Manual Scavenging in India: Literature review

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## Indexing

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Manual Scavenging in India: Literature Review

“I may not be born again but if it happens, I will like to be born into a family of scavengers, so that I may relieve them of the inhuman, unhealthy, and hateful practice of carrying night soil.”

-Mahatma Gandhi

1. Background

Even after 73 years of independence, manual scavengers men and women continue to engage in manually cleaning human excrement from private and public dry toilets, open defecation sites, septic tanks, and open and closed gutters and sewer. While manual scavenging women faces double discrimination as caste and gender inequality. The Census of India 2011 has established that the inhuman practice of manual scavenging still continues in India. According to the Socio Economic and Caste Census 2011, there are about 1.8 lakh Indian households who rely on manual scavenging for their survival; and Maharashtra has the highest number of manual scavengers (i.e. 63,713), followed by Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Tripura, and Karnataka (Venkat, 2015; Ingole, 2016). With rarest exception, all of them come from the SC population.

![The Numbers: The numbers of manual scavengers in some of the states](image)

Census records Maharashtra as the state that has the highest number of manual scavengers, the number being 63,713. As questions are being raised over the method of the census survey and the probable problems therein, what needs to be reiterated is that manual scavengers are not mere numbers. They are humans and humans of a particular strata of society- in India’s case- caste. What also needs to be reiterated further is that manual scavenging- or other people...
cleaning after one’s waste is an accepted, permissible and thus internalized practice in India. The huge labour force in our municipalities working in absence of mechanized systems of waste disposal and the debate’s focus and insistence (as has been laid down in the Act) on availability of protective equipment are symptomatic of this psyche. The problem however is not just of an unclean occupation but that of an inhuman practice tied to a particular group of citizens under a systemic oppressive mechanism of caste hierarchy that has continued in the present system of waste disposal in civic municipalities. Since the abolition of the practice of manual scavenging most efforts to eradicate the inhuman practice have been centered upon the dry latrine and its abolition. Though it is completely true that dry latrines and the process of carrying human waste in baskets over one’s head is a cruel derogatory practice; it does not mean that there are no practices that involve manual scavenging outside the fold of dry latrine cleaning. The overall logic however is more about finding temporary solutions rather than eradicating the complete need of humans to be directly involved into human waste cleaning. It is with this understanding that the report studies the implementation of the Various act.

This report is based on secondary literature review. This literature review is a part of broader effect to understand history of manual scavenging, caste discrimination, various government reports and their recommendation to eradicate manual scavenging, legislative efforts and conclusion. In this report we cover different sources of literature on manual scavenging. For this purpose we examine following kind of literature.

a) Gazette of India 1941-2013, Government reports, policy statements and committee reports.

b) Peer-reviewed literature (Research papers)

c) Terms and nomenclature.

d) Policies around untouchability, caste and scavenging.

Using above notified qualitative study material following are the Objectives –

1) To Study the Act & rules, legislative efforts, Govt. schemes for Manual scavengers.

2) To study the Issue and challenges of abolition and rehabilitation of Manual scavengers

3) To give Suggestions to eradicate manual scavenging
2. Introduction

Manual scavenging, a caste-based-forced occupation, has been in practice in several parts of India. It is the manual cleaning of human and animal excreta with the help of brooms and small tin plate and carrying them in baskets for disposal at a designated place, which is far away from the living area (Bhattacharjee, 2014). The caste system, a critical aspect of the Indian social fabric has been in existence for centuries. It is based on human inequality where the division of labour is done on the basis of caste. The social, economic and political relations among people depend on their caste status.

From ancient time, the Scheduled Castes (SC) have been assigned with the menial tasks or jobs, namely, sweeping, cleaning, disposal of dead animals, leather works and so on, which are deemed to be polluting and filthy and no upper castes would ever dream of doing them (Rashtriya Garima Abhiyan, 2011, pp.1-2; Ponuchamy, 2014, p.1). The SC community because of their birth identity is considered as polluted and is thus left with no other survival opportunities but to take up the aforementioned menial jobs (Hutton, 1963; Rashtriya Garima Abhiyan, 2011). Among these jobs, manual scavenging is the most menial occupation imposed upon some specific sub-castes of the Dalits community who are treated untouchables among untouchables (Siddaramu, 2013, p. 29).

More than an occupation, manual scavenging has become a social norm or custom, which continues persistently despite all the available technology and alternatives (Darokar, 2018). Not only the practice of manual scavenging violates several constitutional provisions for the marginalized sections, but also violates the protection of Civil Right Act (1955), the Bounded labour Act (1976), and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act (1989). Even after the enactment of the Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act (1993), the Prohibition of Employment of Manual Scavengers, and their Rehabilitation Act (2013), the practice of manual scavenging is widespread across different regions of the country.

Manual scavenging is the obnoxious and degrading occupation, which makes the manual scavengers despise themselves, and makes them feel hapless and thus ingrained into the task

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1 Dalit and SC are used interchangeably throughout the thesis.

2 Article 14: Right to Equality; Article 16 (2): Equality of opportunity with respect to government employment; Article 17: Abolition of untouchability; Article 19(1): Right to practice any profession, or to take up any occupation, trade or business; Article 21: Protection of life and personal liberty; Article 23: Prohibition of human trafficking and forced labour etc.; Article 41: Right to work, to education and to public assistance in certain cases; Article 42: Provision for just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief; and Article 47: Duty of the state to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living and to improve public health.
of manual scavenging (Sankaran, 2008, p. 131). The manual scavengers who lack reason consider manual scavenging is their job and they are born to take up this job; on the other hand, the society has the stereotype image that the scavenging community is destined to do manual scavenging (Ponnuchamy, 2014, p. 7).

According to Census (2011), there are 794,390 dry latrines in India where human excreta are cleaned manually; and in addition, there are 1,314,652 toilets where human excreta are flushed into open drains, which are again manually cleaned by individuals from Dalit community (“Manual scavenging”, 2016). By not acknowledging the fact that manual scavenging does exist in India, the government of India is violating the basic human rights of manual scavengers and tends to keep these people at the margin of the society.

Manual scavenging is the most polluting, undesirable, and low-paid profession and the sub-castes of Dalits who are engaged in this work are bound to become unwanted, stigmatised, and eventually untouchable (Ramaiah, 2007; Wilson and Singh, 2017). For example, the Dalits engaged in manual scavenging become stigmatised and untouchable, which in effect destroy their basic human rights even to think of leading a humanly dignified life with equality and justice (Wilson and Singh, 2017, p. 305).

Untouchability continues to be practiced with the manual scavengers, even if they renounce the caste-based forced occupation and switch over to dignified occupations (D’Souza, 2016). Further, the occupational mobility of manual scavengers, especially women manual scavengers is completely restricted. Many women manual scavengers who wish to quit the dehumanising occupation are restricted from taking up other jobs. The several cases of liberated women who made effort to move on to a more respectful livelihood were rejected by the society owing to their caste tag (Singh and Ziyauddin, 2009; and Wilson and Singh, 2017). For example, Chinta Devi of Meherpur locality started her shop with a loan arranged by a local NGO and left this menial job. But later she resumed this humiliating job as she faced a severe boycott even by her own community” (Singh and Ziyauddin, 2009, p. 523).

Manual Scavengers face the dual problem or challenge that is of “liberation” from inhuman work/ Practice and “rehabitation” social and economic which are the prime needs of this community
**Issue of Health**

Many peoples from Manual Scavengers faces the health issue i.e manual contact with excreta exposes them to various diseases, skin infections, rotting of fingers and limbs, tuberculosis, hepatitis, leptospirosis, helicobacter and nausea. Some manual scavengers complain about not being able to eat due to exposure to excreta. Most women from the manual scavenging communities tend to be addicted to tobacco (Gutka) and men to liquor, in an attempt to diminish the repulsive nature of their work and beat back their state of hopelessness.

**Manual Scavenging in Indian railway:** Indian railway is the great source of numbers of dry latrines which has toilets dropping all the excreta from trains on the tracks. And they employs manual scavengers to clean the railway track etc. Recently, the Minster of Rural Development, Water and Sanitation have called the Indian Railway “the world's biggest open toilet.”

The manual scavenging is a women-centric job, as the study conducted by Singh (2014) for eleven Indian states claims that around 95 to 98 per cent of total manual scavengers in the country are women. Women from the Dalit community are involved in jobs such as cleaning dry latrines, cleaning or sweeping streets, open defecations, open drainage and so on, whereas the cleaning sewer or septic tanks tasks requiring more physical strength are assigned to male members of the community (Wilson and Singh, 2017). Women

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3 The report prepared by Bhattacharjee (2014) for Human Right Watch also shows that about 95 to 95 per cent manual scavengers in India comprise of women.
concentration in manual scavenging occupation is largely because of the traditional *jajmani* system, i.e., ownership rights to clean a select number of dry toilets, which ties generations of women to the job of manually cleaning the dry latrines in the village.\(^4\) Further, as underlined by Willson and Singh, (2017), women are mostly preferred to clean the dry toilets that are located inside the home; and the patriarchal nature of manual scavenging community tends to impose the task of manual scavenging to women. Despite manual scavenging being a women-centric occupation, women manual scavengers have hitherto received very little attention from the media as well as from the academia or policymaker. Surprisingly, the issue of women manual scavengers hardly

### 2.1 Definition

1) Manual scavenging refers to the unsafe and manual removal of raw (fresh and untreated) human excreta from buckets or other containers that are used as toilets or from the pits of simple pit latrines. The safe and controlled emptying of pit latrines, on the other hand, is one component of fecal sludge management.

**The official definition of a manual scavenger in Indian law from 1993 is as follows:**

—Manual scavenger means a person engaged or employed, at the commencement of this Act or at any time thereafter, by an individual or a local authority or an agency or a contractor, for manually cleaning, carrying, disposing of, or otherwise handling in any manner, human excreta in an insanitary latrine or in an open drain or pit into which the human excreta from the insanitary latrines is disposed of, or railway track or in such other spaces or premises, as the Central Government or a State Government may notify, before the excreta fully decomposes in such manner as may be prescribed, and the expression —manual scavenging shall be construed accordingly.

**The International Labour Organization describes three forms of manual scavenging in India:**

1. Removal of human excrement from public streets and "dry latrines" (meaning simple pit latrines without a water seal, but not dry toilets in general)
2. Cleaning septic tanks
3. Cleaning gutters and sewers

Manual cleaning of railway lines of excreta dropped from toilets of trains is another form of manual scavenging in India.

\(^4\)\textit{jajmani} system, like property right system, assigns rights to clean some fixed number of dry latrines to a scavenging household; and these rights can be bought and sold, always connected to the women of the household (Willson and Singh, 2017).
2) “The manual removal of human and animal excreta using brooms, small tin plates, and baskets carried on the head. The allocation of labour on the basis of caste is one of the fundamental tenets of the Hindu Situational Analysis and Recommendations on Manual Scavenging - Rashtriya Garima Abhiyan caste system. Within this system dalits have been assigned tasks and occupations which are deemed ritually polluting by other caste communities - such as sweeping, disposal of dead animals and leatherwork. By reason of their birth, dalits are considered to be "polluted", and the removal of human and animal waste by members of the "sweeper" community is allocated to them and strictly enforced…


3) “Manual scavenging is manual removal of excreta (night soil) from "dry toilets", i.e., toilet without the modern flush system, especially in the Indian subcontinent. The system of employing people for public sanitation was introduced during the British rule in India perhaps in the late 19th century when municipalities were organized. The toilets often used a container that needed to be emptied daily. Chamber-pots were used by aristocracy in Europe, where there was often a need to avoid going out in the cold. Achaise percée was brought in when needed. Manual scavenging is said to have started in 1214 in Europe when the first public toilets appeared. The water closet was invented by John Harrington in 1596. In 1870, S.S. Helior invented the flush type toilet, and it became common in the western world. This caused other types of toilets to disappear in the western world. All surface toilets were abandoned in western Europe in mid-1950s…”


4) “This 'job' is for Dalits, mainly women and young girls. The 'tools' used are brooms, small tin plates and baskets, and true to the perverted logic of caste, the manual scavenger, the person who does the cleaning and carrying of other people's refuse, becomes the 'polluter', someone to be kept at bay, at the margins of society and unworthy of dignity and respect.”

Source: Human Rights Features, HRF/129/05-31/10/2005

5) Definition of Manual Scavenger and insanitary latrine:
“manual scavenger” means a person engaged or employed by an individual or a local authority or a public or private agency, for manually cleaning, carrying, disposing of, or otherwise handling in any manner, human excreta in an insanitary latrine or in an open drain or pit into which human excreta from insanitary latrines is disposed of, or on a railway track,
before the excreta fully decomposes, and the expression “manual scavenging” shall be interpreted accordingly;

Explanation.- (a) “engaged or employed” means being engaged or employed on a regular or contract basis;
(b) a person engaged or employed to clean excreta with the help of such devices and using such protective gear, as the Central Government may notify in this behalf, shall not be deemed to be a 'manual scavenger'

Insanitary latrine -
“insanitary latrine” means a latrine which requires human excreta to be cleaned or otherwise handled manually, either in situ, or in an open drain or pit into which the excreta is discharged or flushed out, before the excreta fully decomposes: Provided that a water flush latrine in a railway passenger coach, when cleaned by an employee with the help of appropriate devices(like high pressure water jet etc.) and using proper protective gear will not be deemed to be an insanitary latrine.

2.2 Distinction between Manual Scavengers and Safai Karamcharis:
(i) Safai Karamcharis normally include persons engaged as ‘Sweepers’ or ‘sanitation/cleaning workers’ in municipalities, government and private offices. They may be direct employees of these bodies (municipalities, government/private sector organizations) or may be contract employees who happen to be working for these organizations. However, Safai karamcharis, per se, are not manual scavengers.
(ii) Manual Scavengers are usually self employed or contract employees. “Self employed” means a person who scavenges a group of household dry latrines or drains etc. in a particular ward, for payment in cash and/or in kind, by the house-owners. Contract employees would normally be those who are hired through contractors, by a municipal body, any other organization or a group of house-owners, to scavenge individual or community dry latrines and open drains where night soil is disposed.

2.3 Constitutional provisions
Since manual scavengers belong to the backward section of society, they are entitled to some special rights apart from rights under the Indian constitution. Some of the important and relevant constitutional provisions are as follows:

- Article 14: Equality before law (Right to Equality);
- Article 16(2): Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment;
- Article 17: Abolition of Untouchability;
• Article 19(1) (a): Right to practice any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business;
• Article 21: Protection of life and personal liberty;
• Article 23: Prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour etc;
• Article 41: Right to work, to education and public assistance in certain circumstances;
• Article 42: Just and humane conditions of work;
• Article 46: Promotion of educational and economic interests of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other weaker sections;
• Article 47: Duty of the State to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living and to improve public health.
• Article 338: Constitution of a National Commission for Schedule Caste.

2.4 International Conventions Banning Manual Scavenging

Apart from the provisions of the Constitution, there are various international conventions and covenants to which India is a party, which ban the inhuman practice of manual scavenging. These are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Convention on Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and the Convention for Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The relevant provisions of the UDHR, CERD and CEDAW are hereunder:

**Article 1 of UDHR**
All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in spirit of brotherhood.

**Article 2(1) of UDHR**
Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedom set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

**Article 23(3) of UDHR**
Everyone who works has a right to just and favourable remuneration enduring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.”

**Article 5(a) of CEDAW**
States Parties shall take all appropriate measures a) to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based
on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women.

**Article 2 of CERD**

**Article 2(1)(c)**

States parties condemn racial discrimination and undertake to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating racial discrimination in all its forms and promoting understanding among all races, and to his end:

(c) each State party shall take effective measures to review governmental, national and local policies, and to amend, rescind or nullify any laws and regulations which have the effect of creating on perpetuating racial discrimination wherever it exists;

(d) each State party shall prohibit and bring to an end, by all appropriate means, including legislation as required by circumstances, racial discrimination by any persons, group or organization.”

**2.5 History of manual scavenging.**

It is accepted that the dehumanising manual scavenging came into being along with the Caste. From the ancient time when the people ended their nomadic life and started to live in small towns, they needed a system for defecation and hired a particular caste group to clean the human excreta (Darokar, 2008). The *Naradiya Samhita* enumerated one of the 15 duties for slaves was to clean or dispose human excreta; and the *Vajasaneyi Samhita* referred the *Chandals* and *Paulkasa* as slaves to dispose of the night soil (Nagar, 1980, as cited in Pathak, 1991).

The manual scavenging occupation also has its existence in the Maurya period of India. During this period, *Pataliputra (now Patna in Bihar)*, one among the five ancient towns, had the presence of sweepers and scavengers who were assigned to clean and dispose of the night soils of the city; and *Nagrak*, the mayor of the city, was entrusted with the task of looking after the civic affairs of the city (Pathak, 1991, p. 37).

It is also claimed that the manual scavenging work was started after the religious attack in North India. Some scholars such as Malkani (1980) among others established that the *Bhangis* (manual scavengers) were warriors who made captives after they became the prey to the enemy, particularly the Muslim invaders. When the Muslims came to India, they brought with them some women who used the *Burqua* (veils) to cover their faces. Since these women did not want to defecate in an open space, the special indoor toilet facility (bucket privies) were designed and constructed for their defecation. The people who were made captives were
forced to clean these indoor latrines and to dispose of the night soil at distance places. When these captives were set free, they were not allowed to live the society, and they thus formed a separate caste of Bhangis and continued the work of scavenging.

However, the manual scavenging occupation, according to Singh (2014), was expanded along with the expansion of towns or cities over the last two hundred years. Some studies claim that the British did not start the manual scavenging, it was nevertheless legalized and spread across India during the British period (Srivastava, 1997; Thekaekara, 1999; Singh, 2012). The British created special positions of manual scavengers to clean army cantonments and municipalities. This does not indicate that the English initiated the manual scavenging profession. Instead of abolishing the barbaric manual scavenging, they in fact made it institutionalized as well as spread it across the country. As also noted by some scholars, during the British period, there was a surge in number of manual scavengers during the British period. The British attack on traditional skilled-based occupations (e.g. weaving), and unreasonable taxation on agriculture and the series of famine forced the millions of people, particularly Dalits, to take up manual scavenging as a survival option (Thakur and Khadas, 2007; Singh, 2014; Bainiwal, 2013).

2.6 Present nomenclature:-

- Manual scavengers are known by different identities. There are different nomenclatures used for manual scavenging in different States. The identities are not based on their real name instead based on the instruments they used for doing scavenging work. The scavenging castes which were known by different names in different states like Bhangi, Balmiki, Chuhra, Mehtar, Mazhabi, Lal Begi, Halalkhor etc. in northern India; Har, Hadi, Hela, Dom and Sanei etc., in eastern India; Mukhiyar, Thoti, Chachati, Pakay, Relli etc., in Southern India; and Mehtar, Bhangias, Halalkhor, Ghasi, Olgana, Zadmalli, Barvashia, Metariya, Jamphoda and Mela etc., in western and central India, also made an effort to get united and have a common name.


- It shows that the nomenclature of people engaged in manual scavenging changes based on localities or states. Therefore, there are so many names as per the localities or states. According to Singh (2014), all these nomenclatures are derived from the work they do;
and they do not represent the name of the individuals involved in task of manual scavenging, these name are rather based on the tools or instruments the manual scavengers need to perform the task of manual scavenging.

- These terms have become their identity, and they have mostly forgotten their real names. Members of the houses they work in all their lives do not know their names; they just recognize them by the upper part of their faces. In case they need to address these women, they use the tainted term particular to the state or locality they are in, be it ‘Thotamma’ or ‘Balti-wali’. (Singh, 2014, p. 246)

2.7 Manual Scavenging in Maharashtra


The TISS carried out the study in Maharashtra, covering all the towns in districts, tehsils, and villages having a population of more than 10,000. A total of 2,860 scavenger households were identified from all over Maharashtra, of which 107 households were identified as 'liberated' and the remaining 2,753 households still engaged in the occupation of scavenging in various forms. The zone-wise households identified are as follows:

- Konkan — 852 (29.7 per cent),
- Aurangabad — 530 (18.6 per cent),
- Pune — 487 (17 per cent),
- Amravati — 359 (12.6 per cent),
- Nagpur — 325 (11.4 per cent), and
- Nashik — 307 (10.7 per cent).

The total population - 15,669. male members - 52 % (8,139), female members - 48 % (7,530), Children - 34.3 % (5,379), adults - 65.7 % (10,290).

Out of the total adult members, only 47.3 % (4,866) were gainfully employed; the remaining 52.7 % (5,424) were not employed. From amongst the employed, 85.9 % (4,182) were working as manual scavengers, with 11,487 persons as their dependant household members. The proportion of the women working as manual scavengers is higher than that of their male counterparts. A majority of the respondents had low educational level (up to matriculation); the remaining were illiterate.

87.7 % belong to the Scheduled Castes (SCs), and the remaining others to the Scheduled Tribes (0.9 %) or Other Backward Classes (1.8 %). Interestingly, 9.6 % of the respondents did not reveal their caste identity or were Muslim scavengers who are not given the status of an SC.

Manual scavengers in Maharashtra are engaged in five major kinds of manual scavenging. 'Water borne latrine' is the most prevalent form of scavenging in this State where 43.4 % (1,800) scavengers are working. Konkan has the highest incidence of this activity at 30.1 % (542). 'Open defecation' (as a part of community toilet block or roadside) is second-most prevalent form of scavenging, where 29.80%(1,239) scavengers are engaged in this task. Konkan zone, once again, has the highest incidence at 23.6 %293). 'Open gutters/drains' is in the third position with 24.7 %1,025, of which Konkan and Nagpur zones have 24.8 (254) and 24(246) % respectively. 'Manholes' 1.5 % (63) are prevalent again
mainly in the Konkan region. 'Dry latrines' or topli sandas are in practice in only a very few cases 0.9 %(55). Incidentally, the largest share for this activity belongs to the Aurangabad zone, especially in the Cantonment area, with 89.09 %(49) of the cases.

In terms of the nature of manual scavenging activities carried out throughout Maharashtra, these are organised into eight major types
1. cleaning of water borne latrines
2. sewerage sweeping with or without night soil
3. sweeping night soil on the street
4. removal of bodies and dead animals
5. removing of night soil with bucket/basket and carrying by hand cart
6. removal of night soil by basket and carrying it on head (topli sandas)
7. entering manholes without safety measures
8. removal of night soil by mechanised method (suction trucks).

