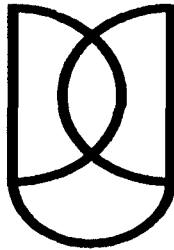


THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION  
IN URBAN INDIA

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the award of the degree of*  
**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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**CERTIFICATE**

This dissertation titled, “The Political Economy of Social Exclusion in Urban India” submitted in partial fulfilment for the Master of Philosophy degree of Jawaharlal Nehru University has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university and is my original work.

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*Dedicated to my mentor*

***Daisaku Ikeda***

*who imparts me the wisdom of this world*

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# **Chapter I**

## **Introduction**

This dissertation seeks to explore the sociological discourse of poverty and social exclusion in the context of urban policies in India. It studies the social dimensions of poverty and the characteristics of Indian social policies from the viewpoint of both sociology and social policy, with particular focus on the way in which the state acts upon the urban poor through its policies and vice versa. It primarily deals with the review of the existing literature to evolve a theoretical framework for the study of 'social exclusion'. This would provide a frame for my Ph.D. research that would involve case studies in urban India.

The objectives of this study are three-fold. Firstly, it tries to understand the phenomena of poverty in urban India. Secondly, it draws upon the history of social policies and administration of the governments at various levels – central, state and local. And thirdly, it describes the relationship between the state and the poor in urban India in relation to 'social exclusion' in terms of economic and political institutional arrangements. In pursuit of the above stated goals, three research questions were raised: (1) How different sociological and development theories approach to urban poverty? (2) How has the state tried to tackle urban poverty over time? (3) What is the role of civil society for the alleviation of the urban poor? In this context, the study will try to highlight the concept of 'social exclusion' and its significance in the sociology of development.

## **1.1 Research Problems**

Globalised economy of the international community and nation states has led to multi-layered effects on domestic, yet globally-networked, issues on development and environment. It has raised certain sociological issues on the role of the state and its resulting influences on everyday social relations. Poverty is such an issue, which is linked directly and indirectly with the world economic system that can be sociologically examined, taking variables such as political and economic institutions and social change into consideration. The term 'poverty' is not only economic but also politico-social embracing people's participation, human rights and dignity. Social dimension of poverty is a key issue that result from the unequal distribution of resources according to the ethnic, caste and class position of individuals. This often determines the extent to which poor people struggle in search of their life chances. In this context, it may be mentioned that the discourse of social exclusion, which has recently become popular among the sociologists working on development issues, has set its scope to analyse the problematic of poverty in a broader perspective.

The sociological and anthropological studies of poverty have been concerned about the following three issues: (1) investigating the causalities of poor people's lack of basic needs – the protagonist of this approach being S. Rowntree; (2) the relative deprivation approach formulated by Peter Townsend; and (3) the vulnerability approach which was first proposed by the development anthropologist, Robert Chambers and later adopted by bi- and multi-national development agencies. Cutting across all these approaches are the focus on social exclusion as one of the useful ideas to grasp multi-dimensional realities of poverty in the context of deprivation (de Haan 2000). In this context, Amartya Sen links the concept of social exclusion with his arguably



consolidated approach of capabilities. He makes a distinction between (1) the constitutive relevance and the institutional importance of exclusion and (2) active and passive exclusions (Sen 2000). Sen's approach is informed by Aristotelian perspectives that emphasise the importance of agency.

The idea of social exclusion is quite new in the field of development studies but provocative, as it tries to compound the similar concepts such as poverty and deprivation. It is positioned as a central point of social policy in the United Kingdom and other European countries towards realising an inclusive society. The origin of the term dates back to the mid-1970s when a French official showed interest in the socially disadvantaged people such as women, elderly, physical handicapped, and so forth (Lenoir 1974; Silver 1995). The idea is combined with the social and cultural milieu of Europe, inclusive of the UK, which have drawn attention to poverty and chronic unemployment. In 1997, the European Union (EU) took it up as an objective of social policy officially advocating 'the combat of exclusion', followed by the establishment of the Social Exclusion Unit in the UK New Labour Government thereafter (Atkinson and Davoudi 2000)

In an attempt to operationalise the term 'social exclusion', Hilary Silver sets three typologies: solidarity, specialisation and monopoly. First of all, social exclusion is regarded as 'the rupture of a social bond between the individual and society' in the French Republican thought. A Durkheimian sociological view of social solidarity that patches up with state governance is responsible for maintaining unity. Social exclusion from occupational specialisations is the tradition of Anglo-American liberalism that asserts that individuals contract voluntarily each other along with social differentiation, economic division of labour. On the contrary, the European leftist generally regards

that the formation of group monopoly leads to exclusion. Theoretical analyses of social democracy or conflict developed by Max Weber and Karl Marx have turned out to reveal a set of hierarchical power relations of class, status and political power (Silver 1995: 65–70).

This European-born concept has been adopted in development policies and research in the last decade (Clert 1999). It has contributed to the alteration of the mainstream approaches of development agencies. The policy approaches of multi-national development agencies such as the International Institute of Labour Studies (IILS), the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) began adopting the social exclusion concept in the wake of the Social Summit in 1995. Influential to the birth of social exclusion related policy agendas in relation to the Social Summit were the Neo-Liberal Counter-revolution and the New Poverty Agenda. The IILS, a research institute of the International Labour Organization (ILO), has been spearheading in seeking to deconstruct the traditional European notion of state-led distribution of wealth into a relational value that ensures people's participation and rights (Rodgers 1995). A number of the IILS empirical work has contributed to the analytical framework of social exclusion from the viewpoint of social welfare and security in developing countries. The efforts of these organisations have been influential, so much so the World Bank has taken up the issue of social exclusion in its monumental publication entitled *World Development Report 2000/01: Attacking Poverty*.

The policy concern on social exclusion in developing countries is manifest in urban areas rather than rural areas. The reason seems to lie in the quest for the citizenship of the poor who are often displaced from rural areas and hence migrate in

search of better employment opportunities. Issues on better provision of housing and other basic amenities in slum and/or squatter settlements are nothing new but there is a growing awareness that the government, often in collaboration with NGOs and international development agencies, should ensure fuller participation of residents in slum upgrading schemes or income generation schemes.

Typically, the idea of social exclusion is being adopted by UN organisations that have criticised government-led slum relocation schemes and self-help housing programmes elsewhere in the developing world. To list the recent international operations on urban poverty and low-income settlements, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) has initiated the Global Campaign for Urban Governance in 1999. It aims at the improvement of the quality of life, especially of the poor and the marginalised, through inclusive local urban governance. The purported advantage of this approach is that cities are the engines to encourage the marginalised on the basis of ethnic, gender and religious origins to participate in the process of decision-making in the economy and society (Habitat 2000).

Furthermore, the notion of social exclusion has grabbed attention of the UNDP, evidenced in its publication, namely the special issue on 'cultural liberty' in its *Human Development Report 2004*. The report emphasises that cultural liberty is one of the important aspects of securing human capability. This can be only pursued without detaching people from their everyday practices in religion and the organisational or associational life, which are inseparable from their cultural identity.

Social exclusion has indeed borne out of a question on the role of the welfare state in advanced capitalism. However, there are diverse interpretations of the concepts, influenced by the historical and political settings of each country, where social

exclusion has come to the fore in social scientific research. In this regard, Gosta Esping-Anderson suggests the typology of welfare regimes as conservative, social democratic and liberal. He goes on to argue that the welfare state should be regarded as superior to the market system in terms of mitigating social inequality under the pressure of globalisation (Esping 1990).

It goes along with the criticism that the welfare state has failed to include particular sections of the society, namely those who have been suffering from long-term unemployment and poverty. The legitimated formal services provided by national and local authorities have been contested as authoritarian conduct, resulting in the failure of achieving their goals to ensure social justice for the poor.

In the context of developing countries, it leads to the argument on the possibility of legitimate welfare service extension to the informal sector. Envisaging social justice for the poor is the ideal form of ensuring their dignity, endowed with the fulfilment of their political, economic and social well-being. And such value can be provided if each poor individual has existential values of 'agency', namely the knowledge and capability of individuals to reflect on their actions. Human agency of the poor can be acquired through inclusive policies of the state or civil society organisations such as social movements and Non-governmental Organisations. Of course, the creation of agency is determined by social change in a particular region or a country that shapes the nature of such organisations. Similarly, regardless of the level of their agency on their own account, the poor may remain disrespected, stigmatised and marginalised from 'others'.

In this regard, India offers interesting examples of macro politico-economic influences on the social exclusion of the poor. At the macro level, the government has

introduced a policy package of neo-liberal economy to foster economic development through open-trade with foreign countries by taking advantage of information technology (IT) industries. This was made possible despite the confusion among the public regarding the different outcomes from economic stabilisation and reforms in the wake of India's economic liberalisation. Proponents of the neo-liberal economic policy played a role in pursuing reforms that would enable the poor to gain access to opportunities for employment as unskilled labourers in the export manufacturing sector (Joshi and Little 1996).

India, with its increasing number of the urban poor, has been one of the major countries where social arrangements by the state have been made in accordance with population growth and urbanisation. The literature on the excluded in India has mostly examined social and political relations of the institutions that have come under the influence of a shift in policy framework from the socialistic towards the neo-liberal mode of development. There are various approaches to analysing exclusion in terms of 'welfare rights' by the State (Appasamy *et al.* 1996), land administration (Mearns and Sinha 1999) and religion (Bhargava 2004).

Researching how caste and kinship system was intertwined with the socialistic mode of Indian economic development, M.N. Panini considers it as a social network for infrastructure of economy and society. The planned economic policy before the economic reforms reinvented the caste system by fostering the privileged status of the emerging middle class in the formal sector. As a consequence, he reveals that it was the social process of exclusion that the subsequent economic reforms strengthened the underprivileged status of lower castes in the informal sector (Panini 1997).

Following Panini's account, it is clear that the urban poor have been driven into the politics of multiple institutional networks not only for seeking support through welfare services by the state but also for improving their social skills to cope with living in poverty. From the point of view of the urban poor, it is important to see social exclusion as societal and economic relationships and processes in their social world.

In Independent India, during the administration of the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, cities were to be recreated for its own nationalist ambition, and made remarkable not only as the symbol of a new sovereignty but as the effective engine to drive the country into the modern world. Nehru rejected the colonial inauthentic city as an object for drawing genuine, productive and universal modernity. In particular, the city of Delhi with its rich and long Islamic tradition, was challenged to adopt 'the idea of India' to be disputed and defined anew when it became a union territory in 1956 (Khilnani 1998).

For the first time, in Indian economic policy it is the Fourth Five Years Plan (1969-74) that realised poverty as a structural phenomenon and was here to stay despite the numerous welfare schemes undertaken between 1951 and 1966. From the mid 1970s onwards, national, state and local government agencies gradually started taking a more pragmatic stand with regard to slum. Resettlement program was launched in Delhi during 1960-1977, under three schemes following as; 1) Jhuggi-Jhonpri, Removal Scheme in 1960, 2) Master Plan of Delhi in 1962-81, 3) Environmental Improvement Programmes of National Fifth Five Years Plan in 1974-79. The efforts are increasingly aimed at improving the living conditions, and even the life, of slum dwellers by the programmes such as the Environmental Improvement Programme can be mentioned for

1970s, and the Basic Urban Services Programme for the late 1980s, which has been influenced by the initiative of World Bank□

Even with the several efforts made by Government to curtail urban poverty, it remains high, particularly in slum areas. This warrants looking at the reasons for persistence high poverty in slum areas through agency-oriented approach. At least most policies addressed are not sensitive to agency leading to failure of understanding causes of slum poverty in India. With this broader hypothesis, the specific research questions follows:

### **1.2. Research Questions**

- (1) How different sociological and development theories approach to the urban poverty?
- (2) How has the state tried to tackle urban poverty over time?
- (3) What is the role of civil society for the alleviation of the urban poor?

### **1.3. Analytical Framework**

This study, following the idea of Anthony Giddens' agency<sup>i</sup>, takes the case of the British India in order to build a hypothesis on the basis of the analysis of the history of social policy in India. The notion of the Fabian state was the first government-led attempt to provide social arrangement for the working class population in the wake of industrialisation and colonialism is the prime focus for this argument. It affected the governance of Indian social policies. The colonial administration of India had

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<sup>i</sup> The theoretical argument of agency relevant to poverty analysis will be discussed in detail in chapter 2.

implemented various social welfare programmes such as sanitation, education and social security that were however confined to urban areas. In addition, missionaries of the influential American Protestant churches implemented radical social services through which voluntary activities would be encouraged to reform traditional customs and social codes of Indian society.

For the analytical framework, it focuses on the following three actors: the state, voluntary workers and organisations and the nature of their actions for the urban poor. In conformity with the claims of structuration theory, the study seeks to explore the relationship between pro-poor social policies in India and grassroots actors such as voluntary workers in its historical right. The study also pays attention to the politics of policy-making for social welfare that attempts to invoke social participation of the poor. India shows interesting examples of the practices of welfare administration and voluntary activities, owing to its democratic setting, which was ironically consolidated by the British colonialism.

Arguably, it was fuelled by the theoretical foundations of the British-born study of social policy and urban sociology in the Chicago School tradition. Although these two had a little scope of analysing the role of the state in social policy, they did influence the social policy of colonial India, which inevitably led to the social change of urban areas. With the concern on the 'duality of structure', the study of social administration and policy possibly sheds an insight into how the social structure, i.e., the Indian state and the 'agents', i.e., the voluntary sector working for the urban poor influence each other. This dissertation, therefore, attempts to explore the theory of structuration by tracing the history of social welfare in pre- and post-Independent India. Brief case studies are to be done on the history of Delhi in its social policies. Delhi, as



compared to its older counterparts such as Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, has consolidated various different tradition and temperament of the Mughal, the British and the modern India.

