THE SWEEPER COMMUNITY IN URBAN BANGLADESH: A STUDY ON THE NATURE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EXCLUSION AND VULNERABILITY.

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BSS (Hons.), MSS

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Institute of Disaster Management and Vulnerability Studies at the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh, 2017.

DEDICATION

To the sweeper living in Dhaka sweeper colonies who have honoured this study through their participation

Declaration by the Researcher

I Ayesha SiddequaDaize hereby certify that I had personally carried out the work depicted in the thesis entitled, "**THE SWEEPER COMMUNITY IN URBAN BANGLADESH: A STUDY ON THE NATURE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EXCLUSION AND VULNERABILITY**". No part of the thesis has been submitted for the award of any other degree at the University of Dhaka or any other institution.

Signature

……………………………

Ayesha siddequaDaize

Certificate from supervisor

In my capacity as supervisor of the dissertation,**THE SWEEPER COMMUNITY IN URBAN BANGLADESH: A STUDY ON THE NATURE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EXCLUSION AND VULNERABILITY by Ayesha SiddequaDaize** for pursuing Doctor of Philosophy degree in Institute of Disaster management and Vulnerability Studies, I do hereby declare that the dissertation has been conducted by the researcher's own efforts. The candidate declares that neither of this dissertation nor any part of it has been submitted anywhere else for the award of any degree.

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for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

Bangladesh like most of the developing countries is still in a state of underdevelopment and challenged by many obstacles in the way of its overall socio-economic development. Religion and relevant issues, particularly the caste-based and work based discrimination has been playing indeed a significant role as the constraints towards achieving betterment of a larger number of untouchable people in recent times. The livelihoods of sweeper community and their out stretched degradation and deprivation are not an exception to this common scenario of Bangladesh society. The fact is that traditionally the caste, sub-caste or members of a single endogamous group of Hindu caste system with strong kinship and affinity have been engaged in their respective professions from ancient times. Moreover, the caste system is a strict hierarchical social system based on underlying notions of purity and pollution. Those at the bottom of the system, who call themselves untouchable, suffer discrimination influencing all spheres of life and violating a cross-section of basic human rights including civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights. Caste-based discrimination entails social and economic exclusion, segregation in housing, denial and restrictions of access to public and private services and employment, and enforcement of certain types of jobs, resulting in a system of modern day slavery or bonded labour. The rigid religious and psychological barriers to continue the profession from generation to generation based on birth made the ways for change and transformation of profession a difficult dilemma. Though there has been the both vertical and horizontal mobility among these upper and lower castes, and also sub-castes, still it is prevalent and damaging for the social dynamics. It is evident from the study that major population of sweeper as a member of untouchable community, faces discrimination in almost all spheres of life. Their access to all modern amenities necessary for sound and healthy social formation is highly limited. Access to modern education for better or change their professions and access to power structure for motivating the change is still like a dream for the sweepers.

The major purpose of the research is to find out the nature and extent of socio-economic exclusion, discrimination and vulnerability of the sweeper community in contemporary urban Bangladesh. Using a social exclusion framework to identify the forms of discrimination and disadvantage experienced by the sweepers, field research was conducted in three sweeper

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colonies in Dhaka City, a context associated with a high population of sweepers with tensions between them and the dominant castes. The study is based on primary data and four hundred sweeper households were surveyed using a structured questionnaire to investigate the economic activities, expenditure and consumption, access to social services, family and social networking and cultural and political integration. The survey data was supplemented by qualitative data collected through field observation & twenty in-depth case studies with both sweeper households. This study is concerned about the sweeper community's strategically aspects, especially of income, nature of the work, labor market discrimination and poverty, social structure, attitude and cultural aspect and religious principles to understand the general condition of sweeper community in Bangladesh. In this context the important focus on analysis was to review a theoretical stand point, which gives us the idea that caste hierarchy based on religious principle is a homogeneous moral system or positive values on which Hindus of all strata or castes are in consensus. This study also identified the dominant identity of the community as human being and of their salient identity as imputed by the mainstream society. It further reveals that their *Jaat* or caste position has created as explicit from of hierarchy among themselves. They think that their present stigmatized identity is the main barrier for their advancement. It was found that a sense a job security, coupled with free housing and medical facilities that apparently kept the community relatively happy. But now a day those privileges, once taken for granted are under threat as spreading poverty and shrinking job opportunities have forced members of the majority Muslim population. In these discussion's modernization has come as an important factor, which is influencing the entire Bangladeshi society as well as the upper class Hindu but, still today sweeper and out caste people are excluded from this.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADP ANNUAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

AIDS ACQUIRED IMMUNE DEFICIENCY SYNDROME

ASK AIN O SALISH KENDRA

BBS BANGLADESH BUREAU OF STATISTICS

BDERM BANGLADESH DALIT AND EXCLUDED RIGHTS MOVEMENT

BDF BANGLADESH DALIT FORUM

BDHR BANGLADESH DALIT HUMAN RIGHTS

BDWF BANGLADESH DALIT WOMEN FORUM

BHOP BANGLADESH HORIJON OAKKO PARISHOD

CEDAW CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

CEDR INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF THE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

CERD COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL

CPC CIVIL PROCEDURE CODE

CRPC CRIMINAL PROCEDURE CODE

CUS CENTER FOR URBAN STUDIES

DCI DIRECT CALORIE INTAKE

D.C.C DHAKA CITY CORPORATION

DU UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA

GOB GOVERNMENT OF BANGLADESH

HSC HIGHER SECONDARY CERTIFICATE

ICCPR INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS

ICERD INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

ICESCR INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS

ICPD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT

IDSN INTERNATIONAL DALIT SOLIDARITY NETWORK

IIDS INDIAN INSTITUTES OF DALIT STUDIES

ILO INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION

NGO NON GOVERNMENT ORGANISATION

NHRC NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

RAJUK RAJDHANI UNNAYAN KORTIPORKO

S.C SCHEDULED CASTES

S.S.C SECONDARY SCHOOL CERTIFICATE

S.T SCHEDULED TRIBES

UDHR UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

UN UNITED NATIONS

UNDP UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

UPR UNIVERSAL PERIODIC REVIEW

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: SOCIO-ECONOMIC EXLUSION AND VULNARABILITY OF SWEEPER COMMUNITY

1.1. Introduction

Caste system is a prominent feature of the social structure and one of the serious human right violation issue in the south Asia. The caste system is a part of Hindu culture and has been the basis of continued social discrimination of the lowest strata or *outcastes* most notably through the practice of *untouchability* and other severe forms of exclusion. The Jaat sweeper community is Hindu in origin and they are belonging to the lower caste of Hindu. Recently some Muslim are also engaged in sweeping profession in our country. Although sweeper community Hindu in basis, work-based discrimination and social exclusion have been a reality in both the Hindu minority and the Muslim majority communities in Bangladesh. In a study IIDS shows that the extent has been changed though in different manners, it still covers all the spheres of socio-economics, culture, and politics in both the Hindu and Muslim communities (IIDS, 2008). In Bangladesh, members of the "low castes" increasingly refer to *themselves* as *Dalits* - the "downtrodden" people - to emphasis the fact that they have been exploited, oppressed and excluded through generations (UPR, 2009). These are all important positions for the functioning of any society but they are widely regarded as menial (IDSN, 2008). About 3.5 million sweepers belonging to the *Dalit* (so called lower cast of the Hindus) community across the country including the capital have been passing an inhuman and sub-standard life amid unbearable pains, enormous sufferings, serious accommodation problem and deep uncertainty (Masud, 2006). In terms of equal access to employment, a large number of *Dalits* are employed in the public or private sector as sweepers and cleaners with very low pay (UPR, 2009). According to the international convention on the elimination of all forms of the racial discrimination (CEDR) agreement, the government is bound to fulfill the basic needs of the employment, houses, education, health care services of lower cast people (Chowdhury, 2011). Since they are still considered 'unclean', they live separately from other so called 'clean' groups in their own neighborhood. They are not allowed for renting or building houses outside their exclusive localities. They are denied entry inside the temples of non-*Dalits*, religious programs, tea shops or restaurants, houses of non-*Dalits*, playgrounds, movie theatres, burial ground, social gatherings music concerts, cultural program in different manners

and extent (IIDS, 2008). The professional sweepers are facing hard times as mainstream people are gradually replacing them in their only profession that is cleaning the city. Considered as untouchables, a lower caste of the society, the sweepers now struggle to cope with the situation, as they have no other skills. They are deprived of many fundamental and basic rights, monetary solvency and social support (Parveen, 2008).

There are a number of challenges and constraints which affect *Dalit* communities' rights and equal opportunities to enjoy fundamental human rights. Most notably, this concern the lack of access to education, poverty issue, health, and housing problem, unequal access to work, discrimination against women, bonded labor and child labor (IDSN, 2009). Many studies have been conducted abroad on *Dalit* community. Even some studies have been conducted on *Dalit* of Bangladesh (Chowdhury, 2011). A study has been addressed on the nature and extends of untouched ability, decent-based discrimination and social exclusion in contemporary rural Bangladesh (Chowdhury, 2009) but no sufficient study has found on sweeper community in urban context. A joint NGO submission to the 2009, Universal Periodic Review of the human right's situation in Bangladesh indicated that yet, the widespread practice of discrimination, segregation and untouchability practices continue to impair fundamental human rights of the *Dalit* community in Bangladesh. The endorsing organisations therefore urge the new Government to effectively address this human rights issue and implement affirmative action programmes to ensure equal access and opportunities to all in the country.

It is in these contexts that the present study attempts to explore social exclusion and vulnerability conditions of sweeper in Dhaka City from an integrative framework. Socio- economic exclusion, cultural and political issues of urban sweeper are explored along with its conventional social, economic and housing issues. *The social exclusion framework* is primarily used for exploring social exclusion, poverty and the vulnerability of the sweeper, their household and employment strategies, access and well-being, families and social networking, and cultural and political integration. This study also attempts to compare the status and the position of scheduled caste sweeper and Muslim sweeper which are able to present and help us to understand the general pictures of the sweeper community in Bangladesh. The study uses other relevant theoretical frameworks to explore these issues more extensively.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Political, economic and social exclusion of the Dalit community is practised over the entire country. Overtly visible segregation and denial of access to public spaces utilized or occupied by non-*Dalits* illustrate the depth to which *casteism* is engrained within the socio-economic and political fabric of Bangladeshi society (UPR, 2009). In the work *Dalit Initiatives in Bangladesh,* it indicates that *Dalits* and excluded communities in Bangladesh face many complex and overlapping forms of discrimination social, economic, political, religious and cultural affecting all aspects of their personal and public lives. For example, their caste impacts their ability to access education, jobs, hospitals, the legal system and the right to choose where to live, where to work, who and how to worship and who to marry (Islam & Pervez, 2013). In these perspectives it can say that sweepers as an untouchable community, they are excluded from different opportunities, development, freedom of mobility, resources and restricted participation in social, cultural and political activities and so on. In general, due to low occupational status, segregated and confined settlements, immigrant situation and lower caste religious status have made their status low in the society.

1.2.1. The historical context

Nobody exactly knows since when the *Dalit* community was settled in Dhaka City but it is widely believed that they were moved here during the period of Mughal Emperor Jahangir Shah (1605-1627). Lacking of proper historical data it is also believed that they were brought here by the then authority of the city as one of the 12 groups of service providers such as, *Jharuder, Muchi, Dhopa, Napit, Dome, Teli, Mali, Methor, Zola* etc. when Dhaka had been flourishing as the capital of Bengal under Mughal Empire (Saha & Nath, 2003). A massacre took place in Dhaka by the Burmese pirates around 1624-26, to remove the dead bodies from the city *Dalits* were brought in here from different parts of India [then the part of the same country] (Banglapaedia, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka). But the large migration of *Dalit* people to Dhaka had happened after it had achieved the status of municipality in 1864. Later on, when Dhaka became the capital of East Bengal more people were brought in here from Indian cities such as *Madras, Kanpur, Nagpur* to work as sweeper (Islam, 2011). They might be settled in Dhaka that time but they were not the strangers here because this community is administered by *Panchayet* system, which is an age-old rural social institution of this country

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(Saha & Nath, 2003). Among religious minorities, schedule castes and *Harijans* are the most backward for which they used to enjoy special treatment in employment, housing, health and education etc. during British period, but at present they are deprived of such facilities (IIDS, 2008). Muslims are not found in this profession earlier. Islam (2011) referred in her work, *Political Participation of Dalit Women in Dhaka City, Bangladesh* that they had to choose this profession under different circumstances at different historical periods.

1.2.2 The social context

Sweeper who has been dedicating their lives for cleaning our community forever and a day treated as untouchable caste here. *Mahatma Gandhi* honored them with the title "*Harijan*" which means children of God. Unfortunately, the sweeper one of the 44 schedule Hindu caste communities is the most neglected part of the society (Chowdhury 2011). The Constitution of Bangladesh does not recognize minorities as groups distinct from Bengalis. In the Constitution of Bangladesh, equal rights for all people irrespective of any race, caste, creed and religion is established though, unfortunately social exclusion is manifested in the physical structure of both rural and urban areas throughout the country (IIDS, 2008). Superimposed on this is the myth concerning their negative social role, cultural and religious activities which alienate them in the social context. In fact, there is a segregated world with a strong social taboo against the inmates. In plain words, mistrusted and misjudged by most people they are regarded as social outcasts (Drik NEWS, 2008).

The sweeper community is widely known as *Methar*[1] throughout the country though they like to familiar themselves as '*Cleaner*'. They also live in ghettos, which are popularly known as *Methar patti*[2] or sweeper quarter which are situated in the outside of the localities. These segregated settlements are a symbol of their overall exclusion from society. A joint NGO submission to the 2009 indicates that due to the mistrust from non-*Dalit* Bangladeshi society, *Dalits* often prefer to stay within their community and with their 'own' people (UPR, 2009). They have been deprived of all types of civil facilities including education and health care services. They have been passing their days in unbearable sorrows and sufferings without electricity, pure drinking water and supply of gas (Masud, 2006). They sometimes also face severe forms of human rights violations, including

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[1] The term *Methar* was used as (rank) title for the ruler of the Chitral kingdom. (cf. M. Ahmed, my life and the communist party of India, pp/153)
[2] *Mathar patti* stands for the locality, place or area where a group of *Methars* lives.

abduction, rape, torture, destruction of houses, land grabbing, eviction from land, threats and intimidation (UPR, 2009). However, they are considered as 'untouchable' and thus a socially excluded class in the society and being discriminated by the society since their history. It is the main cause of their segregated living within the society. In terms of status of education, most *Dalits* have no formal education (UPR, 2009). They are least interested in general or higher education as they find difficulty to look for even lowest grade of official job in the public and private offices after graduating from high schools or colleges. This very low literacy has been big hindrance for the *Dalits* to develop their communities and become rigid to look for alternatives or change in the profession (IIDS, 2008). So it can say that this profession is descent or work based and both sweepers working in this profession have been facing sever discrimination in every steps in their life in the society for long.

Government are not aware about to fulfill their basic needs and rights as a member of a citizen in this society but recently government has adopted a number of policies for their development but it is not adequate for their development. Non-government organizations have fewer initiatives for the sweeper community. In 2008 Indian Institute of *Dalit* Studies conducted study on caste-based discrimination in south Asia and points out that many NGOs have hundreds of activities for spending billions of dollars for poverty focused programs, but many researchers or the policy makers do not really know what exclusive programs they have for the betterment of *Dalit* livelihoods or protect their interest or civic rights. Despite growing protest in a very low tone and exposures by some civil forums and NGOs, due to inadequate addressing of the issues by the government, poor implementation of the policies for protecting *Dalit* rights and weak representation of *Dalit* leadership, caste and work based discrimination is still flourishing and widespread (IIDS, 2008). In these contexts, it can say that there is a lack of understanding of the resourcefulness of sweeper communities and therefore they are often excluded from consideration in policies and programme undertaken by both government and non –government organizations. Government and non- government organization should be given priority to develop a national action plan to effectively eliminate discrimination against sweeper and other excluded groups in society.

1.2.3. The economic context

The visible discrimination against the minority, the majority of whom are the *Dalits*, delineates its reflection in every sphere of socio-economic and politics in Bangladesh society. *Dalits* of both communities face severe discrimination. In a predominantly rural and semi-urban economy traditional occupations (such as fishermen, sweepers, barbers, washers, dryers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, cobblers, oil-pressers, boatmen, weavers, butchers, hunters, sawyers, gardeners, tailors, drum beaters etc.) play an important role in defining social, political and economic relations- these occupations are usually descent based and these communities often suffer from related practices of discrimination, segregation and untouchability (Islam & Parvez, 2013). *Dalits* including a large number of untouchables are employed in the public and private offices as sweepers and cleaners with low pay on mostly temporary or casual basis. They have to spend a good amount of money as bribe or other means for managing the employment. They do not get wages properly and regularly (IIDS, 2008).

The economic situation of this community is very miserable today in all over the country. There is no relevant data but it can be imagining that they never get any justified value of their service and as such they remain in poverty (Saha & Nath, 2003). They do not have income from any other sources except major professions and are always on loan from NGOs, and the money lenders in particular with high rate of interest that leads their perpetual indebtedness and pauperization (IIDS, 2008). Their livelihood has not yet been changed a little. Moreover, the traditional job becoming more competitive to them because the government and semi government agency have been recruiting non-professional sweeper from other upper cast community. Being they are not capable for other profession and a part of poor they always have been enduring in the vicious cycle of poverty (Chowdhury, 2011). Traditionally they belong to Hindu religion. Recently, a portion of them has converted into Christianity by the missionaries and by some church based N.G.Os. They are being tempted by the commitment of better livelihood and religious freedom. However, it is urgent to read out the social history of the Indian sub-continent to understand the socio-economic status of this community along with other downtrodden classes properly because they have been living in all the parts of the subcontinents and serving the community since ancient times (Saha & Nath, 2003). As they are lived in poverty since long before, they are not allowed entering another profession to change their position in our society. So, they try to cope with the situation and as

such they have been facing serious difficulties to earn their livelihood. On the contrary, they do not try to change their profession and always try to cope with the situation ever before.

1.3. The rationale behind this study

Caste discrimination is one of the most serious human rights issues in the world today, adversely affecting more than 260 million people globally. The majority of people suffering from caste discrimination are *Dalits* (or outcastes) living in South Asia. The caste system is a strict hierarchical social system based on underlying notions of purity and pollution. Those at the bottom of the system, who call themselves *Dalits*, suffer discrimination influencing all spheres of life and violating a cross-section of basic human rights including civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights (IDSN, 2009). Bangladesh has a diverse ethnic, religious and indigenous population. Discrimination based on work and descent or caste is a highly complex issue in Bangladesh - it results from a variety of often overlapping factors, including caste, religion, place of birth or families/descendants place of birth and occupation (Islam & Parvez, 2013). A considerable number of studies about *Dalit* have been conducted but very insufficient study has been conducted specific on sweeper community in Bangladesh. Most of the existing research provides a broader picture of sweeper community in Dhaka City based on secondary data collected relevant materials. Few studies attempt to explore the features of sweeper in based on primary data collected from fields. Other hand, very few studies have been conducted on sweeper community from sociological and anthropological perspectives - despite these disciplines making historical contributions to the analysis of exclusion and poverty. These studies are mostly descriptive and lack theoretical framework. The issues of poverty and social organisation in urban Bangladesh have been identified as an important area of research where more sociological and anthropological studies were expected by the turn of the century (Arefeen, 1994). But up until the present time, very limited attempts to research this area have been made by sociologists and anthropologists (Hossain, 2000a; Hossain and Humphrey, 2002; Islam, 2005). However, this present study combines socio-cultural, political and poverty and vulnerability with economic aspects.

Both quantitative and qualitative data are presented to explain socio- economic exclusion, vulnerability and the adaptations of the traditional livelihood in urban context. Moreover, the study contributes to the development of sociological knowledge on social exclusion, discrimination and human rights issues in the context of urban sweeper, notably Dhaka City. This research on

exclusion and vulnerability of these lower caste sweeper community is also significant at the policy level. Due to the overwhelming pressures on the urban population, the sweeper communities in Dhaka City are often evicted from their habitats without any planned resettlement. Recently Muslim are entered in this profession and they (*Jaat* sweeper) are also evicted from their tradition profession and they became unemployed.

It is furthermore concluded that social exclusion and discrimination of the sweepers are not only a serious violation of human rights but also a major obstacle to achieving development goals. These communities are routinely denied access to water, schools, health services, land, markets and employment. The exclusion of sweeper and similarly affected communities by other groups in society lead to high levels of poverty among affected population groups and exclusion, or reduced benefits, from development processes, and generally precludes their involvement in decision making and meaningful participation in public and civil life (IDSN, 2009). Non-government organisations have few initiatives for the sweeper community. There is a lack of understanding of the resourcefulness of sweeper communities and therefore they are often excluded from consideration in policies and programs undertaken by both government and non-government organisations. In light of this, the study is provided a better understanding of their circumstances and resourcefulness which will be very useful in the formulation of future urban policies. Overall, this research aims to stimulate further research into sweeper poverty and marginality from an integrative perspective. It argues that socio-economic and political dimensions are absolutely essential for analysing urban sweeper's unemployment and labour market discrimination but usually ignored by economists and sociologist. This study seeks to contribute to sociological knowledge and policy perspectives about the exclusion and discrimination of the sweeper's in Bangladesh and the Third World at large.

1.4. The objectives of the study

After liberation it was imperative for the nation to work for the socio-economic development of all religious and cultural communities of the country. But it is painful to note that nothing is done for these untouchable communities by the government or by any non-government organization, whereas, thousands of NGOs are working for the socio-economic development of the people at grassroots level (Saha & Nath 2003). It should be mentioned here that a lot of research works have been done for *Dalits* in India but in Bangladesh they remained out of sight by the

government, professionals and development practitioner as well. This study has focused on the nature of socio-economic exclusion of the sweeper community of the Dhaka City and tried to identify the discrimination they faced regularly. The aim of this study was also to identify the dimension of problems faced by the community today that it could be helpful in designing development programmes in the future. In more concrete terms the study has focused on the following:

1. to study the contemporary nature and extent of the deprivation, discrimination and exclusion suffered by these groups.

2. to understand the impact of social exclusion and vulnerability practices on inter group in the context of:
   A. inequalities,
   B. poverty,
   C. human right violation,
   D. social network,
   E. inter group conflicts and economic development of the marginalized social categories.
3. to identify the occupational trend and challenges regarding their profession.
4. to propose policy interventions for building an inclusive society though empowerment of this socially excluded group in Bangladesh.

1.5. Intellectual roots

Very few reliable books or newspaper articles were found about sweeper community in Bangladesh. So for this study, some scholar's views are collected on sweeper or untouchable communities of India. These views will help to understand the critical position of sweeper community of Bangladesh.

A. Asaduzzaman (2001) has carried out a study on the life and social adaptation of some urban sweeper in Bangladesh. They are socially degraded *untouchable* and are a minority within a minority. He considers being major concerns in their communal life: question of identity, caste ranking and dignity. According his findings, the work is based on ethnographic research carried out among the Hindu and newly converted Christian sweeper of diverse ethnic backgrounds in different districts. The book consists of two essays: the first essay is about the sweeper's

community life, institution and aspects of social organization. The second essay deals with aspects of religion and ritual and highlights matter related to their ideology and conversion to Christianity. The two essays together with the general introduction and epilogue contribute immensely to the general understanding of these sweepers live and what it meaning to be a *Methar* or sweeper. The importance of this work is the ethnographic presentation. It provides a substantial theoretical discourse and analysis where the author critically examines what he calls the unitary models of south Asian culture and social organization. In case of discrimination, many features of caste common in both India and Bangladesh. In his study he points out two reasons, first there is no greater difference between sweeper-non-sweeper relationship in India and Bangladesh. Both the Bengali Hindus and Muslims of the encompassing society[3] usually treat members of the sweeper community as *untouchable.* Their segregated settlement, immigrant status or *occupation-cum-identity* and niche-specific adaptations are the factors underlying their salient *Methar* identity. Secondly, the institution of caste or *Jaa*t differentiation and boundaries also exist between sweepers of different groups within their local communities. Moreover, the institution of *Jaat* grouping and the practice of Hindu religion /ritual and customs are not something that has originated in the present setting, but represent a part and parcel of their per-migrated tradition. Although the present setting may be different from that of India where Hinduism and caste ideologies are predominant, yet from the viewpoint of the sweepers, who are mostly Hindus and share the backgrounds of traditional India societies, caste, its criteria and idioms, socio-cosmic principles or ideological aspects of Hinduism is highly relevant and should therefore be object of research (p-260). Now-a-days many Telugu sweepers are conversation their religion to Christianity. In this regard *Asaduzzaman* says, 'In my understanding, the most crucial part of sweeper's life -project is to get rid of their stigma, of their aloofness from the encompassing society and to better their life conditions or chances by any means which they find rational and realistic. In this regard, Telugu sweeper's conversion to the *Hari* or *Hela* sweeper's adherence to the *Vaishnava* sect is not an isolated phenomenon. First and foremost, it reflects their moral responses in line with the principle of equality of men in sprit and in opposition to the ideological

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[3] Sweeper communities of Bangladesh correspond with these criteria, though the two setting are different. In Bangladesh, Jaat sweeper have constituted mostly by Muslims and to a certain extent, the encompassing society. The term main stream ethnic group or outsider is used in this study as a synonym of encompassing society. Thus the ghetto settlement and its dwellers, the Jaat sweeper communities as a whole can be considered as an encompassed community. This only difference is the way in which the sweeper communities are almost limited within a certain niche (not niches) offered by the encompassing society.

hegemony of caste hierarchy. Secondly, it is an important part of their pragmatic ways of getting acceptance in the society at large from which they have been conspicuously segregated. Responses like these are well known and quite common among similar categories of people in the neighboring India and Pakistan' (p-261).

IIDS (2008) has conducted a study to find out the nature and extent of descent and work-based discrimination of *Dalit* community in contemporary rural Bangladesh. In this study it argued that although it originated in the Hindu scriptural and socio-religious tradition, descent and work-based discrimination and relevant social exclusion has been indeed a reality in societal scenario in both Hindu minority and Muslim majority communities in Bangladesh. The extent has been changed though in different manners, it still covers all the spheres of socio-economics, culture, and politics in both the Hindu and Muslim communities. According to the study, in Bangladesh with Muslim majority, the Hindus are the minority and *Dalit* represent most marginalized and deprived section of that of a minority community. Since they are still considered 'unclean', they live separately from other so called 'clean' groups in their own neighborhood. They are not allowed for renting or building houses outside their exclusive localities. Most *Dalits* particularly the untouchables among the Hindus in Bangladesh are the descendent of Indians from Bihar, Kanpur, Hamirbag, Jobbalpur of mainly Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, and many others parts alike. They have been largely brought by the British Colonial regime to provide menial services and have been popularly known as '*Methor 'Dome'* and so on. They are denied entry inside the temples of *non-Dalits*, religious programs, tea shops or restaurants, houses of *non-Dalits*, playgrounds, movie theatres, burial ground, social gatherings music concerts, cultural program in different manners and extent. In many cases if the things particularly the holy things of worship are touched by *Dalits/ untouchables*, the *non-Dalits* sprinkle water to make them pure or protect impurity. They cannot go for casting their votes without the permission of influential *non-Dalits* or their leaders as the agents of *non-Dalits.* They are victims of social boycotts for any simple reason. Sometimes, *Dalits* are also discriminated within their community if they look for job other than the traditional one, go for inter-caste marriage or does something against the prevailing norms/values of their own community. They generally do not get equal and just verdict if anything happens wrong among them as most cases are settled or negotiated through informal authorities. Though there is no such strong bonded labor system, *Dalits* are made by the *non-Dalits* to serve with forced labor like cleaning, carrying goods, caring cattle etc. without remuneration. There are of course; many cases

like children as forced labor, trafficking particularly the women etc. falls in the category of multiple nature of bonded labor.

IIDS also describe about access to basic services and their vulnerability. In this case it presents that both the Hindu and Muslim *Dalits* have very lower access to capital assets. Most *Dalits* live in *Kutcha* (Bamboo/thatched) houses with 1-2 rooms, have very least access to water and sanitation, electricity, telephone, toilet, gas, radio, bicycle, etc. In terms of employment, income and status of labor*, Dalits* of both communities face severe discrimination. *Dalits* including a large number of untouchables are employed in the public and private offices as sweepers and cleaners with low pay on mostly temporary or casual basis. They have to spend a good amount of money as bribe or other means for managing the employment. They do not get wages properly and regularly. In terms of status of education, most *Dalits* have no formal education except a few with 1-2 years' education in formal and non-formal education or very negligible number of graduates from primary/high schools and colleges. They are least interested in general or higher education as they find difficulty to look for even lowest grade of official job in the public and private offices after graduating from high schools or colleges. This very low literacy has been big hindrance for the *Dalits* to develop their communities and become rigid to look for alternatives or change in the profession. Since the *Dalits* are poor they cannot afford the expenses for health services they require that lead them to continue sick and enormous sufferings. *Dalits* are the victims of various types of socio-cultural and political discrimination. In the policy making program by government or local government*, Dalits* are strongly discriminated and cannot take part at all in the decision making process. There is no doubt, IIDS study on descent and work-based discrimination of *Dalit* is important and significant for Bangladesh perspective. But this study are mostly descriptive and lack theoretical framework. IIDS finding presents us very little about the actual attitudes, community network and reactions of the *Dalits* in Bangladesh which is important for understanding about their position in this country.

Moffatt (1979) has carried out a study among the untouchables in the village of *Endavue*. He found that culturally untouchables are in a general agreement with the numbers of the higher castes, although they are in many ways excluded from the higher castes. He said untouchables process and act upon a thickly texture culture whose fundamental definitions and values are

identical to those of more global Indian village culture. Even they do not possess a separate sub-culture. The view from the bottom is based on the same principles and evaluation as *the view from the middle* or *the view from the top*. He further said that the present argument is for fundamental cultural consensus from the top to the bottom of a local caste hierarchy a consensus very much participated in by the untouchables.

By the word *consensus,* it seems that he indicates the deeper principles of the systems, which is the often valued by the Hindus of top, middle and bottom region of the hierarchy. By the using the concepts of inclusion and exclusion, complementarity and replication he tries to demonstrate that such consensus in fact exit, untouchables, he says, are excluded from of higher beings for their extreme impurity, but the same impure being are also included in some other relation. Such inclusion indicates the complementary related with the higher beings. Complementarity, according to *Moffatt,* is an indicator of cultural consensus, although he says that is a weak indicator. He emphasizes on replication aspects as a stronger indicator of cultural consensus. There is no doubt that *Moffatt's* data are quite interesting and valuable. He also described five different castes and hierarchic relations on the basis of relative purity and pollution have been found among the *Endavur* untouchables. The highest ranking untouchable caste is the *valluvar* caste, horizon *paraiyan* is the second and the horizon *vannan* is the third ranking caste. *Valluvar* priest serve these castes just like a *Bhahmin purohit.* According to *Moffatt*, is an indicator of cultural consensus, although he says that it is a weak indicator. He emphasized on replication aspects as a stronger indicator of cultural consensus. *Moffatt* finding present a lot of interesting material but it tells us very little about the actual attitudes and reactions of the untouchables in particular where the *essence* of caste ideology is concerned. One can collect such data by proper interviewing or gossiping with the informants and by understanding their signal and expression. It is important to present such data, which allow us to understand the views or attitudes of the untouchables.

Jaffrelot, *(2003)* has carried out a study among the untouchables and his book is a well researcher and a richly documented work on India politics. The attention given to details in presenting the going-on in Indian politics is the highlights of the book. Though the title suggests that the focus of north Indian politics, the book a fairly comprehensive account of Indian politics as a whole. The author provides a comparative perspective on why the lower caste movement did not develop earlier in north India as it did in the other parts of the country. It was only in the 1990s that its

presence was felt in north Indian politics. He argues that the numerical strength of the upper castes in the north prepared the grounds for the development of conservative ideologies in politics. It is on this note that he contests Myron Weiner thesis that Congress, as one of the prominent political parties in India, has instituted an 'open elite system' allowing new aspiring social groups a share in power. According to *Jaffrelot*, Weiner's observation is confined to south India and does not apply to the meta-region of north India, i.e. Bihar, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The Congress in the north has more or less retained its vote bank among the upper castes and at the most has practiced a *politics of extremes* by appealing to the *Dalits* in an attempt to widen its base. The chapters therefore unfold the various dimensions of the author's argument with the first chapter primarily explicating the nature and performance of the Congress in the north. This is followed by a comparative analysis of the role and position of lower caste in the north as against south and west India. The subsequent chapter traces the rise and spread of *kisan* politics and quota politics in the north, from its inception by the socialists and the *Janata party* to its present configuration, thereby also attributing the first serious attempt at mobilizing lower castes in the north to parties other than the Congress. The last chapter seeks to examine whether the Congress and the *Bharatiya Janata Party* (BJP), that is, parties representing upper caste interests, have changed their stance towards the new political situation posed by the rise of the lower castes in north Indian politics. Presented here are some of the issues discussed in the book; issues that would help in understanding the thread of the argument explicated in the book great detail. *Jaffrerlot* divides his study of India's democracy, with reference to north India in particular, into two stages: from the time of independence to the 1950s and the late 1960s to the 1970s. He calls the post 1990s phase as the new age of democracy. The period was marked with conflict over the *Mandal* issue and the rise of lower caste parties. The first and the second stages were largely dominated by the Congress. He gives a detailed account of the Congress party. He argues that the Congress has, though its ideology as well as in practice, maintained the status quo. It was the party of the upper caste and it primarily catered to their interests. Influenced by *Gandhi's* views on the caste system, the Congress maintained a conservative position with regards to the caste system. In fact, in this context, he presents *Gandhi's* conservative ideology as a contrast to *Nehru's* socialist ideology and holds the former responsible for thwarting the implementation of *Nehru's* socialist's agenda. Alternatively, the Congress resorted to reformism; a philosophy borrowed from *Gandhi* and sought to co-opt *Dalit* leaders into the party. *Jaffrelot* demonstrates how the

Congress managed to take advantage of factionalism within scheduled caste parties. Such as the Republican Party of India and thereby diffused any possible threat to its political and social interests. The second stage was marked by the consolidation of Indira *Gandhi's* position in Indian politics. It was characterized by political rhetoric as far as the mobilization of popular support was concerned and by centralization of power within the congress party. It is in the backdrop of Congress success to sustain political democracy at the expense of social democracy in the north that the author turns his attention to the south to understand as to why the south presented a different picture of the Congress and the reasons for the inability of north Indian lower caste to mobilize themselves like their counterparts in the south.

Louis Dumont, a French sociologist, has explained *inequality* in caste system on a different basis. He holds that *hierarchy* and not *inequality* is the opposite of *equality*. He explains *hierarchy* in caste system in terms of *purity and pollution*, which according to him, is the basic principle of caste system. According to him, Hierarchy involves the superiority of the pure to the impure, separation of the pure from the impure and separation of pure occupations from the impure ones in the division of labour. He says (a) the hierarchical co-existence of the two opposites (b) hierarchy being quite independent of natural inequalities or the distribution of power. (c) the ranking of castes is religious in nature and (d) hierarchy is the relationship between the encompasser and the encompassed. *Dumont's* ideology of caste and perception of hierarchy in the caste system is thus totally different from that of other western scholars (Risley, Mayer, Marriott, etc.) who have explained it in terms of western concepts like individualism, egalitarianism etc. he (Dumont) relates hierarchy with the theory of *varna* which involves gradation but is distinct from both power and authority. The subordination of the king to the priest in Hindu society involves religious (ritual) ranking. Thus, *Dumont* holds that hierarchy encompasses both the *varna* divisions and the caste system. He gives importance to *ideological orientation* in interaction and behavior within and between castes. He also maintains that traditional division of lobour (the *jajmani* system) regulation of marriage and social contacts are based on hierarchy or religious values rather than economic or social logic. (1971; Gupta, Dipankar, 1998) has raised question against *Dumont's* notions of disjunction between status and power. He says that subordination of power (say king) to the status (say Brahmin) creates difficulties in understanding. The approach is ingenious but the understanding is not satisfactory.

According to *Gupta* (1992), by the early 1980s there are more than 105 million untouchables distributed throughout peninsular India. The exact number is difficult to determine because government statistics do not account for those who are converts to non-Hindu religions, even when they are demonstrably treated as untouchables by their neighbors. Gupta also analysis that nearly 90 percent live in Indian's rural villages, compared to approximately 80 percent of the higher caste population. Although untouchables are commonly clustered together in segregate hamlets at the edge of a village, they are a small and vulnerable minority in any given religion, making resistance to exploitation and violence very difficult.

Untouchable is by no means a homogeneous category. Language has been a dividing line. Only recently has there been a substantial pool of untouchables with a command of several languages, including English who could serve as human links between untouchable movements in different linguistic regions. Each untouchable caste has also been defined by the same social rules of endogamy (in the Indian context, marriage exclusively within the caste community) that shape the entire Indian caste system. The result has been the development of a variety of distinctive untouchable culture, with significant differences in the direction and pace of mobilization for change. Frequently it also means social conflicts that make co-operative efforts difficult. The problem is all the more acute because the individual hierarchic ranking of hereditary castes that permeates the dominant society doesn't shop at the social border of *untouchablility*. Some untouchable castes long regarded themselves as superior to others and even imposed their own internal touch-me-not-ism. One of the hallmarks of the contemporary *Dalit* movement has been its explicit rejection of order divisive strategies by which a given untouchable caste would seek its own liberation by trying usually unsuccessfully to distance it from other untouchable caste. By now the goal is liberation of all *Dalits* and this means dismantling the burden of centuries.

Caste, Society and Politics in India is the clearest and most convincing study of caste in India. Without denying its medieval antecedents, *Bayly* argues that *current manifestations of caste are now far more generalized across the subcontinent than was the case in former times. ... Caste as we now recognize it has been engendered, shaped and perpetuated by comparatively recent political and social developments. ... even in parts of the so-called Hindu heartland of Gangetic upper India, the institutions and beliefs which are now often described as the elements of traditional caste were only just taking shape as recently as the early eighteenth century - that is,*

the period of rapid regional state-building which accompanied the collapse of Mughal rule and the expansion of Western power in the subcontinent. The following summary doe's justice neither to the subtleties of *Bayly's* thesis nor the complexities of Indian caste. The origins of caste lay in the needs of *Rajputs* and others such as Maratha king *Shivagi* to formalize and institutionalize positions based on military prowess, as well as in notions of *varna* (the traditional fourfold 'class' scheme), different kinds of *jati* (birth groups), and associated Brahman-centred values. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, exaltation of routine and service by both *Mughal successor* kingdoms and the East India Company (though the latter also feared caste-based sedition) helped to spread *Brahmanical* caste conventions. From early travelers and company reports to bureaucratic Victorian census-taking and scientific theories of race, colonial (Orientalist) theories of caste took a wide range of forms. Among Indian theorist's caste was intimately connected with notions of modernity and nascent nationalism, with positions ranging from arguments for caste *uplift* to a Hindu *defense* of caste. The first half of the twentieth century saw struggles between radically different approaches to caste, most notably between *Gandhi* and *Ambedkar* and Nehru over constitutional politics and the status of untouchable. Independent India has seen intense debates over *reservations* (quotas in government positions for members of particular castes), the extension of notions of backwardness to include other backward classes, and an increase in caste-based electoral politics. Two chapters (covering colonial and independent India) focus on more everyday experiences of caste, in such areas as marriage, occupations, urbanization, notions of purity, pollution barriers, relationships between peasants and landlords and merchants, and so forth. And a final chapter looks at the symbolism and rhetoric of recent *caste war* violence, and at some of the rural and urban tensions underlying it. *Bayly* concludes *India then is not and never has been a monolithic caste society. It may even be that one day the principles and usages of jati and varna will lose much or all of their meaning for Indians living both within and beyond the subcontinent. Nevertheless, if one is to do justice to India's complex history, and to its contemporary culture and politics, caste must be neither disregarded nor downplayed - its power has simply been too compelling and enduring.*

1.6. Overview of the thesis

Chapter-one provides an introduction to the study, the nature of social and economic exclusion and vulnerability of the sweeper community. The chapter begins with a background of the caste system and present critical position of the sweeper community in Dhaka City. It also delivers the statement of the problems with historical, social and economic context. Reviews the literature on this community is focused on in this study. This review primarily focuses on the literature of exclusion that has emerged from a sociological perspective. It also covers the literature of urban sweeper developed through economic, spatial and policy perspectives. It further reviews the nature of urban politics and the responses of *Dalit* communities in the cities of the south. The chapter shows the significant of the study in terms of both academic research and policy making.

Diagram-1.1: Structure of the thesis

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│              Introduction               │
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┌────────────────────────────────────────┐
│    Overview of the sweeper community    │
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┌────────────────────────────────────────┐
│          Theoretical Framework          │
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┌────────────────────────────────────────┐
│               Methodology               │
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│                Findings                 │
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│               Discussion                │
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│         Summary and Conclusion          │
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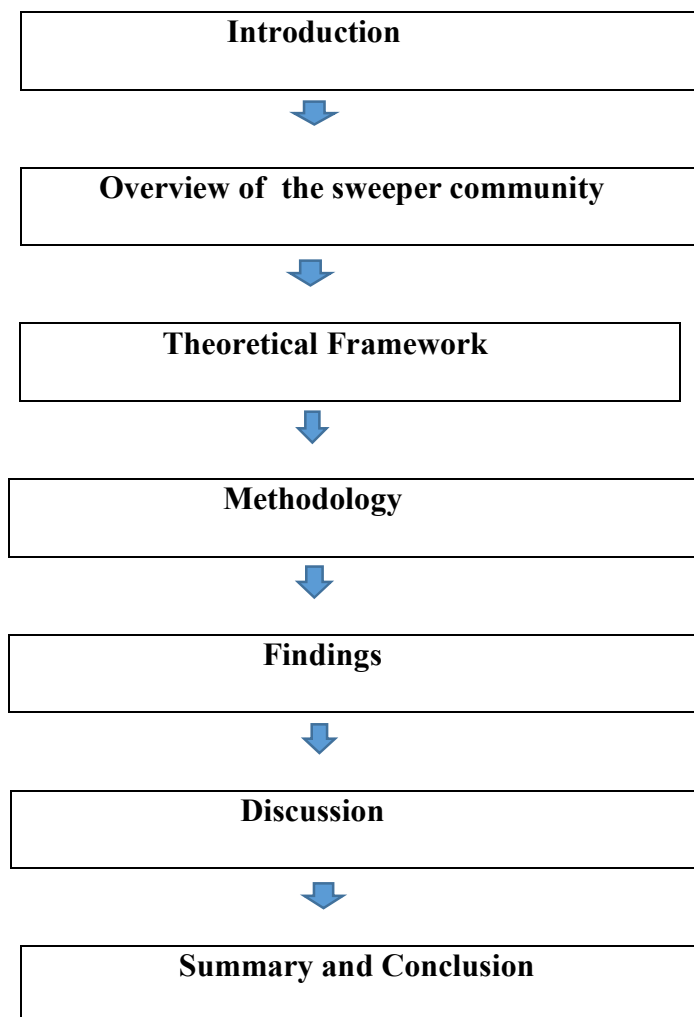
Chapter- two deals with an overview of sweeper community's background, status, population in Dhaka City, the principal city of Bangladesh. It starts with a general status of the sweeper focusing on its origin, population, stratification, religious hierarchy and their rights issues. The chapter describes the population and their identical crises in the present society. The chapter also explores human rights, discrimination and constitution. Finally, it describes the establishment and role of the Municipality and Municipal authority.

Chapter- three provides theoretical frameworks of urban sweeper and their exclusion. It critically reviews the theory of 'social exclusion', the theory of 'relative deprivation', the theory of 'entitlement and capability deprivation'. It also critically reviews the theory of 'culture of poverty' and the theory of 'solidarity of underclasses. Moreover, the chapter deals with the 'social exclusion theoretical framework', which is considered as an integrated framework for analyzing exclusion and vulnerability of sweeper community in developing countries.

Chapter-four deals with the methodology of the study. It addresses the research questions and the research hypotheses derived from the literature review and theoretical premises. The chapter deals with the definitions of major terms used in this research. It also provides a brief description of the research sites in Dhaka City from where the subjects were recruited. It explains the survey instrument, especially the questionnaire, the ways the survey was conducted and the problems encountered in the survey. The chapter incorporates the procedures of data processing and explains statistical techniques for bivariate and multi-variate analysis of the survey data. Ethical issues involved in this research are also dealt with. Finally, the issues of reliability and validity ensured in data collection are addressed.

Chapter-five deals with the findings of the study. The results outlined in this chapter are presented in three broad sections. The first section deals with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents including neighbourhood and habitat type, age, gender, marital status and educational level, migration and residence patterns and household characteristics. The second section deals with the features of poverty and vulnerability of sweeper households including employment and income pattern, expenditure and consumption pattern, household loans, savings and asset level and the access to urban infrastructures and social services. The final section deals with different forms of adaptations of the sweeper, including family and social networking, cultural values and practices and participation in urban politics.

Chapter-six deals with a discussion about the main findings of the study. A comparative analysis between the findings of this study and those in other studies is also provided. The chapter begins with an overview of the 'social exclusion framework' which is used as the frame of reference. It also discusses this traditional employment and livelihood strategies in the urban context. Different dimensions of poverty, asset vulnerability and well-being are addressed. The issues of family, social networking and cultural practices of Dhaka City's sweepers are discussed to understand their socio-economic and cultural vulnerability to the city. It further discusses their political integration as well as the roles of state and global forces in shaping their lives at the local level.

Chapter-seven provides a summary and conclusion of the study. It addresses the central issues set out at the onset of the study and relates them to the overall research findings. It further discusses the implications of the findings at both theoretical and practical levels. It offers some directions for future research in the field of untouchable community from a sociological perspective. Furthermore, the possibilities and directions for extending and broadening the study are described.

1.7. Limitations of the study

'Discrimination based on work and descent' is yet to become a significant constituent of dominant public discourse in Bangladesh. The issue has not received much attention even within the academic arena of the country (Uddin, 2014). The sweeper community is one of the lowest castes among the caste system that determines their existence and fate[4] in life and this sweeper communities usually treat as untouchables by the both Bengali Hindu and Muslim society. So the researcher realized that it is now very essential issue for study of present situation of this marginal people in our society. Moreover, it may be asked why Dhaka City has been selected for study area. Most of the sweeper colony are situated in Dhaka City and large amount of the sweepers are living in this ghetto generation to generation. So it is the major causes for the selection of this city for as a study area. Moreover, the researcher's previous familiarity with the research sites and subjects was also an important element in the selection of Dhaka City. The study has been conducted from three quarter in Dhaka City, namely, *Ganaktuli, Doyagonj, Dhalpur,* where a big proportion of the sweepers live. Interviews were conducted in four hundred sweeper households from these three

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[4] A fate that prescribes a life with no education, no paying jobs, frequent forced labor, no rights to own land or homes, no access to worship at the local temple, and completely segregated living to keep them far away from other upper caste peoples.

sweeper colony (This is clarified in Chapter- 5). A question that may also be raised is how representative is the sample: 'where in Bangladesh, caste-based discrimination is estimated to affect 3.5 to 5.5 million *Dalits* and most of them are sweeper who are living in colony and squatter settlements'. The most obvious limitation is that the data of the city is not been representing the generalized pattern of sweeper's life in Bangladesh. Nevertheless, the sample was selected for interviewing to represent the variety of sweeper habitats in the city. Most importantly, scientific procedures were ensured in recruiting the subjects. But it was not possible to ensure random procedures where completed as lists of sweeper populations were not available. A marginal level of error may be evident although the reliability and validity of responses were ensured through cross checking. Due to their illiteracy and general suspiciousness about the objectives of any research, the subjects were initially hesitant to participate fully. Since the respondents have no idea about such study, they think that it will also bring no benefit to them. It might create some difficulty to make them understand that the study would benefit them in the long run, not with immediate effect. The major limitation of the study is information relating to occupational patter, working condition, still education attainment, employment potential for job seeking, media communication etc. are very scanty. Respondents are not being available for interview; most of the time they are busy in their domestic and economic activities. Language was also barrier because many sweepers were come from different parts of India and somehow they speak mixed Hindi language, which become more difficult to understand. Hence, early data collected was verified again at a later stage of the field work. Even then some response error may be evident in this study. Survey data have been analysed through statistical techniques which may not be self-explanatory in all instances. However, qualitative data collected through observation and case studies are also presented to overcome this problem.

CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW OF THE SWEEPER COMMUNITY: THEIR BACKGROUND, STRATIFICATION AND POPULATION

2.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with an overview of sweeper community's background, status, population in Dhaka City, the principal city of Bangladesh. It starts with a general status of the sweeper focusing on its origin, population, stratification, religious hierarchy and their rights issues. In Bangladesh *Muslim* are in the majority and the *Hindus* are the minority. Though two religions have separate religious principles but both have hierarchical and territorial characteristics. The lower caste usually treats as untouchables by upper caste Hindu and also other religious communities and they represent the most marginalized and deprived section of our society. Living in extreme poverty the majority sweepers are deprived of education, health care, secure and safe housing, sanitation and decent work. Sweeper community experience daily insecurity, uncertainty or violence and there are regularly reported cases of physical abuse and rape in their daily life. They are still considered as pollution, unclean and untouchable and they live separately from pure and upper caste. They are not allowed to go inside the temples of upper caste, religious programs, tea shops or restaurants, houses of mainstream ethnic group, playgrounds, movie theatres, burial ground and cultural programs.

2.2. Social stratification in Bangladesh
2.2.1. Background of Hindu caste and stratification

Caste as much as religion is not born in a vacuum, but is the outcome of the interaction between people and their natural environment. Without doubt, the caste system was born in a Hindu environment. It is doubtful however that Hinduism as a religion gave birth to it. If indeed Hinduism had fathered the caste system it would be unexplainable why in the context of Bangladesh where the Hindu population is reduced to a minority and where the Hindu mode of life has collapsed caste and casteism are still very much present not only in the Hindu community but in any other community too, including the Muslim's *(*Targa*: 2010). Caste and the hierarchical principle it

embodies are part and parcel of Bangladeshi culture and custom. Caste practice in Bengal before partition of the Subcontinent had both hierarchical and territorial characteristics. In the census of 1941,118 castes were counted in Bengal, including 62 scheduled castes (Sarma, 1980, Iqbal, 2009*)*. According to the *Varna* system there were only two *Varnas* in Bengal– the Brahmins and the Shudras. Baidyas (physicians) and Kayasthas (scribes) occupied the highest position among the *Shudras* (Sanyal, 1981). In Bangladesh today Hindus represent less than 10 per cent of the total population. But just as their counterparts in India are, Bangladeshi Hindus are traditionally divided into upper, lower and scheduled caste groups. At the top are the *Brahman*, *Kashtriya* and *Vaishya* castes. Below these are the *Shudra*, which include the traditional serfs, craftsmen, agricultural labourers, and below the *Shudra* are the 'out-castes', *Atishudras*, who perform manual labour considered impure by the rest (Mohanty, 2004; cited in Chowdhury, 2009). In the first census in 1872 in India, most of the above *Dalit* groups were identified as *charal or chandal* in general. But they did not like this defamatory word and started a continuous movement under the leadership of *Guruchad Thakur* in the Eastern part of the then Bengal especially in the districts of Dhaka, Faridpur, Barisal (Bakergonj), Khulna, Jessore, Mymansingh. And the British government finally compelled to change their name as *Namasudra* in the census of 1911. It is popularly called as *Namasudra* Movement. Even they started to practice new type of religion within Hindu periphery which is called *Matua cult* (Islam, 2012). According to N.K. Bose, many *Namasudras* in East Bengal were boatmen or fishermen. He says, 'in Bengal, and especially in East Bengal, wherever there are rivers and canals, one can find the members of the *Namasudra* caste. Hindu society has always deposed this agricultural caste and has gone to the extent of treating its members as untouchables and making them live in the fringes of the village' (Bose: 1994). According to 1941 census, there were 7.1 million scheduled caste comprising *Muchi, Dhopa, Dom, Sweeper, Hari, Kaura, Lohar,* and *Mali* in Bengal at the time of partition India. Though the actual division of Bengal did not take place like the Hindu Bengal and Muslim Bengal as visualized by *S.K. Chatterjee* (Van Schendel: 2002), the number was 62 percent i.e, 4.43 million in Hindu Bengal and the rest 38 percent i.e 2.75 million was in Muslim Bengal or present day Bangladesh.

Each caste usually used to follow a particular hereditary occupation such as agriculturist caste, artisan caste (goldsmiths, blacksmiths, potters, carpenters, dyers, oil-men, confectioners, spice-dealers, cotton weavers, silk weavers), the most despised castes including hunters, boat-men,

barbers, sawyers, fishermen, date-palm juice collectors, watchmen, and untouchables like *Harijons or Methars or Domer* (Sweeper and cleaner), Dom (curing of diseased spleens), the *Muchi or Chamar* (cobbler) and so on based on the occupation and locality (Karim:1956, Chowdhury:1978, Ali:1985). Thus, it is clear from the sources of information that in Bangladesh, the status of scheduled or low caste and untouchables are different and as a result, the nature and extent of discrimination they experience at different levels is not the same.

After 1947, large portions of Hindu community settled in India from Bangladesh (East Pakistan) among them *Dalits* were majority. After 1947, the process of migration to India continued. Hindu population has dropped from 18% in 1961 to 9% in 2001. Hindus were severely affected by the abuse of Enemy Property Order (1965) and now it is called Vested Property Returned Act 2001. In Bangladesh there is no census of *Dalits*. But it is roughly estimated that 3.5 to 5.5 million people are *Dalit* and excluded among 150 million of total population. The other estimation is 8.5 to 10 Million *Dalit* and excluded people live in slums or villages in all 64 districts of Bangladesh. *Dalits* could be identified into three broad categories in Bangladesh (Islam, 2012). According to BBS Census 2001, the total Hindu population was 11,608,268 and Census 2011 revealed 12,299,940. The estimated total schedule caste and other excluded community among the Hindus is 70 per cent. It is important to note that the Hindu population was 28 per cent in 1941, 22.7 per cent in 1951, 18.5 per cent in 1961, 13.5 per cent in 1974, 12.1 per cent in 1981, 10.5 per cent in 1991, 9.2 per cent in 2001 and 8.5 per cent in 2011 (Islam & Parvez, 2013). In a study Sadana (2009) reveals that due to their place within the caste system, this group has suffered discrimination and exclusion in all its dimensions for centuries. This group has been historically deprived access and entitlements not only to economic rights but also to social needs such as education, health and housing. Discrimination and exclusion in access to sources of income (land, capital and education) has led to high levels of economic deprivation and poverty among SCs.

2.2.2. Background of Muslim class and stratification

Islam preached its egalitarian principles and equality with saying 'there is no deity but God' and oneness of God is meaningless without the belief in oneness of man, that man must spread brotherly love among all human beings. According to Islamic belief, all human being are the sons of Allah and a true Muslim does not speak evil of others, nor does he tell tale about the disadvantage of his fellow men irrespective of their religious affiliations. Islam indeed introduced a new type of social stratification, in which the highest were those who were the closest to the Prophet of Islam in blood, faith and geography. In the early time of Islam religion this principle of the new social stratification was followed while distributing annuity from the state's treasury. Even the Islamic jurisprudence recognizes this rule of precedence. The prophet taught that in case of marriage, the considerations of birth should be given special attention. Because of this, even to today the upper classes of Muslim in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh follow the saying of the Prophet as support to maintain their caste and class distinctions (Karim: 1956, IIDS: 2008). According to the Sunni school of jurisprudence: 1. An Arab is superior to a non-Arab (Ajami) Muslim, 2. Amongst Arabs: a) The descendants of Hazrat Ali come first, b) The Quraysh are above all other Arabs, save Hazrat Ali's descendant's, 3. The descendants of the Caliphs, 4. A learned non-Arab (*Ajami)* is equal to an ignorant Arab, 5. A Qazi (Muslim judge) or a Faqih (Muslim jurist theologian) ranks higher than a merchant, and a merchant than a trades man. So the Islamic hierarchy is not the same as the Hindu caste system (Iqbal, 2009).

In Bengal, up to the early part of the twentieth century, Muslims, especially members of higher divisions used to divide the Muslim society into three broad divisions 1) *Sharif or Ashraf* (i.e., noble born or foreign Moslems) 2*) Atraf* (low-born) and 3) *Ajlafor Arzal* (lowest of all) all of them signifying extreme contempt (IIDS, 2008). The fourteenth century Turkish scholar, Ziauddin Barani, was known for his intensely casteist views, and regarded the Ashraf Muslims as racially superior to the *Ajlaf Muslims*. He divided the Muslims into grades and sub-grades. In his scheme, all high positions and privileges were to be a monopoly of the high born Turks, not the Indian Muslims. Even in his interpretation of the Koranic verse "Indeed, the pious amongst you are most honored by Allah", he considered piety to be associated with noble birth. Barrani was specific in his recommendation that the "sons of Mohamed" (i.e. Ashrafs) "be given a higher social status than

the low-born" (i.e. Ajlaf). In the Fatwa-i-Jahandari (advice XXI), he wrote about the "qualities of the high-born" as being "virtuous" and the "low-born" being the "custodian of vices". Every act which is "contaminated with meanness and based on ignominy, comes elegantly" (from the Ajlaf) (Das, 2006). Barani had a clear disdain for the Ajlaf and strongly recommended that they be denied education, lest they usurp the Ashraf masters. He sought appropriate religious sanction to that effect (Singh, 2006). The *Arzal* (lowest of all) were consisted of very lowest castes such as the *Helalkhor* (sweepers, latrine and garbage cleaners), *Lalbegi, Abdal and Bediya* with whom no other Muslim would associate. These lower castes were forbidden to enter the mosque or to use the public burial ground (Levy: 1933). The *Arzal* group was recorded in the 1901 census in India and are also called *Dalit* Muslims "with whom no other *Muhammadan* would associate, and who are forbidden to enter the mosque or to use the public burial ground". They are relegated to "menial" professions such as scavenging and carrying night soil.

Muslims in Bengal patterned its social stratification among four major castes *Syed, Mughal, Sheikh, and Pathan* as has been peculiar in India for its imitation to Hindu Varna system, which divides the society into four main classes. All are noble, indeed, former two, as representing the tribe of Mahomet and the direct progeny of Alee, his son-in-law, are pre-eminent. Socially, the community has been unfortunate to inherit the traits of both their Hindu and Moslem forbears and caste prejudices, have left their mark upon many. There are about thirty-five separate Muslim castes in Bengal (Talke: 1914). The Muslims in the villages are broadly divided into *Khandan* (high status Muslims), *Girhasta*[1] (low status Muslims) and *Kamla* (labourers or lowest status Muslims) and there exists sharp cases of discrimination and exclusion in most of the villages in the country. This socially, culturally and economically marginalized people, in fact, have to do very little in the local power structure and change the political and economy situation of the communities in the country. The major Muslim lower caste or *Dalit* are engaged in different low status occupation like, *Mathar* (cleaner), *Tati* (weaver), *Dargi* (tailor), *Mazi* (boat men), *Tele* (oil presser), *Bhere* (carrier of bride carriage), *Kasai* (butcher), *Bihari* (refugees from Bihar, India) and *Rohinga* (refugees from Myanmar) and so on (IIDS, 2008). It is to mention that as they are Muslim they are not identified themselves as Dalit's yet though they are socially excluded and discriminated (Islam, 2012).

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[1] *Girhasta* indicate those people who own some land and are related with cultivation work.

2.3. Evolution of Dalit identity

The word "*Dalit*," popular and common in India, comes from the Sanskrit[2] language, and means "grounded," "suppressed," "crushed," or "broken to pieces." It was first used by Jyotirao Phule in the nineteenth century, in the context of the oppression faced by the then "untouchable" castes (*Parittran, 2011*)*. The evolution of *Dalit* identity is very complex as *Dalit*s are divided into hundreds of castes and sub-castes and most importantly they are always treated by dominant caste in a derogatory way. In the first census in 1872 the majority of *Dalits* in Bengal were identified by the term *Chandala*, a *Sanskrit* word for someone who deals with disposal of corpses, and a Hindu out caste. After a long struggle these section of *Dalits* successfully lobbied the British government to change their name to *Namasudra* in the census of 1911. The British administration used 'Depressed Classes' in 1919 to identify all the varied groups of outcaste peoples together. From 1936, under the rule of Britain, India, and Pakistan and since 1971 Bangladesh they officially identified as scheduled castes. They also identified as Bengali word *Antaj* (Islam & Parvez, 2013). In Bangladesh the word is basically unknown even because it does not exist in the Bengali language. However, a Bengali form of the term can be found in the word *pododolito* which maintains a similar meaning as well. Its adoption in Bangladesh has been basically determined by its wide use in international circles. The popularization of the term in India was brought about in the 70s by the *Dalit Panther*, a radical militant movement. Now the word *Dalit* is commonly used to indicate so called untouchable castes, the pariah, and the outcasts. In Bangladesh such a use is very recent and is well known only to upper caste and cultured people of civil society. It is on the other hand much less known to *Dalits* themselves (*Parittran*, 2011).

Mahatma Gandhi coined the term '*Harijan*' instead of untouchables, which means children of God (*Hari* is another name for the god *Vishnu*). The term *Harijan* was considered patronising, and not acceptable to Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956), and his followers. Instead, they preferred the term 'Dalit' to designate the former untouchables (Islam & Parvez, 2013). However, the term was basically rejected by *Dalits* themselves on the basis of two considerations. The first: the term *Horijon,* apart from its patronizing flavour, is a religious one which has its tradition and

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[2] An ancient language of India belongs to Indo-European family, in which Hindu holy text are written and on which many modern languages are based.

meaning within Hinduism. Christian and Muslim *Dalits* would hardly accept to be identified with such a term. The second: traditionally *Horijons* in South India were the sons and daughters born in Hindu temples, out of sacred prostitution, their mothers being the so called *devadashi*, or servants of the deity. In Bangladesh *Horijon* has never gained currency even though it is indeed used by a particular section of so called untouchables. In fact, in Bangladesh *Horijon* does not indicate outcaste groups in general but has become instead the name of one such group, the sweepers or contemptuously the *Methors* (*Parittran*, 2011).

According to Victor Premasagar, the term expresses their "weakness, poverty and humiliation at the hands of the upper castes in the Indian society." It implies those who have been broken, crushed or grounded down by those above them in a deliberative and active way. As such, the word itself indicates a system of repression and contains the denial of pollution, karma and caste hierarchy. According to founder-editor of Asmitadarsh *Dalit* is not a caste. *Dalit* is symbol of change and revolution (kamal, 2007). For those who call themselves *Dalits*, the use of this word has promoted a new awareness of their status and position in society and a path to discovering a self-perception of their loss of human dignity, a found recognition of their immediate community but in relation to both state and civil society (Zene, 2012). Rabindranath Tagore had different opinion about changing the identity of 'low caste' people. He believed that in this approach of identify them as *Harijon;* there was a hidden sympathy toward that specific community of people, which was insulting for them. He said that '*Durgato'* (vulnerable) would have been a better ward to identity them. As days passed by, people of low caste again started to find a new identity. And as a recent answer to their quest they got their new identity the '*Dalit'*. The word '*Dalit*' is rather used to commonly identify the community of people who are pushed away from mainstream society. In this context the word *Dalit* is gaining popularity among all caste's day by day (Islam, 2012). In the study of Dalit Initiatives in Bangladesh, Islam & Parvez (2013) point out that there are three broad categories of *Dalits* in Bangladesh.1. Bengali *Dalits* who live in villages all over Bangladesh. 2. *Dalits* who migrated (or were forced to move) from India to what was previously East Bengal. Though this migration began since 1605 during the Mughal period, a considerable number of *Dalits* were migrated from 1835 to 1940 during the British colonial period. They were brought by the British colonial rulers to do menial jobs such as sweeping, clearing sewage, working in the tea plantations and at railway stations. 3. Muslim *Dalits* who again can be found across the

country. Though as a religion, Islam does not recognize any division based on caste or creed, the socio-economic and cultural context of South Asia determine some Muslim communities as inferiors to others based on their occupations.

2.4. Constitution, human rights and discrimination

The lack of sensitivity to the situation of communities facing caste discrimination became overriding in the post-1947 era. Whereas colonial rulers had a direct role in solidifying the unequal social structure and institutionalizing caste, the laws and policies they framed were successful in creating tangible awareness about the state of 'scheduled' castes and tribes. The lack of interest that the subsequent regimes of the then Pakistan State showed could perhaps be accounted for in terms of the pseudo-religious nationalism that worked as the foundation of the state. However, it is unfortunate that in independent Bangladesh the state machinery as well as society at large has failed to show even the minimum level of appreciation as regards the sufferings of the country's *Dalit* population (Uddin, 2014). The Constitution of Bangladesh does not have any direct or explicit provisions that prohibit the multiple forms of caste-based discrimination, though Article 28 declares: 'The state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth'. The same Article also reads: "No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth be subjected to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to access to any place of public entertainment or resort or admission to any educational institution." The Preamble of the Constitution, however, lays specific focus on social justice by declaring: "We, the people of Bangladesh, pledge that it shall be a fundamental aim of the state to realize through the democratic process a socialist society, free from exploitation - a society in which the rule of law, fundamental human rights and freedom, equality and justice, political, economic and social, will be secured for all citizens".

