in the conditions of scavengers also, it was decided to include in the study city areas, towns and villages and within each of these habitats localities with concentration of scavengers known as *Harijan Basties* as well as institutions that are served by scavengers.

Selection of Towns and Villages :

Following stratified sampling procedure, and using 2001 census data tehsil headquarter towns of each selected districts were grouped into two categories: (a) towns having a total population of upto 50,000, and (b) towns having total population of 50,001 and above. From each category, two towns were randomly selected. This was done owing to greater possibility of concentration of scavengers and their localities as also of government offices, educational and health institutions and commercial organizations.

Likewise, all the villages having a population of over 1000 each and a panchayat headquarter were listed from each selected tehsils/towns and two villages were randomly selected for the study. The list of selected towns and villages from each sampled district is given in table 2.1

Table 2.1
Selection of towns and villages

S. No.	Habitat	Districts	
		Ajmer	Udaipur
1	Cities	1. Ajmer	2. Udaipur
2	Tehsils/towns	1. Beawar 2. Vijaynagar	3. Kherwara 4. Mavli
3	Villages	1. Kharwa (Beawar) 2. Pipalaj (Beawar) 3. Jalia (Vijay nagar) 4. Wadi (Vijay nagar)	5. Rishabhdev (kherwara) 6. Chhani (kherwara) 7. Dabok (Mavli) 8. Ghasa (Mavli)

Selection of Harijan Basties :

It was decided to select *Harijan Basties/Scavengers* from each selected districts, tehsils and panchayat headquarters. In this connection, the definition of *Harijan*

Basties or *mohallas* used by Govt. of Rajasthan (2006) was employed for the purpose of providing basic amenities to localities having predominantly scavenging population. Govt. of Rajasthan defined *Harijan Basti* or *Mohalla* as a locality having minimum of 20 families in rural areas and 50 families in urban areas and 75% or more of their total population is comprised of schedule castes. However, in practice officials are facing difficulties in differentiating between *harijan basties* '*Gandi Basties*' and "*Kachchi Basties* " and therefore development works are being implemented in "*Kachchi Basties*" to overcome the problem of identification (Vyas, 2005).

Using the above definition, all the *Harijan Basties* existing in the district headquarters were listed and two *Basties* were randomly selected. Likewise, all the *Harijan Basties* of each sampled towns were listed and two *Basties* were randomly selected. As scavenging households found in the selected villages did not qualify to be the *Harijan Basties*, sample was drawn on the basis of actual availability of scavenging families. (table 2.2)

It was recognized that the scavengers, who were liberated from their traditional unclean occupation, have taken up in large number wage employment in hospitals, municipalities, educational institutions, government organizations/ public undertakings, and commercial establishments and the remaining initiated self-employment venture with or without government support. At each district and tehsil headquarter towns, separate lists of hospitals, educational institutions, offices of government departments/public undertakings, and commercial establishments utilising services of scavengers were prepared and from each category, two institutions were randomly selected for the study. A similar list was prepared for each selected villages and selection of institutions was made depending upon the actual availability. The details of institutions selected for the study are provided in table 2.3

Selection of Respondents :

(a) Selection from harijan basties :

It was decided to include in the sample both beneficiaries as well as non-beneficiaries. As the number of scavenging families in *Harijan Basties* located in city, town and village area differs greatly, the sample size was accordingly drawn keeping in view of the limitations of time frame and budgetary provisions.

City areas : Based on the consultations with elders and influential from each selected *basti*, lists of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries were prepared. From the list thus prepared, it was decided to select randomly 40 beneficiaries households and 15 non-beneficiaries households. In cases where the heads of households from non-beneficiaries available at the time of data collection was found to be less than 15, all the available heads of such households were selected for the study.

Towns : The process of drawing sample of respondents used in case of city areas was followed in towns as well. The lists of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries' households were prepared with the help of elders and influentials and 20 beneficiaries' households and 8 non-beneficiaries' households were randomly selected. Wherever heads of selected households available at the time data collection was found to be less than the proposed sample size, all the available heads of such households were included in the sample.

Villages : In all the sampled villages, the number of scavenging households was such that did not qualify them to be labeled as *Harijan Basti* as per definition adopted by Government of Rajasthan. It was decided to draw a sample of 10 beneficiaries households' from each village. Wherever the actual number of households was less than the proposed sampled size, all the households were included in the study and the heads of such households available at the time of data collection were interviewed.

In accordance with the above, 366 beneficiaries (i.e. 160 from cities, 160 from towns and 46 from villages) and 138 non-beneficiaries (i.e. 52 from cities, 59 from towns and 27 from villages) were selected for the study. The details of *Harijan Basties* and the selected respondents by cities, town and villages are shown in table 2.2.

Table 2.2
Sample of Harijan Basties and respondents

S. No.	District	Unit	City/ town	Name of Harijan Basties	Beneficiaries	Non-Beneficiaries	Total	
1	Ajmer	City	Ajmer	1. Longia Basti	40	14	54	
				2. Tambe Basti	40	12	52	
	Ajmer	Town	Beawar	1. Diggi Mohalla	20	8	28	
				2. Nehru Colony	20	8	28	
			Vijaynagar	1. Bajrang Moholla	20	7	27	
				2. Taron ka kheda	20	8	28	
	Ajmer	Villages	Beawar	1. Kharwa	7	4	11	
				2. Paplaj	6	4	10	
			Vijaynagar	1. Jalia	6	3	9	
				2. Wadi	7	3	10	
Udaipur				City	1. Malla Tallai	40	15	55
					2. Shakti Nagar	40	11	51
Udaipur	Town	Kherwara	1. Harijan Basti	20	7	27		
			2. Ramdev Mandir Basti	20	8	28		
	Mavali	1. Chamanpura	20	7	27			
		2. Ambedkar Colony	20	6	26			
Udaipur	Villages	Kherwara	1. Rishabhdev	6	4	10		
			2. Chhani	5	3	8		
		Mavali	1. Dabok	5	3	8		
			2. Ghasa	4	3	7		
3	Total	Cities		160	52	212		
		Towns		160	59	219		
		Villages		46	27	73		
Grand Total					366	138	504	

(b) Sample selection from institutions :

As the scale at which different institutions operate and the number of scavengers serving in them very greatly depending upon the size of habitat, it was decided to select 6 beneficiaries from each institution functioning in district headquarters, 4

from each institutions functioning in towns and 2 from each institution functioning in sampled villages.

However, some institutions, particularly at the level of tehsil headquarter and village, employ scavengers in smaller number than that required for drawing sample. In such cases, all the available respondents at the time of study were included in the sample. The actual number of respondents by institutions in different habitats is shown in table 2.3

Study Tools :

Considering illiteracy and low level education among the respondents in general, two separate interview schedules-one for beneficiaries and the other for non beneficiaries were developed, pretested and employed for data collection. Besides, two questionnaires were also developed and used for collection of information from (a) officials associated with concerned government departments and organisations of scavengers/ *safai karmacharies* operating at different levels, and (b) training personnel associated with imparting vocational training to the scavengers/ *safai karmacharies*.

Besides, secondary data were obtained from concerned departments which included Directorate of Technical Education, Govt. of Rajasthan, Department of Social Welfare, Rajasthan State SC/ST Finance and Development Cooperative Corporation Ltd.

Appropriate statistical techniques, particularly two-way tabulation, percentages, and chi-square test were utilized for drawing comparisons and inferences.

Variable Used in the Study :

Following independent and dependent variable have been used in the present study :

- a) **Independent variables:** Habitat, residence, age, sex, education, marital status, family size, family occupation, acquisition of skill/training and participation in development schemes rehabilitation dependent variables programme.
- b) **Dependent variables:** Occupational and geographical mobility, sexual division of work, income and reward, social status, education and health improvement.

Operationalisation of Terms Used :

Several terms were used in the report which need explication for providing common frame of reference to the readers and to facilitate in grasping of the findings of this study.

Harijan basties : In the context of Special Component Plan of the Department of Social Welfare, Govt. of Rajasthan, *harijan basties* are defined as the habitation areas inhabited by 20 *harijan* families or more in rural areas and 50 *harijan* families or more in urban areas and 75% or more of their total population is comprised of scheduled castes (Govt. of Rajasthan, 2006).

Table 2.3
Sample of institutions and respondents

Habitat	Hospitals	Govt. Offices	Educational Institutions	Commercial Establishments*	Total				
Cities									
Ajmer	Govt. Victoria Hospital	6	Railway Police	4	Regional Engg. College	4	RIICO	4	33
	Khetrapal Hospital	4	Municipal Council	6	GH Public School GH	2	HMT	3	
Udaipur	M.B. Hospital	6	Municipal council	6	ML Sukhadia University	6	Hindustan Zinc	6	43
	Satelite Hospital Sec.6	5	BSNL	4	Ayurvedic College	6	Peacock Industries	4	
Total		21		20		18		17	76
Towns									
Beawar (Ajmer)	1. Govt Amritkaur Hospital	4	Tehsil	1	SD Govt. College	4	Shree Cement	4	25
	2. Jai Clinic	3	Municipal council	4	Govt. Patel Sr.Sec. School 1		Kothari Mills	4	
Vijaynagar (Ajmer)	1. Govt. Hospital	3	Rajasthan Roadways	3	Govt.Jainaranyan College	2	Corpse Works Factory	2	18
	2. Sharma Hospital	1	Municipality	4	Govt. Sr.Sec. School	1	J.P. Pipe Factory	2	
Kherwara (Udaipur)	Community Health Center	4	Post Office	1	Govt. College	2	Neel Kamal Marbles	2	17
	Pancholi Hospital	1	Gram Panchayat	4	Govt. Sr.Sec.School	2	Raj Green Marbles	1	
Mavali (Udaipur)	Community Health Center	1	Gram Panchayat	4	Govt Sr.Sec.School	2	HP Petrol Pump	2	16
	Lajpat Clinic	1	Railway Station	2	Navoday Vidyalaya	2	Kalpana Hotel	2	
Total		18		23		16		19	76
Villages									
Kharwa (Ajmer)	Health sub-center	1	Gram Panchayat	2	Govt. Sec. School	1	-		4
Piplaj (Ajmer)	Health Sub- Center	1	Gram Panchayat	2	Govt. Model Sr. Sec. School	1	-		4
Jalia (Ajmer)	Health Sub- Center	1	Gram Panchayat	1	Govt. Sec. School	1	-		3
Badi (Ajmer)	Health Sub- Center	1	Gram Panchayat	1	Govt. Sec. School	1	-		3
Rishabhdev (Udaipur)	Primary Health Center	2	Gram Panchayat	2	Govt. Girls Sr. Sec. School	2	Mayur Cotton Mills	2	8
Chhani (Udaipur)	Health sub Center	1	Gram Panchayat	2	Govt. Secondry School	1	-		4
Dabok (Udaipur)	Homeopathic Medical	2	BSNL office	1	Lokmanya Tilak Teachers	1	-		7
	College & hospital				Trg. College				
	Govt. Hospital	1	Gram Panchayat	1	Shri Manna Narayan Sr. Sec. School	1			
Ghasa (Udaipur)	Govt. Primary Health Center	1	Post office	1	Saraswati Niketan Primary Sr. School	1	-		3
Total		11		13		10		2	36
Grand total		50		56		44		38	188

The remaining population areas are termed as "other areas" or "mixed areas" or "general population areas" for the purpose of this study.

Manual scavenger: It means a person engaged in or employed for manually carrying human excreta" and the expressions "manual scavenging" and "unliberated scavenger" construed accordingly.

Liberated scavenger: It means a person stopped himself/herself from engaging in manually carrying human excreta or manual scavenging. The expression applies also to those engaging themselves in cleaning water-sealed latrines.

Latrine: It means a place set apart for defecation together with the structure comprising such place, the receptacle therein for collection of human excreta and the fittings and apparatus, if any, connected therewith.

Dry latrines: It means latrines other than water-sealed latrines.

Water-sealed latrine: It means a pour-flush latrine, water flush latrine or sanitary latrine with a minimum of water-seal of 20 millimeters diameter in which human excreta is pushed in or flushed by water.

Liberation of scavengers: It means removal of conditions conducive for employing or engaging persons as "manual scavengers" and creation of conditions favourable to adopt alternative occupations other than "manual scavenging"

Rehabilitation of scavengers: It means provisions made for self-employment of liberated scavengers in various trades and occupations by providing subsidy, margin money loan and bank loan or wage employment in occupations other than manual scavenging and other unclean occupations.

Beneficiaries: The term "beneficiaries" means liberated scavengers who participated in individual-- beneficiary oriented programmes of rehabilitation through self-employment or wage-employment activities.

Institutional and non-institutional beneficiaries: The sample of beneficiaries drawn from those employed in hospitals, government offices, educational institutions and commercial establishments for scavenging work are classified as "institutional beneficiaries" and the remainders as "non-institutional sample or beneficiaries"

Non-beneficiaries: The term "non-beneficiaries" means liberated as well as non-liberated scavengers who did not participate in individual beneficiary oriented programmes of self-employment or wage employment initiated under the scheme of rehabilitation of liberated scavengers.

Age: The respondent's age is defined in terms of three age groups: up to 30 years, 31-45 years, 45 years and above.

Education: Education-wise, respondents were classified into illiterates, literates, and those acquired primary education and higher secondary level education & above. This was done in view of the widespread illiteracy and low educational level of scavengers.

Marital status: Based on the marital status, respondents were classified into married and others (i.e. unmarried, widowed, separated, deserted & divorced)

Family type: Two family types were identified for the purpose of present study: joint family, having 2 or more couples with and without their offspring, and nuclear family, having one couple and their unmarried children.

Family size: Three family sizes were conceptualised for the purpose: upto 4 members, 5-8 members and 9 members and above.

Main family occupation: Based on preliminary observations made of different sources scavengers use for earning livelihood, 6 occupational categories were identified: i) work associated with scavenging, ii) craft work, iii) trading or shop keeping, iv) service or salaried job, v) skilled labour and vi) unskilled labour. For the purpose of analysis and comparison, these were grouped into two broad categories: (i) scavenging, and (ii) non-scavenging. This was done considering highly skewed distribution of respondents among different occupational categories.

For the purpose of analysis, categories in certain cases were grouped wherever considered necessary

CHAPTER 3

SOCIOECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE

The profile of the study area and the respondents discussed in this chapter provides us the context in which the present study was carried out. This is expected to help us in understanding the findings of the study.

AREA PROFILE :

The presented study is restricted to two districts of the state of Rajasthan: Ajmer and Udaipur. Ajmer district is comprised of nine tehsils, namely, Ajmer, Pisangan, Kishangarh, Beawar, Masooda, Nasirabad, Bhinay, Sanwad and Kekadi. The towns of Ajmer and Beawar have municipal councils while Kishangarh, Pushkar, Vijaynagar, Sanwad and Kekadi have municipalities. The population of sampled city and towns as per 2001 census was 4,85,575 for Ajmer, while that of Beawar and Vijaynagar towns was 1,23,759 and 27,695 respectively.

The district of Udaipur is comprised of ten tehsils which included Mavli and Kherwara tehsils whose headquarter towns formed part of the study sample. The others are Gogunda, Kotra, Jhadol, Girwa, Vallabhnagar, Dhariawad, Salumbar, and Sarada. While the population of Udaipur city having a municipal council was 3,89,438 as per 2001 census, that of two tehsils was 2,13,796 for Mavli and 268,976 for Kherwara.

Greater urbanisation of Ajmer district is reflected also in larger number of municipal units : it has 2 municipal councils and 5 municipal committees whereas the corresponding figures for Udaipur are 1 and 4 respectively . In contrast, Udaipur district has 11 Panchayat Samities as against 8 in Ajmer district.

The profile of the sampled districts of Ajmer and Udaipur presents similarities in some respects and dissimilarities in others and this tends to influence in varying degrees the problem under study. The area-wise, Udaipur district covers larger than that of Ajmer district; the share of the former in state area is also larger than that of the later.

The population characteristics suggest larger population of Udaipur district as compared to Ajmer but density of population in later case is far higher at 257 as compared to only 196 of the later. In both cases, the density of population is higher than the state. In terms of sex ratio, the position of Udaipur district is better than both, the state as a whole as well as Ajmer district; the respective figures are 972,922 and 932.

The distribution of population in rural and urban areas indicated far greater urbanisation of Ajmer district (40.09%) than that of Udaipur (18.62%) and the state as a whole (23.38%). The hilly tracks and tribal concentration in Udaipur district appear to have restricted the growth of urbanisation.

The composition of population further suggests marked variation amongst two sampled districts. Data in table 3.1 showed that while Udaipur district is far more tribal (46.34%) than Ajmer, concentration of scheduled caste population in later was found far higher than that of the former; the share of scheduled castes in its total population of Ajmer district was found higher than that of state as well.

Literacy-wise, Ajmer district is far better placed than Udaipur and even the state as a whole. This holds good for total as well as male and female literacy rates. As per United Nations Human Development Report of 1999, the Human Development Index of Ajmer district, which is based mainly on expectation of life at birth, education and level of living, was found far higher at 04602 than that of Udaipur (0.4042) as well as the state as a whole (0.4498).

Table 3.1
Profile of the Sampled Area

S. N.	Indicators	Rajasthan state	Ajmer District	Udaipur District
1	a) Total area (Sq. kms)	3,42,239	8,481	12,510
	b) Proportion of state area (%)	--	2.47	3.65
2	a) Total Population (2001(in lakhs)	564.00	21.81	26.32
	b) % of state population	--	3.86	4.66
3	Population Density	165	257	196
4	Sex Ratio	922	932	972
5	Rural-Urban population			
	a) Rural Population (%)	76.62	59.91	81.38
	b) Urban Population (%)	23.38	40.09	18.62
6	Tribal Population			
	a) Total (Lakhs)	54.75	0.40	9.58
	b) % of state tribal population	--	0.72	17.49
	c) % of district tribal population	--	2.30	46.34
7	Scheduled caste population			
	a) Total (lakhs)	76.07	3.20	1.36
	b) % to total population	17.29	18.50	6.60
8	Literacy rates			
	a) Total	61.03	65.06	59.26
	b) Male	76.46	79.96	74.47
	c) Female	44.34	49.10	43.71
9	% people below poverty line (BPL) (1997)	27.41	26.50	58.02
10	Human Development Index (1999)	0.4498	0.4602	0.4042
11	Work Participation Rates	42.11	39.30	41.86

With respect the growth of educational and health facility Udaipur has an edge over Ajmer district with some exceptions. Despite relatively smaller in area, Ajmer district is having 38 colleges and 13 allopathic hospitals in contrast to 30

colleges and 10 allopathic hospitals in Udaipur district. However, Udaipur district is far ahead of Ajmer with respect to number of lower level educational institutions and ayurvedic/unani hospitals, community and primary health centres and health sub centres. As against 88 senior higher secondary schools, 137 secondary schools and 2051 primary and upper primary schools in Ajmer district , Udaipur district has 109 senior higher secondary schools, 183 secondary schools and 356 primary and upper primary schools. Likewise, Udaipur district has 191 ayurvedic / unani hospitals, 18 community health centres and 532 health sub-centres, but the corresponding figures for Ajmer district are only 140, 10, 50 and 279 respectively.

RESPONDENTS' PROFILE : BENEFICIARIES

As indicated earlier, the study has used a comprehensive approach to examine the question of liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers and included in the sample people drawn from *harijan basties* as well as those employed in formal organisations (hospitals, educational institutions, government offices/ public undertakings and commercial establishments); from cities, towns and villages and also the beneficiaries as well as the non-beneficiaries of the scheme of liberation and rehabilitation. Besides, views of the officials from different state departments associated with the liberation and rehabilitation as also representatives of scavenger's organisations were also obtained about the prevalence of the practice of manual scavenging and implementation of programmes of rehabilitation of liberated scavengers in alternative occupations, and the problems encountered in the process. Thus, the study included 554 beneficiaries, and 138 non-beneficiaries. Of the total beneficiaries 188 (33.93%) are employed in different institutions. This chapter is devoted to provide socioeconomic profile of each of these groups.

Residence and Habitat :

As earlier indicated, study includes two groups of beneficiaries: (a) institutional sample who are engaged in formal institutions i.e. hospitals, educational institutions, government offices/public undertakings and commercial establishments, and (b) non-institutional sample, both self-employed and wage employed. The total sample is comprised of 554 beneficiary respondents- 188 institutional and 366 non-institutional.

A matter of great concern is the continued segregation of scavengers as borne out from the fact that 89.17% of the beneficiary respondents are concentrated in *harijan basties*. Evidently, the liberation of scavengers from their traditional unclean occupation and their employment in alternative occupations did not alter significantly the caste-based residential pattern. The wage employment in formal institutions and urban residence also could not help much in changing the residential pattern of scavengers. The distribution of beneficiaries by their habitat and residence is shown in Table 3.2

Table 3.2
Distribution of beneficiaries by residence, habitat, and institutional affiliation

S. No.	Description	Harijan Basties (N=494)	General/ Mixed areas (N=60)	Total (N=554)
1	Affiliation to formal institutions**			
	a) Non-institutional beneficiaries	344 (93.99)	22 (6.01)	366 (66.66)
	b) Institutional beneficiaries	150 (79.79)	38 (20.21)	188 (53.44)
		$\chi^2 = 25.94$; significant at 0.01 level		
2	Habitat **			
	i) Cities	213 (90.25)	23 (9.75)	236 (42.60)
	ii) Towns	217 (91.95)	19 (8.05)	236 (42.60)
	iii) Villages	64 (78.05)	18 (21.95)	82 (14.80)
		494 (89.17)	60 (10.83)	554
		$\chi^2 = 12.88$; significant at 0.01 level		

* Figures in parentheses denote percentages

As is evident from data in table 3.2, the beneficiaries in overwhelming proportion are concentrated in *Harijan Basties*. This finding holds good for both, non-institutional as well as institutional sample. Thus, not much headway has been made with respect to the achievement of the goal of bringing scavengers in the mainstream and removing their segregation. Among the two groups, more of institutional beneficiaries than their counterparts are found residents of general or mixed residential areas. As these are employed by different institutions, many were provided accommodation by their employees. By virtue of their salaried jobs and regular incomes, some of them could afford rented accommodation in general areas inhabited by people of different castes.

The sample of beneficiaries was drawn from cities as well as towns and villages. As can be seen, over 90% of the beneficiaries from cities as well as towns are residents of *harijan basties* while corresponding proportion of the village beneficiaries was 78.05%. The differences among three habitats are found highly significant.