In seeking of methodology from an arena of policy analysis, on one level, social policy is 'a contested public discourse involving political choices and administrative decisions about the appropriate division between public and private responsibility for individual and collective well-being', which involves 'actors and organisations in policy processes' on all sorts of issues, ranging from health care to long-term unemployment. In its processes, discourses are considered as the principal medium through which the politics of social policy is conducted. Discourse analysis is referred to 'language use as a form of social action and as a central dimension of contemporary power relations and social change'. It is remained for analysis of social policy to investigate the meaning of 'meta-narratives', like as inclusive society, neo-liberal welfare state, etc., and the way of mediation of welfare state discourse for policy actors and ordinary citizens. In restructuring welfare state, it is necessary to reassess how it can explore the emerging social relations of welfare, inequality and injustice (Marston 2004: 1-2)

In its theoretical research on public housing policy in Australia, Marston followed the methodology of discourse analysis in which both written policy material and interviews with policy actors were jointly conducted by interpreting discourse practices. It is claimed that 'written texts do not provide a sufficient account of the social, political and cultural processes that are inevitably implicated in the production and legitimation of the texts in question' (*ibid.*: 7). But it is also not to suggest that 'written discourse "prove" spoken discourse, merely that the written texts provide a

concrete and complex representation of spoken discourse practices' (*ibid.*: 8). A textual analysis is contextualised as an historical moment in a political economy of text production (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:6). Archival documents, such as annual reports, are an important data source for identifying when specific forms of policy language were first introduced. It assists in conducting a 'history of the present' (Rose, 1996).

This dissertation, as a preliminary and preparatory work for my PhD research, confines its arguments to the theoretical framework for the study on social exclusion and poverty and literature review. A detailed survey of administrative documents on the social welfare policies for the urban poor in India is supplemented, so as to understand how the state has been operating towards the inclusion and exclusion of poor people. This is done with a view to providing the basis of my future Ph.D. fieldwork to be conducted in Delhi.

#### **1.4. Research Method**

1. Review of literature, government documents, journals and news papers.
2. Review of relevant sociological and development theories of poverty and social exclusion pertaining to urban areas

#### **1.5. Limitation**

This study is based on available secondary literature data. Employing primary data would increase the validity of findings. However, this could not be done presently.

## **1.6. Organisation of the study**

The organisation of the subsequent chapters is as follows. Chapter 2 reviews the concepts of poverty and social exclusion. In particular, it tries to explore the emergence of the idea of social exclusion in conjunction with the concept of poverty in European countries, and in what context these concepts have been adopted for their policies in the developing world. An analysis of the official statements on social policy of European countries will be made. Conversely, this chapter reviews the works of development studies on social exclusion in order to understand how the concept operates in such countries as in India where the poor still consist of a majority of the population.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the review of literature on social policies in India. It first throws a historical light on the emergence of the voluntary sector in the wake of India's independence, and its role in influencing the administrative set-up of the state. It then discusses the dilemmas in mainstreaming the voluntary sector in the social policies for the poor in Independent India.

Chapter 4 attempts the state at realising India's modernity and how it was contradictory in incorporating the urban poor is of particular focus. It deals with some cases of Delhi with reference to poverty and social exclusion.

By way of conclusion, Chapter 5 summarises the key findings of the study. Then it raises some analytical points for my future research.

## Chapter II

### Conceptualisation of Poverty, Social Exclusion and Agency

The concept of poverty is a central point of argument by policy makers, scholars and practitioners. However, in order to achieve their policy goals, i.e., poverty alleviation, strategic approaches to defining the target or subject of public services are indeed important. From a sociological point of view, the reason lies in the fact that 'poverty' has been associated with not only particular economic condition, but also political, social, cultural and historical contexts in different societies. Thus, this chapter attempts to describe how the study of poverty has sought to understand the concept by way of reviewing theoretical works that deal with its definition and conceptualisation.

Amartya Sen whose works have led to the paradigm shift in development studies from the 1990s onwards, has contributed to the understanding of poverty which emphasises agency/agent functions and its expansion of capabilities. His arguments have been developed on the basis of the traditional understanding of poverty that focuses on income poverty, but these are analytically refined to understand deprivation and/or human poverty. They go well beyond the conventional analytical formulae on economic resources, bringing such variables as freedom of action and choice of poor individuals in the context of social and political changes. It is thus understood as a claim to prioritise development not for the country but for the people, such as United Nation Development Programmes' approach to its *Human Development Reports*.

The extension of the concept of poverty from the economic into the social is now accepted in the field of social policy as social exclusion. For instance, the introduction

of job-linked social arrangements such as the ‘welfare to work’ approach to facilitating improvement of the standard of quality of life in England manifest this, enacting encroachment of the service to create opportunities for employment of the poor towards a more inclusive society. It helps to understand social exclusion as not simply economic phenomena but social dynamics by which social relations of the poor change, while in voting activities from ‘below’ on the basis of their knowledge or ‘agency’.

Such relational aspects of agency are insightful when considering social and cultural dimensions of poverty. This will be argued in relation to the ‘structure and agency’ nexus that accounts for the dynamic relationships between macro politico-economic change, institutions and the struggles of the poor at the micro level. With these perspectives in mind the following chapters will explore the usefulness of the ‘social exclusion’ concept for the analysis of poverty in sociology and social policy, concerning development, while bringing more fundamental issues of values and moral of humanity.

## **1. Poverty**

The definition of poverty distinguishes the state of poverty and of being poor from that of not being in poverty (Lister 2004:4). There are various arguments on the nature of poverty and its attribution to the way of life of the poor and their environment. Post-war debates on the notion of poverty, followed by one of the Peter Townsend’s path-breaking work, *Poverty in the United Kingdom* (1979), shifted the sociological focus on its conceptualisation from ‘absolute’ to ‘relative’. Recent years have seen a conceptual development through the arguments of Townsend and Amartya Sen, the latter being the protagonist of the concept of capability poverty. Their discussions

considering the nature of poverty as being 'relative' and 'social' have significantly contributed to broadening its conceptual relevance to the more recent theory of agent/agency in development, in the wake of the recognition of citizenship and participation of the least advantaged.

### **1.1. Theoretical Analysis of Poverty**

#### **a) Peter Townsend: Relative Deprivation**

Understanding poverty in post-war Britain was a concern for policy underlies as well as sociologists towards the realisation of welfare state. Townsend's theorisation of poverty has its roots in the empirical research by sociologists such as Seebohm Rowntree and Charles Booth, whose work however fall short of grasping 'relative' dimensions of poverty. The understanding of poverty in absolute terms arose in the late nineteenth and early twenties century, when Seebohm Rowntree (1901) analysed 'primary' poverty as lacking sufficient money to meet basic physical needs. From such a biological perspective, poverty is defined as survival or subsistence of the poor in terms of material needs. However, Townsend criticises a narrow notion of subsistence of needs, bereft of a social context. Indeed, Townsend was the first scholar who articulated relative notions of poverty in his study of poverty in United Kingdom:

Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or are at least widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong. Their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns and activities (1979:31)

The concept is composed of social aspects of being poor, or 'participation in the public', are only grasped by the concept of 'relative deprivation'. It is the key concept for Rowntree's empirical study of the poverty, which explains relative deprivation occurs when people 'cannot obtain, at all or sufficiently, the condition of life – that is, the diets, amenities, standards and services – which allow them to play the roles, participate in the relationships and follow the customary behaviour which is expected of them by virtue of their membership of society' (Townsend 1993:36). This notion of deprivation distinguishes between 'material deprivation' and 'social deprivation'. The former refers to material goods and amenities; the latter to 'ordinary social customs, activities and relationships' (Townsend 1987:127). In comparison with the concept of deprivation, which turns 'on the level of conditions or activities experienced', poverty is linked with the basis 'on the incomes and other resources directly available' (ibid.140).

The relativity, which relates to such concepts as relative poverty and deprivation, falls into two categories. First, the nature of 'comparison' to be made in judging whether poverty exists and second, the nature of human 'needs'(Lister 2003:22). Comparison helps understand as who are the poor in relation to other people in terms of historical, cross-national and intra-national differences. Comparative dimensions of the notion of relative poverty are related to the way of understanding of human needs, which emphasises the social and the psychological: 'material resources may support the physical organism but it is the full range of social and psychological resources which are required for the experience of humanity' (Veit-Wilson 1999:85).

With regard to Townsend's relative poverty, even physiological needs cannot be divorced from social, historical and cultural contexts. He identifies the amount and

cost of the food is 'eaten depends on the social roles people play and the dietary customs observed', and in short, 'food in all kinds of society is "socialised"' (Townsend 1993:31).

#### **b) Amartya Sen: Capability Poverty**

Sen applies two concepts, that is, 'functioning' and 'capabilities', to deepen the understanding of quality of economic and social life, by which a nature of living as 'being and doing' is signified. 'Functioning' is 'constitutive of a person's being' (Sen 1995:39), which refers to what a person actually manages to do or to be. This ranges from elementary nourishment to participation in the life of the community towards their achievement of self-respect. 'Capability' is defined as 'a set of vectors of functionings' (ibid: 40), namely what a person *can* do or be, and this can be argued in relation to the freedom of choice. Sen premises the expansion of the capabilities of persons to lead the kind of lives they value – and have reason to value, and such capabilities can be enhanced by public policy. Similarly, the public can influence the direction of public policies through their effective use of participatory practices (Sen 2000:18).

In this approach, money is just a means to an end and the goods and services or 'commodities' are simply particular ways of achieving functionings. It argues that poverty should be defined in terms not of income and actual living standards but 'the failure of basic capabilities to reach certain minimally acceptable levels' (Sen 1995:109). Having been defined such, Sen acknowledges that 'the perspective of capability poverty does not involve any denial of the sensible view that low income is clearly one of the major causes of poverty, since lack of income can be a principal reason for a person's capability deprivation' (Sen 1999:87).



The capability approach, understands poverty in two senses: poverty as 'capability inadequacy' or 'lowness of income' (Sen 1999:90). This distinction is also in accord with the notion of 'capability deprivation' (ibid:20). In the case of contemporary Europe, unemployment has not only led to the loss of income of individuals but also to the extent with 'psychological harm, loss of work motivation, skill and self-confidence, increase in ailments and morbidity ... disruption of family relations and social life, hardening of social exclusion and accentuation of racial tensions and gender asymmetries' (ibid. 95)

Sen's conceptual analysis of poverty is useful because it reformulates the relationship between absolute and relative poverty, merging the two into one framework (Lister 2004:28). He believes that there is the 'irreducible absolutist core in the idea of poverty' as a manifestation of starvation and malnutrition, which operates in 'a relative form in the space of commodities' (Sen 1983:159 and 161). In other words, it is a question of universal absolutes on what a person is able to do or be, while relativity is observed regarding his/her ability to do and to be, depending on the cultural and historical context of their society. To this end, Sen concludes that:

there is no conflict between the irreducible absolutist element in the notion of poverty (related to capabilities and the standard of living) and the 'thoroughgoing relativity' to which Peter Townsend refers, if the latter is interpreted as applying to commodities and resources ... When Townsend estimates activities of the community', he is in fact estimating the varying resource requirements of fulfilling the same absolute need. (1983:161)

Sen uses the term 'absolute' not as a conventional meaning of subsistence but as a state of lacking basic opportunities to be or to do:

The characteristic feature of 'absoluteness' is neither constancy over time, or invariance between different societies, nor concentration merely on food and nutrition. It is an approach of judging a person's deprivation in absolute terms ... rather than in purely relative terms vis-à-vis the levels enjoyed by others in the society (1985:673, emphasis in original).

Such claim on the absolute core of poverty is subsequently accepted by Townsend who asserts, 'absolute or basic material and social needs across societies are the same, even when they have to be satisfied differently according to institutions, culture and location' (cited in Townsend and Gordon 2000:17)

## **2. Social Exclusion**

The origin of the term 'social exclusion' dates back to the mid-1970s when a French official showed interest in the socially disadvantaged such as women, elderly, physical handicapped, single-mothers and so forth (Lenoir 1974; Silver 1995). In France, the term social exclusion has become a keyword on poverty and inequality giving an impetus to new social policies. Since the 1960s, the poor have been categorised as 'the excluded' by politicians, activists, officials, journalists and academics. In 1974, Rene Lenoir, the then *Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Action Sociale* in the Gaullist Chirac government, estimated the number of 'the excluded' - being one-tenth of the French population. They are the mentally and physically handicapped, suicidal people, aged invalids, abused children, substance abusers, delinquents, single parents, multi-problem households, marginal asocial persons and other social misfits who were not entitled to state-sponsored social insurance schemes.