Articles 26 to 47 of the Constitution guarantee that all citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, enjoy and exercise human rights and fundamental freedoms such as freedom of movement, freedom of assembly and of association, freedom of thought, conscience and speech and freedom of religion on an equal footing. The Constitution also gives every citizen the right to enjoy equality before the law and equal protection of the law, protection of the right to life and personal liberty, safeguards with regard to arrest and detention, prohibition of forced labour, freedom of (lawful)

profession or occupation, etc. In addition to the Constitutional prohibition on discrimination, special provisions provide positive discrimination in favour of disadvantaged sections of citizens. None of these provisions, however, go beyond the mention of caste as one form of discrimination, to make any special reference to *Dalits or* to explicitly prohibit 'untouchability'; no directives laid down in the Constitution for promoting the economic and social development of excluded groups. Constitutional provisions are in place in Article 29 prohibiting any form of discrimination based on religion. Measures of positive discrimination and government policies for reserving special quotas in public services for religious minorities or denominational institutions are also guaranteed. Article 28(4) also makes special provisions for the advancement of any disadvantaged section of citizens, whereas Article 14 pledges to ensure the emancipation of the 'backward sections'. The ability of the Constitution to cater to the specific needs of one marginalised and 'backward' section of society can be further seen from the special provisions for indigenous or 'tribal' citizens. Special quotas for 'tribals' are provided in public employment and admission to educational institutions.

The Civil Procedure Code (CPC) and the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC) provide for equal rights for all citizens of the country irrespective of caste, race, religion or colour in protecting the individual against any form of discrimination or violence (Uddin, 2014). In a study Islam & Parvez (2013) point out, Bangladesh has ratified all major international human rights treaties and conventions and is therefore legally bound to comply with these international human rights treaties, including the:

-Universal Declaration of Human Rights

-International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

-International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights

-International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

Islam and Parvez (2013) also reveal that the degree and type of discrimination is not equal for all categories. So their access and rights are also not equal. *Dalit* and other excluded communities in Bangladesh become victims of severe discriminations. Though *Dalit* and other neglected communities are like other citizens of Bangladesh, but they have always been deprived of their constitutional rights and consequently fall victims to severe social discrimination. They cannot

stand up as a strong and influential community in the society obviously because they lack privileges of education, opportunities and rights of owning a property. As a result, they have never become as a strong pressure group to ensure their rights. Uddin (2014) also mentions that in consequence of historical apathy thus becoming deeply rooted, the state machinery in contemporary Bangladesh has taken no positive steps to combat practices of 'untouchability' and associated segregation of *Dalit* communities. Even non-government agencies or organizations have not paid adequate attention to the plight of caste-discriminated people, despite the size of the *Dalit* population in the country being quite large. Hence, *'caste', 'untouchability' or 'Dalit'* are not the terms that the common person in the country would feel easily connected with; the terms would not evoke any familiar imagery.

2.5. Background of the sweeper community

By nationality the sweepers are Bangladeshi, but their de-facto position is that of detached and socially degraded untouchable living in a double minority situation. They are found in big cities as well as in every district town, where they have been confined in ghettos since they or their forebears were brought there from different part of India, by the then British authority. Though the large scale employment of sweepers in this region was implemented by the British, Sweepers and a sweeping system, were already present there, as well as in other parts of India. In fact: '*There have been system of municipal government and hence of municipal sweeping in various periods of India history, in very ancient times as well as under the Moghuls……..it appears that at other times too, urban street sweeping has administrative office of the local nawab or raja*' (Chatterjee 1979; Asaduzzaman, 2001).

It is worth mentioning that the population and importance of Dhaka increased when it was made the capital of Bengal by Islam khan in 1608, during the region of the *Moghuls*. It is therefore presumed that sweepers were employed in urban areas from that time on. However, the British occupation of Bengal from the mid-18th century brought a new administration, and at that time the development of townships in different parts of the region required the hiring of health and sanitation workers. In other words, with the establishment of municipalities in East Bengal, a large number of labour forces from different parts of India were hired and employed on a more organized way by the British authorities. According to Bangladesh municipal authorities and many elderly

sweepers, the British used middlemen or agents to attract and hire the labour force, especially those poverty-stricken people who were generally marked as low status groups (Asaduzzaman, 2001). A considerable number migrated into what is now Bangladesh between 1835 and 1940, during a British-sponsored urbanization plan. They worked in jobs such as road sweeping, clearing sewage, shoe repair and tea harvesting. This historical legacy of working in low-paying, difficult jobs continues today (Chowdhury, 2014). However, the colonial British government channeled them into the trade of sweepers. Since, then this has been their profession. Today they work as cleaners for Dhaka City (Drik news, 2008).

From the sweeper point of view, the nature of their task or duty was not well explained to them by the middlemen, who only enticed the former with prospect of better jobs, wages, housing facilities and so forth. Before migration, many of these labourers took it for granted or assumed that they were going to work in hospitals, railways, construction firms and so on, as announce by the middle man. Moreover, he also had a preconceived notion about east Bengal (Bangladesh) as a comparatively affluent region. All of these appealing factors facilitated their decision to migrate. In their homeless, on the other hand, they were primarily engaged as agricultural laborers, though some sections of the work force were involved in other occupation (Asaduzzaman, 2001).

Map-2.4.1: Map of Bangladesh and location of Dhaka City

Source: http://www.ezilon.com/maps/asia/bangladesh-maps.html

2.6. The population of the sweeper community

Although there has been a scarcity of literature, leading sample surveys indicate 5.5 to 6.5 million *Dalits* and people from socially excluded communities living in Bangladesh (3-4 per cent of total population). Even though the 2011 Census provided an unprecedented opportunity to capture national data categories related to work, surprisingly descent and caste were not included. The lack of concrete data contributes to the invisibility, marginalisation and disempowerment of these communities and prevents not only the capture of national disaggregated data but also *Dalit* and excluded communities' claim for special measures, representation or participation in policy making, development, employment and equality of access to basic services. According to the 2006 Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) reports, only 12 households with 63 members are *Harijan* (sweepers) who live in Khulna Division. This indicates the lack of political will to recognize *Dalits* and the existence of these communities in Bangladesh. Again according to BBS Census 2001, the total Hindu population was 11,608,268 and Census 2011 revealed 12, 299,940. The estimated total schedule caste and other excluded community among the Hindus is 70 per cent. It is important to note that the Hindu population was 28 per cent in 1941, 22.7 per cent in 1951, 18.5 per cent in 1961, 13.5 per cent in 1974, 12.1 per cent in 1981, 10.5 per cent in 1991, 9.2 per cent in 2001 and 8.5 per cent in 2011 (Islam & Parvez, 2013).

In Bangladesh sweepers have not yet been categorized separately as a single profession or occupational groups. The economic activity of the people of a decade shows that the percentage of *Dalit* (sweeper, weaver, blacksmith, potters and goldsmith) is 1.11 percent (BBS 2003, published in February 2006). Some researchers claim that one percent of the total population of Bangladesh is *Harijons* (Akhteruzzan, Haque & Bashfire, 2006 cited from Chowdhury, 2009). There are about 45 different types of *Dalit* communities who are segregated based on their professions and casts (IDSN, BDHR, 2006). About 300 years ago, during the British rule, the forefathers of these sweepers were brought from Indian states such as *Madras, Kanpur, Hyderabad* and other states in the south. They were mainly ultra-poor people who came here looking for a better life. Because the cast they belong to is considered the lowest among the Hindus, they have always found it hard to find accommodation because of the social taboo against them (Kallol, 2014).

Table -2.6.1: Colony name and population of the *Jaat* sweeper in Dhaka City

Colony name	Category of sweeper	Total family	Total population
Nagira bazar city sweeper colony, Aga sadeq road, Dhaka	Dom, Domer, Hela, Lalbegi, Kanpuri	1500	70000
Ganaktuli city sweeper colony, Hazaribug , Dhaka	Dom, Domer, Hela, Lalbegi, Kanpuri	1200	60000
Doyagonj wari city colony, Tikatuli, Sutrapure , Dhaka	Telugu, Mala, Mathika, Sabari, Sakali, Dom, Domer, Hela, Lalbegi, Kanpuri	2500	120000
Lalbug sosanghute colony, Lalbug , Dhaka	Dom, Domer	20	60
14 no outfall Telugu colony, Dhulpur, Dhaka.	Telugu, Hokani, Shachari	250	1000
Postogula Sosanghute Dom colony, Demra Dhaka	Dom, Domer	50	300
Mitfort medical staff quarter, Lalbug , Dhaka	Dom, Domer, Hela, Kanpuri	45	180
Kachpur Dom Basti, Kachpur, Dhaka	Dom, Domer	50	250
Malibug TNT colony, Dhaka	Telugu, Shachari	10	40
Gopibug railway sweeper colony, South kamalapur, Dhaka	Dom, Telugu, Lalbegi, Kanpuri	250	2000
Pongu Telugu sweeper colony, Agargou, Dhaka	Telugu, Hokani, Shachari	110	1800
Baribath Telugu sweeper colony, Gabtoli , Dhaka	Telugu, Shachari	35	175
Tonggi railway sweeper colony, Tonggi, Dhaka	Dom, Domer, Lalbegi, Kanpuri	90	365
Rainkhula sweeper colony, Mirpur, Dhaka	Telugu, Basfore, Hela	36	180
Jahangirnagar university sweeper colony, Saver	Telugu, Kanpuri	13	60
Model college sweeper colony, Mohammadpur, Dhaka	Telugu, Mala	7	32
Suprapur sweeper colony, Sutrapur ,Dhaka	Dom, Domer, Kanpuri	35	165
Sipbari sweeper colony, Hagaribug, Dhaka	Dom, Domer, Hela, Kanpuri	80	350
Medical staff quarter , Pilkana, Lalbug , Dhaka	Kanpuri	13	70
Total		6294	32027

Source: Pervez Altaf, Islam Mazharul, Das Moni rani (2008), p-4

In term of enumeration of sweeper population in the country, there is no specific figure or national statistics by the government or private organization. According to Bangladesh *Dalit Human Rights* (BDHR), an organization working for the low caste people, around half million sweeper live in Dhaka City (The daily Jogantor, 2006). Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) general claimed that the number of its cleaning workers is around ten thousand and rest of the people are engaged in government and non-government agencies (Islam, 2011).

2.7. Classification of the sweeper

Jaat Sweeper

Jaat Sweeper is one of the major categories of sweeper. Respondents are mentioned at least ten different *Jaat* names, they have different origin and language which are as following: 1. *Hela* (Their origin is *kanpuri* and speak Hindi) 2. *Hari* (sweeper and speak Telugu) 3. *Madraji* (origin to south India and speak Telugu) 4. *Dom* (Bury dead body and help post- mortem and speak Bhojpuri) 5. *Domer Hela* (Sweeper /cleaner speak Jabbalpuri and Hindi) 5. *Bhuimali* (sweeper and religion Hindu) 6. *Raut* (sweeper and religion Hindu) 7. *Laibegi or Vulmiki* (sweeper or cleaner speak Urdu and Hindi) 8. Madiga (sweeper and speak Telugu) 9. *Sabari* (sweeper and speak Telugu). Most of the sweepers, particularly the untouchables among the Hindus in Bangladesh, are the descendants of Indians from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh (Kanpur, Hamirbag, and Jobbalpur), Andhra Pradesh and many other parts like Gourakpur, Chapra, Uriya, Maddaparpur, Baliha, Patna, Motihari, and Bhagalpur. From the inception of setting up the capital in Dhaka by Islam Khan during *Mughal* regime in 1608, sweepers were appointed for cleaning activities. All the respondents are in consensus that members of all those *Jaat* identify themselves as Hindu explicitly. The number of *Bhuimali, Raut, Laibegi or Vulmiki* are very few and they are living scattered in the different part of Bangladesh.

Majority of the colony in Dhaka City are living two categories of *Jaat* sweeper. According to their origin, one sect is Telugu sweepers and the second sect is Hindi speaking *Kanpuri* sweepers who traced their origin to Uttar Pradesh, more precisely to Kanpur and *Alahabad* regions. The former categories of sweepers, who are spoke Telugu and traced their origin to Southern India (especially to the *Vishhakapatnam* district of Andhra Pradesh), are categorized as Telugu sweepers. They are properly known as *Madraji sweepers* by member of the encompassing society as well as by other

sweeper of non-Telugu background. The members of this category identify themselves as a Telugu sweeper (Asaduzzaman, 2001). Many originate from Andhra Pradesh and today the most significant Telugu populations are in the neighbouring states of *Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa and Chhattishgra.* According to the elders of the community, almost 50 members migrated in the first phase and later more than 200 members followed due to economic crisis from *Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Chhattishgra, some parts of Jharkhand and Kharagpur* region of West Bengal in India during the British period (between 1942 and 1945) and a large number of them have been living in *Ishwardi* and the rest in Dhaka, Bangladesh till now (Tanim, 2009).

In Bangladesh most of them are pre-dominantly low-caste Hindus or Christians. As, a severe drought made it impossible to maintain their live on agriculture in the late 1940s the British colonial rulers came up with a '*smelly*' offer. If they would move to Dhaka to work as sweepers, they would get housing and food security, the British promised. *"Without big options our ancestors agreed and moved to Dhaka in 1947,* the combination of drought, low-class status and the need for waste services in East Bengal led to the establishment of the city's small Telugu colony. They began by cleaning the streets and collecting large pots of human waste, work that the Muslim majority refused to do for religious reasons (it is deemed unacceptable for Muslims to have direct contact with faces). Eventually, they became fourth grade employees of the Dhaka City Corporation. Their appointment to the DCC and their willingness to do a '*dirty*' job that no one else wanted to do, have made them valuable members of society, despite their low social status. This value, however, was not always recognized by the Muslim majority who refused to rent houses to low-class sweepers because the job and thus the people who are doing it were seen as dirty. As Dhaka began to grow phenomenally after Independence in 1971, the rapid pace of urban development forced the Telugu community to move repeatedly, getting a new place to live every time. Eventually, in 1979, the community was divided and one group settled in *Dhalpur* Ward in the southeast outskirts of the city. Ironically, this Telugu community settled on top of an old garbage collection site where for years' sweepers had been dumping the waste they collected. Despite the fact that there were no written agreements with the authorities who had brought them here and promised them housing and food, their employer, the DCC, provided them with simple dwellings of bamboo and tin, as well as toilets and access to piped water. The Telugu did not have access to basic infrastructural facilities, however: sweepers were denied education on the basis that

it was extraneous to the work they did (Goodman and Kaatz-Dubberke, 2009). With an ancestry which can be traced back to Kanpur, India, the residents of today's sweeper's colony had migrated to Bangladesh more than 300 years ago with hopes of finding a better prospect of life through good jobs (Drik news, 2008). In addition to their distinct languages, origins and self-identifications, there are also considerable cultural differences between these two broad categories of sweepers (Asaduzzaman, 2001).

Muslim sweeper

Like many religions Islam promotes a society of non-discrimination and tolerance. However, many Muslim communities in Bangladesh experience discrimination based on their work and descent. It is challenging to raise these issues with Muslims who are often not prepared to acknowledge the existence of discrimination or practices of untouchability within their own societies and perceive it as a problem or cultural practice related to Hinduism (Islam & Pervez, 2013). In case of Muslim sweeper in Bangladesh, sweeping is not their ancient profession and most of them had a peasant background before entering to this occupation. In fact, various natural disaster, famines and changing socio-economic and political structures were responsible to push them entering to this occupation for maintaining subsistence livelihood. Farzana Islam (2011) says about Muslim sweeper in her study *political participation of Dalit women in Dhaka City* that sweeping is not their original or primordial profession. They had to choose this profession under different circumstances at different historical periods. This professional identity has gradually made ground for their lower and neglected status. In a weekly magazine of Bangladesh, it has been maintained that the indigenous of this country accepted this occupation during the time of famine in 1943, while the Dhaka municipal authorities motivated and recruited some of them from the emergency camp for the hungry'. To avoid the public eye, these people agreed to do this cleaning work at night. Again a large number of them involved themselves in this occupation during the time of famine in 1974 and numbers gradually increased (Hayat, 1979). From the views of Muslim sweepers, it seemed that the attractive wage of that time, job opportunities for both male and female of a household and the hope of good residence with attractive facilities which lead them to accept the municipal cleaning work. Moreover, they also considered the timing if work as an opportunities factor, i.e. according to municipal schedule work has to be done before the dawn, this timing has reduced their fear of embarrassment to meet people they and general public while they are involved

with such unpleasant work (Assaduzzaman, 1990).

2.8. City Corporation and sweeper community

Due to lack of authoritative literature it is difficult to comment on the existence and situation of sweeper community in ancient Bangladesh. The existence of the Hindu caste system, at least during the time of the *Pal* and *Shen* kings and low caste people like *Dom, Chamar, Kamer, Chandal* have been noticed from the ancient Bengali text *Charjapad* (650-1100 A. D.). Their position is very lower than the *Sudra* in the society (H. Anupam, 1979). According to Asaduzzaman (2001), most *Dalits*, particularly the untouchables among the Hindus in Bangladesh, are the descendents of Indians from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh (Kanpur, Hamirbag, and Jobbalpur), Andhra Pradesh and many other parts like *Gourakpur, Chapra, Uriya, Maddaparpur, Baliha, Patna, Motihari,* and Bhagalpur. From the inception of setting up the capital in Dhaka by Islam Khan during Mughal regime in 1608, sweepers were appointed for cleaning activities. It is a common opinion that they had been brought largely by the British Colonial regime to provide menial services for them since 1830s. They have been popularly known as *'Methor'* (derived from Persian word *Mihtor* literal meaning is ruler / prince) that signifies degradation, and disgusting.

Map-2.8.1: Dhaka-south City-Corporation-map

Source: http://www.mediabangladesh.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/dhaka-south-city-corporation-map-1024x908.jpg
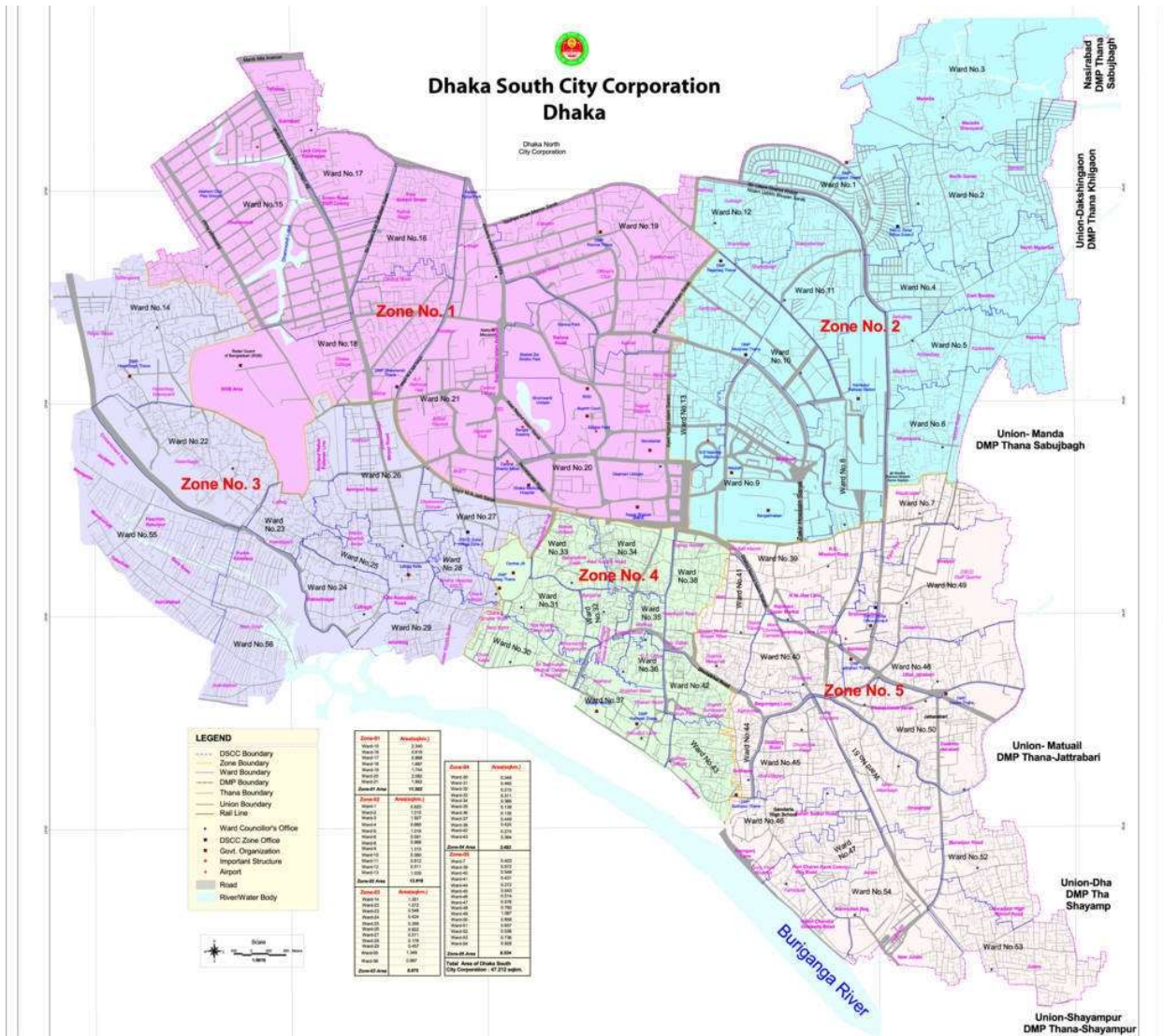
Dhaka City Corporation was established as the Dacca Municipality on August 1, 1864. Prior to that, a Committee for the improvement of Dacca (Former spelling of Dhaka) managed the city. The act of 1884 added the provision of elected representatives in municipalities called commissioners. In 1978, it gained corporation status. In 1982, two adjoining municipalities, Mirpur and Gulshan, were merged with Dhaka Municipality. In 1983, it was renamed as Dhaka Municipal Corporation which was again renamed Dhaka City Corporation in 1990 (Siddiqui,

2005). According to Local Govt. (City Corporation) Amendment Act (2011), Dhaka City Corporation has divided as Dhaka South City Corporation and Dhaka North City Corporation on 04 December in 2011.

Table-2.8.1: Brief profile of sweeper community who engaged as workers in City Corporation

Area	Number of cleaner		National pay scale(7th) (4500-9095 T.k)	No work no pay (195-200 T.k)	Total cleaner
	Male	Female			
01	656	523	812	367	1179
02	575	418	444	549	993
03	375	358	296	437	733
04	585	584	462	707	1169
05	781	469	428	822	1250
06	564	480	361	683	1044
07	293	346	202	437	639
08	313	299	215	397	612
Total	4142	3477	3220	4399	7619

Source: Waste management department, Dhaka City Corporation, 2014

In Bangladesh, under the present set-up the Municipal or City Corporation employs a large team of sweepers. Teams of sweepers are designated to each councilor's (or Ward Commissioners) electoral ward in different areas to perform street sweeping. The councilors ward have been accepted as the Municipal unit of operation. There are particular lengths of streets assigned to each sweeper on which a sweeper needs to perform street sweeping. The sweepers perform street sweeping as their official duty and collect household waste as the private work. The collected waste is brought to transfer points, from where it is collected for further transportation. There is usually a field supervisor and sanitary inspector, above each team of sweepers.

Table -2.8.2: Information about cleaner numbers and cleaning equipment.

Id	Information	Number or amount
1.	Total number of cleaner	7619
	National pay scale (8th)	3220
	No work no pay	4399
	Male cleaner	4142
	Female cleaner	3477
2.	Number of track	250
3	Number of container	449
4.	Number of container truck	138
5.	Number of hand carriage	3500
6.	Number of dustbin	4500
7.	Total sweeper colony	8
8.	Area of its measure	364 square K.M
9.	Road	128969 KM
10.	Drain	2460 K.M
11.	Footpath	163 K.M
12.	Market	101
13.	The area to fall dust and garbage	2
	Matuil	1600-1800 Ton
	Amin bazer	700-800 Ton
15.	Average dust & garbage (every day)	42000 Ton
16.	Recycle by informal sectors	500-600 Ton

Source: Waste management department, Dhaka City Corporation, 2014

City Corporation gives two types of recruitment, one is temporary basis and other is permanent. The sweeper who engaged in permanent basis they get salaries at the pay scale of 4500 to 9095 Tk. [3]and who are engaged in temporary or no pay no work, they get 195 to 200 Tk. per day. Most of the sweepers are engaged in a certain period as a daily basis worker in Municipality and after ten to fifty years they became permanent employment. Most of the Municipal sweepers are doing private work, those who are earning a regular income through permanent or temporary employment but also supplementing their income through private waste collection and other works. The clients are households who are generators of waste. They are most likely to need their waste privately collected, when such a service is not available through local authorities. The households made an agreement with sweepers to collect waste against a certain agreed payment supplemented by non-agreed tips, gifts, food etc. The sweeper also needs an informal permission from Municipal supervisor to perform private work and also agree to pay regularly a proportion of his private earnings.

In summary, in the context of traditional Hindu society, *Dalit* status has often been historically associated with occupations regarded as ritually impure, such as any involving leather-work, butchering, or removal of rubbish, animal carcasses, and waste. *Dalits* work as manual labourers cleaning streets, latrines and sewers. Engaging in these activities was considered to be polluting to the individual and this pollution was considered contagious. As a lower caste people, sweeper was commonly segregated and banned from full participation in Hindu social life. The forms of discrimination and deprivation that communities go through are not fully uniform – though the basic forms are similar. People who work as cleaners or sweepers are among the most discriminated and they identify themselves as *Harijons*. They often live in crowded, segregated settlements with little or no basic amenities. Moreover, they face discrimination due to their caste identity and occupation, for which they are poorly remunerated. Sweeper who migrated (or were forced to move) from India to what was previously East Bengal. Though this migration began since 1605 during the Mughal period, a considerable number of sweeper were migrated from 1835 to 1940 during the British colonial period. They were brought by the British colonial rulers to do menial jobs such as sweeping, clearing sewage, working in the tea plantations and at railway

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[3] The present study was conducted November 2014 to September 2015. So income data was collected according to previous (7th) national pay scale.

stations. Though sweeper and other lower communities are citizen in this country, but they have always been deprived of their constitutional rights and consequently fall victims to severe social discrimination. However, in practice sweeper and other minority communities across the country continue to experience social exclusion, caste discrimination and practices linked to untouchability. There have been no systematic efforts made to identify and implement measures for the inclusion and equal treatment of sweeper in society.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL EXCLUSION: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE SWEEPER COMMUNITY (AN UNTOUCHABLE COMMUNITY) PERSPECTIVE

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the concept of social exclusion, which has gained such wide currency in recent years. The discussion is primarily undertaken with an eye to assessing the utility of this concept in the study of sweeper community as a lower caste group, their inequality, discrimination and vulnerable condition in the context of Bangladesh. It starts with the *social exclusion theoretical framework* which is widely used as an integrated framework for analysing the caste system and discrimination in developing countries. The framework includes the issue of exclusion, poverty, deprivation and well-being, household and livelihood systems, household assets, community network and social capital and urban policies. The theory of 'relative deprivation' and the theory of 'entitlement and capability deprivation' have been critically reviewed. The theory of 'relative deprivation' considers the lack of resources to obtain the type of diet, participation in activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customarily approved of in society. The theory of 'entitlement and capability deprivation' explains poverty in terms of basic capabilities - food, shelter, clothing, education and freedom. The chapter also deals with behavioural, cultural and structural frameworks of urban sweeper and marginality. The socio-psychological theory of 'culture of poverty' and the theory of 'social integration and solidarity of marginal class' are critically reviewed. The theory of the 'culture of poverty' explains poverty as a subculture, which reflects both an adaptation and a reaction of the sweeper to their marginal position and its transmission from generation to generation through family lines. And the theory of 'social integration and solidarity of marginal class' explains social inequality and poverty in reference to social and economic structures and processes.

3.2. Social exclusion analytical concept and application

A framework for analysing social exclusion needs, therefore, to take account of these key features: that social exclusion occurs as a result of structural change but is played out through and affected by the specificity of local circumstances, policy frameworks and welfare regimes, that it connotes a process or set of processes rather than an 'end-state' and that it is a relational concept. In addition, social exclusion is a multi-dimensional phenomenon and furthermore, the various 'dimensions' of social exclusion are typically mutually reinforcing. Thus, an individual or group is more likely to be vulnerable to exclusionary processes when they experience difficulties in relation to more than one of the dimensions of social exclusion. According to Thorat (2008), the concern about social exclusion is precisely because of its linkages with underdevelopment and inequality and because it produces poverty in the excluded groups and inter-group conflict.

3.2.1. The concept of social exclusion

In social science literature the concept of social exclusion is defined as 'the process through which individuals belonging to some groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live'. *Rene Lenoir* (1974); Lenoir's excluded included a wide variety of people, not only the poor, but also handicapped, suicidal people, aged, abused children, substance abusers, etc. Social exclusion and discrimination refer to the process and outcome of keeping a social group outside the power centers and resources. Social exclusion has been defined in a number of different ways which may include all or some of the following elements: disadvantage in relation to certain norms of social, economic or political activity pertaining to individuals, households, spatial areas or population groups; the social, economic and institutional processes through which disadvantage comes about; and the out-comes or consequences for individuals, groups or communities. The following, quite comprehensive, definition comes from the European Commission:

> *Social exclusion refers to the multiple and changing factors resulting in people being excluded from the normal exchanges, practices and rights of modern society. Poverty is one of the most obvious factors, but social exclusion also refers to inadequate rights in*

housing, education, health and access to services. It affects individuals and groups, particularly in urban and rural areas, who are in some way subject to discrimination or segregation; and it emphasizes the weaknesses in the social infrastructure and the risk of allowing a two-tier society to become established by default. The Commission believes that a fatalistic acceptance of social exclusion must be rejected, and that all Community citizens have a right to the respect of human dignity. (Commission of the European Communities 1993: 1)

Like many social concepts, social exclusion also has evaded a neat definition. But some defining features of this social reality could be presented. According to *Arjan,* the social exclusion concept has two main defining characteristics. First, it is a multi-dimensional concept. People may be excluded, e.g., from livelihoods, employment, earnings, property, housing, minimum consumption, education, the welfare state, citizenship, personal contacts or respect, etc. But the concept focuses on the multidimensionality of deprivation, on the fact that people are often deprived of different things at the same time. It refers to exclusion (deprivation) in the economic, social and political sphere. Second – less discussed in the literature but perhaps more relevant for the theoretical contribution of the concept – social exclusion implies a focus on the relations and processes that cause deprivation. People can be excluded by many different sorts of groups, often at the same time: landlords exclude people from access to land or housing; elite political groups exclude others from legal rights; priests in India may exclude scheduled castes from access to temples; minorities may be excluded from expressing their identity; labour markets, but also some trade unions exclude people (non-members) from getting jobs; and so on (Haan, 1998).

3.3.2. Types of exclusion

Caste based exclusion: the caste system is based on the division of people in to social groups in which civil, cultural and economic rights of each individual caste are predetermined or ascribed by birth and made hereditary. The assignment of civil, and economic rights is, unequal and hierarchical and the most important feature is it provides for regulatory mechanism to enforce social and economic organizations through the instruments of social ostracism and the caste system is reinforced further with justification and support from philosophical elements in the Hindu religion (Ambedkar 1936). Caste at the top of the social order enjoys more rights at the expense

of those located at the bottom of the caste hierarchy and have fewer economic and social rights.

Untouchability based social exclusion: the untouchables who are at the bottom of the caste hierarchy suffered the most from unequal assignments and entitlements of rights. The untouchables suffered from social exclusion and discrimination involving certain rights which include civil, cultural, religious and economic rights and particularly the notion of untouchability, which is unique to the untouchable caste only they are considered impure and polluting and unfit for social association and inter relation with castes above (Kadun & Gadkar, 2014).

3.2.3. Indicators of social exclusion

The indicators of social exclusion can be traced by a suitable situation described by Dr Ambedkar in his paper " Annihilation of caste" in which he points that under the rule of Peshwas in Maratha country the untouchables were not allowed to use the public streets if a Hindu was coming along lest he should pollute the Hindu by his shadow the untouchable was required to have a black thread either on his wrist or neck as a sign or a mark to prevent the Hindus from getting themselves polluted by his touch through mistake. In the light of the above, Kadun & Gadkar (2014) has described the indicators of the exclusion and its impact on the excluded groups based on caste, religion ethnicity as follows:

Socially: the exclusion is based on caste untouchability such as the excluded member of a community do not have the right to entry a public place like temples, schools, hospitals, housings, etc. restriction on entry of various educational institution, unequal treatment in teaching. The untouchables are made to practice some identifiable cultural practices separate from the society such that they have their separate gods, marriage system, the crimination system and different food culture from the other people of the society.

In economic spheres: denial of equal rights and opportunities to the low caste groups, assets like agricultural lands and non-land assets employments social needs like education, health, housing and others which leads to lower income and high poverty among the *Dalits*. In economical exclusion practice the *Dalits* or the members of excluded group are denied for jobs, and in agricultural through denial of purchase and sale, lower wages paid for *Dalits,* in credit markets were the *Dalits* has to pay high interest for the loans taken.

Education: discriminations in schools take the form of denial of access to education and the skill development among the *Dalits* children. This reduces the quality of human resources and reduces the employ ability for quality jobs and force them to fall back on low earning manual wage labor in farming and non-farming activities. Denial of education leads to high rate in illiteracy, low functionally literacy and high dropout rates and limited skill development, discrimination in education may cause high representation in menial jobs, low wages, low income and ultimately high poverty.

Health facilities: through denial of admission in the primary health center through discriminatory access to primary health centers and private health providers which may take following forms. Denial of visiting to *Dalits* home, denial of giving information about health facilities, lack of care leading to requirement of private medical attention and loss of income, delay in complication delivery leading to private medical attention (S.Thorat et. al).

Political spheres: *Dalits* are denied to practice and their political rights such as rights and means to participate in the exercise of political powers and denial of justice, freedom of expression, rule of law. The constitution of India has made certain provision to empower the *Dalits* politically but the exclusion has made them to think for political participation. Giving representation to the weak candidates from the *Dalits* community for election by pertaining political parties. Actually at the reserved political constituency were the deciding people will not be the *Dalits* himself but the upper caste voter who pompously elect a candidate who can represent the upper caste not for the *Dalits*. Due to this the *Dalits* can't elect they representative who can participate on their behalf in the policy making.

3.3. Linkages between social exclusion and caste system

Social exclusion theorists have been concerned with the dissolution of social bonds, the incomplete extension of social rights and protections to all the population and linkages between the exclusion idea and more conventional understandings of the problem of inequality. In this context, the policy focus has been on employment and wage subsidies, housing provision, and responses to urbanization. At base, "social exclusion" draws on theories relating to poverty, inequality, and disadvantage. Its value added in discussion of these matters seems to derive from its ability to focus attention on the multifaceted character of deprivation, and to bring to the center-stage of analysis those mechanisms and institutions that function so as to exclude people (Haan, 1998).

Caste is an institution of great complexity which is system of division characterized by hereditary, social status and endogamous practices in Hinduism. It is the typical pattern of social class in Hinduism. Particularly in Bangladesh, caste is the kind of social stratification and social restriction characterized by hereditary endogamous group which is transferable from generation to generation. It is believed that caste system has been existed in the society for more than three thousand years in India. It is system of social segregation which is depends on the purity and pollution. Consequently, the practice of untouchability has been started in the society which is now deeply rooted in the society. According to the Hinduism, the society has been divided as four folds hierarchies like, *Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vaishyas* and *Shudras*. *Dalit* are falls under the *Shudras*. Because of these hierarchies in the society, there is inequality and discrimination between these people or group of people (Bishwakarma, 2009).

Theoretical formulations by economists recognized that in its essential form, caste as a system of social and economic governance or organization (of production and distribution) is governed by certain customary rules and norms, which are unique and distinct (Akerlof 1976, Scoville 1991, Lal 1988, Ambedkar 1936 and 1987, cited in Thorat 2008). The organizational scheme of the caste system is based on the division of people in social groups (or castes) in which the civil, cultural and economic rights of each individual caste are pre-determined or ascribed by birth and made hereditary. The assignment of civil, cultural, and economic rights is therefore, unequal and hierarchal. The most important feature of the caste system, however is that it provides for a regulatory mechanism to enforce the social and economic organization through the instruments of social ostracism (or social and economic penalties) and reinforces it further with the justification and support from the philosophical elements in the Hindu religion (Lal 1988, Ambedkar 1936 and 1987, cited in Thorat, 2008). The caste system's fundamental characteristics of fixed civil, cultural, and economic rights for each caste, with restrictions for change implies "forced exclusion" of one caste from the rights of other caste, or from undertaking the occupations of other castes. Exclusion and discrimination in civil, cultural, and particularly in economic spheres such as occupation and labour employment, is therefore, internal to the system, and a necessary outcome of its governing principles. In the market economy framework, the occupational immobility would operate through restrictions in various markets such as land, labour, credit, other inputs, and services necessary for any economic activity. Labour being an integral part of the production process of any economic

activity, would obviously become a part of market discrimination (Thorat, 2008). Since the civil, cultural, and economic rights (particularly with respect to occupation and property rights) of each caste are ascribed, and are compulsory, the institution of caste necessarily involves forced exclusion of one caste from rights of another. The unequal and hierarchy assignment of economic and social rights by ascription, obviously restricts the freedom of occupation and the human development.

3.4. Social exclusion and vulnerability: a theoretical framework

Social discrimination is related to lack of access to services and goods offered by societies. Social and religious groups appear to accentuate social discrimination by denying certain opportunities pertaining to social and religious practices and access to services to some and not to others. Caste-based discrimination is permanent in nature and differs from exclusion that is created and recreated by the operations of social and economic forces. It focuses directly on the nature of the lives people live and disadvantages they experience (Thorat et al, 2006). It is a part of basic institutional framework and institutional arrangement within a nation and refers to institutions and rules that enable and constraint human interaction. Public goods and services which should be available to all are limited to a select few based on the caste hierarchy. They are isolated, lack social ties to local community, voluntary associations, trade unions or even nations. They are disadvantaged in their ability to use their legal rights and constitutional provisions effectively. They are unable to overcome both consumption and work related disadvantages. Forced inclusion or exclusion, partial or complete, amounts to discrimination (Thorat, 2002).

Social exclusion is multi-dimensional concept which covers different issues of the society. Concerning this study, the terminology has been interpreted in the field of socio- economic exclusion and vulnerability position of the sweeper community on the ground of caste status in the urban context. Social exclusion and caste are two different issues but these are interconnected in the context of Bangladeshi society. In the Bangladesh society, the caste based discrimination and untouchability have driven the sweeper community in very back-warded in all the sphere of the development in the society. According to the Hinduism, caste is kind of system of the division which is characterized by social status, hereditary and endogamy. The system has been practicing in south Asia since a thousand years. Traditionally, sweeper of Bangladesh was deprived from their

basic rights and status since long because it has been limited only for the high caste people in the society. The social exclusion of the sweeper in Bangladesh has been seen in various ways like denial of access on every sphere of development. Sometimes, it is believed that it is the division of the social status on the ground of their occupation. Sweeper community as a socially excluded caste group has their own traditional occupation. Usually, they do menial work, which is very poorly paid and considered as unhygienic work. And even it is difficult to survive with that money. Thereafter, people started to hate the sweeper and started to practice of untouchability towards them. In this way, sweeper is not only socially excluded but also economically discriminated, politically unheard and religiously impure since centuries.

Various forms of exclusion, deprivation and discrimination are perceived to be and propagated to be a normal course of behaviour in most societies. But it is being realized by the social scientists, social activists and human rights activists that social exclusion is a framework for understanding deprivation, marginalization, exploitation and oppression. This framework is used for analysis of the process and outcome of discrimination, deprivation and social exclusion of Bangladeshi sweeper in the context of social, economic, political, cultural and religious practices, status and power. In short, social exclusion – in its more specific manifestation as discrimination – refers to the processes through which groups are wholly or partially restricted from full participation in the economic, educational, and social institutions that define social membership. Exclusion involves both the act of restricting access and the consequences that follow, principally forms of deprivation.

Diagram- 3.4.1. Social exclusion conceptual framework: components and processes

From
discri

-Touch
-Entry in house
-Sharing seating
-Sharing foods
-Sharing waters
-Sharing information

-Programs policies for sweepers
-Change rigid caste hierarchy
-Social attitudes
-Quota system for sweeper

Spheres of
discrimination

-Place of educational institutes
-Place of health service
-Place of national or social occasions
-Access to water or others materials
-Ghetto area
-Place of religious institution

-Awareness
-Knowledge
Information

Use

Discrimination in
economic sectors

-Labour market
discrimination
-Trend traditional
profession
-Bonded labour
-Discrimination in
formal institutions

Experience of
Discrimination

Complete exclusion

Discrimination
by the provider

-Roles of local self- governing
bodies
- Role in politics and policy
making institutes
-Roles of religious organization

Partial exclusion

Force inclusion

3.4.1. Social exclusion is closely associated with relative deprivation

The notion of 'relative deprivation' is more closely related to a concept of social exclusion, and it is often noted that rising inequality in various countries has contributed to the popularity of the notion of social exclusion.[1] Townsend emphasises the concept of relative deprivation, in which the poverty line is set not as an absolute minimum but is dependent on the country's wealth. This is now common in European poverty debates, where the poverty line is set at a level of, for example, and half the average national income (Haan, 1999). The theory of relative deprivation emphasizes that social comparisons contextualize how people experience impoverishment. Relative deprivation is a concept developed by Stouffer in 1949. It holds that one feels deprived according to the gap between expectations and realization. In sociology, relative deprivation theory is a view of social change and movements, according to which people take action for social change in order to acquire something (for example, opportunities, status, or wealth) that others possess and which they believe they should have, too. Relative deprivation is the experience of being deprived of something to which one believes oneself to be entitled to have. It refers to the discontent people feel when they compare their positions to others and realize that they have less than them. Schaefer defines, *it as the conscious experience of a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and present actualities. It is a term used in social science to describe feelings or measures of economic, political and social deprivation that are relative rather than absolute* (Rao, 1990).

'Social exclusion' however involves the 'exclusion' of people from a particular society. One cannot look at them in isolation but have to look at their circumstances in the context of the rest of the society they live in, to judge whether a person is excluded or not (Atkinson, 1998, cited in Bishwakarma, 2009). 'Social exclusion' thus incorporates a relative element. In practice however, income poverty analysis has progressed beyond absolute measurements. Relative income poverty lines are regularly used in Europe (usually 50% below the average income). Further, it could be argued that, even in its conceptualisation, the income approach does incorporate a relative element. Ruggeri Laderchi (2000) discussing the work of Rowntree (1902) says although he made a

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[1] The 'association of poverty with a more divided society has led to the broader concept of social exclusion, which refers not only to material deprivation, but to the inability of the poor to fully exercise their social, cultural and political rightsas citizens' (Powell 1995: 22-23)

conceptual distinction between primary and secondary poverty, he suggested that both were of relative nature. According to him the point at which primary poverty passed into secondary largely depended on the standard of well-being considered necessary and secondary poverty depended on the opinion of investigators as to the standard of an acceptable lifestyle. To study the level of exclusion in relative term, Amartya Sen's work on entitlements and vulnerability approach, is viewed with the notions of relative poverty (Sen, 2000). This can comparatively spell out exclusion of the *Dalits* from participation in social, political and economic processes that create conditions for the persistence of chronic poverty for the excluded and discriminated groups (Thorat S. & M. Mahamallik, 2007).

3.4.2. Social exclusion is related to denial of capabilities and entitlements

Amartya Sen (1981) developed the theory of entitlement though studding the poverty situation in general in south Asia[2]. Entitlements refer to rights, that is, the command the families have over goods, using various economic, political and social opportunities within the legal system. An entitlement relation applied to ownership connects one set of ownerships to another though certain rules of legitimacy. Entitlement relations accepted in a private ownership market economy typically included the following:

> *Trade based entitlement: One is entitled to own what one obtains by trading something one owns with a willing party. Production based entitlement: one is entitled to own what one gets by arranging production using one's owned resources, or resources hired from willing parties meeting the agreed conditions of trade. Own labour entitlement: one is entitled to one's own labour power and thus to the trade-based and production-based entitlements related to one's labour power; Inheritance and transfer entitlement: one is entitled to own what is willingly given to one by another who legitimately owns it, possibly to take effect after the latter's death (Sen 1981).*

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[2] Amartya sen, a Noble prize winner, explained his theory of capability deprivation's in the context of Bangladesh and West Bengal,in his book poverty and famine.

Amartya Sen (2000) has drawn worldwide attention to the dimensions of social exclusion. He draws distinctions between situations in which individuals are kept out (or left out) and circumstances of inclusion (including forced inclusion) on deeply unfavourable terms. Either type can generate adverse effects. *Sen* also differentiates between active exclusion blocking opportunity through deliberate policy interventions on the part of government or private agents and passive exclusion, which does not rely on these interventions but may lead to similarly negative outcomes. In a study Thorat & Newman (2007), reveal that fixed economic rights defined by caste, with rigid barriers against change, leads to "forced exclusion" to use *Sen's* term of one caste from the economic rights of another. In market economies, occupational immobility is the result as restrictions on access to land, labour, capital, credit, education, and other inputs and services necessary for commercial activity provide for differential capacities to participate. Entitlements to economic rights become narrower and narrower the farther down the hierarchical ladders of the caste system. Without intervention, classically untouchables or *Dalits*, who lie at the very bottom of the social order, find themselves restricted to the most despised occupations and the lowest wages. Unable to interact freely with others in the market, *Dalits* find themselves simultaneously restricted in the economic sense and repressed as citizens, as they are in practice, even if not in theory denied civil rights (freedom of expression, equality before the law), political rights (the ability to exercise political power) and socio-economic rights (claims to property, employment and education).

3.4. 3. Social exclusion is long run works for poverty or cultural of poverty

Social exclusion and poverty is the two sides of the same coin. The term *subculture of poverty* (later shortened to *culture of poverty*) made its first prominent appearance in the ethnography *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty* (1959)[3] by anthropologist Oscar Lewis. In the context of large settlements, a few selected families were studied with the traditional techniques that is, participation observation, questionnaire and psychological tests. The 'family' was chosen as the unit of study because it is a small social system that enabled Lewis to apply a

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[3] Lewis developed his theory of the 'culture of poverty' in 1959, expanding and modifying it in subsequent years on the basis of intensive observation, interviews and local case studies of life in the slums of New York and Puerto Rico, and among the poor of Mexico.

holistic approach. To accomplish this task, a large number of topics were taken into consideration. These are as follows:

> ….residence and employment history of each adult; family relations; income and expenditure; complete inventory of household and personal possessions; friendship pattern; particularly the compadrazgo or godparent, relationship that serves as a kind of informal social security for the children of these families and establishes special obligations among the adults; recreational patterns, health and medical history; politics; religion; world views and cosmopolitanism (Lewis, 1968).

The shaping of poverty culture takes place primary within families, but also in local communities or in other social relations. Poor people are deviants not only lack the formal qualifications of the majority but also moral qualities and values of most people. Cultural determinates suppose that individuals are locked in poverty because of unique and maladaptive cultures (Marks, 1991). Today, the cultures of poverty explanation is mirrored in the notion of dependency culture and the two concepts are often used as synonyms. Lewis regarded a 'culture of poverty' as a "defence mechanism without which the poor could hardly carry on" (Lewis, 1961). This way of living is inherited by the next generation and becomes a subculture of its own. (Lewis 1959; 1966; 1968; 1970) described this subculture in terms of some seventy interrelated social, economic and psychological traits, which can be summarised in the following way:

> (a) The nature of the community: The inhabitants live in overcrowded and poor housing settlements. In terms of social organisation they can achieve little beyond the level of nuclear and extended families and limited kinship relations. Occasionally there are some informal temporal groupings or voluntary associations. Depending upon conditions, a sense of community as well as a sense of territoriality is found among them.

> (b) The nature of the family: Lewis considered the family as the natural unit of study in the metropolitan context. Studying the culture of the poor through intensive analysis of specific families gave him an understanding of the interrelationships between culture and personality. The family, including the personal relationship among family members, appears to be the most important social unit in the 'culture of poverty'; with children

experiencing an unstable and often violent family life. With a relatively high incidence of husbands abandoning wife and children, the family tends to be mother-centered.

(c) The character of individuals: The major personality traits of individuals are shaped by the subculture. The individual develops a strong feeling of fatalism, helplessness, dependence and inferiority. Class-consciousness, a low level of 99 aspirations, a widespread belief in male superiority and a high tolerance for all types of psychological pathology influence the character of the individual.

(d) The relationship between subculture and the larger society: Characteristics of urban poverty such as low income, unemployment and underemployment, lack of property ownership, lack of savings and food insecurity reduce the possibility of effective participation and integration of the poor in the major institutions of the larger society. The victims of this subculture develop a critical attitude toward basic institutions and they make less use of the prevalent amenities of society. Although they subscribe to some middle class values, they seldom follow these in real life. In this context, in order to adapt and survive they devise some alternative approaches, which appear helpful in structural adjustment of their values.

In its most negative from, the notion of poverty culture may be interpreted as if being situated in the bottom layer of society is a result of laziness and incompetence. Since the late '90s, the culture of poverty has witnessed resurgence in the social sciences, although most scholars now reject the notion of a monolithic and unchanging culture of poverty and attribute destructive attitudes and behavior not to inherent moral character but to sustained racism and isolation (Small M.L., Harding D.J., Lamont M., 2010). Despite decades of this criticism by prominent sociologists, anthropologists and other academics who argue that descriptions of the poor as being culturally unique have little explanatory power, the culture of poverty concept persists in popular culture.

3.4.4. Social exclusion denies social integration and solidarity of under class

Since social exclusion discriminates and deprives members of one's own society and nation there is lack of scope and space for solidarity among the members. Further, even among those who are poor or victimized in one way or the other, they do not come together to address the issue since

they are divided due to social exclusion. These are especially true of those societies which are hierarchical, skewed and ascribe membership to people based on their origin and descent. *Loic Wacquant and William Wilson* (1989) emphasize that the black ghetto has become a much more dangerous, deprived and socially disorganized place across the course of the twentieth century. Urban black poor live in *social isolation* from the mainstream of social life. They also emphasize that the mass exodus of jobs and working families from inner city, coupled with the growth of neoliberal policies of government privatization and reduction of public spending has triggered a process of *hyperghettoization* concentrating blacks in a crisis of joblessness and extreme poverty. They draw attention also to de industrialization of manufacturing employment from the inner city to the suburbs, Sunbelt states and offshore locations in developing nations.

The decline of institutional structures in the ghetto, what Wilson in *The Truly Disadvantaged* called *social buffers*, is described in this selection as the loss of the *pulpit and the press*. The loss of the black leadership (Such as teachers, clergy, journalists, lowers and businessman) into the suburbs has left the inner city bereft of stable working families and resources for upward social mobility. *Wacquant and Wilson* describe the loss of educational resources in the *hyperghetto*, a situation that is all the starker because of the loss of manufacturing employment from the inner city. These factory jobs were often available for the previous generation without formal education, as work skills could often be acquired on the job. They also paid a living wage, unlike the service sector jobs that have replaced factory jobs, with the *runaway plant* and deindustrialization process in American city. Contemporary residents of the *hyperghetto* are also poorly suited for employment in the new information and technology-based sectors of the postindustrial economy. *Jhon Kasarder* has described this problem as *Jobs skill mismatch* in a variety of writing, including a chapter title *Urban Industrial Transition and the Underclass* in William Wilson, editor. *The Ghetto Underclass: Social Science Perspectives* (Newbury Park, Sage publications 1993).

Wacquant and Wilson also consider the growing feminizations of poverty in the *hyperghetto,* as poor household are increasingly headed by single-woman. They note that continuing erosion of financial resources for ghetto households and the decline in home ownership. They note that the households left in the *hyperghetto* are bereft of links to solidarity groups, networks and organizations, what the French Sociologist *Pierre Bourdieu* calls *social capital* (The Form of

Capital, in Handbook of Theory and Research for the sociology of Education, 1986). These black ghetto-dwellers are a people apart, susceptible to stereotyping, ridiculed for their cultural styles, socially isolated, experiencing an internalized sense of helplessness and despair, with limited access to communal networks of mutual assistance (Anderson 1990; Wilson 1996). Their purported criminality, sexual profligacy, and intellectual inadequacy are frequent objects of public derision. They suffer a pariah status (Goffman 1963). This is social exclusion with a vengeance. It does not require extraordinary powers of perception to see how this degradation relates to the history of black-white race relations in the United States.

In summary, this chapter deals with theoretical frameworks of socio economic exclusion and vulnerability condition of sweeper community in the urban context of Bangladesh. Social and religious division between both groups are defined in terms of caste and work based along economic, cultural, and political lines is a central feature of public life in nations throughout the world. Social exclusion is the denial of equal opportunities imposed by certain groups on others rebutting in the inability of an individual to participate in the basic political, economic and social functioning of the society. The unfavorable inclusions with unequal treatment may carry the same adverse effects as unfavorable exclusion. The discussion is primarily undertaken with an eye to assessing the utility of this concept in the study of sweeper community as a lower caste group, their inequality, discrimination and vulnerable condition in the context of Bangladesh. Social and religious division between both groups are defined in terms of caste and work based along economic, cultural, and political lines is a central feature of public life in nations throughout the world.

CHAPTER FOUR
METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the methodology of the study on exclusion and vulnerability situation the sweeper community in urban Bangladesh. The strategies of *theory to research* and *research to theory* are widely used in scientific research depending on the discipline and the nature of research topics. The present study used a *theory to research* strategy because of existing theoretical approaches on social exclusion, discrimination and vulnerability in urban contexts. It reviewed relevant theoretical premises on social exclusion and discrimination critically and it used as the major guide of reference for analyzing nature of socio-economic exclusion and vulnerability of sweepers in Dhaka City. It starts with the strategy of the research, highlighting the theoretical basis of the study. It deals with the research questions and the research hypotheses derived from the theoretical premises. The measurements of exclusion and vulnerability that definitions of key terms used in this research have been clarified here. It also deals with the study areas and forms of habitats from where the subjects were recruited and it outlines the sampling design for the study. This chapter explains the survey instrument, especially the questionnaire, the ways the survey was conducted and the problems encountered. It discusses how qualitative data was collected through case studies to supplement quantitative data. The procedures of data processing and statistical techniques for bi-variate and multi-variate analysis for the survey data are explained. Finally, the issues of how reliability and validity were ensured in data collection and data management are addressed.

4.2. The analytical framework

4.2.1. Research questions

The study mainly deals with the broad research question of what the actual position of the sweeper community and what types of exclusion and discrimination face in their life. Based on this broad research question the study aims to answer the following specific research questions. In the light of above discussion, it has identified the following research question.

1. What types of exclusion and discrimination, they encounter in all spheres of their life?

2. How have they harmonized themselves to their critical social, economic and cultural position?

3. Which factors interrupting to revive self-respect among them?

4. What are the main barrier for educating their children in order to get better job or better placement in mainstream development activities?

5. How do they evaluate their own status as sweepers?

6. What are the main causes and trends of conversion of *Jaat* sweeper into other religion?

7. How do they develop strategy for upward social mobility and also generate to uphold their existing status?

4.2.2. Hypotheses formulations

Hypotheses were formulated based on research questions and theories of social exclusion of the sweeper community. At present socio- economic exclusion, vulnerability and adaptations of the sweepers in urban area were addressed in the hypotheses formulations. What is more, the following hypotheses were formulated to be tested in this study

- *Jaat* sweeper have experience a higher level of exclusion and *untouchability* than the Muslim sweepers.
- *Jaat* sweeper are poor and more vulnerable in terms of their asset level than Muslim sweepers.
- Female-headed sweeper households face a higher level of poverty and asset vulnerability than male-headed sweeper households.
- Muslim sweepers are more dependent on social networking for adaptation this profession to the city than *Jaat* sweeper.
- *Jaat* sweepers are more satisfied than the Muslim sweeper for their profession.
- Muslim sweepers are more integrated with urban politics than those of *Jaat* sweepers.

4.2.3. Measures of social exclusion and vulnerability

The concepts of social exclusion and vulnerability have been measured in this research by a set of socio-demographic, economic, physical, social, cultural and political variables. These are as follows:

Socio-demographic variables: colony and habitat types, age, gender, marital status, education, migration pattern, and household organizations.

Economic variables: employment pattern, household income, household expenditure, consumption pattern, savings, loans and household assets.

Physical variables: access to land, quality of housing, infrastructure facilities and physical environment.

Social variables: access to social services, family pattern, social networking and community ties.

Cultural variables: behavioural patterns, values and practices, attitudes, lack of knowledge, world views and fatalism.

Political variables: informal power structure, participation in politics, effects of policies.

4. 2.4.   Definitions of key terms
Caste

The word *caste* is not a word that is indigenous to India. It originates in the Portuguese word *casta* which means race, breed, race or lineage. However, during the 19th century, the term caste increasingly took on the connotations of the word race. Thus, from the very beginning of western contact with the subcontinent European constructions have been imposed on Indian systems and institutions. The caste system had been a fascination of the British since their arrival in India. Coming from a society that was divided by class, the British attempted to equate the caste system to the class system. As late as 1937 Professor T. C. Hodson stated that class and caste stand to each other in the relation of family to species. The general classification is by classes, the detailed one by castes (Bahadur, 2003). According to Dumont (1972) caste and profession were linked through the intermediary of religion. According to Sadana (2009), "The organisation of caste system is based on the division of people into social groups, in which the civil, cultural and economic rights of each individual caste are pre-determined or ascribed by birth and are made hereditary. The caste system's fundamental characteristics of fixed civil, cultural and economic rights for each caste

with restrictions on change implies "forced exclusion" of one caste from the rights of other caste. However, not every caste suffered in the same degree from the scheme of economic distribution involved in the caste system".

Varna

The root word for Varna is *Vri* which means one's occupation. The Varna Dharma was based on division of labor. This division was solely based on the attitude of an individual and his/her propensity for performing certain duties according to Gunas (qualities). There are three Gunas - Sattva (white), Rajas (red) and Tamas (black) (Bahadur, 2003).

Untouchability

Untouchability is the social-religious practice of ostracizing a minority group by segregating them from the mainstream by social custom or legal mandate. The excluded group could be one that did not accept the norms of the excluding group and historically included foreigners, house workers, nomadic tribes, law-breakers and criminals and those suffering from a contagious disease. This exclusion was a method of punishing law-breakers and also protected traditional societies against contagion from strangers and the infected. A member of the excluded group is known as an *Untouchable.* The term is commonly associated with treatment of the *Dalit* communities, who are considered *polluting* among the people of South Asia, but the term has been used for other groups as well, such as the *Burakumin* of Japan, *Cagots* in Europe or the *Al-Akhdam* in Yemen. *Untouchability* has been made illegal in post-independence India, and *Dalits* substantially empowered, although some prejudice against them continues, especially in rural pockets dominated by certain other backward caste (OBC) groups.
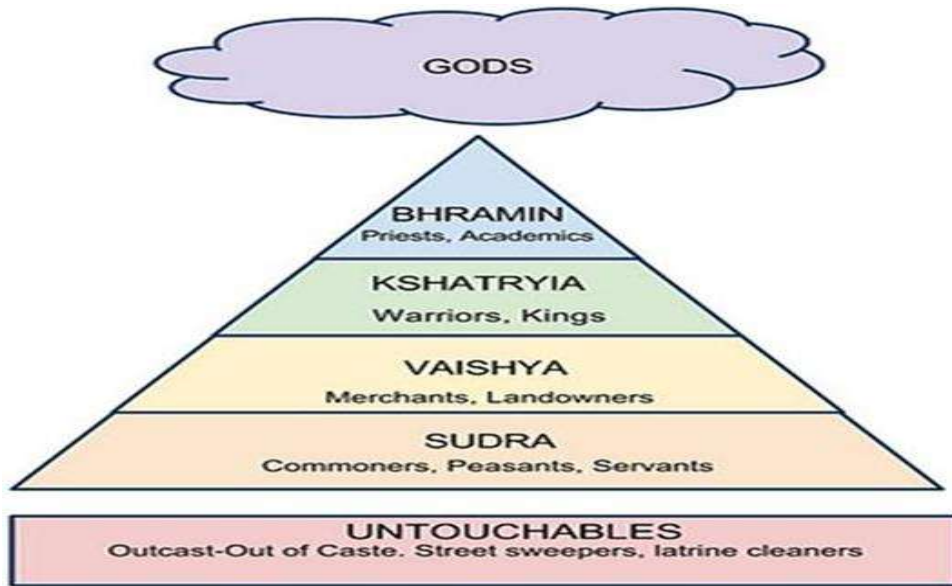
Jaat ot Jati

Jaat or Jati is generally used to refer to a great many things ranging from family, lineage, descent to tribe, nation, race, *varna*, caste and species, genus, genders, kind, sort, occupational group and so forth (AT dev, 1958). *Jati*, also spelled *Jaat*, caste, in Hindu society. The term is derived from the Sanskrit *Jata*, *born* or *brought into existence*, and indicates a form of existence determined by birth. In Indian philosophy, *Jati* (genus) describes any group of things that have generic characteristics in common. Sociologically, *Jati* has come to be used universally to indicate a caste group among Hindus. Although the word *Jaat and Jati* are commonly used by the sweepers as well as the members of the encompassing society, the word *Jaat* is more frequently used by members of all the sweeper communities to indicate different named groups or categories, which are usually endogamous, named units in which membership are usually birth ascribed. Telugu sweepers also used the word *kulam* to mean *jaat (jati)*. *Jaat* may be used to refer 'ethnic group', 'caste', 'occupational' or 'religious group' since the sweepers of different categories often use that word to refer to all these things, but the meaning of the word *Jaat* must be understood from the situations and contexts in which it is used, discussed or referred by the people or actors and in terms of the 'contents' they put in it (Asaduzzaman, 2001).

Harijan

Harijan (Hindustani (Devanagari), (Nastaleeq); translation: *Child of Hari /Vishnu*) is a term popularized by Indian revolutionary leader Mahatma Gandhi for referring to *Dalits*, traditionally considered to be Untouchable. However, the euphemism is now regarded as condescending by many, with some Dalit activists calling it insulting. As a result, the Government of India and several state governments forbid or discourage its use for official purposes ("Government bans use of word *Harijn*"-Indian Express-15 January 2013).

Ghetto

Dictionaries list a number of possible origins for the originally Italian term, including *gheto* or *ghet*, which means *slag* or waste in *Venetian*, and was used in this sense in a reference to a foundry where slag was stored located on the same island as the area of Jewish confinement (the Venetian Ghetto), and *borghetto*, diminutive of *borgo* 'borough'. Others theorize that the word is derived from the Hebrew word *get*, a divorce or separation document. A ghetto is a part of a city in which members of a minority group live, especially because of social, legal, or economic pressure. The term was originally used in Venice to describe the part of a city to which Jews were restricted and segregated. In this study the term ghetto is used simply to donate these confined settlements of *Jaat* sweepers in many cities in Bangladesh. The outsiders generally try to avoid the propinquity of those settlements as well as its dwellers and often discriminate them identifying them as the lowest status group and even as untouchable.

4.3. Selection of study areas and its significant

 4.3.1. Study area

The study was conducted in Dhaka City, Bangladesh, which has been transformed into a mega city in recent times. According to the *cleaner department* of the Dhaka City Corporation, there are eight City Corporation sweeper colonies at Dhaka City. Among eight sweeper colonies, the study has been conducted in three of the greater sweeper colony namely, *Ganaktuli, Doyagonj, Dhalpur,* where a big proportion of the sweepers live in.