Socio-economic Profile :

Factors such as age, sex, education, family background, and economic standing greatly influence behaviour of the person and his/her occupational placement as well as status in society. This holds good for scavengers also. Together with their social and geographical segregation, poor education, lack of employment opportunities and poverty conditions have reinforced their social isolation, poor occupational status and economic backwardness. The socioeconomic background of the beneficiary respondents is being examined here with the help of data in table 3.3.

Table 3.3
Distribution of beneficiaries by socio-economic background

S. No.	Socio-economic attributes	Beneficiaries		Beneficiaries			Total (N=554)
		Non-institutional (N=366)	Institutional (N=188)	City (N=236)	Town (N=236)	Village (N=82)	
1	Residence						
	(i) Harijan Basties	344 (93.99)	150 (79.79)	213(90.25)	217 (91.95)	64 (78.05)	494 (89.17)
	(ii) Other Areas	22 (6.01)	38 (20.21)	23 (9.75)	19 (8.05)	18 (21.95)	60 (10.83)
2	Age						
	(i) Upto 30	50 (13.66)	42 (22.34)	48 (20.34)	32 (13.56)	12 (14.63)	92 (16.61)
	(ii) 31-45	233 (63.66)	124 (65.96)	137 (58.05)	162 (68.64)	58 (70.73)	357 (64.40)
	(iii) 46 & above	83 (22.68)	22 (11.70)	51 (21.61)	42 (17.80)	12 (14.63)	105 (18.95)
3	Gender						
	(i) Male	250 (68.31)	138 (73.40)	173 (73.31)	164 (69.49)	51 (62.20)	388 (70.04)
	(ii) Female	116 (31.69)	50 (26.60)	63 (26.69)	72 (30.51)	31 (37.80)	166 (29.96)
4	Education						
	(i) Illiterate	166 (45.36)	78 (41.49)	105 (44.49)	102 (43.22)	37 (45.12)	244 (44.04)
	(ii) Literate	99 (27.05)	77 (40.96)	66 (27.97)	83 (35.17)	27 (32.93)	176 (31.77)
	(iii) Primary	62 (16.94)	23 (12.23)	37 (15.68)	35 (14.83)	13 (15.85)	85 (15.34)
	(iv) Hr. secondary & above	39 (10.66)	10 (5.32)	28 (11.86)	16 (6.78)	5 (6.10)	49 (8.84)
5	Marital Status						
	(i) Married	340 (92.90)	174 (92.55)	220 (93.22)	217 (91.95)	77 (93.90)	514 (92.78)
	(ii) Unmarried & others	26 (7.10)	14 (7.45)	16 (6.78)	19 (8.05)	5 (6.10)	40 (7.22)
6	Family Type						
	(i) Joint family	201 (54.92)	109 (57.98)	131(55.51)	138 (58.47)	41 (50.00)	310 (55.96)
	(ii) Nuclear family	151 (41.26)	76 (40.43)	97 (41.10)	93 (39.41)	37 (45.12)	227 (40.97)
	(iii) Unspecified	14 (3.83)	3 (1.60)	8 (3.39)	5 (2.12)	4 (4.88)	17 (3.07)
7	Family size						
	(i) upto 4	94 (25.68)	52 (27.66)	59 (25.00)	63 (26.69)	24 (29.27)	146 (26.35)
	(ii) 5 – 8	224 (61.20)	117 (62.23)	145 (61.44)	147 (62.29)	49 (59.76)	341 (61.55)
	(iii) 9 & above	48 (13.11)	19 (10.11)	32 (13.56)	26 (11.02)	9 (10.98)	67 (12.09)
8	Main family occupation*						
	(i) Scavenging work	125 (34.15)	66 (35.11)	97 (41.10)	73 (30.93)	21 (25.61)	191 (34.48)
	(ii) Craft work	1 (0.27)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.42)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.018)
	(iii) Trade/shop	3 (0.82)	1 (0.53)	2 (0.85)	2 (0.85)	0 (0.00)	4 (0.72)
	(iv) Service	304 (83.06)	150 (79.79)	192 (81.36)	207 (87.71)	55 (67.07)	454 (81.95)
	(v) Skilled labour	7 (1.91)	0 (0.00)	4 (1.69)	0 (0.00)	3 (3.66)	7 (1.26)
	(vi) Labour	8 (2.19)	1 (0.53)	2 (0.85)	0 (0.00)	7 (8.54)	9 (1.62)

* Multiple responses were allowed

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

Age wise distribution: As can be seen from data in table 3.3, 64.40% of the total beneficiaries were middle aged (31-45 years) whereas beneficiaries of younger and older age are more or less equally distributed. This holds true for both, non-institutional as well as institutional beneficiaries. However, some difference was noted between these two groups with respect to their concentration in the younger

as well as older age groups. As beneficiaries associated with formal institutions are generally retired at the completion of 60 years of age, all such beneficiaries are concentrated in older age category of over 60. Likewise, more of institutional beneficiaries as compared to non-institutional ones are represented in younger age category below 30 years.

Gender distribution: Taken into account all the beneficiaries together, 3 out of every 10 beneficiaries are women and this holds good for both, institutional as well as non-institutional beneficiaries. However, there is a slightly lower concentration of females among institutional beneficiaries as compared to non-institutional ones. This may be attributed either to preference for male scavengers for employment in formal institutions or to social norms that oppose entry of women in formal institutions.

Educational background: As data in table 3.3 revealed, the largest proportion of beneficiaries are illiterates (44.04%) and 31.77% beneficiaries were simply literates. Those who were educated upto higher secondary level or above formed only 8.84% of the total. More or less similar distribution among different educational categories was evident among both institutional as well as non-institutional beneficiaries.

Family attributes: Table 3.3 provides information about marital status, family type and family size also. It may be seen that about 93% of the total as well as institutional and non-institutional beneficiaries were married. Only small proportion are found unmarried or single.

It appears, joint family system continues to be widely prevalent. This is indicated by the fact that 55% or more of the total as well as institutional and non-institutional beneficiaries belong to joint family. Interestingly, prevalence of joint family was slightly higher among beneficiaries employed in formal institutions as compared to their counterparts.

The family size of the scavengers in general was found to be moderate with membership ranging from 5 to 8. This holds good for both institutional as well as non-institutional beneficiaries. About one-fourth of the beneficiaries are members of smaller size families. Interestingly, large size family still exists among scavengers as is clear from about 12% of them having 9 or more members each.

Main family occupation: Data presented in table 3.3 present interesting results. While scavenging continues to be the main family occupation for only 34.48% of the beneficiaries, service or salaried job was cited as main family occupation by over 81.95% of the beneficiaries and this holds more or less true for both institutional as well as non-institutional beneficiaries. This provides strong evidence of the liberation of scavengers from traditional occupation and taking up of alternative occupation which in the present case is association with salaried jobs in formal institutions as also in informal sector. While doing so, scavengers or their family members continue to practice scavenging work to supplement

family income. The other sectors of economy like craft work, trading or shop keeping or labour jobs are pursued only by a small and negligible section of beneficiaries. These results hold true for both institutional as well as non-institutional beneficiaries also.

DEPARTMENTAL OFFICIALS AND OFFICE BEARERS OF SCAVENGER'S ORGANISATIONS :

The impact of the scheme of liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers and their dependents was assessed also from the point of view of government officials representing different departments associated, with the implementation of the scheme and representatives of scavengers organisations. With a single exception, these are concentrated in cities (70.59%) and towns (26.47%). The socioeconomic profile of these respondents is provided in table 3.4.

Table 3.4
Distribution of departmental officials/ office bearers of scavenger's organisations by their socio economic characteristics(N=34)

S. No	Items	Number	Percentage
1	Age (years)		
	i. Upto 30	03	08.82
	ii. 31-45	12	35.29
	iii. 46-60	16	47.06
	iv. 61+	03	08.82
2	Education		
	i. Illiterate	01	2.94
	ii. Literate	02	5.88
	iii. Primary	23	67.65
	iv. Higher Secondary & Above	08	23.53
3	Gender		
	i. Male	32	94.12
	ii. Female	02	5.88
4	Caste		
	i. General	04	11.76
	ii. Scheduled caste	27	79.41
	iii. Scheduled Tribe	03	8.82
5	Marital Status		
	i. Married	34	100
	ii. Unmarried & others	0	0.00
6	Family Type		
	i. Joint family	24	70.59
	ii. Individual	9	27.47
	iii. Undecided	1	2.94
7	Family Size		
	i. Up to 4 Members	7	20.59
	ii. 5 to 8 members	20	58.82
	iii. More than 9 members	7	20.59
8	Main Family Occupation		
	i. Scavenging	1	2.94
	ii. Shop/Trade	1	2.94
	iii. Service/ Salaried job	26	76.47
	iv. Skilled labour	6	17.65

Age and gender: As is evident from age composition, over half of the respondents are over 45 years of age (55.88%) and slightly over one-third (35.29%) fall in the age group of 31-45 years. Except two, all the respondents were males.

Education: Educationally, the officials and scavengers' representatives are lowly educated: over two-third had only primary level education while a little less than one-fourth (23.53%) have acquired education up to the level of higher secondary or above; most departmental officials are concentrated in this educational category.

Caste category: Caste-wise distribution suggests that 8 out of every 10 belonged to scheduled castes which included other than *harijans* also: Approximately, 1 out of every 10 belonged either to general category or to scheduled tribes. These two categories are represented mainly by departmental officials.

Family attributes: While all the respondents are married and 7 out of every 10 belonged to joint families, the family size of most respondents is generally large as 7 out of every 10 respondents have family size of 5 members or more; of these 1 out of 5 have 9 members each in the family.

Main family occupation: It is interesting to note that with a single exception, the main family occupation of all the beneficiaries was noted to be other than scavenging. Over three-fourth of the respondents are pursuing salaried jobs, whereas 17.65% are employed as skilled labour. Only one of them run shop or trade.

NON-BENEFICIARIES

Having examined the socioeconomic profile of the beneficiaries of the scheme of liberation and rehabilitation programmes, the attention is now turned towards the discussion on the socioeconomic profile of non-beneficiaries. The main purpose of doing so was to find out if the non-beneficiaries in any way differ from the beneficiaries with respect to their social and economic background. The relevant data by their habitat are provided in table 3.5

Table 3.5
Socio-economic background of non-beneficiaries by habitat

S. No.	Socio-economic attributes	City (N=52)	Town (N=59)	Village (N=27)	Total (N=138)
1	Residence				
	(i) Harijan Basties	52 (100.00)	56 (94.92)	26 (96.30)	134 (97.10)
	(ii) Other Areas	0 (0.00)	3 (5.08)	1 (3.70)	4 (2.90)
2	Age				
	(i) Upto 30	34 (65.38)	37 (62.71)	17 (62.96)	88 (63.77)
	(ii) 31-45	16 (30.77)	14 (23.73)	7 (25.93)	37 (26.81)
	(iii) 46 & above	2 (3.85)	8 (13.56)	3 (11.11)	13 (9.42)
3	Gender				
	(i) Male	41 (78.85)	48 (81.36)	20 (74.07)	109 (78.99)
	(ii) Female	11 (21.15)	11 (18.64)	7 (25.93)	29 (21.01)
4	Education				
	(i) Illiterate	22 (42.31)	18 (30.51)	9 (33.33)	49 (35.51)
	(ii) Literate	11 (21.15)	13 (22.03)	6 (22.22)	30 (21.74)
	(iii) Primary	6 (11.54)	7 (11.86)	6 (22.22)	19 (13.77)
	(iv) Hr. secondary & above	13 (25.00)	21 (35.59)	6 (22.22)	40 (28.99)
5	Marital Status				
	(i) Married	39 (75.00)	45 (76.27)	22 (81.48)	106 (76.81)
	(ii) Unmarried & others	13 (25.00)	14 (23.73)	5 (18.52)	32 (23.19)
6	Family Type				
	(i) Joint family	35 (67.31)	46 (77.97)	23 (85.19)	104 (75.36)
	(ii) Nuclear family	16 (30.77)	13 (22.03)	4 (14.81)	33 (23.91)
	(iii) Unspecified	1 (1.92)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.72)
7	Family size				
	(i) upto 4	16 (30.77)	13 (22.03)	4 (14.81)	33 (23.91)
	(ii) 5 – 8	29 (55.77)	35 (59.32)	16 (59.26)	80 (57.97)
	(iii) 9 & above	7 (13.46)	11 (18.64)	7 (25.93)	25 (18.12)
8	Main family occupation*				
	(i) Scavenging work	32 (61.54)	19 (32.20)	11 (40.740)	62 (44.93)
	(ii) Craft work	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
	(iii) Trade/shop	3 (5.77)	7(11.86)	0 (0.00)	10 (7.25)
	(iv) Service	16 (30.77)	7 (11.86)	7 (25.93)	30 (21.74)
	(v) Skilled labour	3 (5.77)	4 (6.78)	3 (11.11)	10 (7.25)
	(vi) Labour	5 (9.62)	5 (8.47)	4 (14.81)	14 (10.14)
	(vii) others	7 (13.46)	19 (32.20)	4 (14.81)	30 (21.74)

* Multiple responses were allowed

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

Residence: The sample included in all 138 non-beneficiaries-- 52 from cities, 59 from towns and 27 from villages. The residential background reveals that except four, all the non-beneficiaries are residents of *harijan basties*. These four, mainly from towns, are residing in general or mixed areas inhabited by people of different castes.

Age composition: Data in table 3.5 showed that non beneficiaries are overwhelmingly young (upto 30 years of age); this is in quite contrast to the beneficiaries who were mostly middle aged. A slightly over one- fourth of the non beneficiaries belong to the middle age category of 31-45 years. One of the reasons of concentration of non- beneficiaries in younger age groups appear to be their failure to enter into salaried jobs or other alternative occupations.

Gender distribution: Data in table 3.5 further revealed the predominance of males among non-beneficiaries. The females comprise only one-fifth of the total non- beneficiaries. Thus, the gender distribution is slightly different from that observed in case of beneficiaries. The later have less males and more females as compared to the former.

Educational level: As can be seen from table 3.5, illiterates form the largest category among non beneficiaries (35.51%). There were 21.74% literates and 28.99% were primary educated among non beneficiaries. Surprisingly, non beneficiaries from cities, towns and village are not markedly different with respect to their educational background. It appears the provisions made for the promotion of education among SC in general and scavengers in particular did not succeed much. This also suggests resistance of scavengers to educate their wards.

Marital status: Data in table 3.5 provides details relating to marital status, family type and family size. In is evident that over three-fourth of non- beneficiaries are married and remaining are unmarried or singles. Thus, there are more unmarried among non beneficiaries when compared to beneficiaries.

Family type: Data concerning family type in table 3.5. revealed predominance of joint family system among non- beneficiaries (75.36%). The prevalence of joint family is thus much higher among non beneficiaries than among beneficiaries. Another point that emerges from data is that with the increase in urbanisation, there was a corresponding decrease in the proportion of joint family. In other words, joint family is less popular in cities as compared in towns and villages.

Family size: The details of showed that most non-beneficiaries are members of moderate sized families (5-8 members). Next in order are the smaller size families. It is interesting to note that the proportion of smaller size families increases and that of larger size families decreases with increased urbanisation.

Main family occupation: Data in table 3.5 provide details of main sources of family income. As is evident, scavenging work has emerged as the most important source of livelihood among non-beneficiaries: 44.93% of the non beneficiary households are involved in this occupation. The service or salaries job emerged as the next important source with 21.74% earning their livelihood from it. Labour job and shop keeping are ranked next in order.

It is further revealed that a far higher proportion of non- beneficiaries pursue scavenging work in cities (61.54%).Than in towns and villages. Same holds true for wage employment or salaried job. These results are quite in contrast to that observed with respect to beneficiaries: the later in far higher proportion pursue service or salaried job while the proportion engaged in scavenging work are found quite low as compared to that observed among non beneficiaries.

SUMMARY :

The study was carried out in the districts of Ajmer and Udaipur, the former is relatively far more urbanized, having less favourable sex ratio. The sampled respondents, concentrated more in *harijan basties* irrespective of their institutional affiliation and habitat, are overwhelmingly middle aged, illiterates or only literates, married and members of joint family with moderate family size, and pursue scavenging and service as main sources of family income. The non-beneficiaries, while share many of the attributes of the beneficiaries, are more younger in age, perform scavenging work for earning a living in large number.

CHAPTER 4

LIBERATION AND REHABILITATION OF SCAVENGERS IN RAJASTHAN : STATE INTERVENTION

The welfare measures for sweepers and scavengers, most vulnerable groups among scheduled castes, are initiated in Rajasthan on the assumption that the members of these groups continue to practice carrying headloads of night soil in some areas despite various efforts to remove it. Several committees set up by state as well as central governments have suggested measures for the liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers, many of which were implemented that helped these groups to improve their socioeconomic conditions (Govt. of Rajasthan, 2006). A brief account of the policy interventions made by government of Rajasthan is provide in ANNEXURE 5

The beginning in this direction was, however, made as early as in Fifth Five Year Plan itself when a centrally sponsored scheme for the conversion of dry latrines into water-borne was introduced, but with meager funds. A new scheme of "Liberation of Scavengers" was introduced in Sixth Plan to accomplish twin-objective of converting all the existing latrines into water-borne in towns and simultaneously rehabilitation of scavengers in alternative occupations by providing suitable training therein so as to relieve them from unclean occupations on one hand and to rehabilitate them in dignified income generating vocations on the other (Govt. of Rajasthan, 2006).

The Directorate of Local Bodies of the State Department of Local Self Government was made responsible for the conversion of all the dry latrines into water sealed. While the state acknowledged that it does not have reliable data about the exact number of dry latrines and the number of scavengers involved in their cleaning but it provided estimates of the number of dry latrines converted into water borne in different years Plans viz. 107748 in Seventh Plan; 136234 in Eighth Plan; 171175 in Ninth Plan and 22127 and 10500 during 2002-03 and 2003-04 respectively.

For accomplishing the above goal, the Rajasthan Schedule Castes, Scheduled Tribe Finance and Development Cooperative Corporation Ltd. is made a nodal agency to carryout programmes of rehabilitation as per guidelines issued by the state and central governments. To rehabilitate liberated scavengers, the corporation constructed large number of shops shops and sheds. It entrusted the task of identification of choice of the trades to Sulabh International. Based on preference given, the scheme of training of scavengers was prepared and arranged by the Corporation at Divisional Rural Training Centers with attractive stipend

and other facilities. However, the scheme did not succeed for the poor response of the scavengers. The task for providing training to the liberated scavengers was then assigned to the Sulabh International Social Service Organisation (Govt of Rajasthan 2001). No systematic effort on the part of state to offer training to the scavengers in alternative occupations is discernible. Of course, Sulabh International is offering vocational training to scavengers in alternative occupations at the centre located at Alwar, in Rajasthan (see chapter 5). From the responses received and reports and records made available also indicated that the training of scavengers in alternative occupations remains a weakest part of the scheme which was implemented with least seriousness (Annexure 6). The observation is endorsed also by the Govt. of India, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment in its review of the scheme (Annexure 3).

The Corporation has been giving priority to liberated scavengers in providing assistance under various schemes such as Auto Rickshaw, Craft Training, Artisan Work, SCYTE Training, Interest Free Loans, and STC, B.Ed, PMT, PET etc. In addition, new vocations are being added by the Govt. of India to enlarge the scope of alternative occupations. Recently, several new occupation were identified for the purpose which included fruit vendors, paan shops, watch repair shops, barber shops, tailor shops, flour mills, bicycle hire-repair, STD/PCO booths, automobile repair shops, photography, provision stores and the like (Ghildiyal, 2006). In addition, 64 hostels--58 for boys and 6 exclusively for girls -- are run by the state Department of Social Welfare each with an intake capacity of 25 students.

Besides, the State Department of Social Welfare through the Rajasthan Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Finance & Development Cooperative Corporation Ltd is implementing special schemes for the rehabilitation of scavengers and their welfare. Provision has also been made to provide training and financial assistance to all those who were liberated from the traditional unclean occupation. The Local Self Government department was also involved in the work of rehabilitation of liberated scavengers. A large number of such scavengers were absolved as *Safai Karamcharies* in municipalities during Seventh Five Year Plan. The preference was also given in providing them employment and loans from the banks under Nehru Rojgar Yojna.

A survey carried out in 2003-04 by the State Department of Social Welfare identified 2.31.840 scavengers who are required to be rehabilitated. Of these 1848 were rehabilitated upto September 2005. Several schemes that are being implemented to rehabilitate scavengers in alternative and dignified occupations can be grouped into following four categories.

- a) Implementation of various income generating schemes by the Rajasthan SCs, STs Finance & Development Cooperative Cooperation Ltd. These included Auto Rickshaw, Package of Programmes, SCYTE Training, Artisan Work Shed, Pre - Service Coaching, Interest free loan, B. Ed, PMT, PET, etc.

- b) Provision of Kiosks free of cost under Mukhya Mantri Rozgar Yojna: 1399 kiosks were allotted by 2005.
- c) For providing relief to the scavengers, rural latrines are constructed and subsidized for SCs and STs under central Rural Sanitation Programme
- d) For improvement in educational level, the Deptt. of Social Welfare runs 58 hostels for boys and 6 exclusively for girls with total intake capacity of 2080 students (Govt. of Rajasthan 2006).

PROGRESS OF THE SCHEME :

The Rajasthan scenario as emerged from data compiled and furnished by Sulabh International is provided in Annexure 7

Dry and Water Sealed Latrines : As per 2001 census, the total number of households in Rajasthan was 93.42 lakhs—71.56 lakhs rural and 21.86 lakhs urban. Of these, 66.33 lakhs households have no latrine—61.11 lakhs in rural areas (85.39%) and 5.22 lakhs in urban areas (23.80%).

There were 6.17 lakhs service or dry latrines – 2.38 lakhs in rural households (3.32%) and 3.79 lakhs in urban households (17.32%). Besides, of the total urban households, 18.20% were covered by pit latrines and 40.57% by water-sealed latrines by 2001. The corresponding proportions of rural households were only 8.10% and 3.17%. The marked difference was due to high differentials in availability of open space and the age-long practice of open defecation.

As per information compiled by Sulabh International from Ministry of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation, 1.92 lakhs dry latrines were converted into water sealed latrines in urban areas by 31.3.2005 and 1.87 lakhs dry latrines are still to be converted. Likewise, 9122 scavengers were liberated by 31.3.2005.