During the 1970s, drawing upon Jean-Paul Sartre's existentialism and the participatory ideology of Catholic social action, the 'subjective exclusion' was claimed

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by the French Left referring to alienation and the loss of personal autonomy under advanced capitalism. The struggles of mass urban social movement that mushroomed across Western Europe contributed to the birth of this concept. In the early 1980s, the term 'insertion' in political arena has shifted its focus from that on the handicapped to the school dropouts without adequate skills to obtain a job. By the mid-1980s, unemployment and 'new poverty' had been raised from both the Right and the communist party. These agendas enabled the socialist government to remark on 'exclusion' which referred not only to the rise in long-term and recurrent unemployment, but also to the growing instability of social relations, for instance, family instability, single mother households, social isolation, as well as the decline of class solidarity based on unions, the labour market, working class neighbourhoods and social networks. As a result, the term exclusion paved a way to describe the difficulty of establishing solidarity between individuals, groups and the larger society (Silver 1995:63-4)



### 2.1. United Nations agencies

Since the 1990s, the idea of social exclusion has spread among international organisations notably the United Nations agencies. Carine Clert reviews texts of official discourse on social exclusion used by international agencies that have established to the broader concern to construct alternatives to mainstream development in formulating anti-poverty approaches and their associated values and conceptualisation of social disadvantage (Clert 1999). The World Social Summit held in Copenhagen was a milestone to consolidate the social exclusion concept in development, as multi-national development agencies such as the International Institute of Labour Studies (IILS), the World Bank and the United Nations Development

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Programme (UNDP), proposed their approaches to the underlying issue. The Summit also integrated the concept into its programme of action and its follow-up work. It was the agencies such as the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (UNECLAC) that initiated the comprehensive strategy in social exclusion/inclusion after the Summit (UNECLAC 1997:173-80). The concept was also discussed in the Conference on Women in Beijing and in the Conference on Human Settlements organised in Istanbul (UN 196:7, 24).

The Declaration in the Summit regards social exclusion as profound major social problems related to poverty and unemployment (World Summit for Social Development 1995:3). Social exclusion is still not clearly defined yet it is treated as a quest for 'social integration' towards 'a society for all' or 'accessible to all' in opposition to 'social polarisation and fragmentation ... marginalisation of people, families, social groups, communities and even entire countries; strains on individuals, families, communities and institutions' (ibid:95-6). From a social policy perspective, action against 'social exclusion' can be grouped into four issues: (a) a call for the protection of rights and for more democracy in general; (b) respect for differences and value diversity; (c) the re-introduction of social justice with reduction of inequality and economic disparity; (d) adapting institutions and services to meet the needs of vulnerable groups including the indigenous, children and the disabled (ibid: 95, 101 and 102-3)

The IILS, an affiliated research institute of the International Labour Organization (ILO), is the leading actor in seeking to introduce the idea of social exclusion in the discourse of social security in developing countries. In May 1997, it held a conference at the ILO headquarters that addresses the theme focused on the

relevance of social exclusion for the operational work of the ILO. In this connection, a programme on Strategies and Tools against Exclusion and Poverty (STEP) was set up in the Social Security Department of the ILO in January 1998. Along with this progress, a number of empirical works by the ILS have contributed to the development of analytical framework which signifies social exclusion as a concept compounds 'process, agency and the multi-dimensionality of disadvantage', and providing 'a framework for analysing the relationships between livelihood, well-being and rights' (Rodgers 1995, Appasamy 1996, Gore 1997, de Haan 1998).

Following the ILO's initiatives, other developmental agencies in the United Nations has also started to employ the concept of social exclusion in their programmes. The *Human Development Report 1994* by the UNDP was one such effort, putting across the essence of the social exclusion approach to be useful to ensure a sustainable livelihood for all emphasising poverty reduction, employment creation and social integration (UNDP 1994:21). In addition, it supported the ILS project on social exclusion and invited the Policy Forum on Social Exclusion in 1996. In its recent, *Human Development Report 2004*, the UNDP considers social exclusion as a denial of cultural identity and freedom in human capability. It coined the concept 'cultural exclusion' on the basis of the social exclusion concept, consisting of (1) living mode exclusion and (2) participation exclusion (UNDP 2004:6). Secondly, the United Nations Research Institute on Social Development (UNRISD) published an issue on social integration for the Social Summit (UNRISD 1994). Thirdly, the World Bank, as an international lending institution, has taken up the issue of social exclusion since 1997. The former president of the World Bank, J.D. Wolfensohn, highlighted social inclusion as the key development challenge at the International Monetary Fund Annual meeting at

the World Bank in September 1997, (Wolfensohn 1997). The workshops were held at the World Bank headquarters in collaboration with the ILO and other agencies, followed by the monumental publication: *World Development Report 2000/01: Attacking Poverty*, which pays special attention to social inclusion of the poor.

These initiatives have had significant implications for urban – specific programmes on social exclusion on a global scale. For example, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) launched the Global Campaign for Urban Governance 1999. It aims at the improvement of the quality of life, especially of the poor and the marginalised, through inclusive local urban governance. The purported advantage of this approach is that cities would encourage the marginalised on their basis of their ethnic, gender and religious origins to participate in the process of decision-making in the economy and society (Habitat 2000).

C. Clert reveals the background of such diffusion of social exclusion approaches to international policy initiatives by locating this movement in two influential development paradigms: the Neo-Liberal Counter-revolution and the New Poverty Agenda. In the 1970s, the mainstream development approval based on the ‘accelerated growth model’ was replaced with the ‘redistribution with growth’ and ‘basic needs’ approaches. International economic recession and financial crisis in 1980s called for IMF and the World Bank to introduce the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in order to change economic structure of developing countries with conditional financial loans. Neo-liberal policies were adopted by the South. However, the emphasis on efficiency and the market based on trickle-down premise were accompanied by the reduction of social mandate of basic needs.

Under such circumstances, re-conceptualisation of concepts such as social justice and inequality was pursued and in this concept, the concept of 'good governance' emerged. To trace its progress, during the 1980s, the awareness of the costs of adjustment had been raised in the publication of the UNICEF entitled 'adjustment with a human face'. It was continued to a shift from the material approach to the people-centred response to development adopted by agencies such as the UNDP. This set of experience of developing countries are reflected on the package of 'New Poverty Agenda', proposed by Lipton and Maxwell (1992), that holds two components: (1) a set of policies facilitate participation of the poor in market opportunities and invest human capital for the access to assets, (2) the design of safety nets, such as nutrition and food assistance and compensatory measures to the vulnerable (Moser 1992). This agenda has appealed to the action-oriented designing of welfare and development policies.

## **2.2. The European Union**

In regional context, the idea of social exclusion has taken a prominent position in the discourse of the European Union, where social cohesion and social solidarity has been on decline and the needs to reintegrate or insert the socially-excluded into mainstream society become an important issue. It was in the 1970s that the EU faced dilemmas for its function as welfare state. However, the welfare state was undermined by the growth of poverty and unemployment throughout the 1980s and 1990s. In 1989, the Council of Ministers passed a resolution paying attention to the growth of social exclusion and the need to develop policies to combat it. The Commission had estimated that within the European community in 1985, 50 million people were living in poverty,

and in 1992, 14 million were unemployed (CEC 1992: 3). By the end of 1998 in the EU, 16.5 million people, just fewer than 10 per cent of the working population were unemployed, and five per cent of the population were facing long-term unemployment, i.e., unemployed for a year or more (CEC 1999: 61).

Rob Atkinson and Simin Davoudi (2000) explore EU policies by surveying its official documents to identify its development as a policy. According to them, the term 'social exclusion' emerged in the EU during the Presidency of Jacques Delors of France. At the first active phase between 1985 and 1992/93, he involved himself in social policy issues desiring the Member State to develop a single market that would be accompanied by greater social integration and cohesion. Due to his own tendency and the presence of French officials in the Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs, social exclusion derived its meaning from French social policy discourse and its associated welfare regime. The typology of Esping-Andersen (1990) suggest that it is a corporatist/conservative regime but influenced by Catholic social policy, by which the EU social policy is associated with the European social model, and linked with the notion of social market economy.

The challenge of globalisation in the 1990s onwards has given pressure to reform the European social model to be competitive and flexible in its operation. In contemporary European societies, the term of social exclusion has been employed as a helpful concept to counter the above challenges in the following contexts. Firstly, it relates the incidence of poverty and disadvantage among some groups and in some locations to wider processes of restructuring of economies and welfare state. Secondly, it emphasises the multiple nature of disadvantages and looks beyond the issues of income inequality in order to incorporate social and cultural aspects of disadvantage as well as the



notion of citizenship rights. In response to these problems, the Commission has consistently stressed the need for the modernisation of social protection systems. As a consequence, the phenomena of social exclusion became to be recognised as a threat of economic growth resulted from financial strains on social protection systems since 1993 (Atkinson and Davoudi 2000:428-31, 438).

In comparison to the other EU countries, the United Kingdom uses the term of social exclusion interchangeably with that of poverty. In UK, it was until 1997 that the term had not widely been recognised, when the labour Government launched the Social Exclusion Unit in Whitehall. Prime Minister, Tony Blair, argued the idea as ‘a shorthand label’ to link ‘individuals or areas’ with ‘problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown’ (Opportunity for All 1999:23). The UK, in contrast to other EU member states, places less emphasis on the social and cultural dimension of exclusion in the light of its unwillingness to acknowledge the existence of poverty and entrenched inequalities in a form of ‘symbolic politics’ (Atkinson and Davoudi 2000:435-36).

### **2.3. Theoretical Analysis of Social Exclusion**

Social exclusion is now a buzzword in social policies in Western Europe and development policies in developing countries. However, the term still require analytical rigour when compounded with sociological analysis of poverty and development. One of the official documents by the European Community concedes that ‘it is difficult to come up with a simple definition’ (CEC 1993:10). Even the French official of Commissariat General au Plan (CGP), which is responsible for designing and evaluating policies to combat exclusion, has shown its difficulty to define the term. The CGP’s

Commission on Social Cohesion and the Prevention of Exclusion concluded, 'Every attempt of typology is necessarily reductive, particularly when it concerns populations which are either – individual, familial, or socio-economic – are multiple, fluctuating, interacting and finally often cumulative'. 'In the final analysis the notion of exclusion is saturated with meanings, non-meanings, and counter-meanings; finally one can make almost anything of the term' (quoted in Silver 1995:60). The term 'social exclusion' is thus very evocative, ambiguous, multidimensional and expansive that it can be defined in many different ways.

#### **a) Hilary Silver: Three Paradigms**

Recasting 'social exclusion' on a manner of social scientific analysis, Hilary Silver attempts to operationalise the concept in three typologies: solidarity, specialisation and monopoly (Silver 1995).

First of all, social exclusion is regarded, in the light of the French Republican thought, as a progressive rupture of the social and symbolic bonds – economic, institutional, and meaningful – that normally attach each individual to the society. Adopting a Durkheimian rhetoric, the rupture is seen as the loss of collective values and destruction of the social fabric. In this view, insertion and integration are seen as the appropriate response to exclusion along with the Republican rhetoric of 'solidarity', 'cohesion', 'social ties' and a 'new social contract' in a Rousseauian sense. In terms of social solidarity, such notions as Christian charity, liberal individualism, socialist class conflict and strictly political citizenship are rejected. Rather, it moves towards a 'third way' to reconcile individual rights with State responsibility, in which the 'post-

modernist', or cultural pluralist notions reconfigure the basis of solidarity from dominant to minority culture (Silver 1995: 66-7).

Secondly, social exclusion is considered as a result of the process of division of labour and social differentiation. It assumes the importance of autonomous individuals and networks based on the voluntary contracts in pursuit of individuals' interests and motivations. Such exchanges lead to social exclusion when it is ill-applied to the functionings of institutions or becomes barriers to free movement in a given social sphere. To the extent that group boundaries obstruct individual freedom to participate in social exchange, exclusion becomes an institutionalised form of 'discrimination'. In the social sciences, such liberal individualism has been applied in neo-classical economics, theories of political pluralism, rational and public choice theories and mainstream sociology (Silver 1995: 67-8).

The third typology of exclusion is a consequence of the formation of group monopoly. It is influential among the European Left, which view the social order as coercive. Orthodox Marxism argues that the privileges class solidarity denies the potential for true social integration in class-based societies. From the point of view of Weber, group with higher 'status' exclude those below from access to social resources and power as well. This is potentially independent from social class. It assumes that social action is motivated by 'material and ideal' interests, moulded by structure and culture, constraint and autonomy. Such forms of monopoly maintain status group's exclusivity. By restricting access to opportunities and resources, 'closure' allow these insiders to share a common culture, identity and norms thereby legitimating exclusion. Therefore, the excluded are the outsiders who are dominated at the same time. They are

demarcated at every boundary within or between nation states, localities, firms, labour market or social groups (Silver 1995: 68-9)

To summarise Silver's argument above, three paradigms are drawn here: firstly, it is the rupture of social, cultural and moral bond in solidarity paradigm. Secondly, it reflects discrimination in the specialisation paradigm. Thirdly, it is a process of social closure by powerful groups in the monopoly paradigm. In considering such ideal-typical types, Silver conceives that social exclusion is manifested in the form of social relations that reflect in different types of economy and society.

#### **b. Amartya Sen: Capability Approach to Exclusion**

Amartya Sen scrutinises the idea of social exclusion in search of conceptual connection with poverty and deprivation by placing the new idea of exclusion along with the old idea of poverty as capability deprivation (Sen 2000). He claims that a point of departure for the argument is 'not acknowledgment of the idea of relational connections, but the focusing on it' (ibid. 8)

In the light of the Aristotelian approach, which sees an impoverished life as one without the freedom to undertake important activities that a person chooses, poverty is considered as a capability failure of multidimensional functions in social life. According to Sen, the idea of social exclusion is to be studied in view of social relations so that the idea is considered directly as a part of capability poverty. It becomes the form of social exclusion when a person is unable 'to appear in public without shame', and free social interaction with others is reduced in the form of capability deprivation. In consequence, being excluded from social relations leads to other deprivations of living opportunities such as employment, coupled with undernourishment or

homelessness. Therefore, social exclusion can be '*constitutively a part* of capability deprivation as well as *instrumentally a cause* of diverse capability failure' (Sen 2000: 4-5, emphasis in original).