Ganaktuli sweeper colony

Ganaktuli sweeper colony is situated in 58 no ward at *Danmondi* thana by the side of the Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) headquarters at *Pilkhana*. *Jaat* sweeper came in this colony 1964 before that 120 family they were live in *Agimpure Eden Women College* (Polasi area) and 1963 they were transferred ex- *Hagaribag Kusto Government Hospital*. At that time 200 sweeper families are allocated in this colony and other family live in to make *jupri* (small house) in open area and after liberation war Muslim entered in this colony. *Ganaktuli* comprises of five slums which is called as *Lalbag mohalla, Boro mohalla*, *Hindupara, Bulkhan* and *Chamar potti*. Around 1147 sweeper family is live in this colony. *Jaat* sweepers live in only *Hindupara* which are *Kanpuri* origin and around 385 families have been living in this colony. *Kanpuri, Jaat* sweepers have six blinding where 240 families live and other families live in *semi pacca* or tin-sed houses. *Lalbag, Bora Mohalla* and *Bulkhan* live in Muslim sweeper and they have around 450 families. For Muslim sweepers there are total seven pucca house (building), four are already completed and three are under contraction. Rests of them are live in *semi- pacca* or ten-seds houses in this colony. There are three mosques and three temples and one government primary school which name is *Ganaktuli Horigon Govt primary school* and was established in 1960. Only old Hindu colony gets gas facilities but other has electricity but not gas facilities. In a study Masud (2006) reveals about the colony environment that the colony was erected only for the sweepers but local terrorists, musclemen and drug traders and mostly Heroin, Liquor and *Ganza* sellers have occupied a major portion of it. Local people said that there is no health care center in this colony. There are only government primary schools but the scope of education of the sweeper's children is limited. There is no teacher who has some expertise on their language. The availability of drug in the colony made the juveniles and teenagers drug addict. Even they have becoming vagabond, terrorist and musclemen.

Doyagong sweeper colony

Doyagonj sweeper colony is located in the old part of the capital and 2000 sweepers' families and around ten thousands *Jaat* sweeper have been living. In British period 200 sweeper families were live in *Mironjilla* and *Noyabazer* area. When the Dhaka city spread and this land were become a part of Dhaka central point then the land prices became high and sweeper family were evicted from this land and transferred beside the *Wari Baldagarden* area. After that they were again

transferred in present area in *Doyagong* beside the *Hordao Glass factory* (The Daily Sambad, 2004). The quarter establishes only 2.2 acre of land and it is divided into two sections one is Telugu colony and others is *Kanpuri* colony. While, each section of the *Doyagong* quarter contains a multi-storied building in addition to its old settlement of tin -shed house. In a study Masud (2006) describes about this colony that *Dayaganj* sweeper colony is located in the old party of the capital. About 50,000 sweepers reside with fear and uncertainty. Most of the areas of the colony have already been occupied by the miscreants and rest part is now under threat of eviction. The Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) authorities have built a market there evicting the sweepers but they were not given even a single position. Local terrorists are threatening to capture the rest portion of the colony. Fearing terrorist attacks, some of the sweepers have already left the colony. Local influential groups have set up drug selling centers showing the sweepers. In this study it shows that some sweeper families are temporary live in 1st floor in this market. The former government built two multi-storied building and one school for the two *Jaat* sweepers. But they haven't enjoyed this building for lower construction. There is no way to lead healthy life in the colony because of scarcity of electricity, supply of water and other basic facilities. They have own *Mandir* and school for their community child education. Most of the sweepers are extreme poor, their daily income and expenditure are equal and they have no savings or investment.

Map-4.3.1: Map of Dhaka City and the study areas

Source- Map http://www.mediabangladesh.net/dhaka-city-map-south-and-north-city-corporation/

Dhalpur sweeper colony

Dhalpur sweeper colony is located in the East- south end of old part of the capital and it is situated *Jatrabari thana* (ward no 85) under the city corporation. *Dhalpur* quarter was established in 1980 and its official name is *City palli (14 no outfall)*. The distance between *Dhalpur* and *Doyagon* colonies is about four kilometers. Only 90 houses were allocated that time in *Dhalpur*. 14 no outfall comprises of ten slums which is called *as Adorsho Bosti, Nabu, Pora, Mannan, Madya, Aynal, City polle, 38 Gar, 96 Ghar* and *Telegue bosti*. There are around 3550 households and 2438 households are extreme poor which were identified by the community though CCCD approach (Immersion report, child centered Disaster risk reduction project). Only four building have in this community which are allocated for the Muslim sweepers. Maximum houses are constructed by the brick and corrugated tin but most of them are out of electricity facilities. Household's density is so congested and these were not prepared in well organizing way. In each household seven to eight people live together where two or three families covered. Due to their limitation they have no scope to maintain their privacies. Water logging, waste management, garbage system is very adjacent to their living room. There is a one Mosque, one Church, one *Mondir* and two schools are existed in the community. The mosque is normally used for the religious purposes and they also used to disseminate any message to the community. Maximum *panchayat* has a room which is used as resource center and the community completed many social activities in the center. Out of ten slums, *Adorsho Bosti* has only gas connection and other rest of 9 slum dwellers uses fire wood as cook purposes which occurred sometime fire incident. Heterogeneous people are living in this slum and they celebrate different cultural programme jointly. In a study Masud (2006) narrates about this colony that about 2000 families of Kanpuri speaking sweepers have been living in the colony on 6.7 acres of land. At least 200 slum houses of the colony have already been captured by local influential persons. The real sweepers are now under threat. The sweepers were allocated the colony after constructing eight rows of 10/10 feet houses. A good number sweeper have been already left the colony in the face of threat by the local terrorists and influential political leaders.

Table -4.3.1: Study location and types of habitat

Colony name	Sub group	Type of habitats
Ganaktuli	Lalbag mohalla,	Building, Semi- pucca and Tenshed
	Boro mohalla,	Building, Semi- pucca and Tenshed
	Hindu para,	Building, Semi -pucca and Tenshed
	Bulkhan and	Building, Semi- pucca and Tenshed
	Chamar potti	Semi- pucca and Tenshed
Doyagong	Kanpuri colony	Building, Semi- pucca
	Telugu colony	Building, Semi- pucca
Dhalpur	Adorsho Bosti	Building, Semi- pucca and Tenshed
	Nabu	Semi- pucca and Tenshed
	Mannan	Semi -pucca and Tenshed
	Pora basti	Semi- pucca and Tenshed
	Madya	Semi- pucca and Tenshed
	Aynal	Semi- pucca and Tenshed
	City polle	Semi -pucca and Tenshed
	38 Gar	Semi- pucca and Tenshed
	96 Ghar	Semi- pucca and Tenshed
	Telegue bosti	Semi- pucca and Tenshed

Source: field work 2014-15

4.3.2. Significance of the study area

The study was conducted in Dhaka City, Bangladesh, which has been transformed into a mega city in recent times. The study has been conducted in three of the greater sweeper colony of this city, namely *Ganoktuli, Doyagong, Dhalpur* where most of the sweeper live. The significance to choose these colonies were as following

1. *Ganoktuli* is one of the large sweeper colony in Dhaka City. Around 1200 *Jaat* and Muslim sweeper families live in this colony. So it indicates that a large number sweeper of Dhaka City is living in this colony.

2. *Doyagong* is the largest sweeper colony in the terms of *Jaat* sweeper population size. It is one of the oldest colonies which are established by the British government and two major categories of sweeper communities have been living there. *Kanpuri* is one of them and other name is *Telegu*.

3. Diversified cultures are existing in *Dhalpur* colony. There are 10 slums and four communities. Like most of them are Bengali Muslim and rest of them covered Muslim, *Jaat* Hindu and converted Christian live in together which are divided by four *Moholla*.

4.4. Data collection and data analysis

4.4.1. Sampling for study

The present study was conducted in 2014 to 2015 and eleven months of field work was November 2014 to September 2015. The study was designed to collect data from three large quarters in Dhaka City where most of the *Jaat* and Muslim sweeper live. The sample was collected stratified random sampling on the basis depending on the availability of the respondents. In present study the total 400 households were surveyed of which 200 were selected from household's category of *Jaat* sweepers and others 200 households were taken from Muslim sweepers.

Table- 4.4.1: The number of households surveyed by area and classification of sweeper

Colony	Number of households			Total
	Pacca	Semi- *pacca*	Ten-sed or *jupri*	
Ganaktuli	58	60	44	162
Doyagong	44	32	12	88
Dhalpur	27	79	44	150
Total	129	171	100	400

Source: field work, 2014-15

Table 4.4.1 shows that 400 households were surveyed of which 162 have been selected from the *Ganaktuli* sweeper colony. Another 88 households selected from *Doyagong* sweeper colony and 150 households selected from *Dhalpur* sweeper colony. Among them total 129 households

selected from *pucca*, 171 selected form semi- *pacca* and 100 households selected from ten-sed or *jupri* household of the respondents.

2.4.2. Techniques of data collection

Field survey for this study was conducted in three different sweeper colonies namely *Doyagonj, Dhalpur and Ganaktuli.* The area of study was selected purposively because a large proportion of *Jaat* sweeper in Dhaka City are living in these colonies. In order to get an insight about nature of exclusion and vulnerability of them, the study has followed a triangulation method i.e. a combination of quantitative and qualitative research method. To make the study comprehensive and more effective questionnaire survey though in-depth interview, field observation and case studies were used.

Survey method

To identify the critical position of both sweeper communities, data have been collected though semi-structured interview schedule as a part of survey method. It may well be asked why such a survey method was used as the prime method of data collection for the present research. Considering a number of factors such as scope, availability of funding, time and precision a survey by semi structured interview schedule was chosen for collecting data from sweeper households in Dhaka City. Each interview took at least 30 minutes to 45 minutes. It was dealt with information on demographic characteristics of the respondents, patterns of migration, household characteristic, physical environment of sweeper colony etc. It was also dealt with employment patterns, nature of work, discrimination in labour market, income and expenditure and their access to environmental and social services, in order to explain the social exclusion, discrimination, social attitudes and information their networking or interaction within their communities. To explain cultural integration, information on behavioural patterns, cultural practices and attitudes and knowledge level were included here; further questions explored informal power structure, participation in local or national politics and the impact of polices relating to the regulation of communities and low-income activities on their livelihood was also included in order to obtain directly comparable material.

Male and female respondents were selected equal for the interview because sweeper women play an important role in their household budget. One respondent was taken from one household and in most of the cases household heads were selected for an interview, but sometimes it was not possible to interview household's heads due to their busy work schedule and in such instance data was collected from their spouses or other household's members. Because of the general lack of privacy in community settlements, neighbours or friends of households often interrupted the interview which was strictly controlled.

Observation

Observation is a fundamental aspect of any discipline and has been playing pivotal role in the social work as a social science discipline. It deals with noting and recording of events and human behavior without formal manipulation of variables operating in the event was undertaken in the present study. It this study field observation method was used and *this method was customized for the study of specific purpose, cultural system like community attitude, organization, family, kinship system, life style, festival and rituals etc. and social system like their daily work, tools of different acts in different occasion like marriage and some different acts.*

Case study

Qualitative data from brief case studies in the forms of narrative analysis and biographical approaches-were collected mainly to complement the quantitative data collected though the house holds survey. Twenty interesting case studies were also conducted on different sweeper groups from three research side which were based on purposive sampling. To complete an in-depth interview, the researcher met at least two or three times with carefully selected household members. The activities of sweeper communities were closely observed by participating in social, cultural and religious gatherings. These life stories were focused on economic, physical, social, cultural and political integration. Beside the useful life stories, personal observations were noted during the fieldwork. Sometimes the researcher spent hours after hours chatting with the both sweeper communities and provided in-depth information about them, which also helped to collect analyses qualitative data for the study.

2.4.3. Techniques of data analysis

The collected data was processed and analyzed in accordance with the outline laid down for the purpose of the study. Both the descriptive and inferential statistics were used for analyzed with the help of SPSS 17. While descriptive statistics were mainly used to classify and summarize the numerical data, the inferential statistics were used to make inferences by using the corresponding characteristics of the sample households. A series of statistical analyses were performed to produce descriptive and inferential measures. At first stage of analysis, data on socio-demographic characteristics, different forms of integration of sweeper households were classified and analyzed by frequency distribution, measure of central tendency and measures of dispersion where percentage, mean and standard deviations are especially used. At the second stage of analysis, the relationships among socio demographic variables and variables of different integrations were analyzed by the chi-square test and co-efficient of correlation. In the final stage of the analysis, the influences of socio-demographic variables on household integrations were analyzed by techniques of analysis, especially multiple regressions in which two or more predictor variables are regressed into a single criterion variable.

4.5. Ethic and access

Ethics is very important part of the research. If researcher does it properly, of course the outcome will be the fair and accurate. Regarding this research work, it has been totally concerned about the academic ethics. Although, research itself is the process of searching the new ideas and new innovation that can be contribute the social change and development. It has cited so many literatures concerning the issues of untouchable and *Dalit* community. As, it has already noticed that issues itself are the least studied issues that is why finding the papers especially focused into the upliftment of the sweeper are really difficult. As per the rules of the ethics committee the study purpose was clarified to the subjects before starting their interviews. It was also assured that their participation in this research has been voluntary and they could withdraw from the research at any stage. The subjects were also assured that the information provided in the interview will remain strictly confidential, except as required by law and persons interviewed will be anonymous. After finishing the survey and computerization of data the questionnaires have been preserved safely.

4.6. Validity and reliability

The validity and reliability of both quantitative and qualitative data were ensured though appropriate strategies. The survey questionnaires were designed with logical consistency so that inaccurate data on some issues were easily cross-checked with each other. As the survey was conducted at the place where the subjects were living it was easier for the researcher to check some data during interviewing. In many instances, where the respondents were confused or lacking information, data were also collected from other household members simultaneously to ensure the quality of the survey data. Collection provided confidentiality and greatly helped in maintaining detailed records of the responses. Concerning the life history interviews, researcher has made at least two times visit for the one respondent to make the environment more familiar and easier. Since, researcher started with informal talk with each individual which gave some information that is need from the interviews. Usually, in Bangladeshi culture, people are not ready to share their personal issues towards others. To access on this issues, it has promised them to preserve their identity anonymity and used the materials only for the study purposes. Finally, researcher took interviews with them. To ensure the all materials that researcher has collected some materials on paper versions beside the tape recorders. The length and intensity of the interview sessions helped the researcher to observe the subjects more closely. This provided an opportunity to check the validity and reliability of ethnographic data.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

5.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the findings of the study on the nature of urban sweeper's socio- economic exclusion and vulnerability. The questionnaire covers the issues of employment, income, expenditure and consumption, household assets and vulnerability, access to infrastructure and social services, family and community networking, values and the cultural system and community participations, all of which are addressed in *the social exclusion framework*. The study has followed of quantitative and qualitative research method. To make the study comprehensive questionnaire survey though in-depth interview, field observation and case studies are used. The results outlined in this chapter are presented in three broad sections based on the survey questionnaire. Relevant qualitative data have also been used in sections. The first section deals with socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. This includes neighbourhood, habitat type, demographic characteristics such as age, gender, marital status and educational level, migration and residence patterns and household characteristic of the subjects. The second section deals with the features of poverty and vulnerability of sweepers households. It includes employment and income pattern, expenditure and consumption pattern, household loans, savings and asset level and access to infrastructure and social services. The final section deals with different forms of norms, values and adaptations of the sweeper community. This includes cultural values, recreation, interaction, frustration, adaptation and participation in politics.

5.2. Sweeper colony and habitat type

The survey is conducted on three sweeper's colony in Dhaka City. In the survey 40.5 percent of the sweepers are taken from *Ganaktuli* sweeper colony, another 22 percent of the total respondents are taken from *Doyagong* sweeper colony and the remaining 37.5 percent are recruited from *Dhalpur* sweeper colony. *Ganaktuli* and *Dhalpur* sweeper colonies are allocated for both of the sweepers but *Doyagong* sweeper colony is allocated for only *Jaat* sweeper (i.e large proportion of *Jaat* sweeper in Dhaka City have settled in this colony). Out of 200 respondents of *Jaat* sweeper, 88 respondents (44%) are recruited from this colony.

Table-5.2.1 Percentage distribution of respondents by colony

Colony	Religion		Total
	Jaat sweeper (n=200)	Muslim sweeper (n=200)	(n=400)
Ganaktuli	28.0 (56)	53.0 (106)	40.5 (162)
Doyagong	44.0 (88)	00.0 (00)	22.0 (88)
Dhalpur	28.0 (56)	47.0 (94)	37.5 (150)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Table-5.2.2: Percentage distribution of respondents on the basis of habitat type

Habitat types	Religion		Total
	Jaat sweeper (n=200)	Muslim sweeper (n=200)	(n=400)
Pucca (building)	42.0 (84)	22.5 (45)	32.2 (129)
Semi- pucca	39.0 (78)	46.5 (93)	42.8 (171)
Ten-shed or Jupri	19.0 (38)	31.0 (62)	25.0 (100)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Sweepers are live in a variety of habitats such as *pucca (building)*, semi-*pucca* and tin-shed or *jupri*[1]. The study shows that 32.2 percent of the respondents reside in *pucca* habitats which are better environment than the ten-shid and semi- *pucca* houses and 42.8 percent of the respondents live in semi *pucca* houses which are more stable and comfortable than the ten-shed and *jupri*. The remaining 25 percent of the respondents reside in tensed and *jupri* which are the most vulnerable from of habitat. The study indicates that *Muslim* sweepers are more vulnerable from of habitat types than the *Jaat* sweeper.

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[1] Jupri which house is built by very cheap material like straw, bamboo, polythene sheets etc.

5.3. Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents

Age

The distribution of the sweeper respondents by age is presented in table 5.3.1. It appears from the table that only a small proportion (5.75%) of the respondents is in their twenties. The respondents are mostly distributed among the age groups of 21-30 years 44.5 percent, 31-40 years 24.5 percent and 41-50 years 13.75. The remaining 11.5 percent is in the age group of 51 years and above. The mean age is 33.93 years with a wide variation (std. dev. 11.784).

Table-5.3.1: Percentage distribution of the respondents by age structure

Age structure	Religion				Total	
	Jaat sweeper (n=200)		Muslim sweeper (n=200)		(n=400)	
Up to 20 years	6.0	(12)	5.5	(11)	5.75	(23)
21-30 years	42.0	(84)	47.0	(94)	44.5	(178)
31-40 years	26.5	(53)	22.5	(45)	24.5	(98)
41-50 years	13.0	(26)	14.5	(29)	13.75	(55)
51 & above years	12.5	(25)	10.5	(21)	11.5	(46)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Headed of households

Male and female respondents are equally recruited for this survey but in this survey it shows that majority of households are headed by males. The Male headed households are 91.25 percent, whereas female headed[2] households are 8.75 percent. The numbers of female headed households of the Muslim sweeper are conventionally higher than the *Jaat* sweeper's community due to their marital instability and higher rate of divorce and separation.

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[2] The female-headed households are often termed 'female-centred', where females perform the primary role in the household. This type of household exists in the absence of male partners and/or while children are very young.

Graph-5.3.1: Percentage distribution types of household head of the respondents (N=400)

Types of household

8.75%

91.25%

- Male headed
- Female headed
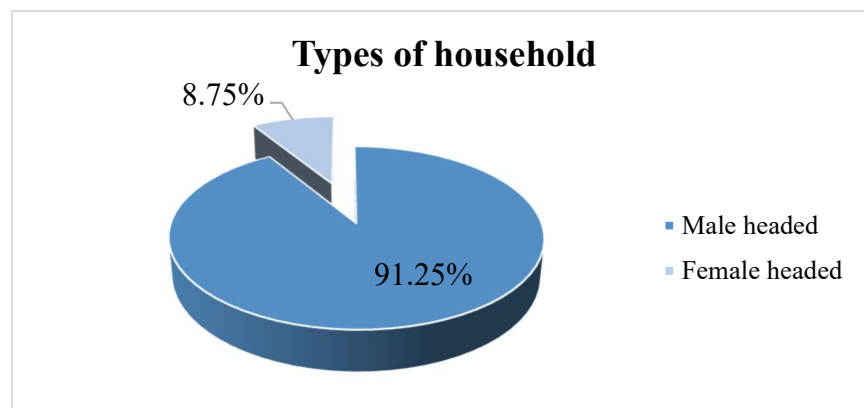
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Marital status

Child marriage has the stamp of tradition among the sweepers. Respondents are classified into four groups according to marital stage viz unmarried, married, widowed, divorced or separated. The large groups of respondents are married. The study reveals that 78.25 percent of respondents are married, 15 percent are unmarried and 1.75 percent are widow and 5 percent divorced or separated. The proportion of separated or divorced is much higher among the Muslim sweepers than the *Jaat* sweepers. Early marriage between the ages of ten years to sixteen years persists in large part because of the vulnerability position of a sweeper's girl. Survey shows that 96.32 percent of sweeper girls marriage before the age of eighteen.

Table- 5.3.2: Percentage distribution marital status of the respondents

Marital status	Religion		Total
	Jaat sweeper (n=200)	Muslim sweeper (n=200)	(n=400)
Unmarried	18.5 (37)	11.5 (23)	15.0 (60)
Married	78.0 (156)	78.5 (157)	78.25 (313)
Widow	2.0 (4)	1.5 (3)	1.75 (7)
Divorce or separated	1.5 (3)	8.5 (17)	5.0 (20)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Table 5.3.3 shows that 78.75 percent of total respondents are illiterate and they cannot even read or write in their native language. Present data shows from the study that some of them (9.75%) have attended some non-formal adult education and learned little knowledge about numerical and can understand about monetary calculation. Among the sweeper 6.5 percent respondents are bellow primary level and only 4.0 percent of the respondents complete their primary education successfully and about 0.75 percent respondents are attended secondary school. The higher secondary or higher education rate is very low (.25%) among the sweeper community. The proportion of the education rate of the Muslim sweeper is comparatively higher than the *Jaat* sweeper.

Table-5.3.3: Percentage distribution on level of education of the respondents

Level of education	Religion				Total (n=400)	
	Jaat sweeper (n=200)		Muslim sweeper (n=200)			
Illiterate	84.0	(168)	73.5	(147)	78.75	(315)
Literate without formal schooling	7.5	(15)	12.0	(24)	9.75	(39)
Literate but below primary	5.00	(10)	8.0	(16)	6.5	(26)
Primary	3.00	(6)	5.0	(10)	4 .0	(16)
Secondary	0 .50	(1)	1.0	(2)	0.75	(3)
Higher Secondary and above	-	(0)	.5	(1)	0.25	(1)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Household's structure

The average household size of the respondents is 5. 63 but there is a variation (std. dev. 2.334) in the household size of the sweeper communities. According to the table 5.3.4 shows that 10 percent of the respondents have 1-2 members in their households. Out of the total respondents 24.75 percent have 3-4 members in their households. 36.75 percent of the respondents have 5-6 household members and 22.25 percent of the respondents have 7-8 household members. Remaining 6.75 percent have 9 and more members in their households.

Table-5.3.4: Percentage distribution household structure of the respondents

Household size	Religion				Total	
	Jaat sweeper (n=200)		Muslim sweeper (n=200)		(n=400)	
1-2	9.0	(18)	11.0	(22)	10.0	(40)
3-4	29.5	(59)	20.0	(40)	24.75	(99)
5-6	30.0	(60)	42.5	(85)	36.25	(145)
7-8	21.5	(43)	23.0	(46)	22.25	(89)
9 & above	10.0	(20)	3.5	(7)	6.75	(27)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Migration patterns

Most of the *Jaat* sweepers born in Dhaka City because they have been live in generation to generation in here. But the Muslim sweeper in this study mostly migrated from different districts of the country. Table 5.3.5 shows that a larger amount (31.5 %) of the respondents are come from *Homna* in the district of Comilla and the rest of the come from other rural districts including Maymonshing (9.5%), Chandpur (5.0%), Rangpur (11%), Noakhali (3.5 %), Dhaka (8.0%) Barishal (6.0%), Greater Fadidpur (8.5%) and others (13%).

Table-5.3.5: Percentage distribution districts of origin of the Muslim sweepers

Origin	Frequency	Percent
Comilla	63	31.5
Mymonshing	19	9.5
Chandpur	10	5.0
Ragpur	22	11.0
Laxmipur	08	4.0
Noakali	07	3.5
Dhaka	16	8.0
Barishal	12	6.0
Greater Faridpur	17	8.5
Others	26	13.0
Total	200	100.0

Source: Field work, 2014-15

The Muslim sweeper in this study migrate to the Dhaka City from their rural districts for various socio- economic and environmental reasons. Graph 5.3.2 shows that 41 percent of sweeper migrate in Dhaka City and enter this profession for famine and 11 percent of the respondents migrate to the city because they have lost their homes and agricultural land through river erosion and therefore completed to migrate to the city. The graph 5.3.2 also shows that 9.5 percent migrate to the city due to natural disaster and 16.5 percent for low income in rural areas and another 16 percent migrate to the city to find a new job and the remaining 6 percent migrate to the Dhaka City for other reasons.

Graph- 5.3.2: Percentage distribution reasons for migration of Muslim sweepers (N=200)
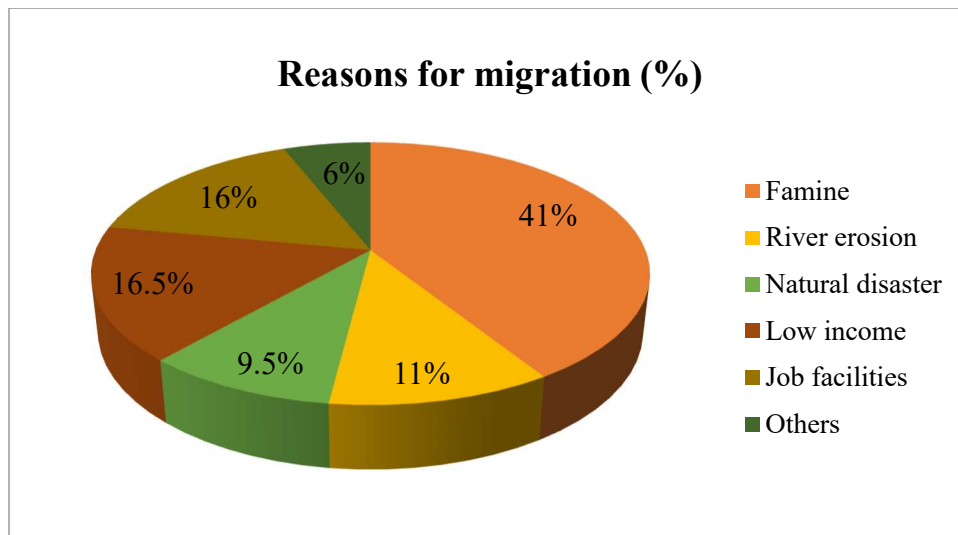
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Living duration

Most of the *Jaat* sweepers are born in urban area especially in the sweeper's colony. Most of the families have been living in this colony two or more generations. Although most of them reside in the Dhaka City on a temporary basis at their initial stages of migration, they gradually became permanent city residence. The study shows that 28 percent of the respondents of Muslim sweepers

are born in urban areas (Dhaka)[3] whereas 94 percent of the *Jaat* sweeper born in Dhaka City. The graph 5.3.3 shows that proportion of *Jaat* sweeper whose families have live in the same location for more than 30 years that is 96.5 percent. Many of them housing is closely related to their profession and often they not allowed to live elsewhere. The corresponding figure is more flexible for Muslim sweeper which is 57.5 percent.

Graph-5.3.3: Percentage distribution living duration of the respondents (N=400)
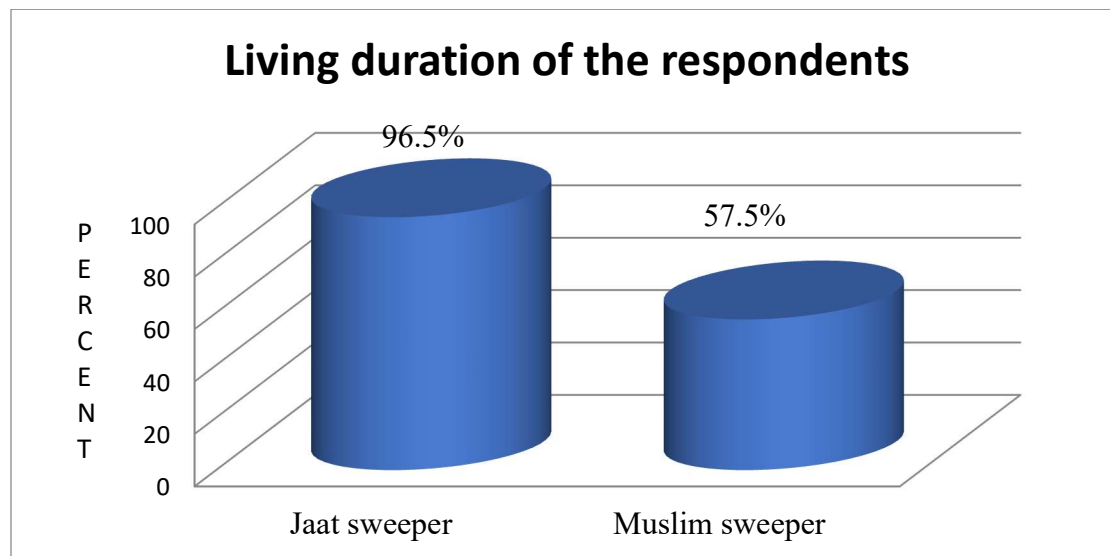
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Categories of work

One of the main tasks of the municipality is to keep the city clean. Sweepers are employed to perform this important task community, sewer and street cleaning system. The Dhaka Municipal authorities recruit sweepers in order to perform these kinds of work. The table 5.3.6 shows that 68.31 percent respondents are recruited as a *Jharuder*. Among them 75.88 percent of the total *Jharudar* are Muslim and 60.92 percent are *Jaat* sweeper.

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[3]The Muslim respondents of Dhaka district were mostly born in the city and they are second generation city migrants

Table-5.3.6: Percentage distribution category of work in sweeper respondents

Category of the work	Workers category	Religion		Total (n=344)	
		Jaat sweeper (n=174)	Muslim sweeper (n=170)		
Street and market cleaner	Jharuder (sweeper)	60.92 (106)	75.88 (129)	68.31	(235)
	Garbage cleaner	10.92 (19)	4.71 (08)	7.85	(27)
	Garbage truck driver	2.87 (05)	1.76 (03)	2.33	(08)
Cleaner	Drain & toilet cleaner	20.69 (36)	8.82 (15)	14.83	(51)
Others	Others	4.60 (08)	8.82 (15)	6.69	(23)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Table 5.3.6 also shows that 10.92 percent of the *Jaat* sweeper and 4.71 percent of Muslim sweeper are engaged as garbage cleaner and 2.87 and 1.76 percent are garbage truck driver. Other 20.69 *Jaat* and 8.82 percent of Muslim are engage as a drain and toilet cleaner. Rest of the 4.60 percent of *Jaat* and 8.82 percent of Muslim sweepers are engaged in others.

5.4. Income, expenditure and consumption pattern

Pattern of income

The *Jaat* sweepers are involved this traditional sectors of employment because of caste discrimination and Muslims are engaged because of their poverty, low level of education and skills. They frequently face underemployment, harassment and other problems at their workplace.

Table-5.4.1: Percentage distribution of respondents by income of households

Income	Jaat sweeper		Muslim sweeper		Total	
Up to 3000	5.0	(10)	11.0	(22)	8.0	(32)
3001-6000	31.0	(62)	37.5	(75)	34.25	(137)
6001-9000	32.0	(64)	25.0	(50)	28.5	(114)
9001-12000	19.5	(39)	17.5	(35)	18.5	(74)
12001 & above	12.5	(25)	9.0	(18)	10.75	(43)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Table 5.4.1 shows that 8 percent respondent have a very low level of income up to 3000 Tk. per month and they are unable to support themselves. Another 34.25 percent have earning from 3001 to 6000 Tk. per month. These groups are poorer or vulnerable group because they cannot buy requite food from their limited incomes. The table also shows that 28.5 percent and 18.5 percent of the households earn between 6001 to 9000 Tk. and 9001-12000 Tk. monthly. The remaining 10.75 percent of the households earn 12001 & above. The average intra-household income is 7,678.00 Tk. but the intra household income differential (std. dev. 3809.49) is very high due to the higher level of income of households with more members in the workforce.

Table-5.4.2: Percentage distribution on sources of household's income

Source	Religion				Total	
	Jaat sweeper		Muslim sweeper			
Respondents income	43.05	(189)	39.84	(147)	41.58	(336)
Spouse income	34.62	(152)	17.34	(64)	26.73	(216)
Children income	12.53	(55)	26.29	(97)	18.81	(152)
Parents income	5.01	(22)	2.44	(9)	3.84	(31)
Others member income	3.19	(14)	8.4	(31)	5.57	(45)
Other sources of income	1.59	(7)	5.69	(21)	3.47	(28)
Total	100.0	(439)	100.0	(369)	100.0	(808)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

The income of the households is determined by the combination of earning from different household members. Table 5.4.2 shows that 41.58 percent of households get income from the respondents, not all whom are household heads and almost 26.73 percent get income from the respondent's spouse, some of whom are the household heads. Among the *Jaat* sweeper 34.62 percent of spouses are earning an income whereas among the Muslim sweeper only 17.34 percent of spouses are doing so. Table 5.4.2 also show that 18.81 percent of households get income from the children contribution and 3.84 percent of households get income from parents. It also indicates that income from other members and other sources is also higher among the Muslim sweeper than the *Jaat* sweeper.

Table- 5.4.3: Percentage distribution income of household earners

Income	Self (n=336)	Spouse (n=216)	Child (n=152)	Parents (n=31)	Other members (n=45)	Other sources (n=28)
Up to 2000	11.90 (40)	24.07 (52)	28.95(44)	38.71 (12)	33.33 (15)	53.57 (15)
2001-4000	17.86 (60)	35.65 (77)	37.5 (57)	25.81 (8)	37.78 (17)	32.14 (9)
4001-6000	41.96(141)	26.39 (57)	18.42 (28)	25.81 (8)	20.0 (9)	7.14 (2)
6001-8000	21.13 (71)	11.57 (25)	11.84 (18)	6.45 (2)	4.44 (2)	3.57 (1)
8001 &above	7.14 (24)	3.31 (5)	3.29 (5)	3.23 (1)	4.44 (2)	3.57 (1)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Table-5.4.4: Descriptive statistic of variables

Variables	N	Min	Max	Mean
Demographic				
Age	400	14	76	33.93
Household size	400	1	14	5.63
Income				
Household income	400	1500	22,500	7,678.00
Respondent income	336	500	15,000	4,540.77
Spouse income	216	500	12,000	3,454.63
Children income	152	500	11,000	3,205.92
Parents income	31	1000	11,000	3,370.97
Others member's income	45	500	9,000	2,917.78
Other sources income	28	300	10,000	2,189.29
Expenditure				
Household expenditure	400	1500	16,000	6,527.00
Food expenditure	400	1000	10,000	3,946.25
Non – food expenditure	400	500	8,000	2,549.50

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Male and female adults work an average of 8 hours and 14 hours per-day respectively, while male and female children work and average of 9 and 10 hours per day. The families report that 152 children (aged 6 to18) work for pay to maintain their family expenditure. Table 5.4.4 shows that the average income per family is 7678 Tk. per month and the average expenditure is 6527 Tk. per month; however, 37 families report that their expenses greater than income and dependence on loans for survival. Table 5.4.4 also shows that food expenditure is higher than the non-food expenditure among the sweeper community. (i.e. Non-food expenditures included rent, education, clothes, electricity, water, wood and health care etc.).

Correlates and predictors income and vulnerability

The income of sweeper households is not correlated with colony and habitat types (r=.045) and (r=-.29) and there is no significant difference between different colony in terms of income levels (chi-square =2.254; d.f=2; p=.324) and but there is a different between habitat type (chi-square; 6.935 d.f=1; p=.031). The income of the respondents is also correlated with some demographic characteristics of the respondents. Table 5.4.5 shows that religion is negatively correlated with income (r= -.127 at the 0.05 level). Multiple regression shows religion (beta=-.146; t=-3.207 sig=.001) as predictors of income. Table 5.4.7 shows a significant difference among *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweeper in terms of income (chi-square= 6.404; d.f=1; p=.008). Age and gender is not correlated (r=.082) and (r=-.66) with income level and there is no significant difference between different age and gender groups in terms of income levels (chi-square =2.674; d.f=1; p=062.) and (chi-square 1.732; d.f=1; p=.112).

Marital status is positively correlated with income (r= .322 at the 0.01 level) and multiple regression suggests marital status as a predictor (beta= .263 t= 5.401; sig=.000) of income. The difference between marital status of the respondents in terms of their income is significant (chi-square 41.460; d.f=1; p=.000). The educations of the sweepers are not correlated to the income level of sweeper households. Table 5.4.7 shows there is no significant difference between illiterate and literate respondents in terms of income at (chi-square=2.140; d.f=1; p=.090). This means that the illiterate sweeper has not lower levels of income than their literate counterparts.

Table -5.4. 5: Correlates of income and vulnerability

Socio-demographic characteristics	Income
Colony	.045
Habitat Type	-.029
Age	.082
Religion	-.127*
Gender	-.66
Marital status	.322**
Education	.073
Households head type	-.183**
Household structure	.297**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-talied)

Table-5.4. 6: Multiple regressions of income and vulnerability

Predictors	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)	.945	.186		5.079	.000
Religion	-.145	.045	-.146	-3.207	.001
Marital status	.314	.058	.263	5.401	.000
Household head	-.113	.085	-.064	-1.333	.183
Household structure	.249	.048	.240	5.169	.000

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Table-5.4.7: -: Socio-demographic characteristics and income level

Socio-demographic characteristics	Level of income				Chi-square	df	Sign.
	Low (up to 6000 Tk.) (N=169)		Moderate (6001Tk. +) (N=231)				
Colony					2.254	2	.324
Ganaktuli	41.4	(70)	39.8	(92)			
Doyagong	24.9	(42)	19.9	(46)			
Dhalpur	33.7	(57)	40.3	(93)			
Habitat Type					6.935	2	.031
Building	27.2	(46)	35.9	(83)			
Semi- pucca or pucca	50.3	(85)	37.2	(86)			
Ten-shed	22.5	(38)	26.8	(62)			
Age structure					2.674	1	.062
Younger (up to 30 years)	55.0	(93)	46.8	(108)			
Aged (31 yrs+)	45.0	(76)	53.2	(123)			
Religion					6.404	1	.008
Jaat sweeper	42.6	(72)	55.4	(128)			
Muslim sweeper	57.4	(97)	44.6	(103)			
Gender					1.732	1	.112
Male	46.2	(78)	52.8	(122)			
Female	53.8	(91)	47.2	(109)			
Marital status					41.460	1	.000
Unmarried or Widow or separated or divorced	37.3	(63)	10.4	(24)			
Married	62.7	(106)	89.6	(207)			
Education					2.140	1	.090
Illiterate	82.2	(139)	76.2	(176)			
Literate	17.8	(30)	23.8	(55)			
Households head type					13.384	1	.000
Male-headed	85.2	(144)	95.7	(221)			
Female headed	14.8	(25)	4.3	(10)			
Household structure					31.191	1	.000
Single to four	50.3	(85)	23.4	(54)			
five or more members	49.7	(84)	76.6	(177)			

Households head type is also negatively (r= -.183 at the 0.01 level) correlated with income. Table 5.4.7 shows a significant difference between male-headed and female-headed households in terms of income level at (chi-square=13.384; d.f=1; p=.00) but it is not a predictor of income (beta=-.064; t=-1.333; sig=.183). Male-headed households have a higher level of income than female-headed households. Household structure are also positively correlated with income and households structure (beta=.240; t=5.169; sig=.00) are predictors of income. The table also shows a significant difference between household structure and level of income at (chi square=31.191; d.f=1; p=.00) which indicates that small member households have a lower level of income than households with large members households

Level of Expenditure

The rate of expenditure in sweeper respondent's households is low because they earn very poor. The table 5.4.8 shows that 9 percent of respondents have a very low level of expenditure (up to 3000 Tk.) per month. Another 54.25 percent of the sweeper households have expenditure from 3001 to 6000 Tk. per month respectively. The table 5.4.8 also shows that 26 percent and 9.75 percent of respondent's households have expenditure from 6001-9000 Tk. and 9001 to 12000 Tk. per month. The remaining 2 percent of households have expenditure of above 12000 Tk.

Table-5.4.8: Household expenditure of the respondents

Expenditure	Religion				Total	
	Jaat sweeper (N=200)		Muslim sweeper (N=200)		(N=400)	
Up to 30000 Tk.	6.0	(12)	10.0	(20)	9.0	(36)
3501-6000 Tk.	44.0	(88)	64.50	(129)	54.25	(217)
6001-9000 Tk.	34.0	(68)	18.0	(36)	26.0	(104)
9001-12000 Tk.	13.0	(26)	6.50	(13)	9.75	(39)
12001 & above Tk.	3.0	(6)	1.0	(2)	2.0	(8)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Sweepers mostly spend their income to buy their basic food. Table 5.4.4 shows that the average food expenditure of sweeper households is 3946.25 Tk. The table also shows a wide range of food expenditure among sweepers. The minimum food expenditure of sweeper households is 1000 Tk. whereas the maximum food expenditure is 10000 Tk. per month. Intra-household differentials of food expenditure are also high (std. dev. 1502.791) among such sweepers households. There is a significant difference between the *Jaat* sweepers and Muslim sweepers in terms of food expenditure, which appears in graph 5.4.1. The graph also indicates that 8 percent of the *Jaat* sweeper spends up to 2000 Tk. per month on their household food items whereas about 14 percent of the Muslim spends such an amount of money on their household food items. More than half of the *Jaat* sweepers spend 2001-4000 Tk. for their food whereas 65 percent of the Muslim sweepers spend that amount of money on food. The graph also shows that 32 percent *Jaat* sweepers spend 4001-6000 Tk. per month for their food whereas 17.5 percent of the Muslim sweepers spend such an amount of money for the same purpose. A considerable portion of the *Jaat* sweeper (8%) spend 6000Tk. and above on their food, which is possible for only a very few (3.5%) of the Muslim sweepers.

Graph -5.4.1: Percentage distribution on expenditure for food items (N=400)
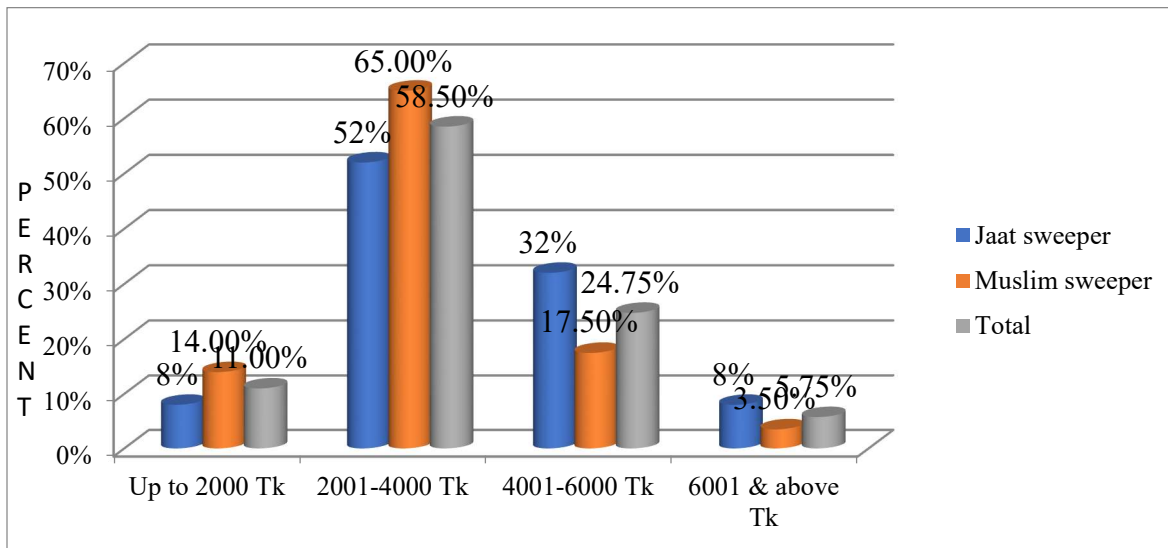
Source: Field work, 2014-15

As mention the sweeper spend a small portion of their income on non-food[4] items. Table 5.4.4 shows that the average expenditure for non-food items is 2,549.50 Tk. The table also shows a variation in the pattern of non-food expenditure among sweeper's households. The minimum non-food expenditure of a sweeper's household is 500 Tk. whereas the maximum non-food expenditure is 8000 Tk. per month. The variation of non-food expenditure among sweeper households is also high (std. dev.1280.057).

Graph -5.4.2: Percentage distribution on expenditure for non- food items (N=400)
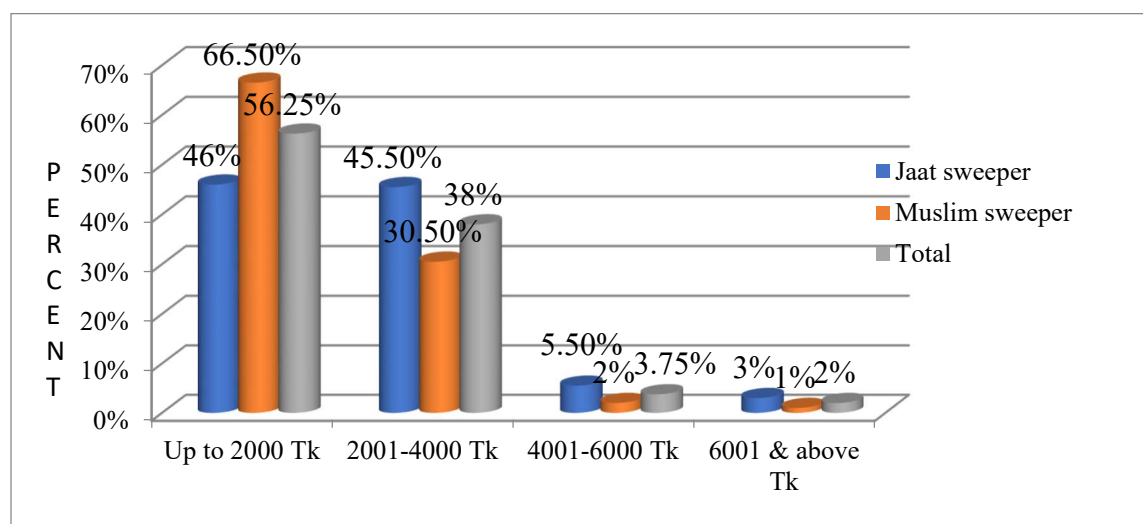
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Graph 5.4.2 shows a variation of non-food expenditure between the *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweeper. Most of the *Jaat* sweepers (46%) spend up to 2000 Tk. per month on non-food items whereas 66.5 percent of the Muslim sweepers spend that amount on such items. Another 45.5 percent and 30.5 percent of the *Jaat* and Muslim sweeper spend 2001-4000 Tk. per month on non-food items. The table also shows that 5.5 percent and 2 percent of the *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweeper spend from 40001-6000 Tk. per month for non-food items. And remaining 3 percent and 1 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweepers is able to spend more than 6000 Tk. per month for non-food items.

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[4] Non-food items includes transport, health, education, recreation and other incidentals. Pocket money is a common source of expense of male members and is included in this category of non-food expenses.

Expenditure is not correlated with colony (r=-.049) and negatively correlated with habitat type (r=-.137 at the 0.01 level). Multiple regression shows habitat type (beta=-.077; t=-1.657; sig=.098) is not a predictor of expenditure. But the table 5.4.11 shows a difference between habitat type in terms of the level of expenditure (chi-square=7.634; d.f=2; p=.022). Consumption is also correlated with some demographic characteristics of the respondents. Religion is negatively correlated with expenditure (r=-.232 at the 0.01 level). The table also shows a significant difference between *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweeper in terms of the level of consumption (chi-square=21.543; d.f=1; p=.00). This means that the *Jaat* sweepers have high level of expenditure than Muslim sweeper.

Table -5.4.9: Correlates of expenditure

Characteristics	Expenditure
Colony	-.049
Habitat Type	-.137**
Age	.019
Religion	-.232**
Gender	-0.98
Marital status	.173**
Education	-0.89
Households head type	-.150**
Household size	.298**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-talied)

Age is not correlated with expenditure (r=.019). There is no significant difference between younger and aged respondents in terms of their expenditure level (chi-square=.150; d.f=1; p=.388). Gender also not correlated with expenditure level (r=-0.98) but table 5.4.11 shows there is a difference

between males and females in terms of their expenditure (chi-square=3.841; d.f=1; p=.032). Marital status is positively correlated with expenditure (r=.173 at the 0.01 level). There is a significant difference between married and other respondents in terms of their expenditure at (chi-square=11.978; d.f=1; p=.00). Marital status is also a predictor of expenditure (beta=.103. t=2.112; sig=.035). Level of education is not correlated with their consumption level (r=-0.89). The difference between the illiterate and literate sweeper in terms of expenditure is also significant at (chi-square=3.193; d.f=1; p=.047).

Table-5.4.10: Multiple regressions of level of expenditure

Predictor	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1.265	.189		6.702	.000
Religion	-.231	.045	-.238	-5.093	.000
Habitat type	-.050	.030	-.077	-1.657	.098
Marital status	.121	.057	.103	2.112	.035
House hold head	-.132	.083	-.077	-1.586	.114
Household size	.292	.047	.287	6.164	.000

Table 5.4.9 shows that household head type is negatively correlated with expenditure (r=-.150 at the 0.01 level). Multiple regression suggests household head type (beta=-.077; t=-1.586-; sig=.114) is not predictors of expenditure. But table 5.4.11 shows that a significant difference between male-headed and female-headed households in terms of their level of expenditure (chi-square=8.987; d.f=1; p=.002). Male-headed households have a higher level of expenditure than female-headed households. Household structure is also positively correlated with expenditure (r=.298 at the 0.01 level). Household structure (beta=.287 t= 6.164; sig=.00) as predictors of consumption. According to the table small member households are also significantly different from households with large members in terms of their expenditure level (chi-square =35.412; def. =1; p=.00).

Table-5.4.11: Socio-demographic characteristics and level of expenditure

Socio-demographic Characteristics	Level of expenditure		Chi-square	df	Sign.
	Low (up to 5000 Tk.) (N=200)	Moderate (5001Tk. +) (N=200)			
Colonies					
Ganaktuli	40.6 (101)	40.4 (61)	5.839	2	.054
Doyagong	18.5 (46)	27.8 (42)			
Dhalpur	41.0 (102)	31.8 (48)			
Habitat Type					
Building	27.7 (69)	39.7 (60)	7.634	2	.022
Semi- pucca or pucca	43.8 (109)	41.1 (62)			
Ten-shed	28.5 (71)	19.2 (29)			
Age structure					
Younger (up to 30 yrs)	51.0 (127)	56.3 (74)	.150	1	.388
Aged (31 yrs+)	49.0 (122)	43.7 (77)			
Religion					
Jaat sweeper	41.0 (102)	64.9 (99)	21.543	1	.000
Muslim sweeper	59.0 (147)	31.1 (53)			
Gender					
Male	46.2 (115)	56.3 (85)	3.841	1	.032
Female	53.8 (134)	43.7 (66)			
Marital status					
Unmarried or Widow or separated or divorced	27.3 (68)	12.6 (19)	11.978	1	.000
		87.4 (132)			
Married	72.7 (181)				
Education					
Illiterate	75.9 (189)	83.4 (126)	3.193	1	.047
Literate	24.1 (60)	16.6 (25)			
Households head type					
Male-headed	88.0 (219)	96.7 (146)	8.987	1	.002
Female headed	12.0 (30)	3.3 (05)			
Household size					
Singe to four	45.8 (114)	16.6 (25)	35.412	1`	.000
five or more members	54.2 (135)	83.4 (126)			

Rice and vegetable are consumed daily by all but foods with higher protein content are consumed daily by less than 20 percent. Meals are consumed three times per day in 94 percent of families. When asked: *Do you feel that your family eats a balanced diet and receives proper nutrition?* 84 percent respond negatively. Subjects are asked if they or their family ever go hungry; 64 percent *sometimes* response and 36 percent say *never*. According to respondents, children are provided with three meals in a day. But inadequate quality and lack of diversity of food are matter of concern in food habit. Consumption pattern of sweeper dwellers depict that rice, potato, vegetable and edible oil are consumed on daily basis. Food composition is sometimes only rice with potato or peas or fish (Table 5.4.12) which are cheap to them. But access to protein rich animal product (milk and milk product, meat or poultry, eggs) is very low among the sweeper. They can consume that items mainly on monthly basis or sometimes on special occasion like *Puja or Eid* festival. According to households these are expensive food item and most of them cannot afford it. Though, many of households can manage fish in weekly basis but the quality of fish is relatively low. Also, most of them reply eating fruits on weekly basis. In this case, they can afford mainly banana which is relatively cheaper than other seasonal fruits.

Table-5.4.12: Consumption of selected food items

Food consumed	Number of household					
	Daily	**Weekly**	**Monthly**	**Special occasion**	**Never**	**Others**
Rice	393	-	-	-	-	7
Bread	122	75	65	48	82	8
Cereal	18	8	41	58	268	7
Vegetable	389	5	2	-	-	4
Edible oil	396	-	-	-	-	4
Potato	391	8	-	-	-	1
Peas	63	254	54	14	15	-
Fish	33	224	107	21	6	9
Egg	4	102	137	11	40	7
Milk or milk powder	22	38	64	82	187	7
Meat or poultry	-	31	251	91	18	9
Fruits	8	201	78	33	71	9

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Table-5.4.13: Average food intake per person per day[5]

Food items	Average intake (in grams)	Standard deviation (in grams)
Rice	401.37	123.02
Cereals	23.30	43.02
Lentils	20.95	17.17
Potatoes	129.19	65.61
Vegetables	118.81	73.44
Fish	34.07	33.34
Edible oil	19.55	11.47
Meat and poultry	17.90	22.76
Milk and milk power	25.59	43.73
Fruit	7.23	18.0

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Table 5.4.13 shows that the average rice intake per person is slightly above 400 grams per day and there is a wide variation (std. dev. 123.02) in rice intake among them. The sweeper mostly consume rice and few of them eat cereals at breakfast. With rice they mainly eat lentils, potatoes and vegetables, as these items are relatively cheap. The average intake of lentils, potatoes and vegetables is 20.95, 129.19 and 118.81 grams per person per day respectively. But there are wide differences in the rates of consumption of these items, which are expressed by standard deviations. Most of the sweeper consume fish but they consume only a very small quantity (average 34.07gram). These sweeper people usually buy a poor quality of fish from local fish markets at low prices. The average intake of expensive items like meat and poultry, milk and milk powder and fruit are 17.9, 25.59 and 7.23 grams per person per day respectively. Table 5.4.13 also shows wide deviations in intake of those expensive items too. The sweeper mostly avoids those expensive items due to their low incomes. But there is a difference between the *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweeper in terms of consumption of these expensive items.

Their consumption pattern is express though the following comments.

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[5] The recall method is used to measure household consumption. The total amount of consumption of the week before the interview was recorded and then per capita consumption per day was calculated.

45 years old a woman (Jaat sweeper) commented,

I have four kids, among them three are going to school in different class. My husband works in a private company as a sweeper and I work in municipality as a Jharudar (sweeper). We earn together money sufficiently. But my husband not give me a single taka to maintain family expenditure. He finishes his whole money to buy alcohol and other bed habits. So it becomes too tough for me to maintain family budget. We just live on basic food, rice, dal (lentils), potato and other vegetable. So it is not possible for me to buy any expensive items like meat, milk or fruits and it becomes a dream for my family to buy meat or big fish. Sometimes buy small fish which quality is not good. We only eat meat one or two time in a year. My little 3 years old daughter prefers to drink milk but it not possible for me to buy this expensive item (Case study -3).

5.5. Nature of the livelihood strategies

Nature of the work

Table 5.5.1 shows that 48.28 percent *Jaat* sweeper and 45.29 percent Muslim sweeper are engaged as a City Corporation worker. Other 5.75 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 4.12 percent of Muslim sweeper and 10.34 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 10 percent of Muslim sweepers are household and factory sweeper respectively. Government organization *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweeper percent are 17.24 and 20 and non-government organization percent are 13.79 and 11.76. Rest of the *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweeper are not taking sweeping or cleaning as their profession and that's present is 4.60 and 8.82 respectively.

Table-5.5.1: Percentage distribution on types of organization of the respondents

Types of organization	Religion				Total	
	Jaat sweeper (n=174)		Muslim sweeper (n=170)		(n-344)	
City corporation sweeper	48.28	(84)	45.29	(77)	46.80	(161)
Household sweeper	5.75	(10)	4.12	(07)	4.94	(17)
Factory sweeper	10.34	(18)	10.0	(17)	10.17	(35)
Govt. organization	17.24	(30)	20.0	(34)	18.60	(64)
Non-Govt. organization	13.79	(24)	11.76	(20)	12.79	(44)
Non sweeper job	4.60	(08)	8.82	(15)	6.69	(23)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Sweeper require introduction or reference or channels for any kind employment for which they have to pay bribe in cash, kind and other services. Sometimes parents replace their children in the service after their retirement and for that purpose too, they need to bribe the middleman for employment. Government and non- government organization have recruit people from outer side as a sweeper that's why the *Jaat* sweepers are depriving from their job. Graph 5.5.1 & 5.5.2 shows that 39.12 percent give bribe for their jobs and 35.39 percent respondents give bribe to get their pension.

Graph-5.5.1: Bribe for job (N=340)   **Graph-5.5.2: Bribe for pension (N=17)**
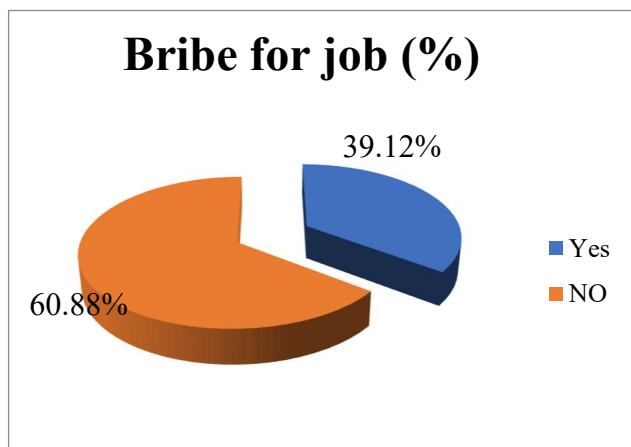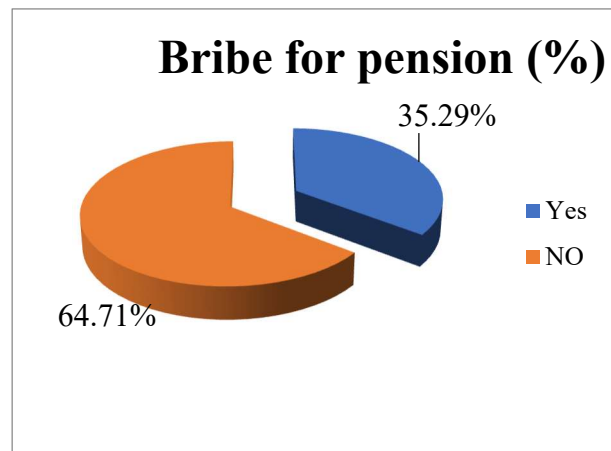
Source: Field work, 2014-15   *Source: Field work, 2014-15*

Mohon, an old *Kanpuri* sweeper mentioned about the job vulnerability during his professional life:

> I had joined in City Corporation as a daily basis worker before forty years ago. Two years ago without any notice authority sacked me from the job and the authority did not get me any pension or others facilities. In thirty-eight years' professional lifetime, authority did not permanent my job. This picture is not only applicable form me but many sweepers especially those who work in municipalities or some other organization on the basis of no-work-no pay system, spend nearly their lifetime in this occupation without having any pension or other retirement facilities. So, we feel anxious all time when we lost our job (Case study -7).

Ganga a Telugu sweeper, summed his situation up as follows:

> We have better day before. We get this occupation by born from heredity way. In past we were satisfied with this job facility. Two or three members of each family got job and we lived in a happy life. When Muslim entered this profession, we have been facing in job crises from that time. Most of the cases, Muslim offer money to get this job but that is not possible for Jaat sweeper. At present, the majority of the municipal sweepers are Muslim. The scope of Jaat sweeper to enter into government jobs has been shrinking day by day. In most of the cases, the Muslim (non-professionals) have been capturing the posts of sweeper by offering bribes. Most of the family of this community have to give about Tk. 20000-100000Tk for getting a job. My three brothers are unemployed now because we have no extra taka to give as a bribe. A large number of Jaat sweepers are becoming unemployed day by day for this reason. Many unemployed sweepers wait for a call when someone latrine will be out of order and they will call them. But the number of calls are not sufficient. So, young people become frustrate and engage in unethical deeds (Case study -1).

There are various forms of discrimination experienced by the sweepers in different spheres and by different personnel and market based discrimination is also one such area where caste-based discrimination is experienced. Labour market discrimination can transpire in the domain of hiring or in wages or through working conditions and opportunities for upward mobility. Like India, Bangladeshi sweeper also face discrimination in the labor market.

Graph - 5.5.3: Percentage distribution on labour market discrimination of the respondents
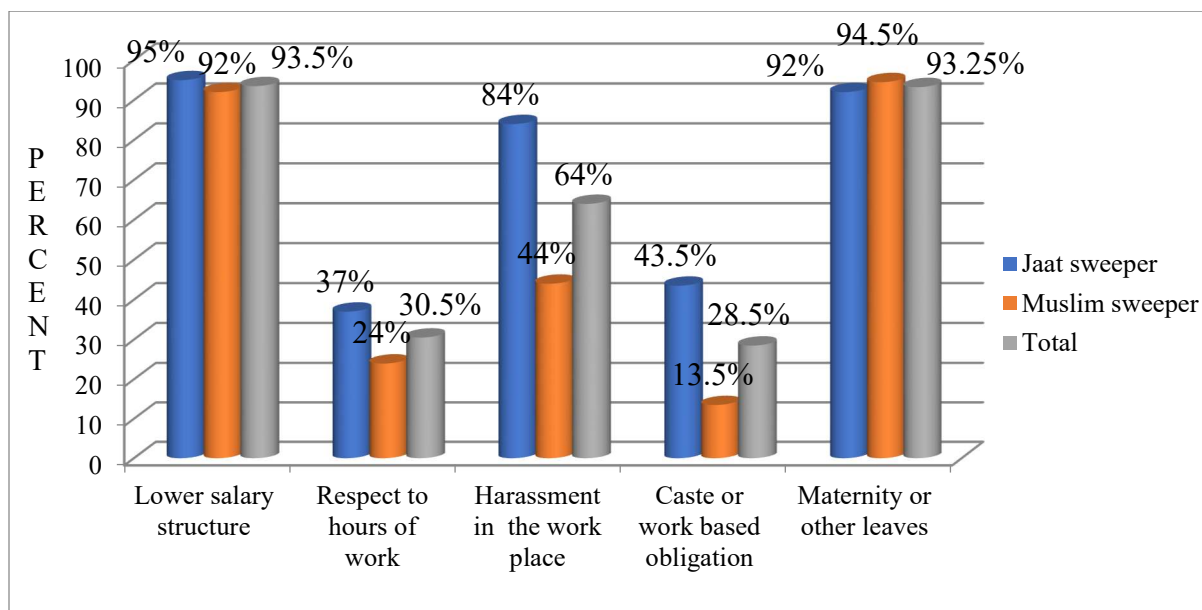
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Graph 5.5.3 shows that 95 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 92 percent of Muslim sweeper feel discriminate in lower wages (lower than wages given to other laborers), 37 percent of *Jaat* and 24 percent of Muslim feel discrimination in terms and conditions with respect to hours of work, 84 percent of *Jaat* and 44 percent Muslim sweeper are discriminated in different behavior by employers towards low caste laborer or worker in the work place and 43.5 percent *Jaat* sweeper and 13.5 percent Muslim sweeper are discriminated in labour market in term of compulsive and forced work governed by traditional caste related obligations. Among *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweepers 92 percent and 94.5 percent are feel discrimination on maternity or others leaves respectively.

Most of the sweepers haven't permanent job they are engaged in temporary basis jobs in City Corporation, government or non-government organization. Many of them involve themselves in a series of organization at different stage in their life to maintain their livelihoods and they often became unemployed.[6] Table 5.5.2 shows that out of total respondents 85.75 percent feel that unemployment is the main problem in their community and 71.25 percent feel that low salary is the important problem for them. Sweeping in main road and to clean manhole or drain it sometimes puts them at risk. Out of total respondents 28.25 percent feel that they are working in very unsafe environments where they are at risk of injury or death. They also mention that despite of such risks, they remain in these jobs as they have no alternative to choose profession to maintain their life. The sweepers have no access to any type of health insurance or safety health cover. Out of 400 respondents 59.50 percent and 25.50 percent feel that housing crisis and social attitudes are another important problem for this community.

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[6] Multiple responses were recorded because they faced a number of problems at their employments simultaneously.