A half of the families earned Rupees 5,000 or less a month. Among these, interestingly only about 15 % lived below the poverty line.

Scavenging is a hereditary occupation of the present households. It is difficult to accept the scavengers as 'liberated' in its entirety because, from amongst the 107 liberated persons reported earlier, 37.4 % (48) reported that their household members were still engaged in manual scavenging.

The safai karmcharis have a very low level of awareness of Government schemes. Therefore, most of them (82 %) have not been able to opt for such schemes and remain deprived of the benefits. Lack of information, lack of motivation, lack of commitment of the training organisation to complete the course, lack of time, lack of technical feasibility in initiating self-employment activities, and risk factors are some of the reasons stated by the manual scavengers for their low motivation in enrolling for the training programmes.

The safai karmcharis, who opt for the training programmes, encounter several difficulties in mobilising the capital requirement to initiate self-employment activities. only a meagre number of the safai karmcharis have opted for some financial assistance. Nevertheless, a good percentage of the safai karmcharis (44.3%) showed their eagerness to opt for future self-employment avenues, especially in the areas of provision stores, beauty parlours, tailoring shop, rickshaw driving, animal husbandry, clothes vending, electrician, dairy project, garage, and so on.

The state governments need to be proactive in the dissemination of information about the various schemes through workshops, seminars, and use of various appropriate means of media.

2. S. Dubey and J.Murphy Studied “manual scavenging in Mumbai: The Systems of oppression” in this article the story of how manual scavengers are exploited by their employers as the government and society look away, avoiding seeing, hearing, or coming in direct contact with manual scavengers while benefiting from their labor and exploitation. The lived experiences of manual scavengers in Mumbai illustrate the complementary play of caste and class in upholding the oppression and continuing the violence directed to manual scavengers. During period of about 6.5 weeks in early 2018, researcher were visited or interviewed total 68 manual scavengers all are above 18 years old.

The researcher conclude that
1. Any form of manual handling of sewer waste is prohibited and should be recognized as a serious violation of the human and rights of workers and must be stopped immediately, while technological alternatives should be explored. Also, efforts to stop manual scavenging should not result in the loss of livelihood or earnings for the workers, which is one of their major concerns.

2. The unregulated contract system and the resulting disparity in income and rights of workers should be acknowledged and addressed. The role of government officials in maintaining the status quo should also be critically investigated, and stricter policies and inspections should come about.

3. Immediate actions are needed on a massive scale to ensure that the rightful provisions, such as safety gear and health care, are given to government as well as private workers. At the same time, reporting systems need to be amended so that sanitation workers can reveal violations of their rights in confidence and participate in the process of reform.

3. Scavenging for the State: The Permissible Manual Scavenging in Civic Municipalities (Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Research & Training Institute, Pune)

The survey was conducted for 491 sewage cleaners and 600 toilet cleaners from 25 May 2015 to 23 June 2015 in all 14 wards of the Pune Municipal Corporation. The survey was conducted across 161 kothis (primary work units of PMC) and personal interviews were conducted for all 1091 workers.

Major Findings at a glance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>Drainage Bigaris</th>
<th>Toilet Cleaners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PMC</td>
<td>Sulabh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction Contact with Human Waste</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incidence of Manual Scavenging</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% SC</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caste</td>
<td>Matang 51%</td>
<td>Valmiki/Mehtar 77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mahar 21%</td>
<td>Bhangi 9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Valmiki/Mehtar/Bhangi 5%</td>
<td>Matang 4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hereditary work</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replaced Father</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replaced Mother</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage among close relatives</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Only 13% have attended school beyond Secondary Level</td>
<td>Only 29% have attended school beyond Secondary Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drop Out Rate</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Major reasons for female dropouts is marriage and that for male drop out is inability to support education due to economic difficulty.</td>
<td>Major reasons for female dropouts is marriage and that for male drop out is inability to support education due to economic difficulty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addiction</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schemes</td>
<td>91% have no knowledge</td>
<td>91% have no knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied with treatment given by the</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
so called Upper castes | 49% | 50%
--- | --- | ---
Self-Perception about work being lower | 49% | 50%
Others’ Perception about work being lower | 45% | 44%
Want to discontinue and take up some other work | 66% | 66%

Recommendations:

1. **Expanding the working definition of Manual Scavenger:** Though the 2013 Act along with its adjoining letters and amendments gives a comprehensive definition of what constitutes manual scavenging the approach of the state towards eradication of manual scavenging is centred only upon abolishment of Dry latrines. In directions given for survey after survey from the Central and State governments to local bodies identification of manual scavenging practices has been restricted to dry latrine identification and its abolishment. Though equally important, it leaves out the large portion of manual scavenging that takes place under the local civic bodies in contravention of both The Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act 2013 and The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989.

2. **Enforcing Mechanism for the Implementation of 2013 Act:** An Enforcement Mechanism for the 2013 Act must be established preferably under the Department for Social Justice to ensure strict implementation of the Act. This should begin by educating the workers of their rights with respect to the act especially the right to be trained and educated regarding the illegality and dangers involved in their work. The seriousness of the criminal nature of the practice of entering sewers and cleaning human excreta must be publicized widely and support mechanisms must be ensured for those who report such abuses on work.

3. **Identification and Compensation to all workers who died during Sewage Cleaning:** The families of all the workers whether contractual or permanent who lost their lives while cleaning sewers must be identified and compensated in accordance with the Supreme Court Judgment Safai Karamchari Andolan And Ors vs Union Of India And Ors on 27 March, 2014. The Judgment rules that entering sewer lines without safety gears should be made a crime even in emergency situations. If death occurs in such a situation, compensation of Rs. 10 lakh should be given to the family of the deceased. Moreover all those who have died in such circumstances be identified since the year 1993 and be given compensation.

4. **Cleaning Occupation:** The effort at eradication of manual scavenging cannot be successful unless it is paralleled by the efforts to eradicate the very need of manually cleaning waste in unhygienic and inhuman conditions. This requires prioritising the modernization of the waste disposal mechanism by buying and maintaining modern equipment such as jetting machines, wading suits and under water pulleys. In order to be able to function in the Indian context where often the lanes/streets are thin to allow machines to reach sites or even sewers are old and fragile immediate R&D efforts must be made to develop customized machines and long term modernization of sewage lines. Such a long term solution would require a serious political will and commitment to eradicate inhuman practice of manual scavenging.

5. **Ensure Rehabilitation entitlements under the 2013 Act**—including financial assistance, scholarships, housing, alternative livelihood support, and other important legal and programmatic
assistance—are available to manual scavenging communities.

6. No Contractualisation and new Recruitment Standards: The present round of Contractualisation where the Corporations have stopped hiring workers completely on permanent basis must be arrested as this further marginalizes the workers and opens up the possibility of getting illegal work such as manual scavenging and other hazardous cleaning being done without protection, fixed works, protection or salary. The involvement of Nagarsevaks etc. in worker recruitment must be arrested and a more transparent recruitment process must be put into place. The present system of waarsa hakka must be replaced with a concrete rehabilitation board to check the concentration of specific castes in cleaning occupation.


The Study attempts to employ framework of “Dirty work” in relation to the stigmatized scavenging occupations which emerged from previous occupational studies. The study has been argued that how so called ascribed customary right of scavenging castes are trapped their future generation in the vicious cycle of poverty and social exclusion. The increasing information of sanitation work in Pune has reproduced perceptible forms of precarious worksites in sanitation and conservancy work in Pune and thereby a rise of ingrained stigma and occupational hazard and risk. In conclusion, the discourse of dirty work helped us to derived miseries of sanitation/safai labour and labourers from the marginal worksites. The process of informalization of labour has caused to derive the likelihood of workers and also pushed them to fringe of society. As far as the youth generations of sanitary workers are concerned, most of their castes belong to Dalits and scheduled castes are continued monopolizing in traditional caste based contractual scavenging employment in order to secure the job security and get rid of inevitable exclusion.

5. Socio-Economic and health issues of women Manual Scavengers (A case Study of Nagpur District, Maharashtra) by Manisha Meshram (JNU-2019)

This study is based on Nagpur District of Maharashtra and cover total 152 sample of women manual scavengers. In Nagpur the Dalit women are mostly engaged in the most-dehumanised manual scavenging in India. They do not possess good education as none of the family members of the scavenging households are not seen to have studied beyond 10-year of schooling. Almost 93 per cent of the total interviewed WMS do not own any farmland that could have helped them liberate from manual scavenging and rehabilitate them into any respectful occupation. almost 97 per cent of the total sample of WMS reported not to be aware of any government schemes or provisions meant for them. The living areas of the women manual scavengers mostly are located near open drainage and open defecation area.

In this study researcher disclosed the following characteristics of the women engaged in manual scavenging profession in Nagpur district of Maharashtra.

- Belonging to the lowest rug of the society
- Less education
- No Livelihood assets (eg. Farmland holding)
- Abysmal income from manual scavenging
- No alternatives livelihood opportunity
- Stigmatized, humiliated and discriminated in every sphere of the life.
These women own no education, no wealth, no livelihood asset, and no alternative employment opportunity because of their caste-affiliation.

A 2013 survey conducted by the Rashtriya Garima Abhiyan in approximately 500 villages and five cities in Dhule district, Maharashtra—one of the 250 most backward districts in India 183—found that in 31 villages and all 5 cities, a total of 162 women and 90 men are still hired by panchayats and municipal corporations to manually clean toilets and open defecation areas. (Human Rights Watch telephone interview with Shankar Solanki, social worker for Rashtriya Garima Abhiyan, March 31, 2014.)

2.8 Status of manual Scavengers in other state-

Karnataka (Safaikarmachari Kavalu Samithi – Karnataka ,January 2020)

In Karnataka, so far 2,647 persons have been identified as manual scavenger. So far three rounds of survey have been conducted in the state. The first survey was conducted in selected towns and cities in the state which were found to have insanitary latrines during 2011 Census enumerations. A total of just 302 persons were identified in this round of survey across 4 districts in the state. A survey of rural areas was conducted by Rural Development and Panchayat Raj Department in 2016, which identified 435 persons as manual scavengers across 12 districts. In 2018, self-identification forms filed by 156 persons with Davangere Municipal Corporation were accepted after a long struggle by Safaikarmachari Kavalu Samithi (SKKS) and these 156 persons were issued ID cards.

Tamil Nadu - (George Dimitrove 2020)

According to 2011 Census Tamil Nadu is a one among the states having more number of manual scavengers, were they manually clean and dispose the human excreta from dry latrines/open defecation spots, remove and clean the underground sewage blocks, disposal of septic tank waste and open drainage. The central ministry of social justice and empowerment current records shows that 363 manual scavengers in Tamil Nadu, are still engaged in scavenging. There are three major Dalit communities like Pallars, Parayars and Chakiliyar (Arunthathiyar) are engaged in manual scavenging. Likewise, manual scavengers face livelihood threats to rehabilitate them from these inhuman practices. Civil society organizations have tried their level best to rehabilitate and create awareness among the manual scavengers. Yet they could not succeed. But the process of rehabilitation is slow and tardy.

There are six districts which has huge number of manual scavengers, likely Chennai-170, Tiruchirappalli-102, Thanjavur-28, Nagapattinam-6, Pudukottai-13, and Ariyalur-41. Remaining 26 districts do not even have a single manual scavengers doing manual scavenging as per the records. But these districts have more number of insanitary latrines. As per the MS Act 2013, insanitary latrine survey reveals that 2,03,134 insanitary latrines are in Tamil Nadu, in that 1,49,455 insanitary latrines have night soil which is disposed directly into open drain, 27,659 insanitary latrines are cleaned manually, and 26,020 insanitary latrines serviced by animals. In which 26,020 insanitary latrines are cleaned manually mean that some person is manually clean that latrine. Whenever the number of manual scavenger’s data compared with numbers of insanitary latrines founded, the data has been illogical. Some districts have insanitary latrines data but the officials are not sensitized in conducting the manual scavengers survey. Tamil Nadu government faces difficulty in identifying the manual scavengers, when it comes to rehabilitation.

(Thangadurai Thangavel, Augest 2020)

Manual Scavengers face social, political and economic discrimination all over India as well as in Tamil Nadu. These cleaning workers are still using age old instruments for cleaning sewage and human excreta; hence prevalence of serious health issues pertains. At the same
time inhuman societal behaviour towards Manual Scavenger’s profession and their family leads to their lower social relationships, work life balance and happiness. On an all India basis the percentage of women (95%) engaged in Manual Scavenging is a lot more than men. The manual scavengers have more health problems (both physical and mental), poor recognition, injuries, discrimination and bad habits due to the job. While considering the Quality of Life as well as Quality of Work Life of Manual Scavengers three aspects are essential to understand and address the plight of Manual Scavengers. These include: their Identification, Liberation (liberation from the dehumanizing task) and Rehabilitation. All three require dedicated time, commitment and resources.
3. Government committees and commissions

Manual Scavenging is undignified occupation carried out by some specific community of scheduled caste. Government of India appointed several committees, commissions to deal with problems of manual scavenging and suggest appropriate practical recommendation, policy measures to abolish its practices and their social inclusion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name of the Committee</th>
<th>Chair</th>
<th>Government Body</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949-1952</td>
<td>The Scavengers’ Living Conditions Enquiry Committee</td>
<td>B.N. Barve</td>
<td>Government of Bombay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953-1955</td>
<td>Backward Classes Commission</td>
<td>Kaka Kalkar</td>
<td>Government of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Central Advisory Board for Harijan welfare</td>
<td>Gobind Ballabh Pant</td>
<td>Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-1966</td>
<td>Committee on Customary Rights to Scavengers</td>
<td>N. R. Malkani</td>
<td>Government of India, Department of Social Welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-1969</td>
<td>Committee on Conditions of Sweepers and Scavengers</td>
<td>B. P. Pandya</td>
<td>National Commission on Labour, Government of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Task Force for Tackling the problem of scavengers and suggesting measures to abolish scavenging with particular emphasis on their rehabilitation</td>
<td>S. K. Basu</td>
<td>Government of India, Planning Commission</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Srivastava, 1997; Parameshara, 2013, Noronha, Singh and Malik, 2018, p. 7

3.1 Barve Committee, 1949

Since independence, the government has been paying attention to the problem of manual scavenging and improving the conditions of people engaged in the inhuman manual scavenging. In 1949, the erstwhile government of Bombay appointed the Scavengers’ Living Conditions Enquiry Committee under the chair of V.N. Barve to study the living conditions of the manual scavengers in the State of Bombay and to suggest ways and means to improve
their working conditions and to fix their minimum wages. The report of the Committee was submitted to the Government of Bombay in 1952.

**Recommendation by this Committee.**

Section I

**Living Conditions**

1. The Committee endorses the principles enunciated in the awards of Tribunals, under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, that Municipalities are liable either to provide free quarters or pay house-rent to scavengers and sweepers as they belong to an essential service.

**An Obligatory Function**

2. To make reasonable and adequate provision for constructing and maintaining residential quarters for the conservancy staff of local bodies, excepting Gram Panchayats, is now made an obligatory function under the Municipal Act. It is therefore the duty of local bodies to ascertain the real extent of the need of housing for conservancy workmen and to prepare a plan of constructing suitable houses which ought to be completed within a short period.

**Own Houses**

3. Where the conservancy workmen scavengers of sweepers have a strong desire to have their own houses and there is a reasonable prospect of fulfilling their desire they should be encouraged to have their own decent houses by taking advantage of the P.W.R. Scheme No. 219.

**Government Subsidies**

4. Local bodies should avail themselves of the Government scheme of payment of subsidies to local bodies for the improvement of the housing conditions of their Harijan employees.

**Minimum Housing Accommodation**

5. The housing accommodation to be provided by local bodies to scavengers and sweepers in their employ shall not be less than a living room of 10’ X 10’, a kitchen room of 6’ X 10’, with a sink and loft and verandah in front of 4’ X 10’ the total floor area being 200 sq. feet.

**The new Chinchpokali type**

6. The Bombay City Municipality should construct more chawls of the new chinchpokali type and as soon as possible should give 2 rooms to each family of scavengers and sweepers instead of the present one room. The improvements in lighting and the sanitary arrangements should not be delayed at all.

**Amenities in Municipal Quarters**

7. (a) The local bodies should make in all the quarters constructed by them for scavengers and sweepers in their employ adequate provision of drinking and washing water of water closets or latrines and urinals as also of common bath rooms and washing places. There should be storage tanks of water near the quarters in those cities and towns where tap water is provided.

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5State of Bombay, Report of the Scavengers Living Condition Enquiry Committee (Government of Maharashtra, 1949)
(b) There should be adequate lighting of streets and open spaces and where electric supply is available one or two electric lamps should be provided for each tenement for which a small charge may be levied.

(c) Adequate arrangements should be made for sweeping streets and open spaces and for cleansing water cleansing water closets, latrines, cesspools, urinals and drains in the quarters.

(d) The site should not be near an open nala for sewage or sullage a dumping ground for night soil or refuse or a stand for night soil carts etc and should be well drained.

**Big Centers**

8. At every big centre of Municipal chawls there should be a welfare centre a canteen on cooperative basis a Bal Mandir and if there are in the centre at least 15 infants under two years of women employees a crèche should also be maintained. But in the case of the amenities mentioned in this paragraph the responsibility should be shared by Government and the social workers along with the local bodies.

**Welfare Fund**

9. Local bodies should the whole amount recovered from the conservancy staff to welfare work and should also make a suitable grant for maintain welfare activities from their general funds.

**Need for Grant-in-Aid**

10. Government is requested to frame a scheme of grant-in-aid for maintaining welfare centres. Bal mandira and crèches for young children of scavengers and sweepers as far as practicable.

**Amenities in Localities**

11. Recommendations with regard to the Municipal Quarters should be held applicable to localities of scavengers and sweepers as far as practicable.

**Welfare Officers**

12. Big municipalities such as the corporations of Poona and Ahmedabad and Municipalities at Sholapur, Hubli, Surat, Nasik and Ahmednagar about start welfare activities and appoint welfare officers for quarters and localities of scavengers and sweepers in their employ.

**Slum Clearance**

13 (a) As slum conditions are found to exist in the localities of scavengers and sweepers in many urban municipal areas the Municipalities about take up schemes of slum clearance and for that purpose take advantage of the Government Scheme for payments of grants-in-aid to the Municipalities towards the slum clearance scheme as per G.R.H. and L.G.D., No. P. 20(2) (1) dated 30th August 1948.

(b) The Municipalities should not however allow the schemes for alum clearance to be made an excuse for ousting scavengers and sweepers from the land which they had long occupied as house sites but as many of them as possible should be given plots on the said land for house e with a properly laid out new plan.

**Rates of House rent Allowances**

14. A house rent allowance should be paid by local bodies to all scavenger and sweepers in their employ who have not been provided with housing accommodation by local bodies at
their own cost whether they live in houses or in buts of their own or in rented rooms according to the following rate

**Rates of House rent Allowances**

1. **Greater Bombay**
   - Rs. 10 per month to the head of the Family and Rs. 5 per month each to other Members of the family in employ.

2. **Poona and Ahmedabad Municipal Corporations and the Sholapur Municipality**
   - Rs. 7 per month to the head of the family and Rs. 3-8-0 per month each to other members of the family in employ.

3. **Other Borough Municipalities**
   - Rs. 5 per month to the head of the family and Rs. 2-8-0 per month to the other Members of the family in employ.

4. **District Municipalities**
   - Rs. 4 per month to the head of the family and Rs. 2 per month each to other Members of the family in employ.
   - Notified area committees and Gram Panchayats
   - Rs. 2 per month to the head of the family and Rs. 1 per month each to the other Members of the family in employ.

**Government Employees**
15. The recommendations for the provision of decent housing accommodation without charging any rent or in the absence of such provision payment of house rent allowance in lieu should be held applicable to the conservancy work men in Government employ.

**No House Rent**
16. The house rent charged at present by some of the local bodies for housing accommodation provided by them to scavengers and sweepers in their employ should be given up.

**Section II**

**IMPROVERMENT IN THE CONDITION OF WORK**

**Elimination of Hand Removal**

17. be process of hand removal i.e. the process in which the night soil drapping in receptacles or on the floor of latrines has to be taken out and removed by hand must be eliminated as far as possible and it would be the only real improvement in the present condition of scavenging work.

**Mechanization**

18. mechanisation if it helps in the elimination of the hand removal process ought to be judiciously adopted in large cities and towns.

**Human Factor**

19. The human factor should be considered to be of greater importance than the economic one in conservancy work.
The Flush System

20. The system of water carriage and flush would be the best for big cities and should be introduced wherever possible.

Septic Tanks and Aqua Privies

21. (a) The next best system for cities and big towns would be to have the septic tanks for big habitations like hostels, police line, jails etc. and for public latrines and Aqua Privies for private houses.

Question of the effluent

(b) The public health authorities should carefully consider whether it could be feasible to allow the effluent from Aqua Privies to pass along open drains where the system of open drains is complete and well maintained.

Dhanoli Type Trench Latrines

22. In smaller places like small towns and big villages which have Gram Panchayats sets of Pucca trench latrines public latrines of the Dhanoli type should be constructed.

No More Receptacle Latrines

23. Government should consider the feasibility of making it a rule not to allow village Panchayats hereafter to construct receptacle public latrines and to engage any new professional scavenger to cleanse them without the permission of the District Health Officer and should give all proper facilities and guidance for the construction and maintenance of Pucca trench latrines of the Dhanoli type of other suitable substitute.

Bardoli Type Trench Latrines

24. In places like Ashrams where residents live under a kind of discipline pucca trench Latrines of Bardoli type may be resorted to.

Gopuri Type Compost Latrines

25. The Gopuri compost type latrines being above the ground are particularly suited to places in Ratnagiri District where rainfall is excessive and would be equally suitable in Thana and Kolaba districts and in all other places where there are sufficient open spaces near the house.

Well Privies

26. Pit privies or well privies where they exist should be examined and allowed to be used only if they are found not to pollute the supply of drinking water in the neighborhood. No new pit-privies should be allowed to be constructed without the express permission in writing from the public Health Authorities.