From the standpoint of the capability approach, being excluded is of intrinsic importance on its own. Because 'not being able to relate to others and to take part in the life of the community can directly impoverish a person's life'. In relation to instrumental importance of social exclusion, Sen gives an example of denial to access to credit market as economic opportunities deprivation. In the case of landlessness, it is possibly considered as both instrumental and constitutive exclusion. He recognises the importance of invoking the idea of social exclusion both, instrumentally and constitutively, so as to identify the causal process of capability deprivation (Sen 2000:12-4).

In addition to such a distinction between constitutive relevance and instrumental importance, Sen also provides distinction between 'active' and 'passive' exclusion. The former is explained by using an example of the denial of political rights of immigrants or refugee, which applies to many of the deprivations in minority communities in Europe and Asia. The latter is derived from social processes in which there is no deliberate action that lead to exclusion. He provides an example of poverty and isolation that are generated by a sluggish economy and a consequent accentuation of poverty. In terms of causal analysis and policy response, it is 'important to distinguish between the active fostering of exclusion – whether done by the government or by any other wilful agent – and a passive development of an exclusion that may result from a set of circumstances without such volitional immediacy' (Sen 2000: 14-5).

Sen identifies two central issues in the literature of social exclusion, respectively on 'epistemology' and on 'practical reason'. The former question focuses on a better understanding of the phenomena of poverty and deprivation in terms of relational obstacles. The later challenge of practical reason is made in the form of questioning how to improve policy-making (Sen 2000:27). In his analysis of the performance of Asian economies, Sen praises the implication of social policy towards 'nonexclusionary expansion of human development' (ibid. 35), which inquires how to 'avoid a specific type of social exclusion, particularly from basic education and elementary social opportunities' (ibid. 31). Such policy is brought in line with 'protective security', which provides non-exclusive social arrangement for safety nets (ibid. 37).

### **3. Agency**

As Amartya Sen analyses in view of the capability approach, the concept of both poverty and social exclusion envisage the function of 'agency' as a subject matter, which emphasises the importance of agency's freedom of action. Graham Room identifies a key shift of the discourse of social exclusion 'from a static to dynamic analysis' (Room 1995:236; 1999). This dynamic analysis variously involves a concern with 'process', in terms of both individual trajectories and wider societal forces, and with 'agency' – at the levels of both individuals and of societal agents of exclusion.

The focus on individual trajectories is sometimes described as a series of stages such as precariousness, further argued not only for a question of past but also of developing 'forward looking indicators' that can measure people's expectations of the

future: 'people are excluded not just because they are currently without a job or income but because they have little prospects [*sic*] for the future' (Atkinson and Hills 1998:8).

By virtue of the comprehension of these processes, social exclusion is acknowledged in terms of both structure and agency. In other words, the concept encompasses the operation of social, economic and political structures and institutions and the agency of the more powerful (Rodgers 1995). Charles Gore argues that social exclusion is 'a practice of the more powerful which structures the possible field of action of the less powerful' without blocking all 'possibility of agency on the part of excluded groups (1995: 113). Therefore, it is imperative to relocate the term in a more actor-oriented perspective; namely, how the excluded are 'themselves able to realise their objectives as a result of their own decisions' (Hills 2002:240).

### **3.1. Theoretical Understanding of Agency**

This study covers issues on social policy in development which has often been conceived to be value-laden, thereby may not necessarily satisfy the social scientific requirement for value neutrality. The concept of 'social exclusion' is no exception, attempting to put across its policy concerns, i.e. 'what ought to be done' in the provision and distribution of social welfare. However, it is also possible to make the concept analytically viable by interrogating its roots in the Western philosophy of 'humanism'. Philosophical arguments on the meaning of humanism typically depend on the historical and social backgrounds of each country. Renaissance humanism, Christian humanism and Marxian humanism – all bases of social policy and sociological thoughts – have undoubtedly contributed to the framing of the social exclusion concept. The necessitating of these philosophical arguments is however outside the scope of my study.

The purpose of my study is not reducing the social exclusion concept to 'humanitarianism' that simply connotes 'welfarism', but recovering the common perception towards the poor as 'passive' recipients of the welfare service. In this connection, I shall regard the urban poor as agents who can influence service providing authorities on their own towards realising a better relationship with the government that would better incorporate them. This 'dynamics' which involve 'time and space', in other words, human agents are capable of transforming the structure which however constrains their autonomous action. In this sense, structure and agency influences each other in shaping the overall power structure in a society. This 'duality' of social structure is notably formulated by Anthony Giddens in his structuration theory, and it provides the route by which to understand how the urban poor survive, facing challenges of their growing exclusion from the globalising market and the shrinking social security services.

In the 1970s, the structuration theory contests the dualism of agency and structure in seeking 'duality' of structure. The theory attempts to show how 'social structures are both constituted by human agency, and yet at the same time are the very medium of this constitution', and by explain how action is constituted structurally' (Giddens 1976: 161). It is also to understand structures not 'as simply placing constraints upon human agency, but as enabling'(ibid.: 161), by which it is recognised that 'the less powerful manage resources in such a way as to exert some control over the more powerful in established power relationship'(Giddens 1984: 374). Structure is not the given and external as that Durkheim premised but is linked with its subjectivity and dynamics of practices by agency. Giddens states: 'the moment of the production of action is also one of reproduction in the contexts of the day-to-day enactment of social



life' (Giddens 1984: 26). In grasping duality of structure, it is imperative that the structuration theory critically demands the understanding of dynamic variables of 'time-space relations inherent in the constitution of all social interaction' (Giddens 1979: 3).

The notion of structure in this politico-economic sense implies that, influences of the state control on the poor, i.e. human agency is to be studied in accordance with the social administration and policy in post-Independent India. Scrutinising the Giddens's theory of structuration for its application to empirical studies, Christopher G.A. Bryant and David Jary review the literature covering various subjects (Bryant and Jary 2001). Among the most insightful is the work by D.T. Bastien, R.D. McPhee and K.A. Bolton, which examines the cost reduction and restructuring of the administrative unit of a large city government, advocated by a new chief executive who stood for the election (Bastien, McPhee and Bolton 1995). The analytical rigour of this work is that it rejects Anglo-American approaches to the investigation of organisational structure focussing mainly on the attribute of an organisation as an aggregate of psychology of the individuals. Alternatively, it proposes a structurational view to understand the organisational climate as inter-subjective (Bryant and Jary 2001: 52).

The study on agency, which contributes to such argument above, has been the central issue of theoretical analysis of society. As Alan Dawe identified the theoretical debates on society until the 1970s, there was a wave of new approaches between 'atomism and holism, methodological individualism and collectivism'. Of the many, two theoretical standpoints are constituted: one is the 'sociology of system' and the other is the 'sociology of action'. The latter approach of social action is applied with the subjective orientation of action in accordance with its ends, means and condition as a creative agency of history. This subjective historic view of actor is based on the

Enlightenment that perceives 'action constitutes an unceasing attempt to exert control over existing situation, relationships and institutions in a way as to bring them into line with human constructions of their ideal meanings' (Dawe 1970:212).

In view of the concept of Parsonian functionalism, it is presumed that societies require 'functional prerequisites' to maintain its system internally and externally. Such a functionalistic view on agency had changed from 'creative relation of men to norms', in the early work of Parsons, to the 'passive, adaptive' relation in his latter work (Dawe 1970: 215). It implies an historical process of specialisation and institutional development as the principles of modernisation theory. The characters of the modernisation theory can be summarised as: (1) universalistic and deterministic, (2) ethical naturalistic and (3) normative functionalist (Parker 2002:19). These natures of modernisation theory have resulted in two major unbalanced problematic. The first is a belief in an optimistic and theological view on social order that has neglected systematic contradiction or cultural difference (ibid. 20). The second devaluates or 'alienated' input of human individuals as functional resources for social systems, which can be criticised of 'reification' (Mouzelis 1995: 78-9). Such debates on the re-focusing of human agency have laid a foundation for the emergence of the 'structuration' theoretical claims.

Looking at the theoretical development of sociology since the 1970s, the 'structuration' theory, formulated by Anthony Giddens has contested the dualism of agency and structure in seeking a 'duality' of structure. The theory attempts to shed light on how 'social structures are both constituted by human agency, and yet at the same time are the very medium of this constitution', and by explaining how action is constituted structurally (Giddens, 1976:161). It is also to imagine structures not 'as

simply placing constraints upon human agency, but as enabling', by which it is recognised that 'the less powerful manage resources in such a way as to exert some control over the more powerful in established power relationships'(Giddens 1984: 374).

Structure is not the given and external as Durkheim premised but linked with its subjectivity and dynamics of practices by agency. As Giddens goes on to state: 'the moment of the production of action is also one of reproduction in the contexts of the day-to-day enactment of social life' (Giddens, 1984:26). Thus, to better understand the duality, subjectivity and practice of individuals becomes a core component of the structuration theory. This understanding helps to understand dynamic variables of 'time-space relations inherent in the constitution of all social interaction' (1979:3).

It is of remarkable importance that Giddens has set the analytical scope of time and space. With Heidegger's non-parametric conception of time/space (Giddens, 1981a:33), it is time is considered to be four-dimensional: past, present, future and 'presenting'. This view on time bestows on an interpretation of relationship between man and his time as been quoted that, 'Being exists in the coming-to-be of presence' (1981a:31). Man lives and acts with an expectation for the future that is not yet seen but existentially connected at present that he lives. As it were, dimensions of each time are linked through the experience and action of an agent. It is rather a subjective view of time and space. Thus, in this view, the agent is supposed to be able to give an influence on his own perception and experience in his everyday life. The actors are 'interlacing ... meaning, normative elements and power to form to situations of action towards appropriation of 'rules and resources', which on the whole are interpreted as structure (1981a: 46-7)

Reflected by such consideration of time and space, the structuration theory claims that actors are never cultural, yet rather knowledgeable and capable agents who reflectively monitor their action. In Giddens' sense, action has three components: the unconscious motivation of action, the rationalisation or reasons of action, and the reflexive or knowledgeable monitoring action (Bryant and Jary 1991:12). However, Stones contests that Giddens' theory fails to see the strategic context of action (Stones 1991). He analyses the concept of knowledgeability in a strategic context, and it is 'the social nexus of interdependencies, rights and obligations, asymmetries of power and the social conditions and consequences of action' (Stone 1996: 98).

These treatments of agency are reflected in recent theorising of the welfare state, which aims to transcend the dichotomy between individualist and structuralist approaches. Central to this 'new paradigm of welfare' is an emphasis on 'the capacity of people to be creative, reflective human beings, that is, to be active agents in shaping their lives, experiencing, acting upon and reconstituting the outcomes of welfare policies in various ways' (Williams *et al.* 1999:2).

### **3.2. Dynamics of Agency**

The idea of agency is used to characterise individuals as autonomous, purposive and creative actors, capable of choice to a certain degree (Lister 2004:125). In view of the new welfare research, models of agency are not formed upon the perspective of 'economic rational man' in which poverty attributes to individualistic responsibility. From a sociological perspective, such rational man is criticised as an economic, 'narrow conceptualisation of human action' in which 'atomizing human agency, largely ignores culture and social structures in which human agents are

embedded' (Burns 1994: 198, 227). Agency is exercised within a social and cultural context and research indicates that 'cultural values play an important role in influencing economic choices' (Taylor-Gooby 1998:222).

In the work of Sen, the notion of capability implies agency. Moreover, 'understanding the agency role ... is central to recognising people as responsible persons: not only are we well or ill, but also we act or refuse to act, and can choose to act one way rather than another ... It makes difference' (Sen 1999:190). What makes a difference is not only how those in poverty act but also how 'structures are perpetuated (and modified) by agency, that is, individual and collective actions or non-actions' (Lister 2004:128).

In the analysis of dynamic agency in poverty, Ruth Lister (Lister 2004) proposes the typology set out in Figure 1. The horizontal axis in Figure 1 represents the continuum from the personal to the political, and the vertical axis represents the continuum from everyday forms of agency to the strategic. Thus, the four quadrants represent different types of agency exercised by people in poverty. First, 'getting by' in poverty stands in the everyday-personal quadrant, which refers to the informal modes of action to cope with the poor circumstances. Such modes are in search of various resources like personal, social and material, as well as cultural resources of necessary information towards moving out of poverty.

Second, 'getting (back) at' in the everyday-political quadrant refers to activities such as work in the informal economy and benefit fraud that are seen by some as forms of 'everyday resistance'. The terms is coined by James C. Scott to refer to 'the ordinary weapons of relatively powerless groups: foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so forth' (Scott 1985:29). It

is ‘informal, often covert, and concerned largely with immediate, *de facto* gains (ibid.: 1985:33), to seek ‘nearly always survival and persistence’ (ibid: 301). It reflects in ‘the fusion of self-interest and resistance’: for example, ‘when a peasant hides part of his crop to avoid paying taxes, he is both filling his stomach and depriving the state of grain’ (ibid: 295).