Table-5.5.2: Percentage distribution on occupational problem and harassments of the respondents

Vulnerability	Frequency (n=400)	Percent
Major problems		
Unemployment	343	85.75
Low income	285	71.25
Housing crisis	238	59.50
Unsafe condition	113	28.25
Harassment	131	32.75
Social attitude	102	25.50
Others	42	10.50
Perceptions regarding occupational safety		
Have high risk	130	32.50
Have low risk	90	22.50
Death can happen to anyone	73	18.25
Death is fixed by the almighty	72	18.00
Have a stronger immunity	31	7.75
Others	4	1.00
Types of harassment (n=131)		
Oral harassment	78	59.54
Physical harassment	29	22.13
Sexual harassment	14	10.69
Others	10	7.63
Reasons for unemployment(n=56)		
No work	34	60.71
Illness	15	26.79
Others	7	12.50

Source: Field work, 2014-15

The study finds a variety of perceptions regarding occupational safety and health hazards among participants. More than one fourth 32.50 percent seemed to have many risk in their occupation. However, the 22.50 percent households appeared to have low risk perceptions regarding the chances of being infected or injured at work and 18.25 percent of the participants believe that infection, injuries, accident and death can happen to anyone, at any time, and anywhere, thus normalizing the perception of injury and health problems. Participants of 18 percent have a strong

belief that the risk of getting infected or injured depends on their faith. Therefore, they could not escape these problems if it would have been fixed by the almighty. Many households have been engaged in the sweeping activities for several generations; nevertheless, few had experienced any death that they attributed to the work. Additionally, 7.75 percent believe that they have developed a natural defense system in their body through prolonged exposure to such infectious agents and that naturally they have a stronger immunity than non-sweepers. A significant proportion (32.75%) of respondents is subject to harassment at the work place, the nature of such harassment varies from place or category of the jobs. The table 5.5.2 shows that of 59.54 percent respondents face verbal harassment at their employment. Another 22.13 percent respondents have experience of physical harassment and 10.69 percent female respondents are sexually harassed by their senior authority or others. They generally do not protest against such behavoiur because of their poverty and vulnerability. They know that they will lose their job if they protest and cause their family economic hardship. The study indicates that this harassment occurs more frequently in private worker than the government or municipality worker. Table 5.5.2 also shows that 60.71 percent of sweepers are unemployment and they cannot find any jobs and 26.79 percent of sweeper are unemployment because of their illness. Rest of the 12.50 percent are unemployed for other reasons.

Traditional professional trend

In regard to children education, a vital element of strategic resources, *Jaat* sweepers are also unenthusiastic, considering that even with education their children will not get any better job for their hereditary status. Therefore, they have a common tendency to attach their traditional profession. The study shows that most of the *Jaat* sweepers are comparatively satisfied then the Muslim sweepers. So that *Jaat* sweeper are adapted their inborn occupational status but Muslims are engaged this profession to feed them. More over all the Muslim sweeper have a hidden will that they would be changed their occupation, if they get any better opportunity in their life. So they are not expected to involve their children in this low work.

Correlates and predictors of traditional professional trend

Traditional professional trend is not correlated with colonies (r= .023) and with the habitat type of sweeper communities (r=.077). But both colony and habitat types have a significant different with traditional professional trend (chi square=16.035; d.f=2; p=.00) and (chi square=6.513; d.f=1; p=.039). Traditional professional trend is positively correlated with the demographic characteristics of the respondents, especially religion (r=.370 at the 0.01 level) and gender (r=.170 at the 0.01 level).

Table- 5.5.3: Correlates of traditional professional trend

Characteristics	Traditional professional trend
Colony	.023
Habitat Type	.077
Age	-.285**
Religion	.370**
Gender	.170**
Marital status	-.207**
Education	.184**
Households head type	.200**
Household size	-.176**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-talied)

There is a significant difference between *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweeper households in terms of their traditional professional trend (chi square=54.765; d.f=1; p=.00). Multiple regression shows that religion is a predictor of traditional professional trend (beta=.360; t=8.458; sig=.00). Multiple regression shows that gender is a predictor of traditional professional trend (beta=.099; t=2.294; sig=.022). Table 5.5.5 shows a significant difference between males and females in term of at chi-

square=11.561; d.f=1; p=.00. Age is negatively correlated with traditional professional trend (r= -.285 at the 0.01 level). Multiple regression shows that age is a predictor of traditional professional trend (beta=-.224; t=-5.131; sig=.00). The younger respondents have less agreed to involve their children in traditional profession than aged respondents. Table 5.5.5 shows a significant difference between younger and aged response in term of at chi-square=32.483; d.f=1; p=.00.

Table -5.5.4: Multiple regressions of traditional professional trend

Predictor	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1.224	.208		5.888	.000
Religion	.360	.043	.360	8.458	.000
Gender	.099	.043	.099	2.294	.022
Age	-.224	.044	-.224	-5.131	.000
Marital status	-.124	.055	-.102	-2.248	.025
Household head type	.257	.079	.145	3.240	.001
Education	.111	.053	.091	2.102	.036
Household structure	-.161	.045	-.153	-3.552	.000

Marital status is negatively correlated with traditional professional trend (r=-.207at the 0.01 level). There is a significant difference between married and others respondents in terms of their trend (chi square=17.112; d.f=1; p=.000). Education is positively correlated with traditional professional trend (r=.184 at the 0.01 level). There is a significant difference between illiterate and literate respondents in terms of their traditional trend (chi square=13.582; d.f=1; p=.000). The literate respondents have less agreed to involve their children this work than illiterate respondents. The household head type is positively correlated with this trend (r=.200 at the 0.01 level). There is a significant difference between male-headed and female-headed households in terms of their children profession (chi square16.065=; d.f=1; p=.00). Multiple regression shows that household head type is a predictor of traditional professional trend (beta=.145; t=3.240; sig=.00). The household structure is negatively correlated with traditional professional trend (r= -.176 at the 0.05 level). There is a significant difference between small size and large size households in terms of their traditional professional trend (chi square=12.456; d.f=1; p=.00). Table-5.5.4 also shows that household structure is a predictor of traditional professional trend (beta=-.153; t=-3.552; sig=.00).

Table-5.5.5: Socio-demographic characteristics and traditional professional trend

Socio-demographic characteristics	Traditional professional trend				Chi-square	df	Sign.
	Agreed (N=198)		Not agreed (N=202)				
Colony					16.035	2	.000
Ganaktuli	37.4	(74)	43.6	(88)			
Doyagong	30.3	(60)	13.9	(28)			
Dhalpur	32.3	(67)	42.6	(86)			
Habitat Type					6.513	2	.039
Building	37.9	(75)	26.7	(54)			
Semi- pucca or pucca	37.4	(74)	48.0	(97)			
Ten-shed	24.7	(49)	25.2	(51)			
Age structure					32.483	1	.000
Younger (up to 30 yrs)	35.9	(71)	64.4	(130)			
Aged (31 yrs+)	64.1	(127)	35.6	(72)			
Religion					54.765	1	.000
Jaat sweeper	68.7	(136)	31.7	(64)			
Muslim sweeper	31.3	(62)	68.3	(138)			
Gender					11.561	1	.000
Male	58.6	(116)	41.6	(84)			
Female	41.4	(82)	58.4	(118)			
Marital status					17.112	1	.000
Unmarried or Widow or separated or divorced	13.1	(26)	30.2	(61)			
Married	86.9	(172)	69.8	(141)			
Education					13.582	1	.000
Illiterate	86.40	(171)	71.3	(144)			
Literate	13.6	(27)	28.7	(58)			
Households head type					16.065	1	.000
Male-headed	97.0	(192)	85.6	(173)			
Female headed	3.0	(6)	14.4	(29)			
Household size					12.456	1	.000
Small size (upto 4 members)	26.3	(52)	43.1	(87)			
Large size (5 members & above)	73.7	(146)	56.9	(115)			

5.6. Household savings and assets

Household Loan

The sweepers are unable to live on their limited earning and often forced to take loans from the various sources. Sweeper borrow money to fulfill some basic needs and requirements. According to survey more than half of the households of the sweeper have loan to maintain their family expenditure.

Table-5.6.1: Percentage distribution on household's loans and purposes of loan of respondents

	Religion		Total
	Jaat sweeper (n= 118)	**Muslim sweeper** (n=134)	(n=252)
Household loans (n=252)			
Up to 5000 Tk.	19.49 (23)	10.45 (14)	14.68 (37)
5001-10000 Tk.	30.51 (36)	20.90 (28)	25.40 (64)
10001-15000 Tk.	18.64 (22)	28.36 (38)	23.81 (60)
1500- 20000 Tk.	11.02 (13)	12.69 (17)	11.90 (30)
200001-250000 Tk.	10.17 (12)	14.18 (19)	12.30 (31)
250001 & above	10.17 (12)	13.43 (18)	11.90 (30)
Purpose of loan (n=252)			
Petty trade	10.16 (12)	22.39 (30)	16.67 (42)
Job purpose	18.64 (22)	31.34 (42)	25.40 (64)
Provide foods	20.34 (24)	10.45 (14)	15.08 (38)
Marital purpose	37.29 (44)	13.43 (18)	24.60 (62)
Medical treatment	10.17 (12)	7.46 (10)	8.73 (22)
Land purchase	- -	10.45 (14)	5.56 (14)
Others purpose	5.08 (6)	4.48 (6)	4.76 (12)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Table 5.6.1 shows that out of 252 households 19.49 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 10.45 percent of Muslim sweeper have a loan up to 5000 Tk. Another 30.51 percent and 20.90 percent of them have a loan 5001-10000 Tk. and 18.64 percent and 11.02 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 28.36 and 12.69 percent Muslim sweeper have 10001-15000 and 15001 to 20000 Tk. respectively. Another 10.17 percent and 14.18 percent have loan between 20001 to 25000 Tk. The remaining 10.17 percent and 13.43 percent *Jaat* and Muslim have a loan of 25001 Tk. or more. The size of household's

loan of the Muslim sweeper is higher than the *Jaat* sweeper counterparts. Table 5.6.2 shows that average household loan is 15500 Tk. It also shows a wide variation among the sweepers households (std. dev. 12862.280) the minimum households is 1000 Tk. whereas the maximum is 150000 Tk. The sweepers take loans from informal sources at higher level rates of interests in order to survive. Table 5.6.1 also shows that 16.67 percent and 25.40 percent takes loans for petty trade and for bribe to get a job. As their earning is insufficient 15.08 percent of them take loans to provide food and another 24.60 percent and 8.73 percent take a loan marriage purpose and medical purpose respectively. Only 5.56 percent and 4.76 percent of the households get loan for land purchase and others purpose. The study indicates that Muslim sweeper households are taken more loan for petty trade and to purchase land than the *Jaat* sweepers.

Graph-5.6.1: Percentage distribution on sources of loan of the respondents (N=252)
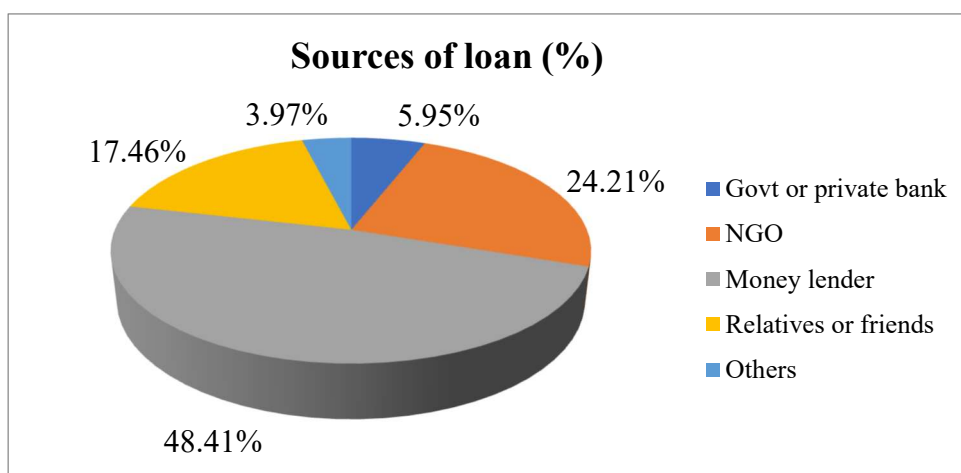
Source: Field work, 2014-15

The graph 5.6.1 shows that out of 252 households only 5.95 percent get their loans from formal organization like banks or financial sectors and 24.21 percent get from non-government organizations (NGOs) or Co-operative, another 48.41 percent get loans from local lender (*Mohagon*) at a higher rate of interest. In case of emergency most of the respondents get loans from their relatives or friends that percent is 17.46 and for that most of the cases they are not pay any interest for that. It also indicates that the Muslim sweeper have more loan than the Hindu sweeper as they are involved with business for the extra income and others purpose.

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Table-5.6.2: Descriptive statistics of household's loan and investment

Variables	N	Min	Max	Mean	std. dev.
Assets:					
Household loan (Tk.)	252	1000	1,50000	15,500.00	12862.280
Household saving (Tk.)	87	2000	2,00000	17,367.82	26288.257
Household assets (Tk.)	400	8000	1,80000	30,020.00	15389.988
Household investment (Tk.)	53	2000	1,00000	15,547.17	13497.245

Source: Field work, 2014-15

House savings and investment

The study shows that households saving is depends on their income and attitude to saving. It is observed that most of the male people of the *Jaat* sweeper are expended large amount of their income to taking alcohol. So that women of the sweeper community are largely conscious about saving for their better future. Graph 5.6.2 shows that most of the households have no savings or insignificant amount of money. About 18.42 percent of *Jaat* and 20.41 percent Muslim sweeper of the households have saving up to 5000 Tk. And 39.47 percent and 36.73 percent *Jaat* and Muslim have 5001-10000 Tk. and 18.42 percent and 10.20 percent have 10001-15000 Tk. in saving respectively. Only 23.68 percent *Jaat* and 32.65 percent Muslim sweeper have saving 15001 and above taka. The size of household's savings of the Muslim sweeper is higher than the *Jaat* sweeper counterparts. Table 5.6.2 shows that average household savings is 17367.82 Tk. It also shows a wide variation among the sweepers households (std. dev. 26288.257) the minimum households is 2000 Tk. whereas the maximum is 200000Tk.

Graph -5.6.2: Percentage distribution on household's savings of the respondent (N= 87)
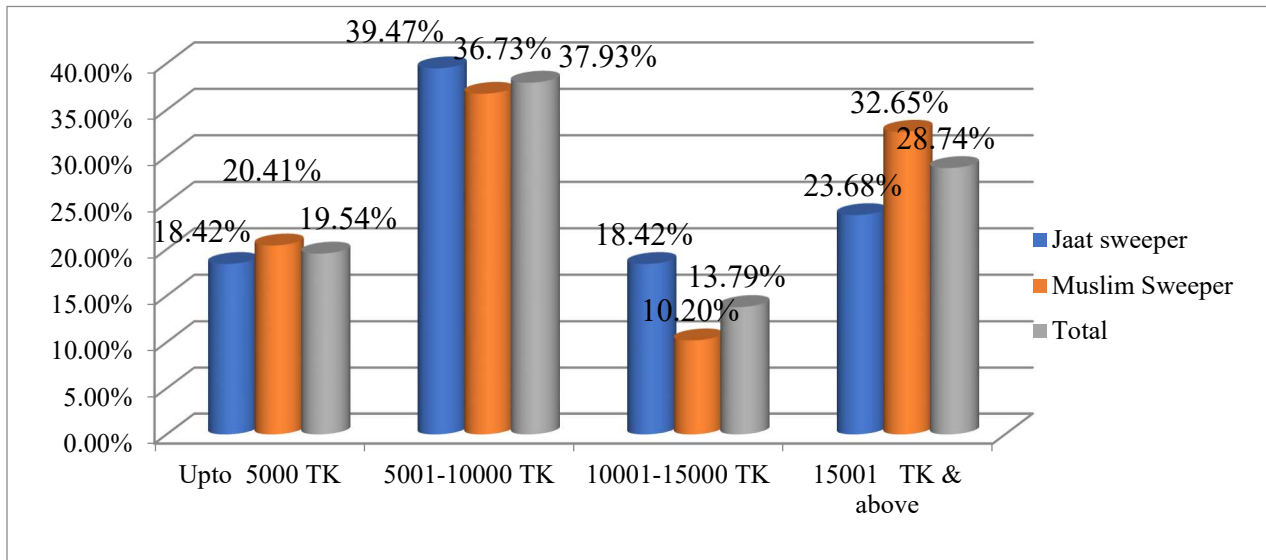
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Graph -5.6.3: Percentage distribution on household's investment of the respondent (N= 53)
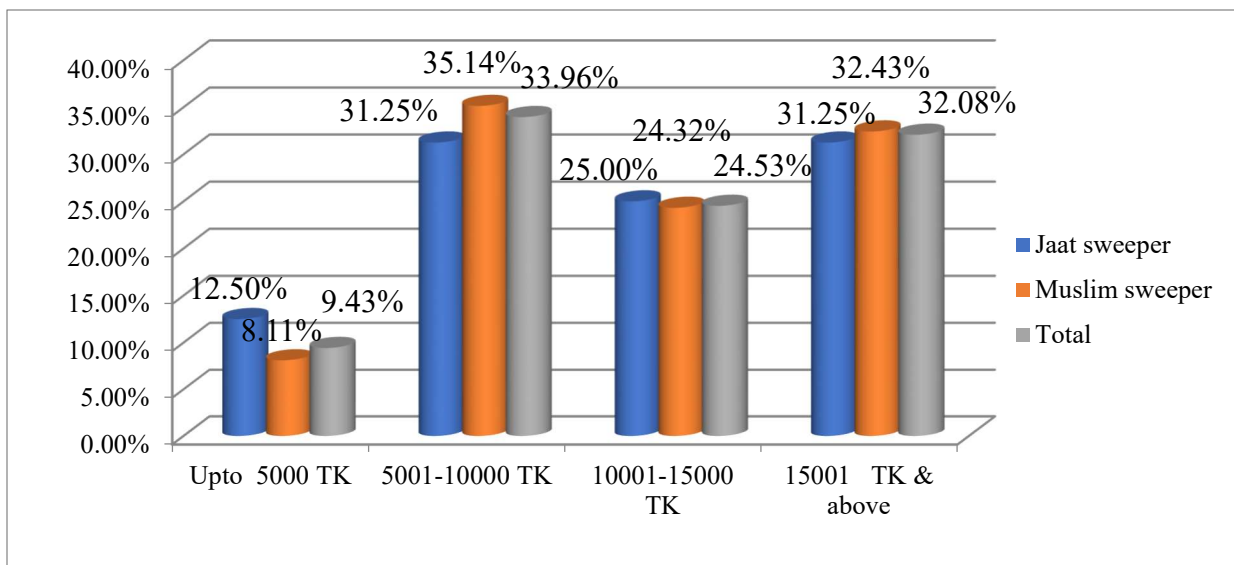
Source: Field work, 2014-15

The graph 5.6.3 shows that most of the households have no investment insignificant amount of money. About 12.5 percent of *Jaat* and 8.11 percent Muslim sweeper of the households have investment up to 5000 Tk. and 31.25 percent and 35.14 percent *Jaat* and Muslim have 5001-10000

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Tk. and 25.0 percent and 24.32 percent have 10001-15000 Tk. in investment respectively. The remaining 31.25 percent *Jaat* and 32.43 percent Muslim sweeper have investment 15001 or above taka. Most of the sweeper cannot invest their savings securely because they lack access to formal credit systems including banking, insurance and other investment policies. Most of them keep their savings in hand in order to be able to respond to any economic crisis immediately. The size of household's investment of the Muslim sweeper is higher than the *Jaat* sweeper counterparts. Table 5.6.2 shows that average household's investment is 15547.17 Tk. It also shows a wide variation among the sweepers households (std. dev. 13497.245) the minimum households is 2000 Tk. whereas the maximum is 100000 Tk. Muslim sweepers are much concern about their saving and savings reserved into different institutions like banks, post office and NGO etc. than the *Jaat* sweeper.

48 years old a Muslim sweeper Rasid commented:

> I have three sons and two daughters. I and one of my son working as a cleaner in City Corporation. Two sons are working in a shop. I gave marry my two daughters in my village. Every month I am trying to save some money to buy a land in my rural area. I think that if I buy some land then I will change this profession. I will go to Homna in district of Comilla which is my birth place. Now my saving is fifty thousand takas. It is unsafe to keep money in my house because it is not a secure place. I can't decide where I will keep it. I cannot read or write so I haven't any knowledge about bank and financial institutions. I cannot belief any person in this community to deposit my money (Case study -11).

Level of household's assets

The sweeper has low-cost household assets. They generally cannot afford costly items in their households due to their low level of income. Table 5.6.2 shows that the average market value[7] of the assets is 30020.00 Tk. but there is a wide difference among sweeper households in terms of the market value of household assets. The minimum value is 8000 Tk. whereas the maximum value

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[7] The values of household assets were determined by market prices of goods following the guidelines developed by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (2002). Practical knowledge gathered through visiting city second hand furniture shops also helped to calculate the value precisely.

is 180000 Tk. Thus, the high value of deviation (std. dev15389.988) also expresses a wide difference among the sweeper household in terms of their assets.

Graph -5.6.4: Market value of household assets
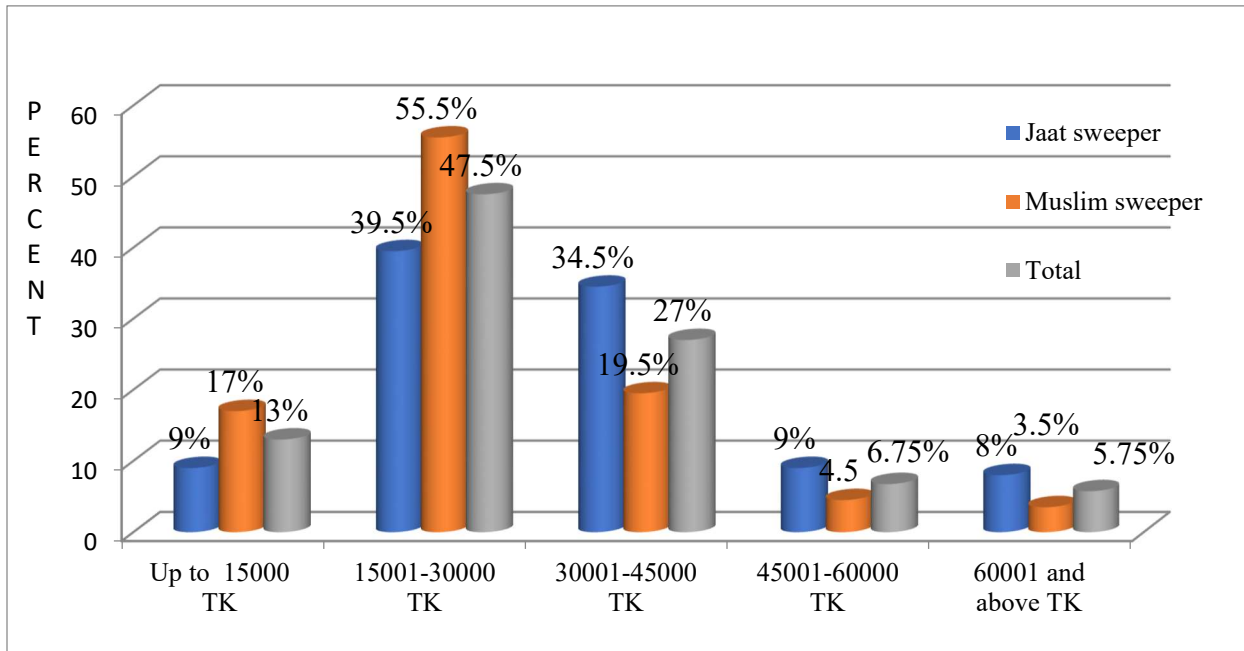
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Figure 5.6.4 shows the market value of household assets of the sweepers. About 9.0 percent of the *Jaat* sweeper have a very low level of household assets (costing up to 15000 Tk.) and 39.5 percent have household assets value between 15001-30000Tk. and 34.5 percent have 30001-45000Tk. respectively. Another 9.0 percent households have assets value between 45001 to 60000Tk. Rests of the 8.0 percent households have assets value between 60001 Tk. or more. The graph 5.6.4 also shows that 17.0 percent of households of Muslim sweeper only have assets value up to 15000Tk. Another 55.5 percent and 19.5 percent have 15001-30000Tk. and 30001-45000 Tk. respectively. And other 4.5 percent have assets value between of 45000 to 60000 Tk. And rests of the 3.5 percent have assets 60001 Tk. or more. Graph 5.6.4 shows that *Jaat* sweeper household's assets value is higher than the Muslim sweeper. It may cause for that Muslim sweepers are invested their surplus value to buy land in their village areas or small business but *Jaat* sweepers are less interested about buy land or others investment. The sweepers have only the most common assets in their households. In most households are a few low-cost goods which are essential for living, but a

considerable proportion of households with a higher level of earning can afford some costly items. The table 5.6.3 shows those 78 percent households have coats in their households and the average value of these coats is 10833.33 Tk.

Table 5.6.3-: Average value of the selected household items used by the sweeper

Items	Frequency	Percentage	Average value
Coat	312	78.0	10833.33
Furniture	364	91.0	16428.57
Cooking utensils	388	97.0	3298.97
Television	287	71.75	8350.52
Cassette player	135	33.75	392.59
Refrigerator	112	28.0	14955.357
Mobile phone	264	66.0	1533.00
By-cycle	122	30.5	3442.62

Source: Field work, 2014-15

In most of the households have (91%) there are furniture in their households. The average value of furniture is 16428.57 Tk. There is also a wide difference among the households in terms of the market value of their furniture. In most of the households (97%), there are low cost cooking utensils with an average value is 3298.97 Tk. There are 66.0 percent of the sweeper have mobile phones and 71.75 percent and 33.75 percent have own television and cassette player respectively. Only 28 percent and 30.5 percent have refrigerator and by-cycle with an average value is 14955.357 Tk. and 3442.62 Tk. The average value of a television and cassette player correlates with the quality of entertainment offered.

Correlates and predictors of asset level

The asset level of households is not correlated with colony and habitat type (r=-.013) and (r =-.044). Table 5.6.6 shows that the three colony have significantly different in terms of their assets (chi-square= 6.487; d.f= 2; p=.039) and there is no significant difference between habitat type respondents in terms of their asset levels (chi-square= 4.423; d.f=2; p=.110). Age is negatively correlated (r=-2.82 at the 0.01 level) with assets and age is a predictor of asset level (beta=-.269;

t=-5.966; p=.00) and there is a significant difference between younger (up to 30 yrs) and aged (31yrs+) respondents in terms of asset at (chi-square=31.888; d.f=1; p=.000). Religion is negatively correlated (r=-.245 at the 0.01 level) with assets and multiple regression suggests that religion is a predictor of asset level (beta=-.281; t=-6.294; p=.00) and there is a significant difference between *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweeper respondents in terms of asset at chi-square=24.103; d.f=1; p=.000.

Table -5.6.4: Correlates of assets level

Characteristics	Assets level
Colony	-.013
Habitat Type	-.044
Age	-.282**
Religion	-.245**
Gender	.020
Marital status	.178**
Education	.180**
Households head types	-.178**
Household size	-.065

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-talied)

The gender is not correlated with assets (r=-.020) and there is no significant difference between male and female respondents in terms of their asset levels (chi-square=.167; d.f=1; p=.380). The asset level of households is positively correlated with marital status (.178 at the level 0.01 level) and there is a significant difference between marital status of the respondents in terms of their household assets (chi-square=12.684; d.f=1; p=.000). Multiple regression suggests that marital status is a predictor of asset level (beta=.174; t=3.683; p=.00). Educational level of the respondents is positively correlated with assets (r=.180 at the 0.01 level) and it is a predictor of the assets level

(beta=.182; t=4.018; p=.00). The difference between illiterate and literate respondents in terms of their assets is significant at (chi-square=13.008; d.f=1; p=.001).

Table-5.6.5: Multiple regressions of asset level

Predictor	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1.774	.190		9.330	.000
Religion	-.275	.044	-.281	-6.294	.000
Age	-.263	.044	-.269	-5.966	.000
Marital status	.206	.56	.174	3.683	.000
Household head type	-.187	.081	-.108	-2.296	.022
Education	.218	.054	.182	4.018	.000

Household head type is negatively correlated with assets level. According to multiple regression, household head type (beta=-.108; t=-2.296; sig=.022) is a predictor of assets levels. Table 5.6.6 shows a significant difference between male-headed and female-headed households in terms of their assets at chi-square=12.648; d.f=1; p=.000. Female-headed households are more vulnerable in terms of assets than male-headed households. Household's structure is not correlates with assets level. The table 5.6.6 also shows that there is no significant difference between single to four member households and households with five or more members in terms of assets level (chi-square=1.714; d.f=1; p=.115).

Table-5.6.6: Socio-demographic characteristics and level of assets

Socio-demographic characteristics	Level of assets		Chi-square	df	Sign.
	Less assets (Up to 30000Tk.) (N=242)	Moderate assets (30001Tk.+) (N=158)			
Colony					
Ganaktuli	42.1 (102)	38.0 (60)	6.487	2	.039
Doyagong	17.8 (43)	28.0 (45)			
Dalpur	41.1 (97)	33.0 (53)			
Habitat Type					
Building	28.9 (70)	37.3 (59)	4.423	2	.110
Semi- pucca or pucca	46.7 (113)	36.7 (58)			
Ten-shed	24.4 (59)	25.9 (41)			
Age structure					
Younger (up to 30 yrs)	38.8 (94)	67.7 (107)	31.888	1	.000
Aged (31 yrs+)	61.2 (148)	32.3 (51)			
Religion					
Jaat sweeper	40.1 (97)	65.2 (103)	24.103	1	.000
Muslim sweeper	59.9 (145)	34.8 (55)			
Gender					
Male	50.8 (123)	48.7 (77	.167	1	.380
Female	49.2 (119)	51.3 (81)			
Marital status					
Unmarried or Widow or separated or divorced	27.7 (67)	12.7 (20	12.684	1	.000
Married	72.3 (175)	87.3 (138)			
Education					
Illiterate	84.7 (205)	69.6 (110)	13.008	1	.000
Literate	15.3 (37)	30.4 (48)			
Households head type					
Male-headed	87.2 (211)	97.5 (154)	12.648	1	.000
Female headed	12.8 (31)	2.5 (4)			
Household size					
Singe to four	32.2 (78)	38.6 (61)	1.714	1	.115
five or more members	67.8 (164)	61.4 (97)			

5.7. Environment and infrastructure facilities

Environment of the ghettos

From the outsider point of view, the physical environment[8] of sweeper ghettoes, especially those of the made by British authority, are very dirty and muddy due to their congested settlements, lack of proper drainage and so on. The places where sweepers live that called *Mathar patti* (sweeper colony) which are isolated from the outsider (mainstream society). Sweeper quarters are too small, congested, unclean and unhygienic. They have been living in these tiny rooms from many generations. They have been passing their days in unbearable sorrows and sufferings without electricity, pure drinking water and supply of gas etc. The residents of the colony have been passing their days in inhuman condition live in their small room along with serious bad smell of dirt and garbage. Scarcity of pure drinking water all over the colony is so high and there are only four to five water taps in the colony. Whole daylong gathering surrounding these taps is a common scene. They bath here and collect their drinking water from these taps. Most of the cases there is no separate toilet arrangement for the female. The dustbin is located in front of the colony house due to scarcity of land. Most of the colony is situated in the low laying area of the city. Almost every year the colonies are seriously affected by heavy monsoon rains; during rainy seasons these colonies become unsuitable for habitation.

Housing conditions and sources of water

The study demonstrates (Table 5.7.1) that overwhelming number of the respondents (89%) live in single-room houses. One the contrary, only 11 percent of the respondents lives in double or more room houses. Besides this, maximum (77%) of the respondents' rooms have just one window and (18%) rooms have no window. Only (5%) of the room have two or more windows.

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[8] The physical environmental of sweeper colony is very poor. This can be easily understood through visiting these areas. Bad smells from garbage and even human waste are very common in most of these colonies. This kind of unhealthy environment is partially responsible for poor health in these sweeper communities.

Table- 5.7.1: Percentage distribution housing condition of the respondents

Items	Indicators	Frequency	Percent
Number of Room	Single	356	89
	Double or more	44	11
Number of Window	No window	72	18
	One window	308	77
	Two window and more	20	05
Place for cooking	Having cooking room	157	39.25
	In room	171	42.75
	Open spaces	65	16.25
	Others arrangement	7	1.75
Fuel for cooking	Natural gas	128	32
	Kerosene	64	16
	Husk or leaves/ straw	80	20
	Firewood	108	27
	Others	20	5

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Cooking and fuel

As the sweeper colony is heavily populated area and they have to live in the colony in great difficulty in one or two rooms, so in many cases the aspiration for a separate kitchen is far from their thoughts. Graph 5.7.1 shows that only 39.25 percent having place for cooking and nearly half (42.75%) respondents are cooked inside their room. Approximately 16.25 percent of them use open place beside their house for cooking purposes and 1.75 percent respondents say they have others arrangement. From the study, it reveals that more than one forth (32%) of the respondents use natural gas for cooking, 20 percent use husk, leaves and straw and 27 percent use firewood for this purpose. Only 6 percent use kerosene for cooking purpose.

Graph -5.7.1: Cooking facilities (N=400)   **Graph -5.7.2: Dwelling types (N=400)**
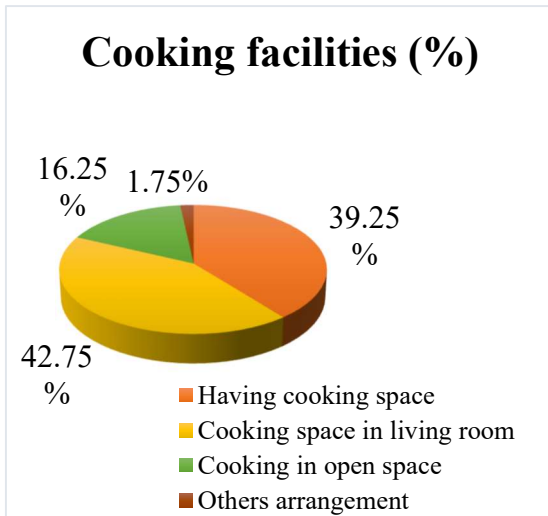
Source: Field work, 2014-15
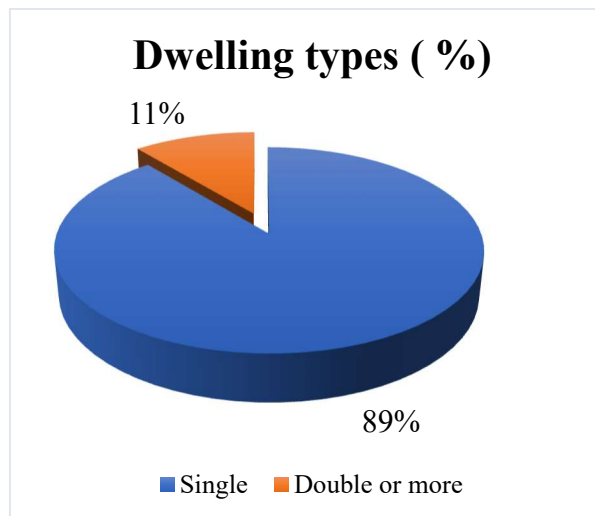
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Sanitation and hygienic condition

From the study, it reveals that near (83%) of the respondents use non-hygienic and about 17 percent use *hygienic* latrines. Table 5.7.2 shows that near half (43%) of the respondents mention that they use ash to brush their teeth; following that, 22.25 percent use tooth powder and other 13.25 percent and 24 percent use tooth paste and coal respectively. Of the practice of boiling drinking water, seventy-seven percent respondents say that they are not using boiled water but other twenty-three percent of the respondent says that they use boiled drinking water. Table 5.7.2 also shows that 71.75 percent respondents say that they have not any drainage system in their colony. 14.25 percent and 8.75 percent respondents say they have *kutcha* and *semi- pucca* drainage system. Only 5.25 percent respondents report that they have *pucca* drainage system.

Table- 5.7.2: Percentage distribution hygienic condition of the respondents

Items	Indicators	Frequency	Percent (%)
Types of latrine	Non-hygienic	332	83.0
	Hygienic	68	17.0
Practices of boiled water for drinking	Yes	93	23.25
	No	307	76.75
Brushing Materials	Tooth paste	53	13.25
	Tooth powder	89	22.25
	Coal	96	24.0
	Ash	143	35.75
	Others	19	4.75
Drainage system	No drain	287	71.75
	Kutcha	57	14.25
	Sem*i-pucca*	35	8.75
	Pucca	21	5.25

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Table 5.7.3 shows that only 32 percent of the sweepers have access to gas. It is also shows that there is a difference the *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweeper in term of this access. Only 23 percent of Muslim sweepers have access to gas in contrast to 41 percent of the *Jaat* sweeper. Most of the sweeper colonies 62 percent have access to electricity but the supply is inadequate and irregularly. The sweepers have little access to municipal water provision[9]. Only 37.50 percent sweeper get water supply. There is notable difference between the locations of the colony. Quite clearly the access of the sweeper to the water supply is inadequate and insufficient. Only 22.75 percent of respondents have access to municipal waste disposal facilities.

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[9] The sweeper collects drinking water from municipal taps which are often located far from their colony and sometimes water is supply by the water car. They usually wait for a long period of time to get water from these. In many cases, they drink water from tube-wells set up by different NGOs.

Table-5.7.3: Percentage distribution on access to infrastructure facilities of the respondents

Access to facilities	Religion		Total
	Jaat sweeper colony (n=200)	Muslim sweeper colony (n=200)	(n=400)
Gas	41.0 (82)	23.0 (46)	32.0 (128)
Electricity	71.0 (142)	53 .0 (106)	62.00 (284)
Water supply	44.0 (88)	31.0 (62)	37.50 (150)
Sanitation	81.0 (162)	69.0 (139)	75.25 (301)
Waste disposal	32 .0 (64)	13.50 (27)	22.75 (91)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Satisfaction and others

The size of the families has increased manifold but they have been forced to accommodate themselves in the same small housing. Most respondents (89%) does not feel that they live in a hygienic environment and 93 percent feel that the ghetto have led to disease or ill health in their families and 86 percent feel that government should increase their colony number and urban facilities for this excluded group. Only 6 percent are happy in their current position and location. Evils describe are unclean latrine facilities 83 percent, harassment by outsider 32 percent, lack of employment 78 percent, mosquitoes 86 percent, extremes of heat 55 percent, leaking roof 11 percent, harassment of women 7 percent lack of available fuel or gas 37 percent and lack of food 13 percent.

A sixty-five years old Jaat sweeper said:

> Before 1971, outsider is generally knowing what kinds of people lives in these quarters and they often try to avoid these places for obvious reasons. That time no outsider would even dare to enter such ghetto due to obnoxious smells of human excreta stemming for the working tools such as big buckets, ox-carts etc. though the introduction of tractors has replaced some of those traditional tools or devices. That time every family has pigs. They and their pigs are live together in this congested area. But some years ago, mainly the young generation have a taken a difficult task in hand. This task was an attempt to make our

community pig free. They have realized that unclean pig is one of the causes for many diseases. Some of the traditional and pig owner point of view it was evil work. But the young generation does it properly (Case study -2).

Another 65 years old sweeper also commented:

> We are the citizen of this country; we are serving our duty generation to generation to clean this society, whereas mainstream society treat us untouchable and they are not mix with us because we are unclean and polluted. It also interests that our people have been engaged throughout the day to clean up the government offices, hospitals, educational institutions, different private and non-government offices and roads under City Corporations and tea gardens of the country, whereas our ghetto is not clean. We clean all the latrines but we don't have adequate latrine of our own, we clean all waste but we have no waste disposal facilities. We work for a hygienic and healthy environment but we live in an unhealthy and unhygienic environment. We have no right to access better job, education, housing as a normal citizen. We are excluded from socially, culturally and politically from the main stream ethnic group (Case syudy-5).

Ownership of land

The sweepers have very little access to urban or rural land. They mostly live in the locality called *Methor Patti* or sweeper colony etc. or in the periphery of the community living in the *Khas* land of the government and totally segregate from the greater society. These areas which are treated as dwellings of the low caste people or untouchable which are not only separated from geographically it also separated from socially, culturally or religiously. In this ghetto, they live in generation to generation but it's not their own house or property. Many times they are evicted from their land without any warning. In this study shows that out of 400 families only two families have ownership of land in the peripheries of the city. One of them inherited this land from his ancestors and another person buy land in *Karanigong* (peripheries of the Dhaka City) before twenty years ago. It should be noted that most of the *Jaat* and Muslim sweepers are very poor and they don't possess such large holding of land. Some of Muslim sweeper have very small holding of land in their rural area

and that is less than three percent.[10]Other hands only less than four percent have ownership of land in their rural area. It shows that *Jaat* sweepers are less interested to invest their money than the Muslim sweepers. Most of the Muslim families try to invest their money to buy a small piece of land in their rural area. Because, though holding of land is the main indictors of wealth, most of the sweepers are the poorest in the sense that they do have such land or wealth at all in their possession.

A converted Christian Telugu (Mariam Das) explained their series of evictions in the following way:

> Before thirty-five years ago we live in Doyagong sweeper colony. That time a train line was beside the Doyagong sweeper colony. Many Telegu sweepers live in beside the both side of the railway line. After few years' authority evicted vulnerable Telegu sweepers and forced them to settle in present Sydabad area. Few years' later they again evicted us from that area by the authority without any pre-notice. Then they settled us in Dhalpur sweeper colony and some of them settle beside the kamalapur railway station. We are still now in threat by the authorities, we will evict from this land. So we pass our days in uncertainty and we don't know that what things are waiting for us and for our next generation (Case study-18)?

One sweeper girl made a following comment on their job crisis:

> Nobody in my community has their own land but we live in the place generation to generation which is allocated by the government and municipality for us. A considerable number of people of us work in municipalities. If any member of a family does not work in municipalities, anymore they lose their houses. That is at least one family member must have to work in City Corporation for the allotment of their houses. But now it is very difficult to get a City Corporation cleaning job. Most of the cases they demand a large amount of bribe to get a job. Many families are not able to manage this money for getting

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[10] This pattern is common among the Muslim sweepers who have some land in their villages. Their relatives usually look after their land and produce rice and vegetables. When they visit rural villages they bring some rice, nut, fruit and vegetables and so on. Sometimes relatives also visit them in the city with this food and vegetables.

municipality job. So most of the cases they feel insecure to lose their houses (Case study - 6).

5.8. Health condition and status of women

Child health

Children's health is reported to be good to very good 46 percent while 28.75 percent notes it is very poor. Reasons for poor health include rheumatic fever (33), tuberculosis (8), leprosy (3), abscess (16), epilepsy (15), disabled hand, leg or others (10), kidney disease (3) and non-specific descriptions (27). Immunization ("with the six major" diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, measles, poliomyelitis, tuberculosis) are reported by 71 percent survey, and 79 percent reported their children receive *vitamin A* (up to five years). The study shows that one hundred and fifty-eight families have one or more children die, reporting that 73 percent dying before 1-year-old. While diarrhea, respiratory disease, trauma and stillbirth are cited as known causes, a far greater number do not know the cause of their child's death. Thirty-two percent respondents sought treatment before the death of their child, while sixty- eight percent are not able to consult a health care worker due to poverty 72 percent and lack of time 21 percent, the rest 7 percent are unable to answer.

Adult health

The common diseases suffered by the colony dwellers are headache, skin diseases, worm (an intestinal parasite), fever, cough and cold, gastric or ulcer, blood pressure, toothache, diarrhea, jaundice and dysentery. Overwhelming number of the respondent's reported that they go for modern medical assistance and some of them use traditional treatment such as such *Kabiraji*, homeopathy etc. Dental health is reported as poor or very poor in 28 percent and 61 percent report problems with mouth or gums. Thirteen percent respondents have received dental health service in the past year, and 91 percent respondents have 1-6 missing teeth.

Table- 5. 8. 1: Percentage distribution patterns of common diseases of the respondents

(Multiple responses)

Disease	Frequency	Percent
Blood pressure	92	23
Heart diseases	48	12
Skin diseases	154	38.5
Trachoma	48	12
Gastric or ulcer	204	51
Worm (an intestinal parasite)	28	7
Fever, cough and cold	172	43
Headache	170	42.5
Diarrhea	28	7
Jaundice	60	15
Toothache	244	61
Others	86	21.5

Source: Field work, 2014-15

In this study table 5.8.1 shows that most common diseases mention by the respondents from which they suffer from are gastric or ulcer (51% respondents). For irregularity in eating, for eating excessive spicy food and stale food, respondents suffer from gastric or ulcer problem. The second highest (43%) disease among the sweeper is fever, cough and cold. Respondents who suffer from these diseases mention some specific reasons but besides these respondents of these colonies also mention that because of domestic violence sometimes they suffer from fever. Following those 42.5 percent respondents say that they have headache. As the causes of headache they mention excessive tension, excessive heat, excessive cold, sleeping problem, work pressure and for taking family planning method. Another major health hazard among sweepers 23 percent respondents is high or low blood pressure. For excessive tension, for not taking nutritious food and for being weak they suffer from high or low blood pressure.

Another common disease in these colonies area is toothache. 61 percent respondents mention about toothache, which is caused for eating excessive betel leaf, having irregular brushing, tooth decay and pyorrhea. Among the respondents 15 percent are found to suffer from jaundice. They say the cause of jaundice is irregularity in taking food, drinking less water, excessive workload etc. Some respondents say, they don't know the cause of jaundice. Skin diseases is another common disease mention by the sweeper colony 38.5 percent. They report that for constant handling water at work, allergy, and eczema and for excessive heat in the colony might be the causes of skin disease. Diarrhea is one of the most common diseases mention by 7 percent respondents. They say that for eating stale food, drinking polluted water they suffer from diarrhea. But they do not know that it is water borne disease. Another common disease in this area is infection by maggot or worm (Intestinal parasite). Among the sweepers 7 percent of them say that this may be caused of lack of awareness about protecting foot by using sandal and cleanliness, and for eating excessive sweet foods. Besides these some other diseases the dwellers suffer from in these area are asthma 4 percent respondents and others 9 percent respondents which includes appendicitis, gynecological problem, work related health hazard, pain in abdomen, gall bladder stone, and previous pregnancy complications etc.

Reproductive health

The table 5.8.2 shows that 32.32 percent of the respondents are aware of family planning and they control pregnancy though contraceptive methods and 67.69 percent haven't any knowledge about family planning methods or not interest to take methods. Oral pill is the popular contraceptive method among the sweeper community. Among respondents that 66.26 percent and 9.43 percent use oral pill and condom respectively and others method use is very low among the sweepers. Study shows that the birth control is higher among the *Jaat* sweeper than the Muslim sweeper, with 29 respondents (54.72%) of the *Jaat* and 24 respondents (45.28%) of Muslim sweeper are taken birth control method. Many Muslim sweepers believe an ideology that God creates humans and this should not be interfered with though any man made techniques.

Table-5.8.2: Percentage distribution knowledge of family planning methods of the respondents

Use of contraceptive	Method use			Total (n=164)
	Oral pill	**Condom**	**Others**	
YES	62.26 (33)	9.43 (05)	28.30 (15)	32.32(53)
	Causes of no use contraceptive					
NO	**Husband dislike**	**Fear of side effect**	**Religious fears**	**Not available & others**	**No response**	**Total**
	27.93(31)	18.02 (20)	19.82 (22)	17.12 (19)	17.12 (19)	67.69(111)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

The table 5.8.2 also shows that lack of concern and husband's disapproval is more commonly cited causes for non-use of contraceptive method. Because of those male and female are less educated and not concern about family planning method and facilities. So it shows that 27.93 percent of husband's disapproval the sweeper families are not take any family planning method. Another 19.82 percent and 18.02 percent are not use family planning method for religious fair and side effect

Table-5.8.3 Percentage distribution reproductive health of the respondents

Reproductive health	Frequency	Percent
Vaccination (last pregnancy period) (n=164)		
Yes	91	55.49
No	73	44.51
Delivery assists during last pregnancy (n=153)		
Traditional dai	74	48.37
Relative or neighbor	66	43.14
Doctor or nurse	13	8.50
M.R or Abortion conducted last time(n=67)		
Traditional dai	32	47.76
Family planning workers or Nurse	13	19.40
Doctors	09	13.43
Homeopaths or *kabirajes*	11	16.42
By herself.	2	2.99

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Table 5.8.3 shows that more than half (55.49%) respondents mention that they take vaccine during pregnancy period and (44.51 %) of the respondent's does not take vaccination in pregnancy period. Most of the sweepers are illiterate and they have no economic solvency. If any serious complex situations arise then they go government or NGO health service. Women sweeper suffers most at the period of their pregnancy. Data shows that most of the cases they call traditional *dai* (they are not specialist) that percent is 48.37 and 43.14 percent call relative or neighbor. Only 8.50 percent of the respondents are seeking services from doctor during child birth. Among the women sweeper have experience of M.R. or abortion but many women have no knowledge about this center. So they go to traditional abortionist and face serve consequences. It reports that nearly 47.76 percent abortion cases are conducted by the traditional *dai* and 19.40 percent go to the family planning workers or nurse. Only 13.40 percent cases are conducted by doctors. In about 16.42 percent of women go to homeopaths or *kabirajes* to induce their abortion. Nearly 2.99 percent of women report inducing their abortion by herself.

Position of women

The study is not inclined to look after the empowerment issue of women of the community. It puts a glimpse of view indeed. Table 5.8.4 shows that issue of empowerment is still neglected in the community. The opinion of women is not honored at any level properly. Male members take the major decisions in the family.

Table: 5.8.4 Percentage distribution who take the decision in following

	Education of children		Marriage of children		Accepting of family planning		Participating in politics or NGO	
	f	(%)	f	(%)	f	(%)	f	(%)
Husband	245	61.25	247	61.75	67	16.75	189	47.25
Husband & wife	79	19.75	82	20.5	234	58.5	130	32.50
Wife	11	2.75	-	-	81	20.25	51	12.75
Others	65	16.25	71	17.75	18	4.5	34	8.50
Total	400	100	400	100	400	100	400	100

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Table 5.8.4 shows that decisions on education and marriage of the children of the respondent families are being taken by husbands and around sixty-one percent respondents support it. Joint decisions are taken in around 20 percent. The decision of practicing family planning is mainly taken by husband and wife jointly 45.5 percent. On the other hand, husbands are taking decisions mainly in participating politics or NGO activities 58.5 percent. However, 32.50 percent respondents take the decision jointly.

Graph -5.8.1: Percentage distribution on status of sweeper women (N=200)
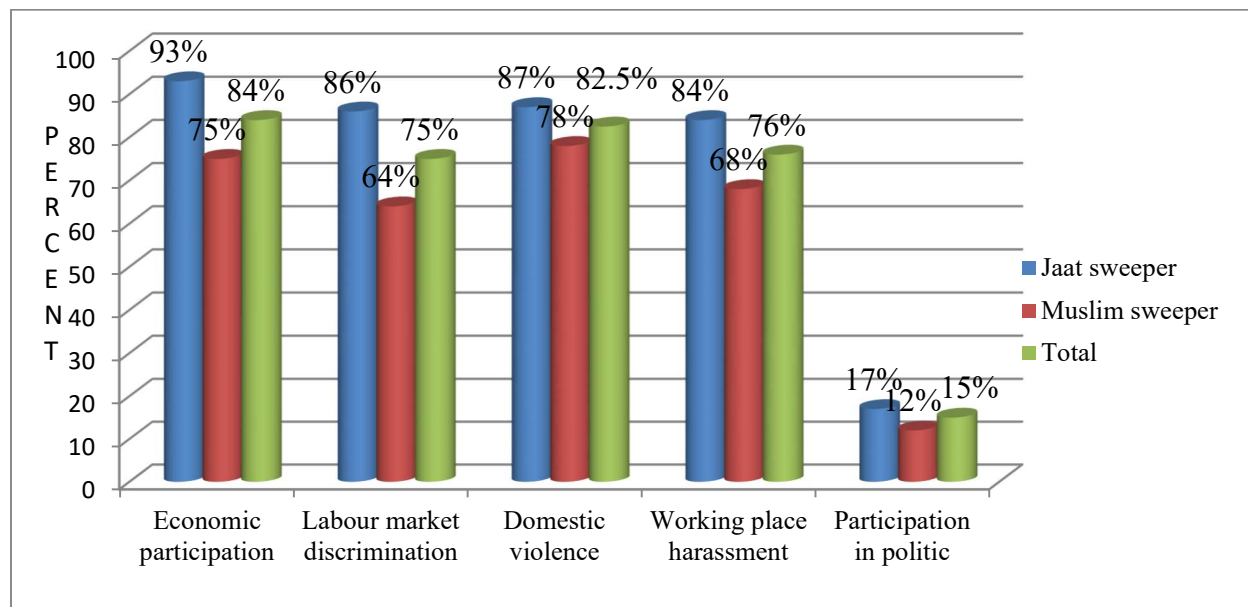
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Graph 5.8.1 shows that 93 percent *Jaat* sweeper and 75 percent of Muslim women sweeper keep economic participation in their budget and 86 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 64 percent of Muslim women are face discrimination in labour market and 87 percent of *Jaat* sweeper woman and 78 percent of Muslim sweeper women face domestic violence in their everyday life. Another 84 percent and 68 percent have an experience in harassment in their working place. Political participation of *Jaat* sweeper women is higher than the Muslim sweeper woman. Political participation is 17 and 12 percent for *Jaat* and Muslim sweeper women respectively.

One of the respondent says

I could not attend to my job today because last night my husband was beaten me so much. My whole body is aching now. Most of the day he takes ganja and local mod and come back home at mid night. This is not unusual, rather it's quite a regular event... how can I stop him? How would I? My parents are poor; they will not be able to take shelter even for few days. Whole day I busy to my cleaning job and domestic work but it has no value to him. He gives me not a single penny for my family and also insists me to get him money for joua (gambling) and mods. More or less every month have to borrow money to relatives or friends to maintain my family? But it became too difficult to me maintain this large family (Case study-7).

As a Dalit leader Moni Rani Das woman reflects

As a sweeper woman our status in the society is lowest to lowest. We are excluded and discriminated though generation to generation and it was very difficult to be involved in political activities. Lack of female education, rigid caste system, attitudes to women, rights of the woman are main responsible for not attending in politic. We think that we cannot ensure a good women leader for our community. Now we have to realize that change will happen if we get involved in politics. If we can realize the benefits from this involvement, we will surely make time to participate in politics alongside our everyday work. If we ensure a significant level of participant in politic then we can quite capable of demanding and protecting our rights and obligation. The empowerment of sweeper women and girls is the only way out of their poverty and oppression (Case study -9).

5.9. Access to social services

Access to health service

Sweeper community have limited access to the health care services. In this study graph 5.9.1 reveals that most of the respondents are (37 %) taken medical advice from a *quack*[11] 11, percent of the sweeper receive services from government hospitals and 32 percent receive medical advice from non-government health centers. Only 2 percent of the sweeper are (whose economic condition was relatively better) paid higher fees to receive medical advice from private clinics. Rests of the 18 percent receive folk medicine.[12]Sweepers face discrimination in different medical facilities of government, private and N.G.Os health care center.

Graph-5.9.1 Percentage distribution on receive the medical services by the respondents

Receive medical service

18%
2%
37%
32%
11%

- Quack
- Government hospital
- Non government hospital
- Private clinic
- Folk medicine
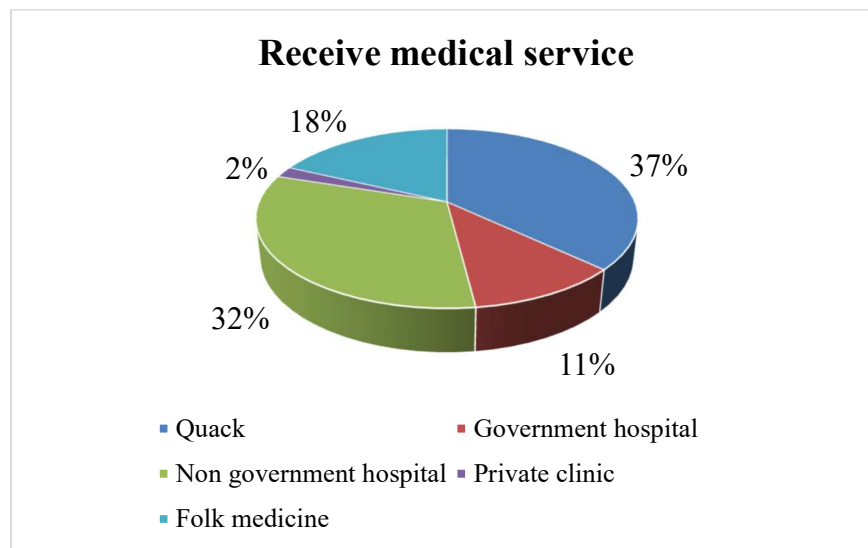
Source: Field work, 2014-15

In this study major categories of barriers emerge to accessing healthcare for the sweeper are reported that low income to be able to afford healthcare 78 percent, lack of awareness of the kind

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[11] The quacks run pharmacies with a limited knowledge of health and medicine. In most cases they have no formal training. They provide advice and sell medicine based on knowledge gained through this business

[12] *Jar-fuk* is mostly used as a treatment for diseases in Bangladesh. The sweeper uses this type of folk treatment from their spiritual leaders to overcome their illnesses. The wives drink water with wishes from spiritual leaders during their child birthing, believing that they will be able to give birth without difficulties.

of healthcare services available 34 percent, discrimination attitudes and treatment in health care center 28 percent and lack of close proximity to the healthcare facility12 percent.

One Kanpuri sweeper in Doyagong colony says

> Few days ago one boy in our community was injured by the electric shock circuit and that boy was in critical position. At that moment we sent him Labaid hospital but they refused to admit him for his lower caste identity. After that we transferred him to square hospital but they also deny admitted him. We collected money from our community and we ensure them we are able to pay the bill. But they are not agreed to admit the boy. After that they referred to send the boy in Dhaka Medical College Hospital. After that on the way of Dhaka Medical College Hospital, the boy was died. (Case study -10)

Access to educational services

Table 5.9.1 shows that only 26.29 percent of the male children and only 19.83 percent of female children of the respondents are attending school. This is due to poverty and vulnerability of their families as well as to the lack of access to educational facilities. Generally, it observes that four types of schools are running in the sweeper quarters. Table 5.9 .1 also shows that those children who attend schools 5.45 percent attend government and 10.90 percent attend City Corporation base school and others 58.18 percent and 23.03 percent are enrolled in schools run by N.G.O s and club however; the quality of the education is generally poor due to irregular attendance and irregular educational services from these schools.

Table–5.9.1: Percentage distribution of the respondents on access to educational service

Sweepers children education	Frequency	Percent
School going child		
Male child (n=369)	97	26.29
Female child (n=343)	68	19.83
Types of school		
Government school	09	5.45
City Corporation based	18	10.90
N.G.O based school	96	58.18
Club based school	38	23.03
Others	04	2.42
Actual causes for not attending school (n=547)		
Due to poverty	165	30.16
Parents are not interest	71	12.98
Due to social attitude	204	37.29
Participation in household or economic activities	94	17.18
Others	13	2.98

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Table 5.9.1 also shows that large amount (30.16 %) of children are not attending school due to their poverty and vulnerability and 12.98 percent are not attended school for their parent's attitudes. Their parents are not showing any interest for their children education. Another 37.29 percent are not attending school due to social attitudes and 17.18 percent are not attended school for participation in household or economic activities. In the remaining 2.98 percent are not attended school for others reason.

Access to social programme

While the expertise of sweepers helps to keep the urban environment relatively clean and thereby bring comfort to the members of the mainstream society but it is common fact that they are tried to avoiding contact with them. Mainstream ethnic society treat them dirty, unclean, polluted etc., The perception stands in this way that their touch also makes the things dirty and unclean, for this reason they need to wash whatever they use for making it pure.

Graph -5.9.2: Percentage distribution on access to social programme of the respondent's
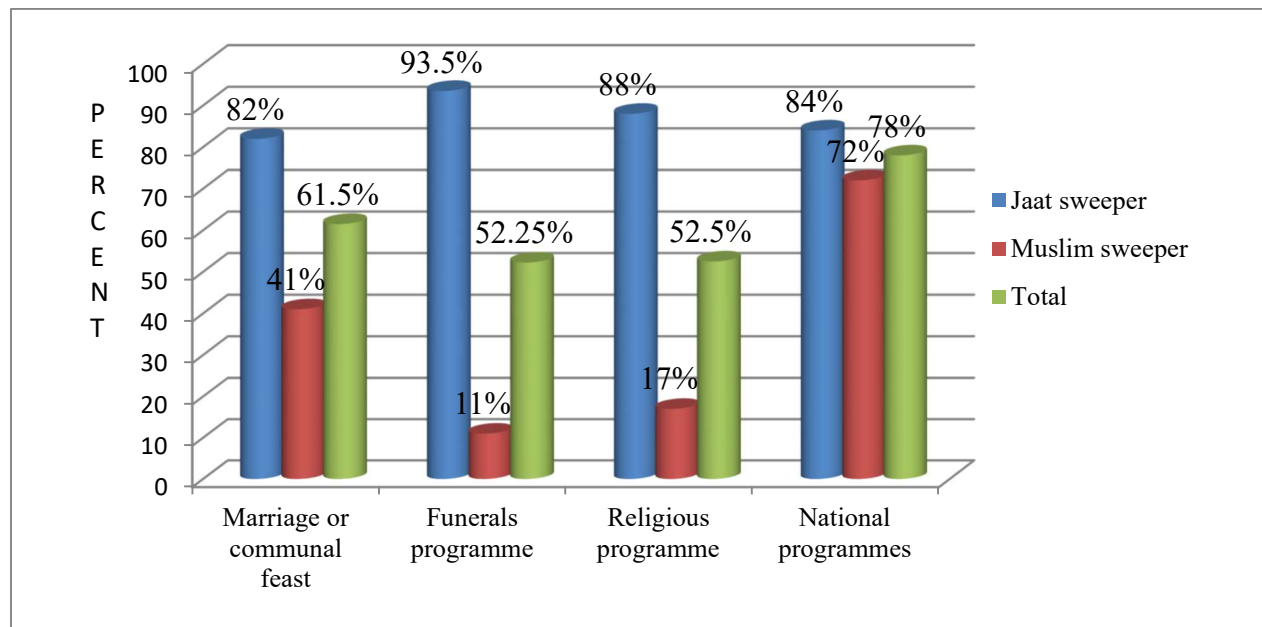
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Graph 5.9.2 shows that 82 percent *Jaat* and 41 percent Muslim sweeper face discrimination to attend marriage ceremony or communal feast. Other hand 93.5 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 11 percent Muslim sweeper are face prevent attending funerals of the upper casts or classes people. In religious programme 88 percent *Jaat* sweeper and 17 percent Muslim sweeper face discrimination by the mainstream society. Another 84 percent *Jaat* sweeper and 72 percent Muslim sweeper face discrimination in attending national programmes.

Komol Das a Jaat sweeper described his bad experience as such way,

> I am a cleaner in a government school. Two years ago school headmaster called and told me, school committee have arranged a picnic and everyone should give two hundred takas. Like other participants I gave two hundred takas to attend school picnic. At the time of feast nobody invited me to take food with them. When, the feast was completed by all participants then they gave me meal in a separated dish. My contribution was same amount money but I have no right to seat and take food with them. What types of discrimination it is and how long we will face this discrimination? That day I cannot eat my food properly

and I also promised that I will never attend these types of occasion further (Case study - 12).

Milton Das, 42 years old man narrated:

> We belong to the low caste so we are not allowed to eat in a hotel or restaurant, even barber is not allowing us to salon. We do low work and we eat mod (alcohol) or pork so all the people heated us. But many Muslim drink mod and Christian eat mod and pork but they are not heated by the upper caste or mainstream society. Some time they blame that we are unclean and we clean human waste. So they are not mixed or touch us. I think that all human being clear his or her waste at least two times in a day and all women serve her children waste. Now my question, are they untouchable or heated by all? So it is remembered that it is our occupation and everybody should respect it. And our forefather was pleased with their present life and they were not worried about their children future, we are the same follower our forefather. To forget all types of insult, harassment and mental pains, they drink mod, we are also done the same think yet. To maintain the traditional rituals, we drink mod openly in social or religious festival like puja, marriage ceremony or sharaddo (feast after death) (Case study -15).

Access to entertainment

Sweeper communities can seldom afford to think about recreation because most of the time they busy to maintain their livelihoods. Though sweepers are socially excluded from the mainstream society, they mainly pass their leisure time by chatting with family and other community members. They have no access to outdoor game facilities so they often pass their leisure time by playing cards. The tea-stalls inside the quarters are a kind of social setting in which one can observe the ways members of different groups interact. Inside *Dhalpure* quarter, it finds that two tea-shops where members of all Telugu groups regularly gather for tea, refreshment and leisure.