Public Health Authorities to Guide

27. The Public Health Authorities should carefully study the varying circumstances and should advice and guide the people in constructing suitable latrines which wherever possible while securing good sanitation where possible will also help in preparing compost manure in all villages and small towns.

Planned Campaign
28. There should be a planned campaign and a drive behind it to discourage the 106 A construction of receptacle latrines.

**Improvements in the receptacle Latrine**

29. Where the elimination of the hand removal process in not practicable improvements ought to be effected in the construction of ordinary pan latrines as detailed in para 100.

**Committee of Experts**

30. Government should appoint a small committee of experts of the Public Health and Engineering Departments for the consideration of this committee’s recommendation in the matter of the improvements in the construction of receptacle latrines detailed in para. 100 and for determining upon proper and effective methods for achieving the objects and for bringing about the remodeling of existing receptacle Latrines.

**The Receptacle- No Bomboo Baskets**

31. The receptacle for night-soil should be of a standard size weight and pattern pre-scribed by the Public Health Authorities. A bye-law should be made for -------the use of a receptacle of different size weight or make and also ------------the failure to provide any receptacle at all. The use of Bamboo baskets should be prohibited and the receptacle should be made of iron sheets with handles on both sides and a slanting side at the posterior end.

**No Head Load of Night-Soil**

32. The prevailing practice of carrying night-soil baskets, drums or buckets on the head from the latrine to the night-soil cart, lorry or pail depot should be prohibited and anyone of the methods detailed in para. 100 (x) should be adopted according as they are suitable.

**No Head Load of Cesspool Contents**

33. The practice of carrying drums of cesspool contents on the head should be prohibited and wherever possible a suction pump fitted to a lorry should be utilized or where the auction pump arrangement is not feasible a wheel barrow with a drum or any other suitable device as suggested for removing night-soil may be adopted.

**Scamper’s Lorry**

34. Wherever feasible a scamper’s lorry as at Poona may be used for sucking up the contents of big cesspool into which night-soil also is poured.

**Gram Luxmi Gas Plant**

35. The Government may through their experts examine the potentialities of the Gram Luxmi Gas Plant manufactured by Messrs Mapara Parekh and Co., at Santa Cruz devised to produce a gas and useful manure from human excreta which it is claimed is capable of taking the place of a septic tank and recommend its use to Gram Panchayats if found suitable and useful.

**Proper Measure of work Load**

36. The number of latrine seats allotted to a scavenger for cleansing should not be taken to be a sufficient criterion for the proper measure of the work load for reasons given in para 103 (d) (2) and (3)
**Periodical Time Tests**

37. Every local body should take periodical time tests of the work allotted to individual scavengers and sweepers in typical areas under proper supervision and in the presence of a representative of the scavengers of sweepers and a record of the same should be maintained in order to ascertain whether there is any overwork.

**More Night Soil Carts**

38. Local bodies should keep more night-soil carts for collecting night-soil from receptacle latrines and should try to follow the Dhulia system of keeping a night-soil cart by the side of two or more scavengers working at a time so that there will be no necessity to carry night soil buckets or drums on head and a large number of latrine seats can be cleanse within a short time.

**Maximum Hours of Work**

39. (a) Considering the dirty nature of the scavenging work we recommend that five hours of scavenging work per day should be the maximum.

    (b) If the same work man is required to scavenge and also to sweep four hours of scavenging and two hours of sweeping work should be the maximum.

    (c) If sweeping work is alone done by a workman seven hours of sweeping work should be the maximum.

    (d) There should be proper intervals for rest.

**Off-Days.**

40. There should be two half off-days in a week for scavengers and sweepers but where scavengers usually work only in the morning and are not required to put in any work in the afternoon or evening they would not be entitled to any extra off-time in a week.

**Overflowing Pans**

41. (a) The Sanitary Inspectors of Municipalities should keep a watch whether the pans being used are of the standard size or not and if they are and still usually overflow inspite of regular cleansing that should be taken as a proof of the fact that more persons are using the seat than the proper number.

    (b) The local body should then in the case of public latrines take steps to provide more seats and in the case of private latrines require the house owner to construct more latrines seats in accordance with the bye-laws.

    (c) The house owner should be given to understand that the scavenger will be justified in refusing to cleanse a latrine where the house owner fails to supply a proper of standard size weight and make or allows it to be used by a excessive number of persons in his house causing the pan to overflow even after his attention is drawn to the fact by due notice given on behalf of the local body.

**Clothing**

42. A pair of suitable clothing should be given every year to all scavengers and sweepers.

**Baskets and Brooms**

43. (a) Local bodies should supply all the baskets and brooms required for the work to sweepers in their employ.
(b) The brooms supplied should be long stick brooms so that sweepers may not have to bend down while sweeping.

Minimum Wages

Pay Scales

44. Having found that the question of the minimum wages for Class IV Government Servants has been carefully considered by the Central Pay Commission and generally adopted by the Government of Bombay and applied to the permanent full-time scavengers and sweepers in their employ the committee came to the conclusion that the pay scale of Rs. 30-|-35 was generally quite proper as the Minimum wage for scavengers and sweepers in the employ of local bodies as well.

Modifications

45. The committee is of the opinion that the said scale of Rs. 30-|-35 requires some modifications to suit different conditions in respect of the following particulars:

(a) In the opinion of the committee the span of only Rs. 5 in the whole period of service for class IV Government servants in the lowest category is too small and therefore the committee recommends that with a view to increase the efficiency of the conservancy workmen there should be a selection grade of 15 per cent and that there should be a further time scale of Rs. 5 spread over 10 years i.e. further time scale of Rs. 5 in the case of all local bodies except notified area committees and Gram Panchayats.

(b) In the case of the District Municipalities the pay scale should be Rs. 25-|-30 i.e. Rs. 5 less with of course the selection grade for 15 per cent as above.

(c) In the caste of the notified area committees and the Gram Panchayats the minimum wages should be Rs. 20 per month only and there should be no time scale.

(d) In the case of the Bombay City Municipality the local compensatory allowances of Rs. 5 Will be added to the scale and it will be Rs. 35-|-40 with a selection grade of 15 per cent as above.

(e) Wherever there is a better scale being paid to the scavengers and sweepers in employ the same should continue to be paid at least in the case of the present incumbents in service. For instance the present pay scale of the Bombay city Municipality for scavengers and sweepers is Rs. 35-|-40 (inclusive of the local allowance of Rs. 5 p.m.) and the same will continue and they will have the benefit of the selection grade. In the Poona City Municipality the pay scale for scavengers is already Rs. 30-|-49 and the same will continue without a selection grade. We cannot work out all the cases. Suitable adjustment will have to be made where the existing scales are different so as to secure the ends of justice. The pay scales will thus be as follows:

Greater Bombay : Rs. 35-|-40 with a selection grade for 15 per cent i.e. Rs. 40-2-45

Poona Municipality:

For Scavengers : Rs. 30-|-40 without a selection grade.
For Sweepers : Rs. 30-|-35 with a selection grade for 15 per cent i.e. Rs. 35-|-40
Ahmedabad : Rs. 30-|-35 with a selection grade for 15 per cent
Borough Municipalities : Rs. 30-|-35 with a selection grade for 15 per cent i.e. Rs. 35-|-40

District Municipalities : Rs. 25-|-30 with a selection grade for 15 per cent i.e. Rs. 30-|-35

Notified area committee and Gram Panchayat.

Rs. 20 P.m. without any time scale.

46. Unclean work allowance should be given to all (scavengers as defined by the committee to mean all inferior conservancy workmen except those who only do the work of sweeping streets and open spaces) at following rates:-

Bombay City : Rs. 7 p.m.
Ahmedabad and Poona Municipalities : Rs. 5 p.m.
Borough and District Municipalities : Rs. 3 p.m.
Notified Areas Committees and Gram Panchayats : Rs. 2 p.m.
Gram Panchayats.

Free Housing Accommodation or House rent Allowance in lieu thereof.

47. As scavengers and sweepers belong to an essential service-

They are entitled to free housing accommodation or payment of a house rent allowance in lieu thereof, as detailed in a paragraph 96.

48. The pay scales recommended by this committee are the minimum and therefore the local bodies should not reduce the scales of salaries if they are paying more at least in the case of the present incumbents in service. They are of course free to pay more.

Dearness Allowance

49. The same dearness allowance which is sanctioned by Government for its own class IV servants of the lowest grade from time to time should be paid by all local bodies including the gram panchayats and notified area committees to all their full-time permanent scavengers and sweepers.

Temporary and Part-time servants

50. (a) Cases of temporary and part-time scavengers and sweepers in the employ of the Municipalities and the District Local Boards should be submitted to the Director of Local Authorities concerned for scrutiny and no temporary or part-time scavengers or sweepers should be employed for a period exceeding three months without the sanction of the D. L. A. concerned.

(b) Part-time scavenger and sweepers ought not to be made to work both in the morning and again in the afternoon or evening.

(c) In the case of the temporary of part-time employees of Municipalities and the District Local Boards the salaries and allowance etc. should have the approval of the Director of local Authorities.
(d) In the case of temporary and part-time employees of Gram Panchayats the salary and other conditions of service should be fixed in consultation with the District Local Board concerned.

Government Employees

51. Though these recommendations have been made with reference to local bodies their principal should be considered applicable to the temporary and part-time scavengers and sweepers in Government service also.

Payment of Wages Act

52. The Government should consider the feasibility of extending the scope of the payment of Wages Act 1936 so as to make it applicable to employees under local authorities.

Infliction of Fines

53. The procedure laid down in paragraph 131 mainly based on the lines of the provisions in the Payment of Wages Act, 1936 should be followed before inflicting fines upon scavengers and sweepers.

Suspensions

54. (a) Suspension should not be ordered unless the charge against the scavenger or sweeper amounts to a serious misconduct which if proved is likely to result in the dismissal of the employee.

(b) The employee concerned should be furnished with a charge sheet and an opportunity should be given to him to meet the charge and he should be allowed to be helped by a co-worker or a representative of the Union to which he belongs.

55. (1) Government should instruct the authorities of the Health Unit at Shirur the Director of Public Health and the Public Health Engineer to carry out experiments in a well equipped research centre with a view to devise improved sanitary methods and patterns of sanitary conveniences and (2) Government should also give suitable assistances to private agencies to carry out experiments in improved methods of conservancy work which will dispense with the hand removal process and at the same time help in producing compost manure and (3) should maintain sanitary museums at selected centers.

A Special Assistant to the D.L. As.

56. A special Assistant to the Director of Local Authorities should be appointed in each division whose special duty should be to implement the measures for effecting improvements in the living conditions condition of work and conditions of service of scavengers and sweepers in the employ of local authorities.

Propaganda

57. Sustained efforts should be made by the Public Health Authorities by local bodies and social workers to arouse the sanitary conscience the civic sense and the sense of social justice by intensive propaganda as indicated in para. 158 of the report.

Public Co-operation

58. Local bodies should realise the importance of securing public co-operation in carrying out measures of improved sanitation and for that purpose should take the steps as indicated in para. 159 of the report.

Culture and Efficiency
59. The measures detailed in para 161 of report should be adopted for raising the culture broadening the outlook on life and for increasing the efficiency of work of the scavengers.

**Rights and duties**

60. The scavenger and sweepers should remember-

1. That rights carry obligations with them and that it is the duty to give an adequate return to local bodies in the form of regular and efficient service.

2. That a fair wage is always related to a fair load of work.

3. That reduction in the scavenging work and consequent unemployment to some extent is likely result from:-
   
   a. Rationalization of conservancy work.
   
   b. Abolition of the “Gharaki” system and
   
   c. The extension of the system of water carriage and flush and the more extensive use of septic tanks Aqua Privies trench latrines Gopuri latrines etc.

**A deliverance**

61. The scavengers should not bewail the possible reduction in the extent of scavenging work but should hail it as a deliverance.

**Other Suitable Jobs**

62. When on account of the Police of rationalisation in the conservancy work some of the scavengers and sweepers are thrown out of employment the local bodies should try their best to employ as many of them as possible in other suitable kinds of employment under their control.

**An Appeal**

63. The scavengers and sweepers should take time by the forelock and begin to find out for their young men other suitable jobs and given their children the benefit of educational facilities amply provided by the Government of the State.

**3.2 Backward Classes Commission, 1953**

After the Barve Committee, the Backward Classes Commission was set up under the head of Kaka Kalelkar in 1953. The commission submitted its report in 1955, described the condition of sweepers and scavengers as sub-human, and highlighted the outdated techniques of manual removal of human waste by the scavenging communities. The Ministry of Home Affairs brought the observations and recommendations of the commission to the notice of all the state governments in October 1956. In order to eradicate the practice of manual scavenging, the commission emphasised the need of introducing mechanical and upgraded methods to cleaning latrines, and focussed on the specific schemes covering every sphere of life to uplift Bhangis from their ‘sub-human’ level of existence (Srivastava, 1997).
3.3 Central Advisory Board for Harijan welfare, 1956
In 1956, the Central Advisory Board of Harijan Welfare was constituted under the head of Gobind Ballabh Pant, Ministry of Home Affairs. This board reviewed the living and working conditions of sweepers and scavengers in India and recommended to the government to introduce a centrally sponsored scheme for improving the conditions of the manual scavengers and sweepers.

3.4 Scavenging Conditions Enquiry Committee, 1957
In 1957, the Scavenging Conditions Inquiry Committee, known as Malkani Committee was formed under the Chairmanship of N.R. Malkanai. The objective of the committee was to devise a scheme to abolish the degrading practice of manual scavenging. The committee started working in January 1958 and submitted its report in December 1960. The report recommended the elimination of manual scavenging practice and improvement of the working and living conditions and social status of manual scavengers in India.

3.5 Committee on Customary Rights of the Scavengers, 1965
In 1965, the Central Department of Social Welfare set up the Committee on Customary Rights of the Scavengers under the chair of N.R. Malkani. The objective of the committee was to examine the question of the abolition of customary rights of the scavengers. The report of the Committee was submitted to the Government in 1966. The committee pointed that where the scavenging task is not municipalised, the latrines were cleaned privately and one particular scavenger has the hereditary rights to clean such latrines as against another scavenger by an understanding and agreement. In this way, a customary relationship of the scavenger with the householder develops and the scavenger gets payments in some forms or the other. The several recommendation of this committee received very poor response and thus no action could be undertaken.

3.6 National Commission on Labour, 1966
The Government of India appointed the National Commission on Labour, headed by P.B. Gajendra Gadkar, in 1966. Along with undertaking the problem of unorganized labour, the commission also dealt with the working conditions of sweepers and scavengers. The commission submitted its report in 1969, and it reported that the government accepted the most important recommendations made by the earlier committee about the working conditions, housing and wages for sweepers and scavengers, nevertheless the programmes proposed by the government to improve their living conditions were not satisfactory. It further reported that the societal stigma of untouchability continued to get along with this group of workers.
3.7 Committee on Conditions of Sweepers and Scavengers, 1968-69

During 1968-69, the Union Ministry of Labour constituted a sub-committee under the head of Shri Bhanu Prasad Pandya to examine the working and service conditions of sweepers and scavengers. Similar committees were also constituted at the state level in the states of Uttar Pradesh (1955), Haryana (1969), Kerala (1971) and Karnataka (1976) (Srivastava, 1997). One important recommendation of the committee, inter alia, was that “the Central Government should undertake a comprehensive legislation for regulating their (manual scavengers’) working, service and living conditions which should also provide for adequate inspectorate and enforcement machinery” (Srivastava, 1997, p. 40). The recommendations of these committees were never received any attention from the centre and states, and thus no action could be taken.

3.8 Lad Committee (1975):

Summary of recommendations.

1) Nature of work.

Till such time as the dry latrines are converted into flush or water-borne ones, the environment of the private as well as public latrines should be kept clean. The recommendation made by the Barve and Malkani Committee in respect of types of racetracks to housed in the latrines and the methods for removal and disposal of night-soil as well as ablution water therefore should be strictly enforced. The system of carrying night-soil as head load should be completely abolished and recommended that Government should device strict measures for implementation. This, particularly in the Marathwada region.

2) Recruitment.

We recommend that the “Vashila System” under which the near relative of the sweeper or scavenger is given preference in employment should be continued and may be extended to the employment of sweeper and scavengers in Government and private institutions and factories if necessary, by relaxing the recruitment rules through employment exchanges.

Working lists of leave substitutes should be prepared and the permanent vacancies should be filled in from them.

Cadre of “Leave reserves” should be created after studying the average annual requirements of sweepers and scavengers.

Employment of sweepers and scavengers on contract basis should be completely abolished if necessary by suitable amendment to the Contract Labor Act.
3) Wages, Dearness and Other Allowances.

The Employment of sweepers and scavengers other than those attending to private household should be added as a separate entry in the schedule to the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, and the minimum rates of wages under that act be fixed for employees employed in that employment. For the purposes of fixation of minimum rates of wages there should be two zones, the first one consisting of areas within the limits of the municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay and the Second zone should consist of the areas falling within the jurisdiction of Municipal Corporation of Nagpur, Poona, Sholapur and Kolhapur and the Municipal Council of Aurangabad and cantonment Board of Poona.

The Minimum rates of wages for full-time sweepers and scavengers in Zone I should be Rs. 215/- per month, while in Zone II should be Rs.205/- per month.

N.B. (a) for arriving at the daily-rate of wages, the above monthly-rates should be divided by 26

(b) Part-time sweepers and scavengers should be paid at 60% of the wages recommended For full-time sweepers and scavengers.

Explanation:-

A part-time sweeper of scavenger is one whose hours of work are not more than 4 hours per day.

4) Hours of work (overtime wages) Rest intervals and Spread-over.

The present practice in local bodies in respect of hours of work should continue. The hours of work should be not exceed seven in educational institutions, Housing Societies, Hospitals (Other than Municipal and Government Hospitals) and other places where full-time sweepers and scavengers are employed. Any work in excess of seven hours per day should be condensates at double the ordinary rates of wages.

Sweepers and scavengers should be at least half-an-hour’s rest interval after 4 hours of work every day and the spread-over of work should not exceed 9 hours per day.

5) Permanency

The provisions for permanency of employees in Government institutions and local bodies may continue. In the case of other institutions where sweeping and scavengering is done the sweepers and scavengers should be made permanent after and arrogates service of 240 days.

6) Weekly-offs.
Where more than one sweepers/scavengers is employed they should be given a full day weekly-off, if necessary, by rotation

7) Paid Festival and National Holidays.

The sweepers and scavengers should be given four full days paid holidays per Year as festival and National Holidays. Balmiki Jayanti and Veer Gugadev Jayanti.

Nosweepers or scavenger should be required or allowed to work on these days.

8) Annual leave with Wages.

The total annual leave with wages should not be less than 21 days per year.

9) Casual Leave.

In housing societies, educational institutions, hospitals etc. Sweepers and scavengers should be get at least 5 days casual leave per year.

10) Sick leave.

The provisions as regards sick leave to the sweepers and scavengers under Municipal and Government Rules should continue. The sweepers and scavengers employed in other instructions should get at least 10 days sick leave in a year on half-pay.

11) Maternity leave.

Women sweepers and scavengers employed in Government institutions and Municipal Bodies should continue to get the present maternity benefits available to them. The women worker employed on a full-time basis should be entitled to the maternity leave as per the provisions of the Maternity Benefits Act, 1961

12) Uniforms.

Each Sweeper and scavenger should be provided with at least three sets of uniforms per year, with adequate washing allowance. The uniforms in the case of male members should consist of a half-pant and a shirt, head wear and chapels or gum boots. In the case of female members, it should consist of a sari, a petticoat and blouse in addition to foot wear.

13) Health and Safety Protective equipments:

In case of dry latrines, the protective equipments should be the same as recommended by the Barve Committee, viz. Rubber hand-gloves (suitable for male/female, scrappers, gum-boots (according to size) or footwear (leather chappals, or shoes), and, in case flush-type latrines, brushes, buckets, broom and mopping cloth.
The wheel barrows supplied to sweepers and scavengers should be kept in a proper staff for repairs and should be of suitable design.

The roads and lanes over which the wheel barrows are required to ply should be properly maintained.

14) Medical facilities.

Free medical facilities must be given to the sweepers and scavengers employed in private hospitals. In the case of other instructions, medical facilities. In the case of other instructions, medical facilities which are available to the other staff employed under them should be extended to the sweepers and scavengers.

15) Housing.

Wherever schemes of housing are framed for the low said employers or are proposed to be provided to the essential staff in local authorities and other instruction, sweepers and scavengers should not be excluded from the benefit thereof end, if possible, they may be given preferential treatment.

Government should also provide the following housing scheme for sweepers and scavengers;

a) Individual housing scheme, and
b) Hire purchase schemes in the houses constructed by the Municipal bodies.

The individual housing schemes should be incorporated for the sweepers and scavengers in the urban areas, under W.R Scheme No.219, and all the facilities and advantages admissible there under for the backward classes should be made applicable to them. The scope of the scheme should also be extended to the sweepers and scavengers working under government and semi-Government institutions, other bodies and private sweepers and scavengers.

So far as the houses, constructed by the Municipal and other local bodies are concerned, 40% of the houses so constructed for low income group should made available to the sweepers and scavengers in their employed and the benefits of subsidy should also be made available.

16) Welfare.

It would be highly beneficial if provision for welfare facilities like Montessery Schools Balwadis, libraries, children’s garden, vacantional guidance classes and community centers is made in the housing colonies of sweepers and scavengers or in the localities where they predominantly reside.

17) Retrial benefits.
Where there is no retirement benefit of either gratuity or provident fund, at least gratuity according to the provisions of the payment of Gratuity Act, 1972, should be made compulsory.

In the case of hospitals and educational institutions both provident fund and gratuity schemes should be introduced.

18) For wages for weepers and scavengers attending to private households.

Flush-system:- In Bombay a scavengers working place in a day should be paid Rs.5/- per seat per month in Poona, Nagpur and he should get Rs. 4/- per seat per month for work once a day, while in Sholapur, Kolhapur and Aurangabad areas he should get Rs. 5/- per seat month.

N.B.: (1) When once family uses more than one seat the rate should be multiplied by the number of seats. Where one seat is used by more than one family, the above rate should be reduced by 25% and multiplied by the number of families using the seats.

(ii) The above minimum wages rates should be inclusive or dearness and other allowances, including unclean allowance.