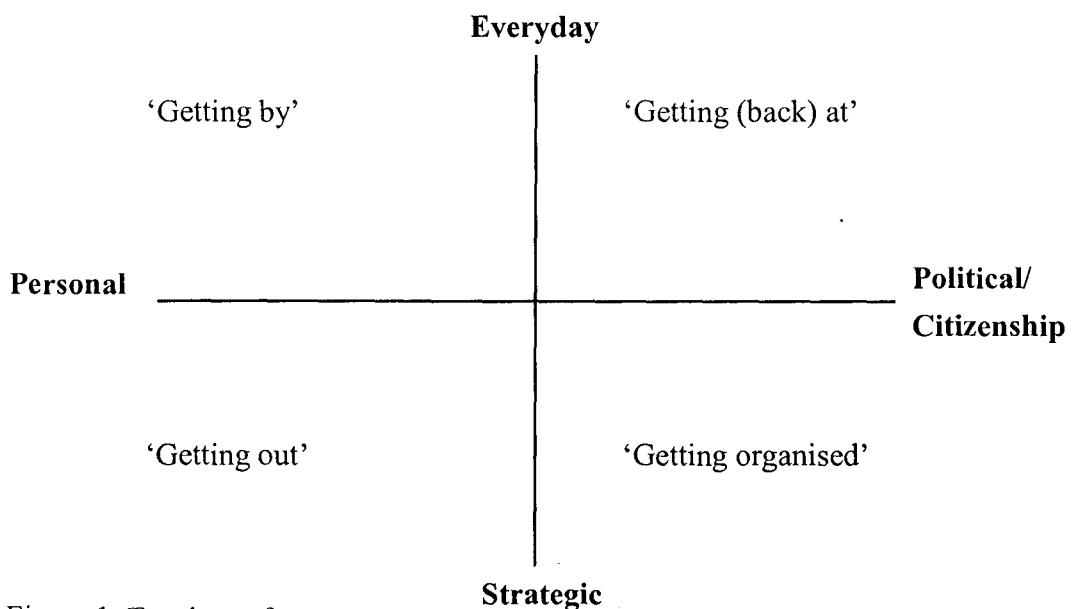


Figure 1 Typology of agency

Third, ‘getting out’, which is in the personal-strategic quadrant, refers to the individuals’ strategic exercise in negotiating for the routes to move out from poverty, and with the barriers derived from structural and cultural factors. Such interplay between agency and structure is the heart of contemporary theorisation of the dynamics of poverty (Leisering and Walker 1998), which proposes ‘movement in and out of poverty are a product of both individual actions ... on the one hand and economic and social processes and Government policies on the other (Lister 2004: 145).

Lastly, 'getting organised' in the political-strategic quadrant refers to the action 'in the form of collective self-help' or of 'political activities' in search of overcoming the constraints and barriers (Lister 2004:149). Such collective actions are taken upon common identification such as 'the poor' ascribed by powerful others such as politician, professionals, media or researchers (Beresford and Croft 1995). It is one of the most fundamental constraints that concerns subjectivity and identity based on 'people's understanding and accounting of their own experiences ... [and] their sense of being and belonging' (Williams and Popay 1999:179). However, poverty 'describes a socially stigmatised lack of material resources', and "proud to be poor" is not a banner under which many are likely to march' (Lister 2004:152). People in poverty involve in struggle 'for recognition of their common humanity and citizenship and the equal worth that flows from that (ibid: 188).

## **Conclusion**

Poverty is relative. It cannot be conceptualised only in terms of income level but also includes social and human needs or opportunities. It is analytically differentiated between relative deprivation and capability poverty. The concept of social exclusion is connected with poverty and deprivation. It led to a better understanding of social relations of agency in society. From the analytical view point of agency, the poor or the excluded are considered to be reflexive and dynamic through their everyday struggle.

## **Chapter III**

### **Social Policy in India**

This chapter consist of two parts: firstly, a review of the various approaches to the study of social policy, and secondly, a review of the history of social administration in India. Through its historical analysis, the review reveals the role of the voluntary sectors in relation to the formation of social policy and administrative setting for welfare agencies.

#### **1. Approaches to the Study of Social Policy**

James Midgley and Stewart MacPherson (1987) classify study of social policy of developing countries into three types of approaches: descriptive, normative and analytical. First of all, descriptive approach is undertaken by social policy investigations in order to document the historical development and present-day functions of welfare institutions. It employs various criteria to structure such material in three ways: (1) chronology approach by which descriptive narrative is phrased as historiography, (2) descriptive exposition of the services in operation at the time of writing, concentrating on administrative characteristics, resource, expenditures, coverage and provisions, and (3) description on account of legislative enactments governing social services which puts emphasis on the administrative aspects of these provisions (Midgley and MacPherson 1987: 90-5).



Secondly, normative social policy research seeks to evaluate social welfare institutions or to apply social service knowledge to establish or modify existing provisions in explicitly moral terms. This normative approach is distinguished between advisory and evaluative normative studies. The former is the policy research that seeks to meet particular administrative or operational objectives. It applies social policy knowledge for programmatic purpose to establish social service provisions or to modify them as if, for example, international agencies or the United Nations and its specialist agencies such as the World Health Organisation and the International Labour Organisation. Additionally, it is exemplified by the work of Titmuss, Abel-Smith and Lynes (1961) commissioned by the British colonial authorities to investigate the problems and make recommendations on public assistance in Mauritius during 1959 and 1960. It was remarkable report which attempted to adapt Western social policy approach with attention to local conditions such as fire-disaster benefit for wooden house structures, family-planning, health, welfare and social security provisions (Midgley and McPherson 1987: 96-100).

The latter, evaluative research, which is usually undertaken by the academics, evaluates and accesses the consequences of different social policy choices in terms of predefined criteria. Arthur Livingstone (1969) surveyed inadequate educational provisions in developing countries and suggested the change and linkage of educational curriculum emphasis towards the economic requirements of those countries. MacPherson (1982) investigated the social policies interdisciplinary putting emphasis on the influence of colonialism on the creation of social services in the Third World (Midgley and McPherson 1987: 100-03).

Hardiman and Midgley (1982) adapted three criteria to evaluate population policy, urban and rural development. Those are; (a) appropriateness, which referred to the extent to which social policies were suited to the needs of developing countries and took account of local social, cultural and economic realities, (b) equity, which was used to examine which resources were distributed on the basis of need, and (c) participation, which referred to the involvement of ordinary people in the creation, implementation and management of the social services. In their study, it was concluded that social policies were heavily influenced by colonial legacy so that it was not appropriate to the developing countries. It also discriminated the poor and rural majority resulting in market differentiated pattern of access to modern provisions among different sections of the community. Additionally, they mentioned that the social services were highly bureaucratic and unresponsive to local needs (Midgley and McPherson 1987: 104).

As the third approach, i.e., analytical studies tend not to comment on existing social provisions in terms of evaluative criteria or apply social policy knowledge to establish or modify social services programmes. Rather, they seek to explain welfare phenomena in abstract, theoretical terms. For example, Mishra (1977) studies different theories ranging from functionalism to Neo-Marxism that have been employed to explain the emergence and current feature of welfare institutions. In analytical approach, the studies mostly replicate the conceptual perspectives developed by Western social policy investigators who often make deterministic explanations or invoke technological determinism when accounting for the emergence of modern welfare institutions in the developing countries (Midgley and McPherson 1987:106).

Explaining the development of modern welfare institutions, some studies explored characteristic properties of developing countries in the context of colonial

diffusion. Midgley (1981) remarked on the experience of colonialism, by which welfare ideas and practices diffused along with social work in a form of professional imperialism. Similarly, MacPherson (1982) showed how social service provisions in the Third World had been shaped by colonialism. The acceptance of European languages, Christianity, Western modes of dress and similar tastes among many local elites, was curiously juxtaposed against their nationalism, which was later to rally popular support for political independence. Further, the overriding emphasis on economic growth in colonial policy, the problem of urban bias, the creation of a centralised bureaucratic administration heavily dependent on an authoritarian legal system, and various other factors established structures that perpetuated the colonial legacy long after independence (Midgley and MacPherson: 1987: 140-41).

## **2. Study of Social Welfare in India**

In the context of Indian academics, it claimed that the disciplines of sociology and anthropology have less influenced than economics on policy arena in the pre- and post-independent till the 1950's (Srinivas and Panini 1973). The responses of Indian sociologists toward policy arena is categorised into four types: (a) concentration on a theoretical understanding, (b) publication of reports seldom consulted by policy-makers, (c) networking or affiliation with the bureaucrats, and (d) critical analysis on social policy and its governance (Dhanagare 2004: 26-7).

The term 'social welfare' has been treated as synonymous with social policy and social administration (Mishra 1977). Jawaharlal Nehru, expressed his view on social welfare at the seminar on 'social welfare in a developing economy', in which he said that 'In its broadest sense social welfare is the object of economic development,

maximising the welfare of all persons in the society, whether handicapped or normal' (Nehru 1963). In line with this thought, Lightman (1963) also viewed social welfare as a concept and as an 'institution' that did not reduce it to the poor and the needy. However, the seminar participants reached to a restricted definition of social welfare. They claimed that 'social welfare services denote services intended to cater for the special needs of persons and groups who by reason of some handicap, social, economic, physical or mental are unable to avail themselves of or are traditionally denied, the amenities and services provided by the community' (Planning Commission 1963). As one of the participants of the seminar, M.S. Gore had proclaimed repeatedly the restricted view of social welfare by stating as:

social policy is a policy concerning the social aspects of a community's life ... (and involving) programmes and services in the areas of health, education, housing, rehabilitation, social welfare and welfare of the backward classes ... (Gore 1983: 3)

From a point of historical perspective, Shankar Pathak attempted to study the evolution of social welfare in a theoretical manner in which he defined social welfare as the organised provision of resources and services by the society to deal with social problems. He considered social welfare as a social institution and a component of social structure, which generally functions in support of the status quo in society (Pathak 1981). In relation to structural aspects, Ramesh Mishra considered the term social welfare as the aims and objectives of social action concerning needs, as well as the structural patterns or arrangements through which needs are met (Mishra 1977).

P.D. Kulkarni and A.B. Bose have studied the evolution of administrative structure for social welfare in India (Kulkarni 1977, 1979; Bose 1990, 1995). Kulkarni

identified that the Department of Social Welfare was established in 1957 in the State of Bombay. It envisaged welfare services for the backward classes, training and education of the physically handicapped, statutory services concerning children, beggars and women who were involved in immoral traffic. In 1964, the Department of Social Security was established at the central level, which was redesignated as the Department of Social Welfare in 1966. The Ministry of Social Welfare was set up in 1979, which was consequently designated as the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment from 1999 onwards.

Bose (1995) characterised development of social welfare administration in India after its independence. In the first two decades of planning, from the 1950s to 1960s), social welfare was treated as a residual area. However, the welfare services underwent a significant transformation in the mid 1970s due to national as well as international initiatives. The 1980s was the decade of consolidation and expansion of social welfare services which was followed by structural reform in the 1990s. The last decade of twentieth century was of great significance for decentralisation of administration through the 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Constitution Amendments, which strengthen panchayat institutions in rural areas and municipal bodies in urban areas towards social welfare and development.

In considering the role of social worker in social welfare, H.T. Muzumdar understood both as synonymous usage which treats social work as professional practice and its process whereas social welfare as the end result of social work (Muzumdar 1962). Pathak referred the term social work as 'to the work of voluntary social workers, professional social workers and other social work personnel employed in the field of social welfare' (Pathak 1981). In view of Gandhian social workers, such as Vinoba

Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan, they have used a broader concept of social work referring it as liberation work, that is, *Mukti Karya*. It was radically conceptualised in terms of ideology and goals that aimed at exploitation-free, egalitarian, self-governing, self-reliant rural communities. It was also developmental in its orientation as it aimed towards upliftment with emphasis on the weaker population, that is, *Antyodaya* (Dasgupta 1967; Ganguli 1977; Pathak 1967)

### **3. History of Social Welfare in India**

#### **3.1. The British India**

The East India Company was established in 1600 and began its trading activities in the southern part of India. However, the Company had little interest in framing a social policy towards its subjects because of its preoccupation with maintaining and expanding colonial territory. The policies were complicated by the triple character of the government:

... its commercial-cum-imperial role, its status as an Indian ruler and as a representative of a nation whose monarch was head of the Anglican Church and the State. In practice, however, the religious policy was dictated primarily by its position as an Indian ruler –a timid Indian ruler –which demanded that the Company take no steps to interfere with Indian religious ceremonies (and customs), except when necessary to support or encourage these (Potts 1967:140)

In 1793, two English missionaries, William Carely and John Thomas, both Baptists, set out to India with the clear intention of starting a mission. They settled down in the Danish Colony of Serampore, north of Calcutta. William Carey, along with two other missionaries, Joshuna Marshman and William Ward established the

Serampore mission in 1799, which played a major role in the renaissance of Bengal, for example, to ban the practices of *sati* and slavery (Pathak 1981: 63-5).

Before the Charter Act of 1813, the Company administration took hardly any interest in providing education to its subjects. Until then, what little was done in this area was mostly due to the work of Christian missionaries. By this Act, the Company had to accept responsibility for the education of Indians and this was the beginning of the State System of education in India under the British rule (*ibid*: 114-15).

In terms of governmental action, the years 1828 to 1856 constitute the most active period in social reform: the abolition of *Sati* in 1829, the abolition of slavery in 1843, and the passing of the Widow Remarriage Act in 1856 (*ibid*: 125). The Crown rule which began after 1857 professed the welfare of its subjects as the goal of colonial government and some halting efforts were made in that direction. One such attempt was the increasing expenditure on education by the central government. The educational grant which was one lakh rupees under the Charter Act of 1813 had increased to ten lakhs of rupees per annum by 1833 (*ibid*: 116).

In terms of public health service, the British rulers appointed Sanitary Commissioners in 1880 in the five British Provinces of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. By that time, western type of medical schools had already opened in the three presidencies of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. It was followed by the appointment of the Plague Commission after the outbreak of plague in 1896 which took a heavy toll of life (*ibid*: 118). The Commission in its report submitted in 1904 'recommended the strengthening of public health services and establishment of laboratories for research and for the preparation of vaccines and sera' (Government of India 1946: 24).