Graph -5.9.3: Percentage distribution on recreation pattern of the respondents (N=400)
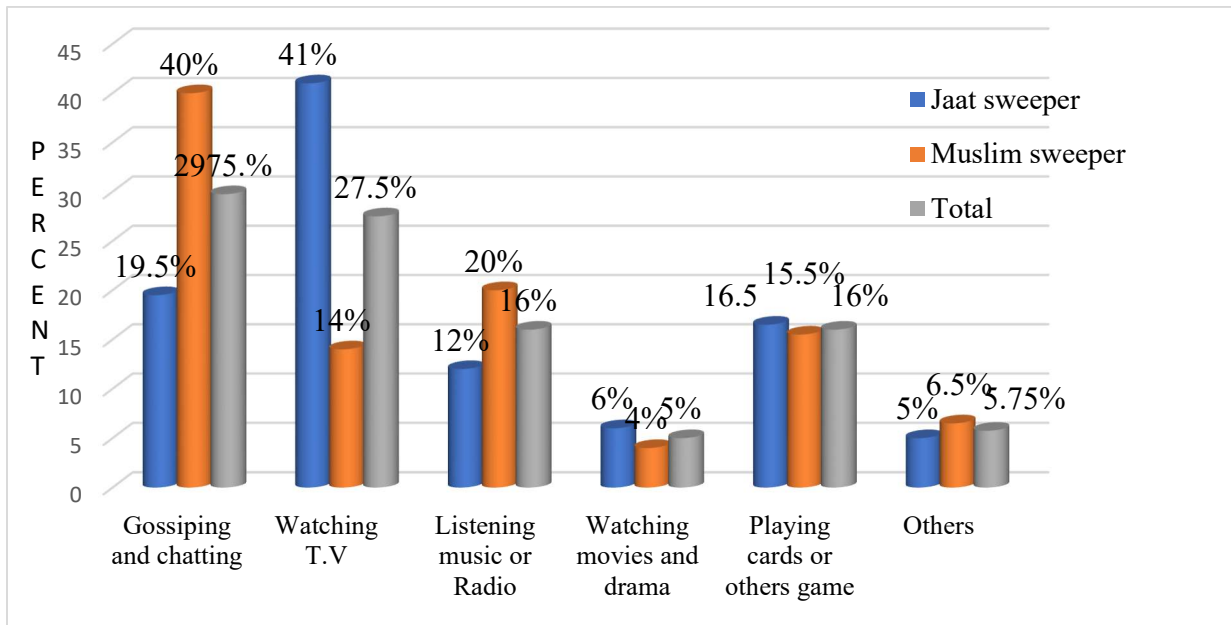
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Graph 5.9.3 shows, 29.75 percent of the respondents say that the main recreation of the sweeper is gossiping or chatting inside the community but there is a difference between the *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweeper in terms of their recreation patterns. Most of the households of *Jaat* sweeper have television in their households and Muslim sweeper some households have television but most of the houses have radio. Around 41 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 14 of Muslim sweeper passed their leisure time by following T.V. programmer respectively. Similarly, there is a wide difference between the *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweeper in terms of watching T.V in their households. Though most of the *Jaat* sweeper's language is Hindi or *Madraji*, it shows that most of the sweeper houses have satellite channel and they pass their time to watch *Hindi* movies or drama serials but a few number houses of Muslim sweeper have satellite channel. Other hands 12 percent of the *Jaat* sweepers are listing radio or music to cassette players during their leisure time as opposed to 20 percent of the Muslims. Others 6 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 4 percent of Muslim sweeper are watching movies and drama as a source of recreation. A considerable proportion 16.5 percent of the *Jaat* sweeper and 15.5 present of Muslim sweeper play card or others game during their leisure time. There is a minimum level of difference between the *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweepers.

Social exclusion is negatively correlated with colonies where sweepers are living (r= -.136 at the 0.01 level). But it is not correlated with the habitat type of sweeper communities (r= .056). Multiple regression shows colony is not as a predictor of social exclusion (beta=-.073; t=-1.617; sig=.107). Social exclusion is positively correlated with the demographic characteristics of the respondents, especially age (r=.166 at the 0.01 level) and religion (r=.299 at the 0.01 level). Table 5.9.4 shows a significant difference between the younger population and aged respondents in terms of their level of social exclusion (chi-square=11.076; d.f=1; p=.001). Young respondents feel a higher level of social exclusion than aged respondents. Multiple regressions suggest that age as one of the predictors of social exclusion. There is a significant difference between *Jaat s*weeper and Muslim sweeper households in terms of their urban social exclusion (chi square= 35.822; d.f=1; p=.00). Multiple regression shows that religion is a predictor of social exclusion (beta=.324; t= 7.230; sig=.00).

Table - 5.9.2 : Correlates of social exclusion

Characteristics	Income
Colony	-.136**
Habitat Type	.056
Age	.166**
Religion	.299**
Gender	-.194**
Marital status	.232**
Education	-.174**
Households head type	-.133**
Household size	.092

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-talied)

The gender is negatively correlated with social exclusion (r=-.194 at the 0.01 level). Female respondents also have more social exclusion than male respondents. Multiple regression shows that gender is a predictor of social exclusion (beta=-.120; t=-2.599; sig=.010). Table- 5.9.4 shows a significant difference between males and females in term of social exclusion at chi-square=15.094; d.f=1; p=.00. Marital status is positively correlated with social exclusion (r=.232 at the 0.01 level). There is a significant difference between married and others respondents in terms of their social exclusion (chi square=21.535; d.f=1; p=.000). The respondents who are divorced or separated have more excluded than other respondents and marital status is a predictor of social exclusion (beta=.164; t= 3.458; sig=.001). There is a significant difference between illiterate and literate respondents in terms of their social exclusion (chi square=12.075; d.f=1; p=.000). The literate respondents have more social exclusion than illiterate respondents and education is a predictor of social exclusion (beta=-.172; t= -3.789; sig=.000).

Table-5.9.3: Multiple regressions of social exclusion

Predictor	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	.996	.206		4.836	.000
Colony	-.040	.024	-.073	-1.617	.107
Religion	.309	.043	.324	7.230	.000
Gender	-.114	.044	-.120	-2.599	.010
Age	.115	.044	.121	2.637	.009
Marital status	.190	.055	.164	3.458	.001
Household head	-.119	.080	-.070	-1.489	.137
Education	-.201	.053	-.172	-3.789	.000

Table-5.9.4-: Socio-demographic characteristics and social exclusion

Socio-demographic characteristics	Level of social exclusion		Chi-square	df	Sign.
	More exclusion (n= 261)	**Less exclusion (n=139)**			
Colony					
Ganaktuli	33.7 (88)	53.2 (74)	17.237	2	.000
Doyagong	26.8 (70)	12.9 (18)			
Dhalpur	39.5 (103)	33.8 (47)			
Habitat Type					
Building	34.5 (90)	28.1 (39)	1.714	2	.424
Semi- pucca or pucca	41.4 (108)	45.3 (63)			
Ten-shed	24.1 (63)	26.6 (37)			
Age structure					
Younger (up to 30 years)	56.3 (147)	38.8 (54)	11.076	1	.001
Aged (31 yrs+)	43.7 (114)	61.2 (85)			
Religion					
Jaat sweeper	60.9 (159)	29.5 (41)	35.822	1	.000
Muslim sweeper	39.1 (102)	70.5 (98)			
Gender					
Male	42.9 (112)	63.3 (88)	15.094	1	.000
Female	57.1 (19)	36.7 (51)			
Marital status					
Unmarried or Widow or separated or divorced	28.7 (75)	8.6 (12)	21.535	1	.000
Married	71.3 (186)	91.4 (127)			
Education					
Illiterate	73.6 (192)	88.5 (123)	12.075	1	.000
Literate	26.4 (69)	11.5 (16)			
Households head type					
Male-headed	88.5 (231)	96.4 (134)	7.084	1	.005
Female headed	11.5 (30)	3.6 (5)			
Household size					
Singe to four	37.9 (99)	28.8 (40)	3.352	1	.042
five or more members	62.1 (161)	71.2 (99)			

The household head type is negatively correlated with social exclusion (r=-.133 at the 0.01 level). There is a significant difference between male-headed and female-headed households in terms of their social exclusion (chi square=7.084; d.f=1; p=.005). This means that female-headed households have more social exclusion than their male-headed counterparts. Multiple regression shows that household head is not a predictor of social exclusion (beta=-.070; t=-1.489; sig=.137). The household structure is not correlated with social exclusion (r=.92). There is a difference between small size and large size households in terms of their social exclusion (chi square=3.352; d.f=1; p=.042).

5.10. Family and community networking

Pattern of family

There is various type of family by marriage ties: these are nuclear, extended and single parents. Households consisting of a nuclear family are the dominant pattern among sweepers though extended family play also important role among the sweeper and some single parent's households also exist there. Graph 5.10.1 shows that total 51 percent of the families are nuclear, with husband and wife, or husband, wife and children living together and 44.75 percent family are extended. In the reaming 3.25 are single parents and another 1 percent family are others type. Graph 5.10.1 also shows that 3.25 percent of the families are single parent.[13] These single parent families are mostly mother-centered, which occur due to the separation of wives and husbands, broken marriages and widowhood. The numbers of these mother-centered families are increasing among these sweeper communities due to the increasing rate of abandonment of wives by husbands. Moreover, these families are more vulnerable in the city than other forms of families. They usually get support from their maternal relatives for adaptation to the city.

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[13]Only except one family, all single parent families are identified as mother-centred in this survey

Graph -5.10.1: Percentage distribution of types of family (N=400)

Types of Family

1% 3.25%

45.75%

51%

- Single parent
- Nuclear
- Extended
- others
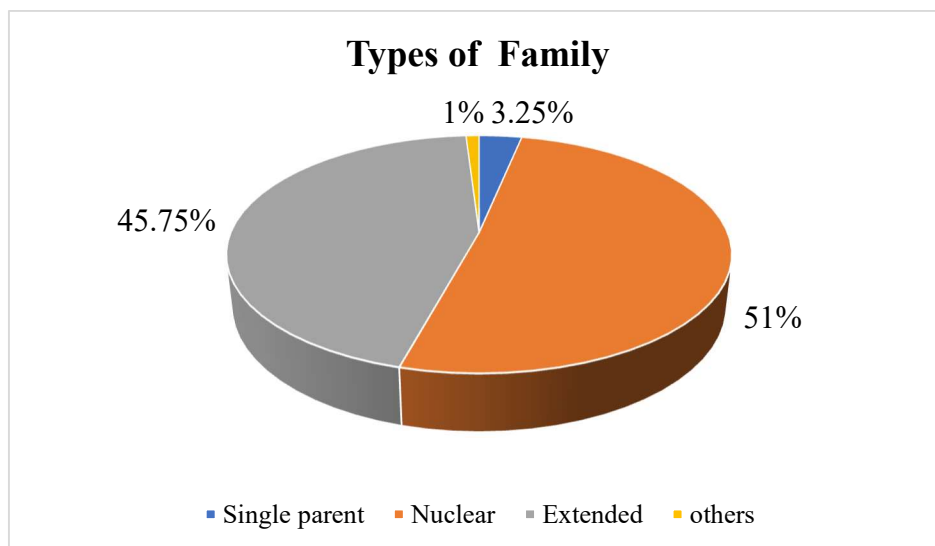
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Table-5.10.1: Forms of extended family of the respondents

Type and causes of extended family	Religion		Total (n=179)	
	Jaat sweeper (n=107)		Muslim sweeper (n=72)	
Type of extended member				
Blood based	82.24	(88)	56.94 (41)	72.07 (129)
Marriage based	15.89	(17)	34.72 (25)	23.46 (42)
Fictive based	1.87	(2)	8.33 (6)	4.47 (8)
Causes of extended family				
Family bondage	53.27	(57)	61.11 (44)	56.42 (101)
Better for work	14.02	(15)	11.11 (8)	12.85 (23)
Inadequate dwelling	25.23	(27)	22.22 (16)	24.02 (43)
Others	7.48	(8)	5.56 (4)	6.70 (12)
Causes of break extended family				
Poverty and vulnerability	54.21	(58)	48.61 (35)	51.96 (93)
Inadequate space	27.10	(29)	23.61 (17)	25.70 (46)
Personal conflict	11.21	(12)	20.83 (15)	15.08 (27)
Others	7.48	(8)	6.94 (5)	7.26 (13)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

In case types of extended family, table 5.10.1 shows that 72.07 percent blood based extended members are blood relatives-especially parents or brother and sister of the head of the family, while in another 23.46 percent of families, extended members are marriage based relatives, especially mothers-in-laws, and brothers and sisters-in-law. In the remaining 4.47 percent of family's fictive relatives-especially village friends are living as extended family members. The study shows that most cases (56.42%) of extended members living in households have family ties. In another 12.85 percent of families, extended members reside there for work purpose. Another 24.02 percent of families, extended members live in the households because of inadequate accommodation and in the remaining 6.70 percent of families live for others purpose. However, the study (Table 5.10.1) also shows, the major factors are responsible of to break the extended family in sweeper community is poverty and vulnerability which percent is 51.96 and 25.70 percent responsible for inadequate spaces. Another 15.08 percent responsible for personal conflict and rest of the 7.26 percent responsible for others causes to break the extended family.

Pattern of marriage

The fact is that sweeper are the members of a single endogamous group of Hindu or Muslim castes and sub-castes with strong kindred of recognition of kinship and affinity who have been engaged in the respective professions from ancient times. As a result, 99.36 % of *Jaat* sweeper who have experienced resistance to marriage with other religions. The corresponding figure for Muslim sweeper is 86.44 percent. The study also shows that 95.88 percent of the respondents have one partner and 4.12 percent respondent have more than one partner. The table indicates that polygamy rate is higher among the Muslim sweeper (6.77%) than the *Jaat* sweeper (1.22%). The table 5.10.2 also shows that 85.88 percent marriage happen by arrange and 12.06 love marriage. Only 2.06 percent marriages accrue by others (i.e. elopement, capture or force).

Table -5.10.2: Percentage distribution on type of marriage (N= 340)

Marriage	Religion		Total (n=340)
	Jaat sweeper (n= 163)	Muslim sweeper[14] (n=177)	
Endogamy	99.39 (162)	86.44 (153)	92.64 (315)
Exogamy	.61 (1)	13.56 (24)	7.35 (25)
Monogamy	98.77 (161)	93.22 (165)	95.88 (326)
Polygamy	1.22 (2)	6.77 (12)	4.12 (14)
Love marriage	12.88 (21)	11.30 (20)	12.06 (41)
Arrange marriage	85.28 (139)	86.44 (153)	85.88 (292)
Others	1.84 (3)	2.26 (4)	2.06 (7)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

In this survey it reveals that 33 sweeper households have marriage break up family members. The graph 5.10.2 shows that most cases (57.58 %) of household family members have experience to break up marriage due to dowry. In another 24.25 percent of families and 6.06 percent family members reside marriage breakup for maladjustment and sterile purposes. And in the remaining 12.12 percent of families' marriage breakup for others reason.

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[14]   In case of Muslim sweeper endogamy means marriage take place among the sweeper group and exogamy means marriage take place with mainstream society or it means non sweeper group

Graph -5.10.2: Percentage distribution on causes of marriage break-up (N=33)

Causes of marriage break-up

12.12%

6.06%

24.25%

57.58%

■ Maladjustment ■ Dowry ■ Sterile ■ Others
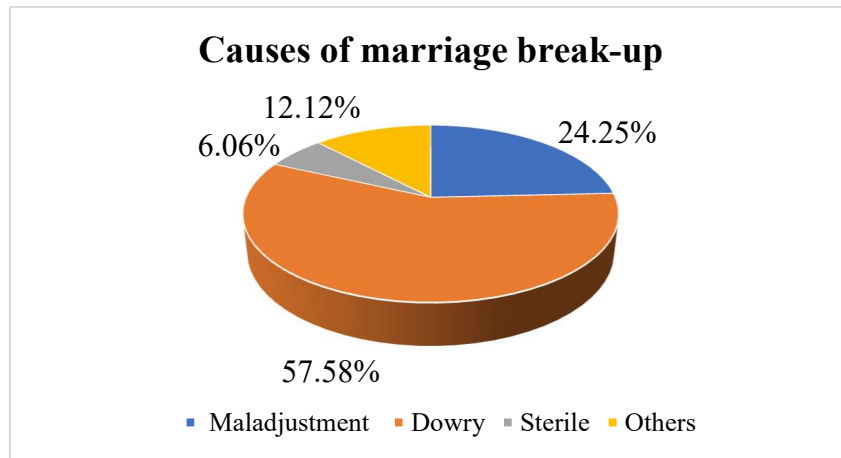
Source: Field work, 2014-15

One Kanpuri woman, a female headed household commented:

> My husband left me few days ago. He also married a young Muslim woman with four children who had divorced by the Muslim husband. I have five children. Now I am only earning members in my family. I stopped education of my son and daughter for economic crisis. I search to get a job for my elder son but I don't get any reliable source. Most of the job claim 20000 to 50000 Tk. but it is not possible for me to get this amount taka in this moment. So I have been passing my days in a serious economic crisis. Other hand I have three marriageable daughters but I cannot decide anything what should do in this moments? (Case study-13)

Social network

Graph 5.10.3 shows that total 36.25 percent of the respondents have kinship networks here. These types of network are more common among the *Jaat* sweeper. About 26.5 percent of respondents have blood based networks whereas, 10.5 percent have marriage based network. A further 2.0 percent have a fictive[15] network based network. Both blood 20.0 percent and 9.5 percent marriage networks are common among the Muslim sweeper and fictive networks (based on district of origin)

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[1] Fictive kinship is a common social phenomenon in Bengali society. Fictive kinship is that kinship which is imagined or invented.

are more common among the Muslim sweepers which percent is 4.0. The Muslim are more dependent on the fictive networks for their economic and social support which is necessary for adaptation their livelihood profession.

Graph -5.10.3: Percentage distribution on kinship based network of the respondents
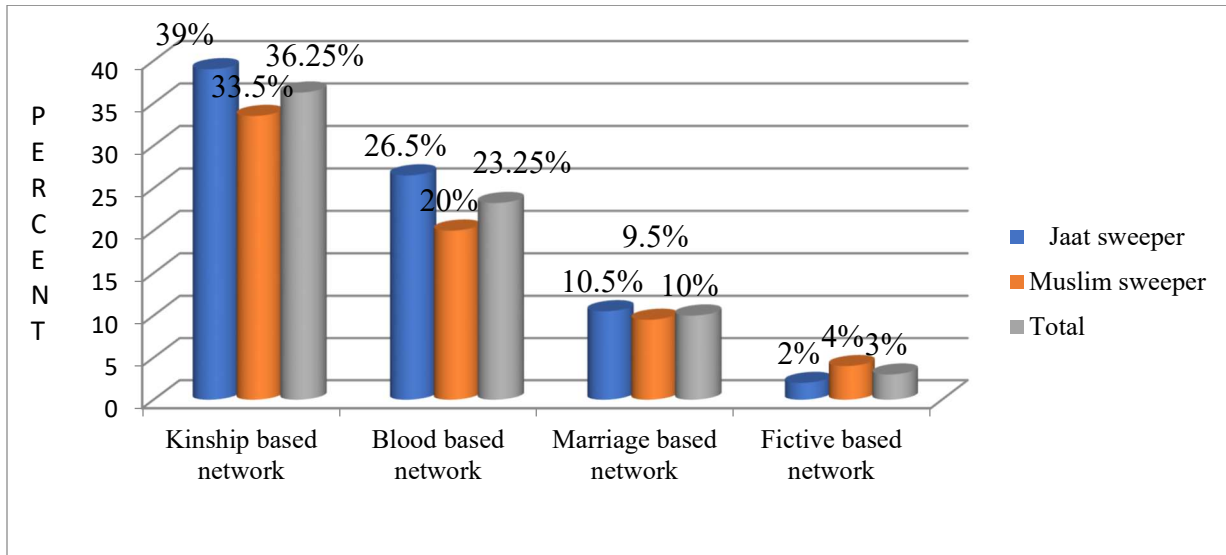
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Graph -5.10.4: Percentage distribution on non-kinship based network of the respondents
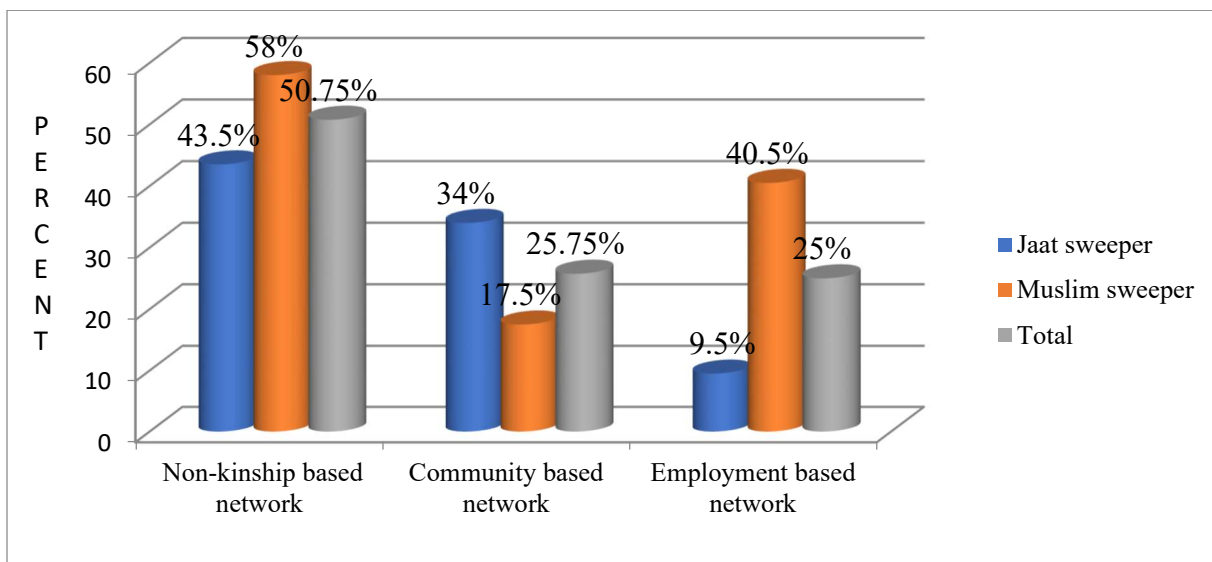
Source: Field work, 2014-15

More common are non-kinship network, with about half (50.75%) of the total respondents having non-kinship networks, with more among the Muslim sweeper than the *Jaat* sweeper. *Jaat* sweepers are not allowed to make a network with the mainstream society. But they have strong community network among their *Jaat*. Graph 5.10.4 shows that 43.5 percent of the *Jaat* sweepers have non-kinship networks whereas 58.0 percent of the Muslim sweepers have this type of network. Many are community based, with 34.0 percent of the *Jaat* sweeper and 17.5 percent of the Muslim sweeper having a community network in the city. Similarly, an employment network is common among the Muslim sweeper that percent is 40.5 percent where 9.5 percent is for the *Jaat* sweeper.

Correlates and predictors of social network

Social network is positively correlated with colonies where sweepers are living (r= .102 at the 0.05 level). But it is not correlated with the habitat type of sweeper communities (r=-.081). Multiple regression shows colony is not as a predictor of social networks (beta=.023; t=.518; sig=.605). Table 5.10.3 shows that social network is positively correlated with the demographic characteristics of the respondents, especially age (r=.222 at the 0.01 level) and gender (r=.336 at the 0.01 level). The younger respondents have more contact with their relatives and friends than aged respondents. Male respondents also have more social networks than female respondents. Multiple regression shows that gender is a predictor of social networks (beta=.368; t=8.116; sig=.00). Table 5.10.5 shows a significant difference between males and females in term of social networks at chi-square=45.052; d.f=1; p=.00. The religion is negatively correlated with social network (r=-.197 at the 0.01 level). There is a significant difference between *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweeper households in terms of their urban social network (chi square= 15.540; d.f=1; p=.00). Multiple regression shows that religion is a predictor of social networks (beta=-.160; t=-3.658; sig=.00).

Table -5.10. 3: - Correlates of social networks

Characteristics	Income
Colony	.102*
Habitat Type	-.081
Age	.222**
Religion	-.197**
Gender	.336**
Marital status	-.123*
Education	-.180**
Households head type	.142**
Household structure	-.106*

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-talied)

Marital status is negatively correlate with social network (r=-.123 at the 0.05 level). There is a significant difference between married and others respondents in terms of their social networks (chi square=6.029; d.f=1; p=.011). The respondents who are divorced or separated have less networks than married respondents. There is a significant difference between illiterate and literate respondents in terms of their social networks (chi square=12.988; d.f=1; p=.000). The literate respondents have more social networks than illiterate respondents and education is a predictor of social networks (beta=-.141; t=-3.159; sig=.002).

Table -5.10.4: Multiple regressions of social network

Predictors	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)	.960	.205		4.678	.000
Colony	.012	.024	.023	.518	.605
Religion	-.151	.041	-.160	-3.658	.000
Gender	.346	.042	.368	8.166	.000
Age	.243	.042	.259	5.771	.000
Marital Status	-.065	.053	-.057	-1.215	.225
Household head	.121	.077	.073	1.580	.115
Education	-.161	.051	-.141	-3.159	.002
Household structure	-.082	.044	-.083	-1.866	.063

Table 5.10.3 shows that the household head type is positively correlated with social network (r=.142 at the 0.01 level). There is a significant difference between male-headed and female-headed households in terms of their social network (chi square=8.077; d.f =1; p=.00). This means that male-headed households have more social networks than their female-headed counterparts. In fact, the existing social structure allows males to participate in different social events which help them create wider social networks. The household structure is negatively correlated with social network (r=-.106 at the 0.05 level). There is a difference between small size and large size households in terms of their social network (chi square=4.497; d.f=1; p=.023). Household head types and household structure are not a predictor of social network (beta=.73; t=-1.580; sig=.115) and (beta=-.083; t=-1.866; sig=.063)

Table -5.10. 5: Socio-demographic characteristics and social networks

Socio-demographic characteristics	Social networks		Chi-square	df	Sign.
	More network (n=269)	**Less network (n=131)**			
Colony					
Ganaktuli	46.5 (125)	28.2 (37)	19.137	2	.000
Doyagong	16.4 (44)	33.6 (44)			
Dhalpur	37.2 (100)	38.2 (50)			
Habitat Type					
Building	30.5 (82)	35.9 (47)	2.970	2	.227
Semi- pucca or pucca	42.0 (113)	44.3 (58)			
Ten-shed	27.5 (74)	19.8 (26)			
Age structure					
Younger (up to 30 yrs)	58.0 (156)	34.4 (45)	19.696	1	.000
Aged (31 yrs+)	42.0 (113)	65.6 (86)			
Religion					
Jaat sweeper	43.1 (116)	64.1 (84)	15.540	1	.000
Muslim sweeper	56.9 (153)	35.9 (47)			
Gender					
Male	61.7 (166)	26.0 (34)	45.052	1	.000
Female	38.3 (103)	74.0 (39)			
Marital status					
Unmarried or Widow or separated or divorced	18.2 (49)	29.0 (38)	6.029	1	.011
Married	81.8 (220)	71.0 (93)			
Education					
Illiterate	73.6 (198)	89.3 (117)	12.988	1	.000
Literate	26.4 (71)	10.7 (14)			
Households head type					
Male-headed	94.1 (253)	85.5 (112)	8.077	1	.000
Female headed	5.9 (16)	14.5 (19)			
Household structure					
Single to four	31.2 (84)	42.0 (55)	4.497	1	.023
five or more members	68.8 (185)	58.0 (76)			

5.11. Behaviour, culture and values

Languages and dress pattern

The *Jaat* sweeper communities have their own languages but nearly all of they speak good *Bangali* too. The study indicates that many *Jaat* sweepers speaks mixed Bengali and Hindi as their forefathers, grandfather or even father were come from different part of Hindi speaking area in India. Their pronounce of *Bangla* and *Hindi* words, sometimes it became difficult for outsider to understand their conversation. This is interesting to point out that *Jaat* sweeper and their families still prefer to speak more *Hindi* than *Bangala*. Normally they speak *Hindi* at home within their communication. *Jaat* sweepers cannot practice their mother language in schools. They have lost their traditional culture and sports as they have no access to practice it. In this way they are losing their tradition and cultural heritage. In past restrictions are imposed on the mode of construction of their houses, types of dresses and patterns of their ornaments. Sweeper women have a traditional style of wearing their saris and different ornament which is different from other women in Bangladesh and this distinction immediately identifies them as sweeper and means they are often treated with contempt. Present day sweeper women feel that they might need to change their style in an effort to escape their identity.

A *Jaat* sweeper woman gave her account:

> From the ancient time this rules are applicable for the lower caste people that we will follow traditional style of wearing a sari and ornaments. Our ornaments will make different design with silver which is totally different from mainstream society so that anyone can easily identify us as a sweeper. In past we were not allowed to carry umbrellas, to wear shoes or golden ornaments and to drink cow's milk. In many areas, our males are also prohibited from covering the upper part of their body. Now we realize that it is not right rules for us and this traditional system should be change for our next generation (Case study-16).

The sweeper easily becomes angry with their families and communities due to stress. Graph 5.11.1 shows that 19.5 percent of the total respondents frequently become angry, while most of the respondents 62.5 percent occasionally become angry with their families and communities.[16] The graph also shows that 11.75 percent of the respondents become angry very occasionally and the remaining 6.25 percent rarely become angry with families and communities. It is the circumstances they encounter in their daily lives that make the angry with their families and communities.

Graph-5.11.1: Percentage distribution on becoming angry with family or community members. (N=400)
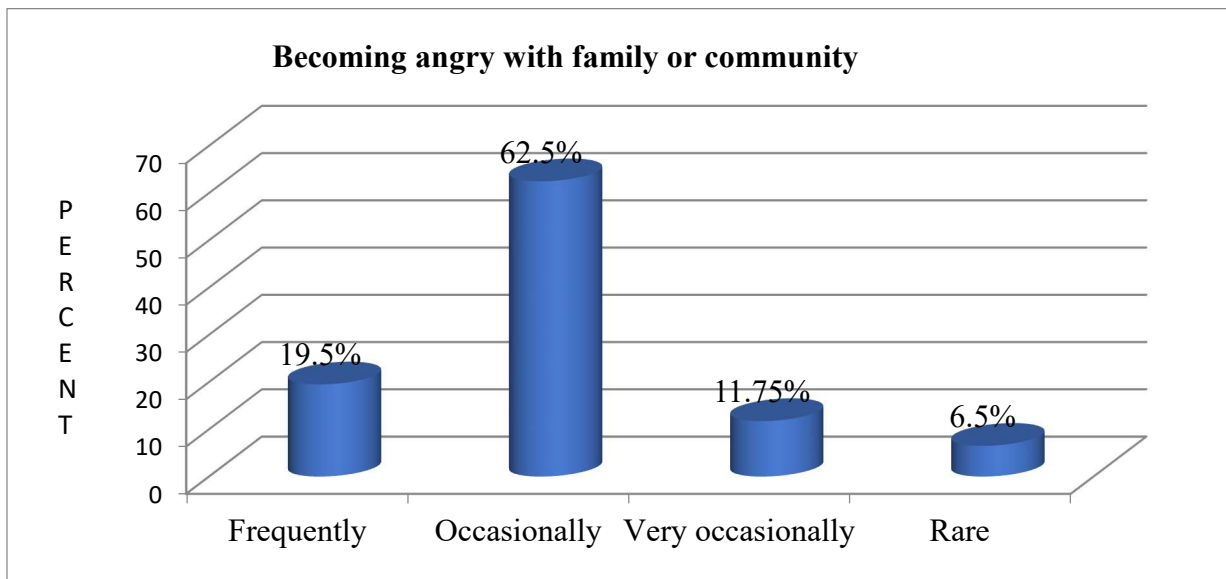
Source: Field work, 2014-15

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[16] In many instances they are over drunk and use rude verbal language and after a while they realize that they have not behaved properly.

Graph -5.11.2: Percentage distribution on reasons for becoming angry of the respondents (n=400)
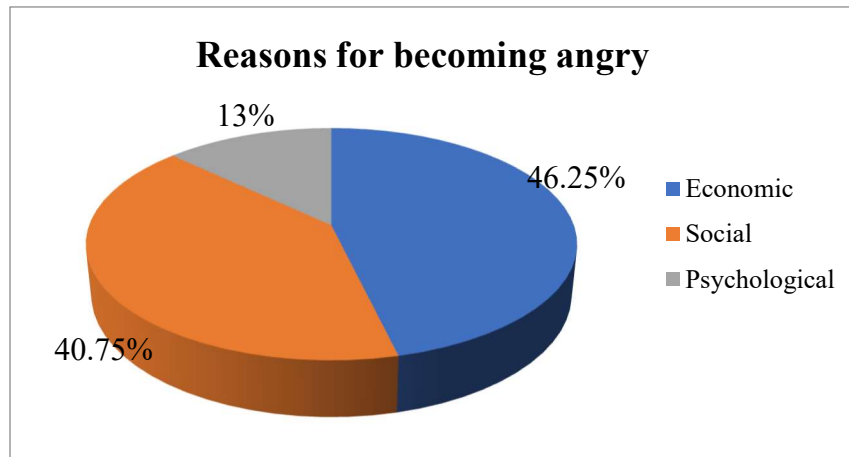
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Graph 5.11.2 shows that most of them (46.25%) become angry due to economic reason. As the income level of the sweeper communities is low and they are unable to support their families with their limited income, they become stressed and angry. Another 40.75 percent of the respondents become angry due to social reasons, especially social exclusion and social attitudes, and the remaining 13.0 percent become angry due to psychological stress. In fact, sweeper sometimes becomes angry because their poverty, social exclusion and attitudes produce social and psychological tensions and stress.

Dowry and Bride price

In past the bride price was compulsory and was to be paid on the occasion of the marriage. But now as a matter of custom parents have to offer dowry[17] in terms of money and goods to the bride at the time of marriage. In this graph 5.11.3 shows that 87 percent of *Jaat* sweeper respondents and graph 5.11.4 shows that 62.5 percent of the respondents in the Muslim sweeper are reported that they have experience to give dowry at the time of their marriage.

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[17] It may be noted here that the unusual gifts given at the time of marriage is viewed as dowry. Unusual gifts generally include land, excessive ornaments, cattle, cash money, by-cycles etc.

Graph -5.11.3: Prevalence of dowry by Jaat Graph-5.11.4: Prevalence of dowry by Muslim

Jaat sweeper offer dowry	Muslim sweeper offer dowry
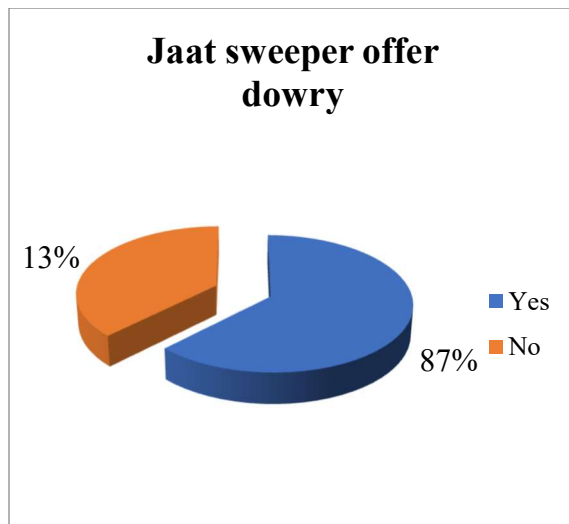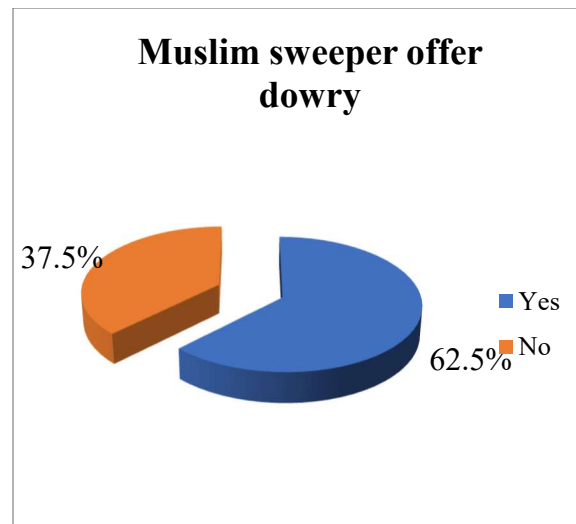
Source: Field work, 2014-15   *Source: Field work, 2014-15*

Customs and values

Mather patti (sweeper colony) it is a free zoon for distilling, drinking and selling alcohol. Legally it is only allowed for the *Jaat* sweeper communities but outsiders usually consume a considerable amount of alcohol from there. There is no doubt drinking local alcohol is also a very common custom for men in all the sweepers quarters. Some women drink and smoke too. But it is rare to see any drunk female woman. People of the sweeper community are drunk with local alcohol. Some cases their income is sufficient but they spend a big amount of money for alcohol. Father, son, uncle, niece, and nephew all drink together. Gambling, beating wives and entering others house is a common feature of the sweeper community.

Large numbers of the sweepers are engaged in these unethical deeds. Many outsiders used to come to that sweepers quarters just for enjoyment and to drink mod. This business generally stats from afternoon and continues up to the midnight. It attracts many outsiders to their tiny compartments, where they usually drink *Bangla* (local) mod. Gambling, gossips, different kind of melodies, screaming are also the part of this special culture. Host family also participate in this *ashor* (close face to face informal gathering), they are found to be cutting cannabis (Gaza) pouring mod from bottle to glass, bringing the new bottle from a secret place, participating the discussion with the customers and so forth. Data shows that many of the Bengali Muslim sweepers have been

demoralized; they are now accustomed with mod (alcohol), Gaza (hashish) and *joua* (gambling). This rate is not low and the numbers of involvement are rising day by day. Local influential groups have set up drug selling centers showing the sweepers. Terrorist and violent acts here centering the drug business are common phenomenon. Those (outsider) who have to sell license mod make excess permit in order to get a large amount of mod from the authorities by using even the name of young sweepers *(Jaat)* who are not old enough to drink it. In this way, by using the name of the sweeper and by saying that sweepers cannot do their job without mod, they bring a huge amount of alcohol and also sell it to many places who don't have any permit to buy it and the local musclemen under the direct shelter of law and order forces run the drug business, so that nobody dared to protest them. In this study the respondents report that household use of betel nut (71), cigarettes (54), marijuana (4), alcohol (38) and heroin (4); most using daily. Of the 42 women respondent survey, 19 reported that they have use cigarettes or alcohol daily or sometimes. Gambling is reported in 31 percent; all are husbands of women interviewed.

A *Jaat* sweeper woman explain, summed her situation up as such way

> My husband spends large amount money of his income for buying alcohol. Sometimes when need money to buy alcohol, my husband does not hesitate to apply force me or to sell any saleable goods of my house to meet his demands. So I keep money in a secret place to maintain my households need. Some time I tell a lie to my husband that I have no money. This picture is not applicable only for me but this picture is common in almost every house of our community (Case study- 8).

Conflict and community

Conflict based on religion and community issues are most common among the sweepers. Data shows that more than half (53.7%) of total respondents have mentioned existing conflict in their community. Conflicts are more common among the Muslim than the *Jaat* sweepers. They sweeper community have formed community based organization which is call *panchyat* to solve their conflict among the community.

Table-5.11.1: Percentage distribution on causes and resolved of conflict

Conflicts	Religion		Total (n=243)
	Jaat sweeper (n=125)	Muslim sweeper (n=118)	
Causes for conflict (n=243)			
Family matters	41.6 (52)	42.37 (50)	41.98 (102)
Community matters	34.4 (43)	32.20 (38)	33.33 (81)
Economic matter	15.2 (19)	20.34 (24)	17.69 (43)
Political matter	8.8 (11)	5.08 (6)	7.0 (17)
Resolved the conflict (n=243)			
By themselves	59.2 (74)	66.95 (79)	62.96 (153)
Community leader	37.6 (47)	23.73 (28)	30.86 (75)
Formal organization	3.2 (4)	9.32 (11)	6.17 (15)

Source: Field work, 2014-15

The table 5.11.1 shows that the sweepers are most commonly 41.98 percent involve in conflicts in their communities due to family matters and children are the most common source of conflicts and 33.33 percent of conflict for the community matters. A considerable proportion of the respondents (17.69%) are involved in conflicts within their community due to economic reasons, with a small proportion (7%) becoming involve in conflicts within their communities for political reasons. Sweeper communities usually resolve their conflicts by themselves, although they sometimes seek help from their community leaders. Table 5.11.1 also shows that total 243 respondents who report having conflicts with neighbours, 62.96 percent resolve these conflicts by themselves and another 30.86 percent resolve their conflicts with the help of community leaders. Only 6.17 percent resolve their conflicts with the help of formal agencies such as the courts and police. The study shows that Muslim sweeper takes help of the formal agencies than the *Jaat* sweeper. *Jaat* sweepers most of the cases try to resolve conflict among the *panchyate* leader and avoid the formal agencies.

A leader of Jaat sweeper community commented:

> I am pleased man everybody trusts me and obeys me as a leader of this panchyates community. Panchyate community consists of few members and this committee works for to keep the community peace and integration. Other hand we resolve community problems

and crises. We have set up a place or office and we meet once a week to discuss community problems. We want to resolve our conflicts by the committee sarder (leader). We don't ask outsiders to mediate our conflict. We are integrated in our community issues even though we have political division. We our community failure to take any decision any matter then we want to help the formal organization. But this rate is very low among us (Case study-20).

5. 12. Religious believe and ceremonies

Religious believes

Sweepers' communities strongly believe their life crises can be overcome by divine intervention. So most of the respondents plan to make *Mannots*[18] (sacrifices in the name of God) to achieve certain goals.

Graph-5.12.1: Percentage distribution on types of *Mannots* (plan to sacrifice in the name of god) of the respondents (N=337)
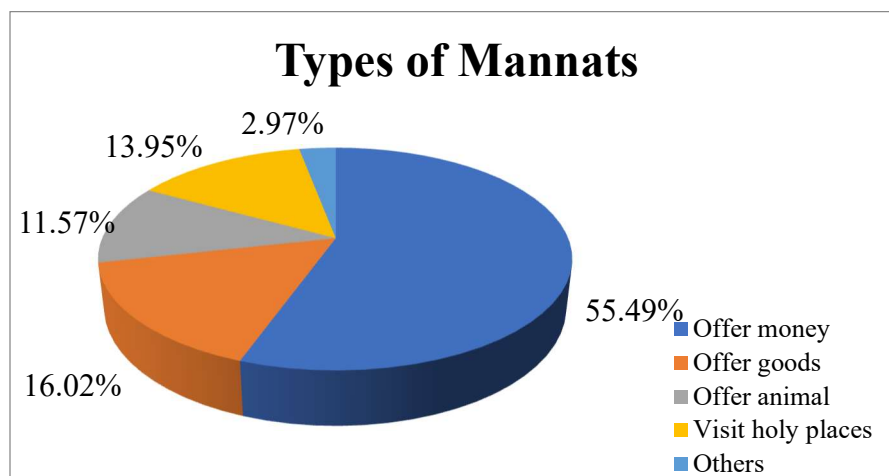
Source: Field work, 2014-15

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[18] *Mannot* is a very common practice among poor communities. As the poor are unable to give alms due to their shortage of money, they usually make some plans to sacrifice in the name of God. They offer their *mannots* to holy places (mosques, shrines and so on) where they think God is present

Graph 5.12.1 shows that mostly offer (55.49%) offer money, with 16.02 percent offering goods during crisis moments. Another 11.5 percent offer animals-hens, ducks and goats, finally, 13.95 percent of the respondents explaining visiting holy places like *Mazar* (shrines) as sacrifices during their moments of crisis. In the impact of education, modernization, urbanization and other internal and external forces has created new outlook to change their perception. Their mind is now moving on scientific reasonable and free of superstition from the past. So the belief in evil spirit is not a solid and concrete one any longer.

One Jaat sweeper made the following comments on their attitudes

> For our miserable condition, we always blame our fate. But I think that we have some faults in ourselves. We wear unclean dress or our children cloths are not clean all time, we are not get attention about children education, sometimes we admit in hospital for over drink, we take mod (alcohol) in working and sometimes scold others in open place. This is the causes for mainstream society do not believe us and hate us. First we should give attention to our faults and then, we should try to develop our relationship with the mainstream society. It is not possible to solve this problem in a day. In past if our fore father has taken these initiatives, then we are not stay in this condition today. Like that if we not take any steps to resolve this problem, then our next generation will suffer like us. So it is right time to awake and make a suitable ground for our next generation (Case study-17).

Another 70 years Jaat sweeper made a comment in the following way:

> Most of the Jaat sweeper claim that they are unable to go their child at school for economic crises. I am not agreeing with them. But I think that we have economic crisis but it is not right that we cannot send our child to school for economic crisis. Many sweepers household have economic solvency and they spend thousand and thousand takas for taking alcohol or other bad habits but they are not interested to spend a single penny for their child education. I think that most of the sweeper households have no economic crisis but they have psychological crises for their child education. Many male members spend their major portion or whole salary to buy alcohol. After that they also go to the Mohajon (money lender) for loan at the high interest to buy alcohol. For this

reason, our children who are five or six, they also take home made mod (alcohol) and they take it all together like their parents (Case study- 4).

Festival and ceremonies

Bengali Hindu has a higher number of *pujas*[19] (Religious rituals) than the number of months. So among the Hindu religion have a famous proverb that they have thirteen *pujas* in twelve months. It is indicating that *Bangali* Hindus are familiar with at least eighteen to twenty *pujas*. But it not mentions that all the *Bangali* Hindus are equally devoted to all these *pujas*. Like the *Bangali* Hindus, however, the sweeper of both *Telegu* and *Kanpuri* claim that they perform the same number of *puja*. Though *Jaat* sweeper believes a new God and identifying with a new sect, kanpuri and Telugu sweepers still belief in other Hindu divinities. Like the Bengali Hindus, they are also belief in different *Dev and Devis,* such as *Durga, Shiva, Kali, Vishnu* and others. In terms of religion and other socio-cultural factors, the *Jaat* sweeper feel strongly discriminated to be recognized as main stream Hindu though they have equal belief, feelings and respect for God or Goddess. Despite, they are from same religion with same Gods and Goddesses; they are not allowed to enter the temples or *Mandirs*. They are highly discriminated to perform the customs and ceremonies that the Hindu religion demands. The Brahmins or priests, as said earlier, do not treat them equal and always express some negative approaches towards the feelings of *Jaat* sweeper. It seems that until 1980, no image of *Durga or Kali*[20] was made inside the sweeper colony. It is difficult to find any *Bhahmin* is showed interest to perform this *puja* inside the community. During the period of *puja,* they used *to pronam* (respect) to the Goddess *Durga* or other Devi from the outside of the *Mondir* or temple. *Bhahmin* are so hesitate to give them *Prasad* and prevent them from taking blessings in the form of *Prasad* or other means from the temples. In spite of all discriminations, the Hindu sweepers show deep devotions and reverence towards God. Like the *Bangali* Muslim *Eid-ul Fetar* and *Eid-ul Ezha* are the main religious festival among the Muslim sweeper and others festival are also same among them. The *Jaat* sweeper used to practice different

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[19] *Puja* means worship usually following by offering to the deity. And the *puza mondop* (decorated place where image of deity is kept or erected) is constructed beside a street. While passing through the street, a sweeper may pay homage to the deity.

[20] Bangali Hindus generally say that Durga and Kali are the same goddess, i.e, the same goddess with different forms. It is said that Kali is the non-Brahmical from of Durga and is also considered as the tutelary deity of Bengal *Durga being her high caste counterpart*. Whether Kali is the non Brahmanical form of Durga or not, the Brahmans as a high Hindu caste, worship kali too. As a Durga she is a female warrior, the destroyer of the Buffalo deived as a powerful anti-God.

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Broto rituals, during *Puja Archana*, for getting virtue, happiness, peace, offspring, food result etc. throughout the twelve months. Basically sweeper female are comparatively more religious than males. Some of those *Brotos* are furnished bellow:

Chart: 5.12.1 Brotos of *Jaat* sweepers

Name of the Broto	Name of the months	Name of the Broto	Name of the month
1. Hari charan Broto	Baishakh	2. Modhu shankranti	Baishakh
3. Chatu shankranti Broto	Baishakh	4.Baishakhi purnima Broto	Baishakh
5. Mongol Chandi Broto	Jaishthya	6.Jamai Shasthi Broto	Jaisthya
7. Nag panchomi Broto	Shravan	8.Janmashtami Broto	Vadra
9. Durga Sashthi Broto	Aashwin	10.Baikuntha Chaturasi Broto	Kartik
11. Laxmi puja Broto	Poush	11.Vaimi Ekadashi Broto	Magh
13. Ashok Sasthi Broto	Chaitra	12.Satya Narayan Broto	Throughout 12 month

5.13. Interaction, alienation and frustration

Level of knowledge

The sweepers generally have a low level of knowledge. They also have a low level of media access: as such they lack awareness of current affairs. Study shows that 20.5 percent of respondents have access to newspapers and other media and show some awareness of current affairs. Media access and awareness of current affairs is also higher among the *Jaat* sweeper than the Muslim sweepers. According to data shows that 25.5 percent of the *Jaat* sweeper have media access and awareness of current affairs compare to 15 percent of the Muslim sweepers. It also shows that 21.5 percent of the *Jaat* sweeper have some knowledge of history, geography and world than the Muslim sweeper percent is 13. So this present study indicates that the level of this knowledge is higher among the *Jaat* sweeper than in Muslim sweeper.

One Jaat sweeper commented:

> The mainstream society have not enough time to think about us, unless their service is needed. Other hand, Government or Municipal authority are not shown any reliable thought

or work about our development. Radio, television and other mass media focus the life style, culture and different occasion of the different tribal society like the Cakma, Sawtal or Monipuri etc. but media are not interested or avoided showing joys and sorrows of our community. So our community became an untold history to the mainstream society. We are deprived from all kind of facilities and human right that accessible from all the member of the society. Yet, government and political parties or NGO have not taken any major initiatives for social mobility of our community. I think that it is right time to give attention for our community development (Case study- 15).

Exclusion and hide identity

Most of the case's sweeper feel strong alienation and identical crisis. The study shows that if any community member fulfills the all criteria for a post like assistant or peon but most of the cases the organizational boards are not showing any interests to give them any opportunity. The study (Graph 5.13.1) shows that 9 percent of *Jaat* and 18.5 percent of Muslim sweeper hide their identity to access their child into white color jobs. Among *Jaat* sweeper 11 percent and Muslim 22.5 percent are hide their occupational identity to get admission their child and social services like, school, hospital or rent houses in exclusive areas and 28.5 percent *Jaat* sweeper and 35.5 percent Muslim sweeper are hiding their residential address to avoid the embracing situation towards mainstream ethnic group.

Graph -5.13.1: Percentage distribution causes for hide identity of the respondents (N=400)
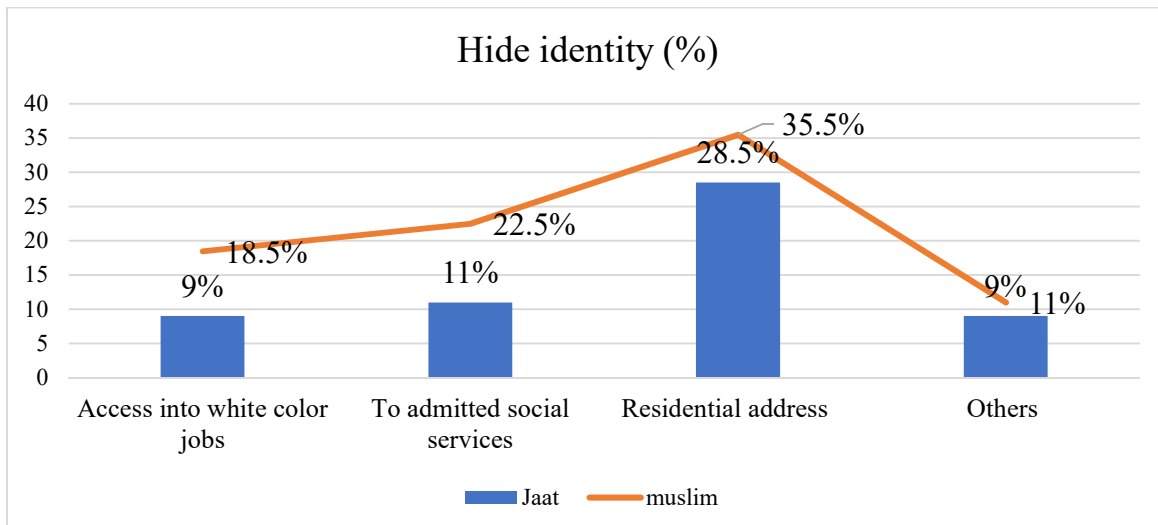
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Jaat sweeper considers the Muslim sweepers are as a part of mainstream society. Before Muslims had become sweepers, it seems that they took for granted that this kind of low work was reserved only for them due to their stigmatized *Methar* identity, imposed by the higher caste or mainstream ethnic group. But after encountering the Muslim sweepers, they are not considering as their competitors, but also consider them as their fellow associates. They often say we are not the only peoples who are doing this job; even the Muslims are also doing the same job besides us. In this way, by considering the latter group as the same working category of their own, they feel some kind of self-respect among themselves and before the outsiders. When the common interest of both groups are concerned e.g. to ensure that their job should be permanent at the municipalities, to ensure better salaries and some kind other common facilities, they use their common sweeper's status. The Muslim sweepers always identify themselves as members of the Muslim community and consider the *Jaat* sweepers or *Jaat mathar* are their inborn status. Like the main stream ethnic group, they also try to avoid the contact with *Jaat* sweepers as far as possible. Although the members of both groups carry a common designation sweeper and perform the same job side by side, but Muslim does not establish any intimate relations between them, though two religions have similar occupational status but the interaction between two groups are show a formal relation. It is common practices that Muslim sweepers try to avoid close contact and make an informal relation with the *Jaat* sweepers. Sometimes they discuss some important issues but usually a clean distance maintained between those two. The members of both communities meet each other when some critical situations arise between them. At that time some people from them two groups greet each other and exchange their views but they do not shake hand each other and sit separately within the members of each groups. It seems that unlike the greater society, the Muslim sweeper cannot full reject or avoid with the *Jaat* sweeper interaction. So it seems that both community face problems sustaining their livelihood not only because they considered financially poor but also because of the social stigma or exclusion attached to their profession that limited their acceptability and led to discrimination against them.

In other words, outsider a limited interaction sphere, sweeper community almost isolated from the mainstream of social relations constituted by others. They generally avoid close relation with the sweepers. In a previous study point out about the interaction between sweeper and mainstream

society that there is hardly any interaction between the Dalits and the mainstream people. Both sides consciously maintained a distance (Parveen, 2008). In present study it observes that they are usually not allowed in the cafe or restaurant for having a male. It is very easy to found, a sweeper working on the street but it difficult to find a non-sweeper taking with a sweeper. Mainstream society may call or hire a sweeper for calling purpose, but usually a clean distance is maintained between these two. So in fact, it is common practice that outsiders try to avoid close contact with sweepers. Use of abusive words is a common practice and both the *Jaat* and Muslim sweepers always bear the pains of abusing with different bad words particularly in relation to their job status. They feel strongly discriminated for this kind of abusing. Many times the influential upper caste or class of both religions scold the sweepers with abusive words without mentioning their names.

Alienation, frustration and converted to other religion

Jaat sweepers always live with a feeling of strong alienation and social exclusion. Sometimes they feel frustration and they say that Bangladesh is not their own country. It is not surprising in the given reality that *Jaat* sweepers now wish to send their next generation to neighboring India. A few sweeper families have already managed to send their sons and daughters to India and they have been married over there. But Muslim sweepers are not facing this type of discrimination. But both sweepers are mostly fatalistic and depend on their luck. Most of them accept their present situation and casts based position as their fate and are frustrated about their and their next generation future and fate, although some have a few specific plans about their future.

Table-5.13.1: Percentage distribution of the respondents on causes for converted to others religion

Causes for converted to other religion	Frequency (N =200)	Percent
Hinduism is unethical, unfair, ungodly and so forth	17	8.50
Economic mobility	89	44.50
Christianity is self-respect and egalitarian socio-cosmic principles	11	5.50
To avoid lower position in society	39	19.50
No response	44	22.00
Total	200	100.00

Source: Field work, 2014-15

Table 5.13.1 shows that among *Jaat* sweeper 8.5 percent answer that it may cause converting their religion, they think that Hinduism is unethical, unfair, ungodly and so forth. 44.5 percent reply that for their economic mobility they may convert their religion. Another 5.5 percent say, convert sweeper may be thought that Christianity have self-respect and egalitarian socio-cosmic principles and 19.50 percent respondents also answer, they want to avoid their lower position in society. In the remaining 22 percent respondents give no answer about this matter.

70 years old Kanpuri sweeper claimed:

> We are the citizen and live in generation to generation in this country. We fought for the independence of this country and gave many lives from this community. During the time of any quarrel with Muslim sweeper and Jaat sweeper, then most of the cases Muslim sweeper says that it is our county, it's not your and you should go back our country. (Yours country means go to India). We are citizen in this country but it is not our country. So a question arise what is actually identity for this community? Now this is my question, how long we will hear these type of comments. Even most of the mainstream society people show their attitude that we have no right to say it's our native land. We serve our service for this country before our death. But we have been exploited, oppressed and excluded though generation to generation from this country (Case study -14).

65 years old a Jaat sweeper women made a similar comment:

> We feel very bad when anybody says that Bangladesh is not our native land. During liberation war I help the muktibahini (freedom fighter) to send arms one place to another. West Pakistani call us Bangi. I hide the arms in my brooms and hand over it to the freedom fighters. Like me many of us fight for independent this country. And I know that many of people died in our community in 1971 and many of have a greater contribution for liberation. In the Pakistan regime there are examples to fight against the tyranny rules of the West Pakistani government. As a result, many sweepers are involved of the liberation war in 1971. It is unfortunate that most of them did not recognize as freedom fighters. After the liberation, sweeper people

were become out of scene from the all development process. Independent Bangladesh has passed above forty years but our fate remains unchanged. Government gives many facilities and reward for contribution in liberation war. But this community's contribution is not found and haven't listen or written anywhere or not anybody is reworded for their contribution. I think, all the Governments after liberation war are also showed negligence towards our community (Case study– 19).

5.14. Politic, policy and conflict

Sweeper in Bangladesh are yet to get full recognition of political participation or the policy making forums of the country are yet to take note of or give consideration to the need for political representation of this community. Table 5.14.1 shows that 69.25 percent of the respondents are presently city voter. There is a different between the *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweeper in terms of their voting registration. The table shows that 78 percent of the *Jaat* sweepers are presently city voters as compared to 60.5 percent of Muslim sweeper. Furthermore, *Jaat* sweepers are mostly voter in city than the Muslim sweeper. Most of the Muslim sweepers continue to vote in their village. A considerable proportion of the Muslim respondents are dual voter, casting their votes in both the city and their village.

Table-5.14.1: Percentage distribution on patterns of political integration of the respondents

Patterns of political integration	Religion		Total	
	Jaat sweeper	**Muslim sweeper**		
Voter in the city	78.0 (156)	60.5 (121)	69.25 (277)	
Voting in the city election	51.0 (102)	36.0 (72)	43.5 (174)	
Voter in the village	6.0 (12)	41.5 (83)	18.25 (73)	
Voting in the union level election	3.0 (06)	20.5 (41)	11.75 (47)	
Strong political view	41.0 (82)	26.5 (53)	33.75 (135)	
Political activism	31.0 (62)	14.0 (28)	22.5 (90)	

Source: Field work, 2014-15

The table 5.14.1 also shows that despite living in city 41.5 percent of the total Muslim sweepers are presently voters in their villages. Moreover, a great proportion of Muslim voter cast their votes in their village as they feel more ties to their village. The tables 5.14.1 show that 3 percent of the *Jaat* sweeper and 20.5 percent of the Muslim sweepers caste their voting their Union level election. Nonetheless, the sweepers are more or less politically aware. Table shows 33.75 that percent of the respondents has political ties to the major political parties, Bangladesh Awami League (AL) and Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). Table also shows that 31 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 14 percent of Muslim sweeper are active in politics and they attend many political activities.

Graph -5.14.1: Percentage distribution of the respondents on vote for candidate choice
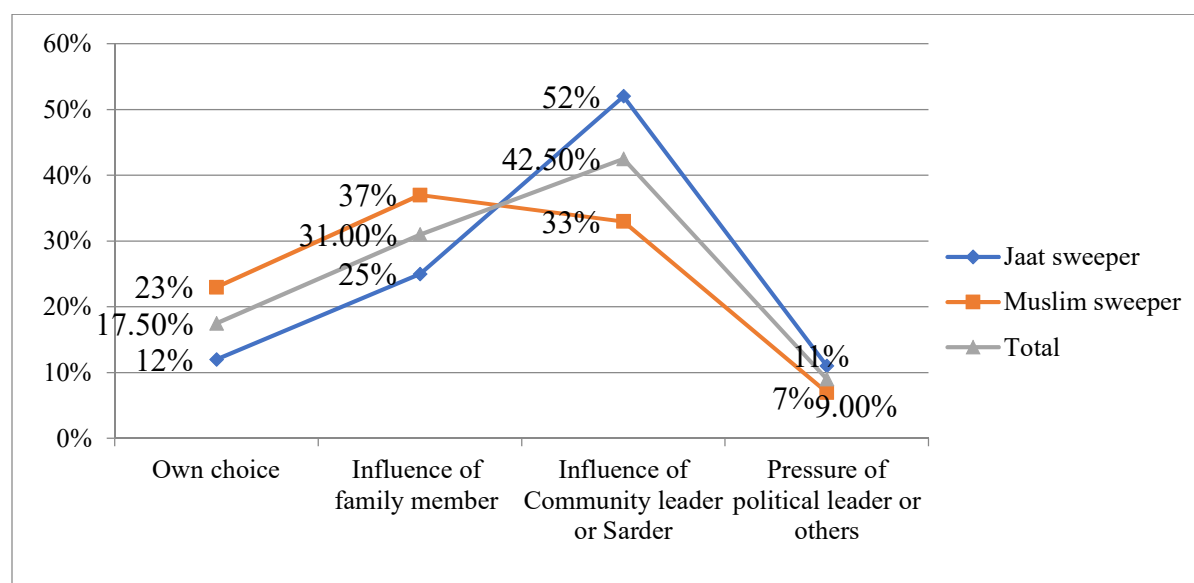
Source: Field work, 2014-15

Graph 5.14.1 shows that 12 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 23 percent of Muslim sweeper give their vote of their own choice candidate. And 25 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 37 percent of Muslim sweeper give their vote by the influence of family member in their household. Other hand 52 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 33 percent of Muslim sweeper give their vote by the influence of leader or *Sarder* of their community. Rest of the 11 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 7 percent of Muslim sweeper give their vote by the pressure of political leader or others.

Table -5.14.2: Percentage distribution on affected by policies of Municipality of the respondents

Discrimination in policies	Religion		Total (N=400)	
	Jaat sweeper (n=200)	Muslim sweeper (n=200)		
Affiliation with organization				
Yes	22 (44)	16.5 (33)	19.25 (77)	
No	78 (156)	83.5 (167)	80.75 (323)	
Type of organization				
Community based	50.0 (22)	36.36 (12)	44.16 (34)	
Co-operative	9.09 (4)	9.09 (3)	9.09 (7)	
NGO	25.0 (11)	15.15 (5)	20.78 (16)	
Professional	9.09 (4)	24.24 (8)	15.58 (12)	
Regional	4.55 (2)	9.09 (3)	6.5 (5)	
Others	2.27 (1)	6.06 (2)	3.90 (3)	
Affected by policies of Municipality				
Yes	92.5 (185)	78.5 (157)	85.5 (342)	
No	7.5 (15)	21.5 (43)	14.5 (58)	
Any protest against the policy				
Yes	16.5 (33)	9.5 (19)	13.0 (52)	
No	83.5 (167)	90.5 (181)	87.0 (348)	
Reasons for not any protest (n=348)				
Alienation	19.76 (33)	11.05 (20)	15.22 (53)	
Powerlessness	43.71 (73)	44.75 (81)	44.25 (154)	
Limited hope	27.54 (46)	33.70 (61)	30.74 (107)	
Others	8.98 (15)	10.49 (19)	9.77 (34)	

Source: Field work, 2014-15

In this study table 5.14.2 shows that 22 percent of the *Jaat* sweeper and 16.5 percent of Muslim sweepers are presently affiliation with different organization. Table 5.14.2 also shows that most of the sweeper (44.16%) are attachment with community based organization, with 20.78 and 15.58 percent are associate NGO and professional based organization. Another 9.09 percent and 6.5 percent are engaged with Co-operative and regional based organization. The tables 5.14.2 also show that 92.5 percent of the *Jaat* sweeper and 78.5 percent of the Muslim sweepers are affected by policies of Municipality. Among them only 16.5 percent of the *Jaat* sweeper and 9.5 percent of the Muslim sweepers protest against the policies of Municipality. Most of the respondent's

(44.25%) report that they do not protest about the discrimination policies of Municipality because they think that they are powerless and 30.74 percent also think that they have no hope to come a fruitful result for their community.