The Rajasthan scenario has significantly changed with the intervention of Sulabh International; it converted or constructed 2,24,956 water sealed latrines, besides construction and maintenance of 444 community toilets.

Scavengers in Sampled Area : The Rapid survey carried out by the Department of Social Welfare, Govt. of Rajasthan, during 1991-92 to 2002-03, showed that there were 57,736 scavengers in Rajasthan – 24968 in urban areas and 32768 scavengers in Ajmer districts—1487 in urban areas and 2121 in rural areas. The corresponding figures for Udaipur were: 753 – 236 in urban areas and 517 in rural areas.

Under the National Scheme of Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers, 14,793 liberated scavengers were provided financial assistance for rehabilitation and 11,152 were given vocational training in Rajasthan as per information collected from the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Govt. of India by

Sulabh International. The Govt. of Rajasthan received Rs. 44.48 crores as financial assistance under the scheme during 1991-92 to 2003-04.

Training of Scavengers : The scheme envisaged rehabilitations of scavengers after their training in dignified alternative occupations. The experience however showed that it has been the weakest part (Annexure 6). The evaluation attempted by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment **concluded** that "no systematic effort in this direction (i.e. utilising existing training centers, facilities and infrastructure) was made in any state, training modules hardly accommodate the totally unskilled and illiterates scavengers, the training target envisaged for the 8th Plan could not be achieved even in the 9th plan. During 1997-98 to 2000-01, the short fall in the number of scavengers trained was 80% to 92% (Annexure 3)

In case of Rajasthan, no target was fixed and only 2290 scavengers were trained during 1997-2002. The review showed that "meaningful contacts with training institutions with a view to utilizing the available training facilities could not be located" and that "the list of trades was lifted from the handbook of small scale industries compiled for an entirely different set of objectives. No survey of location of or slots available with training institutions was carried out"... of the 620 scavengers who received training upto March 2002 in two districts (Ajmer 269, and Jaipur 351), only 382 could be rehabilitated. While 1398 scavengers received training.

The status of training of scavengers in Rajasthan after 2001-02 becomes evident from observations of two organisations directly involved in the process: (a) The Rajasthan SC/ST Finance and Development Cooperative Corporation Ltd. in SCP Annual Plan 2005-06, Government of Rajasthan, endorsed: "training programmes discontinued from the year 2001-2002"; (b) Directorate of Technical Education Government of Rajasthan responsible for organising vocational training programmes of different duration through a network of Industrial Training informed:" No training programme was organised for scavengers and *Safai Karmcharis* during 2001-02 to 2005-06 in any institution in the Udaipur/Ajmer districts ", and (c) The Department of Social Welfare , Government of Rajasthan recently reported that except educational facilities for the children of scavengers' families, no other specific scheme is implemented exclusively for the improvement of this group".

Role of SC Finance & Development Cooperative Corporation :

At the state level, the Rajasthan State SC/ST Finance and Development Cooperative Corporation was made responsible for training and rehabilitation of scavengers in alternative occupations. In order to rehabilitate liberated scavengers in clean occupations, the Corporation provides loans and grants. The progress made by the corporation in this regard during the past three years (i.e 2003-04 to 2005-06) in the sampled districts are shown in table 4.1s

Table 4.1
Progress of Rehabilitation of Scavengers during 2003-04 to 2005-06

S. No.	State/ district	Target	No. of proposals/ applications	Number sanctioned	No. whom funds disbursed	Applications rejected	Applications pending
2003-04	● Rajasthan	4524	2338	716	624	53	1661
	● Ajmer	100	42	2	0	0	42
	● Udaipur	26	-	-	-	-	-
2004-05	● Rajasthan	19960	6958	2119	1848	193	4917
	● Ajmer	601	267	86	27	-	240
	● Udaipur	311	-	-	-	-	-
2005-06	● Rajasthan	12501	6814	2012	1755	976	4083
	● Ajmer	588	498	151	119	347	32
	● Udaipur	01	-	-	-	-	-

** The information made available by the Rajasthan SC, ST Finance and Development Cooperative Cooperation Ltd., Jaipur*

As is evident, the progress made by the Cooperation in rehabilitating scavengers during past three years has not at all been satisfactory. Among the two sampled districts, the role played by the Corporation in Udaipur district is highly deplorable where no liberated scavengers was covered by loans and grants during reference years. In Ajmer district also, all the 42 applications received, including 2 sanctioned, applications remained pending.

Over a dozen banks operating in the sampled districts are involved in the processing and disbursement of bank loan to the scavengers. As can be seen from table 4.2, State Bank of Bikaner & Jaipur is leading in this respect though Rural Regional Banks, Bank of Baroda, Punjab National Bank, UCO Bank, SBI and Bank of Rajasthan have also contributed a great deal .

Table 4.2
Bank-wise progress of loan applications under Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers in Rajasthan during 2003-04, 2004-05, 2005-06

S. No	Name of Bank	Year	No. of applications received	Applications sanctioned	No. whom loan disbursed	Applications rejected	Applications pending
1	B.O.B	2003-04	230	51	43	-	187
		2004-05	900	328	298	22	580
		2005-06	716	257	204	123	389
2	S.B.B.J	2003-04	870	341	301	23	546
		2004-05	2038	763	697	59	1282
		2005-06	2157	689	607	227	1323
3	P.N.B	2003-04	196	43	37	1	158
		2004-05	696	160	129	18	549
		2005-06	592	167	146	67	379

S. No	Name of Bank	Year	No. of applications received	Applications sanctioned	No. whom loan disbursed	Applications rejected	Applications pending
4	UCO Bank	2003-04	214	57	49	10	155
		2004-05	476	150	119	7	350
		2005-06	533	216	192	49	292
5	C.B.I	2003-04	104	12	10	4	90
		2004-05	211	50	41	15	155
		2005-06	288	58	49	65	174
6	OBC	2003-04	79	22	14	-	65
		2004-05	227	38	37	3	187
		2005-06	251	38	32	16	203
7	SBI	2003-04	274	106	101	15	158
		2004-05	472	216	188	15	269
		2005-06	570	210	185	76	309
8	BOR	2003-04	19	-	-	-	19
		2004-05	270	17	15	12	243
		2005-06	212	13	11	93	108
9	BOI	2003-04	27	7	7	-	20
		2004-05	148	22	18	-	130
		2005-06	149	55	47	6	96
10	UBI	2003-04	43	15	15	-	28
		2004-05	97	20	9	3	85
		2005-06	108	17	13	25	70
11	Canara Bank	2003-04	31	6	2	-	29
		2004-05	82	11	11	-	71
		2005-06	125	33	31	9	85
12	Regional Rural Bank	2003-04	28	13	13	-	15
		2004-05	924	233	190	39	695
		2005-06	596	188	181	179	236
13	Other Banks	2003-04	223	44	32	-	191
		2004-05	417	111	96	-	321
		2005-06	517	71	57	41	419
14	Total	2003-04	2338	716	624	53	1661
		2004-05	6958	2119	1848	193	4917
		2005-06	6814	2012	1755	976	4083

* The information made available by Rajasthan SC, ST Finance and Development Cooperative Cooperation Ltd., Jaipur

It may further be seen that the number of applications received has been quite meager in view of the scavenging population. Moreover, a large number of applications remained pending with different banks. The incidence of rejection of application has also registered a sharp increase during 2005-06 over the previous years.

APPRAISAL OF THE PROGRAMMES :

Official circles recognize the prevalence of practice of carrying head loads of night soil in "some areas" (Govt. of Rajasthan 2001). Municipal office in Ajmer and Udaipur have also acknowledged existence of dry latrines and by implication of manual scavengers. The Labour Bureau, Ministry of Labour and Employment, Govt. of India have carried out several studies on the working and living conditions of persons engaged in unclean occupations of flaying, shoemaking and sweeping and the area covered included Jaipur city and five adjoining villages also. Accordingly, the share of women in total SC employment was found to be 42.8%; the labour employed in unclean occupations pursue work on time rate basis; the large number of workers did not avail the benefits of scholarship and hostel facility. Those engaged in municipalities are faced with serious health hazards and became victims of diseases resulting from cleaning of choked sewers and inhalation of dangerous gases (Labour Bureau, 2006) (Annexure 8).

A scheme of training of scavengers was launched by the Corporation with stipend and other facilities, but the response of the scavengers was found poor and therefore the scheme did not meet the success as envisaged. (Govt. of Rajasthan 2001). The training programmes were also discontinued since 2001-02 (Govt. of Rajasthan, 2006)

The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment itself admitted the there was a lack of systematic efforts to train scavengers and that the training targets of 8th Plan could not be achieved even in the 9th Plan. Of 620 Scavengers trained during 1997-2002 in Ajmer and Jaipur districts only 382 could be rehabilitated. Besides, many were rehabilitated without providing training which showed mismatch between training and rehabilitation. About three-fourth of the loan application received from scavengers were rejected showing non cooperation of banks (downloaded from website)

The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India entrusted Sulabh International Social Service Organisation the task of studying the impact of the National Scheme of Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers and their Dependents in 6 Indian states including Rajasthan. In Rajasthan, the study was undertaken in the districts of Ajmer and Jaipur. The study, the report of which was submitted in 2004, revealed that it was not of much help to the scavengers in their proper rehabilitation, that a little less than half of the beneficiaries felt dissatisfied with the scheme and the impact of the programme on the scavengers were only marginal. The study pointed out that the aptitude, and the choice of the trade/occupation was not obtained before training; the loan needed for rehabilitation was not sanctioned even after getting training, and the role intermediaries played in this regard was negative; the private training institutions entrusted with the responsibility to impart training did not pay the stipend except for initial months; about two-fifth of the trained scavengers did nor find the

training much helpful in their rehabilitation; overwhelmingly, scavengers denied any status gain as a result of their participation in of training, and the mechanism to monitor the proper utilization of loan was weak.

Data concerning the impact of the scheme of liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers made available by Rajasthan State SC/ST Finance & Development Cooperative Corporation Ltd. do not appear encouraging; it has disbursed loan only to 4227 scavengers under rehabilitation programmes during last three years commencing from 2003-04. The share of Ajmer district was only 146 scavengers while there was none from Udaipur. The review of the performance of the scheme during 1997-2002 undertaken by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment noted with concern: "In Rajasthan, Scheduled Castes Development Financial Corporation attributed the shortfall in achieving the rehabilitation targets to the non-cooperation of banks. (Rate of rejection of loan applications by banks was as high as 74%) ... the implementing agency was not aware of the guidelines relating to the rehabilitation of women scavengers through specially focused activities...records revealed that the cluster approach was not adopted in any states... the implementing agencies had to steer the formation of co-operatives, ideally of 20-30 scavengers and these cooperatives would run the sanitary marts.. Sanitary Mart Scheme proved to be a failure. The failure was attributed mainly to the absence of the subsidy element to the customers of these marts".

SUMMARY :

In Rajasthan, 57736 scavengers-24968 in urban areas and 32768 in rural areas -- were estimated as per 2001 census. In districts of Ajmer and Udaipur, their number is estimated to be 3600 and 753 respectively. As per 2001 census, 71% of total households in Rajasthan had no latrines, up till March 2005, 191534 dry latrines were converted into water-sealed latrines and 9122 scavengers were liberated from manual scavenging.

The progress of rehabilitation of liberated scavengers was however, unsatisfactory as evident from the small number of applications received for grants and loans, number of application rejected and pending. Lack of systematic efforts to train liberated scavengers and non-fulfillment of rehabilitation has taken place even without training raining targets were noted.

CHAPTER 5

LIBERATION AND REHABILITATION OF SCAVENGERS - RESPONSE OF BENEFICIARIES

The study of the liberation of scavengers from manual removal of night soil and their rehabilitation in alternative occupations was carried out in Ajmer and Udaipur districts of Rajasthan from the perspectives of beneficiaries, both with or without institutional affiliations, as well as non beneficiaries drawn from different habitats i.e. cities, towns and villages and different residential areas i.e. *harijan basties* and mixed population areas. The total sample covers 554 beneficiaries - 366 without institutional affiliation and 188 with institutional affiliation -- and 138 non-beneficiaries. The beneficiaries are comprised of 236 respondents drawn from cities, equal number from towns and 82 from villages. The number of non-beneficiaries drawn from cities, towns and villages were 52, 59, and 27 respectively. Likewise, of the total 554 beneficiaries, 494 are residing in *harijan basties* and 60 in mixed population areas. This chapter is devoted to the discussion on the status of scavenging and scavengers, participation of beneficiaries in programmes of liberation and rehabilitation and the impact these had on the socioeconomic conditions of scavengers.

These aspects are discussed in relation to (a) respondents' affiliation to formal institutions, (b) habitat in which beneficiaries pursue their respective vocation and (c) their residence in a given locality. The problem under study is accordingly examined in relation to each of these three contexts one by one.

BENEFICIARIES WITH AND WITHOUT INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION

The sample of beneficiaries under the study is comprised of 554 respondents - 188 consisted of institutional sample drawn from hospitals, government offices or public undertakings, educational institutions and commercial establishment and 366 from *harijan* households grouped as non-institutional sample of beneficiaries. While beneficiaries from both groups are overwhelmingly members of *harijan basties* (89.17%), this holds true more for the non-institutional beneficiaries (93.99%) than for those drawn from formal institutions (79.79%). As will be clear later, residence of beneficiaries in cities or towns also did not alter the situation.

Caste Composition : The scavengers are widely known as *harijans* and *bhangis*; the two terms are sometimes used interchangeably. The use of the term *harijan* for the scavengers is endorsed by 83.39% of the respondents. Some differences are, however, noted among beneficiaries with and without institutional affiliations: while 88.04% of the former reported use of the term *harijan*, only 83.06% of the

later did so. However, the term *bhangi* is reportedly used more by beneficiaries without institutional affiliation (14.20%) than by those with such affiliation (6.38%).

The two groups of beneficiaries differed with respect to the membership of other caste of groups as well (Table 5.1). While 2.73% of the beneficiaries without institutional affiliation are addressed to by the term "*Balmiki*", those with such affiliation belonged to 8 other caste groups – 8 from *Meenas*, 2 each from *Chamars*, *Bhils* and *Teli* and 1 each from *Khatik*, *Yadav*, *Salvi* and *Meghwal*. These castes fall, besides SCs, under OBCs and STs as well. *Meenas* are members of Scheduled Tribes whereas *Yadavs* and *telis* are members of OBCs. Among the rest, most of which are members of Scheduled Castes, only *Balmikis* fall under the scavenging caste while *Khatiks*, *Chamars*, *Salvi*, and *Meghwals* form separate scheduled castes. Interestingly, all the beneficiaries from these 8 caste groups are affiliated to formal institutions. It appears, these have entered into formal institutional in an open competition even for the posts involving scavenging duties.

Table 5.1
Caste composition of beneficiaries

S.N.	Name of sub caste	Non institutional beneficiaries		Institutional beneficiaries		Total	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1	Harijan	304	83.06	158	88.04	462	83.39
2	Bhangi	52	14.20	12	6.38	64	11.55
3	Balmiki	10	2.73	--	--	10	1.80
4	Khatil	0	0.00	1	0.53	1	0.18
5	Meena	0	0.00	8	4.25	8	1.44
6	Chamar	0	0.00	2	1.06	2	0.36
7	Yadav	0	0.00	1	0.53	1	0.18
8	Salvi	0	0.00	1	0.53	1	0.18
9	Bhil	0	0.00	2	1.06	2	0.36
10	Teli	0	0.00	2	1.06	2	0.36
11	Meghwal	0	0.00	1	0.53	1	0.18
Total		366		188		554	

Status of Scavenging and Scavengers :

The scavenging work does not necessarily end with the liberation of scavengers from manually carrying of sewers night soil; such scavengers are rather assigned tasks to clean water-sealed flush latrines, roads and sewers/drains. Pathak (1991) asserted that the scavengers who were formally engaged in carrying night soil as headload and now working in Sulabh Shauchalayas are "liberated" scavengers, as they do not come in direct contact with human excreta. This trend is clearly evident in the present study as well. Data showed that 88.63% of the beneficiaries are performing the task of scavenging. Of these, 87.98% are doing the jobs on full time basis, and 85.95% on fixed wages. (Table 5.2)

Registration as Scavengers: The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act 1993 stipulates registration of manual scavengers in the register maintained at the district level. Many of the present scavengers covered under the study were also doing manual scavenging during pre-liberation period. This being the case, a question was asked if they were registered as scavengers? As per responses received, 71.30% of the beneficiaries endorsed having registered themselves as scavengers in the register maintained at the district level. Their distribution showed registration of higher number of scavengers from non-institutional sample (74.59%) than from institutional sample (64.89%). The habitat wise distribution revealed positive association of registration with more number of beneficiaries registered in cities than in towns and more in towns than in villages.

Table 5.2
Involvement of beneficiaries in scavenging work as per their institutional affiliation

S. No.	Involvement in scavenging work	Non-institutional beneficiaries (N=366)	Institutional beneficiaries (N=188)	Total (N=554)	χ^2
1	Involvement of respondents in scavenging work				
(i)	Number working as scavengers	311 (84.97)	180 (95.74)	491 (88.63)	14.30**
(ii)	Number working on fulltime basis	281 (90.35)	151 (83.89)	432 (87.98)	4.51*
(ii)	Number engaged on fixed wages	268 (86.17)	154 (85.56)	422 (85.95)	0.04
2	Involvement of family members in scavenging work ***				
(i)	Number endorsed involvement of up to 2 members	155 (82.89)	88 (89.80)	243 (85.26)	2.44
(ii)	Number endorsed involvement of over 2 members	32 (17.11)	10 (10.20)	42 (14.74)	
		187 (51.09)	98 (52.13)	285 (51.44)	
3	Nature of scavenging work performed by respondents****				
(i)	Disposal of house/cattle waste	64 (20.58)	37 (20.56)	101 (20.57)	0.00
(ii)	Cleaning of latrines	194 (62.38)	146 (81.11)	340 (69.25)	18.79**
(iii)	Cleaning of sewers / drains	169 (54.34)	64 (35.56)	233 (47.45)	16.14**
(iv)	Sweeping of roads	147 (47.27)	49 (27.22)	196 (39.32)	19.10**
(v)	Cleaning of septic tanks	12 (3.86)	6 (3.33)	18 (3.67)	0.09

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

* Multiple responses were allowed

*** Percentage are worked out from those whose family members are also involved in scavenging work

**** Percentage are calculated out of those who are involved in scavenging work

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

Scavenging and non Scavenging Tasks: The beneficiaries, performing scavenging work and falling under all-inclusive category, are involved in a variety of associated tasks. This is especially so for those without institutional affiliations. Those having institutional affiliation tend to perform the assigned tasks in different capacities. Overwhelmingly, the beneficiaries perform scavenging work as regular employees of one or the other formal organization; some perform duty as temporary employees. Four of them are assigned the duties of motor drivers (3) and peon (1).

The occupational tasks that the beneficiaries without institutional affiliation perform vary greatly. These include official jobs (i.e. job of the teacher and service in railways), skilled jobs (i.e. cycle repairing, wireman, painting, piggery unit), community services (i.e. ward boy, zamadar), trading and business (i.e. shop-keeping, salesman), and labour jobs. The beneficiaries earning their living from such sources constituted only 9.02% of the total. Interestingly, these activities, except driving, are pursued only by beneficiaries without institutional affiliation. It may be attributed to the need of survival in absence of regular sources of income and of earning a living through self-employed activities.

Despite scavenging work being pursued as a main source of income, the beneficiaries are undertaking other occupations as well and this is being done to supplement their income. About 7.14% of the beneficiaries without institutional affiliation are reportedly engaged in piggery, bamboo basket making, painting, running music center, repair workshop and similar other occupations. Of these, most common is piggery followed by bamboo basket making. In cities and towns, raising of pigs is done exclusively by scavengers for good return. The members of families also provide support and help in this regard.

When probed if the institutional affiliation makes any difference, it is surprising to note that more of institutional beneficiaries (95.74%) than non- institutional ones (84.97%) are engaged in scavenging work (table 5.2). But more of the later than the former doing it on full time basis. The two groups differed significantly in this respects. This indicates that wage employment did not lead to occupational mobility and the scavengers continued to perform the traditional task but in new form. This may be attributed to the past experience and age long background in scavenging work that facilitated their employment in hospitals, educational institutions, government offices, and commercial establishments.

The above observations however did not affect the other conditions of work: more of the scavengers without institutional affiliation than their counterparts were working on full time basis and fixed wages. The two groups differed significantly

in this regard. As was indicated earlier, scavenging work continues to remain a main source of earning a living in case of over one-third of the beneficiary households and 9 out of 10 respondents are also engaged in scavenging work. The later in majority (51.44%) endorsed involvement of family members also; those endorsed involvement of upto two members constituted 85.26% of such respondents. This holds more or less good for each compared groups as well. The kind of scavenging work that beneficiaries are required to undertake include disposal of house and cattle waste, cleaning of latrines, sweeping of roads, cleaning of sewers/drains, emptying of septic tanks, removal and disposal of garbage, and the like. Many a times, one has to undertake more than one of these tasks. Of the different tasks listed above, cleaning of latrines is done by a majority of respondents involved in scavenging work (69.25%); this is followed by cleaning of drains (47.45%) and sweeping of roads (39.92%) and cleaning of drains (35.38%). A small percentage of respondents (20.57%) undertake disposal of house/cattle waste. The cleaning of septic tanks is done only by a handful of respondents. The scavengers employed by formal institutions are required to keep the buildings or premises clean, besides cleaning of latrines. Those employed by municipal offices are required to sweep roads and streets and clean sewers/drains in cities and towns and remove garbage from large containers put at different locations to collect house and cattle waste which is performed by relatively a smaller proportion of scavengers. The cleaning of septic tanks which is undertaken occasionally as and when the tanks are filled, it is quite often done mechanically.

It may also be noted that the beneficiaries with institutional affiliation are involved in far higher number in cleaning of latrines as compared to those without such affiliation. However, with respect to sweeping of roads and cleaning of sewers/drains, beneficiaries without institutional affiliation are involved in far greater number as compared to their counterparts. The differences among two groups in each of these respects were found highly significant.

Mode of removal and disposal of waste: With the introduction of water borne flush latrines and adoption of new technological devices, process of sweeping, cleaning and waste disposal have also undergone change. It is more so in case of formal institutions and organisations. It was, therefore, considered relevant to find out as to what kind of equipments are being used by the beneficiaries and where the collected waste is disposed off. The information obtained on this subject is provided in table 5.3.