On the part of relief work on famines, which occurred more than twenty times during the 1860 to 1909, the Crown rule initiated a systematic approach drawing upon the experience of Poor Law in England. One of the measures undertaken by the British government to deal with the prevention of famines was the appointment of Famine Commissions, the first of which was set up 1880. It developed a model Famine Code of 1883, followed by the preparation of Provincial Codes as well by which the State should intervene only when a sizeable proportion of population was affected by famine, and principal form of relief should be the employment of the able-bodied on relief works (*ibid*: 120-22).

Beginning with the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act of 1859 and until the passing the first Factory Act in 1881, a series of labour legislation was passed by the government which were mainly aimed at regulation of employment rather than of improving conditions of labour (*ibid*: 127). The Factory Act 1881 was meant to apply only to factories employing more than 100 labourers like fencing of the machines, prohibition of employment of children below twelve years. Due to pressure from textile mill-owners in England, the Central government appointed a Factory Commission in 1890 and based on the recommendations of this Committee, the Indian Factory Act was passed in 1891. The application of the Act included factories employing 50 labourers, prohibition of employment of children below the age of nine, regulation of working hours, especially for women and children, and provision of a weekly holiday, and provisions for sanitation at the factories and for their inspection. The Act was amended in 1912, 1923, and 1934.

Through Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923, a series of Provincial Maternity Benefit Acts was passed between 1919 and 1940. The Payment of Wages



Act of 1936 and the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act of 1938 are other major legislative measures enacted by the British government in response to various pressures and the gradual transfer of power to the Indians at the provincial levels. Such pressures for labour welfare arose from various groups in England such as the textile manufacturers and trade unionists, and the recommendations on labour legislation by the International Labour Organisation, the domestic pressures arising from increasing trade union activity. The Industrial Commission of 1918, the Royal Commission of Labour of 1929, the labour enquiry commissions of the governments of Bombay, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh during 1927 to 1938, and the Labour Investigation Committee of 1944 (Rege Committee) were launched (*ibid*: 128-29).

Apart from such enforcement of social legislations by the Government, there were individuals and organisations to have sought social work activities. In 1887, the Indian Social Conference came into existence under the leadership of M.G. Ranade, who was also one of the leaders of the Indian National Congress which had been launched in 1885. Every year when the Conference met, Ranade would give an address endeavouring to summarise the general social picture (Madan 1967: 72). Gopal Krishna Gokhale founded the Servants of India Society in 1905. Though its primary purpose was political, it worked for social, economic and educational upliftment of depressed classes. It was followed by launching of the Social Service League in 1911 with the purpose of offering a short orientation course for volunteer workers. Both organisations were launched in Bombay, where industrialisation and urbanisation had brought problems in terms of working condition, sanitation and hygiene. Under the auspices of the League, an All India Industrial Welfare Conference was launched in 1922. In addition, the Women's Indian Association was set up in Madras in 1917, which was

followed in 1925 by the establishment of the National Council of Women on a national basis (*ibid*: 76-8).

As mentioned above, it was volunteer workers who had organised welfare activities till a modern social work education was initiated in 1936. The formal course of social work was started by Sir Dorabjee Tata Graduate School of Social Work (now the Tata Institute of Social Sciences). Dr. Clifford Manshardt, an enlightened American from the American Marathi Mission, was instrumental in organising this school on an American pattern with help from the Dorabjee Tata Trust. The next pioneering venture was the Delhi School of Social Work started under the auspices of the Y.W.C.A. in 1947 and here again pioneer efforts of Americans like Miss Luckey and others were mainly responsible. Those organisations have started work on urban industrial problems in Bombay and Delhi, respectively, which were motivated by foreign intervention in an indigenous setting (Kulkarni 1968: 427).

### **3.2. Post Independence**

In 1947, India achieved independence from the British and started the construction of administrative setting towards better governance. In terms of the evolution of the social welfare administration, the following are important: Setting up the Department of Social Security on 14th June 1964, redesignation of the Department of Social Security as Department of Social Welfare on 24th January 1966, and 24th August 1979 when the Department of Social Welfare was elevated to the status of an independent Ministry. Further, the Ministry of Social Welfare was renamed as Ministry of Social and Women's Welfare on 31st December 1984. Since 25 September 1985, it has been reorganised as Ministry of Welfare and the Department of Women and Child

Development. The DWCD has been placed under the new Ministry of Human Resource Development with effect from 26 September 1985 (Menon 1987: 1, 6). On 25 May 1998, the Ministry of Welfare was renamed as the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment.

Looking into the State level development of social welfare administration, it revealed that Madras State was the first to have established a welfare department dealing with women's welfare. The department arose out of a Women's Voluntary Service that was organised as a part of civil defence during the Second World War. The former State of Hyderabad was the first to establish a department of social welfare so designated, which originally had a department of tribal welfare to protect and promote the interests of the sizeable tribal population. The State was also the first to appoint a separate Minister in charge of Social Welfare. The provision of separate programme of social welfare in the First Five Year Plan was considered to give an additional reason to set up departments of social welfare in the states, such as the Social Welfare Department in Uttar Pradesh in 1954 (Kulkarni 1965: 190-92).

Behind such administrative development in the area of social welfare, it has been acknowledged that the Indian Conference of Social Work (Welfare) had been an influential organisation creating awareness, documentation and advocacy towards social policy formulation (Kulkarni 1975: 24-28). It was an organisation established in 1947 in which social work professionals and volunteers could meet and evolve a common approach in 1947 (Jadav 1975: 3). The most conspicuous and sustained campaign led by ICSW had been with regard to the establishment of a Ministry of Social Welfare. At the very inaugural session, the ICSW passed only one resolution and that was urging the government to establish a Ministry of Social Welfare at the central level and

departments at the state level. At the Bangalore session in 1955, the ICSW appointed a committee to work out a blueprint of a Model Department of Social Welfare (Kulkarni 1975: 26-7). Further, when the ICSW held at Bombay, it appealed to Jawaharlal Nehru, then Prime Minister, to set up an integrated function of social welfare at the central level, as follows:

... the need for the creation of such a Ministry has been strongly urged by the Planning Commission itself in Chapter 36 of the First Five Year Plan document. The social welfare needs of the people must be tackled in an integrated manner with a progressive social outlook and philosophy as also with the optimistic use of the country's limited resources in trained men and scientific equipment (Indian Conference of Social Work 1956)

Being in line with the ICSW, the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of the Backward Classes also expressed the hope that 'other State would also follow suit. This reflects the need for the integration of Social Welfare subjects in a single administrative authority at the Centre' (Committee on Plan Projects 1959: 270).

With regard to such campaigns for a single administrative setting for social welfare, Mrs. Mary Clubwala Jadhav, the then president of the ICSW, had recalled its negative reactions by the officials in the government:

In 1953, for the first time, the ICSW presented a memorandum to Mr. Nehru, the then Prime Minister, urging the creation of a Ministry of Social Welfare with a corresponding set-up at the State level. ... (However,) there was a fairly stiff initial resistance to the ICSW proposal both by the Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) and the Prime Minister. ... Finally, and it is to the credit of the effective representation made by the ICSW, that the proposal was accepted and ratified (Jadhav 1975: 4-5)

In spite of the appeals of setting up of such an integrated department, the government was anxious to see that the functions of the proposed department did not overlap with those of the Ministry of Education, Central Social Welfare Board or the State Governments (Kulkarni 1965: 196). At the State level, it had been desired to coordinate the relationship between the State Social Welfare Advisory Boards and the State Welfare Departments. The former was set up in 1954 by State Governments at the instance of the Central Social Welfare Board that had itself come into existence the previous year.

The main purpose of setting up the CSWB was to promote voluntary effort on a planned basis by which non-officials such as social workers were largely involved. Its non-official influence also reflected in the State Boards function. However, the results of coordination with departments of State Governments were not very satisfactory. According to P.D. Kulkarni's analysis, it has arguably arisen from psychological reason by which the members of State Advisory Boards were perceived as the passive partners by the State department.

It was the ICSW that helped to articulate the social workers voice and exerted to carry their voice into the councils and counsels of government. Further, it also made both government and voluntary organisations conscious of the need and importance of coordination in social welfare (Kulkarni 1975: 27).

## **Conclusion**

It has seen that the study of social policy, there are three types of approaches: descriptive, normative and analytical. In the descriptive approach, the historical development of welfare institutions is investigated in seeking to identify administrative

characteristics and legislative enactments that govern social services. In the context of developing countries, the administrative structure of social welfare at large reflects the characteristic of colonial rules. Organisation such as the Indian Conference for Social Work (Welfare) had advocated in pursuing the evolution of social welfare administration which differ with the colonial system both State and the Central level. In addition, such organisation played as inter-mediator between the State and the Central through the administrative mechanism such as the Central Social Welfare Board where the non-official personnel coordinate social welfare activities.

## Chapter IV

### Social Policy and Urban Poor in Delhi

This chapter firstly traces the administrative setting of the city of Delhi and explores its demographic data to identify socio-economic characteristics. Secondly, the terminology of slum is examined and the nature of slum in Delhi is also explored. In this context, the urban policy of the Central as well as the National Capital Territory of Government is studied from the point of view of poverty and slumming.

#### 1. The Growth of the City of Delhi

In the analysis of evolution of urbanism and urbanisation, M.S.A. Rao perceives that 'a major and pervasive component of civilisation was religion, its social organisation being sustained by a political power' (Rao 1974:101). In its consequence, 'the process of urbanisation occurred ... on different axes –administrative, political, commercial, religious and educational' (*ibid*: 108). During British colonial period, large cities flourished as the capital or commercial centres for trade such as Calcutta, Bombay, Chennai, etc. According to a series of Census Report on India from 1901 to 1951, the British rulers had conceived urbanisation in India as evolving from various factors: the number of population of particular race who congregate in towns, quantity of rainfall, the incident of plague, pilgrims, the growth of trade and industries, and the accidents of history and geography (Bose, 1974: 150-53). It implies that the modern development of Indian cities was induced into existence by British colonialism.

After Independent, cities have been a subject of nationalist ambition in India. Cities were made remarkable not only as the symbol of new sovereignty but as the effective engine to drive the country into the modern world. In this context, the case of Delhi shows an interesting trajectory. On the one hand, Delhi has developed as one of the modern administrative city in India, yet it has also attracted huge migrants from rural India who are now mostly live in slum with poverty and squalor.

From the point of administrative development, Delhi became the focus of government activity in 1911 when the British shifted the capital from Kolkata to Delhi. The initial location proposed for the Capital was to the north of the Northern Ridge. It was later changed to the present location around Raisina Hills. Renowned town planners Edward Lutyens and Herbert Baker planned the city of New Delhi in the year 1912. In 1916, the 'Raisina Municipal Committee' was established to cater to the municipal needs of the labour engaged in the construction of new capital. In 1925, the then Chief Commissioner, Delhi, upgraded it to the level of a "Second Class" municipality to be governed under the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911. Around this time, it was known as 'Imperial Delhi Municipal Committee'. It was named 'New Delhi Municipal Committee' and in 1932, it became a "First Class" municipality. This Committee would be renamed as "New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC)", when the New Delhi Municipal Council Act, 1994 was enacted by which replaced the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911. In 1922 a tiny Nazul Office, comprising of 10 to 12 officials, was set up in the Collectorate of Delhi, the first authority to regulate the planned development of the city. In 1937, the Nazul office was upgraded to an Improvement Trust, constituted under the provisions of the United Provinces Improvement Act, 1911, to control building operations and regulate land usage.



After India's Independence in 1947, Delhi's population increased from 7 lakhs to 17 lakhs by 1951, resulted from migration. Open spaces were occupied by migrants and the civic services virtually collapsed. Delhi Improvement Trust and Municipal Body, the two local bodies at that time, were not adequately equipped to cope up with the changing scenario. In order to plan Delhi and to check its rapid and haphazard growth, the Central Government appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Sh. G D. Birla in 1950. This Committee recommended a single planning and controlling authority for all the urban areas of Delhi. Consequently, the Delhi Development (Provisional) Authority - DDPA - was constituted by promulgating the Delhi (Control of Building Operations) Ordinance, 1955 (replaced by the Delhi Development Act, 1957) with the primary objective of ensuring the development of Delhi in accordance with a plan. Then, in 1957, Delhi Development Authority (DDA) acquired its present name.

Delhi is now the National Capital Territory of Delhi (NCTD) which is one of the Union Territories administered by the President acting to such extent as he thinks fit, through an Administrator, designated as the Lieutenant Governor, appointed by him. With the adoption of the Government of National Capital Territory (GNCT) Act (Act No. 1 of 1992), the National Capital has been given a seventy member Legislative Assembly though with limited powers particularly in respect of finance, land and law and order.

There are mainly three local bodies, namely, Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD), New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC) and Delhi Cantonment Board which respective area is 1397.3 sq.km., 42.7 sq.km., and 43 sq.kms. The MCD entire area is divided into 12 Zones, and each Zone is divided into Wards. Its zonal set-up are : a.