Dalit women leader gave his account:

> We will have to change our outlook. We have to realize that good changes will come along if we get ourselves involved in politics. If we can realize the benefits, we will be able to make time to take in activities along with our everyday work. If we get the realization that we are always being neglected and insulted as a sweeper, we will be find ourselves motivated to involve in political activities. Women will be active about their rights and will take practical measures in collective way to protest the oppression and exclusions. If a woman is not aware about her condition, how can one become active to change her position *(Case study -9)?*

Correlates and predictors and political integration

Political integration[21] of the sweeper is not correlated with colony (r=.063) and positively correlated with habitat type (r = .147 at the 0.01 level). Table 5.14.5 shows a significant difference among habitat type in terms of the level of political integration (chi-square=8.640; d.f.=2; p=.013). But habitat type is not a predictor of political integration (beta=.065; t= 1.415; sig=.158). Political integration of the sweeper is positively correlated with religion (r = .204 at the 0.01 level) and there is a significant difference among *Jaat* and Muslim sweeper in terms of the level of political integration (chi-square=16.573; d.f=1; p=.000. Multiple regressions show religion as one of the predictors of political integration of the sweeper (beta=.231; t=5.084; sig=.000). Gender is also positively correlated (r = .180 at the 0.01 level). There is significant difference between males and females in terms of their political integration, as males are almost active in politics than the female. Multiple regressions show gender as another of the predictors (beta=.188; t=4.103; p=.000) of political integration of the sweeper.

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[21] In this study political integration refers to participation in political activities, organizational memberships and interaction with government

Table -5.14.3: Correlates of political integration

Socio-demographic Characteristics	Political integration
Colony	.063
Habitat Type	.147**
Age	-.170**
Religion	.204**
Gender	.180**
Marital status	.122*
Education	-.188**
Households head type	-.193**
Household size	-.167**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-talied

Political integration is negatively correlated with the age of the respondents (r= -.170 at the 0.01 level). Table 5.14.5 shows a significant difference between the younger population and aged respondents in terms of their level of political integration (chi-square=11.605; d.f=1; p=.00). Aged respondents have a higher level of political integration than younger respondents. Multiple regressions suggest that age as one of the predictors of political integration. Marital status is positively correlated with the political integration of sweeper communities and there is significant difference in terms of their political integration (chi-square=5.979; d.f=1; p=.012). There is negatively correlation between educational and political integration of the sweeper.

Table-5.14.4: Multiple regressions of political integration

Predictor	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	2.061	.184		11.212	.000
Religion	.193	.038	.231	5.084	.000
Habitat type	.036	.025	.065	1.415	.158
Gender	.157	.038	.188	4.103	.000
Age	-.122	.038	-.146	-3.207	.001
Marital status	.111	.048	.109	2.299	.022
House hold head	-.281	.069	-.190	-4.053	.000
Education	-.248	.046	-.243	-5.375	.000
Household structure	-.174	.040	-.198	-4.387	.000

The difference between illiterate and literate sweeper in terms of their political integration is significant (chi square= .14.202; d.f=1; p=.000). Multiple regression suggests education as one of the predictors (beta= -.243; t=-5.375; p=.00) of political integration. Household head type is negatively correlated with political integration (r=-.193 at the 0.01 level) and there is a significant difference between male-headed and female-headed households in term of political integration (chi-square=14.951; d.f=1; p=.00). Multiple regression also suggests household head is a predictor (beta=-.190; t=-4.053; sig=.000) of political integration. Household structure of the sweeper is negatively correlated (r=-.167 at the 0.01 level) with their political integration. Multiple regression also suggests household structure as another predictor (beta=-.198; t=-4.387; sig=.000) of political integration. Table 5.14.5 shows that small size households are significantly different from large size households in terms of political integration (chi-square=11.143; d.f=1; p=.00). Small member households are less integrated with politics then the large number house hold.

Table-5.14.5: Socio-demographic characteristics and political integration

Socio-demographic characteristics	political integration				Chi-square	d.f	Sign.
	Yes (N=90)		NO (N=310)				
Colony							
Ganaktuli	44.4	(40)	39.4	(122)	2.026	2	.363
Doyagong	24.4	(22)	21.3	(66)			
Dhalpur	31.1	(28)	39.4	(122)			
Habitat Type							
Building	43.3	(39)	29.0	(9 0)	8.640	2	.013
Semi- pucca or pucca	41.1	(37)	43.2	(134)			
Ten-shed	15.6	(14)	27.7	(86)			
Age structure							
Younger (up to 30 years)	34.4	(31)	54.8	(170)	11.605	1	.000
Aged (31 yrs+)	65.6	(59)	45.2	(140)			
Religion							
Jaat sweeper	68.9	(62)	44.5	(138)	16.573	1	.000
Muslim sweeper	31.1	(28)	55.5	(172)			
Gender							
Male	66.7	(60)	45.2	(140)	12.903	1	.000
Female	33.3	(30)	54.8	(170)			
Marital status							
Unmarried or Widow or separated or divorced	31.1	(28)	19.0	(59)	5.979	1	.012
Married	68.9	(62)	81.0	(251)			
Education							
Illiterate	64.4	(58)	82.9	(257)	14.202	1	.000
Literate	35.6	(32)	17.1	(53)			
Households head type							
Male-headed	81.1	(73)	94.2	(292)	14.951	1	.000
Female headed	18.9	(17)	5.8	(18)			
Household size							
Small size (upto 4 members)	20.0	(18)	39.0	(121)	11.143	1	.000
Large size (5 members+)	80.0	(72)	61.0	(189)			

5.15. Summary of findings

The sweeper community in Bangladesh is a heterogeneous group with different religion, language and culture because they came from different part of India. *Jaat* sweeper in Bangladesh who are migrated from the various parts of the then India. A considerable number of migration happened during the period of 1835 to 1850. In the cities they are mostly employed to perform tasks such as cleaning, removing human waste and sweeping and besides Bengali they speak Telugu, Hindi and other languages from the sub-continent. Other hand Muslim sweeper are migrated to the city from rural areas due to different social, economic and environmental reasons. For the livelihood both sweeper is almost completely dependent upon a certain niche work offered by the greater society. The members of the sweeper's communities often face an unhealthy, unhygienic and above all an inhuman situation though their working condition or low salary, lack of care, no job benefit etc. have made their future insecure.

 The respondents have mostly been living in sweeper colony for two or three generation. Both unmarried and married respondents are incorporated in the study. A small portion are identified as divorced and separated. The respondents are mostly illiterate and the awareness level of sweeper is low. They force their children to follow their traditional professions. Many sweepers do not send their children to schools. Most of sweeper children are engaged in child labor. Many sweeper parents believe that 5 or 6 years old children are small enough to join schools. They believe that when their children study class 1 or 2 they should do physical works. In terms of equal access to employment, many sweepers are employed in the public or private sectors as sweepers and cleaners with very low pay. The sweeper and excluded communities continue to work in some of the most menial, low paid dangerous jobs in Bangladesh, such as cleaning toilets, sweeping streets, and emptying the septic tanks of others. They generally do not get equal treatment and legal protection when a crime is committed against them, as most cases are settled or negotiated through informal authorities often arbitrarily or on a discriminatory basis.

Although most households are male-headed, female-headed households are increasing among the sweeper communities in Dhaka City. A considerable portion of these households in the city are identified as single-headed. The sweeper is involved their traditional job because of their low level of education and skills. They frequently face underemployment, harassment and other problems at their workplace. The respondents generally earn a low level of income insufficient for supporting

their livelihoods. Because of their low level of income, their level of consumption is also low. Most of their earning is spent on food. They usually consume basic foods and avoid expensive items even though these items are essential for their living. Housing is other major problem of sweepers in Bangladesh. Sweeper are living with urban settings are in severe housing crisis. They generally live in sweeper colony areas and have no modern facilities. As they do not get new housing, so they are bound to live in a single room generation to generation. As a result, in a single small room 8-12 persons are living. On the other hand, sweepers have no land in general. Eviction is common in the life of sweepers. Sweeper face discrimination at all levels of social interaction: from hotels, to barbershops, from temples to mosques, schools and so on. Socially their standing is negligible. They do not count, are not CV involved in social dynamics, and are often used by influential people to pursue their unholy aims. Tolerated and patronized as long as they remain in their pre-established social roles, they are openly threatened and insulted and beaten when attempting to change their lot. Backward in outlook they are mostly illiterate falling prey to child-marriage, dowry and superstitious behaviour in general. They are usually very poor leading a hand to mouth kind of existence

Most of the respondents have taken loans from informal sources because they have little access to the available formal sources for loans. A considerable portion of them have some savings in their households. They also have some low cost goods in their households. There is a difference between the *Jaat sweeper* and Muslim sweeper in terms of their 'asset vulnerability'. Asset vulnerability is determined by habitat type, level of education, length of urban residence and the household size of the respondents. They have very limited access to services for health, education and recreation which are essential for their social well-being. While the nuclear family is predominant among these sweeper communities, there are a significant number of extended families among them. In case of Muslim sweeper, a considerable portion is living in the city as singles and their other family members are living in their original villages. Both sweeper community maintain both kinship and non-kinship networks in the city. The sweeper sometimes become angry with their families and communities due to economic tensions which produce stress. Despite this, a considerable portion of them behave very rationally. They practice some traditional activities like visiting shrines, sacrifices in the name of God, using folk treatments from religious and spiritual leaders and so on. The sweeper have generally a low level of knowledge and most of them are fatalistic and they are

not optimistic about their future. The sweepers are often vulnerable to crime and violence often operated by powerful mainstream residents. Grouping and conflicts are characteristics of the both sweeper. They have informal power structures based on community based organisations which play significant role in solution of community conflict. They called it *panchayat.* The sweeper communities also actively participate in urban politics. Most are city voters and cast their votes in city elections. These sweeper communities are often influenced by local power brokers and act according to their instructions due to their unstable and vulnerable situations. The sweepers have political views and act according to those views. Urban policies relating to the regulation of squatters and low income activities in the city seriously affect these people. But they are generally unable to protest because of their poverty and vulnerability.

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CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF THE STUDY

6.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with a discussion about the main findings of the study on socioeconomic exclusion and vulnerability of sweeper community. In Social Sciences literature there is general agreement on the core features of social exclusion, its principle indicators, and the way it relates to poverty, discrimination, inequality and vulnerability. Social exclusion of sweeper is the denial of equal opportunities imposed by dominant groups of society up on others which leads to inability of an individual to participate in the basic political, economic and social functioning of the society. Once again it needs to be reiterated that it is not that exclusion is practiced at the individual level but the very structure of society, economy and polity is built on exclusion. In this social structure due to the structural nature and dynamics various social groups are excluded on the basis of caste, class, gender, disabilities, ethnicity, age, location etc. Sweeper are excluded on the basis of caste system and they are excluded from opportunities, outcome of development, freedom of mobility, resources, and citizenship in polity and membership in society. The excluded social groups in turn internalize such principles and practices and the institutions that legitimize and enforce them. Hence, change is resisted both by the excluding social groups and the excluded communities. Chapter five presents the findings of the study which support the view that the sweeper are living generation to generation in sweeper quarters in Dhaka City face extreme exclusion, poverty and vulnerability in terms of their employment, income, housing and infrastructure and social services. Their exclusion and marginally limits their social, cultural and political participation in the society. It is also evident that there are some socio-demographic differentials of social exclusion and adaptations with this traditional work. The next task was to outline in detail the extent to which *the social exclusion framework* meets this analysis of socioeconomic exclusion and vulnerability condition of this marginal class in this society.

6.2. 'The Social exclusion and vulnerability framework'

As outlined in chapter three, *the Social exclusion framework* has been used to explain socio-economic exclusion and vulnerability of the sweeper community in urban contexts. Social

exclusion is generally defined that the denial of equal opportunities imposed by certain groups of society on others, leading to the inability of an individual to participate in the basic political, economic and social functioning of society. But social exclusion is widely defined, 'Social exclusion is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack of denial of resources, rights, goods and services and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in society, whether in economic, social, cultural, or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole' (Levitas et al., 2007). This definition makes explicit the idea that social exclusion is broader than poverty, embracing issues of the denial of rights and lack of participation. It also emphasizes not only what social exclusion is, but what it gives rise to – its consequences, for individuals and for society, in both the short-run and over the longer-term. Other hand notions of vulnerability are closer to the concept of social exclusion. According to Chambers (1989), vulnerability is not a synonym for poverty. Whereas poverty means lack or want, and is usually measured for convenience of counting in terms of income or consumption, vulnerability means insecurity, defenselessness, and exposure to risk and shocks. A concept of vulnerability focuses on the variety of dimensions of deprivation, and is clearly a more relational approach to deprivation than the focus on measurement of income or consumption poverty (Haan, 1999). Vulnerable households are forced to adopt strategies, which enable them to survive but not to improve their welfare. In urban areas households seek to mobilise resources and opportunities and to combine these into a livelihood strategy which is a mix of labour market involvement; savings; borrowing and investment; productive and reproductive activities; income, labour and asset pooling; and social networking. Households adjust the mix according to their own circumstances and the changing context in which they live (Rakodi, 2002a). According to Janie Percy-Smith (2000), the concept social exclusion implies exclusion from something – typically participation in those activities that are considered to be 'normal' or 'desirable'. This clearly has a normative element. While most people would probably agree that citizens *should* have access to adequate housing, a reasonable level of income, health care services and so on, there may be less agreement on the *level* of provision or the *terms and conditions* governing the provision of certain goods and services. This is particularly apparent in relation to labour market exclusion undoubtedly an important element in most definitions of social exclusion but arguably given undue prominence in terms of policy responses. Social capital is one of the important components of the 'Social exclusion: a conceptual

framework'. This low level of socio-cultural capital can certainly have an impact on social interconnection, the formation of civil associations and social support (UNDP, 2006). Levels of social capital and the ability to call on the social networks involved vary in space and time. Political capital based on access to the political process and decision-making is closely linked with social capital. Furthermore, in the urban setting informal cultural networks can serve to transpose ethnocentric or patriarchal rural arrangements that otherwise may have been under threat (Moser, 1996). *The social exclusion framework* also turns to the structures and processes of economic exclusion that impact on urban poverty and vulnerability. According to Saunders et al. (2007) the conceptual framework provides, that informed the research and explains the concepts of deprivation and social exclusion, focusing on what they mean, how they differ and how they relate to income poverty. Here they argue that income is not the only determinant of the living standards that ultimately affect whether deprivation and exclusion exist. The lagged adjustment of living standards and hence deprivation to variations in income can explain why, at any point in time, people have incomes below the poverty line but may not be deprived, and *vice versa*. Low income may be a barrier to some forms of inclusion, but there are many other areas where social exclusion is caused by factors other than poverty. As noted in chapter three social exclusion is defined in this study as situations where individuals are not participating in key activities in society. In applying this definition using data, the 'key activities' that are relevant to different forms of exclusion are defined to cover only those activities that are engaged in sweeper community. The full list of indicators used to identify social exclusion which distinguishes between three forms of exclusion:

• *Disengagement* - lack of participation in social and community activities;

• *Service exclusion* - lack of adequate access to key services when needed; and

• *Economic exclusion* - restricted access to economic resources and low economic capacity.

Disengagement refers to a lack of participation in the kinds of social activities and events that are customary and widely practiced by members of the community. Service exclusion focuses on exclusion from services used by a majority of the sweeper, whether mainly provided publicly and subsidized by government (health care; education, mental health and formal services), or predominantly provided privately and subject to extensive user charges (health treatment, basic household electricity, gas, water and other utilities). Economic exclusion is defined to cover

situations characterized by a range of indicators of economic stress, including inadequate access to savings, credit, assets and the labour market.

6.3. Understanding socio-economic exclusion and vulnerability
63.1 Socio- demographic Characteristics

Among the *Jaat* sweeper (Table 5.3.1) 81.5 percent respondents belong to the age group of 21- 50 and 12.5 percent belong to the age group of 51 & above. Among the Muslim sweepers, 69.5 percent respondents belong to the age group of 21- 40, where 11 percent and 14.5 belong to the age group of up to 20 and 41-50 respectively. Rest of the 11 percent of the respondents are found in the age group of 51 to above, which means there are many old people in both the Hindu and Muslim sweeper groups and the proportion of the elderly population who have lost their ability to perform their jobs is negligible in the sweeper colony. This finding is also relevant IIDS (1998) study and it is interesting to note that the people in the age of 50 and above, who do not want to go to work due to old age, illness, or weakness, however, they are treated as the head of the households. Because of the traditional nature of the South Asian people, the seniors are respected and properly taken care by the young earning members in both the Hindu and Muslim *Dalits* communities. In this study the male and female sweeper are taken equally because sweeper women are play an important role in their economic activities. The present study (Graph 5.3.1) shows that the male headed households are 91.25 percent, whereas female headed households are 8.75 percent. The majority of the respondents i.e. 40.85 percent of the head of the household belong to the age group of 21-30. The age factor indicates that the largest number of head of households belongs to this age group, which is reflected that the average age of household heads are not matured. It may be the reason that most of the sweeper families are force to involved their immature child in their traditional jobs and get their young children married early and create a single household. Moreover, the survey IIDS (1998) witnessed that this is the age group when the young sweepers should develop their skills and talents. Then they are forced to face challenges building traditional career of their fathers. The same scenario can be seen in case of Muslim sweepers too.

As far as marital status (Table 5.3.2) are concerned data reveals that only 15 percent are unmarried, 1.75 percent are widowed but among them 5 percent are separated and divorced. Overwhelming majority (78.25%) of the respondents are married which supports the fact that married people

generally have a higher propensity to move to improve their income to support their families compared to single people (Hussain,1996) and some respondents in the study locations are found to be separated or divorced. So it indicates that separation and divorce rate is high among the Muslim sweeper and that is 8.5 percent. It may cause that Muslim religious ideology and poverty are the responsible for that. This finding is also similar of the study Farouk (1978) which showed that a number of migrants in Dhaka City were divorced during their period of stay or deserted females from rural poor households migrated to the city for employment. In the study locations in Dhaka City, 8.75% of the sweeper households are identified as female-headed. This finding closely corresponds with the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (1998) which found 8.9% of households to be female-headed. The number of female-headed households is increasing among the sweeper due to a higher number of separations and marriage breaks-up and the migration of widows or deserted women in their sweeper colony. The increase of female-headed households is explained by Afsar (1996) as the result of the erosion of family support manifested through greater marital instability, a lesser number of male earning members of female-headed households. In some cases women in female headed households retain contact with their husbands and in this way separated women can retain a married identity and be protected from other men. In fact, it is difficult for women to live in city without their male guardians due to sexual harassment by other men. While women retain a married identity (even if they are separated from their husbands), they are treated as the 'property of others' and they are less attractive to other men.

The survey data reveals that literacy rate among the both sweeper is very low and only 21.25 percent of total respondents are literate which is much lower than national average 65 percent. Of which, 9.75 percent have non-formal education, 6.5 percent respondent are bellow primary level and only 4.0 percent of the respondents complete their primary education successfully and 0.75 percent secondary level and higher secondary or above education is very low. So it can say, higher education is totally absent among this community. From data it also finds that illiteracy is relatively higher among the *Jaat* sweeper (84%) as compared with that of the Muslim sweeper (73.5%). From survey data, it also shows that literacy is relatively lower among the female (27.05%) of the respondents as compared with that of male (72.94%) indicating gender inequality which is inherent in a social structure like ours. Moreover, the educational preferences for sons and daughters shown by the respondents also indicate gender inequality. This trend was also observed by Imam Ali among the Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists and the Christians (Ali, 1992, 1992, 1993, 2005, 2011,

2013). In an exploitative social structure educational opportunities are higher among the higher caste or classes or strata and this has been manifested in respondents' educational status; also among their attitudes or preferences to educational levels for sons and daughters where preference to higher education was visibly hitherto male than the female children, one of the dominant characteristics of the traditional society with.

In this study data shows that two third of the sweeper have a family of 5-9 and one third family have 1-4. Almost it is similar to the case of Muslim sweeper too. The average household size in the present study 5.63 is comparatively higher than the national household size of 4.8 (BBS, 2001a). The national household size has declined over the years due to the formation of more nuclear households and a declining fertility rate through widely practised family planning (BBS, 1991; 2001a). Despite the fact that the fertility rate is conventionally higher among sweeper communities in the city compared to other social groups. It also indicates that both (Muslim and Hindu) sweeper are not aware of adopting the methods of fertility control and reduction of family size due to illiteracy, lack of awareness, superstition, poverty and other socio-cultural reasons. Other hand unemployment, job discrimination, social exclusion, taking alcohol regularly, negative attitude to saving, lack of pleasure may be the reasons behind large reproductive nature and causes of poverty both Hindu and Muslim sweeper. But it also shows that the rate has also declined in previous decades due to changes in values and practices of the sweeper.

Most of the *Jaat* sweepers are born in Dhaka because they have been live in generation to generation in here. Their fore-fathers of these sweepers come to these colonies long ago from the different parts of India. Muslim sweepers migrate to the city from rural area for various socio-economic and environmental reasons. Only the Muslim sweepers who are entered this occupation, they have peasant background before entering this occupation. They had to choose this profession under different circumstances at different historical period. Muslim sweepers have mostly taken up permanent residence in the City of Dhaka because they have no agricultural land in their village to live off. The study shows that *Jaat* sweeper whose families have lived in the same location for more than 30 years that is 96.5 percent. The corresponding figure is 57.5 percent because the Muslim sweeper in this study mostly migrated from different districts of the country. The present study reveals that most of the sweeper migrated from a few rural districts which have a very good connection with the capital city (Dhaka). The present study (Table 5.3.5) finds that *Comilla*, a

district of Bangladesh is the rural district from where a considerable portion (31.5%) of the Muslim sweeper have migrated to the city. Natural disaster, low income in rural areas, job opportunities in the city are found to be the major reasons for rural-urban migration. In this study data also represents that 41 percent of sweeper migrate in city and enter this profession for famine and 11 percent of the respondents migrated to the city because they have lost their homes and agricultural land through river erosion and are therefore compelled to migrate to the city. Shakur (1987) broadly classified the factors into push factors and pull factors. The push factors include over-population, floods and natural disasters, river erosion, growing landlessness and exploitation by the rural elites and moneylenders. The pull factors are employment opportunities in the informal sectors of the economy, better opportunities in the city and relative freedom for female workers. A considerable portion of the sweeper are (19%) migrated to the city as dependents or partners. Migration with a partner is a very common situation for married women in Bangladesh.

Those who are employed to clean the municipal streets, market and office are known as *Jharuder.* Generally women and Muslim sweeper are recruited for this purpose. All the municipalities' street and *Bazar* (market) area have been distributed among *Jharudar*. Each of them has to sweep approximately a quarter mile of the street or a selected market area. *Jharuder* use a *Jharu* (broom) to sweep the streets. Children often help their mother, sister or close relatives in sweeping. Several numbers of *Jharuder* report that this is hard work therefore they take help from their children to finish the work in time. The study (Table 5.3.6) shows that 75.88 percent of the total *Jharudar* are Muslim and 60.92 percent are *Jaat* sweeper. Generally Muslim and women proportion are higher to engage this work. Drain cleaning work is considered more difficult work than the street cleaner. For this the drainer cleaner often deal with dirty and muddy substance. While the *Jharuder* sweeps the street and place the dust and garbage in the locate place, the garbage cleaner collects the garbage and stores it at certain points from which is loads it in a truck by the garbage cleaner. Then it is driven away, often to a certain place outside the city, for discharging. A spade and a long handled brush are the most commonly used tools for this work. The sweepers who are working as a drain man, their monthly income is higher than the street, market and office cleaner. All types of cleaning work anywhere in Bangladesh, the work of cleaning toilet is considered as the most difficult and nasty work. Nearly every household where their toilet is out- of- order then calls the sweeper to work. The sweeper points of view, this is difficult and disgusting work and all sweepers

can't do it. During the working hours, many sweepers cover their nose by mask or pieces of cloth to avoid the bed smell. *Jaat* sweepers are skilled at this work compared to Muslim sweeper and very few Muslim sweepers are engaged to this work. Almost every sweeper is taking alcohol to do this work properly. In this study data also shows that 7.85 percent sweeper are engaged as garbage cleaner and 2.33 percent is garbage truck driver. Other 14.83 percent of sweeper respondents are engaged as a drain and toilet cleaner.

Almost every sweeper has an extra income from part- time work or private calling. For high rate of food price, house rent, significant number of money expend to taking alcohol, it cannot possible to maintain their house hold expenditure by their low salary. So most of the families members are engaged in part time work. Sweeper's private income is situation depend on and income from it is neither fixed nor reliable and dependable as the income from other domain. A sweeper often has to bargain with the outsiders, who call him or her for a certain cleaning purpose, to fix the wage. Sweeper have considered the condition of latrine and claim a certain amount of money for doing it. The outsiders call upon sweepers when they are in need of any dirty works. Many sweepers claim that if they work like a latrine cleaner, they need alcohol because without drinking they cannot do such filthy work so they want high price for that types of work. But it has mentioned sweepers, in fact, do not need alcohol for their works, but as a strategy of earning some more money they often claim that drinking alcohol is necessary for their work. All time they demand higher wage to the outsiders. The survey data reveals that a sweeper's can earn 500 to 2000 Tk. monthly from various kind of private work, which is not assumed before. No one knows before how much extra income will come in this month or in the next month. Muslim sweepers earn comparatively batter than the *Jaat* sweeper. Muslim sweeper can earn by varieties work like part-time, business or day labour etc. More or less both sweepers earn extra (500-3000 Tk.) per month from part-time work or private calling.

63.2. Traditional professional trend and livelihood strategies

Occupation, particularly its prestige status is universally accepted as an empirical indicator in studying social structure, stratification and inequalities as well. It is such a variable that can be empirically defined; testable and verifiable also. Moreover, one can hide many attributes but not his/her occupational role as it has to be performed in public and there is high amount of consensus

among the respondents in grading the occupations in status hierarchy (Rogoff, 1953; D'Souza, 1981; Ali, 1992a, 1992, 1993, 2011). In another study, it indicates that there are about 3.5 to 5.5 million sweepers in Bangladesh today. About 300 years ago sweepers were brought to this country by the British colonial rulers. They were mainly from Madras, Kanpur, Hyderabad and some other places of South India. They were the low caste peoples among the Indian Hindu communities and were generally very poor people, and came here with a hope for better life. They were involved cleaning public places, removing human sludge from pit latrines etc. Because it is their only profession, it has become their traditional job. Someone born in a sweeper family has no other choice than becoming a sweeper (Hossain, 2013). In cities the sweeper have no or little access to informal sectors of the economy and are always employed in their traditional low paid jobs which make their position low and marginal in the society. The present study also focuses on household strategies adopted by the sweepers to support their livelihoods. Multiple earning (temporary or private calling) is a common strategy of sweeper's households. Beside the fix income from sweeping, little Muslim sweepers are involve part time work in different informal sector. Most of the *Jaat* sweeper women are involved in sweeping profession to maintain their livelihood. The present study shows that 84 percent sweeper women are engaged in economic activities to maintain their family budget. This finding corresponds with a number of previous studies which also highlighted that women are involved in the urban workforce, which challenges traditional gender roles in the developing countries (Chant, 1991; Kabeer, 1991; Sticher and Parpart, 1990; Kanji, 1995). Muslim sweeper's partners are also engaged in sweeping profession or home-based economic activities are also found to be a source of their livelihoods. In this study (Table 5.5.1) clearly indicates that 46.80 percent are following their traditional low-status occupation in City Corporation, while 12.79 percent are occupied in Non–government organization and drawing more salary as compared with their sweeper counterparts working in Dhaka City Corporation and 6.69 percent are involved non-sweeping or self-employed work. Rest of the sweeper are employed different Government organization like factory, hospital and educational institution.

Because of both social structure and attitude, most *Dalits* who are employed as cleaners and sweepers find it hard to imagine beyond doing what they do. It remains 'almost unthinkable' for them to establish any career in any other way than what they have been doing for generations. Acceptance has been perpetuated to such an extent that only tiny section of the community regards the lack of access to other work as discrimination (Uddin, 2014). One study Chowdhury (2009)

reveals that a son of a *Dalit* man would very often inherit the profession of his father. This affects their level of education. In the communities schooling, or even literacy, is not regarded as necessities. Overcoming all the odds even if a *Dalit* person succeeds to become a graduate, he will have to fight hard to find a job. The graduates who enter into the job are unwilling to introduce themselves as *Dalits*. They conceal their identity with a hope that thus they would be able to stay away from the discriminatory behaviour of the non-*Dalits*. Another field level study Daize (2012) reveals that *Dalits'* segregated settlements and isolated ways of living life have made them more dependent on their own community. They thus become least connected to and concerned about the changes in greater society. Most *Dalits* still try to continue their fathers' profession and practice caste and tradition. This is basically because they can't find a suitable alternative to the traditional work as they lack in educational qualification and the society is not ready yet to welcome them to new jobs and better positions. The study also showed that *Dalit* men and women cite their inherited religious identity and low literacy rate as the biggest barriers to getting better jobs. However, even when the children of *Dalit* families acquire skills though education or training, they are forced to remain bounded to their traditional career.

The present study survey data reveals that homogeneity among the respondents most of them are following the occupations of their fathers. Occupational mobility among this community is very insignificant which a normal phenomenon in a caste stratified society is with rigid social structure based mostly on the principle of ascription. Similar observations are also made by Imam Ali, among Muslim-Hindu communities of different villages of Bangladesh (Ali, 1992, 1993, 2011). Those who have not shown interest in changing their occupations have pointed out many factors in support of their answer. The points they mentioned are: traditional values to pursue parental occupations, job satisfaction (as they can do the total work needed to finish the product), lacking the art of pursuing non-traditional ones, low level of education, of these, traditional values and inability to pursue other jobs and lake of motivation are the three most important reasons for not making any change in occupation. It has to be noted that due to structural inequality some groups including the present one, are not allowed by the rigid social structure based on exploitation to make occupational and other changes to the upward directions. As a result, they are in the same position over the generations, known as intergenerational perpetuation of position, as the social structure is largely based on the principle of ascription, where scope for mobility is limited and the

available scope is higher among the higher castes as compared with the lower ones (Ali,1992, 1993, 2011, 2013a). In another study D'Souza, (1981) & Ali, et.al, (2015) say, one thing needs to be mentioned here that the respondents have opted for the present one they pursue not for their love but in a caste stratified society working on the principle of ascription, they have accepted it as their fate which was pre-determined by God. But some of them, learn from their experiences said: "God is not unkind to us, our low-status positions are socially determined". In fact, in a rigid social structure, society creates better positions for some and hurdles for others so that they are in the same positions over the generations, known as inter-generational perpetuation of position. The present community sweeper is an example of this type. Imam Ali (2005) has also observed similar trend among the sweeper community of Chittagong City. In a previous study Iqbal (2009) reveals that traditional occupations tend to be descent- based, forming communities who work in unappealing environments and live either in public housing or in slums. The living areas of the workers are segregated and they suffer abuse related to their jobs and status. Rigid religious and psychological barriers impede any change in habitat or occupation. In this present study with a view to revealing the intra-generational occupational changes data are collected which indicate 92.75 percent could not make any change and while only 7.25 percent change their traditional livelihood strategies. For different reasons, such as, higher income, higher status, hardship of the jobs, and death of father, psychological dissatisfaction, people change in their occupations. In some cases there are changes in occupations where people partly or sometimes people as a whole change their traditional occupations (Ali, 1992, 1993, Basu, 1962). Similar observations are also made among the *Shebok*[1] (sweeper*)* community of Chittagong City by Chowdhury (2011) and in that study clearly indicated that occupation changing rate of the sweeper in Dhaka City was lower than Chittagong sweeper community in Bangladesh.

In addition to these, occupation is a very complex variable having several sociological elements such as, culture, structure, career, mobility, education, recruitment, remuneration, status, prestige and control including others (Taylor, 1968). The hereditary association between socially excluded status and ascribed occupation of the sweeper is one obvious way in which poverty is transmitted

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[1] There can be valid discussions about the caste characteristics of this community as people known them generally as sweeper or occasionally *Horijon* but in Bangladesh, the former elected Mayor of Chittagong city, A. B. M. Mohiuddin Chowdhury renamed them as *Shebok* meaning a person rendering services to the people. This has created a sense of honour among the sweeper community

across generations. However, limitations on the prospects for occupational mobility reinforce this process by circumscribing parental aspirations for children. Consequently, children from marginalized groups tend to reproduce parental patterns of illiteracy and early entry into work. Debt bondage of parents has adverse long-term implications for children's life chances. Children whose fathers die when they are young are particularly vulnerable to bondage since they have to take on responsibility for their fathers' debts. Ascribed occupational identity also ensures that children inherit the restricted life options of their parents. Most of them accept their present situation as their fate and they are frustrated about their and their children profession. Some of them have a few specific future plans and they are not agreed to involve their children traditional work. They want to change their present situation by education or others ways. Hossain (2013) narrated a *Jaat* sweeper comments about their children future in his study in such way. Babul Das (56), a sweeper from Madarbari Shebok Colony in Chittagong, said: "Our children do not get white collar jobs even though they have the qualifications. It would console our heart if even one of us got an official job. But unfortunately it never happens. Sweeping is the only profession, no matter whether we want to stick to it or not. Our destiny is sweeping, though this too is uncertain nowadays." The present study shows that out of 400 respondents 198 respondents (49.5%) have agreed to involve their children or themselves to their traditional work. The remaining respondents are not agreed to involve this occupation. The level of education correlates with the future plane of the sweeper child it means agree to introduce their child with their traditional profession. In this study (Table 5.5.5) shows that the percentage of agree to involve traditional job is significantly higher among the illiterate (86.40%) than the literate (13.6%). They are very pessimistic about their and their children profession. In a study Higgitt (2009) point out that the future of the people living in the *Pongue* sweeper colony is uncertain, but Ramu (a sweeper who live in *pongue* sweeper colony) hopes to save enough money to send his daughter to school when she is of age. "My hope is that one day she will be able to break free of the cycle of discrimination and poverty that for so long has trapped the people of my community." In this present study one *Jaat* sweeper narrates his hope about his child that *my dream is quite small and simple. I hope that unlike me, my father and unlike my grandfather or unlike the members of my family, my child will grow up to be another thing than a sweeper* (Case study- 15).

Jaat sweeper are adapted in this occupational status by heredity but Muslims involve this profession for their livelihood. Table 5.5.3 presents that traditional professional trend is positively

correlated with the demographic characteristics of the respondents, especially religion and education. The study reveals that the proportion of *Jaat* sweeper (68.7 %) is higher than the Muslim (31.3 %) sweeper agree to involve their child in their traditional work due to their professional identity has gradually made ground for their lower and neglected social status. The Muslim sweepers fall into embarrassing position when their sweeper identity come to him and it often listens that we *were not sweeper in the past, we were actually peasant or we are not Methar, we are Muslim etc.* More or less all Muslim sweepers described their feelings in same way that *we want to move beyond this professional identity and we will change our occupation when our better days will come.* So they are not interested to involve their children in this profession. Evidence of the study suggests that most of the Muslim sweeper preferred to get marriage their both male and female children in their origin district with main stream society (but it is difficult for them) and most of the male child of them are not interested to enter in this profession but they show interest to involve in different occupation like; rickshaw puller, driver, peon and daily labour etc. Rasid Mia a *Mus*lim sweeper says, *we fall in a false position when we want to marry our daughter to the non-sweeper group but that society refuses to marry our daughter for our lower position. We enter this profession for our economic crisis and we are not Jaat sweeper. But most of the cases dominant society think and treat us as untouchable community like Hindu society. So they are not interested to mix or make a relationship with us (Case study-11)*. On the other hand, *Jaat* sweeper are more handicapped due to their origin inborn occupational status, religion and immigrant status, life style and their culture (Chowdhury, 2009). Moreover, their segregate settlements and isolated position has made them more dependent on their own community. *Jaat* sweeper who has an inborn status a member of untouchable community, they are total excluded by the mainstream society. So they have no opportunities to refuse their own community. If anybody have lost their job or lost their house but they can't refuse their communal identity and right. So they think that sweeper both men and women have clearly expressed their willingness to leave the job of sweeping. In the root of their desire for changing profession is the social stigma that their current profession brings in. However, they can't find a suitable alternative as they lack educational qualification and society is not yet fully ready to welcome them to any new job and go to better position. They believe that their inborn religious identity as a sweeper is the biggest barrier to getting a better job.

6.4. Socio-economic exclusion and vulnerability

6.4.1 Daily humiliation and social exclusion

Social exclusion is a deeply complex phenomenon, which cannot simply be addressed by isolated activities, which reduce poverty or homelessness nor is it just about increasing employment and education opportunities. Social relations itself are of instrumental importance, because being excluded is in itself deprivation. Breaking the cycle of disadvantage is about enjoying human rights, human dignity and respect. It is building the capacities of the most vulnerable and marginalised communities to connect and reconnect to their communities and other social groups to develop purposeful social relationships, towards establishing "transformatory societies" (Manorama, 2012). In a study Uddin (2014) also says that though the presence of apathy and indifference is ubiquitous, the extent of practices of 'untouchability' has not become negligible or trivial. Major patterns of marginality and caste discrimination lie in the choice of profession, housing and settlement, access to services and facilities such as education and health, social mobility and interactions. In present study, it observes that the exclusion and discrimination practiced against sweeper in the matter of eating, drinking, marriage and social interaction by dominant class and its make them feel embittered. Dominant classes systematically practice exclusion and discrimination against them in the lobour market, political participation, educational facilities, policy making or in appointments to government post. They have a deep grievance that merit is ignored in favour of caste and they think that numerically, politically and economically powerful dominant class is hostile to their desire to move up their position. The discrimination faced by *Dalits* in Bangladesh describes in a recent study by the Indian Institute of Dalit Studies in association with the International Dalit Solidarity Network (IDSN, 2009), "Since they are considered unclean, *Dalits* live segregated from other groups in their own neighborhoods. This includes regular denial of access to Muslim public spaces, including temples, restaurants and shops, and the risking of sanctions, often vicious, if they handle ordinary domestic items used by non-*Dalits* in these spaces." In a previous study Chowdhury also (2010) says, living in twenty-first century, we still have reservation to touch them. Society is still maintaining the discriminatory attitude to this community. Members of this community are facing the social taboo to participate in national festival. In some locality, they have been facing an unwritten prohibition of entrance into the tea stalls even. Although sweeping is a traditional profession of *Harijan* community, they also work in different institutions on temporary basis.

A recent study conducted among respondents from 16 *Dalit* communities found that segregation and discrimination based on work and descent is still quite common in different parts of the country. 'Untouchability' is becoming less severe but yet it is practiced widely, with 38% of survey respondents still experiencing 'untouchability' in everyday life. They find it difficult to have sit in hotels and restaurants to have meal. Restaurant owners and others think that they should not be accommodated there as they belong to 'lower' caste and are *untouchable*. Furthermore, 30% of respondents reported that in hotels and restaurants tea-pots, glasses and plates are kept 'separate' for them; they are not allowed to use the pots, cups and plates that are used by others. And 38% of respondents said that they are not allowed to sit along with other guests in social events such as wedding ceremonies (Parvez and Islam, 2013). In another study reported that in the religious programs, the untouchables or the lower caste Hindus are still not entertained or encouraged to attend the programs together with non-*Dalits*. Though the non-*Dalits* do not say anything very openly, their attitude towards the entry of the lower castes/untouchables is not positive. The entry into kitchen and toilets inside the house are not permitted for use by Hindu *Dalits*. For the Muslim *Dalits,* these are moderately opposed (IIDS, 2008). The study shows that invitation to sweeper by the mainstream society in any feast is very rare case. In many cases, if they likes to invite any sweeper in the communal feast or marriage ceremony, they make also separate sitting arrangement and menu for the sweepers, so that they do not have to sit with them and eat together. In most of the cases the sweepers are not invited to any government or national programs. Even they go to enjoy any such ceremonies, they are not welcomed warmly. They just stand outside and enjoy programs as viewers. This study also indicates that 82 percent *Jaat* sweeper and 41 percent Muslim sweeper face discrimination to attend marriage ceremony or communal feast. In national programme 84 percent *Jaat* sweeper and 72 percent Muslim sweeper have experience to face discrimination by the mainstream ethnic group.

In the study Chowdhury (2009) indicate that 40.6% of Hindu and 53.7% of Muslim *Dalits* have met with discrimination at public graveyards. In this study (Graph 5.9.2) shows that 93.5 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 11 percent Muslim sweeper are face prevent attending funerals by the mainstream society. IIDS (2008) also indicate that in the funerals of non-*Dalits*, normally both Hindu and Muslim *Dalits* like to attend, but they are somehow discouraged for being untouchables. They are not allowed to stay long time in the funeral. They are just allowed to see the dead body from far away and show their grief. Somehow both the Hindu and Muslim *Dalits* feel less

discriminated in attending funerals of non-*Dalits*. On the contrary, the attendance of non-*Dalits* in the funerals of *Dalits* is rare in villages. Sometimes, the non-*Dalits* from local areas come to show their feelings for the person died and try to give some money or buy materials for funerals. However, they do not attend funerals at most cases. The study shows that in case of entry into the *Mandirs* (Temple) and any religious programm Hindu untouchables are strongly opposed by the Brahmins or priests or the upper caste of the temples. The study also shows that in religious programms, the Muslim sweepers are not facing such kind of obstacle like the *Jaat* sweeper. In case of entry into the *Mandirs* (Temple)*, untouchables are strongly opposed by the *Brahmins* or priests or the care takers of the temples. Other hand the study also presents that in religious programme 88 percent *Jaat* sweeper and 17 percent Muslim sweeper have experience to face discrimination.

In public services like post-office, health and education, for example the practice of *untouchability* was much less. Almost all had access to postal services, but more than half of the respondents faced some kind of discrimination, in so far as the postmen avoided entering into the residential areas of sweepers, opting to hand over the mail to a person of the locality for distribution. When they show their residential ghetto address, most of the cases they are not call or issue interview card. One *Jaat* sweeper said, *Muslim sweeper have another rural permanent address and they can apply for a job to hide this occupational or ghetto address. But our permanent or present address are same so it is not possible for us to hide our identity to get another job* (Case study-1). The present study shows that 9 percent of *Jaat* and 18.5 percent of Muslim sweeper hide their identity to access into white color jobs. Among *Jaat* sweeper 11 percent and Muslim 22.5 percent are hide their occupational identity to get admitted school, hospital or rent houses in exclusive areas and 28.5 percent *Jaat* sweeper and 35.5 percent Muslim sweeper are hiding their residential address to avoid the embracing situation towards mainstream ethnic groups (Graph 5.13.1).

Other hands, health worker are not interested to visit this sweeper ghetto. Most of the cases they want to avoid to connection or visit this area. Some sweepers claim that even if they locate their ghetto area, most of the time rickshaw puller are avoided to them to go there. A study was conducted by Perveen (2008) about present job vulnerability, she points out that the level of education among the community is still very low. Nowadays with the help of several non-government organisations the younger generation is opting for education. However, doubts remain

what will happen when they finish school. "Whenever the employers come to know that the applicant is from the sweeper community, they simply reject the application. It happened almost every time when anyone tried to get a different job," said Babu Lal Sarder, general secretary, Bangladesh Dalit Human Rights. "Some of us often try to hide the identity to secure a job other than cleaning. But that doesn't work because a *Dalit* speaks a different language. His/her dialect or facial features often become the reason for rejection," he pointed out. "Besides, they do not have a permanent address that the employers want to know," he said. In addition to this, because of their isolated social status and lack of social security sweepers cannot go out of their community and join the mainstream workforce. In another study IIDS (2008) points out that the Hindu untouchables are strongly opposed to go for booking houses/rooms in any hotels/guest houses and hostels if the owners somehow know them or the owner/manager can guess them as untouchables from their names. Sometimes in the big cities/towns, where they are unknown, they can take rooms by identifying them with different names. It is hardly possible to recognize them as *Dalits* /untouchables until and unless their names get disclosed. According to the survey, *Dalit* students are not allowed to stay in the hostels or dormitories. They are not permitted, rather teased by others even though they get any such allotment through fair selection on the basis of merits or other criteria. In terms of taking/listing for relief and rehabilitation at the time of disasters, both Muslim and Hindu *Dalits* are moderately discriminated. They are not given due help or cooperation because of their identity. Though the general understanding is that the Muslim sweeper are not that much discriminated, but the findings of the survey reveals that the Muslim sweeper are severely discriminated than the *Jaat* sweeper.

Dalit community also play an important role in the liberation war in 1971 but they are also excluded from any kind of reorganization. Government takes many initiatives for the freedom fighter but any government have not taken any initiative or recognize them for their noble participation. In a study, the president of Bangladesh *Dalits* Human Rights, B G Murti who narrated the lives of the lowers of the lower caste Hindus. BG Murti said that the sweepers have been engaged in cleaning profession by birth and tradition. "We are the citizens of this country, we fought for the independence of the country, whereas we have been identified as untouched." (Masud, 2006). In another study Islam (2012) identified that in the Pakistan regime there are examples to fight against the tyranny rules of the West Pakistani government. It is unfortunate but true that many *Dalits* participated in the liberation war, most of them did not recognize as freedom

fighters. In *Nazira Bazar* of Dhaka City 11 *Dalits* were killed being they were involved and supported the liberation.

6.4. 2. Economic exclusion, poverty and vulnerability

The practice of caste-based exclusion and discrimination thus, necessarily involves failure of access and entitlements, not only to economic rights, but also to civil, cultural and political rights. It involves what has been described as *living mode exclusion,* exclusion in political participation, and exclusion and disadvantage in social and economic opportunities (Thorat, 2008). Economic exclusion is also determined for poverty and vulnerability among the sweeper. In this society economic empowerment is the key to hold power over decision making process and all sorts of socio-cultural and political control. Sweepers belong to the poor and vulnerable group. Despite high economic growth in recent years, the study notes that sweeper have remained poor at a bare subsistence level without any social security, working in the most miserable, unhygienic and unlivable conditions. The major consequences of economic exclusion and discrimination are making the sweeper powerless, dependent on non for jobs, financial hardship and illness, living a life of slave and rendering service to dominant society when they needed, deprivation of education, health and other social benefits and suppression of voices. In a study Islam and Pervez (2013) say that the majority of *Dalits* live in extreme poverty. Mainstream development paradigms have overlooked their existence as special communities with special needs. Indicators assessing development (e.g. maternal mortality rates are higher among *Dalit* women, levels of education are far lower) have rarely taken them into consideration. Poverty and discrimination have a unique aspect for *Dalits* as these are forced them as exclusively social pariah.

Income is an important variable in studying social structure of any community including social stratification and inequality as well. (Ali, et. al, 2015) and economic exclusion is the major cause for poverty and vulnerability. Different measures (e.g. income, expenditure and calorie intake) provide different figures regarding its incidence. There are three available approaches to measure poverty-(i) a direct method using information on calorie consumption, (ii) an indirect method using data on income/expenditure and (iii) a qualitative method using the perception of the respondents. None of these methods are comparable to each other across time and space (Ravallion and Sen, 1996). The Sweeper have been categorised in this study as 'hardcore' and 'absolute' poor based on their household income. Income has been widely used by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics

for poverty measures along with its traditional Direct Calorie Intake (DCI) method. The survey shows that sweeper households having an income of up to 6000Tk. per month are hardcore poor and sweeper households having an income of 6001Tk. and more per month are absolute poor. Out of the total 400 households 42.25 percent are categorised as hardcore poor and the remaining 57.75 percent are categorised as absolute poor. Different studies show that the level of income has varied from time to time for defining the poverty line. CUS (1990) estimated the 'Poverty Line-I' for the absolute poor where income that is required to meet the basic needs for an average household of six persons was TK. 2600 for Dhaka City. This was the resource considered necessary to meet the requirement of 2122 calories, based on a price index determined by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS, 1988). The hardcore poor (or Poverty Line-II) was considered to be households with a total monthly household income of 1,724Tk. an income sufficient only to produce 1,805 calories (Islam, 1994b). Revised measurements show an increased income requirement to meet basic household needs. Despite the level of income of the sweeper having increased in recent years, the purchasing capacity of them has declined. Due to given declining purchasing capacity the present study has reasonably categorised the sweeper households with a monthly household income of up to 6000Tk. as 'hardcore poor'. The level of expenditure of impoverished urban households is also generally low. The average expenditure of these households is 6527 Tk. (Table 5.4.4). The sweeper household generally spend their earnings on food, housing and some other non-food items. It appears from the survey that the hardcore poor sweeper mostly spend their earning on food. Whereas, the absolute poor sweeper spend a considerable portion of their income on non-food items. The study shows that total incomes of the sweepers 60.46 percent are spend for their food. Others 39.53 percent spent for non-food items. In present study also reveals that 42.6 percent *Jaat* sweeper and 57.4 percent Muslim sweeper are hardcore poor and 55.4 percent *Jaat* sweeper and 44.6 percent Muslim sweeper are belonged to absolute poverty.

The poverty of households in terms of both income and expenditure correlates with religion. The study reveals that the proportion of hardcore poor (57.4 %) is higher than the absolute poor (44.6 %) in Muslim sweeper due to their women are a higher number of unemployed, 'misemployment' and 'underemployment. Though *Jaat* sweeper are more excluded than the Muslim sweeper but women of *Jaat* sweeper are more involved into the urban workforce so their economic conditions are relatively better and they are categorised as absolute poor. A large proportion of Muslim

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women sweeper are housewife. Marital status is another significant determinant of the income and consumption of the urban sweeper. The percentage of hardcore poor is higher than the absolute poor among the unmarried, divorce and widow respondents. The unmarried divorced, widow and separated respondents live in more abject conditions due to their poverty and vulnerability. And they often face discrimination in getting employment due to their marital status. Poverty is also determined by 'household head type' and household structure. The study reveals that female-headed households are found to have lower income and consumption. The study shows that out of total 35 female-headed households, 25 household are categorised as hardcore poor based on their household's monthly income. In the remaining cases, as their children were adults and had already entered into the urban workforce their economic conditions are relatively better and they are categorised as absolute poor. It also reveals that despite having some economic independence women in female-headed households are worse off because of multiple forms of discrimination. The vulnerability of female headed households is also evident in previous studies on Dhaka City (IIDS, 2008). Household structure is another important factor affecting the size of household income. The households consisting of two or more members have a higher level of household income than single member households due to multiple earners in their households. But in terms of per-capita single people in Dhaka sweeper colony are in a better economic position.

Market based discrimination has received considerable attention by scholars of race in the US (Pager 2003) and by scholars of caste in India (Thorat, et al. 2005). This is clearly exhibited in exclusion of sweeper from employment by *higher caste*; exclusion of *low caste* from certain types of jobs or work due to notion of pollution and purity associated with untouchability, selective inclusion in employment but with unequal treatment reflected. So exclusion is practiced for the sweepers through the denial in labour market in hiring for jobs; in capital market through the denial of access to capital; in agriculture land market through the denial in sale and purchase or leasing of land; in input market through the denial in sale and purchase of factor inputs; and in consumer market through the denial in sale and purchase of commodities and consumer goods. In cities the sweeper have a little access to informal sectors of the economy and are always employed in their traditional low paid jobs which make their position low and marginal in the society. Over a long time this professional identity has contributed to their lower and neglected social status and marginal conditions. Caste based market discrimination support by several studies Akerlof 1976, Scaville 1991, Lall 1984, and Ambedkar 1987. In which they reveal that the caste based economic

order entail adverse consequence on economic growth and income distribution. The market failure associated with caste based market discrimination not only adversely affects economic growth, but also generate unequal income distribution and induced poverty particularly among the discriminated social groups. In the opinion of main stream economics an efficient functioning of markets for labour and other factors of production is of central importance in the development process. Fixed and compulsory caste-based division of occupations thus results in immobility of factors of production and imperfections in labour and other markets. Thus, far from promoting competitive market condition, caste based division of labour and occupation creates segmented and monopolistic market situations and produces less than optimum economic outcome. In this present study shows that 84 percent of *Jaat* and 44 percent Muslim sweeper are discriminated in different behavior by employers towards low caste laborer or worker in the work place, and 43.5 percent *Jaat* sweeper and 13.5 percent Muslim sweeper are discriminated in labour market in term of compulsive and forced work governed by traditional caste related obligations respectively (Graph 5.5.3).

Chowdhury (2009) says that bonded labour and child labour represent a significant human rights problem in Bangladesh among Dalit communities. According to his study, 26% of Hindu *Dalits* and 35% of Muslim *Dalits* are, to a larger or smaller degree, bound by loans from employers. The Constitution prohibits forced or compulsory labour; however, the government does not enforce this prohibition effectively. In another study Uddin (2014) also says that none of the laws, policies and programmes on forced, bonded or child labour currently being implemented by the Bangladesh government make any reference to caste vulnerabilities to these forms of prohibited labour. There seems to be a lack of understanding on the close correlation between being poor and being vulnerable to discrimination, and between being subject to multiple and persistent forms of discrimination at work and being vulnerable to forced labour or child labour.

Different documents indicate that after liberation war of Bangladesh in 1971, many sweepers have entered in different Govt. offices as permanent worker. They get money according to national 4th class pay scale and they get comparatively better salary, pension or other facilities than the municipality's job. Many sweepers especially those who work in municipalities or some other organization on the basis of no-work-no-pay system, spend nearly their life in this occupation without any pension or other retirement facilities. Sweepers are employed by different office

authorities on the basis on temporary (no work -no pay) and permanent system. It is a dream of many sweepers to get permanent works and for that many sweeper often request or give bribes to the authority of the office then some cases it brings a fruitful result for a sweeper to make his or her work permanent. In this study also represents that 95 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 92 percent of Muslim sweeper feel discriminate in lower wages (lower than wages given to other laborers) and 37 percent of *Jaat* and 24 percent of Muslim feel discrimination in terms and conditions with respect to hours of work. A recent survey Parvez & Islam (2013) found that only 39% of the *Dalit* respondents were engaged in income generating works. However, most of these 'employments' are temporary in nature and do not provide any sense of security to the person. 'Untouchability' comes to work as a constraining factor in *Dalits'* effort to start a small business or shop: 59% of respondents surveyed were of the view that people from other castes and communities are unwilling to go to a shop that is run by a *Dalit* person. In a previous study Begum (2006) narrates a *Dalit* complain about their job venerability that even after passing school exams they are not considered eligible for any job other than that of sweepers. In most places they are employed as casual labour on daily wages. Thus, sweepers employed by the Municipal Corporations are not entitled to a provident fund or gratuity unlike other staff so they have no savings at the end of their working life. Because of the extreme competitiveness for jobs, they are being deprived of their traditional jobs as well. In some places, sweepers' jobs are given to Muslims, who then get the work done by *Horijons* at a lower wage.

Though the permanent job is related to the question of security, all time they are anxious about their job. Generally a sweeper does not feel secure when he or she is working temporary basis, for he or she is in fear of losing his or her work at any time and he is not getting the facilities, like casual leave, sick leave or the pension after retirement, which a permanent employee can get. Kamal Das had committed suicide on 28 October 2010 to protest the breach of commitment to regularized his job as a cleaner as he worked at district good department in master roll for 26 years15. Roughly 95 per cent of them earn less than the national average and they have to take regular loans because of poverty (FAIR, 2008, Islam & Pervez, 2013). In this study (Graph 5.5.3) also shows that among *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweepers 92 percent and 94.5 percent are feel discrimination on maternity or others leaves. Their traditional jobs usually belong in the informal sector and are badly paid or exploitative. But given the levels of poverty across the whole society,

Dalits are losing their prominence in these occupations due to fierce competition for even these jobs. Non-*Dalits* sometimes pay bribes to employees, for example while City Corporations employ cleaners, *Dalits* cannot afford to avail through the process. Unemployment and underemployment are major issues particularly given the lack of skills, training and education. On the other hand, their jobs are not regularized even though they work in those posts for long time as master-roll in different government and non-government institutions (Islam & Pervez, 2013). In present study (Graph 5.5.1 & 5.5.2) shows that 39.12 percent give bribe to get their jobs and 35.39 percent respondents give bribe to get their pension. With the job market not being a level playing field, it is no wonder that *Jaat* sweeper often find that the only jobs open to them are the most menial cleaning jobs, although even Muslim are beginning to take on these jobs if it is a government post, further reducing the opportunities for *Jaat* sweeper employment. *Jaat* sweeper claim that there is no quota system for them so they face discrimination to get a job. Dhaka City Corporation mentions that among the seven and half thousands of sweeper, *Jaat* sweeper are only around one and half thousand. In the year (2006-2007), City Corporation requited around one thousand sweepers, among them 700 sweepers requited from nonprofessional Muslim society. This picture is not only found in the Dhaka City, this also same picture found the entire district in Bangladesh. In *Jessor powrasoba* it found that out of total 317 sweepers, 195 are Muslim sweeper (Parvez, Islam and Das, 2008). A *Jaat* sweeper narrated that *in past pig raring was the important income sources for the women but now a day's it's not possible for crisis of land. The opportunities to get jobs became decline for the Jaat sweepers and other hand they lost the opportunities alternative income sources which sweepers lead to poverty circle (Case study -2).*

6.4. 3. Correlates and determines of social exclusion and vulnerability

The forms of discrimination and deprivation that *Dalit* communities go through are not fully uniform though the basic forms are similar. People who work as cleaners or sweepers are among the most discriminated and they identify themselves as *Harijons*. They often live in crowded, segregated settlements with little or no basic amenities. Moreover, they face discrimination due to their caste identity and occupation, for which they are poorly remunerated (Uddin, 2014). The sweeper are categorised in this study as 'less exclusion' and 'more exclusion' on the experiences of sweeper which face in their every sphere of life and the exclusion of households is correlates with colonies where they are living. The study (Table 5.9.4) reveals that the proportion of exclusion

is more in *Doyagong and Dhalpur* than the *Ganaktuli* colony. It may be causes in *Doyagong and Dhalpur* colony a great number of *Jaat* sweeper and converted to other religion sweeper live in these sweepers colony. A greater proportion of households in this community live in semi- *pacca or jupri* (the poorest category of habitat) as congested due to their exclusion and their poor socio-economic conditions. The Physical segregation is supported by Parvez, Altaf and Biswas (2008) and they point out, in most cases, *Dalits* live in 'ghettos' separated from main settlements in the cities and villages. This structural separate in reinforces their stigmatized identity. They are routinely ostracized for their presence in public places and denied to have houses rented in outside their particular settlement. Another study Uddin (2014) quotes that at Bangladesh's largest *Dalit* colony, in the capital's old Dhaka section, families are crowded into one-room shacks made of straw and tin. Naked children squat in the open to defecate, and the area is ringed with fly-infested open sewers. *Dalit* children cannot attend schools outside their colony and they can only mingle with others in the society by keeping their identity hidden.

Gender is also determinants of the level of more social exclusion. The percentage of more exclusion (57.1 %) is higher than the less exclusion (36.7%) among the female respondents. The gender dimension of exclusion has also been addressed by Uddin (2014) and he also indicates that within this wider context, the situation of *Dalit* women is even graver. Practices of 'untouchability', caste discrimination and violence, and structurally caused extreme poverty create a heightened level of vulnerability in their everyday lives. Since Hindu *Dalits* are evidently most vulnerable among the Hindu minorities living in the country, they become easy prey of communal atrocities. At the tie of such violence, *Dalit* women are taken as easy target for torture, assaults and rape. The situation becomes further exacerbated by the violence and suffering afflicted upon them by *Dalit* men. Social exclusion is positively correlated with the demographic characteristics of the respondents, especially age and religion. The study (Table-5.9.4.) also shows that the level of social exclusion is significantly higher among the younger than the aged. Out of total 261 more exclusion respondents, 147 young respondents are categorised as more exclusion. Other hand *Jaat* sweeper face more exclusion (60.9 %) than the Muslim sweeper (39.1%) due to the inborn caste status and stratification. This stratification is supported by Uddin (2014) and point out that these occupations that basically involve menial work are usually considered to be descent based and members of these communities are looked down upon by the elites, dominant classes and mainstream society. In the system of social stratification these people are ranked low and

persistently subjected to prejudices and practices emanating from the caste system and its offshoots. The primarily caste-based system of exclusion, however, takes a complex shape in practice, where class, citizenship and religion become intertwined with caste. According to IDSN (2008) point out, many Hindu *Dalits'* and, to a lesser degree, Muslim *Dalits* are denied access to a vast number of public and private facilities, including water sources. This pattern is repeated when it comes to religious facilities and practices and other social functions such as community feasts, weddings and funerals. Things touched by *Dalits* are often sprinkled with water to make them pure again.

Marital status is correlates closely with the level of exclusion of the sweeper community. The divorced and separated respondents live in more abject conditions due to their social attitude, poverty and vulnerability. They often face discrimination in getting employment due to their marital status. In this study (Table 5.9.4) shows that the percentage of more exclusion is significantly higher among the unmarried, widow, divorced and separated than the married. The study reveals that female-headed households are found to have some exclusion than male headed households. Out of total 35 female-headed households, 30 are categorised as more exclusion and discrimination face in their social life. Other hand in this study the level of exclusion is significantly higher among the literate than the illiterate. Out of total 85 households, 69 are categorised as more exclusion based on their education. It may causes that literate person fell more exclusion in cases of getting job, social interaction, participation in politics and so on.

6.4.4. Household vulnerability

Households are vulnerable when they are unable to cope with and respond to risks and shocks (Islam, 2002). To cope with vulnerability poor people have to rely largely on 'self-insurance' (Pryer, 2003). The survey data shows that out of 400 households only 87 households have some savings. In most cases, savings are too small to invest for the future. Moreover, the sweeper have very limited access to formal financial institutions. Chowdhury (2011) also shows similar kinds of vulnerability in sweeper colony in Chittagong City, Bangladesh. Sweeper households usually have a limited amount of capital provided by networks. The sweeper households are very much dependent on loans to meet their immediate crisis. The survey shows that more than half of the sweeper households are found to have a deficit need to depend on loans for their survival and the average loan is 15,500.00 Tk. The percentage of sweeper households with a loan is much higher

in the present study than the previous study conducted by Saha & Nath (2003) on cobbler community and the study shows that petty trade (16.67 %), food (15.08 %), bribe for job (25.40 %), medical (28.73 %), marital purpose (24.60 %) are the most common reasons for household loans in sweeper community. This is also supported by Saha & Nath (2003) who show that household expenditure, business and medical treatment as the most common reasons for undertaking loans among the cobbler (untouchable community) nationwide. Present study survey data reveals that only 5.95 percent respondents in the present study took a loan from banks. The majority of them took loans form informal sources like money lenders, credit associations, relatives and friends. This finding corresponds with a number of previous studies which also highlighted the informal sources of credit among the untouchable communities (Saha & Nath 2003, IIDS 2008, Chowdhury, 2011). In the absence of credit markets, moneylenders, pawn brokers, 'traders-cum-lenders' become the most important informal credit sources for the sweeper.

In another study IIDS (2008) notes that since the *Dalits* are poor and they need money for their livelihood, they are always on loan mostly from money lenders of their own community or other sources. On major occasions particularly for marriage of self or daughters/sons, celebration of religious festivals, renovation of house etc. They take loan on urgent basis with high interest, which they fail to pay ultimately in time. As a result, their loan amount gets higher and higher with increased interest for which they suffer pauperization throughout the year to pay some of amount of loan even with hardship. In a study Das (2011) narrated about her financial crisis in such way that my sister's wedding was a great event. In our caste system, the family of the bride has to pay for all the arrangements of the party (e.g. dresses, jewelry, etc.). The wedding was very nice but my parents spent lots of money with it. They had to take a loan because they did not have enough money. Today my sister is happy in her marriage. However, we are facing lots of problems since her wedding. Half of my father's salary has to repay the loan he made for the wedding which has put us in a very bad financial situation.

The sweeper, though still largely depend on the informal sector for loans, are increasingly taking advantage of innovative credit schemes by N.G.Os. But data shows that only about 24.21 percent of sweeper households are found to take loans from different N.G.Os in the study locations in Dhaka City. The amount of credit made available through N.G.Os is still insufficient compared to the demand. This study shows poverty in urban areas is in need of special attention as it is

becoming more acute and because a growing number of poor live in unbearable environments in slums and squatter settlements. It is only in recent years that international donor agencies, N.G.Os and the government have emphasised the necessity of supplying credit to the urban poor (Khundker et al., 1994). But as yet necessary steps have not been taken to deliver credit to the sweeper widely and leaving them very vulnerable during crisis.

In her study Begum, (2006) claims that the Municipalities in many cases have allotted land to sweepers, but the physical conditions are extremely unhygienic. Even if some families can afford to buy land they are not able to move outside their own community environs. They usually do not possess any valuable asset that can be used to see them through shocks and stresses. Most of them have lower cost assets due to their poverty and vulnerability position. In case of other visible assets, 78 percent household have cot, 91 percent have furniture, 71.75 percent have television, 28 percent have refrigerator and 66 and 30.5 percent household have mobile and by-cycle. In this study shows that the assets minimum value is 8000 Tk. whereas the maximum value is 180000 Tk. Thus, the high value of deviation (std.dev15389.988) also expresses a wide difference among the sweeper household in terms of their assets. In this study it shows that most of the respondents (89%) does not fell that they live in a hygienic environment, and 93% fell that the ghetto has led to disease or ill health in their families and 86% fell that government should increase their colony number and urban facilities for this excluded group.

This tale of 'professional inertia' of *Dalits* has got new twist in recent tie. While the society discourages *Dalits* to seek mainstream jobs, they are no longer secured in terms of employment in their very 'own' caste-ascribed jobs. A *Dalit* sweeper is no longer entitled to have a sweeping job; a fisherman or cleaner neither has any guarantee to subsist on their traditional occupation. Most of the jobs that were traditionally ascribed to *Dalits* are now being taken up by non-*Dalits,* destroying what little job security they previously enjoyed. This new development is causing a deep sense of insecurity especially among the members of *Dalit* sweeper communities. It is of grave concern for the urban sweepers as this brings in greater threat for them: if one member of a sweeper family is not employed in a city corporation job, the family will no more be entitled to live in the tiny colony room that they have been living in for generations. It is in this context this particular guideline has to be implemented in Bangladesh with great caution and proper appreciation of the reality on ground (Uddin, 2014). In a different situation, when *Jaat* sweeper stigmatized *Mather* identity is

concerned. (i.e. when the mainstream society discriminate or look down upon them because of their low status). *Jaat* sweeper often uses the reference of Muslim sweepers to solve the problem or to do this work. It may be mentioned here that Gandhi, who worked a lot against *untouchability,* expressed his view by saying that each people should earn his livelihood from a certain type of work, on the basis of their inborn status, as their forefathers did it. According to his philosophy, only the *Jaat* sweepers, whose forefathers earned their livelihood from this type occupation, should continue this occupation for their livelihood. So it can say that *Jaat* sweeper were born to do this work. The authorities of municipalities allocate house only for the sweepers who engage with permanent job as sweeper or cleaner in the office. Most of the permanent sweeper have severe tension and uncertainty, if they lost their job they will be lost their house. When any threat arises about job and residence. *Jaat* sweeper always focus their *Jaat* identity like *we[2] are Jaat sweeper or it is our inborn status as our forefather did it and this profession or colony is our right. Where will we go if we lose this profession and quarters (Case study-5)?* Muslim sweepers are not well organized like the *Jaat* sweeper. In the quarter concern Muslim sweeper are feel more anxiety than the *Jaat* sweeper. The authorities of municipalities always threat the Muslim sweeper that if they not work properly or show any negligence in their work or they disobey any types of municipality authority decision, they will suspend from their job and they will offer a new recruitment.

6.5. Access' to basic services and vulnerability

The Article 15 of the Bangladesh Constitution of 1972 refers about the fundamental responsibility of the state to provide basic necessities which include the provision of food, clothing, shelter, education, and medical care. The Articles 18–25 speak of the responsibility of the state to ensure nutrition and improve public health as its primary duties, along with ensuring equality of opportunity to all citizens and work as a right and a duty for every citizen. However, forefather of these sweepers community were migrated from India for better facilities and a better life but it became day dream for them. They are face different types of exclusion and discrimination in every steps in their life and still now they are struggling to access what are their fundamental constitutionally-guaranteed rights. In a study Kallol (2014) who noted that about 300 years ago, during the British rule, the forefathers of these sweepers were brought from Indian states such as

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[2] By using the word we he is considering the members of the *Jaat* sweepers communities as they achieve it by birth.

Madras, Kanpur, Hyderabad and other states in the south. They were mainly ultra-poor people who came here looking for a better life. Because the cast they belong to is considered the lowest among the Hindus, they have always found it hard to find accommodation because of the social taboo against them.

In this study access to basic services and well-being issues are addressed in analyzing sweeper exclusion and vulnerability. In a study McCutcheon (1983) argues that housing is an important aspect of the quality of life and an important expression of material well-being. Migrants come to the city to improve their opportunities and circumstances. Housing is one measure of the extent to which these aspirations are achieved. In a study Hossain (2013) mentioned that they were deprived of healthy housing facilities. Their housing sites were intolerably filthy. There was no gas and electricity connection, and they suffered because of water and sanitation problems. Unavailability of potable water was another severe problem that often created unrest in the community. As a result, the community had to pass miserable times in their day-to-day life. Their rights to civic amenities were always neglected. Thus they always remained socially excluded because of their profession. The study shows that sweeper households are very vulnerable in the city because of their restricted access to land and housing. Access to land, housing, environmental and social services in the city are explored here. The sweepers have limited access to land and they have mostly settle down municipality colony or government land. Due to an increasing demand for urban land they are often forced to move to low-lying peripheries of the city. The quality of their shelter is generally very poor, although there are some variations within the housing of the sweeper and they are broadly categorized as building and semi- *pucca* and ten-shed or *jupri.* This present survey reveals that 42.8 percent and 25 percent of the sweeper are living semi *pucca* and tin-shed or *jupri* respectively. Housing whereas only 32.2 percent are living in pucca house (building). They are compelled to live in a limited space which is used for multiple purposes such as living, sleeping, cooking, home-based activities and so on.

The poor quality of housing of the sweeper in urban area is a result of low levels of environmental and utility services such as water supply, sanitation, street lighting and fuel, garbage disposal, drainage services. Limited access to such services is not merely the result of measly household incomes, but also the general lack of urban infrastructure. In a study Hossain (2013) indicates that scarcity of safe drinking water in sweeper colonies all over the country is common. Along with

this, inaccessibility to improved latrines has increased their daily sufferings to the utmost. There are no separate facilities for women in their bathing places, while open defecation and other unhygienic practices go on. The authorities have always turned a blind eye to their problems, as a result, the community members suffer from water, sanitation and hygiene related diseases. The study reveals that the urban sweeper have little access to these services. For example, about 62.5 percent of the urban sweeper have no access to a communal water supply despite having lived in these colonies for a long period of time. Moreover, 32 percent and 62 percent sweeper households have access to gas and electricity supply. Only 75.25 and 22.75 percent of sweeper households have access to sanitation and waste disposal facilities in the city (Table 5.7.3). In previous studies their access to such services is also found to be limited and, where it exists, supply remains highly irregular and inadequate (IIDS, 2008; Kallol, 2014; Islam, 2011). These findings are supported by Kabir A et.al (2015) who have conducted a study on Telegu sweeper in Dhaka City and he mentioned in his study that colonies are settlements where street sweepers live together, either informally set up by private companies or through formal arrangements with the municipal government, and whether street sweepers live in the colonies dependents on whether they are formally or informally employed. The Telegu are a marginalized group of people from one of the lowest caste, which originally migrated from India several hundred years ago. While official statistics are not available about the exact number of sweepers in these colonies, secondary sources estimate that approximately 1000 families live in each colony. These families live in homes made of mostly bamboo, wood and *choter bosta* (sacks) in an unhygienic environment that faces frequent shortage of basic services and irregular supply of water, electricity and gas. There is pervasive insecurity due to the presence of crime and threats of eviction. The local *Mastan* (thug/local muscleman), violence, crime, and illegal drug dealing are part of the everyday life in colonies. A joint NGO submission (2012) noted that they had no access to water or safe sanitation. They used a hanging latrine, which emptied out directly into a passing stream. In another *Dalit* slum, two water points reportedly served 12,000 people. The women and girls have to carry the water up several flights of stairs, which poses a serious threat to their physical well-being. In addition, the women's toilets has a hole in the ceiling where boys watched the girls, depriving them of all privacy. The toilets were in a deplorable state, with faces covering the entire area. But it is true that there had no separate toilets for the male or female and the number is not adequate. The present findings of the survey reveals that, on an average, there are only one latrine for 91 numbers of

sweepers. But the sweeper who live in building some of them have attach latrines. They give 1050 to 1500 taka per month as a building house rent. The inadequate numbers of latrines are found to affect the sweeper's health in many ways. Due to the inadequate number of latrines, the sweepers have to wait for a long time to get serial to go to the toilet. This waiting is very bad for the female or children sweeper's health. During the present survey, some female sweeper's report that they drink less water so that they would feel less toilet pressure. Drinking of less water is also bad health, since drinking of adequate water is necessary for flushing of all wastes from the body.

Their access to social services like health, education and socializing is also addressed in this study. In Bangladesh, the situation of work-related safety and health hazards is problematic and the risk of health hazards varies among different working groups (Akram, 2015). It points out in IDSN (2015) that the work of the sweeper is to clean out sewers and septic tanks. They are employed by the municipality and private employers. In rural areas, the job of sweepers is akin to manual scavenging, which is the process of cleaning out dry toilets manually. In Dhaka and other areas, where sewerage and septic tanks are used, the job is to clear blocked pipes and empty septic tanks. In both cases, the workers have no protective gear and are subjected to considerable health risks. They reportedly suffer from diarrheal diseases and dysentery. So it indicates that the incidence of illness is higher among the sweepers for almost all types of diseases. In another study of Dhaka City, Kabir. A, et.al. (2015) indicate that street sweepers of Dhaka City are a working group who play an integral role in solid waste management and are exposed to a high number of risk factors during their works. Moreover, their occupational safety and health hazard has been crucial since they play important role for maintaining the hygiene and health of the city through their routine physical appearance at workplaces. The daily activities of street sweepers in Dhaka include removal of debris from streets, solid waste collection, disposal and recycling waste materials. Although the exact occupational risk factors are not known among Bangladeshi street sweepers, existing literature show that sweeping activities in other countries are often require exposure to large amount of dust, bio-aerosol, volatile organic matter, airborne particulates, bacteria, noise, and ergonomic stress while working 8-12. The susceptibility to develop many occupational health problems increases throughout their lives. Present study (Table 5.8.1) shows that majority of the sweepers are suffer from gastric or ulcer 51 percent, 7 percent suffering diarrhea , 38.5 percent suffering skin diseases, 15 percent suffering jaundice, and 12 percent suffering trachoma, leading to blindness.

Sweeper are often refused admission to hospitals, or access to health care and treatment in violation of their rights to the highest attainable standard of health and social services. Sweepers are discriminated in different medical facilities of government, private and N.G.Os. In a study Chowdhury (2009) mentions that 37% for the Muslim *Dalits* feel discriminated in government hospitals. About 31% of Hindu *Dalits* and 28% of Muslim *Dalits* face discrimination at the hospitals run by N.G.Os and 38 % of Hindu *Dalits* and Muslim *Dalits* respectively feel discriminated in the private hospitals. About 63% of Hindu *Dalits* and 48% of Muslim *Dalits* feel discriminated by the doctors and nurses in different health facilities due to their belonging to 'lower' castes and are not able to provide fees for the services. In case of services of hospital IIDS (2008) also found discrimination and reports that though most of the Hindu and the Muslim *Dalits* do not feel any discrimination in the government hospitals/health centers, they are discriminated in the private clinics. Sometimes in many N.G.O clinics, they are not properly treated as they are *Dalits* and the feeling is like that if they come and enter the clinics, other non-Dalits would stop coming to the clinics; the clinic owners rather feel insecure of losing their potential customers. During present survey the sweepers often complain that they are weak and suffer from malnutrition because their low salary and they take low quality of food. Discrimination is likely to be present in the health care access in the forms of refusal to observe certain norms which are mandatory in care giving, but are often violated while rendering care to the sweeper care seekers. In this present study it also indicates that 72% of Hindu sweeper and 64% of Muslim sweeper have experiences of discrimination by the time they have admitted or visit doctors and much experience discrimination in health care center. These may be manifested in the form of refusal to touch, enter into the house, and share the seating place, sharing the food and water, and transportation. The spheres in which discrimination is likely to be visible are care delivery *spaces* which could be the care center or the users house. As the sweeper suffers from poor health, they have to spend on an average 65 taka per-head & per-month for medical expense, such as doctors, medicine and pathology. In a study Kabir A et.al (2015) pointed out that lack of education and available information on public services combined with belief in traditional rituals and religious practice contribute to poor access and usage of health services. For example, when a household member falls ill, Telegu are more likely to manage the illness within the community and rely on traditional healers. The present study (Graph-5.9.1) also shows that most of the sweeper, 37 percent take medical advice from a *quack*, 11 percent of the sweeper receive services from government

hospitals and 32 percent receive medical advice from non-government health centers. Only 2 percent of the sweeper respondents are (whose economic condition was relatively better) paid higher fees to receive medical advice from private clinics. One survey (Parittan, 2009) showed that about 56% of the *Dalit* respondents faced abuse from the hospital staff while seeking treatment there. They are prey of discriminatory attitude in getting beds in hospitals. More than half (51%) of the respondents stated that they have not got permission to have hospital bed when the needed it badly. About 14% stated that doctors/ nurses were not willing to communicate with them and 21.7% stated that also behaved roughly to them. In present study 78 percent and 28 percent respondents say that low income to be able to afford healthcare and discrimination attitudes and treatment in health care center are the major barriers to accessing healthcare for the sweeper.

Illiteracy is widespread among *Dalit* people. Again it is difficult to provide corroborating evidence as the census so far has not addressed the issue of caste. Exact numbers of *Dalits* who are illiterate remain unclear but sample studies indicate, this is around 96% (Islam, 2011). In a study carried out by a *Dalit* organization Parittran, (2009) only 5 per sent *Dalit* are literate, the rate of school enrollment is 10 percent but the dropout rate is 95 percent. On the other hand the general enrollment rate in the schools is 85 percent. In a study Uddin (2014) presents that in terms of the status of education, most *Dalits* have no formal education. According to one study, 64% of Hindu *Dalits* and 61% of Muslim *Dalits* have no education at all. Most *Dalit* children do not complete formal education, with the majority attending for only one or two years. School enrolment rates are as low as 10%, with dropout rates of those that did attend school at around 95% (compared to national enrolment rates of 85%). Poverty and caste discrimination within schools from both teachers and students for their children to work rather than attend school. Over 80% of *Dalits* surveyed experienced discrimination in admission to schools, with some *Dalit* parents being actively discouraged by teachers from enrolling their children. Further, 82% of Hindu *Dalit*s and 84% of Muslim *Dalits* had experienced discrimination by the time they had started school and many experience discrimination in schools, for example being forced to sit on the floor or to clean toilets. Despite the Government's recent education policy which committed them to educate children in their mother tongue, this is still not being implemented. In a recent study Pervez & Islam (2013) described that 63% of the respondents said that their children started to go to school but did not continue. School dropout occurs on account of two grounds. One group of students

stops to go to school because of family's financial hardship. On the other hand, some parents force their children to engage in income generating works. In this study shows that large amount of children are not attending school due to poverty that percent is 30.16 and 12.98 percent are not attend school for their parents are not showing any interest for their children education. Another 37.29 percent are not attending school due to social attitudes and 17.18 percent are not attend school for participation in household or economic activities. In the remaining 2.98 percent are not attend school for others reason (Table 5.9.1).

Several studies have noted that the harassment and maltreatment meted by teachers are among the reasons for which *Dalit* parents become discouraged to send their children to school. (Chowdhury, 2009, Islam & Pervez, 2013). Das (2010), a *Dalit* girl describes about the education condition in their community, illiteracy is one of the problems and another problem is discrimination. Some people understand that there are good and bad living conditions but they can't escape their bad living conditions because they face too much discrimination. For example, if *Dalit* children go to school the teachers do not teach them properly and the classmates' behavior towards them is horrible. My community children are very intelligent but sometimes they don't get the opportunity to go to school. In the past, when they tried to go to school the school doors were closed to them. This is now better in urban areas but sometimes still the case in rural areas. Now some of them go to school, college, even university, but they don't honestly say: "I am Dalit". They say: "We are Hindu". In this context, it can say that sweeper school children also face discrimination and discouragement from mainstream ethnic group members who perceive education for sweepers as both a waste and a threat. Their hostility toward sweepers' education which includes discrimination against sweeper teachers is linked to the perception that sweeper are not meant to be educated, are incapable of being educated, or if educated, would pose a threat to village hierarchies and power relations. As a result of their discriminatory treatment, large numbers of sweeper children drop out of school, especially in the early elementary stages. In another study Islam (2012), reports that they are least interested in general or higher education as they find difficulty to look for even lowest grade of official job in the public and private offices after graduating from high schools or colleges. This very low literacy has been big hindrance for the *Dalits* to develop their communities and become rigid to look for alternatives or change in the profession. This present study reveals that sweeper are severely discriminated in the sphere of education and they are least interested for

further education as they find it is difficult to look for job in the government or private offices even for peon. This education scenario reflects that the negative attitude of the sweeper towards education on one hand and on the other, it indicates that no effective initiatives are taken by the government, private sector or N.G.Os to educate this huge number of degraded sweeper in a hasty manner.

It is a distressing reality that most sweeper women under conditions of poverty and social vulnerability. Many children, absence of support from spouse, poverty, landlessness and illiteracy combine to make life most difficult for them. In a study carried out by a *Dalit* organization Parittran (2009) and points out that *Dalit* women partake of the fate of their male counterparts. On top of that, their situation is more tragic for the fact of being women. They are indeed outcaste among outcaste. Hierarchically they come last in the *Dalit* household. And their situation is well expressed in a nutshell in the following way: a *Dalit* woman is poor, pregnant and powerless. These three adjectives express well the deep inequality *Dalit* women are subjected to. This inequality is threefold: it is class based (disempowerment); it is gender based (the fact of being female); it is caste based (*Dalit)*. This triple sort of discrimination identifies *Dalit* women as the most vulnerable section of Bangladeshi population. They are simply deprived of everything: from proper nutrition to schooling, from decision making on their own fertility to decision making on their household etc. Unemployment, wage discrimination, molestation, rape, deprivation of property, exploitation, harassments in hostels, incessant dowry demands, these are some of the problems women suffers from. In this study shows that 93 percent *Jaat* sweeper and 75 percent of Muslim women sweeper keep economic participation in their and 87 percent of *Jaat* sweeper women and 78 percent of Muslim sweeper women face domestic violence in their everyday life. Political participation of *Jaa*t sweeper women is higher than the Muslim sweeper woman. Political participation is 17 and 12 for *Jaat* and Muslim sweeper women respectively. In a study Islam & Pervez (2013) points out that *Dalit* women who are allowed to work are mainly sweepers or cleaners and face regular physical, verbal and sexual abuse from both employers and the public. The standard government maternity leave is 6 months but *Dalit* women only receive 2 months for Dhaka City Corporation but in most of the municipalities they have to join just few days after the child birth. So it can say that women of the sweeper community contribute a large proportion of the total income of this community but they face various discrimination and violence in everyday life. Male person of the

community think that to earn money and maintain their family and children's are their duty. Women of this community are earned money but they have no right to spend this money by their own choose.

Sweeper's right to equal treatment before the courts is further imperiled on account of the fact that sweepers themselves are poorly represented in the judiciary. Sweepers are frequently the victims of discriminatory treatment in the administration of justice. In a previous study Islam and Uddin (2008) found that almost all the respondents alleged that they did not receive fair judgment in any session of *bichar* and *salish* (sessions of arbitration or trial). *Bicharoks* (the person who presides over the arbitration session) are generally from the dominant middle class Bengali community who, they alleged, never play an objective or neutral role. Particularly when the allegation is against a Bengali person, *Dalits* do not see any possibility of getting a fair judgment. This is why many *Dalit* victims do not complain against the wrongs done to them by dominant Bengali people. The arbitrators are non-*Dalits* and they often take bribe from the offenders to carry out the judgment in unfair way. A Joint N.G.O submit paper on *the human rights situation of Dalits in Bangladesh* and here points out that they *(Dalits)* generally do not get equal treatment and legal protection when a crime is committed against them, as most cases are settled or negotiated through informal authorities often arbitrarily or on a discriminatory basis (UPR, 2013). Sweeper women suffer particularly as a result of the deficient administration of justice, women related cases are not prosecuted in good faith and sweeper women suffer both caste and gender discrimination in the courtrooms. In a study, it describes that they generally do not get equal treatment under or protection from the law if they suffer any wrong, as most cases are settled or negotiated through informal authorities often arbitrarily or on a discriminatory basis ((UPR, 2009). In the context of present study it can say that sweeper women, occupying the bottom of both the caste and gender hierarchies, are both uniquely susceptible to violence and particularly vulnerable to the infringements of their right to equal treatment before organs administering justice. For sweeper, the right to personal security has been seriously undermined because of rampant attacks and violence committed against them.

Access of the urban sweeper to modern entertainment is another very important aspect of their socializing and well-being. However, the present study reveals that these sweeper people have very limited access to such amenities. In fact, more than half have no access to any modern means

of entertainment at all. Instead they usually spend their leisure time chatting with family and community members and visiting relatives and friends. Survey data of present study shows that 29.75 percent sweepers spend of their spare time with family and community members. Around 41 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 14 of Muslim sweeper passed their leisure time by following T.V programmer respectively. The IIDS study (2008) reveals that only a minority enjoys even the simplest conveniences such as telephones (8,6% and 9,3% among Hindu and Muslim *Dalits* respectively), radios (10,3% and 8,0%) and bicycles (16,6% and 12,0%). The present study finds that there is no significant relationship between access to modern means of entertainment and religion. So it can say that they have limited access to urban infrastructure facilities and the quality of their material environment is very poor. They have very limited access to services for health, education and recreation which are essential for their social well-beings.

6.6. The nature and relationship of the family

The fact is that traditionally the descent and work-based discriminated, broken and poverty driven population (*Dalit*) are the members of a single endogamous group of Hindu or Muslim castes and sub-castes with strong kindred of recognition of kinship and affinity who have been engaged in the respective professions from ancient times. As a result 90.3% of Hindu *Dalits* who have experienced resistance to marriage with other religions. The corresponding figure for Muslim *Dalits* are 85.3 percent (IIDS, 2008). Endogamy is the backbone of the caste system though the marriage acts of 1872 and 1923 legalized inter-caste, disregarding the rule of endogamy prescribed under the caste system (Bandyopadhyay, 1985) but unfortunately these legal measures have very little impact of the lives of *Dalits* in regard to inter- caste marriage. Other hand in the draft UN Principles and Guidelines for the Effective Elimination of Discrimination based on Work and Descent (Para 22), it is recommended that "National and local governments should introduce and apply special measures to eradicate the persistence of social and cultural stigma of impurity and pollution that de facto precludes marriages between members of affected and non-affected communities and, in some societies, gives rise to violence, collective punishment and social exclusion against couples from different communities" (Islam & Pervez, 2013). Although the existing legal regime in the country allows for freedom of marriage without any boundary of religion or caste; however, the social norm of endogamy is quite strictly adhered to. Asaduzzaman (2001) observes, "According to community consensus, no marriage should take place between the

members of two different *Jaat* units. Every adult member of the encompassed community is fully aware of this fact… Marriages between members of two *Jaat* groups occur by private arrangements where the couples usually have to suffer negative sanctions from their respective communities." The present study shows that this is often the case among sweepers often, rigid social norms of purity and pollution are socially enforced through strict prohibitions on marriage or other social interaction between castes.

Marriage between members of different caste or *Jaat* is highly affected by stigmatized mindset and involves different social, economic, cultural sanctions. Social boycott, social ostracism and reservation from the property rights are major forms of consequences forced to *Dalits* who foster, promote or adapt inter-caste marriages (Uddin, 2014)). In a study Human right watch, (2001) points out that while economic and social indicators other than caste have gained in significance, allowing intermarriage among upper castes, in many countries strong social barriers remain in place against marriage between lower and higher castes. According to community consensus, no marriage should take place between the members of two different *Jaat* units. Chief leader among the sweeper community overly considers the other *Jaats* as impure and use this essential principle against any marriage between members of his *Jaat* and those of the others. One *Jaat* sweeper said, *this rules is our religion, it has been practiced and maintained from our home land but here our people have started to break it. Who violate this rules, they should be punished* (Case study-5). The study shows that every adult member of the community is fully aware of this fact. This does not mean however those marriages between members of two *Jaat* group are not taken place. Many parents are very worried for their teenage children, if they involve themselves in courtship with someone or choose a spouse from a different *Jaat*. So sometimes they are not allowed their teenage children to go school, temple or church. In comparison with the past practice there has been the change in the attitude to the issue of taking consent of son and daughter in selecting spouse among the *Jaat* boundaries. Normally the older generation is not preferred the love marriage but the younger generation prefer it. In this case, the bride and groom select each other. In this issue Asaduzzaman (2001) observations are more or less similar. In his study, he points out that they impose communal sanction in order to control their unmarried youngsters; to prevent them from involving in courtship, elopement or any other form of sexual relationship prior to marriage which is usually arranged by families in cooperation with their respective community, no sweepers want to see their daughters elope with someone. Perhaps these are some of the reasons why many elderly

sweepers wanted to prevent their children from getting involve in illicit affairs and they thought that their children's marriage should be arranged. This preference for arrange marriage and early age marriage are also common among all the other Hindu sweepers. The present study reveals that 99.39 percent marriage of *Jaat* sweeper take place within *Jaat* boundary and the corresponding figure for Muslim sweeper[3] is 86.44 percent. Other hand there are 12.88 percent marriage occurred by love marriage within *Jaat* sweeper and this corresponding figure for Muslim sweeper is 11.30 percent.

According to Hindu marriage rules, exogamy, polygamy, parallel and cross marriage is not allowed. More or less, the same rules are applicable to the *Jaat* sweeper community, with an exception that polygamy is permitted occasionally. However, the rules of the *Madraji* or Telugu sweepers are considerable different from Hindu rules or rituals. For example, to marry sister's daughter is a common practice among them but is taboo for the *Kanpuri* sweeper or Hindu religious rules. Cross cousin marriage is also a common practice among the Telugu sweepers. Among the *Kanpuri* norms polygamy is in decent but deviation from these norms can be negotiated with the *panchayat* leader. If a married man falls in love with a woman and both groups agree to marry each other, they can appeal to the *panchayat* for acceptance. The present study also reveals that among the *Jaat* sweeper polygamy is rare but it's not means that it is totally absence. Widow[4] marriage is not applicable for female but male can marry easily. But in the matter of families and marital relationships are found to be relatively unstable among Muslim sweeper communities. The present study reveals that 6.77 percent Muslim sweeper, it means 12 households have more than one partner and that the corresponding figure for *Jaat* sweeper is 1.22 percent. The present study shows that 3.8 percent of total families among sweeper are single parent. The number of mother-centred single parent families has significantly increased mainly due to an increase in marital

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[3] *Jaat* boundary for the Muslim sweeper means their marriage take place within sweeper's family.

[44] As we know, once among the Hindus widow remarriage was prohibited strongly and the social values was so deep rooted that wives used to die live with their dead husband known as *Sati Daho (abolished by Lord William bentinck 1829-1835);* the social reform movements led by *BrahmoSamaj* and due to incorporating fundamental human rights and laws in the constitution there has been a positive change in the marriage system where the widows are getting married but these are not still accepted by the society in general. Till today, strong values are working among the Hindu widows, particularly among the elders, to sacrifice their life in *Chitta* (cremation ground where the dead bodies are cremated) with their dead husbands. (Imam Ali, et.al 2015).

instability. Marriage breakdown can result from the non-payment of a dowry and result in mother-centred single parent families. Mother-centred single parent families often suffer economic hardship. This finding supports Blanchet's (1996) argument that poverty most affected divorced and separated women all over Bangladesh. Moreover, children of divorced women are likely to face greater poverty since such women generally do not own land, are highly discriminated against in the labour market and therefore have less work opportunity than men, and systematically receive lower salaries. The poverty of single mothers puts pressure on their children to enter the labour market. The present study shows that household head type is correlated with income and have a significant difference between male-headed and female-headed households in terms of income level at (chi-square=13.384; d.f=1; p=.00). Male-headed households have a higher level of income than female-headed households. According to Pryer (2003), 20% of income is earned by children in male-headed households, and 35% of income is earned by children in female-headed households. Her study also reveals that 47% of boys aged 10- 14 years and 44% of girls of the same age are engaged in the labour force. The study further reveals that the children of mother-centred families are more mistreated by their relatives or community members, which encourage those children to enter into their traditional occupation to survive.

In the context of rural Bangladesh Schendel (1981) argues that a household with many daughters was sure to experience economic hardship as a result of their marriages. As it is out of the question to leave a girl unmarried, a girl is viewed as an economic liability, while boys were viewed as assets to the parental household. Dowry, the payment made by the bride's family to the bridegroom's family, is now-a-days common among virtually all groups in Bangladesh. In this study sweeper claims that their origin come from Hindu religion and follow rituals and laws of the Hindu religion. Their daughter does not get any property from their father. So it is the duty of a father to give a part of property as dowry to their daughters during marriage. A study is conduct on Chittagong sweeper by Chowdhury (2011) and in his study he presents that 65 percent household has the record to pay dowry in the marriage of their member. To give dowry, they are undyingly engaging with loan and repayment with high rate of interest (300%). Consequently their expenditure always remaining over the income. The amount of dowry, however, varies with variation in the socio-economic status of the households entering into such contact. In the event of failure to fulfill the commitment of offering dowry, marriages sometimes break down and in some

cases this results in physical and moral torture and insult. In selected cases this results in suicide and murder. In this survey are, however, the cases of suicide or murder on account of failure of fulfilling the commitments to dowry were not found. Now this custom of giving dowry is entering into Muslim society. In present study reveals that 87 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 62.5 percent of Muslim sweeper households have experience to give dowry.

Present study shows that total 51 percent of the families are nuclear, 44.75 percent are extended and 3.25 percent are single parents. This type of extended family is different from the traditional form of 'joint family[5] existing in rural areas where members from different generations are living together. The correlation between women's work and changes in household structure is also analysed by Chant (1991; 1993) in the Mexican context. Following her, it can be argued that a nuclear unit was transformed into an extended structure through women's labour force participation and thus the working woman's reproductive responsibilities, like child rearing, were passed onto another female family member or on to outside help. In the study shows that most of the married couple had experience of living in an extended family, even for short period. After that the sons of the sweeper of the extended family usually from their own separate establishments, mainly for the scarcity of money, wealth and other reasons. The present study shows that the major factors are responsible of to break the extended family in sweeper community is poverty and vulnerability which 51.96 percent and 25.70 percent responsible for inadequate spaces. Another 15.08 percent responsible for personal conflict and rest of the 7.26 percent responsible for others causes to break the extended family (Table 5.10.1). The father is generally considered as *Karta* (guardian) of the households. Individual freedom in sweeper communities is relatively higher and this encourages the members in these families to be economically productive. Nearly all the adult members both male and female are involved in the cash earning cleaning work. Many children and nearly all the teenagers are also involved in this work to support their families and gradually become economically independent. In other words, individualism and the economic freedom of the young generation encourage them to seek independence first rather than pursue collective economic strategies.

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[5] Joint family is uncommon in Western sociology literature. It is an exceptional form of family mainly existing in the Indian sub-continent. Traditional agricultural systems of the Indian sub-continent favorably produced this type of family system.

In case of sweeper women, most of the sweeper women spend their time both in their domestic work in their family and paid work outside their community. In the domestic sphere a sweeper woman maintains children, cooks food for the household members, give companionship to her husband and do some other households work. Although the man is *Karta* of the household, the woman's role as a housewife is significant here for her skill in maintaining the household budget. In many cases women earn more than their men and some cases men in sweeper community who largely depend on their women's income. Because, many of the male people of the community are spend their large amount money of their income to drinking alcohol. It seems women are not only the safeguard or *laksmi (good, modest and gentle)* of household; they are also the protectors of their husbands in any odd situations in or outside their locality if any outsider makes any bad comment to them or to their men, and it is the woman who first react and give some reply to the outsiders. The police might arrest a man but his wife, mother or other female relative will not hesitate to go to the police station and talk to the authority for his release. In case of unmarried girl and newly married women, they maintain a strict restriction to go outside and mix with the others male persons. With the concern of the husband after two or three years of marriage, they can enter into job to maintain their family. However, from sweeper's point of view, these common activities neither ruin the modesty of their female nor these activities inconsistent with their value system. Their men-folk are often proud of their woman. Some of them gave us the same impression several items by saying, *you will not hear or find anything bad against our woman, our woman can work outside but they never sell their ijjat[6](Case study-15).* It seems those sweeper women are valued by their men due to their faithfulness, responsibility and ability for hard work not only outside but also inside the domestic sphere where they play a vital role as mother and housewife.

The endemic gender and caste discrimination and violence *Dali*t women face is the outcome of severely imbalanced social, economic and political power equalities. *Dalit* communities are often very patriarchal with deeply conservative values about the role of women that leads to severe restrictions on their rights, mobility and freedoms (Islam & Parvez, 2013). Survey data of present study it shows that domestic violence is then another curse sweeper women have to struggle with all their life 87 percent of *Jaat* sweeper women are victim by their male and 78 percent of Muslim women are victim in their family life. The subordinate status of women combined with socio

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[6] Ijjat means chastity, honor and dignity of their women.

cultural norms that are inclined towards patriarchy and masculinity can be considered as an important factor determining the domestic violence. In a study Islam and Uddin, (2008) pinpoint that gender discrimination at home disadvantages them at work and public sphere. Household work, child-care and family responsibility and experience of violence limit women's independence. Even if a *Dalit* woman in the capital city of Dhaka somehow manages to save herself from harassment by external perpetrators, she cannot escape the experiences of violence within the family. If a husband is not earning and wife claims money for meeting household expenditure, she gets beaten. When a husband gets drunk the wife is supposed to accept it; otherwise she will be physically harassed or at least will be subject to severe verbal abuse by the husband. These are every day phenomena. When the sufferings go beyond the level of tolerance, women complain to the community *panchayet* (informal mediation system run by community). However, men are in full control of the panchayat and often deliver unfavourable judgments in domestic violence cases. .

6.7. Community network and Social capital

Social exclusion can also be defined in terms of a lack of 'social capital' and increasingly, the idea of developing social capital is being incorporated into policies and programmes to address social exclusion. Putnam (1993, 1995) defines social capital in terms of four features of communities: the existence of community networks; civic engagement or participation in community networks; a sense of community identity, solidarity and equality with other community members; and norms of trust and reciprocal help and support. There is increasing interest in, and research evidence relating to, social capital as an 'antidote' to social exclusion. In other words, there is evidence linking the extent and strength of community networks, the degree of community and civic participation and norms of trust and reciprocity with good health (Gillies 1997; Kawachi *et al.* 1997; Campbell *et al.* 1999), effective and responsive public services and strong political institutions (Boix and Posner 1998) and local economic development and economic prosperity (Putnam 1993; Wilson 1997). Thus, developing social capital can create the conditions in which it is easier to address other aspects of social exclusion. This might be achieved by devoting resources to community development or by managers of public services considering how their activities in particular localities contribute to or negatively impact on social capital (Corrigan and King, 1999). However, Boix and Posner (1998: 687), in an article discussing the origins of social capital, note

that 'a community's co-operative capacity is a function of the degree of social and political inequality that the community has experienced over the course of its historical development'. The implication is the obvious, but nevertheless important, point that social capital is more difficult to develop in those communities where there is little tradition of trust or reciprocity. In a study Emaes and Goode (1973), discuss that family and social networking is the focus for explaining the social dimension of exclusion and vulnerability. It is a fact that those who are materially deprived differ somewhat from the dominant social classes in terms of their basic social structures which are demonstrated by the pattern of family and social networking. In present study it observes that social networking plays an important role in sweeper households for coping with exclusion, poverty and vulnerability. This research highlights how the structure of the family is important in shaping the family members adaptations with this marginal position in their community. Kinship is very important for the both sweeper community to adapt with these communities and maintain their livelihood. Among the Muslim sweeper *Non-kinship* social networks based on neighborhood play an important role in adaptations to marginal position. Despite living in the city for generations Muslim sweepers maintain networks with their villages.

Social networking based on kinship and community plays a significant role and its works as a source of social capital[7] in the context of survive or adaptation of sweeper with their isolated and stigmatized environment. These *Jaat* sweepers are a people apart, susceptible to stereotyping, ridiculed for their cultural styles, socially isolated, experiencing an internalized sense of helplessness and despair, with limited access to communal networks of mutual assistance. They suffer a pariah status. This is social exclusion with a vengeance and their segregate settlements and isolated position has made them more dependent on their own community. *Jaat* sweepers in all quarters live close to their kinfolks from their *Jaat* groups. They have strong network among their *Jaat* group's whole over the Bangladesh. Different social and religious occasion they came different part of Bangladesh. But their network is not strong among the different categories of *Jaat*. For example it seen in *Doyagong* sweeper colony that, a territorial and a considerable social separation exist between the Telugus and the Hindi speaking *Kanpuri* sweepers, as their respective areas of the quarters are clearly separated by a wall, there is seldom, any inter-quarter social

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[7] They study shows that the households left in the *hyperghetto* are bereft of links to solidarity groups, networks and organizations, what the French Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu calls *social capital*

closeness between these two categories of people. In this study shows that religion is correlated with social network and there is a significant difference between *Jaat* sweeper and Muslim sweeper households in terms of their urban social network (chi square= 15.540; d.f=1; p=.00). Muslim sweeper households have more social network (56.9%) than the *Jaat* sweeper (43.1%). Multiple regression shows that religion is a predictor of social networks (beta=-.160; t=-3.658; sig=.00). This low level of socio-cultural capital can certainly have an impact on social interconnection, the formation of civil associations and social support (UNDP, 2006). Among the Muslim sweeper's kinship play a significant role in the settlement of new immigrant community in Dhaka. It is often evident that people from the same part of the country provide them shelter and food during their initial stage of migration. They also provide knowledge about the new society and information about employment. The study also shows that the migratory process is often a chain, a series of transactions and exchanges. Just as important as help and support upon arrival, are information about job opportunities and housing in the new locality provided mostly beforehand by members of the migrant lineage. Reciprocity in economic and social life perpetuates through such social networks. The sweepers get both financial and non-financial support from their relatives and friends. In fact, both kinship and community based networks play significant roles in *Jaat* sweeper or Muslim sweepers through the exchange of cash, goods and services. These types of social reciprocity help these to survive and cope with poverty and vulnerability in their community. The survey indicates that 17.46 percent sweeper households are usually received financial help from their relatives and friends. Another 87.5 percent are also received social and moral support from them during crisis. These findings, therefore, lead to a hypothesis that both kinship and community networking play an important role in the sweepers to survive and adaptation to with the community.

It is revealed that the Muslim sweeper have strong kin connections with rural areas, though in their neighborhoods kinship ties are not so distinctively visible because of the financial crisis of the residents. Das (2000) points out that the poor often come to the city from lineage based organizations and extended family, and kinship plays a significant role to encourage the poor from rural areas to come to the city and settle down in their neighborhoods. Sometimes the urban poor visit their home villages and encourage their kinsmen and other villagers to move to the city. For new arrivals in the city the village network is the main source of support in the city develop on the

basis of kinship, ethnic and regional ties and identities. It has already mentioned that natural disasters, great famine, river erosion, growing landlessness and exploitation by the rural elites and moneylenders are found to be the major reasons of poor Muslim people to migrate in city. To sustaining their livelihood in city, they entered into this lower occupation and before interning this job most of them have peasant background. Present study shows that a big proportion (31.5%) of Muslim sweeper came from *Homna* in district of *Comilla* (Table 5.3.5). It reveals that 36.25 percent of Muslim sweeper mention that they have contact with their kinship based relatives or fellow villagers who have migrated before and they provide them knowledge about the new society and information about this occupation. The activities of *Jaat* sweeper are mostly limited within their niche the activities of Muslim sweepers are not so limited. The later, it also mentioned before may be rickshaw puller, peons, or some business, many of them usually visit their own kin in the village during religious or other occasions and so forth. It seems that they are still almost integrated with the main stream society. Perhaps their religious identity which includes language, kinship and other cultural commonness allow them to do so. As a lower class occupation of the society, the Muslim sweepers have opportunity to expand their status-sets while the *Jaat* sweepers as members of this society almost lack such opportunity. Their salient *Jaat* sweeper identity thus remain imperative or significant vis-à-vis the others. Their environmental and interactional constrains are yet so intense that it is highly difficult for them to break the boundary of encompassed community and to expand their status set. So it seems that both community face problems sustaining their livelihood not only because they considered financially poor but also because of the social stigma or exclusion attached to their profession that limited their acceptability and led to discrimination against them. So both social network and community network play a significant role in the adaptations of sweepers because, as already mentioned, they are very much marginalized in the society.

6.8. Traditional cultural value, modernity and integration
6.8.1. Cultural beliefs and modernity

Though the *Harijans* have been providing essential service to the society, their life style and culture are mostly unknown to rest of the society (Chowdhury, 2010). The attributes of individuals have been focused on in the analysis of the cultural dimension of social exclusion and vulnerability. Behavioural patterns, beliefs, attitudes and cultural practices of the sweeper are explored. Sweeper

communities differ significantly from the mainstream ethnic group in terms of their behaviour patterns. They are often stressed and become intolerant of their families and communities. Social alienation and economic hardships make the sweeper mentally and psychologically stressful, which is reflected in their behaviour. Data of the study shows that 46.25 percent of the total respondents become angry due to economic reason and 40.75 percent of the respondents become angry due to social reasons. The sweepers are also culturally less integrated with the society. *Jaat* sweeper often foster traditional values and norms brought from their fore-father and Muslim sweeper follow the traditional values and norms of their district of origin. Due to their life long experience of poverty and vulnerability, they become fatalistic and dependent on chance and luck. In the light of this, this study also explores how the sweepers are culturally excluded from the mainstream ethnic people.

The sweeper community is patriarchal and usually does not allow females to participate in family and community affairs. So, the relationship between male and female in the family as well as in the community remain very traditional and often creates conflicts and tensions among family members. In fact, they sometimes lose control of themselves and become aggressive towards their family and community members. The psychological deconstruction of the self is also paralleled by a process of cultural deconstruction (Humphrey, 2002). In this study found that relationship between poverty and the abuse of wives and children in sweeper colony. This present study reveals that to drink alcohol and wives and children are verbally abused and often beaten up is a common picture in the sweeper ghetto. They quarrel with their neighbours, and sometimes quarrel over money, children and the traditional clash of interests with in-laws. Sometimes the use of land or space in the vicinity is also the subject of conflict and tension among sweeper ghetto dwellers, along with the sharing of scarce amenities like latrines, and cooking facilities. In this present study shows that the sweepers are most commonly 41.98 percent involved in conflicts in their communities due to family matters and children are the most common source of conflicts and 33.33 percent of conflict for the community matters. A considerable proportion of the respondents 17.69 percent are involved in conflicts within their community due to economic reasons, with a small proportion 7 percent becoming involved in conflicts within their communities for political reasons (Table 5.11.1).

The sweeper socially and culturally stigmatized because they live in a totally separated and segregated area from the mainstream ethnic society. The present study argues that the sweepers are dependent on family and community based cultural activities to cope with economic hardship and social exclusion. Because most are illiterate and they are ignorant about the modern, scientific and secular characteristics of contemporary society. They get very little opportunity to interact with educated people to broaden their perspectives. As a result, they have very little scope to change or modify their traditional values and norms. Of course, sometimes they listen to the radio and watch television but only for entertainment and not for changing their traditional attitudes and behavioural patterns. Thus, it may be said that there is a complex set of economic, environmental, religious and cultural constraints which prevent them from participating fully in mainstream social system. And at a broader level, the problem of access to education as well as the problem of underachievement should be considered within the context of the economic, cultural and environmental constraints that exist in the sweeper ghetto.

The sweepers have a strong belief in charismatic power and they remain very devoted to spiritual leaders, strongly believing that they can protect them from their miseries and crises though their wishes. They do not have that much faith about modern medical practice. They have belief in traditional medical practices. It means, they used to belief in the suction of evil spirit. Some respondents informed that there exists evil spirits on earth, it is true and they belief it. Any types of misfortune like severe long time illness, different kinds of pains, barren women of if the infants of a woman die one by one or woman gives the birth to dead child, if anybody faces an accident etc., all are explained by malevolent magic or due to evil spirit. More than half of sweeper responds still have traditional attitudes on child birth. According to them birth control should not be practised as it challenges the authority of Almighty Allah who has the only right to create human beings. The study shows, 92.5 percent of sweepers are illiterate and it makes them fatalistic and superstitious. So most of the respondents plan to make *Mannots* (sacrifices in the name of God) to achieve certain goals. Survey data of this study shows that mostly offer 55.49 percent offer money, with 16.02 percent offering goods during crisis moments. Another 11.57 percent offer animals-hens, ducks and goats, finally, 13.95 percent of the respondents explaining visiting holy places like *Mazar* (shrines) as sacrifices during their moments of crisis (Graph-5.12.1). Since most of *Jaat* sweepers have migrated from different part of India, they have carried with them a lot of traditional

beliefs and rituals from their native land and they re-enter into *Bangladeshi culture*. Other hand Muslim sweepers have migrated from rural areas to the city, they have also some traditional beliefs and rituals. A point out the adaptation of migrants involves changes in attitudes, relationships and behaviour and a move across physical space and social system boundaries. Furthermore, many Muslim sweepers retain close links with rural areas and maintain kinship ties with the people in their villages.

Non Bangali *Dalits* cannot practice their mother language in schools. They have lost their traditional culture and sports as they have no access to practice it. In this way they are losing their tradition and cultural heritage (Islam, 2012). Sweeper community cannot achieve of power to thinking universal. All time they think in their traditional cycle. Form this study it seems that many cases psychological problems of this community what are the responsible for this isolated and stigmatized position in the society. These are traditional thinking, to expend a large amount of money to maintain their traditional belief and ritual, no attitude to saving and future or no interest to introduce with modern society knowledge. Form the very beginning their ancestor make an own cycle among this community and they are not interest to break up this traditional cycle yet. Some psychological weakness or problems are found from this study, these are 1. When born a new baby in this community then their father or grandfather celebrate it with the alcohol and all time they are entertained their guest by offering alcohol and it's a traditional ritual among them. The communities members are followed this traditional ritual by inherited 2. In the occasion of kali *puja* their ancestor were arranged to play gambling with the women and new born baby to avoid rebirth as a *Ghada* (Ass) after their death. They believed that if they not satisfied their God Kali then they will be returned in the earth by rebirth as a *Ghada* (Ass). So they follow these rituals yet. 3. To show hospitality to their guest, they arranged pork meat and alcohol from the very beginning. They thought that the respectable or honorable guests must be entertained by alcohol and pork meat. Otherwise, they will feel insult. They have rituals to give gifts and offer money to the guest as an expenditure of their connivance. Some time they make loan to maintaining hospitality to their guest. It is one the major cause for their poverty. 4. The negative attitudes of the society, their father or grandfather are tolerated silently. They feel bad but they also follow this tradition like them.

The sweeper have quite number of superstitions about dreams. They rear the idea that the dream of the mid night generally reflects incident that will happen in the future. If a man dreams a new he is going to change the world, i.e. he is quitting for the next world. If a dead relative calls a person in his dream, he is going to die very soon. If a blind is dreamt, the dreamer will not be successful in his love affairs in the world. In case of dreaming the moon the dreamer will get innumerable fish and also obtain a good wife. But if pregnant women dream a lunar eclipse, she will suffer and her baby will die in the womb. There are numerous other beliefs concerning dreams, which reflect men thought and imagination. If is not a good sign to come out of the door at night for *jins, parees* (witches) and ghosts walk at night and seek men and women to victimize. Saturday and Tuesday are fixed days for the ghosts to be out for journey and marketing. In the impact of education, modernization, urbanization and other internal and external forces has created new outlook to change their perception. Their mind is now moving on scientific reasonable and free of superstition from the past. So now the belief in evil spirit is not a solid one any longer.

6.8.2. Traditional panchayat systems

Dalits have a system of arbitration and governance of their own, the panchayat[8], to resolve internal disputes within them community alone. In cases where a *panchayet* works for resolving internal problems, sessions are fully dominated by male members. The norm is that Dalit women will not participate in the *panchayet.* (Islam and Uddin, 2008). As a member of *Dalit* community *Jaat* sweeper has its own formal organization (*panchayat*), the study examines their organization, system of control and inter *Jaat* relationship. Telugu *panchayat* usually consists of several leaders, out of which one is considered the chief leader or *pradhan sarder* who is usually assisted by other leaders. Indeed, the body of leaders consists of the *panchayat*. According informants, the chief leader should be knowledgeable elderly man who is able to make decision or resolve any considerable intra- *Jaat* matters. It is not a heredity position, but on the basis of talent or competent person can be selected on the basis of general votes. Both *Telugu* and *Kanpuri* chief leader are not selected for a certain period like five or ten years and there have no position party. It depends on how long he can continue his leadership smoothly. Though the decision of the chief leader is considered as final, he generally consults other leaders before making any decision. According to

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[8] Panchayat is very strong organization among the *Jaat* sweepers. The basic aim of the system is to resolve the internal disputes. Here, sweepers solve the disputes among the people of their own community.

informants the number of assistant leaders of a *panchaya*t may vary, but usually three persons act respectively. Second leader is responsible for making decision in case the chief leader is absence. The task of third leaders is to notify every family when *panchayat* meeting are taking place. The duty of the fourth leaders is to arrange common meals for all members of the group during marriages or other ceremonial feasts. Other hand *Kanpuri* sweeper community is internally separated into two groups, namely *Domar and Hela*. Each has its own *panchayat,* while both groups are united under a common organization *Harijan welfare association.* One respondent informed as *Chowdhury* usually holds the first position of a *Kanpuri panchayat.* His status is comparable with chief leader of Telugu *panchayat,* only difference is that the position of *Chowdhury* is not heredity. Any one, usually the elder who is clever and ability to give advice, solve problems can be selected by the *Jaat* members as a *Chowdhury.* The next position is designated as *Gorait* and his task is to circulate all notices of *panchayat.* The third post is designated as *Khajanchi* (cashier) and the next post is known as *Pialder* whose task is to serve alcohol and other drinks at *panchayat* members. The fifth position of *panchayat* is designated as *Khademgir* who will be assisted by two or three others in order to make common food and serve it to all the members when it is needed.

Muslim sweepers also have a system of arbitration and governance of their own. This governance system is known among the Muslim sweeper is *Majlish*. This *Mojlish* is also consists of several members who are knowledgeable and elderly person in the community and they are selected on the basis of community members votes for a certain period. This organization tries to solve any kind of conflict, internal problems and any kind of decision making for their community matters. Any women are not allowed to involve in organization and it is fully dominant by male person of the Muslim sweeper community. But like the *Jaat* sweeper *panchayet* system, Muslim governance system is not well organized and its rules and regulations are not restricted that's of *Jaat* sweepers. The study shows that the leaders of the *panchayats* usually impose certain customary rules, namely restricted rules against inter-group marriages and communal relationship which seen to remain people to maintain to boundaries between the groups. If someone violates *Jaat* boundaries by courtship, marriage or communal relationships with any one of a different group, the *panchayats* usually sanction the accused persons and their parents by social and economic means. The

sanctioned persons may thereby be *ek-ghora*[9] from their group or they have to play a considerable fine to redeem them. These traditional sanctions of *panchayats* are well known to all migrated sweeper categories in Bangladesh.

6.8.3. Converts to Christian faith

All most eighty five percent of *Jaat* sweepers in Bangladesh are migrate from different part of India (Parvez, Islam and Das, 2008). It compels sweepers to identify themselves as *Hindus*, thereby artificially inflating Hindu numbers. Although, the *Brahminical texts* clearly do not recognize sweeper as members of Hindu society, treating them as *polluting outcaste and untouchables.* Telugu, one of the broader category of sweeper community in Dhaka City are renounced their Hindu religion and embraced at Christian and little amount in Muslim faith. Like the Indian lower caste, the rapidly increasing the number of conversion to Christianity among the Telugu sweeper population in Bangladesh is alarming. It shows that one –fourth of Telugu sweepers already have converted to Christian between the year 1978 to 1983. It appears that there is a very large and significant movement of the sweeper away from Hinduism, which present that Bangladeshis lower Hindu will deeper divisions and greater challenges. To stop this massive conversion, Hindu missionary and City Corporation give attention. In spite of many crises, City Corporation made separate *Mondin* in these sweeper colonies. In the context of Bangladesh, it find Protestant churches, Roman Catholic churches and different other agencies and the N.G.O Bureau of Bangladesh Government has identified above fifty N.G.Os as engaged in converting people into Christianity in one way or another. In a study Islam and Parvez (2013) discuss that some Christian Church and church oriented organisations are more interesting in converting Hindu *Dalits* to Christianity especially in *Jessore* and Khulna region. Moreover, some church organisations are only willing to support Christian *Dalits* for their well-being not the community as a whole. This is a deeply problematic process and can be extremely divisive and unhelpful, particularly as the motivation is on conversion rather than on development or fulfilment of *Dalit* rights. The present study shows that among *Jaat* sweeper 8.5 percent answer that it may be cause to converted their religion that they seems Hinduism is unethical, unfair, ungodly and so forth. 44.5 percent reply that for their economic mobility they converted their religion. Another 5.5 percent reply that

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[9] The term ek-ghors literally 'confined', signifies a person or a family who have been expelled by community organization and thereby socially isolated from their community.

Christianity have self-respect and egalitarian socio-cosmic principles and 19.50 percent respondents also answer that they want to avoid their lower position in society. In the remaining 22 percent respondent give no answer about this matter. So it can say that the ghetto world of sweeper community the economy is not self-sufficient, poverty, death and disease plague there, precisely this factor attracts missionaries, by using their various skills in education, aid, medical and treatment etc. such a society offers many opportunities which they can influence according to their way of thinking.

Religious conversions are quite complex phenomena. It is not true that only the Telugu sweepers who are refused the ideology of hierarchy in Hindu religion but all the untouchables or lower caste Hindu's have a similar trend. Backward castes converting to Christianity is concerned, there are some reasons are responsible for that. 1. The main cause of *Jaat* sweeper converted into Christians are poverty, If anyone want to be Christian then they give him financial support and other monetary benefits like they promise to give him good job, good house and educational facilities etc. Because a hungry man, he have no religion, no caste and no class. According to poet Sukanto Vatrachargo, *a hungry man sees the moon is fried bread* 2. Sweepers belonging to Hindu lower caste are converting themselves to Christianity another important reason behind this is poverty and social insult to these communities. Asaduzzaman (2001) points out,

> *Moreover, people from one religion cannot covert to another if the latter does not exist as an alternative and if its divinity and doctrine are nor propagated or remain unknown to the person. As Christianity has been propagated to the Telugu sweepers, the converts had opportunity to compare its divinity, doctrine, principle etc., with that of the Hinduism they have known and experienced. Hence their rejection of Hinduism can better be understood if we follow the way they evaluated the Hindu divinity and its principles in comparison with Christianity. It is apparent in their narratives that divinities and thereby the religion as a whole. The converts often underscore that they wish to have salvation. They used to explain they cannot attain salvation in Hinduism. Their explanations are often found to converge towards a very common conviction signifying their dislike and distrust of Hindu divinity and its socio-moral principles. Such conviction is often embedded in their mind and it expressed in different ways. As shown in the cases above, it is often stressed by the converts that God or Creator must be the one who forgive or that he is kind and has love*

for all humans or that God cannot accept worship (puja) only from that higher castes or that God cannot be the sources of a religion that segregate people into high and low caste. Such expression indicate at least two thing 1.Their inner image of the ideal God, who has the excellence of giving love, forgiveness, salvation, equity, welfare etc. and 2.Their negative of any socio-cosmic principles that divide people into higher and lower social categories so that consequently God expects devotion only from the former categories. (The pariah people, p-211)

Christian missionaries and NGOs are building houses for the newly converted people, establish a new church, digging wells and sanitary latrine, and giving them allowances for health care and education. Telugu have changed their names. Many of them have Biblical name such as *Marry, David or Moses* but some have Telugu names or Hindi names. Their children attend Christian schools, and they attend Sunday prayers in newly built churches. On part of sweeper became Christian, different inter caste problems arise. Marriage is not possible between two groups. Most of the cases male people of a household are decision maker to converted religion and in this matter the women are follower. If the female adapted new religion Christianity but they follow traditional Hindu property and women rights.

6.9. Empowerment & social mobility

Social change through the empowerment of marginalized groups is a complex process. Education should provide not only the tools for employment for marginalized groups but also opportunities to raise their critical awareness of social hierarchies (Freire, 1970). They should be able to resist and contest essentialized representations of social differences (Freire, 1970; Fuss, 1989). Similarly, the dominant group members need to develop a critical consciousness to under-stand the historical exigencies in creating, perpetuating, and sustaining various essentialized representations of social groups, such as caste, class, and gender (Fuss, 1988; Grosz, 1994). In this view, lower caste people like sweeper community join to the movement for social mobility in order to acquire something or their rights and they believe that they are deprived all sphere of life. It is with this sociological perspective that the religious social movements of untouchable community sections of Bangladesh society is studied, in order to examine the role such movements have played in bringing about social change for a better life for those on the margins. But contemporary history of Bangladesh bears testimony to this fact that the sweeper communities were not mobilizing and organizing

themselves to ensure the rights that were provided to them by the constitution. On the one hand, they are not making efforts to protect their culture, their habitats and resources and on the other hand, they are not breaking free from backwardness. In a study Uddin (2014) says that the Constitution of Bangladesh does not make any specific reference to practices related to caste-based discrimination and segregation, such as a prohibition on 'untouchability' practices that restrict people from freely accessing shops, restaurants, barber shops, hotels and places of public bathing, or places of worshiping. Nor are there any guidelines for promoting the improvement in the economic and social conditions of work and descent based communities. He also says that none of the national policies or major statutes, such as the National Education Policy 2010, Health Policy 2011, National Women Development Policy 2011, National Housing Policy 2008, National Water Policy, Water Act 2013, etc. make any reference to caste-based discrimination and 'untouchability', and the measures required to address this problem. So they are victims of isolation and now they are subjected to discrimination in everyday life. But this historical experience has provided that they cannot make space and scope for sweeper their salient identity formation all over the country. India has had a long history of vibrant social and political mobilizations and shows that lower caste or untouchables have produced profound social, political and economic change in the traditional social order, in some cases significantly raising the social and economic status of marginalized groups. According to Hossain (2013), to protest against discrimination, they formed a number of human-chains in different city centers. Prodip Kumar Das claimed with confidence mixed with pain: "Now we, the sweepers, have learn about movements, human chains etc. The civic people like you have broken our tolerance, and that taught us to go and fight for our rights." Now, the light of hope is that different stakeholders and local government representatives are now coming forward to ensure the human and civil rights of sweepers. Thereby, social acceptance is increasing and they are gradually becoming a part of the mainstream society.

Over the past few years the *Dalit* movement in Bangladesh has gone from strength to strength, and is now a growing and effective force for positive change. There is no quick fix to tackling caste discrimination and there are many challenges ahead in addressing centuries of discrimination, poverty and exclusion. However, it is also important to reflect on, and to celebrate the successes so far. Until very recently, the existence of *Dalits* and caste discrimination in Bangladesh was denied, and now it sees the issue being seriously addressed by both national and international policy makers and practitioners (BDERM, 2008). In a study *Islam (2012)* mentions that after the

liberation, *Dalit* people were become out of scene from the all development process. Their discrimination were not eliminated rather they become victims of new kind of tyranny and oppression. In the meantime *Dalits* are started to raise their voice in various way in the different parts of Bangladesh. *Horijon Oakko Parishod* is one of the organizations networks nationally. In the meantime, one of the great visionary leaders of *Dalit* community in Bangladesh B G Murthy formed Bangladesh Dalit Human Rights (BDHR) and demanded rights of the *Dalit* community. Leaders of Bangladesh *Harijan Oikya Parishad* in a seminar organized at Dhaka on 18 May, 2010 and informed that about 15 lakh traditional sweepers, also known as *Jaat* sweepers, are originally descendants of immigrants from Kanpur, Nagpur and Andhra Pradesh of India, brought in the 1830s during the British rule to provide all sorts of menial services for colonial rulers. Many of them are employed in crematoriums. They urged the government for minimum 80 percent quota in cleaning jobs for them at city corporations and government offices as well as providing basic rights enshrined in the constitution (The Daily Star, May 19, 2010). In this regard Uddin (2014) reveals that no affirmative action has so far been taken to improve the condition of *Dalits* in line with Articles 14 and 28(4) of the Constitution. Moreover, no quota or reservation has been made in government jobs for *Dalits*. However, in 2012 a directive was given by the office of the Prime Minister, following which the Ministry of Local Government has taken a decision to reserve at least 80% employment in cleaning jobs in all municipalities for *Dalits*. However, the implementation and impact of such a measure are yet to be monitored. The University of Dhaka has also instituted 1% admission quota for *Dalit* students from the academic year 2013-14. Similarly, the Central Admission Committee of Islamic University, Kushti has approved a quota for *Harijon /Dalit* students from the academic year (2014-15).

Only in recent ties, the Government of Bangladesh has started to show concern over the condition of Dalit communities. However, well organized and extensive programmes or projects are yet to be undertaken for improving the socio-economic conditions of *Dalits* and, therefore, budgetary allocation remains quite small. Taka 167.5 million was allocated in the (2012-13) financial year, which actually decreased to Taka 123.0 million in the (2013-14) financial year. In the (2013-14) financial year, budget was for mainstreaming the *Hijra, Dalit, Harijon and Bede* communities by providing education stipends to their children, imparting skills training to adults, involving these communities in income generating activities and providing allowances to seniors, disabled and insolvents (low income groups). In the national budget of (2014-15), the government has allocated

Taka 50 crore for building houses. No public data is available, however, to show how these funds have been spent and how many *Dalit i*ndividuals and families have benefited. On other hand Islam (2012) says that Prime minister in Bangladesh also proclaimed in a press release on the eve of international day for the elimination of racial Discrimination (2009) proclaimed to eliminate all kind of discrimination against *Dalit.* In a study Islam and Parvez (2013) declare that the government will construct 1,148 flats for cleaners of Dhaka City Corporations as the Executive Committee of the National Economic Council has approved a project, the scheme involving Tk. 10,922 crore. Under the project 'construction of cleaners' colony of Dhaka City Corporations', as many as 13 ten-storied buildings would be constructed to accommodate the flats having an area of 472 sq. ft. each. Ten out of these 13 buildings would be constructed at *Dhalpur* and *Dayaganj* while the remaining three at *Sutrapur* at a cost of Tk. 190 crore.

6.10. Politics, policy and exclusion

The *Dalits* of both the religions in Bangladesh have least to do with power politics and decision-making process. They enjoy very limited access to organizing trade unions, electing their leaders for own benefits, entering polling booths comfortably, participating in political rallies, representing themselves as candidates in administrative units, casting vote in support of their candidate (IIDS, 2008). This present study explores the political dimension of exclusion and social vulnerability focusing on community conflict, informal power structure and participation in politics and policies. The community life of the sweeper is characterized by grouping, factionalism and conflicts. Informal power structures, which depend very much on outside influence as well as inside strength, play a significant role in the community life of the sweeper. This absence is due to many reasons, their professional identity and associated social denigration works as the ground for keeping them passive with respect to community or society related issue. However, lack of education and conscious outlook with respect to collective concerns are also identified as important contributing factors for not positive participation in politics among these community. Ganga (a Telugu sweeper) said, *our forefathers are come from different counties but now we are all Bangladeshi citizens but now we are deprived of many fundamental and basic rights, monetary solvency and social support. When we are educated but we don't get proper job. Lack of proper opportunity is an important barrier of our livelihood and we are now the victims of politics* (Case study- 1). Other words some people of the authorities opine that *if this community get solvency,*

education and start thinking about their future advancement, they will never do this low work or if government give those more facilities that will not good for us and we will loss them in the future. The fact is sweeper communities are marginalized despite their skillful participation in politics. Their rights and claims are often ignored in policies undertaken by government.