Enforcement Machinery

For enforcement of the recommendations made by us the inspectorate under the Commissioner of Labor should be strengthened.

“Watch-dog” Advisory Committee.

There should be a High-power Advisory Committee, Which will function as watch-dog over the implementation of the recommendations of the Committee. The Advisory Committee may include, besides the Chairman, the representatives from:-


b) Sweepers/Scavengers, who are or where the Members of the State Legislature or Municipal Board, and

c) Representative of Sweepers/Scavengers, from Labor and Social Organization.

This Committee may hold its meeting periodically at regions in the State and usual local representatives may be invited by the Chairman to hear their view points.
3.9 Basu Committee or Task-force, 1991

In 1991, the erstwhile planning commission constituted a Task Force under S. K. Basu to deal with the problem of scavengers and to deal with their rehabilitation. Employing the NSSO data, the task force estimated mere 4-lakh scavengers in the country in 1989. It recommended the state-level survey be conducted to provide accurate figure when programmes and schemes were launched (Basu, 1991, pp.23-24). This Task force identified the systematic conversion of dry toilets into pour-flush toilets as the core problem (Basu, 1991).

All these committees discussed thus far have identified the problems that manual scavengers face because of their caste-identity and nature of work they perform. The committees recommended several policy-measures such as improvements in living and working conditions of individual engaged in manual scavenging and they recommended the application of technology to improve the working conditions of individuals involved in scavenging jobs (Noronha, Singh, and Malik, 2018). Nevertheless, many of these policy suggestions have hardly received any reality touch thus far.

3.10 Kaka Kalekar commission

Appointed in 1953 as the first backward class commission under the chairmanship of Kaka Kalekar. The committee submitted its report in 1955. Committee in its report described the condition of manual scavengers as sub-humans and highlighted the outdated techniques of night soil removal and sanitation which included manual removal of human waste by
scavenging communities. The committee also pulled up the municipal corporations for being the biggest sinners.

3.11 Malkani committee
CHWB in its October 12, 1957 meeting resolved to constitute a high level committee to make an in-depth study of scavenging menace in the country. Subsequently, the scavenging conditions enquiry committee was set up under the chairmanship of Professor N.R. Malkani. The committee submitted its report in 1960. The committee in its report blamed the existence of dry latrines as a major impediment to the abolition of manual scavenging in India.

3.12 Pandya committee
Was appointed as a sub-committee by National Labour Commission under the chairmanship of Bhanu Prasad Pandya in 1968-69 to examine the working conditions of sweepers and scavengers. But it failed to receive much attention from the central or the state governments. However, it recommended the enactment of a central legislation to regulate the working condition, living condition of the sweeper and scavenging communities and also recommended creation of adequate and efficient enforcement mechanism.
4. Legislative efforts

Apart from these committees or taskforce, there have been some legislative efforts undertaken by the government of India to deal with the problem of manual scavenging and to deal with their rehabilitation. There are as discussed below.

4.1 The protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955

The Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, was enacted to do away with the practice of untouchability and social disabilities owing to it against people belonging to the Scheduled Caste community. This Act was amended in 1977 and become the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, and under this revised act, the practice of untouchability was made both cognizable and non-compoundable and stricter punishment was provided for the offenders (Bhoi, 2011). However, the practice of untouchability in the most degrading form continues against Dalits.

4.2 The SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989

The failure of the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, led to the enactment of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 that was designed to provide a measure of protection to the Dalits and to enforce their rights. Further, the Prevention of Atrocities Act 1989 was strengthened, with respect to manual scavengers, in 2015. This Act makes it a punishable offence to employ any individual belonging to scheduled castes or scheduled tribes to do manual scavenging. Notwithstanding a marvellous piece of legislation, the SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, has largely been underutilized, as established by various documentations of Dalit rights groups (Bhoi, 2011).

4.3 Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993

It is very unfortunate that after 46 years of independence, the government of India passed a law titled ‘the Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993’ to do away with the dehumanizing practice of manual scavenging. This Act prescribes punishment to individual who employs manual scavengers as well as to those who construct dry toilets or latrines. The 1993 Act however came into effect in 1997. This act was however grappled with loopholes and was never efficiently implemented, and it had thus no impact on the life of manual scavengers (Tondon and Basu, 2016).^7

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^6 The punishment prescribed by the 1993 Act is imprisonment for up to one year and/or a fine.

^7 The Act has got following problems: First, it was drafted by the Ministry of Urban Development as an issue under item 6 “Public Health and Sanitation” of the state list. The act therefore gave priority to public sanitation and hardly gave any emphasis on the objective of liberating people engaged in manual scavenging. Second, the narrow definition of manual scavengers, as defined by the act, only included scavengers who clean dry latrines, and excluded manhole workers (sewer workers), scavengers who clean septic tanks, open defecation and railway track. Lastly, the act did not have any clause on rehabilitation of manual scavengers.
Act, 1993 – salient features

- An act to provide for the prohibition of employment of manual scavengers as well as construction of continuance of dry latrines and for the regulation of construction and maintenance of water-seal latrines and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.
- The main objective of this act is
  a) Prohibition of employment of manual scavengers.
- The Act provide the power to state government, executive authorities, inspector, officers and other employees to make schemes for conversion of dry latrines, construction and maintenance of water seal latrines, registration and rehabilitation.
- The act punished the employment of manual scavengers or the construction of dry latrines with imprisonment for up to one year and/or a with fine.
- The Act and outlaws all forms of manual scavenging, prescribing penalties for those who perpetuate the practice and protecting those who engage in it.
- The act form the Monitoring committee to monitor the progress of schemes of construction of water seal latrines at central and state level.


In 2013, a new legislation—the Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013—was enacted under the entry of 24 (welfare of labour) in the concurrent list by the central government. The act bans the employment of manual scavengers. It also laid out statutory criteria to identify Dalits engaged in manual scavenging and for provision of alternative employment to them.\(^8\) Similar to Act 1993, the 2013 Act has failed to eradicate manual scavenging and to rehabilitate manual scavengers, for the act has hardly translated into reality shape until today.

Act, 2013 – salient features

- The Act prohibits the employment of manual scavengers, the manual cleaning of sewers and septic tanks without protective equipment, and the construction of insanitary latrines.
- Its main objectives are: -
  i. Prohibition of employment as manual scavengers;
  ii. Rehabilitation of manual scavengers.

\(^8\)The 2013 act also comprises workers involved in cleaning sewers, tanks and open railway tracks. Not only does the Act prohibit cleaning of dry latrines, but also outlaws all forms of manual cleaning excrement as well as cleaning gutters, sewers, and so on.
• The Act recognizes the link between manual scavengers and weaker sections of the society. It therefore, views manual scavenging as being violative of their right to dignity.

• Under the Act, each local authority, cantonment board and railway authority is responsible for surveying insanitary latrines within its jurisdiction. They shall also construct a number of sanitary community latrines.

• Each occupier of insanitary latrines shall be responsible for converting or demolishing the latrine at his own cost. If he fails to do so, the local authority shall convert the latrine and recover the cost from him.

• The district magistrate and the local authority shall be the implementing authorities.

• Offences under the Bill shall be cognizable and non-bailable, and may be tried summarily.

• It provides for detailed vigilance mechanism and monitoring committee at district, state and central level.

• The Act specifically provides for carrying out surveys for identifying persons employed as manual scavengers.

### EMSCDL Act of 1993 and PEMSR Act of 2013 – A comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EMSCDL Act</th>
<th>1993 PEMSR Act</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Perspective of Act</strong></td>
<td>Sanitation perspective</td>
<td>Right to dignity perspective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coverage</strong></td>
<td>Only covers dry latrines</td>
<td>Dry latrines; the sewage system, railway tracks, septic tanks and insanitary Latrines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Definition of Manual scavenger</strong></td>
<td>person employed for “manually carrying human excreta”</td>
<td>a person employed for “manually cleaning, carrying, disposing of, or otherwise handling in any manner, human excreta in an insanitary latrine or in an open drain or pit into which human excreta from insanitary latrines is disposed of, or on a railway track, ….Before the excreta fully decomposes…”</td>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>Identification &amp; rehabilitation of Manual scavengers</strong></td>
<td>No provision</td>
<td>Chapter IV section 11</td>
</tr>
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</table>
| **Penal Provisions** | Upto 1 year of imprisonment and fine upto Rs. 2000/- | For violation of provisions of prohibition of insanitary:  
  • 1st contravention- upto 1 year imprisonment and fine upto Rs. 50,000/- or both.  
  • Double in case of 2nd and subsequent offences. For violation of provisions of |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Responsibility of Local Authorities to provide sanitary latrines</th>
<th>No such obligation.</th>
<th>Mandatory obligation under section 4(1).</th>
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prohibition of hazardous cleaning of septic tanks and sewers
- 1st contravention- upto 2 years imprisonment and fine upto Rs.2 lakh.
- 2nd/ subsequent contravention - 5 years and fine upto Rs. 5 lakh, or both.

Source:- Abhishek Gupta:- Manual Scavenging : A case of denied rights

### 4.5 National commission for schedule caste (NCSC)

The commission is constituted with a mandate to safeguard the interest of schedule castes in India. Article 338 (5) of the constitution of India lays down certain duties of the NCSC
(i) to investigate and monitor all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the scheduled castes and evaluate the working of such safeguards;
(ii) to inquire into specific complaints with respect to the deprivation of rights and safeguards of the scheduled castes;
(iii) to participate and advise on the planning process of socio-economic development of the scheduled castes and to evaluate the progress of their development;
(iv) to make recommendations as to the measures that should be taken by the Union or any State for the effective implementation of those safeguards and other measures for the protection, welfare and socio-economic development of the scheduled castes
(v) to discharge such other functions in relation to the protection, welfare and development and advancement of the scheduled castes; 19 Act no. 64 of 1993. 20Constitution (Eighty-Ninth Amendment) Act, 2003. 21Constitution of India, art. 338 (5) a-h.Summer Issue 2016 ILI Law Review
(vi) to make in such reports recommendations as to the measures that should be taken by the Union or any state for the implementation of those safeguards and other measures for the protection, welfare and socio-economic development of the scheduled castes.
A Timeline Of Legislation

1993
Employment of Manual Scavenging and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act
This was the first landmark judgment which outlawed work in unsanitary and dry (non-flush) latrines.

2013
Prohibition of Employment of Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act
This second law expanded the definition of manual scavenging to include the cleaning of septic tanks and railway tracks.

2014
Directive issued on 27 March expanding Rehabilitation Provisions
A year later, the Supreme Court mandated that sewer workers should also be included in these laws, given that they had to deal with human excreta and toxic conditions while cleaning. It also mandated compensation of Rs. 10 lakh to those who died.
5. Governmental Schemes

In addition to these committees and legislative efforts, the government has formulated some schemes and rehabilitation programs for the people, who are systematically forced to take up inhuman practice like manual scavenging. All these schemes and rehabilitation programs being implemented via government institutions and NGOs. The schemes and their highlights are as follows.

5.1 Valmiki Ambedkar Malin Basi Awas Yojna (VAMBAY), 2001

The government of India launched this scheme in 2001. The main aim of this scheme was to provide the shelter and to upgrade the existing shelter of people living below the poverty line in urban slums. One of the objectives behind this scheme was to make cities slum free. Under this scheme, the Central government was responsible to give 50 per cent funds as subsidy to the states, whereas the respective states were required to raise balance 50 per cent funds to implement the project. In terms of selecting the beneficiary, the priority was given to households headed by women.

5.2 Pre-Metric Scholarships for the Children of those Engaged in Unclean Occupations

The purpose of this scheme is to provide the financial assistance to the children of parents engaged in manual scavenging work and belonging to Scheduled Caste category. Historically if one sees majority of the manual scavengers belongs to SC community and do not get equal access to education like other, this results in lower level literacy rate among the families involved in scavenging work. The focus of this scheme is to enhance the level of education in manual scavenging community, mainly working to get equal access to education to the children of manual scavengers. Under this scheme, the states are provided with 100 per cent centre’s assistance over and above their own committed liabilities to implement this scheme.

5.3 Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC), 1999

This is a comprehensive programme, which was started in rural areas with the goal of eliminating the practice of open defecation and making the alternative arrangements. Total Sanitation Campaign was initiated in 1999 when the Central Rural Sanitation Program was restructured as demand-driven and people centred. TSC laid strong emphasis on Information, Education and Communication (IEC), Capacity Building and Hygiene Education. To achieve the effective behavioural changes or results the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs), Community Based Organization (CBOs), and Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs) etc. were also approached to get involved in it. The key intervention areas were, Individual Household Latrines (IHL), School Sanitation and Hygiene Education (SSHE),
Community Sanitary Complex, Anganwadi toilets etc. Rural Sanitary Marts (RSMs) and Production Centres (PCs) supported this campaign.

5.4 National Scheme of Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers (NSLRS), 1992
The Government of India launched this scheme in March 1992 for providing alternate employment to the scavengers and their dependents. Under the NSLRS, the scavengers and their dependents were required to take the training depending on their aptitude, which could provide them alternate employment. During the training, the trainees received stipend of up to Rs.500 per month. The trainees also received a tool kit allowance of up to Rs.2,000. For the purpose of rehabilitation, the provision for prescribed financial package for different trades was made. Under this provision the financial assistance up to Rs.50,000 was allowed to grant to beneficiaries.

5.5. Integrated Low Cost Sanitation Scheme (ILCS), 1980-81
The Integrated Low Cost Sanitation Scheme, a low cost sanitation for liberation of manual scavengers, started in 1980-81 initially by the Ministry of Home Affairs, and later on by the Ministry of Welfare. From 1989-90, it came to be operated through the Ministry of Urban Development and later on through Ministry of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation, now titled Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation. The objective of the scheme is to convert dry latrines into low cost sanitation units of two pit pour flush latrines and to construct low cost sanitation units for economically weaker sections of the society who have not latrines in the urban areas of the country.

5.6 Self-employment scheme for rehabilitation of manual scavenging (SRMS), 2007
With a purpose to liberate as well as to rehabilitate manual scavengers, the government initiated the Self-employment scheme for rehabilitation of manual scavengers in April 2007. Central Government has revised the SRMS for rehabilitation of all the manual scavengers identified under the provisions of the Manual Scavengers Act, 2013. The main features of the Scheme include one-time cash assistance, training with stipend and concessional loans with subsidy for taking up alternative occupation.

5.7 Nirmal Bharat Abhiyaan (NBA) and Swachh Bharat Abhiyaan (SBA), 2012 & 2014
Insanitary waste disposal system—i.e. dry toilets, open defecation etc.—is the primary reason for manual scavenging. In 1999, the government of India introduced the Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC) to speed up sanitation coverage all over India, particularly in rural India. The TSC was renamed as Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan (NBA) in 2012 to ensure total sanitation of rural and urban areas by 2017. However, in 2014, the government of India replaced NBA
with Swachh Bharat Abhiyaan (SBA), which was lunched with the following important objectives:

a) To eradicate the system of open defecation in India
b) To convert the dry latrines into pour-flush latrines
c) To abolish the system of manual scavenging
d) To start a modern and scientific waste disposal mechanism or management
e) To bring about behavioural changes with respect to health sanitation practices

5.8 National scheme of liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers and their dependents (NSLRSD)
Initiated in 1989, the main objective of the NSLSRD is to liberate manual scavengers from their existing hereditary inhuman occupation of manually removing night soil and filth and to provide for and engage them in alternative and dignified occupations. In 2003, a CAG report concluded that scheme failed to achieve its objective involving investment of Rupees 600 crores. CAG report also pointed that there was “lack of correspondence between ‘liberation’ and ‘rehabilitation’ and there was no evidence to suggest if those liberated were in fact rehabilitated.”

National Scheme of Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers (NSLRS) was launched by the Government in March, 1992 to provide alternate employment to the scavengers and their dependents. Under the NSLRS the scavengers and their dependents are trained in trades of their aptitude which can provide them alternate employment. During the course of training, the trainees get stipend up to Rs.500/- per month and a tool kit allowance up to Rs.2,000/-. For rehabilitation, there is a prescribed financial package for different trades by which financial assistance up to Rs.50,000/- can be provided. Under NSLRS, the Government of India has formulated and issued guidelines to all States and their Special Central Assistance (SCAs) to form groups of 5 to 25 scavengers and start a production-cum-trading-cum service centre for large-scale conversion of dry latrines through Sanitary Marts in which the loan component would be provided by the National Safai Karamcharis Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC).

5.9 Integrated low cost sanitation scheme
The Government of India, Ministry of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation along with HUDCO have joined hands in taking up a very major programme for Integrated Low Cost Sanitation for conversion of dry latrine system into water borne low cost sanitation system and at the same time liberating the manual scavengers. In addition, HUDCO has also been extending assistance to basic sanitation schemes.
5.10 Pay and Use Toilet Scheme: Under ‘Pay and Use Toilet Scheme’, Central assistance through Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) was available to Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) for construction of toilets for footpath and slum dwellers who were unable to construct their own toilets. The period of the project was one year and the subsidy was payable in four equal installments on submission of utilization certificates of each installment19.

5.11 National Safai Karamcharis Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC): National Safai Karamcharis Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC) was incorporated on 24 January, 1997 under Section 25 of the Companies Act, 1956, as an Apex Institution for all round socio-economic upliftment of the Safai Karamcharis and their dependents throughout India and to extend concessional financial assistance to the Safai Karamcharis beneficiaries for establishment of income generating projects. NSKFDC provides loans to the Safai Karamcharis and their dependents through the State Channelising Agencies. The target groups of the Corporation are “Scavengers” and their dependents and “Safai Karamcharis.

5.12 Assistance to State Scheduled Castes Development Corporations (SCDCs): The scheme for assistance to State Scheduled Castes Development Corporations was introduced in the year 1978-79 as a Centrally Sponsored Scheme in the States/UTs having sizeable Scheduled Castes population. At present, SCDCs are functioning in 26 States and UTs. They are playing an extremely useful role in mobilisation of finances of economic development of the Scheduled Castes living below the poverty line. They have been acting as promoters and catalysts for generating credit from financial.

5.13 Mission Garima :- Mission Garima was started in March-14 as a joint initiative of Tata Trust and the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM) to eliminate unsafe, undignified practices for sanitation workers in Mumbai. The Mission asserts that it is not possible to have clean cities without restoring the dignity of its cleaners. The measure focus of the mission is to improve the protection equipment, machines and other technology to minimize manual handling of the waste. Another intervention under the mission is spreading community awareness about difficult working conditions of the workers and behavioural change campaign for better waste management. The mission also aims to provide better healthcare facilities to the sanitation workers and provide better livelihood opportunities for the children through education and skill building.
6. Academic researches on manual scavengers

Several academic researches focus on manual scavenging and analyze the effect of the practice of manual scavenging on the people who are engaged in this caste based occupation.

The report prepared by Khurana, Ojha and Singh (2009) for Water Aid India has attempted to understand why the practice of manual scavenging continues despite:

- Availability of other dignified livelihood opportunities?
- Other cleaner options for survival existing in cities and town?

The authors of the report unravels that a complex socio-economic web has in fact trapped the community into the inhuman practice of manual scavenging. They have emphasised that attitude change together with efforts to encourage and provide alternative employment opportunities to manual scavengers would end the practice. In addition, they underscore that the technological aspect of disposal of human waste needs to address as most of India’s growing towns and cities lack proper sewage lines and disposal systems that contributes to continuance of manual scavenging.

Human Rights Watch report prepared by Bhattacharjee (2014) highlights the prevalence of the practice of manually cleaning excrements from private and public dry toilets and open drains in several parts of South Asia. The report states that in line with the millennia-old feudal and caste-based custom, women from scavenging castes clean the human waste on a daily basis and collect it in cane baskets or metal troughs, and carry it away on their heads for disposal at the outskirt of the village. The author highlights that manual scavengers who are placed at the bottom of the caste hierarchy are forced to take up jobs that are viewed as deplorable or deemed too menial by the upper caste groups. She underscores that the caste-based occupation of the manual scavengers reinforces the social stigma—i.e. they are unclean or untouchables—and thus makes them discriminated and deprived at every spheres of their life. The key recommendations of the report are as follows:

- Need to identify and rehabilitate all individuals engaged in manual scavenging;
- The officials to take immediate actions to stop community from being coerced into the practice of manual scavenging; and
- Strict enforce of law against the local government officials who employ people to do manual scavenging.

An important study of Jan Sahas Social Development Society (2014) interviewed 480 women manual scavengers from three Indian states—Madhya Pradesh (MP), Uttar Pradesh (UP) and
Bihar— in 2013 to understand the socio-economic status of women manual scavengers. In MP and UP, the interviewed women manual scavengers belong to Valmiki, Haila and Halalkhor castes, whereas in Bihar they are from Mister and Dome castes; and these castes are considered ‘untouchables among the untouchables’. The study reveals that 70 per cent of interviewed women manual scavengers are into the dehumanising task of manual scavenging after their marriage, whereas 30 per cent are forced to take up manual scavenging since their childhood. The study reveals that 50 per cent of manual scavenging families have no other source of income, and these women manual scavengers are paid very less, most of them earn less than Rs.2000 per month. Besides the above, the study has also the following findings among others:

a) Only 25 per cent of respondents in all three states had access to health services.
b) 41 per cent of respondents in all three states had access to PDS centres.
c) Only 13 per cent of respondents in all three states were benefitted under the Self-employment and Rehabilitation of Manual Scavenger and their dependents (SMRS) scheme.

An ethnographic study undertaken by Srivastava (2014) takes account of toilets and manual scavenging in Delhi of the 1960s and the early 1970s. The author documents the stigma attached to untouchability through the description of the interaction of members of the upper caste households with the manual scavengers. During the 1960s, as stated by the author, a family of scavenger used to collect human excreta from dry-latrines located in their street. Both men and women manual scavengers used a scraper to collect the human excreta in metal buckets; and after the work men manual scavengers used to leave for home, but the female manual scavengers used to stay back and to go around to street for roti. They also used to share gossips of neighbourhood with the upper-caste women while maintaining the purity/pollution norms of keeping distance and not entering the household beyond a certain point.