City, b. Central, c. South, d. Karol Bagh, d. Sadar Paharganji, e. West, f. Civil Lines, g. Shahdara (S), h. Shahdara (N), i. Rhini, j. Narela, k. Najafgarh. The Corporation has also the distinction of providing civic services to rural and urban villages, resettlement colonies, regularised unauthorised colonies, JJ squatter settlements, slum 'basties, private 'katras'. By contrast, the area of NDMC includes the seat of Central government, Rashtrapati Bhawan, the Prime Minister's office and residence, Central government offices, foreign missions, residences of ministers, members of parliament, diplomats and Central government employees. For development purposes, the rural area is divided into five Community Development Blocks, namely Alipur, Kanjhawala (Nangloi), Najafgarh, Mehrauli and Shahdara. There are 209 villages in Delhi, of which 199 are inhabited villages and the remaining 10 are deserted. To make the administration more effective and accessible to the common man, the administrative machinery has been decentralized and divided into 9 Districts. Each district is headed by a Deputy Commissioner.

Earlier, constitutional framework was not provided for urban local self-governance. However, in order to strengthened the urban local bodies, the Parliament had enacted the Constitution (74<sup>th</sup> Amendment) Act in 1992. A new part IX-A relating to the Municipalities was incorporated in the Constitution to constitute three levels of structure: (1) Nagar Panchayat for areas in transition from rural area to urban area, (2) Municipal Councils for smaller urban areas and, (3) Municipal Corporation for large urban areas. According to the Clause 243Q (2), the Governor may classify these three Municipalities with regard to the population of the area, the density of the population therein, the revenue generated for local administration, the percentage of employment in non-agricultural activities, the economic importance or such other factors. In addition,

it fixed the duration of municipalities, entitled appointment of state election, and setting up of metropolitan and district planning committees.

In terms of social welfare services, the Social Welfare Department has been making concerted efforts to provide welfare programmes to women in distress, social security cover for the aged and destitute, programmes for the care and protection of children through a network of residential care homes and non-institutional services, programmes for the handicapped, financial assistance for physically and socially handicapped have also been taken towards economic empowerment of women, children, handicapped and aged persons. To supplement the ongoing activities, various programmes and services had also been initiated to provide benefits to the under privileged sections of society (National Capital Territory of Delhi, Tenth Five Year Plan 2002-07).

## **2. Demographic and Geographical Data of Delhi**

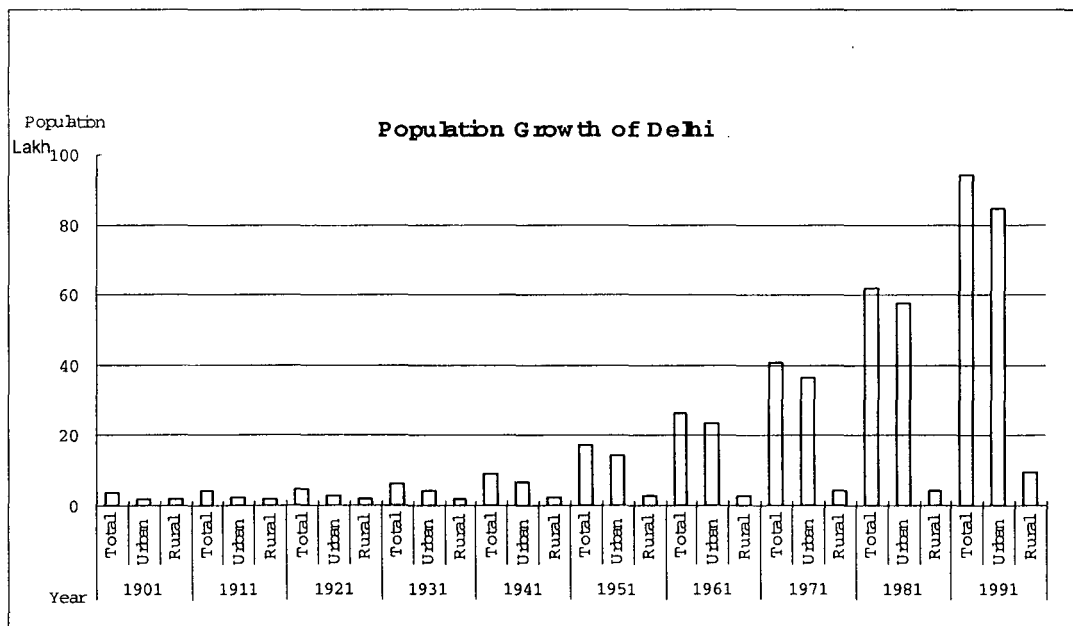
Delhi is located in the heart of northern India, surrounded by the States of Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. It covers an area of 1483 sq. kms. of which 591.91 sq. kms. is rural and 891.09 sq. kms. is urban. The following tables indicate the geographical area of Delhi during 1971 and 2001. As the city of capital, its population has increased from 94.21 lakh in 1991 to 137.83 lakh in 2001 registering a decade growth of 46.31% between 1991 and 2001 as compared to 21.35% at all Indian level, which results in the highest density among the states. The increase in Delhi's population is mainly due to large scale migration from the neighbouring states such as Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. In terms of religion, the majority of population are the Hindus (83.67 per cent as of 1991), with the second largest being Muslims (9.44 Per cent). What characterises

Delhi is its status of being the largest centre of small industries where workers are engaged in manufacturing processing, apart from being the largest commercial centre. Almost 30 per cent of the employed are working in such industries as the metal products, parts machinery and transport equipment-machine tools. 27 per cent of the workforce are in the textiles products. (Government of Delhi 2000, Government of India 2005: 890-91).

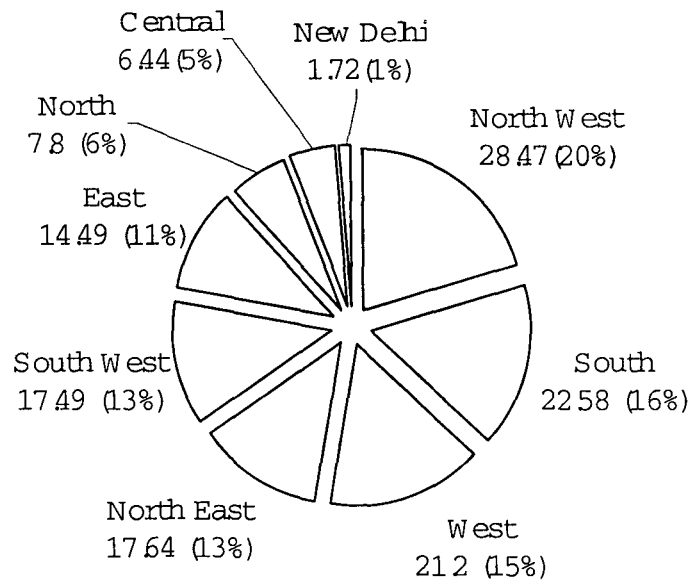
Geographical Area

Year	Total Population (Lakh)	Total Area of Delhi (Sq. Kms.)	Rural	Urban
1971	40.66	1485	1039	446
1981	62.20	1483	891	592
1991	94.21	1483	798	685
2001	137.83	1483	591.91	891.09

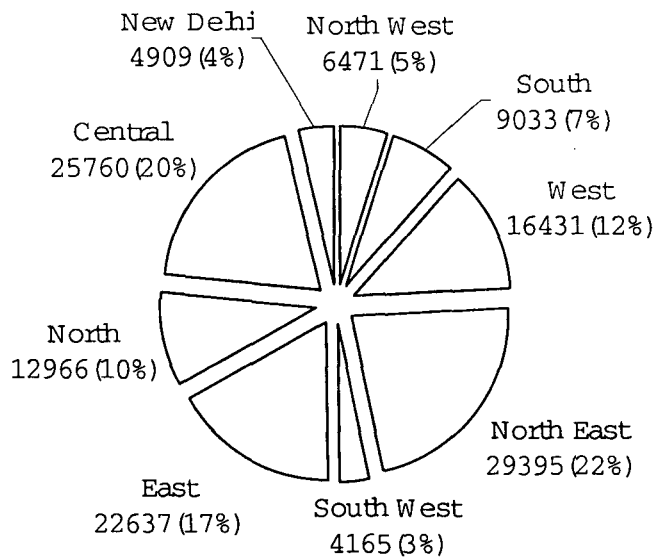
(Source: Tenth Five Year Plan 2002-2007, Planning Department, Government of National Capital of Delhi)



District Wise Provisional Population 2001 (In lakhs)



Density Per SqKm



### 3. Terminology of Slum

The usage of the term slum varied depending on the different perceptions and meanings by scholars and policy makers. In general, the term is used to describe mud structures, overcrowded dilapidated dwelling units. Anup Mitra (2003:28-32) explores definitions of slum in term of the official usages in his study of urban slum. Firstly, Slum Areas (improvement and Clearance) Act, 1956, which was enacted initially in Delhi and thereafter in 11 other states, provided a well defined set of attributes with the term 'slum. The Act defines slum as 'areas where buildings (a) are in any respect unfit of human habitation; (b) are by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangements of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors are detrimental safety, health or morale'. The Bharat Sevak Samaji (1958) employed the working definition of slum in Delhi as follow:

The term 'slum' should be applied to those parts of the city which may (on the face of it) be considered unfit for human habitation either because the structures therein are old, dilapidated, grossly congested and out of repair, or because it is impossible to preserve sanitation for want of sanitary facilities including ventilation, drainage, water supply, etc., or because the sites by themselves are unhealthy (Bharat Sevak Samaji 1958)

In this wider definition, *katras*, that is, slum tenements, constructed normally in rows, within a compound or enclosure having a single common entrance, and *bastis*, that is, a thick cluster of small *kutcha* houses or huts built on open land, often in an unauthorised manner, were taken into account.

Secondly, the survey of the Bombay Municipal Corporation in the late 1950s adopted a three-fold classification of slum: (a) *Chawla*: areas with permanent multi-

storeyed buildings built long ago according to the standards then prevailing, but which are today in a deteriorated condition, (b) *Partrachawls*: areas with semi-permanent structures both authorised and unauthorised often built of corrugated iron sheets and commonly known as patra (tin)-chawls, (c) *Zopadpattis*: areas commonly referred to as squatter settlements, shanty towns, or hutment colonies, consisting of hovels made of a variety of hard and soft materials such as pieces of wood, rags, tin sheets, mud, bricks and any such thing that comes in handy (Mitra 2003: 29-30).

Thirdly, the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority, 1974 applied another category to classify slum; 'registered slum' and 'unregistered slum'. Slums are registered when they are recorded in the assessment books and the Calcutta. 'To qualify for registration, the total area must not be less than 1/6<sup>th</sup> acre, and the structures must be kutcha, that is, they should have a roof built without cement, with not more than 18" of the wall of pucca construction' (Singh and D'Souza 1980, quoted in Mitra 2003: 30): . In his study, Mitra identified the following twin criteria to define slum population: (a) physical convenience and (b) the type of structure.

Resettlement program of the slum dwellers was launched in Delhi during 1960-1977, under three schemes following: 1) Jhuggi-Jhonpri Removal Scheme in 1960, 2) Master Plan of Delhi in 1962-81, and 3) Environmental Improvement Programmes of National Fifth Five Years Plan in 1974-79 (G.K.Misra and R.Gupta 1981).

The term was known as resettlement has been indicated in two ways during 1962-1977, a) before 1975, it was known as Jhuggi-Jhonpri Clusters, b) After National Emergency, it was termed as resettlement colonies. Further, there is also a conceptual difference between slum and squatter settlement. One hand 'Slum' is a structure or group of structures or an area which becomes unfit for human habitation due to: a)

deficiencies in the nature of living accommodation, b) deficiencies in the environment under the Slum Improvement & Clearance Act, 1956. On the other hand, 'squatter settlements' consisted of Jhuggis(hut) that are constructed out of mud, bricks, straw, bamboo, wood and such other sundry materials.

Slum tenements are meant for probable eviction from slum areas by notification under the Act whereas in resettlement colonies people are shifted only from squatter settlements. The squatter communities are based on a network of primary affinities of language, religion, village, caste or kin that enabled the migrants coming from small village communities to become socialised and acculturated in the complex and diversified environment of a metropolitan city. The cost of acceptable housing facilities, the qualities of housing and urban services are of secondary importance to the desire for survival for immigrants (Mishra 1981: 3-6).

#### Numbers of slum and its population

	Eighth Plan	Ninth Plan	Targets for Tenth Plan	2002-03
1. Slum Population (JJ Clusters )	Approx. 24 lakh	Approx.30 lakh (cumulative)	Approx. 30 Lakh	
2. No. of J J Clusters	1080	1080	1080	1080
3. No. of Basti Vikas	135	276	30	303
4. No.of plots developed for relocation of JJ Squatters	6191	39781	46437	
5. No.of plots developed under In-Situ-Upgradation of JJ Clusters	784 -	5583	5583	

Source: Planning Department, National Capital Territory of Delhi, *Socio Economic Profile of Delhi 2003-04* p.10

#### **4. Nature of Delhi Slum**

Kumar, N. and Aggarwal, S. (2003) exposed the magnitude of poverty in Delhi by applying poverty line approach. Delhi is a mixture of hi-tech industrial development



with the usual mushrooming of the informal sector. According to the school of Planning and Architecture, there were 12,794 slum households in the national capital in 1951. By 1977, there was a 54 per cent increase and the number of slum households went up to around 20,000, which further increased to 91,000 – a growth of 355 per cent – in 1981. In 1991, there were approximately 4.80 lakh slum households, and by 1998, this had increased to about 6 lakh. Immigration estimated at 5-6 lakh every year is not only adding to the growth of the population but also to the deterioration of slum conditions.

The survey shows that poverty line is Rs. 15.04 per capita per day, and the majority of Below Poverty Line (BPL) household size is 5-9. Most of the slum population mainly occupied in the informal sector or were self-employed, and every household with average size of five members had average 1.71 employed persons. The highest mean income was for self owned tea-shop owner, i e, Rs. 155.51 per day. Those who were engaged in autorickshaw driving were getting the second highest mean income of Rs. 87.48 per day. Petty traders (egg seller, fish seller, football seller, maize seller, etc) were earning the lowest mean of income of all these professions, at Rs 61.49 per day.