Social and economic issues appear as the main reasons for conflicts among the sweepers, but very small numbers of cases conflicts are based on political affiliations. An informal form of leadership is also observed in sweeper communities. The sweepers have their own committees which play an important role in the resolution of conflicts among the sweeper and which is called *panchayat*. The study represents that most of the cases (30.86%) sweepers resolve their personal or community based conflicts by the help of their community leader. *Panchayat leaders* are also shown active roles during times of general community crisis or any matter that is related to the general interest of the communities. In this study, we find that two types of views are observed on political participation of sweeper community. The first view characterizes sweepers as politically apathetic. They are believed to have little interest in politics, have little awareness of political events and lack internal political organization. Such apathy or non-participation is so deeply entrenched that they alienate themselves from the social, cultural, economic and political life of the country. The immediate consequence of this sense of isolation or deprivation is that sweeper communities are hesitant and unwilling to utilize what social development facilities are available and accessible to them. But it could be noted that the second view does not consider community dwellers as politically apathetic. They believe that they should have active in politics as a citizen in this country. The survey reveals that most of the sweepers are voters 69.25 percent and cast 43.5 percent their votes in elections. In fact, they want to be integrated within the mainstream world through politics. But their participation in politics is constrained by their social exclusion, poverty and vulnerability. Moreover, their social and economic marginality creates social and political marginality in the society. Sometimes both of the sweepers feel serious violence created by political leader to get the supports of the sweeper for a particular candidate or threatened not to go the polling booth before the election. They are not allowed to go for casting vote without the permission of the influential political leader or their leaders in their community who are also follower of the influential political leader. This study indicates that only 12 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 23 percent of Muslim sweeper give their vote of their own choice candidate. And 25 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 37 percent of Muslim sweeper give their vote by the influence of family

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member or their male person in their household. Other hand 52 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 33 percent of Muslim sweeper give their vote by the influence of *sarder* (leader) of their community. Rest of the 11 percent of *Jaat* sweeper and 7 percent of Muslim sweeper give their vote by the pressure of political leader or others. Sometimes the sweepers are used as vote banks for many politicians or political parties through bribing leaders of the sweeper communities. Since they are illiterate and unaware about the dynamics of politics, they listen to the voices of their *sarders* (leaders). In a study Islam (2012) reveals that *Dalits* are not educated and mostly they are below poverty line so they cannot take part any kind of economic emancipation. They are hardcore poor. They have little access in political participation. They are only the vote bank for the candidate and they never elect their own candidate. In another previous study IIDS (2008) reports that they are always discouraged to go for poll booths by the local Muslim non *Dalits* or fundamentalist as they think the *Dalits* would cast their votes in favor of the candidate that they are not supporting. The politicians or candidates from opposite party always think that the Dalit of both Hindu and Muslim cast their votes in favor of progressive or pro-liberation politics and therefore, they are discouraged and threatened where opposite politicians are strong and dominant. Sometimes the *Dalits* are used as vote banks for many politicians/political parties through bribing leaders of the Dalit communities. Since they are illiterate and unaware about the dynamics of politics, they listen to the voices of their *Sarders*/leaders and cast vote in that manner. So, It indicates that though the minority or the Hindu sweeper are treated as a vote bank for some political parties or leaders, in reality they are shattered and do have very little for their development. According to the international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (CERD) agreement, the government is bound to fulfill the basic needs of employment, housing, education and health care services of the lower cast people. But sweepers are the most neglect section by the all political parties.

The *Dalit* community *(Harijans),* usually considered as untouchables by the society, is very optimistic about today's national elections, as for the first time in history some political parties have pledged to uphold their rights in election manifestos. (Parveen, 2008). In their study Ahmed & Mohsin (2005) & Islam & Parvez (2013) identify that *Dalits* now lack political power and representation and face stiff resistance and discrimination if they are brave enough to stand for elections. A newspaper article in January 2009 reported that a political opponent of *Dalit* candidate in an Upazila (sub-district) election had chanted 'stop the cobbler' during his campaign. In recent

past, more than 90 per cent of the Bede community people (nomads who live on boats) were unable to vote as they have no permanent address and this increases their invisibility and marginalisation. The majority of *Dalits* are not members of any political parties and unlike in India and Nepal there are no parties which mobilise around the issue of *Dalit* rights. Unfortunately minority community especially Hindu community including Hindu *Dalits* is the target of any uneven political situation. For example in 2001 general election, about 330 instances of violence against the Hindu community were reported between 15 September and 27 October. These included cases of rape, killing, physical torture, plunder, damage of property, bomb throwing, arson, extortion. This is all reflected in the IIDS (2008) survey 31.4% of Hindu *Dalits* and 50.7% of their Muslim counterparts feel discriminated against when participating in political activities. Not surprisingly, this leads to negligible representation of *Dalits* in all spheres of government.

It is evident from this study that the sweeper participate in politics according to their means. The political integration of the sweeper is significantly determined by the religion, gender and age. Interestingly, despite the Muslim sweeper are large in numbers in comparison to their *Jaat* counterpart, they feel more discrimination in taking part in the political activities. Though the general idea is quite different like *Jaat* sweeper are not allowed to take part in political activities but this survey findings give a reverse picture for the Muslim sweepers who in reality take less part in political activities. The *Jaat* are actively participating in politics to demand housing and other benefits from the government. Because there are several community based organizations in this community and they are more politically aware. The survey findings gives a picture for the Muslim sweeper only 14 percent have political activism and they are not well organized and who take less part in political activities than the Hindu *Jaat* sweeper (31%). In case of women situation in politic, Islam (2011) says that the findings of the research suggest it clearly that level of involvement in politics on part *Dalit* woman is yet to reach any significant level. Only a small number of women have become somewhat active as regards to their right in the community who are again involved with organizations of *Dalit Human Rights;* these are the organizations that provide them platform for taking part in meetings, protest, rallies or marches. A few other women participate in political activities through the programmes conducted by the N.G.Os with which they are involved. Nevertheless, none of these involvements was spontaneous at the beginning. In most cases, the related N.G.Os and male members of their families (who somehow are involved with such organization) inspire women's participation in politics. The study reveals that only 15

percent sweeper women are more or less involve in political activities. According to Islam (2011), however, while casting their votes they are always the sole dictator in making decision who they should vote. Sometimes they make the choice of candidate by his or her own and on many occasions the male members of the family influence them. Not that in all cases that are easily persuaded by male members; it happens that even if their husbands ask them to vote for one person they may vote the other person because of their own consideration and choice. In such cases, they keep it secret that they have not followed what their husbands have advised. In this study data shows that the aged sweepers are more active in politics than the younger population. Out of 90 political active respondents 59 respondents are aged sweeper. The aged respondents are mostly city voters and cast their votes in both national and city elections. The aged sweepers generally have more participation into electoral politics in the city due to long term stay and more affiliation with the structure of the city. The younger sweeper becomes voters in the city, being influenced by their guardians (such as their fathers and elder brothers). Sometimes they become influenced by community leader like *sarder* or others. Membership with these organizations is higher among the middle aged and aged population as they are more aware about organizational membership and other political matters due to their better political understanding and more experience. Due to seniority they get more attention from the elected bodies so they have more contact with these bodies. As Nelson (1979) points out that young people participate less politically because they are preoccupied with personal matters - finding a job with prospects for advancement, choosing a mate, completing an education, locating a place to live.

Dalits of Bangladesh are yet to get full recognition of their identity and the policy making forums of the country, including the legislature, are yet to take note of or give consideration to the level of deprivation, exclusion and extreme poverty that this social group lives through. In sum, *Dalit* communities of the country are yet to emerge as a 'policy constituent' (Uddin, 2014). The urban government needs to play a very significant role in adopting and implementing policies to reduce sweepers, exclusions inequality and poverty. The present study reveals that the sweepers are desperately wanted to be integrated with politics. It is true that they are mostly divided between two major political parties - both of which seek to exclude the sweeper from development planning and policies. In the contexts of squatter communities in Dhaka City, *Mizanuddin* (1991) argues that as they lack class based political organization, their class consciousness does not transform from class-in-itself to class for-itself. The study shows that reliance on kinship based relationships

is the main reason for a lack of political consciousness of the sweeper communities in Bangladesh. It also shows that despite vast poverty among the sweeper communities it is religious conflict, not class conflict, which has become important in their politics. The present study reveals that the sweepers in Dhaka City are not organized based on social class and therefore they have not emerged as a revolutionary force. In fact, the political parties with radical left ideologies have no initiatives to incorporate the huge number sweeper into their politics. The people supporting religious politics believe that the party can offer a better solution to the problems of their everyday lives. The majority of the sweeper communities practice popular types of religious values in Dhaka City's sweeper colony. In fact sweeper communities are not organized based on their religion. Instead, they practice devotional religion in the hope for better prospects. This essentially helps them cope with the poverty and vulnerability. Both sweeper communities are mostly excluded from the governmental policy or program. They are never invited for any such program. Sometimes their leaders invite if anything relates issues to their community, but they are kept silent and whatever greater society (non-sweeper group) decide, the sweeper are to follow those without any oppose. The participation of the sweeper in most the government program is really undermined or ignored. Sometimes N.G.Os bring the sweepers to different programs with little money or gifts, but they really do it to show the increased number of people in the gathering. Practically, their focus is limited to the non-sweeper issues rather than sweeper problems.

6.11. Revisiting theory and research

The social exclusion framework has been used for analyzing sweeper's socio-economic exclusion and vulnerability position in the context of Dhaka City. The traditional livelihood strategies of the communities have been explained to provide an account of their coping with this critical position. It reveals that these sweeper communities are mostly involved in traditional profession of the economy for supporting their livelihood. 'Caste-based discrimination entails social and economic exclusion, segregation in housing, denial and restrictions of access to public and private services and employment, and enforcement of certain types of jobs on sweeper resulting in a system of modern day slavery or bonded labour' (IDSN, 2009). As they are lacking education, negative social attitude, religious barrier and employment training, they are unable to be involved in white color job of urban economy. Unemployment, underemployment and harassment are the common problems they face in securing their livelihood in the city. Private calling based activities develop

among the sweeper and these help them to create livelihood opportunities and to cope with poverty and vulnerability. Multiple earning is found as a common strategy among these sweeper households. Income, consumption and household assets of the sweeper communities in question have been analysed to understand their exclusion and deprivations. It reveals that their level of income is generally very low due to involvement in their traditional low paid job of the economy. Most importantly their low level of income is insufficient for managing their livelihood in the city. Most of their earning is spent on food items. Living as cheaply as possible is found to be the main household strategy among these sweeper communities. The sweeper generally own low cost furniture and household goods. To manage their urban living they often have to take a loan from informal sources as they have little access to formal sources. Infrastructure services are an important component of *the social exclusion framework.* The sweeper have little access to urban land and are mostly settled on sweeper quarters and they are often evicted from their settlements due to increases in the demand for urban land. In addition, the sweeper have generally limited access to urban infrastructure facilities. Despite living in the city, most of them have no access to safe water, sanitation and environmental facilities. The poor quality of this physical environment causes poor health conditions. The study finds that sweeper discrimination are routinely denied access to water, schools, health services, land, lobour markets and employment. The exclusion of sweeper and similarly affected communities by other groups in society lead to high levels of poverty among affected population groups and exclusion, or reduced benefits, from development processes, and generally precludes their involvement in decision making and meaningful participation in public and civil life. *The social exclusion framework* uses the analysis of social capital for understanding position of sweeper in Dhaka city. Community networking has been shown as a new source of social capital for vulnerable groups in urban contexts (Mitlin, 1999; Coetzee, 2002). The present study use the analysis of social capital to understand exclusion, discrimination and coping with poverty and vulnerability in our society. Both kinship and community networking have been found as social capital for migration and adaptation of these communities in our society. The study has considered behavioural and cultural issues to provide a broader understanding of the exclusion and livelihood of the urban sweeper. The sweeper community often become angry with family and community members due to stress in their everyday life. Both of the sweeper community strongly hold traditional values brought from their native country or home villages. Despite having lived in the city for a long period, they have

limited access to the city's cultural activities. This lack of access to the cultural activities reinforces their traditional values. The cultural vulnerability of the sweeper is often explained in terms of their lack of participation in social and cultural systems and following the 'culture of poverty' thesis (Lewis, 1968). The present study argues that the sweeper are victims of their circumstances. They desperately want to be integrated within mainstream society but they are unable to be fully integrated due to their religious obstacle, social exclusion and a hostile external environment. The effects of policies, institutions and processes in social exclusion and vulnerability have been included in the livelihood analysis. The informal power structure of the sweeper communities are found to be effective in keeping social order within their communities. The significant role of local power brokers in their political life is also evident. The sweeper also participate in urban politics but their participation is limited to casting votes and attending some processions. They have no representation in urban governance in a true sense. Their participation in urban politics is to some extent determined by their socio-demographic differentials.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1. Introduction

In the Bangladesh context, the caste identity has been a dominant factor in the discourse of social exclusion and this is largely due to the pervasiveness of the caste-based discrimination and violence**.** In this study the broad objective is to understand the nature of exclusion, discrimination and adaptation ways of the sweeper community with this vulnerable position. It is true and universal that sweeper live a harsh life, marginalized and stigmatized and they have been exploited though generation to generation. Though it is changing very slowly, the underlying assumption of caste and class exclusion practice and discrimination has been found very much existent still now in the south Asian counties and endorsed by information from different evidence and relevant documents. Sweeper has no opportunity to seek other jobs, since their families have these occupations for generations and they have lack of adequate education. Pervasive discrimination against them keeps them poor, uneducated, in terrible living conditions and in menial jobs. Sweeper sometimes also face severe forms of human rights violations, including abduction, rape, torture, destruction of houses, land grabbing, eviction from and, threats and intimidation. The Constitution of Bangladesh admits citizen's equal rights regardless of their caste, race, ethnicity and religion but the rights of excluded community or sweeper people in Bangladesh always ignored or denied or not recognized and consequently that resulted into segregation, exclusion, exploitation and violence over these people. The overall of this research gives some sort of reflection in the existing social discrimination and exclusion phenomenon to change the ongoing practices towards sweepers especially in Bangladesh. Bangladesh has been deeply rooted by caste based discrimination and practice of *untouchability* since long without any scientific reason behind it. It is found that sweepers themselves also are not much aware and united to protest against these issues. It is being carried out as reproduction process in the society consequently, it is still practicing in the society.

Uddin (2014) reveals that there is no systematic study on the practices of 'untouchability' and 'physical segregation' that people discriminated on account of work and descent experience in Bangladesh. Only very recently a few efforts have been undertaken to document the nature and

extent of segregation; however, none of the studies have covered situation that prevail in different parts of the country; neither have there been any exhaustive narration of formal and informal ways of enforcing exclusion and repugnance. In contrasts with the existing research on sweeper community in Bangladesh in terms of its multi-dimensional analysise of social exclusion and vulnerability, in particular by highlighting social, economic and cultural questions. The degree and type of discrimination is not equal for all categories. So their access and rights are also not equal. Sweepers and other excluded communities in Bangladesh become victims of severe discriminations. They cannot stand up as a strong and influential community in the society obviously because they lack privileges of education, opportunities and rights of owning a property. As a result, they have never become as a strong pressure group to ensure their rights. It extends sociological view on social exclusion and deprivation of sweepers as marginal class. It also emphasis that how they excluded in their everyday life and integrate with this environment in the context of Bangladesh. This conclusion briefly reviews the central issues of the study and relates them to research findings. It also discusses some recommendations for their better position on the basis of research finding and designs an outline for expectations research on this sweeper community and their vulnerable position.

7.2. Reflection of the findings

There is no doubt that the sweeper communities are belongs to the lowest position in the society. Their religious position, occupational status, segregate settlement and social exclusion which have made their status low in the society. One point should clear that the term *untouchable* has used for Muslim sweeper in their *socio-psychological* sense but not in a religious sense. The term is better suitable to use for the *Jaat* sweeper. *Jaat* sweepers are commonly segregated and banned from full participation in Hindu social life. The Brahmin's or priest's caste don't allow them to enter the temple or *mandirs* and touch Holy books. Even they don't allow them uttering God's name in front of others in the *mandir* premise if they are known as untouchables or lower caste people. It is this *psychological feeling*, mainly originated from contact with dirty materials, the causes the Muslim (mainstream society) not to welcome the *Jaat* sweepers in the cafes or tea-shops, but not the religious notion. The same feelings and its consequences are also to some extent applicable for the Muslim sweepers too. Unlike the *Jaat* sweepers, they are not so heavily stigmatized, for they carry

the same ethnic backgrounds of the encompassing society which more or less facilitates them to participate in the other sectors of social activities.

Sweeper have been living in nasty and polluted environment either in public house provided by the City Corporation or government offices around the urban or semi-urban centers in the country. Most of them have common toilets, common water supply either in tap or tube well. The sweeper mainly working in town or municipalities are facing serious housing problem as the rent, including the utilities for their housing are deducted from their salary every month which is according to them is high. As a matter of fact, they and their forefathers were brought in this country by the then authorities for the sweeping or cleaning jobs subject to a condition that they would be provided free housing, health and other facilities for livelihoods and as a result, they have been accommodated in the same locality for years together. Since they are untouchables and discriminated, they are not allowed to rent or build house outside their exclusive areas. The living standard in the areas is sub-human and the numbers of their families are increasing very fast, but these colonies are remaining unchanged and they live this area without adequate housing facilities generation to generation.

The burning issue among the sweeper community now is their job problem. They are not allowed doing any kind profession except their traditional job being untouchable community. In past sweeping profession which they got easily but now they do not get that job even. To get a job in City Corporation, bribery plays an important role for them. In many cases, it is not possible for a sweeper to give bribe to get their job as most of them are hardcore poor. Moreover, political power also plays another important role for them which is lacking among them. They are often unmotivated to seek higher education given the biases that prevent them from accessing employment, even at the lowest levels, in the public and private sector even after graduating from high schools or colleges. In a study Ali (2015) found that with this meager income they cannot lead human life but animal living only which was manifested in their level of living style. The *Horijons* are conditioned by the social structure in which they live in and mostly have shown their interest in their hereditary/traditional occupation. The reasons are manifold: security of job, traditional values and habit of pursuing the present occupation, lacking skill to pursue other non-traditional occupations and low literacy rate. But on the other hand, respondents who opted for a change in occupation mentioned many factors such as, higher status, enhancing income, to free

themselves from social stigma generated from their low-status occupation, as others call them sweeper, or *Horizon or Methor*. Their low literacy rate has been a major hindrance for the sweeper to develop their communities and has also inhibited them in looking for alternatives or changes to their traditional occupations. In another study Hossain, (2013) says that while the educated sweepers are not getting other jobs only because of their inherited occupational identity, others who want to stick to their traditional occupation are also facing discrimination. They are increasingly being deprived of their traditional occupation. People from outside their community are now getting their jobs by paying bribes. As a result, the sweepers are now facing loss of their jobs and livelihoods.

Social exclusion and poverty are important socio-economic variables which are often taken for granted while considering ill-health effects. Sweepers are involved in their traditional job and they are not allowed to change their profession and also they have insufficient earning to support their livelihoods. Their low level of earning means that their expenditure level is also low with most earning spent on food. As a result, essential non-food items like health and education are often neglected. The sweeper usually buy food like rice, *dal* (lentils) and vegetables at a low cost item and generally avoid costly item like meat and poultry, milk or fruit for daily meals. Chronic malnutrition and poor health is the result of deprivation of such necessary food items over a long period. Other hand the study also shows that sweepers are often refused admission to hospitals, or access to health care and treatment in violation of their rights to the highest attainable standard of health and social services. In a number of cases those who are admitted receive discriminatory treatment. The exclusion of the sweepers from the health care services often compels them to undertake a variety of folk treatments. Precarious situations of maternal and child health are common characteristics of the sweeper community. Sweeper women often seek help from untrained persons for child birth, which causes a high number of deaths among pregnant women. Sweeper children extremely vulnerable to disease and they don't get proper medical treatment because of the low household income and social exclusion, resulting in a high rate of infant mortality in the sweeper community. According to Pal (2015), drawing evidence from empirical research and relevant literature on caste-based discrimination and violence, and social exclusion, the article argues that these social behaviours are not just extreme actions but patterns of distancing lower caste groups from social relationships to create threatening social conditions. These accentuate social exclusion and adversely affect their mental health. Any support services in the

form of reliefs or compensations for the victims may not stamp out negative social and psychological consequences for long. Both legal and social interventions need to focus on human security, economic, social and psychological in the process of promotion of social justice and human development.

Needless to say, education is a vital vehicle for cross-generational social mobility. Without an education, sweeper children will not be changing their social status in their lifetime. Sweeper children face considerable hardships in schools, including discrimination, discouragement, exclusion, alienation, physical and psychological abuse, and even segregation, from both their teachers and their fellow students. A majority of sweeper children must work to help ensure their families' economic survival. In addition, their parents are far more likely to be illiterate. While the Constitution requires free and compulsory education for all children, the right to education free from discrimination is not secured for sweeper children. Ninety-nine percent of sweeper students are enrolled in government or community schools with substandard facilities that lack basic infrastructure, classrooms, teachers, and teaching aids. As a result of their discriminatory treatment, large numbers of sweeper children drop out of school, especially in the early elementary stages. Another important causes for most of sweeper children dropout as their parents force them to do household chore, take care of their younger siblings. During the course of fieldwork, when asked some sweeper respondents, why they are not sending their children to school? Replied that when we do not have the food to eat, how can they read or write. When the stomach burns, nothing matters, forget study. So most of the sweeper's parents are more interest to engage their child in work than education. *Jaat* Sweeper considering that event with education their children will never get any better job and place them in better position due to their inborn status. Now-a-days, a few children attend to schools which provided by non-government organization but this will not afford them sufficient opportunities to enter the better position.

Although, some sweepers have discarded their traditional occupation and taken up other socially more acceptable jobs, their stigma remains and is the cause for their continuous discrimination and segregation. Their hamlets are well separated from other Hindu or Muslim neighborhoods and usually are located in unhealthy environments. Physically separated by the rest of society, they are also psychologically segregated. Considered second class's sort of human beings they are often refused a place in restaurants, shops and public venues in general. Inter-dining and above all inter-

marrying with other groups is frowned upon, and even well-to-do sweeper at the time of marriages have to look for possible brides and grooms within their own group. Other hand as culture of *Jaat* sweeper, some sweepers claim that alcohol is necessary for their work. But it is found that they do not need alcohol for these works. Mainstream society, including the authorities also unconsciously or consciously accept this view that the sweeper needs alcohol, for their work. For this causes though sweepers are citizen of Bangladesh but they are free to buy and consume alcohol and sometimes sweeper's quarters considered as the free zone. As, they *(Jaat)* drink too much and are addicted to it they cannot think properly, as a citizen their consciousness and thinking capacity has decreased. The grater society is always pushing them towards darkness by supplying then alcohol and by placing them in an isolation condition. In this condition, they are doing cleaning job in this society. But mainstream society allow them to drink alcohol but the mainstream society do not allow them to be a normal citizen and not allow them to have better salary, better housing or better treatment and so on.

Another characteristic of sweeper households is the wider participation of the woman in the workforce. This is partly due to the transformation of domestic space production space for home-based work. The involvement of young children in the workforce is another common survival strategy of sweeper households. This may be help the sweeper households cope with present situation in the short term but it has long term negative effect on the development of sweeper children. Both male and female sweepers have a dream to get City Corporation permanent jobs. As it has noticed that a considerable number of sweepers are working into government office as forth class employee or in the same other autonomous or private organizations with a comparatively better wage and some causes job security and other facilities. But their status is a low as the status of their colleagues working under the City Corporations. In other words, almost all the *Jaat* sweepers, irrespective of the fact where they work as a sweeper, share a common status. In the discussion, it is clear that all time the government shows apathy about the development of sweeper community. Government has no long or short-term plan or programs for the eradication of poverty and discrimination or development of the sweeper community. In this regard Uddin (2014) indicates that in Bangladesh, the incidents of *Dalits*' not getting access of justice or being unfairly treated by the authorities are not issues that get much focus from the media, public conscience or policy makers. Since the incidents have mostly remained outside the purview of public discourse, no national level recommendation has emerged so far regarding access to justice

specifically for *Dalits*. Though the sweepe'r have lot of agonies, anger, agitation, and complaints in relation to their livelihood, poverty, discrimination, violence, and all other activities that go against their socio-economic up-gradation; their voices are not given due attention by the policy makers.

Conflict between *Jaat* and Muslim sweeper became well-built day by day. Most of the *Jaat* sweepers claim that Muslim sweeper capture most of the City Corporation jobs and *Jaat* sweeper are deprived from their jobs. They also claim, in past the local government was the duty to give job among the sweeper household members with the house facilities. But now *Bangali* Muslim proposed that they need not housing facilities but they want only job. For this perspective local government shows interest to give the requirement for sweeping job among the Muslim sweeper instead of *Jaat* sweeper Muslim sweepers are also capture the occupational organization of the *Jaat* sweepers. Like that only one trade union of cleaning worker of the Dhaka City Corporation is holding by the Muslim sweeper which was built by the *Jaat* sweeper. Now any *Jaat* sweepers are not found in the vital post of this organization. Conflict between *Jaat* and Muslim sweeper make the Trade union became weak and dysfunction. As a result, the cleaner are depriving from many labour rights.

Other hand social networks play significant support or roles in migration and the adaptations them to this marginal profession. After their move to this profession migrant gradually develop non-kinship social networks, which also play a significant role in their social life. The Muslim sweepers often provide and receive assistances from their relatives, friends and neighbours to help them cope with their poverty and vulnerability. But It is not possible to comments in the moment about the future or fate of the Muslim sweepers at this moment, whether they will be more stigmatized and later on an isolated group like *Jaat* sweepers if they continue this job and living in a specific area for a long time. The data shows that like the *Jaat* sweeper Muslim sweeper are not isolated or stigmatized but Muslim sweeper are also becoming partial stigmatized in our society. They are being separated in some situation like selection of, marriage partners or social festival. Perceptions of hostility regarding the outside environment reinforce structural exclusion and create an environment in which both sweeper men and women feel discouraged to get engaged in public spaces. This discouragement lays the foundations for sweeper women and men not taking an interest or being involved in politics. Though sweepers participation in politic is very low, it has

been seen that they are aware about many of their political rights and responsibilities one of the expression of this awareness is that they cast their votes in different elections regularly.

Most of the Telugu sweepers get themselves converted into Christianity in order to improve their quality of life from the present life they lead. Government had made various projects and helping schemes for the advancement of these classes but in grass root level the situation remained unchanged. Government should educate all communities about social unity and harmony, which is the major reason behind these conversions. But Christian missionaries shown these communities a new hope of life, they showed them the new world with no differences. These missionaries have enough funds and man force working in grass root level, people those who got help from these missionaries got attracted toward their faith and religion and got converted for betterment of their life. Now there will be no people in their own community who will make them feel low on the basis of caste. In these contexts, it can say that as the deprivation in all respects pushed the sweepers to the divider and discrimination, they had to fight for their survival. With the support by some international and local NGOs, some of them now have access to safe water and improved sanitation service. This also motivated them to raise their voice about their housing problems and occupational deprivation and discrimination.

7.3. Recommendation of the research

The extreme exclusion and deprivation that feature in the everyday lives of both sweeper communities in Bangladesh, fully impacts the way they interact and engage with society. Attempts at improving their lives would have to first address the various discriminations based on caste, class and gender that sweeper experience on a daily basis. Any policy or plan of merit would need to address the structural and systemic discriminations that sweeper have faced for many generations now in a country that has even forgotten their existence. So the vulnerability and discrimination against the sweeper should be properly identified and the Government of Bangladesh should enact specific laws and implement special measures that prohibit discrimination against sweeper to rectify and acknowledge the serious human right's situation facing this group. The Government of Bangladesh should declare the practice of *untouchability* in public and private places a punishable crime, using model legal acts from other caste affected countries. To promote the socio-economic status of sweeper and other excluded groups in

Bangladesh, the Government should form a special or create a special cell in the newly formed National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) to oversee the affairs of sweeper and other excluded groups. The Government of Bangladesh should include disaggregated data on caste and pay adequate attention to affected communities in all assessments, including data collation, planning, and implementation of any human rights, development and humanitarian programm Strategy should be developed by the government or the private enterprises or NGOs to enable the Sweeper communities to have access to all sorts of benefits and services as enjoyed by other citizens.

Inclusive education or reservation system like quota should be available in the country which can help to reduce the barriers which is faced by the sweepers in Bangladesh. Since, the country has been rooted by the caste based discrimination which directly affects the educational activities. Other hand, curriculum is the heart of education. Curriculums play significant roles in establishing social justice by eliminating social stigmas and discrimination. Socially sensitive curriculum helps to change quality of life of disadvantaged and marginalized people in the society promoting social justice. Hamilton (1996) is of the view that reading and learning is a never ending process. Cultural values are developed through educational medium and education is guided by social structure. One of the goals of curriculum is to eliminate social inequality. The educational policy for Bangladesh higher education should include a curriculum that critically engages with social issues and problems related to caste and gender and it should be mandatory for professional, arts, and science majors. The social science courses on caste, gender, and social class should be parted of a curriculum for all higher education programs (Mahalingam & Ramakrishnan, 2002). A more inclusive curriculum will greatly enhance the possibilities of fostering a critical awareness of issues related to caste and gender among dominant group members to facilitate social change. The curriculum should provide opportunities for students to participate in discussions challenging the essentialist notions of caste, gender, and social class and raising awareness about the link between power and essentialization of social hierarchies. Such steps toward developing a critical consciousness (Freire, 1970) are crucial to the post-reservation phase of empowerment, where the members of the upper caste and *Dalits* should both critically engage with the issues of cast, gender, and social class. So In the case of implementing the inclusive education system in the school, there should be at least three indices namely creating inclusive cultures, producing inclusive policies and evolving inclusive practices in the school.

Sustainable livelihood approach should be adapted for the sweeper for generating all capital assets like human assets, natural assets, social assets, financial assets and physical assets and also strong social mobilization should be generated to uphold the status of the professionals who are not only essential but the real assets for the society. A quota for cleaner's jobs in the municipality should be reserved for sweepers, as this group has limited scope of getting other jobs. Job quotas should sweeper commission also be reserved in government and non-government services. The Government should implement existing constitutional provisions against bonded labour and enact specific provisions to combat child labour. Other hand the healthcare system itself to become more sensitized to the need and problems faced by this segment of the society and to make recommendations to remove barriers and improvement of access. Treatment with credit and waived payment for the poorest sweeper were also recommended as affordable alternative private healthcare services for the poor sweeper. So support to respond to the need for further research on caste-based discrimination and its impact on poverty and social conflict, caste and human rights violations and the impact of economic liberalization on patterns of caste inequalities.

Despite the caste, class and gender oppression faced by sweeper men and women, many of them are rising above their circumstances to challenge the hostility of the state and the ignorance of the dominant class. They would need to earmark funds to contribute to sweeper people's development and encourage their Bangladeshi partners to focus on the most marginalised community, inevitably being the sweepers. The situation of the sweeper in Bangladesh can only be addressed effectively if the government, NGOs and donor community work together. New laws, policies, systems and programmes would have to be put in place to effectively and systematically address the wrongs that have been inflicted on a forgotten community for many generations. Sweeper women would have to be particularly targeted by any new programmes that might emerge. The multiple exclusions and the double discrimination they face of caste and gender has kept them in the margins of their own community. The government, NGOs and donor community need to understand and address this situation right from the start. Crucial aspects to the development of sweeper women's potential is training and other empowerment activities that lead to sweeper women being financially independent. The more confidence and self-worth that sweeper women can gather, the more they will be empowered to engage with political processes and be involved in collective action.

In participation of sweeper in the political process, rights and local governance, their participation is not reached in a significant level and the available data and information suggests that sweepers are discriminated in political sphere. Sweeper's problems would not be possible to be addressed without sweeper's participation in political sphere. So political participation will be ensuring for the sweepers both in national and local level and intervention must be undertaken to create a positive attitude towards sweepers and their families in the society. Community, political, social and religious leaders and civil societies should play a vital role to discern the overall situation and to ensure a sound and healthy atmosphere for the disadvantaged and discriminated sweepers in the country. Initiatives for creating awareness among the sweepers regarding social education should be undertaken by the Govt. NGO.s with the help of mass media to improve the status of the sweepers. Strategy should be developed by the government or the private enterprises or NGOs to enable the sweeper's communities to have access to all sorts of benefits and services as enjoyed by other citizens.

Educated intellectuals and social leaders should set a model by treating untouchable as touchable. Other members of the society should also have sympathy, tolerance and human treatment with untouchables. It is necessary for all to live in unity and integrity. In political circle, untouchables should be represented from village to national levels. Hence, cure for this condition, government will have to provide them all facilities (such as education, employment, legal authority, health, rehabilitation etc.) at equitable basis as like another upward sections people. However, government are trying provide all facilities and services to deprived sections (as such sweeper), but their policy couldn't more fruitful for these sections, because lack of honesty of policy makers and administrators. So, government will have to bring transparency in their policy as well as extend awareness. The feeling of mutual goodwill is not found to exist among untouchables owing to caste discrimination within the community. It has weakened their struggle against the discrimination made by high-caste people and also the government. Instead of fighting for their liberation some of them claim themselves superior to others. The educated and conscious among untouchables should explain to their fellowman that they are not untouchable by their traditional professions. They should try to organize them, help them in getting rid of conservative and unscientific social traditions and establish equality and freedom. The untouchables should also try

on their own to give up inferiority complex, get educated and inculcate moral sense within them in order to compete with high-cast people in every field.

7.4. The need for expectations research

The present study has extensively explored the issues of exclusion, discrimination and vulnerability of sweeper community from the social exclusion framework. It is based on sound theoretical and empirical research, which is a breakthrough in sweeper marginality and discrimination research in Bangladesh. But more research is needed for exploring the issues of sweeper's vulnerability and social exclusion from a sociological perspective. The extension and broadening of this study would validate its findings and theoretical framework. The study is development on issues the nature of social exclusion and discrimination faces sweeper in everyday life. *Jaat* sweeper migrated from different part of India during British period. But non-professional groups (Muslim people) enter this profession recently. In fact, various natural disaster, famines and changing socio-economic and political structures were responsible to push Muslim people entering to this occupation for maintaining subsistence livelihood. It mentioned that kinship work as social capital in survive of *Jaat* sweeper community with this marginal position. Muslim sweepers maintain their strong connections with ancestral villages despite their long-term stay in the city. Although a few numbers of studies have focused on social life of the sweeper community, these social questions are still largely unexplored. How social attitudes and religious rigid are play as a barrier to upwards social mobility and it also play significant role to integrate them with marginal position remain important questions for future sociological research.

Employment and livelihood strategies have been the focus of this research, but they need further exploration. The issue of the traditional occupation tread is essential for analysing sweeper poverty - as significant portions of the sweeper are involved there. The sweeper often experience harassment from state agencies in these forms of employment. Further qualitative studies are needed for exploring employment discrimination and vulnerability of the sweeper, which is often difficult through survey research. What barriers play a significant role to involve the sweepers to find any white color jobs and in developing activities or also remains an important issue for further research. Poverty and vulnerability in terms of income, consumption and household resources have been explored in this research. The present study explored poverty and vulnerability through both quantitative and qualitative research. This qualitative research helps to reveal the coping strategies

of sweeper households. Nevertheless, the study found it was a complex task to gather income and consumption data from sweeper households. This study suggests the importance of longitudinal studies for investigating chronic poverty of sweeper populations. These studies will help to reveal whether sweeper households are improving their lot, coping but stuck at the same level of poverty or are in fact getting poorer over the long-term. This research has focused on the issues of socio-cultural adaptations of the sweeper in their community and it has explored how social exclusion has impacted on the socio-cultural life of the sweeper in this society. Families, networking, behavioural, social attitude and the cultural patterns of sweeper communities are explored through analysing social and cultural dimensions of social exclusion and discrimination. Criminal behaviour of sweepers has not been addressed but this issue has been further analysed due to the scope of this research. The future research needs to highlight this important issue of *Jaat* sweeper culture, believes and rituals. In fact, the study further finds limitations of social survey in exploring socio-cultural issues of sweeper community. Therefore, it suggests more qualitative studies on social cultural issues from sociologists and anthropologists.

Political integration of the sweepers has been highlighted in this research. Sweeper communities are found to be politically marginalised despite their participation in politics. Future research is essential for exploring causes and consequences of political marginality in such urban contexts. Informal politics and relationships with local power brokers need to be explored in detail for analysing political adaptations of sweeper communities. Future research needs to review existing policies undertaken by government in relation to the regulations of sweeper and their activities. How these adverse policies have created to remain sweeper community in marginal and vulnerable position also needs to be examined more thoroughly. And lastly the role of global forces in relation to these issues needs further exploration as these forces substantially determine the lives of sweeper communities in urban ghetto. Finally, intra-household differentials of *Jaat* and Muslim sweeper poverty, exclusion and vulnerability are important for future research. This study shows economic differentiation among the sweeper communities in Dhaka City, despite the fact that they are often considered as a homogenous group. Future research needs to explore why some appear to be coping with exclusion, poverty and vulnerability well. What differences play a significant role between Indian sweeper and Bangladeshi sweepers that can be comparing and it also remains an important issue for further research.

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Appendix-A: Questionnaire (English versions)

The sweeper community in urban Bangladesh: a study on the nature of social and economic exclusion and vulnerability.

(The study explores exclusion and vulnerability of sweeper communities in their life. It focuses on socio-economic exclusion, poverty and vulnerability of the sweeper living in different sweeper ghetto in Dhaka City, Bangladesh. It also focuses on the nature and impact of exclusion and discrimination on poor sweeper communities. The information provided in the interview will remain strictly confidential, except as required by law and persons interviewed will be anonymous. The information will be used only for the purposes of this study whose findings will be used in the PhD thesis and for writing articles in academic and policy journals. You are invited to participate in the research. Participation is entirely voluntary and participants can withdraw at any time if you so wish.)

A. Identification

Q.A.1.Name:……………………………………………….

Q.A.2. Relation with household head: □ (1) self   □ (4) parent

                                       □ (2) spouse   □ (5) sibling

                                       □ (3) child   □ (9) others (specify)

Q.A.3. Habitat type: □ (1) building   □ (2) semi pucca

                                       □ (3) tin shed / Jupri   □ (9) others (specify)

Q.A.3. Location: □ (1) Ganaktuly   □ (2) Doyagong

                                       □ (3) Dhalpur

B. Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Q.B.1. Age: ………………………yrs

Q.B.2. Sex: □ (1) male   □ (2) female

Q.B.3.Marital status: □ (1) unmarried   □ (2) married

                                       □ (3) widower   □ (4) divorced/ separated

Q.B.4. Category of sweeper: □ (1) Telugu   □ (2) Kanpuri

                                       □ (3) Muslim   □ (9) others (specify)……

Q.B.5. Household head type: □ (1) male-headed   □ (2) female-headed

Q.B.6. Household size:…………………..

Q.B.7. Educational level: □ (1) illiterate

                                     □ (2) literate without formal schooling

                                     □ (3) literate but below primary   □ (4) primary

                                     □ (5) secondary□ (8) higher Secondary & above

                                     □ (9) others (specify)……

Q.B.8. District of Origin: ……………… …….

Q. B.9. Cause of migration: □ (1) famine   □ (2) river erosion

                                     □ (3) natural disaster   □   (4) low income

                                     □ (5) job facilities   □ (9) others (specify)

Q.B.10. Living duration: …………………. yrs

Q.B.11. Category of work: □ (1) jharuder   □ (2) garbage cleaner

                                     □ (3) garbage truck driver

                                     □ (4) drain & toilet cleaner

                                     □ (9) others (specify)

C. Economic Characteristics

Q.C.1. Type of organization:

Types of organization	Total
City corporation sweeper	
Household sweeper	
Factory sweeper	
Govt. office or hospital sweeper	
Non-Govt , organization or hospital sweeper	
Educational institution sweeper	
Non- traditional job (specify)………	

Q.C.2. Type of employment: □ (1) permanent □ (2) non-permanent

□ (3) daily basis □ (9) other (specify)

Q.C.3. Monthly household Income:

S.L. no	Source	Monthly income (BDTk.)
1	Respondents income	
2	Spouse income	
3	Children income	
4	Parents income	
5	Others member income	
6	Other sources of income (specify)……..	
7	Total	

Q.C.4. Monthly household expenditure:

S.L	Source of expenditure	Monthly expenditure (BDTk.)
1	Food items	
2	Different non-food items	
3	Others (Specify)…….	
4	Total	

Q.C.5. Consumption of selected food items:

Sl. No	Food consumed	Number of household					
		Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Special occasion	Never	Others
1	Rice						
2	Bread						
3	Cereal						
4	Vegetable						
5	Edible oil						
6	Potato						
7	Peas						
8	Fish						
9	Egg						
10	Milk or Powder						
11	Meat or poultry						
12	Fruits						
13	Others (specify)..						

Q.C.6. Household food consumption in the last week:

S.L.	Food items	Quantities (in K .G)
1	Rice	
2	Cereals	
3	Lentils	
4	Potatoes	
5	Vegetables	
6	Fish	
7	Edible oil	
8	Meat and poultry	
9	Milk and milk power	
10	Fruit	
11	Others (specify)……..	

Q.C.7. Receives proper nutrition: □ (1) yes □ (2) no

Q.C.8. Labor market discrimination:

Sl. NO	Labor market discrimination	Yes	No
1	Low salary structure		
2	Respect to hours of work		
3	Harassment in the work place		
4	Caste or work based obligation		
5	Maternity or other leaves		
6	Total		

Q.C.9. Major Problems face: □ (1) unemployment   □ (2) low income

□ (3) housing crisis   □ (4) unsafe condition

□ (5) harassment   □ (6) social attitude

□ (9) other (specify)

Q.C.10. Perceptions occupational safety: □ (1) have low risk   □ (2) death can happen to   anyone

□ (3) death is fixed by the almighty

□ (4) have a stronger immunity

□ (9) other (specify)

Q.C.11. Type of harassment at work: □ (1) oral   □ (2) physical

□ (3) sexual   □ (9) others (specify)…

Q.C.12. Causes of underemployment: □ (1) no work   □ (2) illness

□ (9) others (specify)….

Q.C.13 Bribe for job: □ (1) yes   □ (2) no

Q.C.14 Bribe for pension: □ (1) yes   □ (2) no

Q.C.15. Any household saving: □ (1) yes   □ (2) no

Q.C.16. Amount of current savings: Tk……...

Q.C.17. Any household investment: □ (1) yes   □ (2) no

Q.C.18. Amount of current investment: Tk……...

Q.C.19. Any household loan: □ (1) yes   □ (2) no

Q.C.20. Amount of current loan: Tk…………

Q.C.21. Sources of loan: □ (1) govt or private bank   □ (2) N.G.O

□ (3) money lender   □ (4) relative or friend

□ (9) others (specify)….

Q.C.22. Causes of loan: □ (1) petty trade   □ (2) job purpose

      □ (3) provide foods   □ (4) marital purpose

      □ (5) medical treatment   □ (6) land purchase

      □ (9) others purpose (specify)…..

QC23. Household assets:

Sl. No.	Items	Market price (BDTk.)
1	Coat	
2	Furniture	
3	Cooking utensils	
4	Television	
5	Cassette player	
6	Refrigerator	
7	Mobile phone	
8	By-cycle	
9	Others (specify)…………	
	Total	

D. Living Condition

Q.D.1. Number of living room: ………..

Q.D.2. Number of windows: ………..

Q. D.3. Cooking arrangement: □ (1) having cooking room   □ (2) using living room

      □ (3) using open space   □ (9) others (specify)…

Q.D.4. Fuel used: □ (1) natural gas   □ (2) kerosene

      □ (3) husk or leaves/ straw   □ (4) firewood

      □ (9) others (specify)…

Q.D.5. Access to urban facilities:

Sl. No.	Access to facilities	Yes	No
1	Gas		
2	Electricity		
3	Water supply		
4	Sanitation		
5	Waste disposal		

Q. D.6. Types of latrine: □ (1) non-hygienic □ (2) hygienic

Q.D.7. Practices of boiled water for drinking: □ (1) yes □ (2) no

□ (9) others (specify)……

Q.D.8. Brushing Materials: □ (1) tooth paste □ (2) tooth powder

□ (3) coal □ (4) ash

□ (9) others (specify)……

Q.D 9. Drainage system: □ (1) no drain □ (2) kutcha

□ (3) semi-pucca □ (4) pucca

□ (9) others (specify)……

Q.D 10. Ownership of land : □ (1) yes □ (2) no

Q.D 11. Live in hygienic environment: □ (1) yes □ (2) no

Q.D 12. Causes for not live in hygienic environment…………………..

E. Health and women position

Q.E.1. Children's health: □ (1) poor □ (2) good

□ (3) very good

Q.E.2. Reasons for poor health:………………………..

Q.E.3. Not able to treatment before death: □ (1) due to poverty □ (2) lack of time

□ (3) unable to answer

Q.E.4. Immunization of the children: □ (1) given □ (2) not given

□ (3) not applicable

Q.E.5. Receive *vitamin A*: □ (1) yes □ (2) no

□ (3) not applicable

Q.E.6. Common disease:

S.L NO	Disease	Yes	no
1	Blood pressure		
2	Heart diseases		
3	Skin diseases		
4	Trachoma		
5	Gastric or ulcer		
6	Worm (an intestinal parasite)		
7	Fever, cough and cold		
8	Headache		
9	Diarrhea		
10	Jaundice		
11	Toothache		
12	Others		

Q.E.7 Receive contraceptive method: □ (1) yes □ (2) no

□ (3) not applicable

Q.E.8 Use of method: A. Temporary: □ (1) condom □ (2) pill
□ (3) IUD □ (4) injectables
□ (9) others (specify)…..
B. Permanent: □ (1) tubectomy □ (2) vasectomy

Q.E.9. Causes of not receive contraceptive method: □ (1) husband dislike □ (2) fear of side

effect □ (3)

religious fear □ (4) not available & others

□ (1) not response.

Q.E.10. Vaccination during last pregnancy period: □ (1) yes □ (2) no

□ (3) not applicable

Q.E.11. Last delivery with the help: □ (1) doctor/ nurse □ (2) traditional *dhai*

□ (3) relatives /neighbor □ (9) others (specify)

Q.E.12. M.R or Abortion conducted ^{last} time: □ (1)traditional Dai □ (2)F. P worker or Nurse

□ (3) doctors □ (4) homeopathe or *kabiraj*

□ (5) by herself □(9) others (specify)..

Q.E.13. Status of sweeper women:

Sl. No.	Woman position	Yes	No
1	Economic participation		
2	Labour market discrimination		
3	Domestic violence		
4	Working place harassment		
5	Participation in politics		

Q.E.14 Taking decision: □ (1) husband □ (2) husband and wife

□ (2) wife □ (9) others (specify)……

F. Access to Social Services

Q.F.1. Modes of treatment: □ (1) no treatment □ (2) self-treatment

□ (3) gov. hospital □ (4) non-gov. hospital

□ (5) quark □ (6) homeopath

□ (7) kaviraj □ (9) others (specify)….

Q.F.2. School going child …………………..

Q.F.3. Types of school**:** □ (1) government □ (2) city corporation based

□ (3) N.G.O based □ (4) club based

□ (9) others (specify)……

Q.F.4. Causes for not attending school**:** □ (1) due to poverty

□ (2) parents are not interest

□ (3) due to social attitude

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□ (4) participation in economic activities

□ (9) others   (specify)…

Q.F.5. Access to social programme:

Sl. No.	Access to social programme	Yes	No
1	Marriage and communal feast		
2	Funeral programme		
3	Religious programme		
4	National programme		
9	Others		

Q.F.6. Access to means of amusement:

Sl. No.	Recreation pattern	Yes	No
1	gasping and chatting		
2	witching T.V		
3	listening music or radio		
4	watching movies and drama		
5	playing cards or others game		
6	others		

Q.F.7. Access to social programme:

Sl. No.	Access to social programme	Yes	No
1	Marriage and communal feast		
2	Funeral programme		
3	Religious programme		
4	National programme		

G. Family & Social Network

Q.G1. Family type: □ (1) nuclear □ (2) extended

□ (3) Single parent □ (9) others

(specify)………..

Q.G.2 Type of single parent: □ (1) male-centred □ (2) female-centred

Q.G.3. Extended members: □ (1) blood based □ (2) marriage based

□ (3) fictive based

Q.G.4. Causes of extended family: □ (1) better for work □ (2) family bondage

□ (3) inadequate dwellings □ (9) others (specify)

Q.G.5. Causes of break extended family**:** □ (1) poverty and vulnerability □ (2) inadequate space

□ (3) personal conflict □ (9) others (specify)…

Q.G.7. Marriage type: □ (1) monogamy □ (2) polygamy

Q.G.8. Marriage pattern: □ (1) endogamy □ (2) exogamy

Q.G.9. Forms of Marriage: □ (1) love marriage □ (2) arrange marriage

□ (9) others (specify)……..

Q.G.10. Marriage system: □ (1) registered □ (2) unregistered

Q.G.11. Marriage break-up in family: □ (1) yes □ (2) no

□ (3) not applicable

Q.G.12. Causes of marriage break-up: □ (1) maladjustment □ (2) dowry

□ (3) sterile □ (9) others (specify)…….

Q.G.13. Type of kinship basis: □ (1) blood based □ (2) marriage based

□ (3) fictive based □ (9) others (specify)……

Q.G.14. Types of non-kinship basis: □ (1) employment based □ (2) community based

□ (9) others (specify)…..

H. Behaviour, culture and values

Q.H.1. Becoming angry with family: □ (1) frequently □ (2) occasionally

□ (3) very occasionally□ (4) rare

Q.H.2. Reasons for becoming angry: □ (1) economic □ (2) social

□ (3) psychological □ (9) others (specify)……

Q.H.3. Experience to give dowry: □ (1) yes □ (2) no

Q.H.4. Have any addiction: □ (1) yes □ (2) no

Q.H.5. Types of addiction: ………………………….

Q.H.6. Types of *mannot:* □ (1) money □ (2) goods

□ (3) animal □ (4) visiting holy place

□ (9) others (specify)…..

Q.H.7. Any conflict with your neighbor: □ (1) yes □ (2) no

Q.H.9. Causes of conflicts: □ (1) economic □ (3) political

□ (2) social □ (4) regional

Q.H.10. Who resolve the conflicts: □ (1) self □ (2) community leader

□ (3) formal organization□ (9) others (specify)

Q.H.11. Hide identity:

Sl. No.	Causes for hide identity	Yes	No
1	Access to white color jobs		
2	Access to white color jobs		
3	Residential address		
4	Others		

Q.H.12. Converted to Christianity: □ (1) hinduism is unethical, unfair, and ungodly and so forth

□ (2) for economic mobility

□ (3) christianity is self-respect & egalitarian principles

□ (4) to avoid lower position in society   □ (5) no response

Q.H.13. help converted to Christianity: □ (1) missionary   □ (2) self

□ (3) N.G.O   □ (9) others (specify).

Q.H.14. Know when your country became independent: □ (1) yes   □ (2) no

Q.H15. Know the location of the city New York: □ (1) yes   □ (2) no

Politics, policy and conflict

Q.I 1.Whether voter in the city: □ (1) yes   □ (2) no

Q. I.2 When became a voter in the city……………………

Q. I.3. How became the voter: □ (1) self   □ (2) local leaders

□ (3) political leader □ (9) others (specify)

Q.I.4. Casting votes in last elections: □ (1) parliament election   □ (2) city election

□ (3) none

Q.I.5. Are you also voter in village: □ (1) yes   □ (2) no

Q.I.6. Voting in recent union election: □ (1) yes   □ (2) no

Q.I.7. Political involvement: □ (1) no involvement   □ (2) only support

□ (3) active participation   □ (9) others (specify)

Q.I.8. How do cast your vote: □ (1) own decision   □ (2) family decision

□ (3) community leader   □ (2) political leader

□ (9) others (specify)…..

Q.I.9. Any pressure for voting: □ (1) yes   □ (2) no

Q.I.10. Persons who create pressure: □ (1) political leader's   □ (2) musclemen

□ (3) land lord   □ (4) employer

□ (9) others (specify)….

Q.I.11. Basis of candidate selection: □ (1) efficiency   □ (2) political ideology

□ (3) community interest   □ (4) personal interest

□ (9) others (specify)….

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Q.I.I2.Affiliation with organization: □ (1) yes   □ (2) no

Q.I.13. Type of organization: □ (1) community based   □ (2) co-operatives

                                     □ (3) NGO   □ (4) professional

                                     □ (5) regional   □ (9) others (specify)

Q.I.14 . affected by the policies of Municipality: □ (1) yes   □ (2) no

Q.I.15. Which policy affects…………………………………………………

Q.I.16. Any protest against the policy: □ (1) yes   □ (2) no

Q.I.17. Reasons for not any protest: □ (1) alienation   □ (2) powerlessness

                                     □ (3) limited hope   □ (9) others (specify)

Thanks for your participation.

Date of interview:…………………

Appendix-2: Photographs showing the poverty and vulnerability of the urban sweeper in the study locations in Dhaka City

14 no outfall Telugu community colony in Dhalpur

Partial view of new building which built for Jaat sweeper in Ganaktuli sweeper colony

Muslim sweepers taking a shower in a common bathing place in Dhalpur

Common toilet in Dhalpur sweeper colony

Tensed or jupri habitats of the Muslim sweeper in Dhalpur sweeper colony

Most of the colony is situated in the low laying area of the city and have no drainage system

A Muslim sweeper woman in her working area

A kanpuri woman is praying in Doyagong sweeper quarter

A couple of Telugu community in their Doyagong sweeper colony

A kanpuri family in Doyagong sweeper community

Telugu bride and bridegroom in Doyagong sweeper colony

Bride and bridegroom in Doyagong sweeper colony

Telugu Golgotha Baptist Church in Gulapbug

Resercher with Maria Das in Golgotha Baptist Church

Bodhanki Saloman, general sanpadok jatio kargo nirvahi komity (2012-13), BDERME

A Muslim sweeper's house in Dhalpur sweeper colony

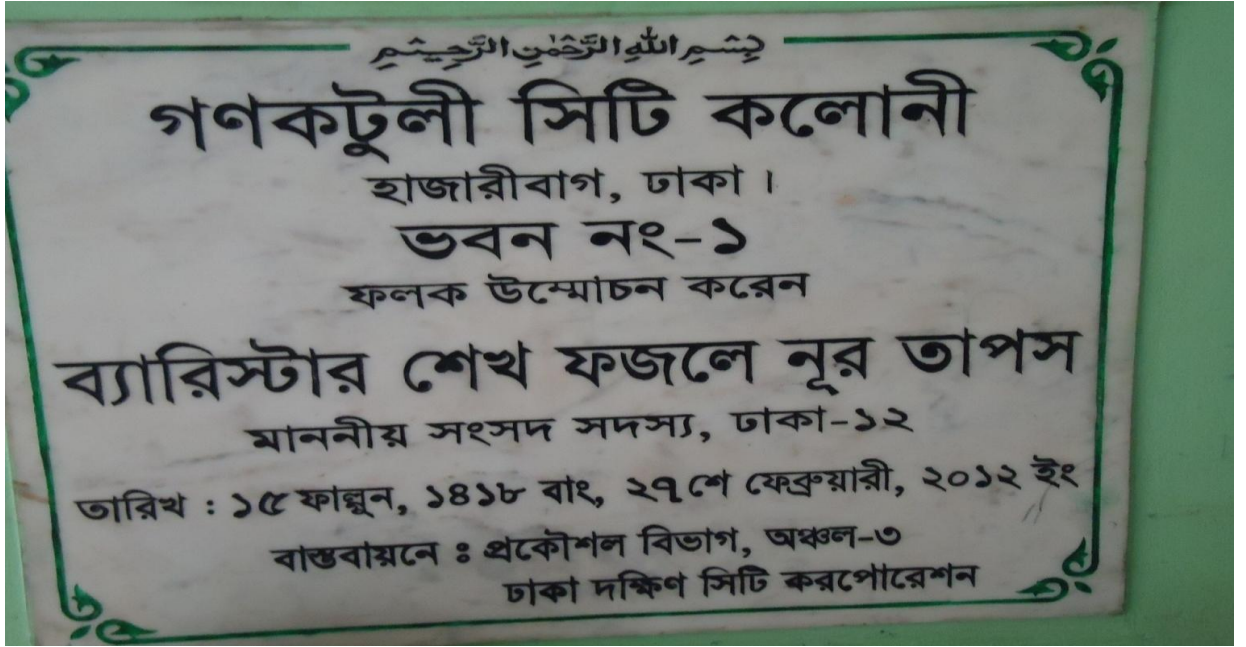There is no drainage system in Dhalpur Muslim colony

Women cooking food in a Dhalpur sweeper colony

Jaat sweeper's children in their class room in Ganaktuli sweeper colony

Sweeper children playing in Dhalpur quarters during school hours

New building-1 inauguration in Ganaktuli sweeper colony in 2012

Partial view of new building no -1 which is built for Muslim sweeper in Ganaktuli

Sweeper women are sweeping the road in winter morning

A young sweeper boy posing for his photograph in Dhalpur sweeper colony

A sweeper boy is sweeping the road.

 Some Garbage cleaners are worked in their working place

Nagar Bhaban, completed 1995, a building that houses the government of the city of Dhaka, Bangladesh.

A sweeper woman works in her house

The picture of sri sri privu jogodbandusundor

A Mondin is located in Doyagong sweeper colony for the sweeper community

Partial view of the jupri household in Dhalpur sweeper colony.

Mr. Bibhutosh Roy, General Secretary, Bangladesh Dalit and Excluded Rights Movement (BDERM) is delivering his speech at the human chain on 9 December, 2015 formed in front of the national press club, Dhaka as a part of the 16 days campaign to prevent violence against women.

A local bazar (market) beside the 14 no outfall sweeper colony in Dhalpur

UCEP Citypolli city corporation school in Dhalpur

Samaj unnoyan prisad in Dhalpur sweeper colony

Annex A

Extract from the Constitution of Bangladesh

(15th Amendment, 2011)

The state religion

2A. The state religion of the Republic is Islam, but the State shall ensure equal status and equal right in the practice of the Hindu, Buddhist, Christian and other religions.

Citizenship

6. (2) The people of Bangladesh shall be known as Bangalees as a nation and the citizens of Bangladesh shall be known as Bangladeshies.]

Secularism and freedom of religion

12. The principle of secularism shall be realised by the elimination of -

(a) communalism in all its forms ;

(b) the granting by the State of political status in favour of any religion ;

(c) the abuse of religion for political purposes ;

(d) any discrimination against, or persecution of, persons practicing a particular religion.

Equality of opportunity

19. (1) The State shall endeavour to ensure equality of opportunity to all citizens.

The culture of tribes, minor races, ethnic sects and communities

23A. The State shall take steps to protect and develop the unique local culture and tradition of the tribes, minor races, ethnic sects and communities.

Equality before law

27. All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law.

Discrimination on grounds of religion, etc

28. (1) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.

(3) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth be subjected to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to access to any place of public entertainment or resort, or admission to any educational institution.

(4) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making special provision in favour of women or children or for the advancement of any backward section of citizens.

Equality of opportunity in public employment

29. (2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office in the service of the Republic.

(3) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from –

(a) making special provision in favour of any backward section of citizens for the purpose of securing their adequate representation in the service of the Republic;

(b) giving effect to any law which makes provision for reserving appointments relating to any religious or denominational institution to persons of that religion or denomination;

Freedom of religion

41. (1) Subject to law, public order and morality –

(a) every citizen has the right to profess, practise or propagate any religion;

(b) every religious community or denomination has the right to establish, maintain and manage its religious institutions

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Annex-B

Extract from the Constitution of Pakistan (1956)

</div>

Article 5

(1) All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law.

(2) No person shall be deprived of life or liberty save in accordance with law.

Article 13

(3) No citizen shall be denied admission to any educational institution receiving aid from public revenues on the ground only of race, religion, caste, or place of birth: Provided that nothing in this Article shall prevent any public authority from making provision for the advancement of any socially or educationally backward class of citizens.

Article 14

(1) In respect of access to places of public entertainment or resort, not intended for religious purposes only, there shall be no discrimination against any citizen on the ground only of race, religion, caste, sex or place of birth.

Article 20

Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form forbidden and shall be declared by law to be an offence.

Article 28

The State shall endeavour to (a) promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of the people of the Special Areas, the backward classes and the Scheduled Castes;

Article 204

The castes, races and tribes, and parts or groups within castes, races and tribes which, immediately before the Constitution Day constituted the Scheduled Castes within the meaning of the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, shall, for the purposes of the Constitution, be deemed to be the Scheduled Castes until Parliament by law otherwise provides.

Article 205

The Federal and Provincial Governments shall promote, with special care the educational and economic interests of the Scheduled Castes and backward classes in Pakistan, and shall protect them from social injustice and exploitation.

Article 206

(1) The President may appoint a Commission to investigate the conditions of Scheduled Castes and backward classes in Pakistan and make recommendations as to the steps to be taken and grants to be made by the Federal backward classes, or Provincial Governments to improve their conditions.

(2) The Commission appointed under clause (1) shall investigate die métiers referred to them and submit a report to the President with such recommendations as the Commissions thinks fit, and copies of the report shall be laid before the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies.

Article 207

(1) There shall be a Special Officer for the Scheduled and backward classes in Pakistan, to be appointed by the President.

(2) It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and backward classes by Article 205, to investigate the extent to which any recommendations of the Commission appointed under Article 206 are

Annex C

Poona Pact

Agreement between leaders of Caste-Hindus (signed by M K Gandhi, GD Birla,Madan Mahan Malaviya, Rajagopalchari, Jayakar, Sapru) and of Dalits (signed by Dr. BR Ambedker and Rao Bahadur Srinivasan), at Yerwada Central Jail in Pune (Poona) on 24 September 932. The Pact had great impact on subsequent Indian politics.

1. There shall be seats reserved for the Depressed Classes out of general electorate seats in the provincial legislatures as follows: Madras 30; Bombay with Sind 15; Punjab 8; Bihar and Orissa 18; Central Provinces 20; Assam 7; Bengal 30; United Provinces 20; Total 148. These figures are based on the total strength of the provincial Council, announced in the Prime Minister's (British) decision.

2. Election to these seats shall be by joint electorates subject, however, to the following procedure : All members of the Depressed Classes registered in the general electoral roll of a constituency, will form an electoral college, which will elect a panel of tour candidates belonging to the Deparessed Classes for each of such reserved seats by the method of the single vote; four persons getting the highest number of votes in such primary elections shall be the candidates for election by the general electorate.

3. Representation of the Depressed Classes in the Central Legislature shall likewise be on the principle of joint electorates and reserved seats by the method of primary election in the manner provided for in Clause 2 above for their representation in the Provincial Legislatures.

4. In the Central Legislature eighteen per cent, of the seats allotted to the general electorate for British India in the said legislature shall he reserved for the Depressed Classes.

5. The system of primary election to a panel of candidates for election to the Central and Provincial Legislatures as here-in before mentioned, shall come to an end after the first ten years, unless terminated sooner by mutual agreement under the provision of Clause 6 below.

6. The system of representation of Depressed Classes by reserved seats in the Provincial and Central Legislatures as provided for in Clauses 1 and 4 shall continue until determined by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in the settlement.

7. The Franchise for the Central and Provincial Legislatures for the Depressed Classes shall be as indicated in the Lothian Committee Report.

8. There shall be no disabilities attached to any one on the ground of his being a member of the Depressed Classes in regard to any election to local bodies or appointment to the Public Services. Every endeavour shall be made to secure a fair representation of the Depressed Classes in these respects, subject to such educational qualifications as may be laid down for appointment to the Public Services.

9. In every province, out of the educational grant an adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities to the members of Depressed Classes.

Annex D

*A. The Govt. of India (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1936:

At the Court at Buckingham Palace, The 30th day of April, 1936. Present. THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL WHEREAS by certain provisions in the 1st, 5th & 6th Schedules to the Govt. of India Act, 1935, His Majesty in Council is empowered to specify the castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribe which are to be treated as the Scheduled Castes for the purposes of those Schedules: AND WHEREAS a draft of this Order was laid before Parliament in accordance with the provisions of subsection (1) of section three hundred and nine of the said Act and an Address has been presented by both Houses of Parliament praying that an Order may be made in the terms of this Order: NOW, THEREFORE, His Majesty, in the exercise of the said powers and of all other powers enabling Him in that behalf, is pleased by and with the advice of His Privy Council to order, and it is hereby ordered, as follows :-- 1. This Order may be cited as "The Government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1936." 2. Subject to the provisions of this order, for the purposes of the First, Fifth and Sixth Schedules to the Government of India Act, 1935, the castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes specified in Parts I to IX of the Schedule to this Order shall, in the Provinces to which those Parts respectively relate, be deemed to be scheduled castes so far as regards members thereof resident in the localities specified in relation to them respectively in those parts of that Schedule.3. Notwithstanding anything in the last preceding paragraph— (a) No Indian Christian shall be deemed to a member

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of a Scheduled Caste; (b) In Bengal no person who professes Buddhism or a tribal religion shall be deemed to be a member of any Scheduled Caste; and if any question should arise as to whether any particular person does or does not profess Buddhism or a tribal religion, that question shall be determined according to the answers which he may make, in the prescribed manner to such question as may be prescribed.

4. In this Order the expression "Indian Christian" has the same meaning as it has for the purposes of Part I of the First Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, and the expression "prescribed" means prescribed by rules made by the Governor of Bengal, exercising his individual judgment.

5. Any reference in the Schedule to this Order to any division, district, subdivision, tehsil or municipality shall be construed as a reference to that division, district, subdivision, tehsil or municipality as existing on the first day of July, nineteen hundred and thirty six.

∗ Extracted from Pamphlet No. 14 by the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh (Society of Servants of Primitive Tribes in India), Harijan Sevak Sangha's Office, Kings way, Delhi on the Articles of the Constitution relating to Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Other backward Classes carrying a foreword by LM Shrikant, Commissioner for Scheduled and Scheduled Tribe, Govt of India.