Parameshwara (2013) in his doctoral work studied the living and working conditions of Pourkarmikas in Bangalore city. The pourkarmikas comprise street sweepers, waste transporters, sewage cleaners, toilet cleaners and scavengers. The findings of the study reveal that majority of these pourkarmikas (82 per cent) were belonging to Hindus and the rest were from Christians; and the majority of these pourkarmikas were from Madiga caste. The author found that majority of the pourkarmikas, i.e., 78 per cent, happened to face several forms of discriminations in their everyday routine of work including discrimination from superiors and the upper castes. The author also found that the occupational mobility of the pourkarmikas were restricted.
Similarly, **Ponnuchamy (2014)** in his doctoral research studied the socio-economic of the Arunthathiyar (a SC-community) involved in various forms of manual scavenging ranging from removing human excreta, waste from street, railway lines, public toilets and so on. He stated that the lack of income, less education, absence of livelihood assets (e.g. farmland) and absence of any other dignified opportunity because of their identity (caste) are found to have trapped these people into the humiliating job of manual scavenging. Ponnuchamy also found that these people never receive respect and dignity as they invariably discriminated at public places (e.g. pubic bus stop, tea shops, public water tap and so on). In addition, as emphasised by the author, these people are discriminated and exploited at their living area as they are forced to do menial jobs (e.g. cleaning streets of the upper castes, performing funeral rites of the dead body of the upper castes and so on). These manual scavengers get addicted to alcohol because of their nature of work, as found by the author.

**Bhattacharya and Bawane (2014)** analyse the lives and experiences of Valmiki community who are mostly employed as scavenger-sweepers in the Municipal Corporation and Gram Panchayats in Gujarat. This community, as pointed out by the authors, are bound to do the degrading occupation of manual scavenging that completely dehumanises their labour and makes them excluded from the mainstream economy. The paper has undertaken interviews of three kinds of sanitation workers—regular workers, daily-wage workers, and contractual workers—from four districts of Gujarat, viz., Surendranagar, Ahmadabad, Kheda, and Mehsanna. Their study finds that the contractual workers are lowest paid and are deprived of all kinds of medical allowance as compared to other workers—regular and daily-wage workers. This study further presents that some members of Valmiki community expresses their interest to get rehabilitated from the centuries-old barbaric occupation and to switch over other dignified occupations; but there are innumerable hurdles for them to even think about it since switching to alternative occupations is not plausible for them because of caste-biases in the labour market. Some other members of this community, as reported by the authors, are in support of reserving the scavenging job for Valmiki caste and other sub-caste of Dalits should not be allowed to do manual scavenging. The reason for such vehement advocacy for reservation comes about because of the absence of any alternative livelihoods that the Valmikis can bank on.

**Shahid (2015),** in his focus group discussion (FGD) conducted in three villages in Badaun district of Uttar Pradesh in 2010, analysed how the inhuman practice of manual scavenging is legitimised, and how people, especially Dalits, are entrapped into this occupation. The study unravels the practice of manual scavenging is direct, structural and cultural violence against particular section of Dalit community. It underscores that the culture tends to propel mythical
constructions to hide the rampant prevalence of manual scavenging as well as obstruct the proactive initiatives by the community and the government functionaries to do away with this practice. The FGD reveals that the pain, anguish, and disillusionments of people engaged in manual scavenging is loud enough to reject any more argument of equating manual scavenging as a vocation of manual scavengers’ choice. The narratives from the manual scavengers strongly emphasises how lack of alternative livelihood opportunities and limited world-view because of the cultural construction make them choose the worst possible vocation.

Singh and Ziyauddin (2009) tried to deal with the problem of manual scavenging in India as a form of caste- and occupation-based social exclusion. They explore the causes of the continuance of manual scavenging with the case study of Ghazipur district in eastern Uttar Pradesh. As put forward by the authors, caste-based occupational groups, namely, manual scavengers (mostly constituting Dalits), are the socially, economically, psychologically and politically marginalised section of the society in India. From the survey, the authors have found that manual scavenging is closely associated with caste and religious structure of the society; and almost all scavengers surveyed were belonging to Mehtar caste, which are relegated to the lowest rung of the social hierarchy. The study highlights a high incidence of spatial segregation of manual scavengers in the periphery of villages; and further it discloses that the social boycott and lack of support from government agencies, inter alia, are forcing the manual scavengers to stick with the inhuman task of manual scavenging in lieu of switching over to alternative livelihood opportunities.

Singh (2014)’s book titled ‘Unseen: The Truth about India’s Manual Scavengers’ exposes the plight of manual scavengers across eleven Indian states. Singh (2014) states that manual scavenging deals with cleaning human excreta from dry-latrines, collecting it in baskets, and then carrying it away for disposal. She points out that Dalit women who are forced to do this degrading work remain invisibles, and are thus relegated to the margin of the society. Her findings reveal that despite the law banning the practice of manual scavenging, the dehumanising practice continues to sustain across most parts of the country.

Pandita (2017) discusses the plight of sewage workers who are engaged in hazardous sanitation works, e.g. septic tanks or sewage cleaning. At work, these workers have to drink country liquor to bear feel of excreta against their bare bodies. In what follows, the author describes the process of cleaning the septic tanks or unclogging the sewer. The author states that the workers have to wait for the gas to release before they get into cleaning septic tank; sometimes, a lot of gas is formed inside that a person may die immediately if they just peep into it. He further highlights the caste-based humiliation faced by these sewage workers. The
sewage workers are mostly belonging to Dalit community; the people who hire these workers maintain some distance while communicating with them; and they do not even offer some water to the people who clean their septic tanks; if they touch the tap, the householder instantly cleans it with soap and water. The article by Pandita (2017) argues that the government disguises these manual scavengers by defining them in neutral term, say sanitation workers.

Up until now, we have discussed academic researches that focus upon social, economic issues as well as working and living conditions of Dalits engaged in manual scavenging occupation. In what follows, we review discuss health issues of manual scavengers who because of their work are more prone to several infectious agents and thus more vulnerable to numerous illnesses.

Beck and Darokar (2005) took an account of the impact of manual scavenging on health status of manual scavengers in Maharashtra. Analysing 2,753 Dalits engaged in manual scavenging, they found that about 24 per cent of these manual scavengers were found to be suffering from diseases of one kind or the other. Their study also highlights that the common diseases found among manual scavengers are skin disorders, communicable diseases, respiratory disorders, parasitic disorders, diminishing vision, diminishing hearing, both diminishing vision and hearing and so on; while most of these manual scavengers are found to be suffering from skin disorders, respiratory diseases, communicable disorders and diminishing vision (Beck and Darokar, 2005, p. 47).

Similarly in the case of Gujarat, Darokar and Beck (2006) interviewed 2456 scavengers, of which 22.5 per cent are noticed to have suffered from at least one type of disease as mentioned above; around 10 per cent of the interviewed scavengers were reported to be suffering from respiratory problems such as breathlessness and continuous cough. In addition, 23 per cent interviewed scavengers in Gujarat were not able to convey the magnitude of health problem they are suffering from, though they are suffering from at least one disease or the other (Darokar and Beck, 2006).

Rashtriya Garima Abhiyan (2013) particularly reported the health issues of women engaged in the most-filthy task of manual scavenging. The study notices that women manual scavengers suffer from a number of health problems, e.g. nausea and headaches, anaemia, diarrhea, vomiting, jaundice, tuberculosis, skin infections, and so on. It further stresses that these women face the double burden of illness owing their engagement in manual scavenging. After carrying the heavy basket full of garbage or human excreta on their head
on a daily basis they do not feel like taking any food which results in the reduction of their daily food intake (Rashtriya Garima Abhiyan, 2013).

Another report for the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), prepared by Barbour et al. (2007) acknowledges that Dalits are generally compelled to take up the polluting and degrading jobs such as manual scavenging and septic tank cleaning. According to the report, manual scavenging is defined to be a practice in which Dalits are forced to clean excreta from private and public latrines and carry them to the dumping areas or disposal sites. The report highlights that people engaged in manual scavenging come in close contact with human as well as animal wastes as they are not provided with the basic safety measures like protection of masks, uniforms, gloves, shoes, appropriate buckets, and mops and so on; and as a consequence these people are bound to suffer from several health problems. The report finds that the majority of people engaged in manual scavenging suffer from anaemia, diarrhea and vomiting; 62 per cent are reported to have suffered from respiratory diseases, 32 per cent from skin diseases, and 23 per cent from trachoma.

In a study of street sweepers in Nagpur Municipal Corporation, Nagpur, Maharashtra, Sabde and Zodpey (2008) highlighted the role of sweepers in maintaining the health and hygiene within the cities; this work makes the street sweepers exposed to a variety of risk factors such as dust, toxins and diesel exhaust pollution, which make them vulnerable to several health problem. Their study documented some important morbidity among these sweepers which are anaemia, hypertension, upper respiratory tract infections (URTI), chronic bronchitis, bronchial asthma, pterygium and conjunctivitis; and the authors attributed these diseases to the nature of occupation. In addition, the authors particularly stressed the problem of chronic bronchitis, which was found to be significant among these workers, and this problem is likely to be attributed to the occupational exposure to dust and smoking habit among these workers.

A report titled ‘Dying to keep city sewer clean’, published by Economic and Political Weekly in 1988 evaluated the sewer works in BMC and effect of this work on the health of the sewer workers. The report interviewed 200 sewer workers aged between 25-29 years. They entered sewer only with a pair of shorts, and worked in darkness without any headlamps. The study revealed that 25 per cent of the workers interviewed were reported injuries at work, 67 per cent complained to have experienced chocking, breathlessness and severe burning and redness of eye; and 44 per cent reported to have diminished vision. It further revealed that the sewer divers needed to fully submerge themselves to clear a water chock and they were not provided with any appropriate clothing and breathing apparatus for
the task. The study puts forward that these workers reported to have endured occupational hazards ranging from insomnia because of the continuous night shift to death due to exposure to poisonous gas, drowning and sinking.

In addition to the discussion with respect to health issues of individuals engaged in manual scavenging, there are some scholarly studies or reports, which focus as well as evaluate the policy measures for rehabilitation of people engaged in inhuman manual scavenging in India. Now what follows is the discussion of studies based on policy aspects of problems of manual scavenging in India.

A study by Sinha and Ghosh (1991) evaluates the intervention of Gujarat government for converting dry latrines into the low cost, pour-flush latrines. It also assesses the status of rehabilitation of manual scavengers into the alternative occupations in Gujarat. The manual scavengers, as defined by the authors, comprise individuals who are engaged in cleaning dry latrines. Using data on beneficiaries of pour-flush latrines from Municipal Corporations, survey of 200 households across five towns of the states (Bharuch, Godhra, Wadhwan, Rajkot and Jetpur) and caste studies of 160 manual scavengers—mostly belonging to Dome and Mehtar castes—the study revealed effective implantation of dry-latrines conversion in Gujarat. It however stresses that people who were earlier engaged in cleaning dry latrines are found to be continuing in sanitation related works—mostly employed as sweepers under municipal corporations. In conclusion, the authors state that economic rehabilitations of manual scavengers into other occupations, which are not related to sanitation works, remain unachieved in Gujarat.

Institute of Social Development (2007) evaluates the implementation of The National Scheme for Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers (NSLRS) in two districts of Rajasthan—Ajmer and Udaipur. Analyzing 554 beneficiaries and 138 non-beneficiaries selected from these two districts, the study finds that both beneficiaries as well as non-beneficiaries are continued to be employed in cleaning of dry latrines in smaller towns and villages. The report highlights prevalence of different kinds of manual scavenging like cleaning of excreta from drains, sewers and road in these districts of Rajasthan. It reports that

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9 Beneficiaries are the liberated manual scavengers (individuals who stopped himself/herself from manual scavenging) who participated in individual beneficiary oriented programmes of rehabilitation through self-employment or wage-employment (Institute of Social Development, 2007, p. 20).

10 Non-beneficiaries comprise liberated as well as non-liberated scavengers who did not participate in individual beneficiary oriented programmes of self-employment or wage employment initiated under the scheme of rehabilitation of liberated scavengers (Institute of Social Development, 2007, p. 20).
only small percentage of beneficiaries were rehabilitated into other occupations, e.g. craft work and shop keeping.

In the similar line, another study by Deviprasad (2007) discusses the working and living conditions of manual scavenging community, namely, Relli, Madiga, Mala and Yanadi, in different areas of Andhra Pradesh. It presents the outline of government schemes for removal of scavenging and rehabilitation of manual scavengers. The author points out the need to generate awareness among the scavenging community about the programmes for their benefits; he stresses the highest priority to the education of scavengers’ children; and also emphasises the preparation of schemes for the rehabilitation of scavengers in consultation with political leaders and non-governmental organisations. In addition, this study puts emphasis on developing women-specific programme to deal with the problem of manual scavenging as there is high concentration of women in this occupation; and in order to improve the working conditions of the scavenging, the author emphasises the introduction of modern technologies.

Sathayaseelan (2013) is very much critical about the ‘Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act 2013’. The act is very narrowly centered on manual scavenging, not much attention has been given to the job of sewage workers who are involved in most hazardous occupations, and are more prone to accident and death whenever they get into the work. The present act on manual scavenging, as argued by the author, does not include individuals, i.e. sewage workers, who are cleaning excreta with the help of protective gear, hence they are not entitled to avail the rights an opportunities offered under the act. As further argued by the author, the act does not define the protective gear; and it possibly will be understood as mere gloves or protective clothing, thereby providing loopholes in the law, which will sustain the practice with a little insufficient change in the apparel. The study puts forward that the liberation of sewage workers will come about when we have the necessary technologies, which will make the occupation humane, dignified and safe in a way that will totally keep the workers away from the contact with excreta. Along with the above, the study underscores the necessity of a meticulous road map for meaningful rehabilitation of sewage workers as proposed for manual scavengers.

Teltumbde (2014), in his piece on Swachh Bharat Abhiyan of the Prime Minister (Narendra Modi), argues, “Bharat will not be swachh unless the caste ethos is completely eradicated” (p. 11). He states that caste culture in India outsources the responsibility of maintaining cleanliness to a particular caste, e.g. Bhangi, and stigmatizes the work as unclean or filthy and workers as untouchables. He argues that the upper-castes people derive a sense of privilege or superiority in littering and expecting it to be cleaned by the lower-caste people,
i.e. manual scavengers. The biggest flaw of the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, as pointed out by
the author is that unless the caste culture in India is eradicated and unless people understood
the responsibility towards swachhata or cleanliness, India cannot be cleaned.

Similarly, Gatade (2015) is also very much critical about Swachh Bharat Abhiyan (SBA) as
it delinks caste from sanitation. Hindu notion of purity and pollution, as asserted by the
author, perpetuate the oppression of the polluted castes that are forced to take up manual
scavenging, unclog manholes and clean other people’s filth. According to the author, the
availability of cheap Dalit workers to do the dehumanising jobs (e.g. manual scavenging) is
one of the reasons why development of toilet facilities and a modern garbage and sewage
management system have so far been neglected. Furthermore, as asserted by the author, so
long as the SBA disassociates the relationship between caste and sanitation, the dream of a
clean India will remain far from the reality.

National Round Table Report (2012), prepared by UN Solution Exchange (Gender
Community of Practice) along with United Nations Development Programme, discusses the
concerns of manual scavengers in the lens of human dignity and it argues for policies to focus
on rehabilitation of manual scavengers into alternative livelihoods. It defines manual
scavengers as persons, mostly women, who are into cleaning of dry latrines. The report is not
in support of the popular prescription— i.e. conversion of dry latrines into water-flush
latrines; instead it suggests that there must be policies focusing upon the economic
rehabilitation of manual scavengers into other occupations’.

Abhishek Gupta (2016) in “Manual Scavenging: A case of Denied rights” discussed the
analysis of statutory framework, administrative schemes, and judicial pronouncements,
rehabilitative measure (issue and concerns). He critically examine the rights regime of the
manual scavengers with references to failure of the state in ensuring the scavenging
community their due rights and the role of the state instrumentalities as a violator. He suggest
remedial measures and progressive steps for bringing the scavenging community into
mainstream of our country and make a contribution of its development significant.

Dr.Amit Patel (2016) in “Swaccha Bharat Mission: manual Scavenging a question
of dignity” discussed the law of 1993, unenforced law, new law, rehabilitation scheme, disputed
number of manual scavengers and action plan for rehabilitation of manual scavengers.
Researcher suggest that it is necessary to correct the historical injustice and indignity suffered
by the manual scavengers and to rehabilitate them to life of dignity. Panchayats at villege
level and local bodies in urban centers must identified manual scavengers and put it into development action to liberate and rehabilitate all manual scavengers by 2nd October 2019.

Vihasi shah (2018) in “Manual Scavenging –Unresolved problem in india” discussed that the practice of manual scavenging has been an assault on human dignity. To ban this practice so many legislations does not work properly. For eradicate the practice of manual scavenging the proper implementation of law must be made.

6.1 Study of Caste Discrimination

Countries of south Asia and elsewhere in the world. Caste and practice of untouchability have for long been known as “peculiar” cultural practices of the people of India, particularly the Hindus. Given that Nepal too is a country with a Hindu majority, its endorsement of including caste-based discrimination in the list of UN activities is quite significant. It not only paved the way for internationalization of the question of caste-based discrimination, but also underlined the point that caste and untouchability, where some communities are treated as impure and status is determined by birth, exist beyond India, in other countries of south Asia and elsewhere in the world.

Agarwal (1998) discussed from developing countries as well as western development planners look upon education as one of the most important instruments for social and economical development and modernization. Desired changes in literacy levels, attitudes, values and skills are to be implemented with the help of education. In both the developed and developing countries, the education system as well as the media helps to reinforce patriarchal values and attitudes existing in society. In the lower classes, women and girls have been and still are discriminated, there is no equal access to educational opportunities or the media.


Chatterji (2004) explains that the struggle for social justice and human rights in India is inextricably linked to the question of caste and caste-based social structure which continues to be what Marx had termed, “decisive impediments” to India’s progress. Struggles against caste and the caste system have a long history.
Gunasekaran (2008) illustrates the violence against Dalits at Salarapatty in Coimbatore. A mob of caste Hindus ransacked more than 10 tiled houses and two motorcycles were smashed. Fifty dalit students were not able to attend classes. The violence is due to the opposition shown by certain Dalits for the two tumbler system practised in this village.

Jafrin and Samuels (2006) states that not only the past but also the present has been full of innumerable instances of violence against Dalits. In spite of passing and coming into force of the various acts and rules, the atrocities are still being committed on Dalits, though there is some improvement in educational level and enjoyment of some civil rights during the post-Independence period. Various serious crimes are committed against Dalits by dominant castes for various historical, social and economic reasons.

Joshi and Aditya (2006) state that only giving reservation in jobs on papers had not been effective, because the implementing authorities are from forward castes. Unless the scheduled castes have been fully empowered in decision making, implementation and to share the equal opportunities, the situation would not change. Poverty plays a greater role in high birth and death, which scheduled castes are continuously facing. With regard to literacy and education, the scheduled castes are far behind, because they cannot afford good education and children have to do petty jobs for survival. Extremely low proportion of employment in government or lucrative jobs, maximum number of Dalits engaged as scavengers and in petty jobs. They are constantly falling in the lowest strata of the society. Overall, the very poor and unhygienic housing condition has further deteriorated the social status of Dalits.

Kanungo (2007) explains that in Vaso village, Gujarat, the upper caste Hindus did not allow the lower caste people for performing the last rites of a dead dalit man at the panchayats crematorium. A notice at the site pronounces “members of lower castes should take their dead to other locations. This speaks how caste Hindus does not spare a dalit even after his death. His article tries to make a bold attempt in unfolding the contradictions and collaborations between Dalits and hindutva, from the vantage points of theory as well as practice.

Karthikeyan (2008) points out that in Uthapuram in Madurai district where Caste Hindus of the village have electrified a 600 meter long wall which passes through the area of common use by people of all castes. The wall is intended to block common entry points, thereby preventing the Dalits from mingling with caste Hindus. Access to common property resources is also being denied to Dalits in that area.

Kumar (2005) narrates that in Mela Orappanur near Madurai 15 houses belonged to Dalits were ransacked and looted by caste Hindus. They switched off the power supply and
brought down the tiled roof of many houses and stole valuables including jewellery. While shops were looted and torched, the equipments in a cable T.V office was taken away. The residents told that water and power supply was snapped to the dalit colony.

Majid (2003) in his study entitled “Future of Untouchables in India: A Case Study of Dalit” The Constitution of India guarantees equality of status to all citizen, irrespective of their caste, race, religion, descent, place of birth and residence. The majorities of Dalits are poor, socially backward, and deprived of basic needs. Though some Dalits have occupied important positions in politics and government jobs, but majority of them have faced discrimination like lack of access to education, health and honourable livelihood. Hard line and orthodox Hindus do not consider them as part of their society. The Dalits generally perform menial and degrading jobs. Social backwardness, lack of access to food, education and health care keep them bondage of the upper castes. In hundred of districts and several states, the Dalits live today in a constant state of fear due to threats to their life. For Dalits throughout South Asia, caste remains a determinative factor for the attainment of social, political, civil and economic rights. Politically active Dalits use the electoral process and political linkages to improve their lot. However, they have to go a long way before they will be able to enjoy the rights given in the constitution.

Menon (2007) explains that in Nagpur, Dalits were attacked and assaulted by the caste Hindus, eight of the 11 accused were arrested and released on bail soon after. They roam freely in the village and threaten the dalit families. It makes dalit families more worrisome. Khajane (2007) highlights that the caste Hindus (Vokkaligas) opposed dalit youth swimming in the Lokapurani river and in the resulted controversy they brutally attacked a few Dalits. There Dalits are still in a state of terror after the attacks. It is also reported by Dalits that the attack on them by the caste Hindus was followed by police violence in which 20 of them were injured and admitted to the hospital.

Parvathamma (1984) suggest that from her study India’s caste system has long been cited as a source of inequality and social and spatial segregation. However, increased urbanisation, the economic progress and cultural environment of cities have been theorised to erode the dominance of existing social structures, such as caste (Rao 1974). Urban sociological theory argues that as individuals and groups adapt to city life, prior forms of social organisation weaken and modify (Park 1967; Wirth 1938). A recent study partially supports this line of reasoning and finds that caste. Similarly, inequalities by education, income and social networks are less strong in India’s metro cities – though the same holds true in less-developed villages – while they are higher in developed villages and in smaller cities (Desai and Dubey, 2011). Recent social science research on caste in urban India also suggests that
caste identities continue to shape schooling decisions, educational outcomes and the likelihood of securing jobs (Munshi and Rosenzweig, 2006; Thorat and Newman 2010). In the light of the Government of India’s decision to enumerate every household by caste, the findings of this paper hope to contribute to the active debate over it, and how, caste remains salient in 21st century urbanizing India.