Based on analysis of work participation rates (WPRs) and employment rates (ERs), the survey reveals that women were economically less active than men. The male participation rate was 52.08 per cent, which is almost nine times higher than the female (5.80 per cent) participation rate. The level of education among migrant population in the city is very low among males and more so among females. The women are in a disadvantageous position also in terms of their economic status.

Unemployment rate for men (15 years and above) was only 21.85 per cent, but for women it was as high as 91.40 per cent.

With regard to environment of poor women, Nilika Mehrotra (1997) describes women participation in grassroots activities in the urban resettlement colonies in Delhi. The poor women of migrant families are largely unskilled labours. They cope with a plethora of oppressive situations within the ambit of the family. On the one hand, they are caught between oppressive urban environment, unemployment or under-employment and power nexus of kin-caste leaders and local state institutions on the other (Mehrotra 1997: 27-30).

## **5. Poverty and Slum**

In the Fourth Five Years Plan (1969-74), it was realised by policy makers that poverty was a structural phenomenon and was here to stay despite numerous welfare schemes undertaken between 1951 and 1966. From the mid 1970s onwards, national, state and local government agencies gradually started taking a more pragmatic stand with regard to slum. The efforts were increasingly aimed at improving the living conditions of slum dwellers through the programmes such as the Environmental Improvement Programme in the 1970s, and the Basic Urban Services Programme during the late 1980s, which were influenced by the initiative of World Bank. The rate of the people living below the poverty line in Delhi to the total population is 8.23 per cent in 1999-2000 in comparison with 14.69 per cent in 1993-94 (Government of Delhi: 2000)

**People living below poverty line in Delhi**

Year	No in lakhs (Percentage)		
	Rural	Urban	Combined
1983	0.44(7.66)	17.95(27.89)	18.39(26.22)
1987-88	0.10(1.29)	10.15(13.56)	10.25(12.41)
1993-94	0.19(1.90)	15.32(16.03)	15.51(14.69)
1999-2000	0.07(0.40)	11.42(9.42)	11.49(8.23)

**People living below poverty line in India**

1993-94	2440.31(37.27)	763.37(32.36)	3202.68(35.87)
1999.2000	1932.43(27.09)	670.07(23.62)	2602.50(26.10)

Source: Planning Commission, Governemnt of India. 2001. *Indian Planning Experience: A Statistical Profile*. pp.20-23

Along with the issue of poverty, the rapid process of urbanization in the capital city has brought tremendous pressure on basic civic services. According to the *Tenth Five Year Plan 2002-2007*, published by the Planning Department, Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi, the problem of emerging slum area, that is, unauthorized colonies, Jhuggi Jhopri clusters, etc., has posed a big challenge to the environment of the city. The main thrust of the planning process in Delhi was on augmentation and strengthening of civic amenities and infrastructure under each sectors such as transport, energy, water supply and sanitation, urban development, education, and medical and public health. Special efforts were being made to extend all such civic amenities in the sub-standard areas of the capital city. Before looking at the phenomena of slumming Delhi, national policy for urban poverty at the Central level is reviewed as follows.

**5.1. Draft of National Slum Policy, 1999**

While demographic data on slum populations and on civic amenities to slum dwellers from the Census are yet awaited, there appears to be no change in the basic

level or features of slum populations, despite several decades of programmes for environmental improvement and upgradation of slum in which a lead was given by Government of India through various schemes. This led to the inevitable conclusion that slum programmes need rejuvenation, and better implementation and monitoring at the Central level.

The Draft National Slum Policy brought out by the Ministry of Urban Development (Department of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation) in April 1999, had been widely debated and many comments had been received. Now it needs to be taken up and a final form be given. A National Policy on Slum is of great significance. It can help to bring an attitudinal change in the authorities as well as the people at large, including the urban poor and the slum-dwellers regarding measures that can be taken to improve their quality of life and make our cities free from the worst features of slum life.

Slum are generally treated as results of continuing migration of unskilled labour, but in fact most of the slum-dwellers are long-term residents of the city, in many instances over several generations. The main objectives of slum policy would be:

- a. To create awareness amongst the public and in government of the underlying principles that guide the process of slum development and improvement and the options that are available for bringing about the integration of these settlements and the communities residing within them into urban area as a whole,
- b. To strengthen the legal and policy framework to facilitate the process of slum development and improvement on a sustainable basis;

- c. To ensure that the slum populations are extended civic services, amenities, and economic opportunities to enable them to rise above the degrading conditions in which they live;
- d. To arrive at a policy of affirming the legal and tenurial rights of the slum-dwellers;
- e. To establish a framework for involving all stakeholders for the efficient and smooth implementation of policy objectives.

## **5.2. Planning Commission Report on Urban Poverty**

An official report on urban planning by the Planning Commission, *Report of the Steering Committee on Urban Development, Urban Housing and Urban Poverty for the Tenth Five Years Plan (2002-2007)*, argues some of the obvious lapses in slum programmes as following:

- a. Non-listing of all habitations, big or small, which should be classified as slum;
- b. Lack of basic information on the number of households in such habitations, and status of basic amenities provided or lacking;
- c. Absence of master-planning for, say, a period of five years to gradually increase the level of civic amenities;
- d. Failure to provide specific provisions in municipal laws for dealing with issues relating to urban poor, slum, and economic planning for poverty alleviation, etc., which flow from the 74th Constitutional Amendment;
- e. Failure to build up capacity in municipal bodies for rendering the required services to slum communities and the urban poor;
- f. Uncertainty regarding agency arrangement for various slum improvement tasks

- between municipal authority, development authority, slum board, housing board, etc., and failure to provide coordinating institutional arrangement;
- g. Failure to implement provisions made in Comprehensive Development Plans for the housing, and economic needs (production and marketing activities) of the urban poor, especially provision of land, and facilities for street vendors and hawkers;
  - h. In absence of planning for housing and socio-economic needs of the urban poor, unplanned growth takes place leading to 'informal' or unauthorized low quality settlements, and unauthorized hawking which subjects the poor to harassment from various petty officials;
  - i. Failure on the part of land-owning agencies on which slum are located, to take decisions on permission to make environmental improvement and in situ upgradation of slum clusters;
  - j. Failure to converge available civic services in sanitation, paved access and drainage, streetlights, health-care, water supply, education, etc., by organizing responsibility cells and involving the beneficiaries in planning of services.

The report has thus raised a proposal to improve performance of various slum programme packages. It calls for re-designing and reconstructing settlements with the participation of slum dwellers and assistance from public bodies as a viable option. Basically, participation of slum-dweller in various programmes has been raised as a focal points. It includes identification of urban poor, formation of community groups, involvement of NGOs, self-help/thrift groups and credit activities, training for livelihood, credit and subsidy for economic activities, housing and sanitation,

environmental improvement, community assets, wage employment, convergence of services, etc. Further, the report emphasises that the needs of the slum-dwellers should be better organized and effectively administered, and duly monitored at both State and Central levels. At the State level there is need to:

- a. Set up urban poverty and slum improvement task forces;
- b. Create Urban Poverty Alleviation cells at the municipal level. The cell should have representation of all the services required by slum-dwellers, as well as of the Community Development Societies set up under Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana, and active NGOs in the field;
- c. State Governments should carry out requisite amendments to the municipal laws;
- d. UPA cells should draw up City Poverty Alleviation Plans; tasks of various agencies should be well-defined and coordination should be effective;
- e. Thrust should be on provision of all basic services to the slum settlements, such as potable water and sanitation services, including household taps, toilets with septic tanks, covered drains, waste collection services etc. Other activities for socio-economic upliftment of the slum populations should also be taken up, making maximum use of the SJSRY and similar schemes;
- f. Participation of the community and capacity building should be continuing themes, as the means to achieve better implementation and achievement under urban poverty alleviation/slum improvement programmes.

### **5.3.The Urban Development Department of Delhi**

The Urban Development Department (UDD) of Government of NCT of Delhi is the body responsible for planning and regularisation of unauthorised colonies. The department aimed at planning out various infrastructure facilities and essential services that were implemented by various agencies for works such as Water Supply, Sewage Disposal & Sanitation, Urban Poverty Alleviation and various municipal services. The department formulates policy, provides funds, monitors and coordinates the activities of the Urban Local Bodies, which include the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD), the New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC), Delhi Jal Board, and Trans-Yamuna Area Development Board. The Department also aims at improving the condition of the urban poor through implementation of the following Urban Poverty Alleviation programmes:

1. The Urban Basic Services (UBS) Programme, initially started with UNICEF assistance, contributes to the social development of urban poor through the principle of community participation, convergence, cost effectiveness, continuity with focus on child and mother through multi-sectoral approach and external linkages in the areas of Health, Water Supply, Sanitation, Education, etc.
2. Swarna Jayanti Shahri Rozgar Yojna (SJSRY), a centrally sponsored scheme, funded by Government of India and Delhi Government aims at economic upliftment of the urban poor through training and provision of funds for self employment.

In terms of slum governance, a special administrative unit for development of unauthorised colonies has been created in the department. The functions of this unit are to disseminate information, and formulate policy for coordinated planning of



unauthorized colonies. This unit also releases funds to the various utilities for development of infrastructure in the colonies as permitted by the Delhi Government in pursuance to the court orders to ensure healthy and hygienic conditions.

## **Conclusion**

Delhi is one of the cities that the British had induced to develop with the purpose of administrative function. In post-independent India, the development of Delhi has gradually attracted huge migrants from its neighbouring states in search of better livelihood. However, this has led to the mushrooming of slum areas in the capital city and put pressure on basic civic services. We have seen that poverty and squalor remains the distinguishing feature among the slum dwellers. Caste, clan, kin, region, language, etc., are important sociological network that help the migrants to cope with the stark economic social reality of the metropolitan city. The study has also brought out that most of the slum population work in the informal sector or are self-employed. Most of them, however, earn meagre income and thus live below the poverty line. Particularly, there exist large gender gap in the economic and social aspect and this has put poor women more vulnerable and in an disadvantageous position.

In spite of the fact that the government has undertaken many development and welfare measures for the slum dwellers, there seems to be not much perceptible changes in the situation of the slum dwellers. In order to be more affective, the government needs to facilitate the participation of the slum dwellers in its development programmes. There is also a need to strengthen administrative function by launching urban poverty alleviation cells to coordinate community participation and administration. Social

networking among the slum dwellers can be channelise for effective participation of the slum dwellers in their development and welfare programmes.

## **Chapter V**

### **Conclusion**

This concluding chapter attempts to review the arguments made in previous chapters and also identify findings and limitations of this study. In pursuit of sociological analysis on poverty, this study set three goals:

- a) To understand the phenomena of poverty in urban India;
- b) To draw upon the development of social policies and administration in India;
- c) To describe the relationship between the state and the poor in urban India.

The first chapter, as an introduction of the study, reviewed the discourse of poverty vis-à-vis social policy in Europe. In pursuit of the above stated goals three research questions were raised: (1) How different sociological and development theories approach to urban poverty? (2) How has the state tried to tackle urban poverty over time? (3) What is the role of civil society for the alleviation of the urban poor? To set analytical framework, the study adopted discourse analysis on administrative documents taken into consideration the agency-oriented approach.

In the second chapter, the concept of poverty has been explored from two different perspectives. It was examined in terms of relative deprivation and capability deprivation approaches. The concept of social exclusion is then examined theoretically by tracing its concept through the United Nations agencies and the European Union. In policy discourse, the concept was initially used to identify those who could receive welfare services. However, it becomes to be understood as deprivations of social relation and reveals the dynamic process of agency/agent. In this context, the poor is interpreted as responsible agent seeking for recognition through everyday struggle.

In the third chapter, the historical development of welfare policy has been studied in accordance with descriptive approach. The study explored the historiography and legislative enactments governing social services. Tracing historical aspect of welfare activities since the British rule, the review corroborated that British ruler enforced public policy and social legislation for better education, health and working conditions. Christian missionaries and voluntary workers too had provided social services for the poor.

Social welfare policy is being viewed in two different ways. The first view represented by the administration is that it is meant for the all section of the population. To the contrary, the second view emanating from practitioners argues that it should have a focus approach by including only those sections of the population who require special needs and care. The term social welfare is also understood as social institution which is being treated as a component of social structure.

In the fourth chapter, the case of Delhi has been examined and shows how in post-independent India the development of Delhi has gradually attracted huge migrants from its neighbouring states in search of better livelihood. However, this has led to the mushrooming of slum areas in the capital city and put pressure on basic civic services. We have seen that poverty and squalor remains the distinguishing feature among the slum dwellers. Caste, clan, kin, region, language, etc., are important sociological network that help the migrants to cope with the stark economic and social reality of the metropolitan city. The study has also brought out that most of the slum population work in the informal sector or are self-employed. Most of them, however, earn meagre income and thus live below the poverty line. Particularly, there exist large gender gap

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To conclude, it may be said that the study of poverty vis-à-vis has acquired more relevant in the context of globalisation whereby the state has gradually started withdrawing itself from the realm of welfare and social security network. Under the market driven global economy, the poor are now increasingly left alone by the authority to fence for themselves. However, it still requires a detailed empirical study on which the concept of social exclusion needs to be worked out to understand how the urban poor perceive the structural/institutional exclusion and adopt survival strategies in their everyday life. I intend to take up these issues for my Ph.D. research.

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