Table 5.3
Mode of removal/disposal of waste used by beneficiaries as per
their institutional affiliation

S. No.	Waste removal/disposal	Non- institutional beneficiaries (N=366)	Institutional beneficiaries (N=188)	Total (N=554)
1	Carrying equipments used*			
(i)	Bamboo basket	179 (57.56)	97 (53.89)	276 (49.82)
(ii)	Iron bucket without lid	33 (10.61)	12 (6.67)	45 (8.12)
(iii)	Iron bucket with lid	59 (18.97)	74 (41.11)	133 (24.01)
(iv)	Trolleys	169 (54.34)	50 (27.78)	219 (39.53)
2	Place of throwing house waste*			
(i)	Open space	219 (70.42)	148 (82.22)	367 (66.25)
(ii)	In a pit	79 (25.40)	14 (7.78)	93 (16.79)
(iii)	In a drum	59 (18.97)	27 (15.00)	86 (15.52)

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

As is evident, no single equipment is uniformly used by the beneficiaries. A most widely used item for removal and disposal of waste is bamboo basket (56.21%). This is followed by trolleys (44.60%). Buckets are also used by about one-third of the beneficiaries. An attempt was also made to find out if beneficiaries are affiliated to institutions differ from those without any such affiliations. Data showed that while iron buckets with lid are used by beneficiaries with institutional affirmation in far more numbers, the use of trolleys was made more by beneficiaries without institutional affiliation.

Associated with the above is the question relating to the disposal of collected waste. As is evident from data in table 5.3, about three-fourth of the beneficiaries, dispose the waste in an open place and this is done more by those affiliated to institutions rather than their counterparts. The use of pit or drum/container is not so common; the use of these options are found greater among beneficiaries without institutional affiliation than their counterparts.

Income and earnings :

Scheduled castes in general and scavengers in particular are characterised by low work participation, underemployment and unemployment and widespread poverty. Measures of rehabilitation include self-employment as also wage

employment in municipal offices, government offices, educational institutions, hospitals and commercial establishments that have helped in some way in improving the socioeconomic position of the group. Data in table 5.4 throw some light on the monthly earnings of the beneficiaries:

Table 5.4
Distribution of respondents by monthly income

S. No.	Monthly wages/ salary (in Rs)	Institutional beneficiaries (N=188)		Non-Institutional beneficiaries (N=366)		Total (N=554)	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1	Upto 1000	37	19.68	55	15.03	92	16.61
2	1001 - 2500	48	25.53	54	14.75	102	18.41
3	2501 - 5000	63	33.51	178	48.63	241	43.50
4	5001 - 7500	30	15.96	62	16.94	92	16.61
5	7501 +	10	05.32	10	02.73	20	03.61
6	No response	--	00.00	7	1.91	7	01.26
Total		188		366		554	

As can be seen, scavengers having monthly earning of Rs. 1000 or below constituted 16.61% of the beneficiaries. A large chunk of them (43.50%) earns monthly income in the range of Rs 2501—5000. Those earning above Rs. 5000 account for a little above one-fifth of the total (21.48%).

A comparison between two groups of beneficiaries provides surprising results: more scavengers with institutional affiliation than their counterparts are in lowest income groups of upto Rs 1000 and Rs 1001-2500. But the relative position of two groups reversed in case of middle-income groups of Rs. 2501 to 5000. The two groups, however, are more or less equally distributed in upper income groups.

Age Sex and Educational Background: Traditionally, women were performing the task of scavenging with negligible role played by men. Likewise, those involved in scavenging work are mostly of middle or older age and illiterates. Information was, therefore, obtained to find out gender, age, and educational background of persons involved in scavenging work. Data on the subject shown in table 5.5 indicated equal involvement of both males and females as reported by most beneficiaries (58.66%). This holds good for both the groups of beneficiaries under reference. However, 3 out of every 10 beneficiaries reported greater involvement of females than males in undertaking scavenging work. The beneficiaries are also more or less unanimous about overwhelming involvement of middle-aged persons in scavenging work. The role of younger and old in this connection was reportedly insignificant.

Table 5.5
Views of beneficiaries about age, sex and education of persons involved in scavenging work as per their institutional affiliation

S. No.	Category	Non-institutional beneficiaries (N=366)	Institutional beneficiaries (N=188)	Total (N=554)
1	Gender			
(i)	More males	41 (11.20)	21 (11.17)	62 (11.19)
(ii)	More females	109 (29.78)	58 (30.85)	167 (30.14)
(iii)	Almost equally	216 (59.02)	109 (57.98)	325 (58.66)
2	Age group			
(i)	Young	6 (1.64)	1 (0.53)	7 (1.26)
(ii)	Middle aged	357 (97.54)	186 (98.94)	543 (98.01)
(iii)	Elderly	3 (0.82)	1 (0.53)	4 (0.72)
3	Education			
(i)	Illiterates	247 (67.49)	117 (62.23)	364 (65.70)
(ii)	Literates	115 (31.42)	70 (37.23)	185 (33.39)
(iii)	Sr./Hr. Sec. & above	3 (0.82)	1 (0.53)	4 (0.72)

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

With the increased education, people have tended to shift towards white-collar and respectable jobs. The reluctance towards manual jobs is widely witnessed among educated persons. Our data also indicated that illiterates are reportedly involved in scavenging work in far higher number than literates and educated. Over one-third the beneficiaries reported involvement of literates also in this task. This holds good for both the compared categories of respondents.

Continuation of scavenging work: As a result of various measures initiated by the central and state governments, improvement in educational level, increased aspirations and several other factors have encouraged members of sweeping and scavenging communities to improve their standard of living, adopt dignified occupations and enhance their status in society. Such feelings are emerging more among younger generations of scavengers. It was, therefore, considered relevant to find out if the beneficiaries covered by the study also find the scavenging work insulting and downgrading and if so, do they feel inclined to change the present

occupation and acquire necessary skills to do so. The information on these and similar other aspects are provided in table 5.6

Table 5.6
Perception of beneficiaries about scavenging work & alternative occupations
as per their institutional affiliation

S. No.	Perception	Non-institutional beneficiaries (N=366)	Institutional beneficiaries (N=188)	Total (N=554)	χ^2
1	Perception about scavenging work				
(i)	Number finding scavenging work insulting	119 (32.51)	34 (18.09)	153 (27.62)	12.93**
(ii)	Number viewed scavenging work downgrading social status	101 (27.60)	34 (18.09)	135 (24.37)	6.10*
(iii)	Number find family opposed to scavenging work	64 (17.49)	25 (13.30)	89 (16.06)	1.62
(iv)	Number desirous to discontinue scavenging work	52 (16.72)	19 (10.56)	71 (14.46)	3.50
2	Views about taking up alternative occupation ***				
(i)	Number possessing requisite skills in alternative occupation	37 (71.15)	13 (68.42)	50 (70.42)	0.05
(ii)	Number obtained training in alternative occupation	30 (57.69)	10 (52.63)	40 (56.34)	0.14
(iii)	Number desirous to obtain further training in alternative occupation	7 (13.46)	3 (15.79)	10 (14.08)	0.06

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

* Significant at .05 level

*** Percentage are calculated out of those who wish to discontinue scavenging work

** Significant at .01 level

As is evident, the perception of scavengers about the work they perform had undergone a dramatic change and only a small segment now consider scavenging as insulting and damaging work. Such a view is held more by non-institutional respondents than by institutional ones. The differences among them in these respects were noted to be significant. It appears, the widespread use of water borne flush latrines and improved equipments to handle waste and garbage have removed the stigma earlier attached to such a task. In very few cases, the family members are found opposed to continuation of scavenging work. It is only in 14.46% of the cases that the beneficiaries are desirous of any change in occupations. It is quite likely that there are very limited options open as far as alternative occupation are concerned and even if there are, the skills needed to undertake such occupations are either absent or inadequate. Continuation of scavenging work, besides being viewed as insulting and opposed by family members, is emerging as an important reason for causing tension among the members of family and community. This fact is endorsed by 14.44% of the

beneficiaries. Among the two groups, such a view is held more by non-institutional members (15.30%) than the institutional ones (12.77%). It appears, association with formal institutions puts some check on giving rise to such feelings.

When asked whether those desirous of changing occupations have requisite skills in the alternative vocations or whether any training has been acquired in these, data in table 5.6 revealed that 70.42% of those who expressed desire to change the scavenging work have requisite skills in alternative occupations and 56.34% obtained training in such occupations. This holds good also for both the groups of beneficiaries. However, keenness to acquire any further training in the desired occupations was found relatively low irrespective of their institutional affiliation (14.08%).

Training in Alternative Occupations :

As per details given in chapter 4 and in a Note on State Position of Training of Scavengers in Alternative Occupations (Annexure 6), training programme in Rajasthan can be termed as very poor. The reliance was therefore placed on the responses of scavengers themselves about their own perceptions and experience of training, if any

Skills acquired through training : The liberation of scavengers from manual scavenging and their rehabilitation in alternative occupations can take place only if the respondents possess or acquired necessary vocational skills. The provision has, therefore, been made in the scheme to provide liberated scavengers training in alternative occupations. As per our data, 71 (14.46%) beneficiaries expressed the desire to discontinue their existing occupation and take up alternative occupation; 40 out of them (56.34%) have reportedly acquired training in alternative occupations. When asked about the details of such occupations, highest number of them reportedly obtained training in motor-driving (35.00%) followed by basket-making and tailoring (10.00% each) and motor mechanic and paper work (7.5% each); one to two beneficiaries have reportedly obtained training in furniture making, T.V. repairing, painting and other miscellaneous occupations.

Awareness and Utility of Training: For undertaking alternative occupations and liberating scavengers from unclean occupations, the training of scavengers in alternative trade forms an integral part of the scheme of liberation and rehabilitation. The absence of systematic efforts for training of scavengers and their poor response were acknowledged by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (2003) (Annexure 3) and different departments of Government of Rajasthan associated with the scheme (Annexure 6). What view scavengers themselves hold about training facilities was therefore probed here. Data in this connection are provided in table 5.7.

Table 5.7
Views of beneficiaries about availability and utility of training in alternative occupations as per their institutional affiliation

S. No.	Description	Non-institutional beneficiaries (N=366)	Institutional beneficiaries (N=188)	Total (N=554)	χ^2
1	Number aware about existing training facilities in alternative occupation				
(i)	Number endorsed availability of training facility in alternative occupation	98 (26.78)	29 (15.43)	127 (22.92)	9.06**
(ii)	Number perceived training helpful in liberating scavengers from unclean occupation	247 (67.49)	122 (64.89)	369 (66.61)	0.38
(iii)	Number perceived present training facilities adequate to liberate scavengers form unclean occupation	204 (55.74)	120 (63.83)	324 (58.48)	3.35
2	Manner in which training is viewed helpful				
(i)	Good salaried job	109 (29.78)	63 (33.51)	172 (31.05)	0.81
(ii)	Increase in salary/ income	89 (24.32)	43 (22.87)	132 (23.83)	0.14
(iii)	Increase in social status	36 (9.84)	19 (10.11)	55 (9.93)	0.01
(iv)	Possibility of self employment	128 (34.97)	52 (27.66)	180 (32.49)	3.03
3	Manner in which training in alternative occupations can be made more effective				
(i)	Increase in the number of short duration training courses	117 (31.97)	59 (31.38)	176 (31.77)	0.02
(ii)	Increase in the number of scavengers in training	94 (25.68)	42 (22.34)	136 (24.55)	0.75
(iii)	Increased number of trades for training	89 (24.32)	40 (21.28)	129 (23.29)	0.64
(iv)	Provide scholarship for all trainings	120 (32.79)	41 (21.81)	161 (29.06)	7.26**
(v)	Provision of boarding & lodging on subsidized rates	94 (25.68)	50 (26.60)	144 (25.99)	0.05

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

**** Significant at .01 level**

As is evident, overwhelming proportion of beneficiaries was unaware about the training component of the scheme as a measure to liberate scavengers from traditional unclean occupation and to take up alternative occupations. Among the two groups, more of the non institutional beneficiaries than their counterparts were aware about the provision. The difference among them was found significant About two third (66.61%) acknowledged the importance of vocational training in liberating scavengers from manual lifting of night soil. This holds good for both

the groups of beneficiaries. However, most of the respondents considered the present training facilities adequate (58.48%). These views are shared by both the compared groups.

When asked as to how the training in alternative occupation, if obtained by scavengers, would be useful to them, greater possibility of initiating self-employment venture was cited by largest number of beneficiaries (32.49%). This is felt more by beneficiaries without institutional affiliation than by those with such affiliation. The scope of getting wage employment or salaried job is another important likely outcome of training in alternative occupations as viewed by 31.05% of the beneficiaries and the difference noted among the two groups were not marked. A little less than one-fourth of the beneficiaries (23.83%) cited increase in salary or income as yet another likely outcome of training in alternative occupations. Surprisingly, training is not seen as an instrument to gain in social status by overwhelming proportion; only less than 1 in every 10 expect some status gain from training. No marked differences among the compared groups were noted in any of these respects.

The views of the beneficiaries were also obtained about the present weaknesses of existing training programmes and the ways through which it can be made more effective. Data in table 5.7 (3) revealed increase in the number of short duration courses (31.77%) as a measure to make training effective. In addition, measures like provision of scholarship to scavengers in all such training programmes, subsidised boarding and lodging facilities, increase in the number of scavengers to be trained and increase in the number of trades in which training is to be imported are also suggested by 29.06%, 25.99%, 24.55%, and 23.29% of the beneficiaries respectively. The beneficiaries from both the groups hold more or similar views about most of the measures for making the training of scavengers more effective. However, more beneficiaries with no institutional affiliation than their counterparts favoured provision of scholarship in all training programmes and the differences among them in this respect were found significant.

Rehabilitation Programmes :

Awareness and Use: Having discussed the views of beneficiaries about training programmes in alternative occupations, the attention is now turned towards awareness about rehabilitation programmes. Data in this regard are shown in table 5.8.

Table 5.8
Awareness of beneficiaries about rehabilitation programmes initiated for the liberated scavengers as per their institutional affiliation

S. No.	Prescription	Non-institutional beneficiaries (N=366)	Institutional beneficiaries (N=188)	Total (N=554)	χ^2
1	Awareness about the rehabilitation programmes initiated for the of liberated scavengers				
(i)	Number aware about law prohibiting dry latrines/manual scavenging	222 (60.66)	115 (61.17)	337 (60.83)	0.01
(ii)	Number aware about Govt. efforts towards promotion of alternatives to dry latrines	218 (59.56)	111 (59.04)	329 (59.39)	0.01
(iii)	Number aware about dry latrines being converted into water sealed latrines.	214 (58.47)	116 (61.70)	330 (59.57)	0.54
(iv)	Number aware about availability of loan/grant facility for conversion of dry latrines into water-sealed latrines	86 (40.19)	62 (53.45)	148 (26.71)	5.70*
2	Awareness about facilities for rehabilitation of liberated scavengers in alternative occupations				
(i)	Loans	134 (36.61)	62 (32.98)	196 (35.38)	0.72
(ii)	Grants	72 (19.67)	49 (26.06)	121 (21.84)	2.97
(iii)	Allotment of plots	6 (1.64)	3 (1.60)	9 (1.62)	0.00
(iv)	Shop/kiosk allotment	16 (4.37)	5 (2.66)	21 (3.79)	1.00
(v)	Others	117 (31.97)	65 (34.57)	182 (32.85)	0.38
3.	Use of facilities / in actives				
(1)	Loans and grants	40 (10.93)	3 (1.60)	43 (7.76)	15.11**
(11)	Allotment of plot/ship/kiosk	1 (0.27)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.18)	0.51

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

As can be seen, the level of awareness of beneficiaries about different rehabilitation programmes is relatively high as about three-fifth of them expressed their awareness about existence of law that prohibits construction of dry latrines (60.83%), efforts being made towards providing alternatives to dry latrines (59.39%) and incentives provided for conversion of dry latrines into water-borne flush latrines (59.57%). And this holds true for both the groups of beneficiaries. However, awareness about the provision of loans and grants for conversion of dry latrines into water-borne flush latrines was found quite low (26.71%). The two groups of beneficiaries were found significantly different in this respect.

In addition to the promotion of water borne flush latrines, facilities are offered to the liberated scavengers for initiating alternative occupations or self-employment enterprise. A large number of trades and occupations are being promoted for the purpose, which included, besides others, auto-rickshaw, camel carts, sanitary marts, cycle repair shops, grocery shops, tailoring and embroidery, ready made garments, artisan work shed, handicraft and candle making, dairy, poultry, piggery, SCYTE training, craft training, and pre-service coaching, facilities for B.Ed, STC, PMT and PET .The provision of grants, loans and allotment of plots, shops, kiosks are made to promote self-employment among scavengers in some of the above listed vocations. In many cases, this is being done even without first ensuring training of concerned scavengers in given enterprise.

As evident from data, the awareness of the beneficiaries about the facilities and incentives for initiating alternative occupations is quite low. A little more than one-third of the beneficiaries (35.38%) are aware about provision of loans, but only 21.84% are aware about grants government offers for the purpose. Interestingly, while more of the beneficiaries without institutional affiliation are aware about loan facilities, more of those with institutional facilities are aware of grants. The differences between the two groups appear to be due to the fact that the facilities are available for the starting self-employment enterprise and hence beneficiaries having no institutional affiliation are found more aware about the facility. It is further observed that the beneficiaries are found virtually ignorant about facilities available for plots, shops or kiosks, as only 30 beneficiaries out of 554 were found aware. Such a lack of awareness was found more among those affiliated to institutions as being in wage employment, they are not directly concerned to the facility

A related question was also asked whether the beneficiaries have themselves availed of any of such facilities. The responses in table 5.8 indicated that in all 43 beneficiaries, overwhelmingly from those without institutional affiliation, have availed the facility of loans and grants. It is so mainly because they are to seek self-employment opportunity for earning a living. When asked whether any plot or shop or kiosks was allotted to them for initiating a self-employment enterprise, only 1 of them answered in affirmative. Apparently, the awareness about the scheme and available facilities are quite low among scavenging population.

Effectiveness of Rehabilitation Programmes : The perception of beneficiaries about the effectiveness of rehabilitation programme in improving socioeconomic condition of scavengers was also studied. In this connection three related aspects were probed: a) in what way rehabilitation programme were viewed helpful; b) how much respondents feel satisfied with such programme; and c) how the rehabilitation programme can be made more effective and helpful to the scavengers. The responses received in this respect are analysed in table 5.9.

Table 5.9
Perception of beneficiaries about effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes in improving socio-economic conditions of liberated scavengers as per their institutional affiliation

S. No.	Improvement	Non-institutional beneficiaries (N=366)	Institutional beneficiaries (N=188)	Total (N=554)	χ^2
1	Manner in which rehabilitation programmes viewed helpful				
(i)	Better salaried job	109 (29.78)	58 (30.85)	167 (30.14)	0.07
(ii)	Increased salary/ income	154 (42.08)	92 (48.94)	246 (44.40)	2.37
(iii)	Increased social status	34 (9.29)	6 (3.19)	40 (7.22)	6.89**
(iv)	Opportunity for self employment	90 (24.59)	19 (10.11)	109 (19.68)	16.49**
(v)	Improved education of children's	187 (51.09)	98 (52.13)	285 (51.44)	0.005
(vi)	Improvement in health status	59 (18.97)	74 (40.11)	133 (24.01)	36.77**
2	Extent of satisfaction with the rehabilitation programmers				
(i)	Highly satisfied	28 (7.65)	6 (3.19)	34 (6.14)	
(ii)	Moderately satisfied	245 (66.94)	157 (83.51)	402 (72.56)	17.28**
(iii)	Unsatisfied	93 (25.41)	25 (13.30)	118 (21.30)	
3	Views of beneficiaries about the way rehabilitation programmes for scavengers can be made more effective				
(i)	Increase in employment opportunities	204 (55.74)	110 (58.51)	314 (56.68)	0.39
(ii)	Increase in the number of alternative occupations	148 (40.44)	82 (43.62)	230 (41.52)	0.52
(iii)	Setting up of counseling centers at training institutions / Panchayat samiti level for promoting alternative occupations.	87 (23.77)	30 (15.96)	117 (21.12)	4.55*
(iv)	Increase in the amount of loan/grant	78 (21.31)	44 (23.40)	122 (22.02)	0.32
(v)	Greater coverage by grants	99 (27.05)	37 (19.68)	136 (24.55)	3.64
(vi)	Adequate marketing outlets for sale of products.	34 (9.29)	25 (13.30)	59 (10.65)	2.10

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

As, can be seen, beneficiaries in varying numbers found rehabilitation programmes helpful to the scavengers in five different ways: better salaried job, increased income, increased status in society, greater opportunities for self employment, better education of children and improvement in health status. The largest percentage of respondents found the impact of rehabilitation programmes on enhancing income levels (44.40%). This is followed by better salaried job (30.14%). In these two respects no marked differences were observed among two groups of beneficiaries. However, impact of rehabilitation programmes on self-employment was seen more by beneficiaries without institutional affiliation (24.59%) than by their counterparts (10.11%). It appears concern for improved social status resulting from rehabilitation programme was not appreciated much (7.22%), more so by beneficiaries with institutional affiliation. In these two respects, the differences among compared groups were highly marked.

Impact of rehabilitation programmes on two more aspects of human development was also examined; these are improvement in education and health status. Data showed that over half of the beneficiaries (51.44%) endorsed improvement in the education of children as a result of the participation in rehabilitation programmes. These results hold good for both the groups of beneficiaries. The improvement in health status was also indicated by about one-fourth of the beneficiaries, more so by those affiliated to institutions (39.36%) than by their counterparts (16.12%).

To what extent beneficiaries feel satisfied with the rehabilitation programmes? Data on this question as appeared in table 5.9(2) showed moderate satisfaction expressed by overwhelming proportion of beneficiaries (72.56%). However, 21.30% of them felt unsatisfied. Among the two groups, those with no association with institutions were found relatively more satisfied with the rehabilitation programmes and the difference between them was highly significant.

How the existing programmes of rehabilitation of scavengers can be made more helpful and effective? In response to this question, beneficiaries overwhelmingly (56.68%) laid stress on the increase in employment opportunities to absorb liberated scavengers and their dependents. This is followed by increase in the number of alternative occupations for which incentives and facilities can be provided (41.52%) These results holds good also for both the groups of beneficiaries. Besides, greater coverage of scavengers by grants (24.55%) and increase in the amount of loans and grants (22.02%) were advocated by the beneficiaries, the former favoured more by those with institutional affiliation and the later more by those without institutional affiliation.