Patnaik (2006) proves that untouchability of Dalits continue to be practiced in India in many forms. The localities housing Dalits are often segregated from those housing of non-Dalits, a segregation which often extends to the provision of separate well, eating places and temple and restrictions on the use of land for defecation. Estimates suggest that at least one third of the bonded labourers in India are Dalits. While Dalits women and often children dominate certain sphere of work, such as civil sanitation, scavenging and leather work (including the flying and tannins of carcasses) it is less pronounced in cities. Dalits in urban areas, who make up the majority of bonded laborer and street cleaner, do not escape it altogether.

Patwardhan (1973) has shown in her case study of the "Harijans" of Maharashtra that urbanization leads to greater occupational mobility for the Scheduled Castes. Whenever a group of people continues with their traditional occupation in an urban area, it does so because it finds it financially more rewarding. There is a relative absence of ritual compulsions to do the hereditary work in cities. However, she has observed that not all castes performing menial jobs discard their traditional occupations in cities.

Sainath (2008) explains that dalit students are routinely humiliated and harassed even at schools and colleges and other educational institutions. There are many drop outs in schools because of caste based discrimination. They are seated separately in the classrooms and at midday meals.

Shinde (2005) states that dalit is an important phenomenon in India today. It is no more a question of discrimination alone. They have reservation opportunity in admissions, jobs and promotion. But at the ground level their segregation continues. The police action against the urban poor, slum dwellers, Dalits had included arbitrary detention, torture, extra judicial executions and forced evictions. Because, they cannot afford to bribe the police, Dalits and other poor minorities are disproportionately represented among those detained and tortured in police custody. Although the acute social discrimination characteristic of rural areas is less pronounced in cities, Dalits in urban areas, who make up the majority of bonded labourers and street cleaners, do not escape it altogether. Many live in segregated colonies which have been targets of police raids.

Stephen (2002) states that the discrimination in the name of caste is the human rights
violation and a systematic violence. The Dalits are treated as sub-humans by dominant
groups. The Dalits are not allowed to enjoy their privileges in all spheres of life. Even
among Dalits, the dalit women are the most victimized. The Dalits and Adivasis are
tortured, their women are sexually exploited and their privileges are exploited.

**Wankhede (2008)** points out that the underprivileged sections, especially; the “bahujans”
and the “Dalits” have had a history of struggle in challenging given identities and
furthermore constructing their own alternative identities and political concepts to fulfill the
requirements of contemporary times. In this discourse, dignity of the self became the outcry
for targeting the nature of the existing social control.

### 6.2 Study of Solid Waste

**Medina (2009)** was concluded that Municipal solid waste management (MSWM) constitutes a
serious problem in many Third World cities. Most cities do not collect the totality of wastes
generated, and of the wastes collected, only a fraction receives proper disposal. The insufficient
collection and inappropriate disposal of solid waste represent a source of water. Land and air
pollution, and pose risks to human health and the environment. Over the next several decades,
globalization, rapid urbanization and economic growth in the developing world tend to further
deteriorate this situation. Cities spend increasing resources attempting to improve their MSWM.
This paper examines the conventional approaches to MSWM used by development agencies
in general, and by bilateral and multilateral development organizations in particular. It argues
that conventional approaches usually involves solutions that are centralized, bureaucratic, that
ignore the potential contribution of the informal sector, with little public participation in the
decision process, often use imported technology. Conventional approaches often fail. The socio
economic conditions in the Third World are so different from the developed world, that a
different approach is needed. This paper also proposes a policy frame work for improving
waste management, and argues that a decentralized model for MSWM may be more appropriate
to the conditions prevalent in the developing world. In the proposed model, the specific needs of
low income areas would be considered; it would promote community participation and
incorporate informal refuses collectors and scavengers into public-private partnerships, micro-
enterprises, or scavengers cooperatives. The proposed approach could help to solve the problem
of solid wastes in a socially desirable, economically viable and environmentally sound manner.

### 6.3 Study of Open defecation

**Geruso (2014)** professor of economic at the university of taxes at Australia, in his working
paper, he found that muslim regardless in income were 20 per cent more likely to use toilet
than Hindus. The study only drawing correlation link between open defecation and child
mortality rate among religious group.
Spears (2014) Dean at the Delhi school of economic had been studying the effect of open defecation in India which led him to a solution to the “African engine” why are Indian children shorter on average than African children even though people are poorer on average in Africa. The height of children is one of the most important measures of their well being and spears found that it is severally affected by open defecation.

WHO and UNICEF (2014) report reveals that most people who live in India defecate in the open. Most people worldwide who defecate in the open live in India. Open defecation has dire consequences: it kills babies, impedes the physical and cognitive development of surviving children, and reduces the human capital of India’s workforce. Open defecation is associated with significant negative externalities: it releases germs into the environment which harm the rich and the poor alike – even those who use latrines.

As the rest of the world steadily eliminates open defecation, this behavior stubbornly persists in India. Indeed, with 67% of rural households and 13% of urban households defecating in the open (Census 2011), India now accounts for 60% of the world’s open defecation (for more information, see WHO and UNICEF 2014). Moreover, open defecation in India is particularly threatening health because the population density is so high: Figure 1 (p 44) shows that no country has even half the average density of open defecators per square kilometre as does India.

Sanitation behavior is, in fact, the result of two decisions (Cameron et al., 2013). First is a household-level decision about whether or not to own a latrine. Second is a person-level decision about whether or not to use a latrine, among people who have access to one. We sometimes combine these two household-level and person-level decisions when we write about “demand for latrine use” or “preference for open defecation”. This does not mean that members of the same household always agree: indeed, coexistence of open defecation and latrine use within the same household is a central observation of this paper. Yet, the two decisions are closely related, and choosing not to build a latrine is associated with the likelihood of using one.

6.4 Study of Manual Scavenging
Scavenging has been in existence in Indian society from the ancient times. However, there is no authentic history about origin and functions of scavengers. Different scholars have attempted to explain the possible origin of Bhangis who were largely engaged in scavenging occupations through mythological, historical, ethnological, and anthropological, tenets (Shyamlal 1992; Chaudhary 2000). Several old treatises specifically say that scavenging is the duty of the lower castes, now constitutionally known as Scheduled Castes. Historically there is no proper evidence that the lower strata people were engaged in the scavenging work. In
fact, history keeps changing.

It is said that initially the work was not hereditary, but after the lapse of several years it gradually developed into a hereditary system. Only the 'inferior' people, often the war captives were forced to work as scavengers. 'It is generally agreed that their present position in the caste hierarchy is a result of a defeat in ancient times; the captured soldiers were given the work of slaves or were made to do inferior jobs as punishment. Imprisoned in a separate residence under supervision, they were separated from the other communities and were called 'Untouchables' (Franco et al 2004).

Bakshisinha et al. (1994) in their study entitled ‘Restoration of Human Dignity’ The information available at various levels with regard to the benefits accrued to scavengers, as one of the most vulnerable sections among scheduled castes is sketchy and unimpressive. The permanent solution for liberation of scavengers and their rehabilitation is complete conversion of dry latrines in to pour flush latrines. A significant number of non-scavengers are opting for the job of sweepers in municipal bodies. The attitude of other caste people towards them has changed for the better. Voluntary organizations have a crucial role to play not only in the implementation of various development programmes but also in creating social awareness for self-development among the scavengers. A standing committee may be constituted in the local body with due representation of voluntary organization and local association. This standing committee which should review monitor and conduct concurrent evaluation of the development programme.

Chatterjee (1981) focuses her study on the urban community of sweepers of Benaras. It investigates into how sweepers organize their lives and what it is that holds them together as a group distinct from the larger society and methods they use to try and improve the conditions in which they live and work. The study also probes the relationship between men and women and the varying forms that these take in different areas of their social organization. The findings indicate that the pattern of sweepers' life is not changing greatly though the style of behaviour is in some way moving closer to that of the larger society. Social mobility is low and there is rigid segregation of the group from other castes and classes. The study also shows that in spite of attempts by government to raise sweepers from their traditional subservience, occupational mobility is minimal. The study investigates the role and status of women in the community. Though the women are articulate and free in some domains, they do not experience same freedom as men do in all aspects. In her study entitled “Reversible Sex Roles: A Special Case of Banaras Sweepers” stated sweeper in Banaras are now urban community. They do not send remittances to the villages though rural links are an important part of their network. Girl come and goes as birds to and fro
from the rural areas. Challenges in their occupation as well as geographical mobility are leading to the fusion of endogamous sections previously having a hypergamous relationship. Condition is altering but the pattern of sweeper life is not changing greatly though the style of behaviour is in some ways moving closer to the larger society. Kinship is still of great importance. Social mobility is low and there is rigid segregation of the group from other social castes and classes. Sweepers are beginning to bargain not because of government policies but because they are better placed than other low castes in that their labour is now in high demand and few castes are prepared to challenge their monopoly of a ritually polluting yet indispensable task. Sweepers are working in the spirit of trade union and their revolutionary potential along with other low caste must not be underestimated.

**Choudhary, N.S. (2000)** addresses some of the vital questions pertaining to the causes and process of occupational mobility among the Bhangis in the city of Bhopal. He observes that, as a result of occupational mobility there is significant change in their physical, social and psychological quality of life. They have new attitudes and perceptions towards life. P.S. Vivek (1998) makes an in-depth inquiry into existing conditions of sweepers and scavengers in the city of Mumbai. While examining the changes taking place among the sweepers and scavengers in the city, he elaborates on six major factors operating among scavengers. These negative factors he calls HEDOSS - Harassment, Exploration, Domination, Oppression, Subjugation and Suppression. The study does reveal that change is slowly taking over 'traditional life' of the scavengers. Some modern factors are closely visible as those inherent in a modern economy, the slow development of a secular outlook, a democratic consciousness, etc.

**Dhangavel (2009)** State convener of vizhuthugal organization says that sanitary staff has been working in a very unhealthy environment for all these year. They are prone to various diseases. Almost all of them consume liquor before taking up cleaning of underground drainage. The community people still manually clean the human excreta from toilet tanks, be it in household or elsewhere. In case of sanitary workers they are forced to clean night soil every day.

**Furedy (2001)** in his study entitled “Survival Strategies of the Urban Poor scavengers and Recuperation in Calcutta” Recuperation and recycling take place at all levels of society in economies of scarcity. For the urban poor, they may be vital to “survival strategies or may provide important supplements to uncertain and low wages. Currently scholars and planners are reassessing scavenging and waste recovery in developing countries in order to understand the role of these activities in the urban economy. Scavengers in different areas of Calcutta are described: pavement dwellers, municipal dump workers, and squatters in an
elite suburb. It is argued that these groups contribute to effective use of waste, but there are severe health and environmental problems associated with their activities. There is need for comparative studies of scavengers to understand similarities and differences across poor but growing cities.

**Jagadish Prasad and Aniruth Prasad (1992)** in their study entitled “Scavengers and the Rehabilitation Programmes: A Study of Impact in the Muzaffarur District of Bihar”, It is encouraging to note that the rehabilitation programmes have resulted in creating a positive impact on generating employment and increasing earning of the liberated scavengers. This may be due to wide coverage of the scavenger’s beneficiaries available to them. Thus, rehabilitation programmes for the scavengers need to be all pervasive covering all sections of the Harijan community. The need is to provide initiative and incentives to the scavengers for seeking training and self-employment with assistance from government and non-government agencies. Since this involves motivational change and dynamism on the part of the scavengers, non-government agencies can play a very important role in this respect because of their prediction for the involvement in the welfare of disadvantaged masses.

Another study conducted by **Karlekar (1982)** views the impact of rapid urbanization and mixed economy on the sweeper women in Delhi. The empirical evidence in the study shows that 'men are the chief beneficiaries of the modern economy'. However, contrary to established notions, there is no imminent threat of unemployment for the women, especially those employed in caste-based occupation like sweeping. The author suggests that, 'in fact, modernization is helped by the continuation of women in traditional jobs which releases men for the new technology'.

**Kumar et al. (2010)** found that his study from Gazhipur District in Uttar Pradesh, Manual Scavengers all of them belong to mahkar caste which is the lowest rank of the social hierarchy and few of them belong to the age group of 20-30, while most of them (nearly ninety per cent) are working as scavengers for more than 15 years. They have inherited their job from their forefather and new generation of the family (especially daughter in law and sons) are helping them in this task. The day for these women starts at 5 am and most of them continue it up to 11 am without having any meal. The average age this worker is approximately 41.2 years.

**Maewan (2000)** in his study entitled “Lesser Humans: Scavengers of Indian Republic” told so much has been written on and around the issue, including reports by the various commissions set up by various government. Hundreds of recommendation have been made and schemes drawn up, without ever being serious about it. If fifty years of national independence have to be summarized by the scavengers (bhangis) it is very simple. “they
trust no one”. Therefore, I do not wish to add any more material to the subject, which is theoretical and impotent. “The national has patted its back several times for evolving various plans and felt content. In spite of knowing that their inaction have only strengthened the privileged. So, if we cannot wipe someone’s tears, why to deceive them with promises that have been violated several times. Personally, it has been a shock to me. In spite of working with Dalit for many years, this issue never hit me hard until two years ago. I only wish to narrate here facts that I and my colleagues have come across. These facts throw light on the life of scavengers. I feel, these facts tell a story of scavengers, but more than that it tells the story of the state, which has maintained a status quo. These are the facts that describe the scavengers as they are today. Any attempt to theorize these facts only helps to wash away the guilt of those who are in public life. If they are only an embarrassment to the nation and its leaders, I wish to increase it. There are hard realities that exist today in 1998. They affect around 8, 00,000 families in India”.

Narayanswamy and Sachithanandam (2011) in their study entitled “A Study to Understand the Occupational Impact on the children of Manual Scavengers from Arunthathiar Community in Coimbatore, Erode, Ramanathpuram and Salem Districts in Tamil Nadu, India” The book is a result of a research project on understanding status of Arunthathiyar children in Tamilnadu entrusted to Centre for Social Research by Every Child through AHRF Tamilnadu. Manual scavenging is an inhuman occupation forced on the Arunthatiyars community. The plight of the children of the manual scavengers is the worst in the society due to the abhorrent nature of the work done by the Arunthatiyar parents. We feel proud to have this opportunity to present a detailed study on the children of Aruthathiyar manual scavengers which would be useful for the development of education and social status.

Navasarajan (1999) in his study entitled “From Promise to Performance: Ecological Sanitation as a step toward the Elimination of Manual Scavenging in India. An Assessment of Sanitation and Human Rights in Paliyad” Manual scavenging, the act of human removal of excreta from dry pit latrines, is detrimental to environment, mental, and public health and is a gross violation of human rights. This practice is prevalent in Gujarat, India where water shortage is often the sole economic opportunity for Dalit (also known as untouchable) women, who are often considered the most “dehumanized” members of Indian society. Dalits earn less than a dollar a day collecting and transporting untreated waste to dumping sites. Workers gather excreta without protective apparel and often use their bare hands and feet and a broom to perform their job. While scavengers are at elevated risk for contracting excreta related diseases, sludge from pit latrines threatens public health by contaminating water resources. The practice of human waste removal and the construction of dry pit
latrines were outlawed 1993 with the passage of the Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines Prohibition Act. However, despite this and other legal actions, laws are rarely enforced largely because other feasible sanitation has yet to be determined.

Pandya (1959) in his study entitled “Striving for Economic Equality” reveals that the bhangi caste in indigenous to Gujarat so much so that they are found in small numbers in every village of Gujarat. In the district of Ahmadabad, the municipalities and Gram Panchayats of various talukas had a large majority of the local bhangis with a few exception here and there. The system of recruitment in the municipalities differed to some extent and excluding the Ahmadabad City Corporation no other municipality or Gram Panchayat maintained a waiting list of scavengers and sweepers. In earliest days the bhangis were the only persons from other communities who have entered in this field. Thus, we find Hindus, Muslims, Pathans and Christians employed for driving refuge lorries, while bhangi being employed for driving night soil trucks in the city of Ahmadabad. The bhangi being on the last rung of the social ladder are, however, not allowed to enter a number of occupations by the higher caste, while other persons are entering their limited sphere of activity.

Pathak (1992) in his study entitled “Road to Freedom” highlighted that the liberated scavengers are satisfied with the present occupation. They had been marked change in the social position and outlook of the liberated scavengers. They are now conscious that they have given up the dirty job of scavenging and are different from the un liberated scavengers. The Sulabh Shauchalaya scheme has been effective not only in liberating the scavengers or initiating the process of abolishing the scavenging but also in mobilizing public opinion in favor of the programme and has created a stir in the entire Indian society. The economic and social backwardness of the liberated scavengers has adversely affected the education of their children. They are not attending school and they are not receiving even primary education. On the other hand, economic backwardness is responsible for the low percentage of literacy in the younger generation and, on the other hand, social backwardness and lack of social conscious are responsible for the low percentage of children attending schools. Their opinion regarding Sulabh Shauchalaya scheme is positive. People not only support the scheme but have expressed their desire to implement it and to extend its area of operation. Those who are not covered by the programme are willing to be benefited by it and consider the scheme essential for eradication of the evil of scavenging and for developing a healthy social order.
Pathak (2010) in his study entitled “Sulabh sanitation and social reform movement” tells that the sanitation situation in India has been dismal both in urban and rural areas and only few towns have provisions of sewage system. A small number of people use septic tanks only two systems are prevalent on large scale, that is, defecation in the open and manual cleaning of human excreta by the class of people called ‘Human scavengers’. The technology of two-pit, pour-flush toilet (popularly known as Sulabh toilet) that is scientifically appropriate, economically affordable, and culturally acceptable is developed by the researcher for the safe disposal of human waste from households. For the safe re use of human waste from public toilets, housing colonies, high rise buildings, hostels, hospitals etc., the researcher also developed the technology for complete recycling and reuse of excreta through biogas generation and on-site treatment of effluent through a simple and convenient technology for is safe re use without health or environmental risk. Earlier, there was a social stigma and psychological taboo for handling of human excreta. It could also be due to the fact that only people of the lowest economic strata, ‘scavengers’ who were treated as untouchable, were associated with this dehumanizing job. Due to the technologies and efforts of Sulabh, over a million scavengers have been brought into the mainstream of society. Also, due to financial viability, people from higher social status are now competing to do the job without any psychological taboo. Although there are only a few sociological inquires investigating the life of scavengers in urban India, they provide some important insights into their socio-cultural and political life.

Shinoda (1995) highlighted similar finding in his study based on a household survey on socio-economic conditions of the Bhangi households conducted in eight local body of Ahmedabad district. The study finds out that there has not been any visible improvement in the occupational mobility of the Bhangis as a whole over the three generations. However, he concludes that the improvement of the institutional climate and their service and working conditions may surely provide them a material basis for the socio-economic development. He is of the opinion that the Bhangis lack centripetal force as a community, which is necessary for undertaking internal reforms for social development.

Srivastava (1997) in his study entitled “Manual Scavenging In India : a disgrace to the country” In order to escape the curse of untouchability, a large number of sweepers, mostly in north India, have abandoned Hindu religion and embraced Islam, Christianity and sikh religion. But this change of religion has not brought any significant change in their occupation or social status though reject the caste system and express equality of all men. Besides of Sulabh International Social Service Organization as the most effective and dynamic voluntary organization have done pioneering work in this field. The most prominent amongst them are the Harijan Sevek Singh; Safai Vidyalaya, Ahmedabad; and
the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Pune. Other than Central Rural Sanitation Programme which was started in 1986-87, there are a number of programmes under which sanitary latrines are being constructed in the rural areas like Awas Yojna, Employment Guarantee Programme for Rural Landless (RLEGP) and National Employment Programme.

Sudhakar (2008) points that as per the 2001 census 9867 Arunthathiar which including 4993 men and 4874 women were in Tirunelveli District. Because of the backwardness and illiteracy they were doing the night soil work.

Vengatesan (2008) argues it is very clean from the report given by justice Lakshman that in India about 13 lakh of people carry on the head of disposal. It is rampant in Delhi, Madya Pradesh, Uttar Predesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Bihar. He further says that carrying of human excreta on the head is the most inhuman.

Verma et al. (1992) in his study entitled “Rehabilitation of Scavenger Bihar; An Evaluation Of policies And Programmes” revealed the liberation of scavengers [land allocations were made for conversion of dry latrines into water seal latrines but the allocation were too paltry to mitigate the problem in the beginning. Side by side, the SCP were also earmarked for their rehabilitation but the allocation for SCP has been reduced from 37 per cent in seventh plan to 25 per cent in Eighth plan. In view of the present that it is high time to make them socially conscious. Their political awareness has also to be improved in order to make them aware of their rights so that they may grab their claims from the system. Scavenging communities should be properly informed about the welfare schemes launched by the government to ignore two vital aspects, first the rural scavengers and second the women scavengers. The government will have to chalk out programmes for the liberation and rehabilitation of rural and women scavengers.

6.5 Study of Manual Scavenging in other countries

Throughout cities in Asia, Africa and Latin America, varying numbers of poor individuals survive by salvaging materials from the waste stream. These people recover materials to sell for reuse or recycling, as well as diverse items for their own consumption. Those individuals are generally known as ‘scavengers’ or ‘rag pickers’ (Medina, 1997). According to Bartone (1988) cited in Medina (1997) most studies report that human scavengers constitute poor segments of the population of developing countries. Scavenging is a widespread occurrence; where one can find on the streets or in garbage dumps of third world cities. Due to their daily contact with garbage, scavengers are usually associated with dirt, disease, squalor. They are perceived as a nuisance, a symbol of backwardness or even as criminals. They survive in a hostile physical and social environment. Even though scavengers are not always the poorest of the poor, their occupation is generally ascribed as
the lowest status.