Setting up of counseling center at the training institutes or panchayat samiti level was also suggested by 21.12% of the beneficiaries, more by those without institutional affiliation. The two groups differed significantly in this respect. Provision of adequate marketing outlets for the sale of products resulting from enterprises run by rehabilitated scavengers found favour only by about one-tenth of the beneficiaries and this holds good for both the groups.

SCAVENGERS IN THE CONTEXT OF CITIES, TOWNS AND VILLAGES

It is well recognized that the liberation of scavengers from manual removal of night soil is directly linked to the elimination of dry latrines and their substitution by water-borne flush latrine system which is primarily an urban phenomenon. This necessitates the analysis of the problem of liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers in the context of cities, towns and villages. The sample of beneficiaries, therefore, covers 236 respondents from cities, equal numbers from towns and 82 from villages for a total of 554. Their distribution shows concentration of scavengers in *harijan basties*: It is surprising to note that the scavengers residing in mixed or general population areas are far greater in villages than in towns and cities. However, the scavenging work as the main source of earning a living is practiced more in cities and towns than in villages.

Beneficiaries' Involvement in Scavenging Work:

The involvement of scavengers in scavenging work is examined by taking into account duration of work, participation of family members in the profession and nature of work being undertaken. Data in this connection are shown in table 5.10

Table 5.10
Involvement of beneficiaries in scavenging work as per their habitat

S. No.	Involvement in scavenging work	City beneficiaries (N=236)	Town beneficiaries (N=236)	Village beneficiaries (N=82)	Total (N=554)	χ^2
1	Involvement of respondents in scavenging work					
(i)	Number working as scavengers	206 (87.29)	212 (89.83)	73 (89.02)	491 (88.63)	0.77
(ii)	Number working on fulltime basis	185 (89.81)	189 (89.15)	58 (79.45)	432 (87.98)	5.95
(ii)	Number engaged on fixed wages	176 (85.44)	188 (88.68)	58 (79.45)	422 (85.95)	3.90
2	Involvement of family members in scavenging work * **					
(i)	Number endorsed involvement of up to 2 members	108 (80.60)	86 (88.66)	49 (90.74)	243 (85.26)	4.50
(ii)	Number endorsed involvement of over 2 members	26 (19.40)	11 (11.34)	5 (9.26)	42 (14.74)	
		134 (56.78)	97 (41.10)	54 (65.85)	285 (51.44)	
3	Nature of scavenging work performed by respondents ****					
(i)	Disposal of house/cattle waste	30 (14.56)	52 (24.53)	19 (26.03)	101 (20.57)	7.91*
(ii)	Cleaning of latrines	128 (62.14)	164 (77.36)	48 (65.75)	340 (69.25)	11.86**
(iii)	Cleaning of drains	102 (49.51)	99 (46.70)	32 (43.84)	233 (47.25)	0.78
(iv)	Sweeping of roads	77 (37.38)	88 (41.51)	31 (42.47)	196 (39.92)	0.98
(v)	Cleaning of septic tanks	10 (4.85)	6 (2.83)	2 (2.74)	18 (3.67)	1.42

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

*** Percentage are calculated out of those who are involved in scavenging work.

**** Percentage are calculated out of those whose family members are also involved in scavenging work

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

As can be seen, respondents are overwhelmingly engaged in scavenging work and this is irrespective of location. About 9 out of every 10 beneficiaries are earning their living through performing one or the other kind of scavenging work and this holds good for beneficiaries from cities, towns and villages. Of these, beneficiaries overwhelmingly perform scavenging work as a full time work and on fixed wages. Interestingly, this holds good more for city and town dwellers than for village residents. Differences between them were, however, not significant. Thus, the scavenging work continues to remain as a main earning source for most members of the community despite all measures to shift them in non-hereditary alternative caste-free occupations.

However, involvement of family members in scavenging work was found to be far less (51.44%) than that of the beneficiary respondents themselves and this holds good for cities and villages also but the corresponding proportion for towns was found to be only 41.10%. Among the three habitats, family members in villages involved more in this profession than those in cities and towns. When probed into the extent of family involvement, upto 2 members are involved in the scavenging tasks in 85.26% of such cases and same holds more or less good for cities, towns and villages. The families where more than two of their members are involved in scavenging work are more from cities than from towns and villages. The three groups however did not differ significantly.

Where dry latrines have become virtually non-existent and water-borne sanitary system has become more or less universal particularly in cities and towns, the question relating to nature of scavenging work scavengers still perform becomes relevant. Data on this aspect provided in table 5.10 showed that scavenging work including not only cleaning of latrines but waste disposal, sweeping of roads and cleaning of drains and septic tanks as well. Despite, cleaning of latrines, mainly water-borne ones, remained predominant scavenging tasks in over two-third of the cases (69.25%). Relatively, far higher proportion of beneficiaries from towns are involved in it (77.36%) as compared to those from villages (65.75%) and cities (62.14%). Differences between them, though significant, did not reveal any specific trend in the association.

The scavenging task next in importance are reported to be cleaning of sewers and drains (47.45%) and sweeping of roads (39.92%) and sewers. The habitat-wise analysis revealed interesting results: whereas involvement in cleaning of drains increases with the urbanisation of localities, that of sweeping of roads tended to decrease. Differences are however not found significant. In addition, over one-fifth of the beneficiary scavengers (20.57%) are involved in waste disposal or garbage removal but such involvement was found inversely associated with urbanisation. It means, the tasks are performed more in villages than in towns and still less in cities. The differences are also found to be significant. Presence of larger cattle population in villages as compared to that in towns and cities appears to be the main reason for such a variation.

Mode of removal and disposal of waste: For the study of mode of waste disposed, two aspects were examined: carrying equipment used to remove waste and place where waste is disposal off. Data in this connection are provided in table 5.11.

Table 5.11
Mode of removal/disposal of waste used by beneficiaries as per their habitat

S. No.	Waste removal/disposal	City beneficiaries (N=236)	Town beneficiaries (N=236)	Village beneficiaries (N=82)	Total (N=554)
1	Carrying equipments used*				
(i)	Bamboo basket	74 (35.92)	145 (68.40)	57 (78.08)	276 (56.21)
(ii)	Iron bucket without lid	29 (14.08)	11 (5.19)	5 (6.85)	45 (9.16)
(iii)	Iron bucket with lid	68 (33.01)	57 (26.89)	8 (10.96)	133 (27.09)
(iv)	Trolleys	120 (58.25)	85 (40.09)	14 (19.18)	219 (44.60)
2	Place of throwing house waste*				
(i)	Open space	135 (65.53)	169 (79.72)	63 (86.30)	367 (74.75)
(ii)	In a pit	37 (17.96)	49 (23.11)	7 (9.59)	93 (18.94)
(iii)	In a drum	61 (29.61)	22 (10.38)	3 (4.11)	86 (17.52)

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

A most common item scavengers use for waste removal is the bamboo basket (56.21%). Its use was far greater in villages (78.08%) than in towns (68.40%) and cities (35.92%). The next widely used equipment for the purpose is trolley (44.60%) and its use is positively related to urbanisation. It means, its use is made more in cities (58.25%) than in towns (40.09%) and villages (19.18%). In addition, iron buckets, mostly without lid, are also used for the purpose by over one-third of the beneficiaries (36.25%). Here also, the use of buckets, particularly that with lid, is made more in cities than in towns. On probing into the disposal points, open space is used by about three-fourth of the scavengers, more so by village beneficiaries than by others: Drum or container is also used for waste disposal by 17.52% of scavengers engaged in scavenging work; its use was far more common in cities than in towns and villages. The use of pit is also made by 18.94% beneficiaries, more in towns (23.11%) than in cities (17.96%). Surprisingly, use of pit in villages despite availability of space was found quite rare. It appears, availability of and preference for open space have made the use of pit quite uncommon.

Age, Sex, and Educational groups in scavenging work: The preference for manual work in general and scavenging work in particular is greatly influenced, besides others, by factors of urbanisation, education, age, and gender. In order to ascertain the validity of such an assumption, beneficiaries were asked to identify age, sex and educational groups involved more in scavenging work. Data on this aspect are shown in table 5.12

Table 5.12
Views of beneficiaries about age, sex and education of persons
involved in scavenging work as per their habitat

S. No.	Category	City beneficiaries (N=236)	Town beneficiaries (N=236)	Village beneficiaries (N=82)	Total (N=554)
1	Gender				
(i)	More males	16 (6.78)	37 (15.68)	9 (10.98)	62 (11.19)
(ii)	More females	65 (27.54)	78 (33.05)	24 (29.27)	167 (30.14)
(iii)	Almost equally	155 (65.68)	121 (51.27)	49 (59.76)	325 (58.66)
2	Age group				
(i)	Young	3 (1.27)	4 (1.69)	0 (0.00)	7 (1.26)
(ii)	Middle aged	229 (97.03)	232 (98.31)	82 (100.00)	543 (98.01)
(iii)	Elderly	4 (1.69)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	4 (0.72)
3	Education				
(i)	Illiterates	158 (66.95)	148 (62.71)	58 (70.73)	364 (65.70)
(ii)	Literates	76 (32.20)	85 (36.02)	24 (29.27)	185 (33.39)
(iii)	Sr./Hr. Sec. & above	1 (0.42)	3 (1.27)	0 (0.00)	4 (0.72)

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

As is evident, majority of the beneficiaries from cities, towns and villages found both males and females performing scavenging work almost equally. But 1 out of every 3 also reported scavenging work being performed more by females than by males and this holds more or less good also for beneficiaries from cities, towns and villages. Surprisingly, beneficiaries from different habitats were unanimous in their views about scavenging work being performed only by middle-aged persons with a few exceptions. Likewise, involvement of mainly illiterates in the scavenging work was endorsed by a little less than two-third of the beneficiaries

and this holds good for all the habitats. However, about one-third of the beneficiaries reported involvement of literates also in the task and beneficiaries from cities, towns and villages do not differ markedly in this respect.

Views about continuation of scavenging work: Traditionally, the scavenging dignified occupation was ranked lowest in occupational hierarchy and, therefore, shift from this occupation towards dignified occupations was viewed as important instrument for the rise in the caste hierarchy to enhance social status. The trend is discernible more in cities and towns than in villages. It was, therefore, considered relevant to find out as to what view scavengers from different locales hold about the scavenging vocation and whether they feel inclined to change the occupation and if so are they equipped with needed skills to take up alternative occupation? Data obtained on these aspects are summarised in table 5.13

Table 5.13
Perception of beneficiaries about scavenging work & alternative occupations as per their habitat

S. No.	Perception	City beneficiaries (N=236)	Town beneficiaries (N=236)	Village beneficiaries (N=82)	Total (N=554)	x ²
1	Perception about scavenging work					
(i)	Number finding scavenging work insulting	110 (46.61)	39 (16.53)	4 (4.88)	153 (27.62)	78.32**
(ii)	Number viewed scavenging work downgrading social status	96 (40.68)	35 (14.83)	4 (4.88)	135 (24.37)	62.61**
(iii)	Number find family opposed to scavenging work	61 (25.85)	24 (10.17)	4 (4.88)	89 (16.06)	30.44**
(iv)	Number desirous to discontinue scavenging work	48 (23.30)	20 (9.43)	3 (4.11)	71 (14.46)	23.67**
2	Views about taking up alternative occupation ***					
(i)	Number possessing requisite skills in alternative occupation	28 (58.33)	19 (95.00)	3 (100.00)	50 (70.42)	10.43**
(ii)	Number obtained training in alternative occupation	22 (45.83)	16 (80.00)	2 (66.67)	40 (56.34)	6.84*
(iii)	Number desirous of obtain further training in alternative occupation	6 (12.50)	3 (15.00)	1 (33.33)	10 (14.08)	1.03

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

*** Percentage are calculated out of those who wish to discontinue scavenging work

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

It may be noted from data in table 5.13 that beneficiaries overwhelmingly consider scavenging work neither insulting, nor damaging to their social status, nor they find their family members opposed to their traditional occupation, nor are they keen to discontinue it. It is only about one-fourth of the cases that scavenging

work is viewed as insulting as also damaging to one's status in society. However, the analysis of responses in the context of habitation area showed over two-fifth of the city dwellers viewed the occupation as insulting as also damaging to their social status. Over one-fourth of them also find their family opposed to this work. In contrast, town dwellers are less opposed to the occupation and village dwellers least. Likewise, more from cities than from towns and village aspire to discontinue the occupation. Such a negative view about scavenging profession despite overwhelming involvement of respondents in it is indicative of the change in attitudes and keenness to join occupations considered prestigious as a move towards rise in social hierarchy. The differences among the three groups with respect to each of the above aspects were found significant.

It was also probed whether or not continuation of scavenging work is causing tension in the family and community and whether the phenomenon is influenced by habitat. Data endorsed that 14.44% of the beneficiaries feel so and that the urbanisation has positively influenced such a feelings to emerge. More of town dwellers (10.17%) than villagers (4.88%) have such a feeling and a far more city dwellers (22.03%) hold such a view.

A further probe was made to find out if the beneficiaries who wish to discontinue scavenging work possess necessary skills to take up alternative occupation or obtained some training to acquire the needed skills. Data in table 5.13 revealed that whereas 58.33% city dwellers possess requisite skills, almost all from towns and villages have acquired so. A related question was also asked whether some training was obtained to acquire required skills. Data revealed that more from towns than from villages have obtained training in alternative occupations, but surprisingly, their number was found lowest in city areas. The differences among the three groups in both respects were found significant. The beneficiaries did not evince much interest in obtaining further training also.

Availability and Utility of Training:

The skills required for undertaking alternative occupations can be acquired only if the relevant information is available with the scavengers and they are aware about the use of such training. An attempt was, therefore, made to ascertain the awareness among beneficiaries about training programmes being run for developing skills in alternative occupations. The responses received in this connection are analysed in table 5.14

Table 5.14
Views of beneficiaries about availability and utility of training in alternative occupations as per their habitat

S. No.	Description	City beneficiaries (N=236)	Town beneficiaries (N=236)	Village beneficiaries (N=82)	Total (N=554)	χ^2
1	Number aware about existing training facilities in alternative occupation					
(i)	Number endorsed availability of training facility in alternative occupation	95 (40.25)	26 (11.02)	6 (7.32)	127 (22.92)	70.36**
(ii)	Number perceived training helpful in liberating scavengers from unclean occupation	151 (63.98)	159 (67.37)	59 (71.95)	369 (66.61)	1.85
(iii)	Number perceived present training facilities adequate to liberate scavengers form unclean occupation	115 (48.73)	152 (64.41)	57 (69.51)	324 (58.48)	16.77**
2	Manner in which training is viewed helpful					
(i)	Good salaried job	87 (36.86)	64 (27.12)	21 (25.61)	172 (31.05)	6.56*
(ii)	Increase in salary/ income	58 (24.58)	46 (19.49)	28 (34.15)	132 (23.83)	7.33*
(iii)	Increase in social status	22 (9.32)	30 (12.71)	3 (3.66)	55 (9.93)	5.75
(iv)	Possibility of self employment	72 (30.51)	78 (33.05)	30 (36.59)	180 (32.49)	1.08
3	Manner in which training in alternative occupations can be made more effective					
(i)	Increase in the number of short duration training courses	62 (26.27)	87 (36.86)	27 (32.93)	176 (31.77)	6.17*
(ii)	Increase in the number of scavengers in training	51 (21.61)	55 (23.31)	30 (36.59)	136 (24.55)	7.71*
(iii)	Increased number of trades for training	63 (26.69)	52 (22.03)	14 (17.07)	129 (23.29)	3.51
(iv)	Provide scholarship for all trainings	84 (35.59)	55 (23.31)	22 (26.83)	161 (29.06)	8.88*
(v)	Provision of boarding & lodging on subsidized rates	61 (25.85)	60 (25.42)	23 (28.05)	144 (25.99)	0.22

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

As can be seen, there exists general lack of awareness about the facilities for the training available to acquire skills in alternative occupations. Only slightly over one-fifth of the beneficiaries were found aware about such facilities. The awareness was found greater among city dwellers than among those from towns and villages. The difference between them was found to be highly significant.

The opinion of the beneficiaries about the role of training in liberation of scavengers from unclean occupation was also sought. Data revealed that the beneficiaries in general viewed training quite helpful in liberating scavengers from their traditional occupation. Such a view was held revealed more by villages beneficiaries than by those from towns and cities. Further, far more beneficiaries from villages believed that the existing training facilities are adequate to help scavengers in taking-up alternative occupations. A related question was also asked about the manner in which training in alternative occupations would prove helpful to the scavengers. Data in table 5.14 indicated four major ways in which the vocational training, if acquired, may help scavengers: possibility of getting good salaried job; increase in the salary or income, increase in social status and possibility of initiating self-employment venture. Data indicated that more beneficiaries from cities than from towns and villages considered training helpful in getting scavengers a good salaried job. The role of training in increasing income or salary was also emphasised more by city beneficiaries than by those from towns and villages. The differences among three categories of respondents in both respects were found significant. However when asked about the role of training in initiating self-employment venture, more from villages than from towns and cities considered training helpful.

From the above discussion, it is difficult to infer that the training in alternative vocations has been successful and achieved its stated goals. Even if the beneficiaries view the training programme effective, the scope of improvement always exists. It was, therefore, asked what measures will make the training more effective in achieving its goal. The responses received in this regard have identified five areas of intervention and these are shared more or less equally by beneficiaries from cities, towns and villages. Among different measures suggested, important were: increase in the number of short duration training courses, increase in the number of scavengers in each course, and provision of scholarship to scavengers in all training courses. The differences among beneficiaries from cities, towns and villages in these respects were found significant. In addition, two more areas of intervention were put forward: a) increased number of trades for training, and b) provision of boarding and loading facilities on subsidised basis.

Awareness about Liberation and Rehabilitation programmes :

It is realized that unless dry latrines are converted into water borne flush latrines and the whole sanitary system is so oriented, programme of liberation of scavengers cannot succeed. It was also recognised that unless liberated scavengers are not provided necessary skills and inputs for initiating alternative occupations, they cannot be rehabilitated. It was, therefore, considered relevant to find out the awareness of beneficiaries about different measures initiated for preventing the use of dry latrines, facilities made available for initiating

alternative occupations, and participation in rehabilitation programmes. Data on these aspects in relation to cities, towns and villages are shown in table 5.15

Table 5.15
Awareness of beneficiaries about rehabilitation programmes initiated for the liberated scavengers as per their habitat

S. No.	Programmes	City beneficiaries (N=236)	Town beneficiaries (N=236)	Village beneficiaries (N=82)	Total (N=554)	χ^2
1	Awareness about the rehabilitation programmes initiated for the of liberated scavengers					
(i)	Number aware about law prohibiting dry latrines/manual scavenging	148 (62.71)	142 (60.17)	47 (57.32)	337 (60.83)	0.82
(ii)	Number aware about Govt. efforts towards promotion of alternatives to dry latrines	143 (60.59)	140 (59.32)	46 (56.10)	329 (59.39)	0.51
(iii)	Number aware about dry latrines being converted into water sealed latrines.	146 (61.86)	138 (58.47)	46 (56.10)	330 (59.57)	1.04
(iv)	Number aware about availability of loan/grant facility for conversion of dry latrines into water-sealed latrines	65 (44.52)	59 (42.75)	24 (52.17)	148 (26.71)	0.71
2	Awareness about facilities for rehabilitation of liberated scavengers in alternative occupations					
(i)	Loans	108 (45.76)	63 (26.69)	25 (30.49)	196 (35.38)	19.77**
(ii)	Grants	50 (21.19)	49 (20.76)	22 (26.83)	121 (21.84)	1.42
(iii)	Allotment of plots	6 (2.54)	0 (0.00)	3 (3.66)	9 (1.62)	7.26*
(iv)	Shop/kiosk allotment	16 (6.78)	5 (2.12)	0 (0.00)	21 (3.79)	10.82**
(v)	Others	37 (15.68)	115 (48.73)	30 (36.59)	182 (32.85)	59.04**
3	Use of facilities incentive					
(i)	Loan and grants	35 (14.43)	5 (2.12)	3 (3.66)	43 (7.76)	28.90**
(ii)	Allotment of plot/ ship/ kiosk	1 (0.42)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.18)	0.35

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

As indicated earlier, several measures were initiated to prevent construction and use of dry latrines, promote alternatives to dry latrines including conversion of dry latrines into water sealed latrines, provision of loans and grants for construction of water sealed latrines as also for initiating alternative occupations, skill development, allotment of plots, shops or kiosks etc. Data revealed that about

three-fifth of the respondents were aware of the law prohibiting construction of dry latrines and manual scavenging of night soil and this holds good for beneficiaries from cities as well as towns and villages. More or less similar number of beneficiaries from cities, towns and villages were reportedly aware about measures that promote alternatives to dry latrines, effect conversion of dry latrines into water sealed latrines, and create awareness about provision of loans and grants for converting dry latrines into water sealed latrines. However, awareness about provision of loans and grants for the same was found relatively low; the lack of awareness was more among city and town dwellers than amongst villagers. However, the differences among the three groups in each of these respects were not found significant.

As regards facilities made available for rehabilitation of scavengers are concerned the awareness about them was also found relatively low. There exists a greater awareness regarding provision of loan among city dwellers when compared to village and town dwellers and the differences among three groups were found highly significant. But the awareness about grants was relatively higher among village beneficiaries than those from cities and towns. The facilities for allotment of plots, shops or kiosks are also offered under the programme. However, the awareness was found relatively very poor (5.41%). Among the compared groups, city dwellers were relatively more aware about the shops /kiosks. About one third of the beneficiaries were aware about "other" facilities as well (32.85%) about which more town dwellers and villagers than city dwellers were aware. The differences in all these respects were also noted to be significant. A question of availment of facilities by beneficiaries was also examined. Data showed that while facility of plot or shop or kiosk was availed by a loan beneficiary, loans and grants were also availed only by 7.76% of the beneficiaries, more by city dwellers than others. The differences among three groups in this respect were also found highly significant.

Liberation of Scavengers and Efficacy of Rehabilitation Programmes: The efficacy of the scheme of liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers has been questioned in different quarters and officials circles have publicity acknowledged the same. The need was also expressed to modify the strategy and approach and to remove the bottlenecks experienced in the way of its implementation. The scheme. Under the circumstances, it has become relevant to find out as to how the beneficiaries of the scheme themselves view its success or otherwise. The views of the beneficiaries were specifically obtained on the manner in which programme has proved helpful to the scavengers, the extent to which they feel satisfied with the way programme was implemented and the measures they think are likely to make it more effective. Data on these aspects are provided in table 5.16

Table 5.16
Perception of beneficiaries about effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes in improving socio-economic conditions of liberated scavengers as per their habitat

S. No.	Improvement	City beneficiaries (N=236)	Town beneficiaries (N=236)	Village beneficiaries (N=82)	Total (N=554)	x ²
1	Manner in which rehabilitation programmes viewed helpful					
(i)	Better salaried job	92 (38.98)	65 (27.54)	10 (12.20)	167 (30.14)	22.06**
(ii)	Increased salary/ income	88 (37.29)	110 (46.61)	48 (58.54)	246 (44.40)	11.94**
(iii)	Increased social status	27 (11.44)	11 (4.66)	2 (2.44)	40 (7.22)	11.38**
(iv)	Opportunity for self employment	50 (21.19)	45 (19.07)	14 (2.44)	109 (19.68)	0.75
(v)	Improved education of children's	144 (61.07)	107 (45.34)	34 (41.46)	285 (51.44)	15.45**
(vi)	Improved in health status	64 (27.12)	53 (22.46)	16 (19.51)	133 (24.01)	2.47
2	Extent of satisfaction with the rehabilitation programmes					
(i)	Highly satisfied	29 (12.29)	3 (1.27)	2 (2.44)	34 (6.14)	
(ii)	Moderately satisfied	157 (66.53)	184 (77.97)	61 (74.39)	402 (72.56)	27.82**
(iii)	Unsatisfied	50 (21.19)	49 (20.76)	19 (23.17)	118 (21.30)	
3	Views of beneficiaries about the way rehabilitation programmes for scavengers can be made more effective					
(i)	Increase in employment opportunities	133 (56.36)	137 (58.05)	44 (53.66)	314 (56.68)	0.50
(ii)	Increase in the number of alternative occupations	79 (33.47)	111 (47.03)	40 (48.78)	230 (41.52)	11.03**
(iii)	Setting up of counseling centers at training institutions / Panchayat samiti level for promoting alternative occupations.	60 (25.42)	43 (18.22)	14 (17.07)	117 (21.12)	4.62
(iv)	Increase in the amount of loan/grant	46 (19.49)	49 (20.76)	27 (32.93)	122 (22.02)	6.78*
(v)	Greater coverage by grants	64 (27.12)	56 (23.73)	16 (19.51)	136 (24.55)	2.05
(vi)	Adequate marketing outlets for sale of products.	41 (17.37)	11 (4.66)	7 (8.54)	59 (10.65)	20.49**

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

Development of skills required to initiate alternative occupation can ensure better job with good salary, and if combined with provision of facilities like loans and grants can open possibility of initiating self-employment ventures. The former possibility is expressed by 30.14% of the beneficiaries while only 19.68% visualised later possibility. The differences in the former case were found to be highly significant. The impact of rehabilitation programmes on improvement in income level is expected by 44.40% of the beneficiaries, more by village beneficiaries than by city and town dwellers and the differences were highly significant. A small proportion of beneficiaries expected improvement in their status in society as a result of participation in rehabilitation programmes. Such a view is held more by city dwellers than by beneficiaries from towns and villages. The differences between three groups were found highly significant. A far more number of beneficiaries from cities as compared to those from towns and village appreciated the impact of rehabilitation programmes on improving the education of children. The differences between three groups in this were found significant. The improvement in health status (24.01) was also mentioned as the likely impact of rehabilitation on scavengers. This was endorsed more by city dwellers than by their counterparts but the differences were not significant. Further, more of the city dwellers than their counterparts, feel highly satisfied with the rehabilitation programmes. Whereas more of the later groups feel moderately satisfied. Highly significant differences were noted among three groups in this respect.

When asked as to what changes or measures would make rehabilitation programmes more effective, six measures were suggested by the beneficiaries. Among these, increase in the employment opportunities was widely shared (56.68%) and this holds good for beneficiaries from all habitats. The employment opportunities presently available do not seem to absorb new entrants in the work force. Absorption of most of them calls for increased employment avenues. The limited options presently available did not help much in occupational mobility among scavengers most of whom continue to be associated with some sort of scavenging job. In this context, the measures suggested by beneficiaries acquire importance. Next in importance was the suggestion regarding increase in the number of alternative occupations. This is felt more by village and town beneficiaries than by city dwellers. The differences were found to be highly significant.

A considerable proportion of beneficiaries, more or less equally from cities, towns and villages, pointed towards a) setting up of counselling centers at each training institute or panchayat samiti, b) increase in the amount of loans/grants, and c) greater coverage of scavengers by grants. The differences among compared groups with respect to suggestion regarding increased amount of loans/grants were found significant. Provision of adequate marketing outlets for the products of scavengers unit was favoured by small number of beneficiaries, more by city dwellers than others. The differences among them were found to be highly significant.

BENEFICIARIES FROM *HARIJAN BASTIES* AND MIXED POPULATION AREAS

As earlier indicated, over one-tenth of the beneficiaries are residents of mixed population areas having multi-caste population. Thus, these respondents are in some way integrated into the general population and do not suffer from the consequences arising from their seclusion from the society. One of the main purpose of the scheme of liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers was to eliminate not only manual scavenging but also to remove their segregation from the larger society. This being the case, beneficiaries residing in mixed population areas may be treated as liberated and rehabilitated. It was, therefore, considered relevant to examine the relevance of residence for the liberation and rehabilitation of the scavengers.

Involvement in scavengers work : Data indicated similarities among the two groups with respect to several attributes like age, gender, marital status, family size, and main family occupation (chapter 3). However, beneficiaries from mixed population areas, more than those from *harijan basties*, are literate/educated and members of joint family. As expected, more of *harijan basties* than from general areas are working as scavengers and the difference was found highly significant. But more of the general population areas than those from *harijan basties* are working full time basis and on fixed wages. Overwhelmingly, beneficiaries from both the groups endorsed involvement of family members in scavenging work. Regarding nature of scavenging work they are required to performed, over two-third of both the groups perform cleaning of latrines but in case of disposal of house/cattle wealth, more beneficiaries from the *harijan basties* than those from general areas are involved and the two groups differed significantly (Table 5.17).

Table 5.17
Involvement beneficiaries in scavenging work as per their residence

S. No.	Involvement in scavenging work	Harijan Basties (N=494)	Other areas (N=60)	Total (N=554)	χ^2
1	Involvement of respondents in scavenging work				
(i)	Number working as scavengers	444 (89.88)	47 (78.33)	491 (88.63)	7.08**
(ii)	Number working on fulltime basis	389 (87.61)	43 (91.49)	432 (87.98)	0.60
(ii)	Number engaged on fixed wages	378 (85.14)	44 (93.62)	422 (85.95)	2.53
2	Involvement of family members in scavenging work ***				
(i)	Number endorsed involvement of up to 2 members	229 (85.45)	14 (82.35)	243 (85.26)	0.12
(ii)	Number endorsed involvement of over 2 members	39 (14.55)	3 (17.65)	42 (14.74)	
		268 (54.25)	17 (28.33)	285 (51.44)	

S. No.	Involvement in scavenging work	Harijan Basties (N=494)	Other areas (N=60)	Total (N=554)	χ^2
3	Nature of scavenging work performed by respondents ****				
(i)	Disposal of house/cattle waste	97 (21.85)	4 (8.51)	101 (20.57)	4.63*
(ii)	Cleaning of latrines	308 (69.37)	32 (68.09)	340 (69.25)	0.03
(iii)	Cleaning of drains	212 (47.75)	21 (44.68)	233 (47.45)	0.16
(iv)	Sweeping of roads	179 (40.32)	17 (36.17)	196 (39.92)	0.30
(v)	Cleaning of septic tanks	16 (3.60)	2 (4.26)	18 (3.67)	0.05

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

*** Percentage are calculate out of those whose family members are also involved in scavenging work

****Percentage are calculated out of those who are involved in scavenging work

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

With regard to the mode of removal and disposal of waste, both the groups in majority are making use of bamboo basket and open space for the disposal. Trolley is also used by a considerable proportions (44.60%) and is use made more by beneficiaries of *harijan basties* than they their counterparts (Table 5.18). In response to the question about age, sex and educational groups involved in scavenging work.

Table 5.18
Mode of removal/disposal of waste used by beneficiaries as per their residence

S. No.	Waste removal/disposal	Harijan Basties (N=494)	Other areas (N=60)	Total (N=554)
1	Carrying equipments used			
(i)	Bamboo basket	246 (55.41)	30 (63.83)	276 (49.82)
(ii)	Iron bucket without lid	42 (9.46)	3 (6.38)	45 (8.12)
(iii)	Iron bucket with lid	116 (26.13)	17 (36.17)	133 (24.01)
(iv)	Trolleys	200 (45.05)	19 (40.43)	219 (39.53)
2	Place of throwing house waste			
(i)	Open space	326 (73.42)	41 (87.23)	367 (66.25)
(ii)	In a pit	83 (18.69)	10 (21.28)	93 (16.79)
(iii)	In a drum	76 (17.12)	10 (21.28)	86 (15.52)

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

In response to the question about age, sex and educational groups involved in scavenging work the majority of both the groups noted almost equal involvement of males and females, almost total involvement of middle-aged respondents and about two-third involvement of illiterates (Table 5.19).

Table 5.19
Views of beneficiaries about age , sex and education of persons
involved in scavenging work as per their residence

S. No.	Category	Harijan Basties (N=494)	Other areas (N=60)	Total (N=554)
1	Gender			
(i)	More males	56 (11.34)	6 (10.00)	62 (11.19)
(ii)	More females	150 (30.36)	17 (28.33)	167 (30.14)
(iii)	Almost equally	288 (58.30)	37 (61.67)	325 (58.66)
2	Age group			
(i)	Young	7 (1.42)	0 (0.00)	7 (1.26)
(ii)	Middle aged	483 (97.77)	60 (100.00)	543 (98.01)
(iii)	Elderly	4 (0.81)	0 (0.00)	4 (0.72)
3	Education			
(i)	Illiterates	322 (65.18)	42 (70.00)	364 (65.70)
(ii)	Literates	167 (33.81)	18 (30.00)	185 (33.39)
(iii)	Sr./Hr. Sec. & above	4 (0.81)	0 (0.00)	4 (0.72)

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

When probed into the perceptions about scavenging work, overwhelmingly, beneficiaries from both the groups consider scavenging work neither insulting nor damaging to their social status, nor keen to discontinue it. A small proportion for them who are keen to discontinue scavenging work are asked whether they possess requisite skills to take up alternative occupation or have obtained any training to acquire the same. The responses revealed that a vast majority of such beneficiaries from both the groups and more so from *harijan basties* possess needed skills and obtained relevant training. However, no significant difference between the two group in the above respects were observed (Table 5.20).

Table 5.20
Perception of beneficiaries about scavenging work & alternative occupations as per their residence

S. No.	Perception	Harijan Bastis (N=494)	Other areas (N=60)	Total (N=554)	x ²
1	Perception about scavenging work				
(i)	Number finding scavenging work insulting	138 (27.94)	15 (25.00)	153 (27.62)	0.23
(ii)	Number viewed scavenging work downgrading social status	120 (24.29)	15 (25.00)	135 (24.37)	0.01
(iii)	Number find family opposed to scavenging work	81 (16.40)	8 (13.33)	89 (16.06)	0.37
(iv)	Number desirous to discontinue scavenging work	66 (14.86)	5 (10.64)	71 (14.46)	0.61
2	Views about taking up alternative occupation ***				
(i)	Number possessing requisite skill in alternative occupation	47 (71.21)	3 (60.00)	50 (70.42)	0.28
(ii)	Number obtained training in alternative occupation	38 (57.58)	2 (40.00)	40 (56.34)	0.58
(iii)	Number desirous to obtain further training in alternative occupation	9 (13.64)	1 (20.00)	10 (14.08)	0.16

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

***Percentage are calculated out of those who wish to discontinue scavenging work

Facilities for training in alternative occupations :

While over one-fifth of the beneficiaries are aware about the availability of training facilities for scavengers in alternative occupations, about two-third hold training helpful in liberating scavengers from unclean occupation and slightly less number view the training arrangements adequate. This holds good for beneficiaries from both, *harijan basties* as well as general population areas (Table 5.21).

Table 5.21
Views of beneficiaries about availability and utility of training in alternative occupations as per their residence

S. No.	Description	Harijan Bastis (N=494)	Other areas (N=60)	Total (N=554)	x ²
1	Number aware about existing training facilities in alternative occupation				
(i)	Number endorsed availability of training facility in alternative occupation	119 (24.09)	8 (13.33)	127 (22.92)	3.50
(ii)	Number perceived training helpful in liberating scavengers from unclean occupation	329 (66.60)	40 (66.67)	369 (66.61)	0.00
(iii)	Number perceived present training facilities adequate to liberate scavengers form unclean occupation	288 (58.30)	36 (60.00)	324 (58.48)	0.06

S. No.	Description	Harijan Bastis (N=494)	Other areas (N=60)	Total (N=554)	χ^2
2	Manner in which training is viewed helpful				
(i)	Good salaried job	153 (30.97)	19 (31.67)	172 (31.05)	0.01
(ii)	Increase in salary/ income	111 (22.47)	21 (35.00)	132 (23.83)	4.63*
(iii)	Increase in social status	50 (10.12)	5 (8.33)	55 (9.93)	0.19
(iv)	Possibility of self employment	160 (32.39)	20 (33.33)	180 (32.49)	0.02
3	Manner in which training in alternative occupations can be made more effective				
(i)	Increase in the number of short duration training courses	160 (32.39)	16 (26.67)	176 (31.77)	0.81
(ii)	Increase in the number of scavengers in training	120 (24.29)	16 (26.67)	136 (24.55)	0.16
(iii)	Increased number of trades for training	116 (23.48)	13 (21.67)	129 (23.29)	0.10
(iv)	Provide scholarship for all trainings	146 (29.55)	15 (25.00)	161 (29.06)	0.54
(v)	Provision of boarding & lodging on subsidised rates	131 (26.52)	13 (21.67)	144 (25.99)	0.65

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

* Significant at .05 level

In responses to a related question as to how training can prove helpful in liberating and rehabilitating scavengers, about one-third from both the groups find its uses in initiating self-employment venture as also in and getting good salaried job. However, more beneficiaries from general population areas than those from *harijan basties* view training helpful in increasing income and the difference between them was found significant. Both groups did not find training of much help in raising their status in society.

How can the training in alternative occupations be made more effective? The responses showed more or less similar views held by both the groups of beneficiaries. Over one-fifth to one-fourth of the beneficiaries from both the groups suggested increase in the number of short duration training courses, facilities of scholarship to the scavengers in all training courses, increase in the seats for scavengers in such courses, provision of boarding and lodging arrangements on subsidised rates and increase in the number of trades for training. No significant differences between two groups in the above respects were, however, noted.

Liberation and Rehabilitation Programmes :

It is encouraging to observe relatively high level of awareness among beneficiaries about the programmes of liberation of scavengers from manual scavenging. This is evident from about three-fifth of them being aware of the law prohibiting construction of dry latrines and employment of manual scavengers and programmes of promotion of construction of water- sealed latrines as also conversion of dry latrines into flush latrines. However, more beneficiaries from general population areas than from *harijan basties* area aware of the facility of loans/grants being made available for conversion/construction of water sealed latrines and the difference among the two groups in this respect was found to be highly significant (table 5.22).

Table 5.22
Awareness of beneficiaries about rehabilitation programmes initiated for the liberated scavengers as per their residence

S. No.	Programmes	Harijan Basties (N=494)	Other areas (N=60)	Total (N=554)	χ^2
1	Awareness about the rehabilitation programmes initiated for the of liberated scavengers				
(i)	Number aware about law prohibiting dry latrines/manual scavenging	301 (60.93)	36 (60.00)	337 (60.83)	0.02
(ii)	Number aware about Govt. efforts towards promotion of alternatives to dry latrines	293 (59.31)	36 (60.00)	329 (59.39)	0.01
(iii)	Number aware about dry latrines being converted into water sealed latrines.	293 (59.31)	37 (61.67)	330 (59.57)	0.12
(iv)	Number aware about availability of loan/grant facility for conversion of dry latrines into water-sealed latrines	122 (41.64)	26 (70.27)	148 (26.71)	9.49**
2	Awareness about facilities for rehabilitation of liberated scavengers in alternative occupations				
(i)	Loans	170 (34.41)	26 (43.33)	196 (35.38)	1.86
(ii)	Grants	102 (20.65)	19 (31.67)	121 (21.84)	3.81
(iii)	Allotment of plots	5 (1.01)	4 (6.67)	9 (1.62)	10.70**
(iv)	Shop/kiosk allotment	19 (3.85)	2 (3.33)	21 (3.79)	0.04
(v)	Others	175 (35.43)	7 (11.67)	182 (32.85)	13.69**
3	Use of facilities incentive (loans and grants)	37 (7.49)	6 (10.00)	43 (7.76)	0.04

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

** Significant at .01 level

The awareness of the beneficiaries about facilities available for rehabilitation of liberated scavengers in alternative occupations was also assessed. Data in table 5.22, showed that whereas over one-fifth of the beneficiaries are aware about the availability of grants, over one third was found aware about loans. But the differences between them are not significant. Further, while over one-third of the beneficiaries from *harijan basties* are aware about various facilities grouped under "others", only about one-tenth of those from general population areas reported so. A very small proportion of both these groups also reported about the provision of plots, shops or kiosks for promoting self-employment. In both the cases, differences between the two groups are found highly significant.

The two groups were compared also with respect to their views about the likely impact of rehabilitation programmes and ways these can be made more effective. Data in table.5.23.revealed greater role of rehabilitation programme being felt in improving educational level (51.44%) followed by raising of income level of the scavengers(44.40%) and ensuring better salaried job(30.14%) Improvement in health status is also viewed as an important consequence of rehabilitation programme by a little less than one fourth of the beneficiaries. The differences among two groups was noted to be significant. Increase in the opportunities for self-employment is subscribed by a little less than one-fifth of the beneficiaries and this holds good for both the groups under comparison. Overwhelmingly, both groups also feel 'moderately' satisfied with the impact of rehabilitation programme.

Table 5.23
Perception of beneficiaries about effeteness of rehabilitation programmes in improving socio-economic conditions of liberated scavengers as per their residence

S. No.	Improvement	Harijan Basties (N=494)	Other areas (N=60)	Total (N=554)	χ^2
1	Manner in which rehabilitation programmes viewed helpful				
(i)	Better salaried job	151 (30.57)	16 (26.67)	167 (30.14)	0.39
(ii)	Increased salary/ income	217 (43.93)	29 (48.33)	246 (44.40)	0.42
(iii)	Increased social status	35 (7.09)	5 (8.33)	40 (7.22)	0.12
(iv)	Opportunity for self employment	98 (19.84)	11 (18.33)	109 (19.68)	0.08
(v)	Improved education of children	249 (50.40)	36 (60.00)	285 (51.44)	1.97
(vi)	improvement of health status	109 (22.06)	24 (40.00)	133 (24.01)	9.43**

S. No.	Improvement	Harijan Basties (N=494)	Other areas (N=60)	Total (N=554)	χ^2
2	Extent of satisfaction with the rehabilitation programmes				
(i)	Highly satisfied	30 (6.07)	4 (6.67)	34 (6.14)	3.73
(ii)	Moderately satisfied	353 (71.46)	49 (81.67)	402 (72.56)	
(iii)	Unsatisfied	111 (22.47)	7 (11.67)	118 (21.30)	
3	Views of beneficiaries about the way rehabilitation programmes for scavengers can be made more effective				
(i)	Increase in employment opportunities	277 (56.07)	37 (61.67)	314 (56.68)	0.68
(ii)	Increase in the number of alternative occupations	205 (41.50)	25 (41.67)	230 (41.52)	0.00
(iii)	Setting up of counseling centers at training institutions / Panchayat samiti level for promoting alternative occupations.	104 (21.05)	13 (21.67)	117 (21.12)	0.01
(iv)	Increase in the amount of loan/grant	102 (20.65)	20 (33.33)	122 (22.02)	5.01*
(v)	Greater coverage by grants	128 (25.91)	8 (13.33)	136 (24.55)	4.57*
(vi)	Adequate marketing outlets for sale of products.	52 (10.53)	7 (11.67)	59 (10.65)	0.07

(The figures in brackets denote percentage)

* Significant at .05 level

When probed into the way these programmes can be made more effective, a vast majority suggested increase in the employment opportunities to absorb new comers joining the labour force. The expansion of the scope of alternative occupations was also suggested by over two-fifth of the respondents and holds good for both the groups. Over one-fifth of the beneficiaries from both the groups also recommended the setting up of counseling centres at the vocational training institutes or panchayat samiti level and increase in the amount of loans and grants as also in greater coverage of scavengers by grants was favoured more by beneficiaries from *harijan basties* than their counterparts. The two groups differed significantly with respect to their suggestion about increase in the amount of loans/grants as also about greater coverage of beneficiaries by grants.

OBSERVATIONS OF LIBERATED & UNLIBERATED SCAVENGERS

In addition to the survey of scavengers, both beneficiaries as well as non-beneficiaries, cases of liberated and unliberated scavengers were also studied in

depth. For this purpose, three cases of scavengers employed in Sulabh Shauchayalay and equal number of cases engaged in manual handling of night soil were taken up. Pathak (1991) asserts that scavengers serving in sulabh shauchayalays are in fact liberated scavengers as they do not manually handle night soil whereas those still engaged in manual cleaning of latrines are unliberated. The comparison between the two provided us a better understanding of the dynamics of continuation and discontinuation of scavenging jobs.

liberated

Socioeconomic Profile: It is interesting to note that while all the three unliberated scavengers are residents of *harijan basties*, liberated ones are living in general, non-basti areas. Age-wise composition showed all unliberated scavengers of middle-aged while only two liberated ones belonged to this category. Their caste affiliation suggests that while all the unliberated scavengers were *harijans*, only one of the liberated scavengers was harijan, the other two being *Yadav* and *Chamar* by caste. Educationally also, all liberated scavengers were literate whereas two of the unliberated ones were illiterate. With regard to family attributes, the two groups did not differ much. All the members of both the groups were married and two from each belonged to nuclear families. However, two of the liberated scavengers belonged to relatively smaller size families with membership upto 4, while two of the three unliberated scavengers belonged to moderate sized families (5-8 members). Occupation-wise also, the two groups differed from each other. While all the three liberated scavengers are engaged in salaried job, only one of the unliberated ones is doing so, the other two performing labour jobs. More or less similar differences are noted with respect to main family occupation also.