**Medina (2008)** in his study entitled “Scavenger Cooperatives in Asia and Latin America” highlight that the informal recovery of material from waste represents an important survival for disadvantaged populations throughout the developing world. Scavengers are perceived as the poorest of the poor and marginal to mainstream economy and society. In many cases, they are subject to exploitation and discrimination by middlemen and by local and federal government policies. This paper argues that, when scavenging is supported ending that exploitation and discrimination it represents a perfect illustration of sustainable development that can be achieved in the Third World: jobs are created, poverty is reduced, raw material costs for industry are lowered (while improving competitiveness), resources are conserved, pollution is reduced, and the environment is protected. The paper also proposes a typology of public policies toward scavengers and analyzes recent experience on the formation of scavenger cooperatives. It also examines the use of appropriate waste management technology, and suggests ways in which scavengers could be incorporated into formal waste management programs.

It was reported that “Scavenger Co-operatives & Social Movement of Colombia and Brazil”. The discarding of an object implicit communicates that is no longer has sufficient value for the owner to justify its retention. However, for nearly 1% of the world’s population, that same object can have immense worth and potential. Commonly throughout the developing world, informal garbage scavengers are unrecognized agents of recycling. Through dangerous and laborious work, scavengers search for cardboard, plastics, metals and other recyclables in garbage dumps, and city streets. Both society and the intermediaries who purchase their recovered material exploit and marginalize them. However, in spite of these circumstances, the economic and social value of their work offers them opportunities for socio economic advancement.

Analysis of the available scholarship suggests that cooperatives can significantly influence scavenger income levels and political representation. External factor, such as businesses and nonprofits, are essential, not only in promoting cooperating formation, but by providing support throughout a cooperative’s existence. Finally, scavenger social movements can encourage national legislation that supports and encourages scavenging co-ops, as well as increase the economic and “social value” power of scavenger cooperatives. Utilizing these analyses, this work then concludes with a discussion of the viability and efficacy of different strategies.

**Pandey (2004)** in his study entitled “A study on occupational health problems of sweepers and scavengers of Kathmandu, Nepal” reveals that the health is essential for social and
economic development of a country” This study explains the health problems related to waste management. Exploration of health problems based on activities and places illustrates the role of activities places in occupational health.

Municipal, community based, as well as privatized waste management practices are in practice in Kathmandu. Wastage handling practice is typically manual. Standard of waste handling practice in industrialized countries have reduced occupational health and environmental impacts significantly. But hazardous and inorganic and hazardous waste form municipal waste, by mechanized waste handling and material recovery practice, severity of health problems among sweepers and scavengers can be reduced in significant level. However, neither authorities are enforcing nor Kathmandu ties are separating waste at the source of origins. Thus Kathmandu is not practicing technically feasible, socially acceptable, and economically sustainable and environmentally sound waste management system. Politics in waste management is making these issues more complex. All these situations are responsible for unhealthy working environment and proper policy for acceptable / standard working environment does not exist there. Meantime political conflict of the country has been making environment worse. Due to such conflict not only the occupational class but also all urbanities have direct health effects.

Swapan (2005) “Socio-economic aspects of solid waste recovery and recycling in Bangladesh : A case study of Khulna city” revealed that over the last couple of decades, there has been a growing recognition of involvement of informal sector to ensure economic, social and environmental benefits for municipal solid waste management (MSWM). As the demand of recyclable products is increasing day by day in order to save resource and energy, informal waste pickers / scavengers play an important role in the waste recycling process. On the other hand, informal waste recovery and recycling is particularly important for the cities in developing countries where public authorities are financially and technically incapable of handling the major portion solid wastes. Like other cities of developing countries, Bangladeshi cities often collect only 40% to 50% of waste generated, with open dumping the only disposal method available. Up to 2% of urban population in the metropolitan cities of Bangladesh depend on informal waste picking from the dumping sites, roadside, lowland, canal, drains or house premises to earn their livelihood. Waste recovery and recycling are carried out by underprivileged people, that’s why social and health issues are now considered as the integral part of the solid waste management in the cities of developing countries and urge to develop a social planning dimension within the framework. This article tries to focus on the type of inorganic waste collected by the scavengers, their socio-economic status and the informal recycle chain of the waste (collected by the scavengers) to be recycled.
Wee (2012) has conducted a study about “Socio Economic of Scavengers” Study Case at Johore State, Malaysia. The scavenging activities are one of the common phenomena in the Third World Countries. The scavengers are often related to poverty, uneducated and unhealthy group but they are playing the important role in the recycling activities in Malaysia. The article discusses the scavenging activities and the socioeconomic situation of scavenger in Malaysia. The result showed that the scavenging activities could generate the good income for most of the scavengers, there are four types of scavengers in Malaysia, the scavengers did not report their true health information due to the some constraints, 60 per cent of scavengers need necessity at their work place, they realize that the activities of scavenging can reduce amount of solid waste place environment. The decision maker must consider these communities into the solid waste management policy framework to prevent and provide them the healthy environment work place.

6.6 Study of Socio-economic Condition of Manual scavenger

Appadorai, D.N. (2001) in his study on sanitary workers found that majority of the respondents are illiterate. It is also found that there is a relationship between education and employment.

Borman (1999) pointed out that the sanitary workers backwardness in education, income play major role in their life and economic condition of their life.

Choudhary and Ravindra Singh (1992) in their study entitled “Occupational Mobility among Bhangies of Bhopal” From demographic and attribution point of view the bhangi of Bhopal are not a monolith. The number of illiterates are however higher among the older population than among the younger. Majority of them have left caste occupation but a significant number of them are in between the caste occupation and while-collar jobs. This is primarily because of lack of higher vocational education. The male functional leaders of the households who are relatively young and educated have all shifted from the caste occupation. They left it because of availability of other jobs and the social and cultural stigma attached to the traditional work. It is apparent that marriages in recent past have not broken the linkage between caste occupation and illiterate boys and girls of the bhangis.

Jennifer (2005) in her study about sanitary workers that economic status showed a significant difference according to their age, marital status, duration of working and position of work.

Kamaraj (1999) in his study about sanitary workers a vast majority of the ninety two per cent of the respondents are selected their job to run the family, eight per cent of the respondents selected this job to increase the family income.
Mukherjee (1981) found that from his study we have not systematic account of scavenging and recuperation for Calcutta, but there are some passing references to these activities in the survey of pavement dwellers conducted for the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA) by Dr. Sudhendu Mukherjee in the early 1970s (Mukherjee 1975). Among 10,841 pavement dwellers surveyed, 4.8 % gave their occupation as rag picker; however, the selected biographical sketches included in the report reveal that scavenging may contribute to pavement "households", even when the primary occupation is some other work. Particularly important is the scavenging by children that supplements their families' income and goods. Mukherjee thus argues that scavenging plays a larger role in the life of pavement dwellers than would appear from the statistics of the survey: almost any pavement family might resort to scavenging in the absence of other work and given the opportunity (Mukherjee 1975, Singh 1978). The organizational unit may not be a family group: one sketch describes a group of five boys, aged five to eight years, who collect paper, metal scraps, and cinders in the Kalighat area under the protection of a pavement-dwelling prostitute. Others who classed themselves as rag pickers were lone individuals; for instance, an old man who had been gathering rags and waste papers for 36 years and who had no desire to change his occupation or to seek some form of shelter, even if he could have afforded it. The loners among the pavement scavengers may fiercely value their independence of formal institutions (Mukherjee 1975, Keyes 1974).

Peer (1992) in his study entitled “Social and Economic Condition of Urban Sanitary Workers: A Case Study of Mangalore City “awareness about the importance of education has been emerging among them. Although substantial proportion of the sample respondents are illiterate, they are sending their children to schools. Free education, scholarship, special incentives given to them by the municipalities has contributed to the growth of awareness about the importance of education among them. Even though the respondent expressed satisfaction with their present occupation, they preferred occupations other than ‘Sanitary Worker’ for their children. The sanitary workers usually contract malaria, typhoid, T.B and skin diseases. There are a few instances of elephantiasis. However, more than half of them said that they have no health problem.

Punalekar, P.S. (1990) provides an overview of the social situation of sweepers and scavengers in rural and urban western India, mainly the state of Maharashtra and Gujarat. He argues that internal awakening and consciousness is basic to the mobilization of a social group for its socio-economic advancement. He points out that it is only in recent years that some efforts towards mobilization and conscientisation have become visible among scavengers. Similarly, based on a number of interviews, Franco et al. (2004) offer an in-depth view of the present and future of the Valmiki community in Gujarat. The study provides insightful
narrations on educational opportunities, the work of the Valmikis, and the practice of asking for leftover food at night, their religious faith and the question of identity of the community. The study concludes that the Valmikis of Gujarat have a long way to go but there are signs of change.

**Rama Sharma's (1995)** reveals that The Bhangi community in the city of Delhi. This study is about the various aspects of socio-cultural and economic marginality of Bhangis, their stigmatized identity and their efforts to escape from their marginal situation by bringing about changes in their status. The awareness of exploitation and deprivation has led to unionization and politicization within the ambit of the democratic processes in India. Some of the findings of the study state that though a large majority of Bhangi men and women are still in the traditional caste occupation, they see occupational mobility for the younger generation.

**Sinha (1992)** in his study entitled “An overview of Scavengers Problem” the scenario of scavengers in rural and urban areas is different. The scavenging class living in towns work under municipalities, corporations, hospitals, colleges, hotels, nursing homes and such other institution. They, therefore, are enlightened enough to form their own organizations and trade unions. In case of an increase of confrontation with their employers, they show their frustration mettle without any hesitation. In rural context, the principle of ‘co-operate ranking’ prevails over individual ranking and the status is collectively defined. Similarly, the working conditions and the method of work of the scavengers are totally different.

**Suchitra (1999)** in her study about sanitary workers economic status and found that majority ninety per cent of the respondents were under the poverty line.

### 6.7 Study of Health Status of Manual Scavengers

According to Castillo (1990) cited in Medina (1997), Mexico City scavengers have a life expectancy of 35 years, while the general population's is 67 years. The prevalence of infectious diseases is high. And a study of the Zabbaleen in Port Said, Egypt, showed that the infant mortality rate was 1/3 (i.e., one death of an infant under one year of age out of every 3 live births). The prevalence of enteric and parasitic diseases among the Zabbaleen is "much higher" than the one for the region. And in Cairo, one in four babies born in the scavenger communities dies before reaching their first year (Meyer, 1987 cited in Medina, 1997). In Manila, more than 35 diseases have been identified on scavenger communities and slums, including diarrhea, typhoid fever, cholera, dysentery, tuberculosis, anthrax, poliomyelitis, skin disorders, pneumonia and malaria.

The life of manual scavenger is at risk at every stage: looking it as a health related issue.
will give a clearer picture of the problem. The working conditions of these sanitary workers have remained virtually unchanged for over a century. Apart from the social atrocities that these workers face, they are exposed to certain health problems by virtue of their occupation. These health hazards include exposure to harmful gases such as methane and hydrogen sulfide, cardiovascular degeneration, musculoskeletal disorders like osteoarthritic changes and intervertebral disc herniation, infections like hepatitis, leptospirosis and exposure to helicobacter pylori, skin problems, respiratory system problems and altered pulmonary function parameters.

**Ambedkar (2004)** studied 78 sewer workers from five different municipalities wards in Pune, to determine the evidence of past infection with leptospiral using a Microaggultivation test. The prevalence rate was found to be 16.6 per cent. Evidence of leptospiral infection was found to be maximum is sewer workers in the area of the city that were infected with rodents and stray animals.

**Arvanitidou, M. (1998)** found that from his study employee of sewage company confirms that only exposure to sewage was independently associated with positively for the hepatitis B virus infections. He recommended that workers exposed to sewage should therefore be considered for vaccination against hepatitis B vaccination.

**Fox and Richey (1993)** revealed that their study about manual scavengers on majority 89 per cent of the respondent’s health affected due to the job. They were suffering skin disease, Tuberculosis, Asthma etc.

**Friedrich (2000)** studied 255 sewage workers to determine the prevalence of spinal trouble (ie. Neck, upper back and lower back pain (LBP)). He reported that the 12 months prevalence rate of neck, upper back and LBP were 52.4%, 54.8 % and 72.8% respectively. The prevalence of spinal trouble increased with age. Work disability during the preceding 12 months due to LBP was significantly positively associated with age, disability, weekly duration of stooping and lifting for five years previously and higher abnormal illness behaviour scores.

**Human Right Global Justice (2007)** periodical reports to the committee explain that elimination of the racial discrimination on the majority of scavengers suffer from anemia, diarrhea and vomiting with 62 per cent suffering respiratory diseases, 32 per cent suffering skin diseases, 42 per cent suffering jaundice and 23 per cent suffering trachoma leading blindness many scavengers have also died of carbon monoxide poisoning while cleaning septic tanks.
Indian Express (2009) suggest that March 24 day of World Tuberculosis Day that time news shows that thirty to seventy per cent of Scavengers who were affected by such kind of diseases.

Indian Express (2014) John, Health economist from the community health and development (CHAD), Christian Medical College, Vellore conducted study on the health of the scavenging community. Their health was exceptionally poor due to multiple worm infection of a much higher degree than among other communities.

Jacob (2008) by indicating the report of The World Health Organization says that health and human rights are inextricably linked. Violation of human rights creates serious health problems. Ill-health can be reduced by taking steps to protect rights such as freedom from discrimination, rights to health, education and housing. A human rights based approach to health care is the necessity of the hour.

Supreme Court (1995) directed that West Bengal Pollution Control Board (WBPCB) to get touch with Nagrik manch and other and find out the details of workman who were suffering from occupational diseases in west Bengal. This report first of its find in the state, identified some specific industries including surendra khanij, were prevalence of occupational diseases had been inferred as reported. It was found that workers of coal mines, stone crushing units, textile mills, jute mills, asbestos handling units, metro railway, Municipal conservancy of sewage work and clinical industries in West Bengal were suffering from several occupational diseases like gilicosis, Pneumoconiosis, byssinosil, asbestosis, hearing impairments, infections and parasitic disease and other.

TISS (Tata Institute of Social Science) (2007) report reveals that ninety percent of all manual scavenge rs have not been provided proper equipment to protect them from faeces borne illness. This include safety equipments like gloves, masks, boots and brooms. The use of hand by women manual scavengers, certainly will have direct skin contact with human waste, is a very dangerous combination that is contributing to serious health conditions. Chronic skin diseases are very common among women manual scavengers.

Tiwari (2007) studied about that “Occupational health hazards in sewage and sanitary workers” An estimated 1.2 million scavengers in the country are involved in the sanitation of our surrounding. The working conditions of these sanitary workers have remained virtually unchangeable for over a century. Apart from the social atrocities that these workers face, they are exposed to certain health problems by virtue of their occupation. These health hazards include exposure to harmful gases such as hydrogen sulphide, cardiovascular degeneration, musculoskeletal disorders like osteoarthritis changes and intervertebral dis herniation, infection like hepatitis, leptospirosis and helicobacter, skin problems, respiratory
system problems and altered pulmonary function parameters. This can be prevented through engineering, medical and legislative measures. While the engineering will help in protecting against exposure, the medical measures will help in early detection of the effects to these exposures. This can be partly achieved by developing an effective occupational health service for this group of workers. Also, regular awareness programs should be conducted to impart education regarding safer work procedures and use of personal protective devices.

**Vaidya (2003)** reported that a significant rise in anti-hepatitis E virus positively was recorded in sewage workers working for more than five years.

**Venkatayappa (1972)** provides a comprehensive account of the socio-economic conditions of the sweepers from two slums in Mysore city. This account gives deep insights into their environmental relations and economic and social conditions and brings to light their deplorable conditions.

**Watt et al. (1997)** studied 26 sewage workers exposed to smell and found that 53.8 percent developed sub acute symptoms including sore throat, cough, chest tightness, breathlessness, thirst, sweating, irritability and loss of libido.

### 6.8 Study of Death doing their Service

A number of occupational hazards have been pointed out by different institutions (Tiwari 2008) and government committees. This study also highlighted that the workers are prone to many diseases and suffer from symptoms of illness during or after work, such as body ache, headache, irritation, watering and burning of eyes, cut injuries, metallic taste in mouth and the general symptoms of tiredness and fatigue. All the workers reported that they felt that their lifespan is shortened because they are exposed to numerous poisonous gases and toxic elements. The absence of professional or technical training before entering into this job also leaves workers prone to accidents and death. Above all, this job creates and perpetuates social stigma.

cleaning private septic tanks.

**Frontline (2013)** find that the death of two workers in the sewage tank in Chennai revives the call for the eradication of manual scavenging by R. Elangovan. That manual scavenging continue to be a national shame became evident once again when two Dalits died of asphyxiation while cleaning a sewage tank in a private hotel in Chennai in Tamilnadu on April 20. Sekar (45) and Robert (47) were the latest casualties of the abhorrent system of workers entering drains to clean blocks manually. Between February 2011 and December 2012, 19 people have died in this manner in the state, 15 of them in the capital city alone.

Over the past 30 months at least 30 persons at least 30 persons have died of asphyxiation while cleaning septic tanks and sewer manhole across the state a majority of such accident occurred in and around Chennai, said A. Narayanan, Convenor of Paadam, a non-governmental organization.

**The Hindu (2012)** shows that two men were asphyxiated in septic tank in a house in Avadi when they attempted to clear drainage block. They did not posses any safety equipment. Avadi police have arrested the owner of the house for negligence. Sources with Avadi police said the accident occurred around 9.30 am Thursday when Sankariah (37) and Alex (37) all conservancy workers attached to the Avadi Municipality, were working at the house of Kuppan (51) at old Kallukadai street, Gowri pettai, while sankaraiah and Emmanul lowered themselves in to the septic tank with a rope and started clearing the drainage using a bucket, Alex spotted the two men gasping for breath inside the tank and tried to pull them up, but he could not as men lost conscious said investigatory officer.

**The Hindu (2013)** found that Raja was attempting to fix a block in valve chamber at the sewage pumping station in Kotturpuram. A 27 year old contract worker died as asphyxiation after he entered a valve chamber to fix blockage in metro water’s Kotturpuram pumping station in park avenue near Kotturpuram. The Kotturpuram police identified the deceased as Raja a resident of Thirukazhukundram in Kanchipuram, Raja and Murugan both contract labourers with metrowater, had come to fix a block in a valve chamber at the road side sewage pumping station in park avenue near Kottupuram.

**The Hindu (2014)** shows that two scavenging workers died of asphyxiation. Two of them were killed due to asphyxiation while cleaning underground tank where the wastage of slaughter animals was dumped at the municipal slaughter house here on Saturday evening. The police identified the deceased as M.Pandi (24) of Municipal colony and S. Arockiaraj (35) of Amerpalayam town.
Number of sewer deaths since 1993 to 5 July 2019

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<th>Sr No</th>
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<th>Total Number of sewer death</th>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Kerala</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Telangana</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Uttarakhand</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>814</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Commission of safai karmchari
## WaterAid India: Status of manual scavengers in India.

### Table 1: Evidence From Other Studies Conducted By Civil Society On Manual Scavenging Sanitation Workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Key Findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lived realities of women sanitation workers in India: Insights from a participatory research conducted in three cities of India¹¹</td>
<td>Women sanitation workers faced discrimination in legal redressal for claiming entitlements as citizens and workers, fair wages, decision-making processes and benefits and knowledge of welfare programmes. While workers’ unions serve as an important safety net, established unions were often for permanent workers and not contractual workers, and typically excluded women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baseline survey of conservancy workers of Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai¹²</td>
<td>261 deaths on average per year among sanitation workers in this Municipal Corporation, with 31% respondents reporting ill health during the survey. Despite this, the health of manual scavengers and sanitation workers was highly neglected, with few receiving medical compensation for occupation related health issues and accidents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget brief of the Self-employment scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers (SRMS)¹³</td>
<td>Significant gaps noted between budget estimates, revised estimates and actual expenditures. Allocations to SRMS has been progressively declining since 2013-14. As of December 2017, a total of 323 deaths due to sewer cleaning were reported, with complete compensation of INR 1 million paid in only 63% cases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study on sanitation workers across India¹⁴</td>
<td>Study estimated 5 million sanitation workers estimated in urban India. 9 categories of sanitation workers identified along the sanitation value chain, including those engaged in cleaning sewers, cleaning latrines, faecal sludge handling, railway cleaning, work in waste treatment plants, community and public toilet cleaning, school toilet cleaning, sweeping and drain cleaning, and domestic work.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### WaterAid India:- Status of manual scavengers in India.

Table 2: Manual scavengers, sanitation workers and the sustainable development goals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOAL</th>
<th>STATUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 6: Clean water and sanitation</strong></td>
<td>Tremendous progress on sanitation coverage under Swachh Bharat or Clean India Mission (SBM) in rural and urban India, yet issues of manual scavengers and sanitation workers are still to be prioritized and addressed. With more than 965 million toilets constructed under SBM (Rural), toilet technology preferences (e.g., septic tanks) and the sanitation value chain (containment, emptying, transportation, treatment, disposal) have been largely ignored having implications for manual scavengers and sanitation workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 8: Decent work and economic growth</strong></td>
<td>Contractual nature of sanitation work undermines safe working environment, decent pay and employment benefits. Sanitation workers face adverse health consequences due to hazardous work environment, absence of safety gears and equipment, and standard operating procedures for cleaning septic tanks and sewers. When faced with a paucity of alternative employment opportunities and continued caste discrimination after rehabilitation, workers either continue with sanitation work, or risk unemployment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 10: Reduced inequalities</strong></td>
<td>The caste-based nature of manual scavenging and sanitation workers reinforces the social stigma that people engaged in this work are unclean or ‘untouchable’. Poor access to Government benefits and schemes further perpetuates this inequality among workers. Women manual scavengers are particularly vulnerable as they experience inequalities in terms of wages, work, and face violence from employers and their family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal 16: Peace, justice and strong institutions</strong></td>
<td>Significant mismatch in identification and enumeration of manual scavengers, sanitation workers, and number of dry latrines between Government sources and those from independent studies. The Rashtriya Garima Abhiyan’s report 'Justice Denied' points to absolute violation of various Sections of the PEMSAR Act, 2013(^\text{15}). The study also reported on the reluctance of institutions at the state level to share information and data being sought for under the Right to Information Act. Lastly, budgetary allocations for the rehabilitation of manual scavengers has considerably declined over from 2013-14 to 2018-19.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Issues and challenges of abolition and rehabilitation

In India, the prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their rehabilitation act-2013 said the employing of manual scavenging is an illegal. This act is not only limited towards an individual authority only for ensuring the safety and rehabilitation of the sanitary workers but to the local authority, government, and the state as well.