Involvement in Scavenging Work: While all the unliberated scavengers are engaged in scavenging work, only two of the liberated ones are doing so. The scavenging work is a whole time work for liberated scavengers but this is so only for one from unliberated ones. Further, while all liberated scavengers were registered, none of three of unliberated ones. Likewise, family members from all the unliberated scavengers are also involved in scavenging work but this holds good only for one from liberated ones. Besides, all the liberated scavengers are employed on fixed salary which ranged between Rs. 1200 to 2100 per months but none from unliberated scavengers was so employed. This being the case, all liberated scavengers receive rewards in cash whereas it is both, cash as well as kind, in case of unliberated scavengers.

The two groups differed also in terms of nature of work they perform. While all the three unliberated scavengers were involved in manual removal of night soil, all the liberated ones either clean flush latrines or pursue other occupations. The use of buckets, with or without lid, for removal of waste is common. The mechanical cleaning of septic tank is being done by only one respondents and that too from the liberated group. More of each group use drums for dumping

collected waste and open space as well as pit are also uses by one person each groups.

Social aspects: The liberated and unliberated scavengers do not differ much with respect to social aspects of scavenging work. They endorsed involvement of both males as well as female in scavenging work. While all unliberated scavengers find middle aged doing scavenging work, only 2 out of 3 liberated ones feel so. Likewise, more of the unliberated scavengers find illiterates doing the scavenging work, more of liberated ones reported involvement of literates.

Though most from both the groups endorsed having been addressed to by the terms *harijans*, other terms such as *safai karmachari* and *bhangi* are also being used to address them. The scavenging work is viewed as insulting as also damaging to their social status by most of the unliberated scavengers but most liberated ones did not subscribe to this view which may be due to their liberation from manual scavenging. Likewise, none of the liberated scavengers is opposed to continuation of scavenging work but most of the unliberated ones favoured its discontinuation. Further, most unliberated scavengers find continuation of scavenging work as a cause of family tension, most liberated ones do not endorse this view.

Training in alternative occupations: The liberated and liberated scavengers differed also in their awareness about schemes of training and rehabilitation as also availment of benefits from them. More of unliberated than liberated scavengers are keen to discontinue scavenging work and take up alternative occupation, but with one exception most from both groups did not have requisite skills to do so. This observation holds good also for acquisition of skills through training. Surprisingly, while all the liberated scavengers are not keen to acquire training in alternative occupations most unliberated ones expressed their desire to do so.

The responses of both liberated and unliberated scavengers reflect inadequacy of the training arrangements made by the government to develop requisite skills in alternative occupations. Same holds true of awareness about provision of scholarships during training. Further, both the groups hold that the arrangements for training in alternative occupations alone will not be of much help in liberating scavengers from scavenging work.

Liberation and Rehabilitation: The two groups under reference hold more or less similar views about schemes of rehabilitation of scavengers in alternative occupations. Most from both groups are aware about the law against construction of dry latrines and the manual removal of night soil. However, while most liberated scavengers were aware about the programme of conversion of dry latrines into flush latrines, most unliberated did not have any knowledge about it. As regards support government has been extending for doing so, most from both

groups expressed ignorance but one from each group found aware about the provision of loans for this purpose.

The main focus of the scheme is on eliminating manual scavenging of night soil and adoption of alternative occupations. In order to do so, several measures and incentives were introduced which included, besides others, provision of loans and grants, training in alternative occupations and allotment of plots, shops or kiosks. In this connections, liberated scavengers were found better informed about these measures: all of them cited facilities of loans, training and allotment of shops and except one, provision of grant was also mentioned. All the unliberated scavengers also mentioned provision of loans and shops but that for training and salaried jobs was mentioned by two and one respondents respectively. Whether the two groups considered the provisions adequate? Interestingly, most of the liberated as well as unliberated ones considered the provisions of loans and grants adequate but that for training and allotment of shops/kiosks inadequate.

The improvement in the socioeconomic conditions made by two groups were also assessed. The responses showed greater gains made by liberated scavengers as compared to unliberated ones: the former are relatively better paid and more of them pursue salaried job. The two groups were asked about the facilities made available under the scheme and resulting improvement? Again, liberated scavengers have better appreciation of the impact of the scheme as compared to that of unliberated ones: all the former reported increased income, educational advancement, status improvement, and cited better service, health improvement and self-employment opportunities as its consequences. In contrast, most unliberated scavengers cited among its impact increased income/ wages and self-employment opportunities. The two groups differed also with respect to their satisfaction about government efforts towards rehabilitation of scavengers in alternative occupations. While all the unliberated scavengers expressed total dissatisfaction, most liberated ones found the government efforts somewhat satisfactory.

Suggestive measures: The views of liberated and unliberated scavengers were obtained also about the way in which scheme of rehabilitation can be made more effective. While there was an agreement on some points, the two groups differed with respect to others. All the scavengers from both groups favoured increased employment opportunities; a majority of both endorsed increase in the amount of loans and grants necessary for starting an enterprise. The two groups, however, differed with respect to other measures. The liberated scavengers in majority listed such measures as training in more number of alternative occupations, setting up of a counseling center at training institution or *panchayat samiti* level and increase in the amount of loan/ grants offered by government for taking up alternative occupation. In contrast, majority of the unliberated scavengers suggested grant of scholarship in all types of training courses, and grant to be offered to larger number of scavengers for self employment activities .The above

account further reinforced the earlier observations regarding the positive contribution made by the scheme of liberation and rehabilitation on scavenging population.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF SCAVENGERS : EXPERIENCE OF NAI DISHA

As is evident from a note on state position on training of scavengers of at annexure 6 and chapter 4 containing details of state intervention in training, organization of training of scavengers is the weakest point of implementation of the National Scheme of Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers and Their Dependents in the state of Rajasthan .A virtual absence of the information on the subject with all the concerned state departments or non supply thereof offered justification to base our study on the responses of the scavengers as also of Nai Disha, a vocational training centre set up at Alwar by Sulabh International Social Service Organization. The responses of the beneficiaries have been analysed in the preceding section. This section discusses experiences of Nai Disha and observation of the faculty and organisers.

The center was established in the year 2003 with a purpose to provide vocational training to the members of scavenging community to enable them to start self-employment enterprise. Presently, the center is organising vocational course in seven vocations, namely, Adult Education, Beauty Care, Food Preservation, Sewing, Knitting, Mehendi and Candle Making. The participants are admitted from all over the state depending upon their interest. Presently two batches of scavengers are undergoing training with 28 and 24 participants. The composition of the participants suggests that where as first batch is dominated by middle and old age participants, those of the second batch are relatively younger in age. The response of the staff revealed that courses having greater demand are: Food Preservation, Sewing and Candle Making. The duration of the courses varies from 1 to 3 years but the interest is shown in both types of courses. The problem of non-utilisation of seats is not experienced by the center till now. Almost all seats are reportedly utilised by the interested scavengers. Besides, scavengers evinced greater interest than generally witnessed by other member the communities. The trainers do not subscribe the view that the participants placed lowest in caste hierarchy are relatively incapable as compared to the members of higher castes communities. It is asserted that participants undergoing training are equally capable to acquire new skills.

When probed into the factors that encouraged scavengers to join vocational training programmes, five factors are considered important: a) keenness to liberate from unclean occupation, b) desire to initiate self-employment venture, c) hope of getting salaried job or wage employment, d) possibility of improvement in income and living standard, and e) enhancement in social status in the community.

The scholarship of Rs. 1500 per month is offered to each participant undergoing vocational training at the center which is now raised Rs 1800; it is considered quite adequate and satisfactory and also disbursed in time. The opinion of training staff was obtained also about medium of training and facilities available. It is revealed that training is imparted in local language, which is considered easily understandable. The facilities available for training are also viewed adequate. When asked what new subjects should be introduced which will prove relevant and useful to the scavengers, a couple of subjects were listed including soft toys making, bags making, and knitting of sweaters/pullovers.

How far the training offered is considered useful for initiating self-employment enterprise and getting wage employment? The responses revealed usefulness of vocational training for starting self-employment venture and is considered somewhat adequate also for entering into salaried job. The scavengers who were earlier trained in different vocations are engaged in self-employment activities. Over half of the trained scavengers are rehabilitated in alternative occupations. The trained scavengers seek consultations from vocational training center occupationally as and when faced with the problem in running the enterprise. The problems that trained scavenger's experienced in initiating self-employment venture are: lack of confidence, fear of taking risk, and lack of resources.

When asked to suggest measures for liberation of scavengers from unclean occupation and their rehabilitation in alternative occupations, four measures were considered important: a) setting up counselling center at different places, b) process of obtaining grants and loans be made simple, c) acquisition of education of girls be made compulsory, and d) more vocational centers be opened for wider coverage of scavengers and ensuring employment in alternative occupations.

Regarding the contribution of Nai Disha in the liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers, Sulabh observes:

"The centre was setup as a model with a view to give a new direction to the crucial issue of training and rehabilitation of liberated women scavengers and making the programme rich in content. The center has been established with the active corporative and support of women belonging to scavenging community in the vicinity. The idea of starting a vocational center is to take women scavengers out of their unclean occupation and bring them into the mainstream of the society."

Alwar is situated at a distance of 170 kms. from Delhi. Its proximity to the national capital accentuates the irony of the fact that this district headquarter has a colony where manual scavenging is in practice even today. This is a reality of life that a majority of the inhabitants of this colony known as *Hazuri Gate* wake up early in the morning to perform a caste based hereditary profession, which is handed down as a legacy from one generation to the next. Manual scavenging has been as age-old routine for this community which is untouched by technological advancement in sanitary ware. Not only does the prevalence of this culture seem

antediluvian, what is worse is the fact that those borne in this community are considered agents of pollution by virtue of their birth alone. Nai Disha was formed with the objective of breaking this chain. It is realized that in order to have a major change, a shift in their day-to day living is required that exercises the painful memories of their yester years. In other words, an alternative was needed to their only source of living. The centre aims at changing the course of life of these women who worked as manual scavengers for a greater part of their life. The skills they are learning today will take them miles away from this hereditary occupation. The module, at present is divided into various segments: food processing, cutting & tailoring, embroidery, beauty care and adult education is made mandatory. But training in the absence of an alternative to their only source of livelihood was not a feasible idea. So keeping in mind the money aspect, **Nai Disha** also offers them a monthly stipend.

A decision regarding selection of courses is taken up by scavengers themselves. They are paid a monthly stipend so that they do not revert to their old profession of scavenging. These women have not only learnt to interact with bank officials and sign cheques but also successfully marketed their products. The end goal is to make them economically independent, as this is the only way to eliminate the evil of scavenging from their very roots. The women who have undergone the training at the centre have acquired self-confidence. The vocational training centre at Alwar is a unique case of women empowerment.

Based on the experience gained in training women scavengers and particularly at Nai Disha at Alwar, it is opined that the duration of training should be longer so that they get a detailed knowledge, both theoretical and practical side of trade and can compete in the open market. It is felt that the period of six months or even one year in certain cases is not adequate for good training. The training should be followed by one-year period of rehabilitation so that they get sufficient time for their actual rehabilitation. Those trained can be put in two categories: In the first category are those having leadership qualities and initiative who can setup their own business with the help of subsidy and loan available from the government. They will manufacture products and also make arrangements for their marketing. In the second category are those who do not have requisite leadership quality who can be brought under cooperative society for trading or business by providing all the facilities and assistance.

Transforming the soul of group of individuals was not an easy tasks. Initially, these women were not only least bothered about personal hygiene but their use of language too was far from polite, especially among themselves. But mentors at the centre have instilled in them a sense of worth to lead the rest of their life with dignity. Nai Disha has taught them how to carve out a niche for themselves on the unshakable world of this world and rewrite their destiny. Now these trained women have organised themselves into self- help groups and avail credit facilities from banks so that they can market their products effectively and sustain their life.

SUMMARY :

Scavenging work remains a main source of income for over one-third of the beneficiary households and 9 out of every 10 respondents are also involved in it. A vast majority of the respondents is involved in cleaning of latrines followed by cleaning of sewers/ drains and sweeping of roads. Occupational diversification that took place was not marked. Cleaning of latrines was positively influenced by institutional affiliation and negatively by city residence. Among the carrying equipment, bamboo basket continues to be widely used and scavengers overwhelmingly dump the waste in the open. Scavenging work is performed predominately by middle aged and illiterates. As compared to males, more females are reportedly involved in the task. Overwhelmingly, beneficiaries view scavenging work neither insulting nor damaging to their social status and a very few feel inclined to discontinue it. Over three-fourth of the beneficiaries earn over Rs 2500 per month out of which over one-fifth earn over Rs 5000 a month. Of those who wish to discontinue scavenging, about three-fourth possess skills needed to take up alternative occupation and majority acquired required training as well. A little less than one-fourth are aware about the provision of training in alternative occupations, and about one-third consider training helpful in self-employment and getting good salaried job. About three-fifth of the respondents are aware about the law prohibiting dry latrines and manual scavenging. While over two-fifth of the respondents are aware about loans and grants for of promotion of water-sealed latrines, over one-third was aware about loans and grants for taking up alternative dignified occupations. However, only 7.76% of the beneficiaries have availed the same. The rehabilitation programme is perceived beneficial more in improving education of children than in enhancing income. It was viewed more helpful in getting better job than in initiating self-employment. Overwhelmingly, respondents feel moderately satisfied with the rehabilitation programme and majority favoured increase in employment opportunities for making it effective. The institutional affiliation has significantly influenced 30% of the components of participation in programmes of liberation and rehabilitation. Urban residence was found significantly associated with 42% of the components of scavengers' participation in liberation and rehabilitation programmes. Elimination of segregation of scavengers in harijan basties has significantly affected only 12% of the fifty components of liberation and rehabilitations.

CHAPTER 6

LIBERATION AND REHABILITATION OF SCAVENGERS: VIEWS OF NON-BENEFICIARIES, OFFICIALS & OFFICE HOLDERS

As discussed earlier, several programmes were initiated to liberate scavengers from unclean occupation of lifting night soil and to rehabilitate them in alternative occupations. These programmes are broadly of two types: (a) group oriented programmes, and (b) individual beneficiary programmes. Prohibition of construction of dry latrines and conversion of dry latrines into water borne flush latrines and scheme of pre-matric scholarship to the children of scavengers fall under group oriented programmes. These tended to benefit all the scavengers, irrespective of the fact whether they are liberated or unliberated. Thus, the term "beneficiary" in the present context is used in a restricted sense and included those who participated in the individual beneficiary programmes include mainly availment of training facility in alternative occupations, loans and grants made available for initiating self-employment venture, provision of plot, shop, or kiosk, wage employment in municipal offices, government departments, public undertakings, hospitals, educational institutions etc. Conversely, the term non-beneficiaries is used here to denote those respondents who did not avail or participate in any such individual beneficiary oriented programmes. From this standpoint, those may include both, liberated as well as unliberated scavengers.

This chapter discusses the views held by non-beneficiaries about the scheme and its impact as also about the status of scavengers and scavenging in the changed context.

In addition, the study covered departmental officials associated directly or indirectly with the implementation of the scheme of liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers as also office bearers of scavengers' organisations looking after the welfare of the scavenging community. The perceptions of these about the status of scavengers and scavenging and the impact of the scheme on the liberation and rehabilitation of scavenging population are also discussed here.

NON- BENEFICIARIES

As indicated earlier, the sample included 138 non-beneficiary respondents—52 from cities, 59 from towns and 27 from villages. With a few exceptions, all are concentrated in *harijan basties* and engaged mainly in scavenging work and wage employment. When probed into the nature of vocations pursued by non-beneficiary respondents, a large number, of occupations are mentioned as source of earning livelihood. Most important and widely practiced among them was is this scavenging work (52.90%). Trading including salesmanship, finance work, shop keeping and contract job follows this. While farming and allied activities including piggery provide source of living to 5.79% of the non-beneficiaries, artisan work involving tailoring, bamboo basket making, and painting/artwork provide source of living to only 3.62% of the non-beneficiaries; their involvement in teaching and training and other salaried jobs was found to be only 5.06% (4). The technical jobs of motor driver and cable operator are performed by 2.17% of the respondents. Quite a considerable proportion of the non-beneficiaries (15.22%) are found pursuing studies while doing regular work. A lone respondent earns his living by singing. From these details, it becomes evident that non-beneficiaries are compelled to struggle hard to ensure their survival and in the process they engage themselves in variety of miscellaneous jobs.

Status of Scavenging and Scavengers : In cities and towns, where member of dry latrines are getting fewer and fewer, concern for survival compelled non-beneficiaries to take up alternative occupations. While many of these occupations are associated with scavenging performed in families as well as in formal institutions, some have entered in service in open competition; still others took up labour jobs, both skilled as well as unskilled. Data in table 3.5 (8) already indicated that the non-beneficiaries are engaged mainly in scavenging work, which is the main source of livelihood of large proportion of households (44.93%) with service and labour occupying second and third place.

Traditionally, the scavengers were offering their services to families attached with them. The continuation of the practice earns them a supplementary source of income received in both, cash as well as kind. This is sometimes attributed as an important reason for continuation of manual scavenging. When asked about the number of households being served by the scavengers; of 58 non-beneficiaries who responded, 37.93% reportedly serving on an average 16 or more households each. More or less equal percentage were serving up to 10 households each. The task is performed generally by one or more members of the family. While main bread earner attends to his job, women and young children offers their service to the designated families

It was also inquired as to how much return non-beneficiaries receive in lieu of the services they offer. Responses revealed that about one-third of the non-beneficiaries receive rewards, in cash as well as in kind, to the tune of rupees up to 1000 per month and another little over half of them reportedly rewarded in the range of Rs. 1001 to 2000; the remaining respondents mentioned an earning of over Rs. 2000 a month. Evidently, it is difficult to ignore an assured source of income in absence of an alternative occupation.

Habitat-wise distribution suggests that scavenging as well as service as main family occupations are pursued in far higher number in cities than in other habitats. A comparison showed that scavenging work as a main source of earning is pursued in far more number by non-beneficiaries than by beneficiaries. (34.48%) (Table 3.3)

The information obtained from the respondents also revealed (Table 6.1) that a majority of them (52.90%) are engaged in scavenging work. In contrast, 88.63% beneficiaries were working as scavengers (Chapter 5). This suggests that while non-beneficiaries are compelled to pursue scavenging work in absence of any alternative avenues for earning livelihood, beneficiaries perform this work as part of their official duty to earn their living from service (81.95%).

The habitat-wise distribution suggests that more respondents in village setting are working as scavengers than that in cities and towns. It appears to be due to absence of alternative occupations in villages than in cities and towns. It is interesting to note that overwhelmingly respondents who perform scavenging work are doing so as a part time activity (83.56%) understandably to supplement their meager income. In other words, only 16.44% of the respondents perform scavenging work as a full time activity. This is quite in contrast to the beneficiaries who were overwhelmingly pursuing scavenging work as a full time activity.

The information was also gathered about nature of scavenging work being performed by non-beneficiaries. The responses analysed in table 6.1 revealed that majority is engaged in cleaning of latrines (76.71%). A slightly lower proportion of beneficiaries (68.82%) were also doing so. In addition, about one-third to one-fourth of the non-beneficiaries were found involved in cleaning of drains, disposal of house and cattle waste, sweeping of roads and cleaning of septic tanks. The habitat-wise data showed that these tasks, except cleaning of septic tank, are performed by far more number of respondents in villages than in towns and cities. However, the differences are not found significant.

Table 6.1
Distribution of non-beneficiaries by their involvement in scavenging work

S. No.	Involvement in scavenging work	City (N=52)	Town (N=59)	Village (N=27)	Total (N=138)	χ^2
1	Number pursuing scavenging as hereditary occupation	31 (59.62)	26 (44.07)	16 (59.26)	73 (52.90)	3.23
2	Number working as scavengers	29 (55.77)	28 (47.46)	16 (59.26)	73 (52.90)	
(i)	Number working on part time basis	25 (86.21)	23 (82.14)	13 (81.25)	61 (83.56)	0.25
(ii)	Number working on full time basis	4 (13.79)	5 (17.86)	3 (18.75)	12 (16.44)	
3	Nature of scavenging work performed**					
(i)	Disposal of house/cattle waste	6 (20.69)	10 (35.71)	6 (37.50)	22 (30.14)	2.05
(ii)	Cleaning of latrines	19 (65.52)	25 (89.29)	12 (75.00)	56 (76.71)	4.54
(iii)	Cleaning of drains	10 (34.48)	8 (28.57)	8 (50.00)	26 (35.62)	2.07
(iv)	Cleaning of roads	6 (20.69)	5 (17.86)	7 (43.75)	18 (24.66)	4.08
(v)	Cleaning of septic tanks	5 (17.24)	10 (35.71)	3 (18.75)	18 (24.66)	3.00

* Multiple responses were allowed

** Percentage are worked out of those who are working as scavengers

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

Involvement of Age, Sex, Educational Groups: Views of non-beneficiaries were obtained about the age, sex and educational background of their family members involved in performing scavenging work. Data in table 6.2 showed that the majority (57.25%) finds both males and females doing the job equally. However, over one-third of them opined that more females are involved in the work than males. In this respect, non-beneficiaries have more or less similar views as that of beneficiaries.

Table 6.2
Views of non-beneficiaries about age, sex and education of persons
involved in scavenging work

S. No.	Category	City (N=52)	Town (N=59)	Village (N=27)	Total (N=138)
1	Gender				
	(i) More male	2 (3.85)	7 (11.86)	2 (7.41)	11 (7.97)
	(ii) More female	8 (15.38)	27 (45.76)	13 (48.15)	48 (34.78)
	(iii) Almost equally	42 (80.77)	25 (42.37)	12 (44.44)	79 (57.25)
2	Age group				
	(i) Young	1 (1.92)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.72)
	(ii) Middle aged	51 (98.08)	58 (98.31)	27 (100.0)	136 (98.55)
	(iii) Elderly	0 (0.00)	1 (1.69)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.72)
3	Education				
	(i) Illiterates	21 (40.38)	39 (66.10)	20 (74.07)	80 (57.97)
	(ii) Literates	31 (59.62)	20 (33.90)	7 (25.93)	58 (42.03)
	(iii) Sr./Hr. Sec. & above	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (3.70)	1 (0.72)

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

It is generally assumed that due to the increased education and greater exposure, younger generation is reluctant to take up scavenging work for earning a living. A very poor involvement of young members in scavenging work as reported by non-beneficiaries lent support to this assumption. Data further revealed overwhelming involvement of middle-aged members in scavenging work only with two exceptions irrespective of habitat.