Based on some empirical evidence, government reports, act and rules, peer reviewed research articles, paper some researcher has given some more reasons which directly and indirectly influence the manual scavengers liberation and rehabilitation

1. **Lack of Understanding about Manual Scavenging**: PEMSR Act, 2013 clearly explains what is manual scavenging. Most of the officials are unaware about who are the manual scavengers. All the manual scavengers are working in the name of scavengers and sweepers, so those officials easily conceal the data.

2. **Inefficiency to demolish dry latrine/ conversion of water flush system.** - The administrative lethargy is a main reason for eliminating insanitary latrines, it is one of the root cause of manual scavenging in India. According to SECC-2011 in India there are 26 lakhs insanitary latrines, 13,14,652 latrines where night soil is disposed into open drain, 7,94,390 latrines are manually serviced. As per act-2013 insanitary latrines must convert into sanitary one or otherwise government should demolish these latrines. Still it does not work in states of India.

3. **Improper sewage and drainage system**: We are in 21st century but still there is no transformation among us to stop the practices of manual scavenging. Lack of planning in the waste water management and drainage water disposal.

4. **Lack of training about equipments and self defense.** Most of manual scavengers are unaware about there safety and security. Most of the workers do not know how to use and handle protective equipment. Government must provide training to the workers.

5. **State’s failure to stop illegal employment of manual scavengers by local households**: The Indian government’s track record of imposing penalties upon those who perpetuate manual scavenging under the EMSCDL Act, 1993 is extremely poor. Not only are laws abolishing manual scavenging routinely ignored in practice, people who try to leave can suffer retribution, including community threats of physical violence and displacement.

6. **Difficulties in accessing the criminal justice system**: Due to prevalent discrimination, dalits require significant assistance in accessing the criminal justice system when they are victims of crime. While people throughout India face police inaction and outright
refusals to investigate their complaints these problems are intensified for socially and economically backward people. People from manual scavenging communities are susceptible to this type of treatment due to the caste bias by police and local government officials. Activists and rights groups told Human Rights Watch that police routinely fail to register and investigate complaints of crimes against dalits when the perpetrators are of a dominant caste. In particular, police will not register cases under the Schedule Castes /Schedule Tribes Act, 1988—a law crucial to protect people who work as manual scavengers.

7. Threats and harassment from community employers: According to Human Rights Watch Report of 2014, women who practice manual scavenging confessed that since dry toilets are cleaned daily, they face pressure from the community if they miss even a day. When people refuse to perform caste-based tasks, dominant caste groups may deny them access to community property and property belonging to upper caste landholders. This access is crucial: most people engaged as manual scavengers do not own land and require entry to community and privately owned land to graze livestock, collect firewood, or even defecate in the fields.

8. Lack of accountability for failing to end manual scavenging. The PEMSR Act, 2013 permits the state government to conduct special trials. Complaints have to be made before the court within three months of the offense. However, since the same district authority responsible for adjudicating offenses under the act may also be the authority responsible for implementing the law, in some cases, there is a potential conflict of interest. For these provisions in the new law to be effectively implemented, it is crucial that sufficient resources and training are provided to activate these monitoring mechanisms in collaboration with manual scavenging communities, rights activists, and civil society organizations.

9. Lack of alternative employment opportunities. People engaged in manual scavenging rely upon the daily food donations they receive for subsistence. In order to leave manual scavenging they must have immediate access to alternate employment. These communities, however, face significant barriers to entering the labour market, including social boycotts and economic boycotts in retaliation for refusing to clean toilets in the village, gender- and caste-based discrimination in access to employment, and corruption, such as being asking to pay bribes in order to be appointed to reserved government positions. The Indian railway is perhaps biggest violator of the act 1993, 2013. It has an open toilets from which extra drops on the tracks and scavengers are employed to clean it up.
10. **Inadequate surveys and failure to identify people still engaged in manual scavenging:** According to the SC, government surveys have been ineffective. In particular, the court notes, the 2013 central government survey “has shown remarkably little progress” and has identified “only a miniscule proportion of the number of people engaged in manual scavenging. There are different figures with regard to the no. of manual scavengers in India. For instance, according to National Safai Karamchari Commission 3rd and 4th Report there are 5,77,228 manual scavengers; according to 2002-03 report of Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment there are 6,76,009 manual scavengers; whereas *safaikaramchari andolan* (NGO) working for manual scavengers) has estimated around 1.2 million manual scavengers. Whereas Socio-Economic Caste Census report of 2011 puts the figure to 1, 80, 657 manual scavengers, with Maharashtra having the highest number of scavengers i.e., 63,713. Therefore, periodic comprehensive survey, at least once in three years, should be conducted by the government either independently or in collaboration with credible non-governmental organizations (NGOs).
8. Conclusion & Suggestions

Based on some empirical evidence, government reports, act and rules, peer reviewed research articles, paper some researcher has given conclusion and suggestions are as follow.

1. Linking MNREGA and other social security schemes with the Scavenging Act of 2013:

Since PEMSR Act, 2013 doesn’t have any express provision of linking rehabilitation programmes for scavengers with the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA) 2005. Thus, an amendment must be brought to the Scavengers Act of 2013 and the rehabilitation programmes must be linked with MNREGA and other social security laws like Unorganized Sector workers’ Social Security Act, 2008. In this way scavenging activities can be eliminated in rural areas where it is still practiced. Moreover, such an entitlement will facilitate the scavenging communities to get jobs under MNREGA and other social security laws, which are often deprived to them due to the stigma attached to their profession and lack of express provisions in the law.

2. Effective coordination among public and private authorities: The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation, the Ministry of Rural Development, the Ministry of Housing and Poverty Alleviation, the Ministry of Urban Development, the Ministry of Railways have key roles to play in the eradication of the practice of manual scavenging and the rehabilitation of freed families. Moreover, the Ministry of Women and Child Development and the Ministry of Labour also have an important role because a substantial number of women are engaged in manual scavenging. Thus, a coordination committee should be formed with representation from all eight ministries so as to work together. With regard to private authorities, role of NGOs, bhaagidari and RWAs should be enhanced by making them an extension of the public authorities for the purpose of enforcing the Act because in cities manual scavenging usually takes place in the residential colonies and industrial areas.

3. Community initiatives: Since community initiative is important for abolishing manual scavenging. Therefore, communities should discourage and stop subletting the service like sewer cleaning within the scavenging community. Moreover, individuals should also pledge to adopt sanitary practices and vow to not encourage or employ manual scavengers for such menial tasks.

4. Responsibility of railways: The Indian railway is the largest institution in the country that uses dry latrines. The railway ministry must immediately prohibit this practice and for the next three years present progress reports in every session of Parliament. This, so that the Government of India can ensure total abolishment of scavenging in Indian railway in stipulated time. This can be achieved by speeding up construction of bio-toilets in railway stations and trains. In this regard technical assistance of DRDO and other technical research think tank could be taken.

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16 A perusal of legislative history and other programmes shows that despite several measures the plight of manual scavengers has failed to show much improvement. Official apathy, corruption, lack of enforcement and rigid caste hierarchy are the primary reasons for the continuation of such degrading occupation. Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (no. 42 of 2005).
17 Act no. 33 of 2008.
5. Sanitation programmes and awareness: Since poor sanitation or lack of sanitation i.e., toilets, in rural and urban areas is the most fundamental cause and impediment to the abolition of manual scavenging. Thus, speeding up sanitation programmes and awareness regarding proper toilets is necessary. In 2009, UPA government created a new dedicated Ministry of Sanitation and Drinking Water for administering laws and schemes directed towards sanitation programmes, which involved construction of modern toilets, discouraging the practice of open defecation and creating awareness in rural and urban areas. In 2014, Swacch Bharat Abhiyaan has been launched on similar lines.

6. National level monitoring system and social audit: The Government of India should form a national level monitoring committee which regularly monitors the practice of manual scavenging. This committee may consist of representatives from ministries, public representatives, state representatives, community representatives as well as representatives from civil society organisations. Since implementation of Acts is of vital importance, therefore, a high level social audit of PEMSR Act, 2013 and all allied schemes should be conducted by Comptroller and Auditor General of India. Such audit will enable the executive and lawmakers to acquaint themselves with the loopholes in the system and ensure effective implementation of the law. Moreover, for the identification of manual scavengers in different states a comprehensive and detailed survey for identifying manual scavengers in India must be expeditiously conducted by constituting a high level state committee under the chairmanship of a retired judge or a serving judge of a high court. The committee may include representatives from state bureaucracy, schedule castes/ schedule tribes commission, state human rights commission, state women commission and the civil society representatives working for the cause of manual scavengers.

7. Role of local authorities: The municipal and panchayats bye laws of the states should have provisions not to allow the construction of any new house with dry latrine or without a water sealed latrine or sanitary latrines with appropriate technology and measures should be taken so that dry latrines made in the past can be demolished and new water sealed latrines or sanitary latrines with appropriate technology be constructed. There should be a time bound limit for conversion of dry latrines into wet latrines and construction of new latrines. It should be one of the criteria for deciding grants to municipal bodies and there should be some measures to take penal action against municipalities not fulfilling their obligations in this regard. In every gram panchayats, there are generally three- four sub committees. One of the committees looks after ‘social justice’. On a mandatory basis, there must be a discussion on the status of manual scavenging and it must the duty of the president and/or secretary to record the same under the gram panchayats proceedings.

8. Legislative and executive will: Though a constitutional amendment for improving the plight of manual scavenger is not recommended but amendments in different statutes can be made so as to ensure stringency and consistency among different laws on scavenging and social welfare. Passing of the recent Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Act, 2015 (Act 1 of 2016) is a welcome step.

9. Need for Data from Authorities under the Central Government: The Government of India should also initialize a survey and, in conjunction with the national level survey, acknowledge the fact that even with ‘protective gear’, what they are effectively doing is employing manual scavengers. The Indian Railways must provide information about the number of such workers employed by it, as well as number of employees engaged by other Ministries and other undertakings, including mines, and household information and details of their dependants, must also be collected. The government should devise a separate rehabilitation policy for such employees as well.
10. Review of Rehabilitation Programmes: Dignified livelihood opportunities, free of scavenging should be the core idea in framing any rehabilitation programme. This must include job security, land, housing and free, good education for their children. All the schemes should cater to the aspiration of community women. The government has formulated various rehabilitation programmes for erstwhile manual scavengers and their dependants, but given their ineffectiveness, as described in the chapter, it is necessary that the government should initiate a review of its programmes, and table status reports, state-wise, of the India Exclusion Report implementation of welfare and development measures meant for safai-karamcharis and their children. A contract system insanitation work should also be abolished.

11. The 2013 Act and Need for Accountability of the Monitoring Agency: The 2013 law prescribes the process for the setting up of Vigilance Committees both at the Central as well as state level, in order to monitor the implementation of the act. However, as the experience of the movement has shown, the effectiveness of such committees has been negligible. Hence, there needs to be a framework for the accountability of the monitoring agency, taking cognizance of the fact that manual scavenging is a violation of human rights and the constitutional rights of the victims, and as such, a failing Vigilance Committee must be answerable to the community for not addressing their demands.

12. National Level Common Survey for Safai karamcharis: Before the government can effectively formulate any solution, we need to have reliable and consolidated information on the extent of the problem. The Government of India, thus, needs to initialize a national level common survey to identify the number of manual scavengers as well as dry latrines in the country and use it as a point of reference for the implementation of all policies and schemes. It needs to collect data from each state on the number of persons engaged in manual scavenging, the family information with data on dependents, the number of Community Dry Latrines (CDLs) and number of Individual Dry Latrines (IDLs).

13. For eradicating manual scavenging, we need high tech equipments so that there would be least manual intervention to clean up the excreta, garbage etc. But biggest challenge will be availability of resources for respective local authorities. There are two aspects in present situation one is to prohibit manual scavenging and other is rehabilitation of manual scavengers. For rehabilitation of these manual scavengers, authorities must have enough funds.

From above government reports recommendation, Act and rules, legislative efforts and research done by various researcher the conclusion/ suggestions for eradicate the practice of manual scavenging and to improve quality of life of scavengers are as follows.

- Identify all individuals currently engaged in manual scavenging.
- Creating awareness among the target group (Manual Scavenging). And arrange Awareness meetings.
- Motivating the target group to leave their present occupation (Manual scavenging) and to provide alternative jobs to improve their quality of life.
- Formation of self help group and linking the groups with income generation activities.
- Sensitization of the families using dry latrines and mounting pressure on them to
convert their dry latrines into flush latrines.
- Linking manual scavengers with government schemes and programmes and extending their benefits to the maximum number of their families especially children.
- Sensitizing media on the issue to raise this issue at the district, state and nation levels.
- Appropriate safety measures should be given at the time of cleaning the
- Survey of manual scavengers in rural areas such as municipality and panchayat level.
- Inclusion of manual scavengers’ families and those families who have left manual scavenging in the priority list of all government schemes and entailment:

Framework for Elimination for Manual Cleaning of Sewar Systems and septic tanks in India-

Introduction:- Despite various provisions, act persons are still being engaged without proper safety gear and precaution resulting in fatal accidents as reported in media time to time. Having taken cognizance this serious problem national action plan has been prepared by Yogita Swaroop, IES for elimination of manual scavenging. This plan was discussed in national workshop held on 19.08.2019 by the ministry of housing and urban affairs. For finalizing the state action plan it was submitted to Hon. Secretary, Dept of Social justice and special assistance, Govt of Maharashtra on 26.11.2019

Silent features of action plan:

➢ Problem Scenario: -
  1) Deaths of persons while cleaning sewers and septic tanks still continue.
  2) Major part of Urban India not serviced by sewer systems.
  3) Lack of mechanized cleaning and non-observance of safety precautions.
  4) No convictions under the Act.
  5) Compensation paid only some cases.
  6) Persons undertaking hazardous cleaning historically linked with particular caste.


➢ The Action Plan is aimed at:
  a) Eliminating human entry in sewer systems and septic tanks by complete mechanization through available technologies.
  b) Setting up systems for safe cleaning of sewers and septic tanks in exceptional emergency situations, and regulation thereof so that no unauthorized person/agency takes up this work.
  c) Rehabilitating persons previously engaged in manual cleaning.

➢ Strategy
  a) Modernization of existing sewage systems and coverage of non-sewered areas.
  b) Tackling non-sewered areas.
  c) Equipping the Municipalities/Local Bodies:
  d) Setting up Sanitation Response unit(SRU)
  e) Training and certification of sanitation professionals.
  f) Compulsory licensing of private cleaning agencies.
g) Education, skill development and alternate employment for identified families.

h) Awareness and sensitization.

i) Amendments to the MS Act and rules.

j) Convergence amongst stakeholders.

➢ Components of Action Plan

1. Coordinating action by MSJE, MoHUA, MoRD and DoDWS

   a) Steering cum Advisory committees:
      
      MoHUA: - Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs
      MoRD: - Ministry of Rural Development
      DoDWS: - Department of Drinking Water and Sanitation.

   b) National conference to review action plan.

   c) Task force for identification of new technologies.

2. State Action Plan :-

   For elimination of manual scavenging states have to play a lead role.

   a) Identification and adoption of mechanized solution.

   b) Designation of responsible Sanitation Authority (RSA).

   c) Setting up of sanitation response unit (SRU).

   d) Empanelment of Private Sanitation service Organisation.

   e) Regular Periodic Preventive maintenance of sewers and septic tanks.

   f) Action plan for Preventive measures in non sewer areas.

   g) Setting up of a Cell in each local agency headed by senior executive designated as Nodal Officer.

   h) Campaigns for publishing the availability of mechanized solutions and the SRU.

   i) Setting up of a helpline in the state.

   j) Rehabilitation of persons engaged in Manual cleaning of Sewer/Septic tank.

      1) Carrying out survey to identified persons engaged in manual cleaning of sewer septic tanks.

      2) Identification of children below 18 of age of sanitation workers engaged in cleaning of sewers/septic tanks and arranging for their compulsory education.

      3) To start schemes for skill development and self employment.

      4) Coverage of identified persons under other welfare schemes relating to housing, health, social security, employment etc.

      5) Rigorous monitoring to ensure timely payments of compensation to the families of deceased workers and implementation state action plan.

3) Funding of the Action Plan.
4) AMURUT to provide financial support with subsidy of 50% up to Rs 20 Lakhs to Municipalities in urban areas for procurement of equipment for cleaning of sewers and septic tanks.

5) Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation would modified program Swatch Bharat Program to provide Financial support with subsidy of 50% up to Rs 20 Lakhs to Panchayats and self help group in rural areas for procurement of equipment for cleaning of sewers and septic tanks.

6) National Safai Karmcharis Finance and development corporation (NSKFDC) would provide loans to safai karmacharis and organization for procurement of equipment for cleaning of sewers and septic tanks with 50% subsidy up to Rs 20 Lakhs.

7) Action Plan for Rural areas – While the rural areas largely do not have sewer system & septic tanks, however, some large Gram Panchayats do have septic tanks they shall tie up with RSUs of nearby cities/town for Faecal Sludge & Septage Management (FSSM) services or engage Private Sanitation Service Organizations (PSSOs) duly licensed by the nearby Municipality /ULB for such work, or even setup its own sewer system or FSSM services.

8) Implementation & Monitoring of the State Action Plans: A coordinated action is required by all the concerned Departments at Central, State & District levels as well as by other stakeholders, to ensure that mechanized solutions are put in place and fully implemented to eliminate manual cleaning/septic tanks and/or where such manual cleaning is unavoidable, to restrict such manual cleaning to undertaken by SEPs equipped with proper protective gear and equipment.
Manual Scavenging in sewers

**CONTEXT**
Supreme Court recently remarked that sewers in India are like gas chambers where manual scavengers are sent to die.

Every month, 4-5 persons have been losing their lives in manual scavenging.

**Denial of the existence of manual scavengers**
Govt and institutions keep denying the existence of manual scavengers, a result of which, no measures are taken to solve this problem.

**Social stigmatization**
People regard the manual scavengers as untouchables and a large section of society is not ready to accept and include them in community activities.

**Lack of waterborne latrines**
The major latrine used in urban areas is the dry latrine, which is a major cause of manual scavenging.

**Lack of incomplete rehabilitation and employment opportunities**
Most countries with scavenging problem lack means of fully rehabilitating the sanitation workers.

Scavengers are exposed to harmful gases like H2S, long exposure to which can lead to death by asphyxia and other health disorders.

They should educate the masses on health issues, hygiene practices, and sanitation.

Government officials should inform the legal implications that are related to engaging in scavenging and having dry toilets.

District Nodal Officers, NGOs, and health officers should educate the community on devastating effect caused by dry latrines.

Initiatives for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers via creating employment opportunities.

Ensuring enforcement of laws that prohibit scavenging by the govt.

Investing in equipment
The govt should invest in machinery that can be used to clean ditches and septic tanks and provide the sanitation workers with quality protective gears.

Low-Cost Latrine Model
The same old model of pit latrine used by the community can be used to construct small pit toilets in a cost-effective manner.

Adopting new ways
Training the scavengers on how to construct a pit latrine.

Involvement of different officials and community

What can be done?

Discrimination
Caste discrimination in all spheres of their lives —— children of scavengers are forced to accept the same profession.

Almost no alternative jobs offered by the society —— gender discrimination as most of the scavengers are women.
## 10. Statistical data

### Annexure-I

### 10.1 State/UT – wise number of Insanitary Latrines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>State/UT</th>
<th>Total number of households</th>
<th>No. of Households by type of Insanitary latrines</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% of col. 8 to col. 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6) (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL INDIA</td>
<td>246,692,667</td>
<td>131,4652</td>
<td>79,4390</td>
<td>210,9042</td>
<td>497,236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Andaman &amp; Nicobar Islands</td>
<td>93,376</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>21,024,534</td>
<td>165,673</td>
<td>10,357</td>
<td>176,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>261,614</td>
<td>186,5</td>
<td>10,59</td>
<td>292,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>6,367,295</td>
<td>543,81</td>
<td>22,139</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>18,940,629</td>
<td>392,46</td>
<td>13,587</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chandigarh</td>
<td>235,061</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>164</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>5,622,850</td>
<td>488,1</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>561,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dadra &amp; Nagar</td>
<td>73,063</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Daman &amp; Diu</td>
<td>60,381</td>
<td>29</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Goa</td>
<td>322,813</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>12,181,718</td>
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<td>27,800</td>
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<td>1994</td>
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<tr>
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<td>638</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>78,446</td>
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</table>

Source: Census, 2011
### Annexure-II

#### 10.2 Statement showing State-wise population of Scavengers, Scavengers rehabilitated by M/o SJ&E, NSKFDC etc. and no. of Scavengers to be rehabilitated

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of the State</th>
<th>Population of Scavengers</th>
<th>Addition (Resurvey)</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Total scavengers rehabilitated and ineligible</th>
<th>Remaining scavengers to be rehabilitated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1800</td>
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<td>1970</td>
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**Total:** 676009 | 94329 | 770338 | 427870 | 342468

**Source:** India, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment

### Annexure-III

#### 10.3 State-wise details of beneficiaries who have been provided training under Self Employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers (SRMS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl No</th>
<th>Name of State/UT</th>
<th>No of Beneficiaries Provided Training</th>
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</thead>
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<td>617</td>
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### Annexure-IV

#### 10.4 State/UT wise details of funds released to the SCAs and beneficiaries covered under the Self Employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers, since its inception

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl No</th>
<th>Name of State/UT</th>
<th>Funds Released (Rs in lakhs)</th>
<th>No of beneficiaries covered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>537</td>
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<td>73491</td>
<td>4209</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td><strong>79454</strong></td>
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**Source:** Lok Sabha Unstarred Question No 6544 for answer on 07-05-2013

### Annexure-V

#### 10.5 State-wise funds released under the Total Sanitation Campaign during the last three years and the current year

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Sl No</th>
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<th>2012-2013</th>
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<td>D &amp; N HAVELI</td>
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<td>000</td>
<td>000</td>
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**Source:** Lok Sabha Unstarred Question No 1360 dated 532013
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<td>Centre for Advanced Research &amp; Development</td>
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<td>Centre of Science for Villages</td>
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Source: Lok Sabha Unstarred Question no2813 dated 1432013