It is believed that the educated persons feel disinclined to undertake unclean and polluting occupation such as scavenging; they rather look forward to enter into clean, respectable and higher -paid occupations. Data in table 6.2 also suggest illiterates forming majority of those involved in scavenging work. The literates in considerable proportion are also performing scavenging tasks but the involvement of educated persons was reportedly negligible. Interestingly, the views expressed by beneficiaries are also more or less similar in this respect.

The location-wise data revealed greater involvement of females in scavenging work in villages and towns as compared to cities. Overwhelmingly, non-beneficiaries from cities reported equal involvement of males and females. Surprisingly, more literates are involved in scavenging work than illiterates in cities. The position is just reverse in case of towns and villages.

Perceptions of Scavenging Work: The information was collected also to find out the attitude of non-beneficiaries regarding status of scavenging work and possibility of continuation of the job. Data in this respect are depicted in table 6.3. Data showed that 7 out of every 10 non-beneficiaries find the scavenging work insulting and damaging to their reputation. This is more so with respect to non-beneficiaries from cities than from towns and villages. The differences among three habitats were found highly significant in case of those who view scavenging work insulting. It appears greater exposure and greater education among city-dwellers made respondents conscious of their status in society. When asked whether respondents involved in scavenging profession are inclined to discontinue scavenging work, a majority answered in affirmative. The location-wise analysis showed more of city respondents nurture this interest as compared to their counterparts from towns and villages. In other words, more respondents from villages than cities and towns expressed the inclination to continue scavenging work. However, differences were not significant. A probe was, therefore, made to find out the underlying reasons as to why some of the non-beneficiaries favoured continuation of scavenging work. The responses revealed assured sources of income derived from the profession (85.71%) as a major reason. The absence of alternative occupation was also attributed for continuation of scavenging work by about one-fifth of the respondents. Other factors attributed for the continuations of the profession did not receive much weightage. The differences among three habitats in this respect were also not found significant.

Table 6.3
Perception of non-beneficiaries about status of scavenging work

S. No.	Perception	City (N=52)	Town (N=59)	Village (N=27)	Total (N=138)	χ^2
1	Number finding scavenging work insulting	46 (88.46)	36 (61.02)	16 (59.26)	98 (71.01)	12.37**
2	Number viewed scavenging work downgrading social status	41 (78.85)	35 (59.32)	16 (59.26)	92 (66.67)	5.57
3	Number who are involved in scavenging work*	29 (55.77)	28 (47.46)	16 (59.26)	73 (52.90)	
(a)	Number desirous to discontinue scavenging work	17 (58.62)	14 (50.00)	7 (43.75)	38 (52.05)	
(b)	Number who wish to continue scavenging work **	12 (41.38)	14 (50.00)	9 (56.25)	35 (47.95)	0.99

S. No.	Perception	City (N=52)	Town (N=59)	Village (N=27)	Total (N=138)	χ^2
4	Factors attributed for continuation of scavenging work***					
(i)	Assured source of income	10 (83.33)	13 (92.86)	7 (77.78)	30 (85.71)	1.10
(ii)	Lack of alternative occupation	2 (16.67)	1 (7.14)	4 (44.44)	7 (20.00)	4.89
(iii)	Traditional relationship assured	0 (0.00)	2 (14.29)	1 (11.11)	3 (8.57)	1.78
(iv)	No out-migration involved	0 (0.00)	2 (14.29)	1 (11.11)	3 (8.57)	1.78

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

** Significant at .01 level

* Percentage are worked out of those who are involved in scavenging work

***As in 7.12.3

A question whether or not continuation of scavenging work is exerting any adverse influence on social relationships was also probed. As per responses received, continuation of scavenging work is held responsible for causing tension in the family and community by over two fifth of the non-beneficiaries (40.58%). Among the three groups, such a view is held by city dwellers in far more number (50.00%) than those from towns (33.90%) and villages (37.04%).

Awareness about Rehabilitation Programmes : A three-pronged strategy was adopted by the Government of India to liberate and rehabilitate scavengers involved in manual cleaning of night soil: a) legislative backup in the form of the Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act 1993 prohibiting construction of dry latrines and manual scavenging; b) conversion of dry latrines into flush latrines through a central Low Cost Sanitation Scheme of Liberation of Scavengers under which loans and subsidies are offered for the construction of flush latrines, and c) introduction of "National Scheme of Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers and their Dependents" for training of liberated scavengers and their rehabilitation in alternative occupations. Projects costing upto Rs. 50,000 for each beneficiary are financed by way of a prescribed financial package comprising of subsidy, margin money loan and bank loan.

To become a beneficiary of these measures, awareness about them is a pre-requisite. An effort was, therefore, made to find out whether or not non-beneficiary respondents are aware about these provisions. Data in this respect are provided in table 6.4.

Table 6.4
Awareness of non-beneficiaries about the programmes of rehabilitation of scavengers

S. No.	Programmes	City (N=52)	Town (N=59)	Village (N=27)	Total (N=138)	χ^2
1	Number aware about law prohibiting manual scavenging	35 (67.31)	38 (64.41)	13 (48.15)	86 (62.32)	2.97
2	Number viewing the Act as beneficial to scavengers	35 (100.00)	32 (84.21)	9 (69.23)	76 (88.37)	9.88**
3	Number aware about restrictions on construction of dry latrines	33 (63.46)	37 (62.71)	12 (44.44)	82 (59.42)	3.13
4	Number viewing the restrictions on dry latrines beneficial	32 (96.97)	35 (94.59)	9 (75.00)	76 (92.68)	6.63*
5	Number aware about training facilities in alternative occupations	34 (65.38)	35 (59.32)	12 (44.44)	81 (58.70)	3.23
6	Number viewing the training beneficial to scavengers	34 (100.00)	33 (94.29)	8 (66.67)	75 (92.59)	14.63**
7	Number aware about provision of grants and loans for taking up alternative occupation	34 (65.38)	28 (47.46)	9 (33.33)	71 (51.45)	7.97*
8	Number viewing such provisions beneficial to scavengers					
(i)	Highly beneficial	13 (38.24)	7 (25.00)	0 (0.00)	20 (28.17)	
(ii)	Moderately beneficial	18 (52.94)	21 (75.00)	9 (100.00)	48 (67.61)	9.83**
(iii)	Not beneficial	3 (8.82)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (4.23)	
9	Number viewed measures initiated to liberate scavengers satisfactory					
(i)	Highly satisfactory	7 (13.46)	9 (15.25)	1 (3.70)	17 (12.32)	
(ii)	Moderately satisfactory	41 (78.85)	28 (47.46)	15 (55.56)	84 (60.87)	18.18**
(iii)	Unsatisfactory	4 (7.69)	22 (37.29)	11 (40.74)	37 (26.81)	

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

It is encouraging to note that non-beneficiaries in majority are aware about prohibitory law imposed on manual scavenging of night soil and construction of dry latrines, provision of training facilities for liberated scavengers in alternative occupations and provision of grants and loan for taking up nontraditional dignified occupations (Table 6.4). The level of awareness found among non-beneficiaries was more or less at par with that among beneficiaries. It is interesting to note that awareness about the availability of grants and loan for taking up alternative occupations was greater among non-beneficiaries (51.45%) than that among beneficiaries (46.79%).

In response to other questions, 9 out of every 10 non-beneficiaries considered prohibitory law, restrictions on dry latrines and training facilities initiated by the government beneficial for the scavengers. As regards provision of grants and loans for taking up alternative occupation is concerned, over one fourth found it "highly beneficial" and over two-third consider these as "moderately beneficial". Whether or not non-beneficiary respondents feel satisfied with different measures government initiated for liberating and rehabilitating scavengers? The responses to this question as analysed in table 6.4 indicated that three-fifth of the respondent feel "moderately" satisfied; over one-fourth of them expressed their dissatisfaction with the measures initiated for the purpose. In each of these respects, urbanisation was found significantly and positively associated.

Suggestive Measures: What measures would make programmes of liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers more effective? This question is being examined with the help of data in table 6.5.

Table 6.5
Measures as suggested by non-beneficiaries for liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers

S. No.	Measures	City (N=52)	Town (N=59)	Village (N=27)	Total (N=138)	χ^2
1	Measures related to training of scavengers					
(i)	Increase in the number of short duration trainings	13 (25.00)	14 (23.73)	2 (7.41)	29 (21.01)	3.77
(ii)	Increase in the number of scavengers in training	14 (26.92)	3 (5.08)	3 (11.11)	20 (14.49)	10.95**
(iii)	Increased number of trades for training	18 (34.62)	7 (11.86)	5 (18.52)	30 (21.74)	8.61*
(iv)	Provision of scholarship for all trainings	29 (55.77)	13 (22.03)	3 (11.11)	45 (32.61)	21.37**
(v)	Provision of boarding & lodging on concessional/rates	22 (42.31)	10 (16.95)	8 (29.63)	40 (28.99)	8.64*
2	Measures related to rehabilitation of scavengers					
(i)	Increase in employment opportunities	42 (80.77)	33 (55.93)	23 (85.19)	98 (71.01)	11.56**
(ii)	Increase in the number of alternative occupations	18 (34.62)	31 (52.54)	15 (55.56)	64 (46.38)	4.71
(iii)	Setting up of counselling centres at training institutions/Panchayat Samiti level for promoting alternative occupations.	20 (38.46)	8 (13.56)	3 (11.11)	31 (22.46)	12.32**
(iv)	Increase in the amount of loans/grants	17 (32.69)	10 (16.95)	3 (11.11)	30 (21.74)	6.26*
(v)	Greater coverage of scavengers by grants	16 (30.77)	12 (20.34)	2 (7.41)	30 (21.74)	5.82
(vi)	Adequate marketing outlets for sale of products.	20 (38.46)	8 (13.56)	3 (11.11)	31 (22.46)	12.32**

(The figures in brackets denote percentages)

* Significant at .05 level

** Significant at .01 level

As is evident, the measures suggested by non-beneficiaries measures fall broadly in two groups: i) those concerning training intervention, and (ii) those relating to programmes of rehabilitation of scavengers. Among measures related to training intervention, highest proportion of non-beneficiaries (32.61%) favoured provision of scholarship to scavengers participating in all types of training courses. This is followed by provision of boarding and loading facilities during training on subsidised rates (28.99%). Increase in the number of short duration courses, and increase in the number of trades covered by training of scavengers were suggested by over one-fifth of the non-beneficiaries. About one in seven respondents favoured training of larger number of scavengers to enable them to take up wage or self-employment

The location-wise analysis indicated greater concern among city dwellers than those from towns and villages for introducing changes in the training strategy. However, village respondents were found more assertive than those from towns with respect to three measures related to training: increased number of trades of training, increased number of scavengers in training and subsidised board and loading facilities for scavengers during their training. The difference among non-beneficiaries from three habitats were found significant.

The respondents expressed their views on six measures related to rehabilitation of liberated scavengers in alternative occupations. A most important measure suggested by an overwhelmingly proportion of respondents (71.01%) was the provision of increased employment opportunities. Interestingly, far more non-beneficiaries than beneficiaries made this suggestion. The suggestion was endorsed by far more respondents from villages and cities than from towns. Near absence of satisfactory source of livelihood and widespread unemployment and underemployment in cities and villages may be attributed for this differential.

In order to rehabilitate liberated scavengers, government is offering assistance and facilities in several non-traditional alternative occupations which included, besides others, auto rickshaw, package programme, SCYTE Training, artisan workshed, sanitary mart, tailoring, embroidery, grocery shop, cycle repair shops, poultry and piggery units, cane items making, camel cart, etc. However, a considerable proportion of non-beneficiaries (46.38%) considered these options quite inadequate and suggested increase in the number of alternative occupations for which facilities and assistance are offered. This suggestion was also made more by non-beneficiaries than by beneficiaries. Another interesting point noted in this regard was the fact that more of the villages than of the cities and towns suggested this measures.

In addition, a little over one-fifth of the non-beneficiaries have suggested four more measures for the purpose: (i) setting up of a counselling centre at the training institute or panchayat samiti level (ii) provision of marketing outlets (iii) increase in the amount of grants and loans, and (iv) greater coverage of

scavengers by grants and loans. The number of respondents offering these suggestions tended to increase with the level of urbanisation. In other words, these measures were favoured more by city dwellers than by those from towns and villages and the differences among them were also found significant.

OFFICIALS AND OFFICE HOLDERS

Having discussed the perceptions and the views of non-beneficiaries about the problem under study, the attention is now shifted to the departmental officials associated with the scheme and office bearers of scavengers' organisations. For this purpose, views of 34 respondents from this category were obtained on the status of scavengers and scavenging and on the impact scheme had on scavenging population. Relevant data are provided in table 6.6 through 6.12

Perception about Scavengers and Scavenging Profession :

The views respondents held about continuation of manual disposal of night soil and liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers in alternative occupations are examined in table 6.6

Table 6.6
Views of departmental officials/ office bearers of scavenger's organisation
about scavenging work

S. No	Description	Number	Percentage
1	Endorsed continuation of scavenging work	11	32.25
2	Endorsed prevalence of dry latrines	10	23.41
3	Nature of scavenging work performed by scavengers		
	i. Removal of household waste	07	20.59
	ii. Cleaning of latrines	19	55.88
	iii. Cleaning of drainages	22	64.71
	iv. Sweeping of roads	22	64.71
	v. Cleaning of saptik tanks	19	55.88
4	Carrying equipments used to throw human/ animal waste *		
	i. Bamboo basket	16	47.06
	ii. Bucket without lid	09	26.47
	iii. Bucket with lid	06	17.65
	iv. Trolley	22	64.71
5	Nature of rewards scavengers receive		
	i. Wages in cash	25	73.53
	ii. In kind	8	23.53
	iii. Both cash & kind	1	02.94
6	Perceived scavenging work as insulting	24	70.59
7	Scavengers feel inclined to discontinue scavenging	27	79.41

* Multiple responses were allowed

As is evident, about one-third of the respondents (32.25%) noted continuation of manual scavenging work. Almost equal number opined about the prevalence of dry latrines. But most respondents do not seem to be certain whether manual scavenging is prevalent more in towns or villages. However, the incidence was reported more in cities and towns than in villages.

The scavenging work involves not only cleaning of latrines but also of roads, streets, drainage and septic tanks. A probe was made as to how much scavengers are involved in these tasks. Data in table 6.6 indicated that scavengers are involved more in cleaning of drainage and roads; cleaning of latrines and septic tanks was noted next in prevalence. A majority of the respondents find involvement of scavengers in all these cases. Surprisingly, only one-fifth reported involvement of scavengers in removal of domestic waste. When asked about the equipment used by scavengers to remove waste and garbage, majority reported use of trolley (64.71%) followed by bamboo basket (47.06%). The use of buckets with or without lid was reported only by a small number of respondents.

Regarding the rewards scavengers receive in lieu of services they offer, overwhelmingly (73.53%) reported payment being made mainly in cash or wages. A little less than one-fourth find rewards being paid in kind.

Conversion of Dry Latrines: The opinion of the respondents was obtained as to whether dry latrines are being converted into flush latrines. Data revealed that 9 out of every 10 respondents endorsed conversion of dry latrines and most felt very much satisfied with the conversion (52.94%). (Table 6.7) In response to another question, 7 out of every 10 respondents find that the conversion work is now pending only to a limited extent. Evidently, the state intervention proved quite helpful in elimination of dry latrines, construction of flush latrines and thereby removal of manual scavenging.

Table 6.7
Views of officials/office bearers of scavenger's organisations about conversion of dry latrines into flush latrines

S. No	Description	Number	Percentage
1	Number endorsed conversion of dry latrines into flush latrines	31	91.18
2	Extent of conversion work still pending		
	i. To great extent	02	05.88
	ii. To some extent	08	23.53
	iii. To limited extent	24	70.59
3	Extent of satisfaction with conversion work		
	i. Very much	18	52.94
	ii. Somewhat	09	26.47
	iii. Not at all	06	17.65
	iv. Uncertain	01	02.94

Age, sex, education category involved in scavenging: Which category of people is mostly engaged in scavenging work? This question is being examined in table 6.8. As is evident, over two-third of the respondents found both males and females performing scavenging job (67.65%). Further, with few exception, almost all found persons of middle-aged (94.12%) performing the task and 64.71% noted involvement of literates in the scavenging job.

Table 6.8
Views of officials/ office bearers of scavengers' organisations about class of people involved in scavenging work

S. No	Class	Number	Percent
1	Gender		
	i. Male	06	17.65
	ii. Female	08	23.53
	iii.Both	23	67.65
2	Age group		
	i. Children/youth	01	02.94
	ii. Middle aged	32	94.12
	iii.Old age	01	02.94
3	Educational category		
	i. Illiterates	12	35.29
	ii. Literates	22	64.71

Continuation of scavenging job: Whether scavenging is perceived insulting and whether scavengers feel inclined to discontinue this job and take up alternative occupation? The opinion sought on this question in table 6.9 revealed that over two-third of the respondents (70.59%) find scavengers held the job highly insulting and far more of them (79.41%) feel inclined to discontinue it. Clearly, the age-old association of caste with scavenging is believed to be weakening.

Table 6.9
Views of official/office bearers of scavenger's organisations about continuation discontinuation of scavenging work by scavengers

S. No	Description	Number	Percent
A	Perceived scavenging work insulting		
1	Very much	24	70.59
2	Some of them	10	29.41
B	Scavengers inclined to discontinue scavenging		
1	Almost all	27	79.41
2	Some of them	06	17.65
3	None of them	01	02.94

Training in alternative occupations :

In order to liberate scavengers from unclean occupation, it is necessary that they have requisite skills in alternative occupations. Scavengers lack such skills and arrangement for training has been made where they are provided skills in alternative occupations. The respondents were, therefore, asked if they are aware of such an arrangement. Surprisingly, that most members concerned with the cause of scavengers are unaware about the provision (Table 6.10)

Table 6.10
Views of officials/ office bearers of scavenger's organisations about training facilities in alternative occupations

S. No	Description	Number	Percent
1	Endorsed provision of training facilities	16	47.06
2	Endorsed availability of scholarship during training period	22	64.71
3	Perception about effectiveness of training		
	i. Very much	05	14.71
	ii. Some what	14	41.18
	iii. Not at all	12	35.29
	iv. No response	03	08.82

Wherever training facilities are made available for scavengers to develop skills in alternative occupations, respondents overwhelmingly (64.71%) endorsed provision of scholarship. However, they differed greatly about the effectiveness of such a training: Only 14.71% viewed the training "highly effective" and the largest number found the training "somewhat effective" (41.18%).

Rehabilitation of scavengers :

Respondent's views were sought also about the scheme of rehabilitation of liberated scavengers in alternative occupations. These included, beside others, provision of grants and loans for taking up self-employment or salaried jobs. The responses revealed endorsement of provision of loans as well as grants by 7 out of every 10 respondents; 6 out of every 7 respondents feel that the loan offered to scavengers for the purpose is adequate. Interestingly, 6 out of every 7 respondents viewed the loan adequate (table 6.11).

Table 6.11
Views of department officials/office bearers of scavenger's organisations about loans and grants provided for taking up alternative occupations

S. No	Description	Number	Percent
1	Endorsed availability of grants	24	70.59
2	Endorsed availability of loans	24	70.59
3	Perceived loan adequate	21	61.76
4	Perceived improvements in scavenger's conditions*		
	i. Obtained salaried job	15	44.12
	ii. Increase in income	16	47.06
	iii. Self employment	16	47.06
	iv. Increased status in the society	14	41.18
	v. No response	13	38.24

* Multiple responses were allowed

Opinion of the respondents was also sought about the ways rehabilitation programmes helped liberated scavengers in their rehabilitation in alternative occupations. The responses analysed in table 6.12 showed majority favoured increased employment opportunities (79.41%) and enlargement of the list of alternative occupations (58.82%) for which loans/grants are made available. This will help in greater coverage of liberated scavengers. Besides, 3 out of every 10 respondents favoured arrangement of scholarship for all the programmes of training run for the benefit of scavengers and provision of counselling centre at the training institute or at panchayat samiti level. About one-fourth of the respondents suggested greater coverage of scavengers through training, and provision of subsidised boarding and lodging facilities during training period.

Table 6.12
Measures suggested by officials/office bearers of scavenger's organisations to make the scheme of liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers more effective

S. No	Measures	Number	Percent
1	Increase in employment opportunities	27	79.41
2	Increase in short duration training courses	6	17.65
3	Admission of increased number of scavengers in training	9	26.47
4	Provision of training in more trades/subjects	8	23.53
5	Provision of scholarship in all training programmes	11	32.35
6	Provision of subsidised accommodation/food during training	9	26.47
7	Enlargement of the scope of alternative occupations for granting benefits	20	58.82
8	Set up counselling centers at training institute/panchayat samiti level.	11	32.35
9	Increase in the amount of loans/subsidy	5	14.71
10	Greater coverage of scavengers by grants	10	23.41
11	Adequate arrangements for sale of products.	10	23.41

* Multiple responses were allowed

SUMMARY :

All non-beneficiaries with a few exceptions are concentrated in *harijan basties*. Non-beneficiaries in far less number are engaged in scavenging work as compared to beneficiaries and they do so mainly to supplement family income. Among different types of scavenging work, most perform cleaning of latrines, but their involvement is relatively lower than that of the beneficiaries. In contrast to beneficiaries, more non-beneficiaries consider scavenging work insulting and damaging to their social status and majority who think so wish to discontinue it. Assured income from scavenging work compel most non-beneficiaries in all habitats to continue the profession. About two-third of the non-beneficiaries are aware about the law prohibiting dry-latrines and manual scavenging and facilities

of training and financial assistance for taking up alternative occupations. However, urbanisation did not significantly influence the awareness level except provision of financial assistance. Non-beneficiaries from cities, towns and villages differ significantly in their appreciation of measures to liberate scavengers. Most favoured increased employment opportunities for the success of rehabilitation programmes, Non-beneficiaries from cities, towns and villages differ significantly with respect to 72.73 % measures of rehabilitation effective programme. Urbanization tended to influence significantly over three-fifth of the components of practices and perceptions relating to scavenging and liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers.