

YET SO FAR

IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW
OF THE PROHIBITION OF EMPLOYMENT
AS MANUAL SCAVENGERS AND THEIR
REHABILITATION ACT, 2013











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Centre for Equity Studies

Implementation Review of the Prohibition of Employment of Manual Scavengers & Rehabilitation Act, 2013

September 2020

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Acknowledgements

It feels rather ironical to write the acknowledgment for a report on manual scavenging when most of our society has failed to acknowledge the persistence of this practice seventy years since our independence. But nonetheless, there were those who opened their hearts, minds and doors for us to be able to put together this report who must be acknowledged. We would like to acknowledge, above all, the trust, patience and openness of all the sanitation workers and their families who gave us their time.

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We are rejecting this

Unclean, poisonous life

And to escape from these cruel curses

Will you give me

A bright and auspicious moon?

My countrymen, to your court

I have brought a complaint

Will you give me justice?"

Mrs Bansode



LAYING THE CONTEXT

An Introduction

There are twin tragedies that are involved in the continued prevalence of manual scavenging in our society. And one tragedy makes the other more tragic. Firstly, it is unfortunate that a country which boasts to be the world's biggest democracy is still impervious to the fact that we have allowed people (largely women) to be involved with the practice of manual scavenging and cleaning of sewers, drains and septic tanks with bare hands and bare bodies, even allowing them to die drowning in our shit while we boast of technological leaps in the 21st century.

The second tragedy is that while large sections of the upper-caste community cry hoarse about affirmative action, like reservation, that "favour" the under-privileged, they do not find any fault in a reality where the job of cleaning our gutters continues to be reserved for only the Dalits. Even as the urban middle class empathise and tweet about Black Lives Matter, they conveniently invisibilise the Dalits in such degrading lives. The fact that they matter so less, in turn informs the lack of technological initiatives in the field of cleaning and the lack of effort in the rehabilitation of these sections.

Though the objective of this report *per se* is to evaluate the effectiveness of a particular legislation intended towards the illegalization of manual scavenging and the rehabilitation of those engaged with it, it is of crucial significance to first recognize the social and historical roots of this malaise. It is only when we would recognize the stubborn hierarchies that bolster the persistence of an issue like manual scavenging would we realise the futility of only a technocratic approach towards the matter. It has to be understood as a social and political matter and only then our legal, juridical, legislative, economic, humanitarian or even technological efforts would have any real impact.

1.1 CASTE AND CLEANING: A DELVE INTO THE PAST OF OUR PRESENT

Historically, manual scavenging in India is deeply rooted within the Brahmanical caste system. The notions of clean and unclean, purity and pollution intrinsic in the Brahmanical order leads to caste and occupation based social exclusion. Even in the age of 4G, Chandrayan and globalization, such notions continue to find newer and newer expression to perpetuate itself thereby condemning millions to a life amidst filth generation after generation with no escape.

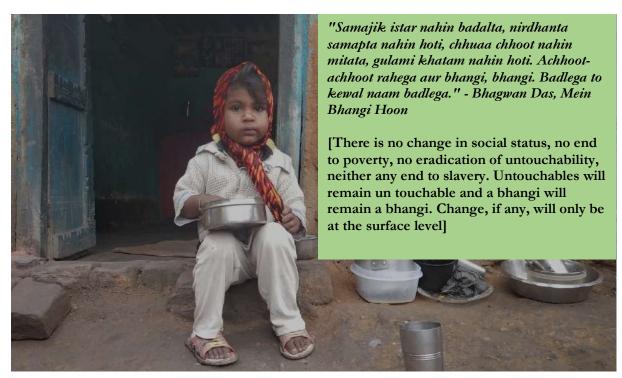
By definition, "manual scavenging is the removal of excreta (night soil) manually from dry toilets, i.e. the toilets without a modern flush system." Manual scavenging as an occupational practice which got institutionalized in municipalities during British rule when public toilets were built and people were employed to remove human excreta. While with the modernization of toilet systems, sanitary latrines have become part of our society, even to date, the practice of manual scavenging continues in India. Primarily because of the existing caste system and the forced occupation it entails. It is important to understand that the caste-wise location of manual scavengers and safai karamcharis bounds them to the work of cleaning something that elicits disgust, and hence, the same feeling is elicited towards the group as well. Thus, manual scavengers are discriminated against through a two-pronged process; firstly, through the misplaced socio-cultural ideological basis for caste system; and secondly, through the physical repulsion towards the work that the group is bound to as a whole. The corollary processes of economic discrimination happen in tandem to the processes mentioned above. It is in this light that we can delve deeper into the history of such systems of discrimination.

The caste system has a very complex genealogical lineage affected through processes of exclusion over centuries. The basic premise lies in the *chatur varna* (or four varna) system, a hierarchy whereby the twice born caste of *Brahmins* (priestly caste) are considered the purest and provided the highest location, followed by the *Kshatriyas* (warrior caste), *Vaishyas* (traders) and *Shudras* (labouring class). The caste which falls beyond this categorisation are the *Ati-shudras* (labouring class involved in unclean or dirty occupations). There are sub-castes and various other divisions within this varna system of hierarchy, and the rules which flow from such an established hierarchy provided the

¹ Singh, R. K. Ziyauddin (2009). Manual scavenging as social exclusion: A case study. Economic and Political Weekly, 44(26-27), 1519-24.

basis of the erstwhile social order within the Hindu population. It also determined the practices of commensality and association. This hierarchical system itself is repeated within the castes themselves, something termed as 'graded hierarchy', i.e. there exists a hierarchy within the castes, from the upper to the lower castes which obfuscates the possibility of a unity among those who are considered "low". It impedes an easy polarization between the "high" and the "low". Since this is a very short introduction to the caste system, we will retain our focus to the point of departure, i.e. the manual scavengers.

The lives of manual scavengers have been highly influenced by the social, political and economic boundaries, as explained in the caste hierarchy discussed above. Dalits in this hierarchy are relegated to the bottom. The persistence or tenacity of these hierarchies are such that it re-invents itself even as times change. While the codification of the basic tenets of caste-based discrimination dates back to the Manusmriti, we can for the purpose here start from the colonial past. Certain practices of untouchability that prevailed in the late 19th century still persists, that would include, serving tea in separate cups, barring from entering shops, barring from using same well, exclusion from temples, barring from education and later segregation, and preventing from taking part in community religious and ceremonial functions and so on. While some of these continue till date, in some cases the discrimination only has assumed newer forms, often subtle, often not. The



relegation of "impure" tasks that require contact with human excreta, dead bodies or animal carcasses to the Dalits was also manifestation of the same practice.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) distinguishes three forms of manual scavenging: 1) removal of human excrement from public streets and dry latrines, 2) cleaning septic tanks, and 3) cleaning gutters and sewers. In northern India, the communities engaged with these tasks are called, through different set of names, designations like, *Bhangi, Chura, Halalkhor, Jamādar, Lal Begi* and *Mehtar* and in the south, they are called *Chakkiliyan, Madiga* and *Thoti*. The names and the occupations, reinforce, the Brahmanical notions of caste, class and society.

Prior to the arrival of the colonial government, every household in a particular locality was serviced by a particular sweeper. Sweepers and householders also shared an informal agreement with each other where the sweepers were entitled to receive monthly wages and leftover food provided by the householders. Though deeply prejudicial, and dehumanizing, this kind of arrangement at least notionally gave the sweepers an agency to go on a strike when mistreated by a householder or denied their monthly wages. The householders had to oblige to the demands of the sweepers since contact with filth threatened the notion of ritual purity of both Hindus and Muslims.

Soon the colonial officers started imposing fixed wages to these sweepers as part of their administrative agenda to curb whatever little power the workers had in the locality. The colonial governance policy included restructuring India's urban areas by making cities clean and out of reach of the dreaded epidemics. But in their vision of clean and modern cities, the worker was still an important aspect of the cleanliness drive despite the gradual mechanization of sanitation systems. This was because manual labour was much cheaper in India.

As observed by Ambedkar, the colonial masters were heavily influenced by the native caste relations. Since the Dalit was an embodiment of pollution and hardly considered human, the colonial law too was influenced by the same rhetoric of the caste hierarchy deeply embedded in the Hindu *varna* system. For instance, under Section 118 of Act XX of 1891, the municipality could prosecute any sweeper who neglected his statutory duties. This prevented the sweepers from going on strike against the administration. Similarly, the United Provinces Municipalities Act II of 1916 empowered the householder to file an official complaint against the sweeper who was then liable to fine if found guilty by the magistrate. However, this Act focused on the 'the sweeper who has customary right to scavenging', which evidently shows how much the colonial laws relied on the caste hierarchies peculiar to the Indian subcontinent.

² Mandal, Saptarshi. "Through the Lens of Pollution: Manual Scavenging and the Legal Discourse." Contemporary Voice of Dalit 1, no. 1 (2008): 91-102.

In his writings on manual scavenging, Ambedkar brought to fore the occupational theory as envisaged and written in the Hindu scripture such as Naradasamhita, Manusmriti etc. He found that a clear mention of slavery in its essential form was codified in the scriptures, and in its modern avatar, protected by laws existing in different provinces and states of pre-Independence India. The arrangements were such that in exchange for the services by the manual scavengers, they were provided with land to build their homes, and a refusal of the service meant that the land could be wrested away from them. This became a socially and legally enforced form of labour (read: Slavery) which only solidified the existing forms of discrimination against the group.³ Ambedkar went on to list the different sections in the United Provinces Municipal Corporation Act of 1916 and the Punjab Municipal Corporation Act of 1911 which contain the penal and forfeiting measures to ensure that the manual scavengers as well as sweepers perform their duties without fail. This points to a systemic adherence to the established occupational order and its practice then became the "legal obligation" to be fulfilled by the "untouchables". Ambedkar noted such 'laws that bound manual scavengers into perpetual subordination are a reflection of the inhumanity of the Hindu social order. However, Ambedkar exempts the nature and modes of colonial law making from his analysis.4

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³ Ambedkar, 1989, Essays on Untouchables and Untouchability: Political in Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches, Vol. 5

⁴ Mandal, Saptarshi. "Through the Lens of Pollution: Manual Scavenging and the Legal Discourse." Contemporary Voice of Dalit 1, no. 1 (2008): 91-102.



1.2 OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY OF THE IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW

Objectives

- a) examining the claims of the central, state and local governments regarding implementation of the PEMSR Act, 2013 regarding i) participatory survey of manual scavengers; ii) release and rehabilitation of manual scavengers cash transfers and beyond.
- b) understanding the assessment by officially released manual scavengers of their experience of the processes of release and rehabilitation by the government, and their present livelihood, housing and educational status
- c) understanding the experience of those manual scavengers who have in the past decade released themselves from manual scavenging, and their present livelihood, housing and educational status

Methodology

The study was undertaken between November 2018 and March 2020. The selection of towns and cities for the study was done based on the recommendations from Association for Rural and Urban Needy. The study locations are as follows: Dehri, Rohtas district of Bihar, Panna district (Amanganj, Panna and Powai) Madhya Pradesh, Ghaziabad district (Loni, Farukhnagar, Behta Hazipur) of Uttar Pradesh, and Dhanbad district (Refugee market) of Jharkhand state. The settlements for field visits in these locations were selected through random sampling. Among all the four districts of different states, most of the manual scavengers belong to a Balmiki (Valmiki), Dom, Basfor community (belonging to the lowest caste- untouchable).

To know the situation of manual scavengers and implementation of the Act, three Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) with manual scavengers were organized in every study location, with the objective of gaining understanding about the socio-economic profiles, caste discrimination, aspirations, views and awareness around the government sponsored development schemes and the PEMSR Act. In total, twelve FGDs were conducted with 100 manual scavengers. Also, one FGD at each town conducted with the children and their husbands. We also relied on detailed case studies to highlight certain aspects of the lives of the manual scavengers in relation to the promises made in the Act.

The secondary source of data referred to for the study included various official records, as well as data from previous studies on this subject. The study extensively uses the relevant secondary data available in books, journals, magazines, reports prepared government and private institutions, research institutions, NGOs and Newspapers etc.

To access official government data, applications were made under the Right to Information Act (RTI), 2005. A range of RTI templates were drafted to access the data regarding each provision of Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013 (PEMSR Act, 2013). These RTIs were then translated in Hindi for the local bodies and the state governments. A total of 313 RTIs applications were drafted, of which 45 applications were filed to the District Magistrate office and 189 applications were filed to the office of local municipal area in respective towns. Moreover, 20 RTIs were also sent to National Safai Karamchari Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC), 15 at the central government level, two RTI applications were sent to Swachh Bharat Mission-Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs. As per the PEMSR Act 2013, municipal bodies (being the requisite 'local authorities') along with the District Magistrate are the implementing authorities of the provisions.

To overcome the limitation of reluctance of the officials to part with the requisite information, inspection of official files related to PEMSR Act, 2013 was also sought under Section 4, subsection (3) and sub-section (4) of Right to Information Act, 2005. The claims were received by RTI applications were cross checked through physical verification.



CES researchers in one of the field sites in Bihar, conducting a focussed group discussion with the community.

November, 2018

The Act in Action

2. Implementation Review of the PEMSR Act, 2013

Before we begin to understand whether the PEMSR Act, 2013 has been implemented effectively, it is prudent to identify a gap in the way in which manual scavenging itself has been defined in the Act.

As per the **Prohibition of Employment of Manual Scavengers Act 1993,** manual scavenging means to "engage in or employ for or permit to be engaged in or employed for any other person for manually carrying human excreta; or construct or maintain a dry latrine."

The above definition was rightfully expanded under the 2013 Act to effectively aid in the identification of those engaged in manual scavenging. It stands as follows:

"manual scavenger means a person engaged or employed at the commencement of the Act or at any time thereafter, 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"

This, definitely, is an improvement upon the earlier definition. So, before getting into the nuances and possible limitations of even this definition, it is worthwhile to do a simple exercise of asking the local authorities, community activists as well as workers themselves as to what they understand by "manual scavenging" seven years after the Act came into being. Researchers asked and recorded verbatim their response to "What is manual scavenging?"

a) Administration

An **Executive Officer** of a municipality in Bihar, said "Those who clean dry latrine physically or manually are manual scavengers." According to him there were no manual scavengers in the town or in fact the entire of Bihar, it had been eradicated 20 years back. A **senior gazetted officer** in a Jharkhand municipal body said, "Those who clean *naalis* (drains) are manual scavengers." He said there are no manual scavengers in his jurisdiction and refused to answer any further question on the matter.

b) Safai Karamchari (community)

Kamala Devi was a dry latrine cleaner herself. She stayed out of work for nearly two years after the dry latrines ceased to exist in the area. Ultimately she resumed working as a sanitation worker under contract at hospitals, etc. When asked who is a manual scavenger, her instant reply was "A

Valmiki is a manual scavenger". Similarly, when **Manju Devi** from Dhanbad was asked the same question, her only response would be "hum hi hai" by which she meant her community. **Rama Devi**, from Dehri, is a particularly militant worker. She would not take abuses lying low even if that means losing a few jobs. In response to the same question, she said "one who cleans dry latrines with bare hands is a manual scavenger".

c) Community activist

An activist from the All India Safai Mazdur Sangh, at Dhanbad said that "One who works picking waste without protective gears is a manual scavenger." Another activist from Safai Karamchari Andolan said," One who picks human excreta or goes to sewers without protective gears are manual scavengers."

d) Elected representative

One of the positions in a Jharkhand municipal body is reserved for women. However, the brother of the elected woman corporator was representing her for all practical purposes. When asked about the definition of manual scavengers, he said he was not aware and did not respond to any questions related to the implementation of the MSA.

This brief exercise goes onto show that the ones in administrative responsibilities and elected representatives have either incomplete or no understanding of what manual scavenging means. Among the lot it was felt that community activists had a better understanding of the issue and the definition. And as far as the community is concerned, they clearly associate it with their caste identity. There is still an overall tendency to equate manual scavenging only with dry latrine cleaning which makes it easy to assume that there are no manual scavengers if there were no dry latrines. And for this partly, the new definition is also to blame, which though an improvement over the former, still has one lacuna that needs further discussion.

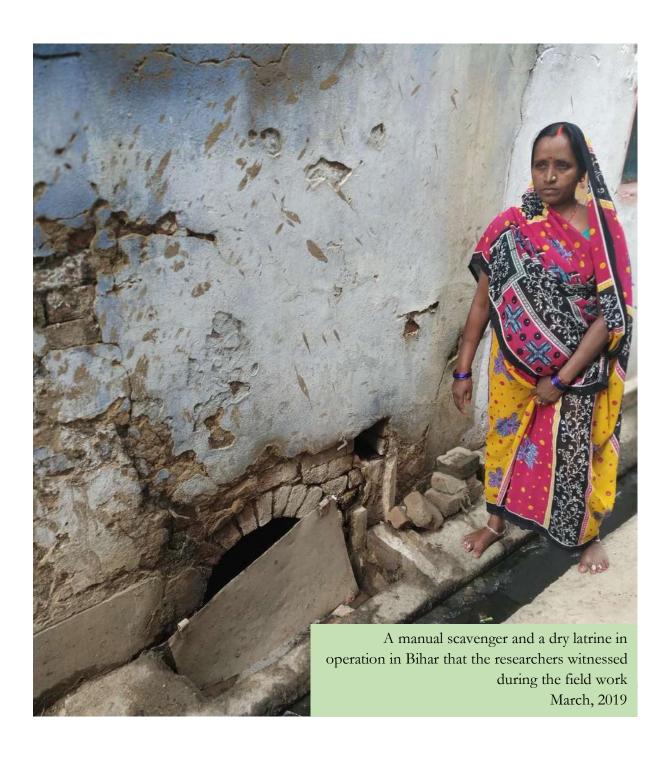
From the above definition it is noteworthy that the Act has defined manual scavenging as the act of cleaning, carrying, disposing of, or otherwise handling in any manner, human excreta *in an insanitary latrine* or in an open drain or pit into which human excreta *from insanitary latrines* is disposed of. Therefore, limiting the act of manual scavenging to the handling of human excreta exclusively from insanitary latrines. By connecting the work of manual scavenging to insanitary latrines, the Act has omitted other sources from which manual scavengers typically handle human waste, for example open defecation pits, open drains (not connected to insanitary latrines) and sewer lines or septic tanks. In fact, field researchers have observed women in our study sites picking human excreta with their bare hands from such places that are not connected to insanitary latrines.

Under the Swachh Bharat Mission, the government had undertaken a major drive to remove all insanitary latrines in India. For the most part, this has been a success. Local community members and SKA activists whom the researchers met also corroborated this fact. However, a number of people have reported that, while the government has demolished many insanitary latrines, very little has been done by way of providing an alternative work to the people involved in cleaning these structures. When field researchers approached local authorities asking them for data on manual scavengers in their area for example in Loni, there are no insanitary latrines in the area and therefore there are no manual scavengers (Annexure 1). This is a result of narrowly defining

manual scavenging as the handling of waste from insanitary latrines as opposed to a broader definition.

Another design limitation in the definition of manual scavengers in that it only applies to people who are engaged in manual scavenging at the commencement of the Act, therefore excluding all those who have worked in this profession before 2013 and who might have left even a few months before the Act was enforced. Crucially, these people are excluded from rehabilitation benefits, such as One Time Cash Assistance (OTCA), education loans.

Consider the following case of a municipal body in Ghaziabad. The field researchers procured a document titled "Name and Address of Manual Scavengers in Ghaziabad" which was enlisted as per a survey conducted under the previous 1993 Act. The rough draft of the list (handwritten, Annexure 2(a)) identifies a number of them who are described as those who used to work as manual scavengers. For instance, next to 35 year-old Kamla's name, the list reads "avedak dwara bataya gaya hai ki maila uthane ka karya band kar diya hai", i.e., she used to work as a manual scavenger, but has stopped doing so. However, in the final draft of the list (typed sheet, Annexure 2 (b)), the same Kamla (and like her several others) have been described as "maila uthane ka karya nahi karte hai" (she does not do the work of manual scavenging). This translates into saying Kamla does not work as a manual scavenger. The semantics have a direct bearing on one being identified as a manual scavenger and thereby receiving the rehabilitation support from the government. During a field visit, we in fact met several of these women who were in the said list. They claimed that they left this menial job in 2011 or 2012. Because of the narrowness of the definition that says "at the commencement of the Act" and also because they are described as those who do not work as manual scavengers (in the said list), they have not been included in the new survey under MSA 2013. The women claimed to have applied several times after the 2013 Act to be enumerated as manual scavengers, but to no avail. They remain excluded.



2.1 ASSESSMENT OF PROVISIONS FOR SURVEY & IDENTIFICATION

During the latest field visit by the researchers, days before the COVID 19 lockdown, near the Dehri bus stand, one could see the municipality workers sweeping the roads and filling the garbage truck with their bare hands, with neither a mask nor the gloves. This is not limited to just sweeping but cleaning even the small open gutters in the town. Moreover, this was not a one-off experience but was observed at least twice in the six-day field visit in Dehri. In one of the interviews with a Nagar Parishad or City Council Official in Bihar, with a tinge of pride in his voice, he claimed, "The town is Manual Scavenger free, we have machinery for everything. Recently we bought 'Bandicoot', a small JCB for cleaning. The workers do not touch anything with their hands." He adds, "It's been fifteen years that machinery is used here, we don't have manual scavengers from then." A claim far from reality.

Under Chapter IV, 11 of the PEMSR Act, 2013, "If any municipality has reason to believe that some persons are engaged or employed in manual scavenging within its jurisdiction, the Chief Executive Officer of such a municipality shall order a survey to be undertaken to identify these persons". This section explores whether the survey was conducted in accordance with the various provisions and rules prescribed in the Act. Beginning with the requirement as mandated by the Act, the reality that we have uncovered through various RTIs filed and extensive field research as well as observations given this reality for each of the rules pertaining to the Survey for the identification of manual scavengers.

To begin with, there is a gap in the wording of the clause that mandates a survey be conducted in that it leaves it on each municipality if they have *reason to believe* that manual scavengers are engaged or employed in their jurisdiction, only then shall a survey be ordered. Therefore, it does not clearly mandate that every municipality must conduct a survey to identify manual scavengers.

This section will now examine each of the clauses under Chapter III 'Survey of Manual Scavengers' in the Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Rules, 2013⁵, to assess the effectiveness of the law from design to implementation.

(1) **Requirement:** The local authority shall ensure that the persons conducting the survey of manual scavengers shall be adequately and appropriately trained by the local authority on the method and manner in which the survey shall be conducted and sensitized on the issue of manual scavenging

Reality: The Guidelines for Survey of Manual Scavengers⁶ clearly outline the objective and scope, methodology and process and detailed timeframe etc. of the survey. In order to ensure the survey is conducted effectively, this training is of utmost importance, as is evident in the guidelines itself. For example, for the surveyor to understand something as basic, yet fundamental, as the difference between a manual scavenger and a *safai karamchari* would greatly enhance the surveyors' ability to conduct the survey effectively. Many other provisions are also meant to serve a similar purpose. For example, it clearly delineates the

⁵ Available here: http://www.ielrc.org/content/e1314.pdf. Accessed 12th December 2019

⁶ See full guidelines at http://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/surveyguidelines.pdf. Accessed 12th December 2019

roles at the District, State and National level in the compilation and conduction of the survey.

While in most places, this question was being avoided, in one of the study sites in UP, an official in the City Council Office claimed that the training had happened, but no evidence was obtained to corroborate the same. Researchers filed two RTIs, one at the NSKFDC office and the other at the City Council office. While the former had no information available in this regard, the latter replied saying that the training was "in process". Researchers had demanded the names of attendees of the training workshop for surveyors and the notice for the same but there was no response to the RTI that followed.

Overall, there are four different kinds of responses that were elicited from the study when we asked the relevant authorities pertaining to this training:

a) Survey conducted. But no training was conducted prior to it. And thereafter no manual scavengers were identified in the survey. Such response was elicited in a study location in Bihar. The officials claimed that they were unaware of any such provision/requirement.

There are specific details as to what this training should entail⁷. Beyond the technicalities of a survey, given that so much of the issue of manual scavenging is to do with the predominant worldview around the question of caste, the Act specifically emphasizes the need for sensitization. But even without the requisite training or sensitization, the authorities claimed that the survey was conducted and that it bears testimony to the fact that there were "no manual scavengers" in the district.

Thus, the validity of such a survey, conducted without the requisite prior training, comes into question. Would officials, without the mandated sensitization, be able to adequately identify manual scavengers?

- b) Survey was conducted. Training was also supposedly held before the survey. But no corroboration was obtained to validate the same based on RTI or inspection. The case in point in Uttar Pradesh (above) was an instance of the same. In fact, it was the only site where the authorities claimed to have conducted such a training, but failed to produce evidence of the same.
- c) No training or survey was ever constituted as the local authorities *felt* there were no manual scavengers in their jurisdiction. This again is a failure of adherence to the requirements of the Act and a lack of sensitization seems apparent.

Observation: Looking at **point (c)** above, while on the face of it, this largely seems to be an implementation failure, but this links up to a general design flaw in the Act itself. It is mentioned that a survey may only be conducted *if* the local authorities have "reason to

⁷ See Guidelines at http://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/surveyguidelines.pdf. Page 5 onwards.

believe" that there are manual scavengers in the area. Hence, the local authorities did not have "reason to believe" that there are manual scavengers and did not conduct the survey.

(2) Requirement: The State Level Survey Committee and the District Level Committee shall carry out adequate campaigns at various levels especially in all such areas where insanitary latrines have been found during the survey of insanitary latrines.

Reality: The Act has, in its design, connected two surveys to be undertaken by local authorities. Firstly, the Identification of Insanitary Latrines survey, and second the Identification of Manual Scavengers. According to this clause, special attention should be paid to areas where insanitary latrines have been identified.

However, while asking the local authorities about the survey for Identification of Insanitary Latrines, in no cases there was any evidence obtained on the same. Essentially, the local authorities did not possess any documentary evidence regarding the Identification of Insanitary Latrines survey. It is therefore difficult to assess whether the State Level Survey Committee and the District Level Survey Committee have, in carrying out adequate campaigns, paid special attention to areas where insanitary latrines were identified, when there is no evidence that such a survey was even conducted.

Observation: This speaks to a flaw in the definition of manual scavengers that was elaborated on in the previous section. Essentially, the Act restricts the work of manual scavenging to the cleaning of insanitary latrines. As previously argued, this definition needs to be broader to encompass a range of activities that manual scavengers engage in apart from cleaning of insanitary latrines.

(3) **Requirement:** The local authority shall also associate community leaders or non-government organizations working for the welfare of Safai Karamcharis or sanitary workers in identification of manual scavengers.

Reality: In all the study sites that were studied, the Safai Karamchari Andolan (SKA), a non-governmental organization working for rights, dignity and welfare or manual scavengers, was involved in the survey for the identification of manual scavengers. This however, is no conclusive proof of the involvement of community leaders or NGOs in other sites as by design the study was restricted to areas where our partner organization SKA already had access.

Having said that, based on interactions with local SKA activists and their experience, an assessment of the nature of engagement of local authorities with such community based organizations can be made.

For example, in a Jharkhand town, seemingly under the provisions of the PEMSR Act, a survey was conducted by the authorities in 2014. It is pertinent to mention here that no training and sensitization was conducted as per the local officials. The survey identified only 34 manual scavengers (Annexure 3). However, Ramu Valmiki (name changed) of SKA informed researchers that along with Nagar Palika (Municipal Council), SKA had put

up a camp for identification of manual scavengers on 7th, 9th and 11th July 2018 (Annexure 4 (a) and 4 (b)) Ramu Valmiki spoke about the lack of cooperation from the authorities in the course of the survey and he mentioned that a higher official even tried to rush the survey. Nonetheless, in this fresh survey, 355 manual scavengers were identified. However, thereafter the Municipality refused to accept the figures, let alone verifying them as required as per the Act under provision 11 (5) of the MSA 2013 Rules.

Similar experiences were also reported in other study sites. For example, in Loni, an SKA activist recalled that government officials would repeatedly postpone meetings giving excuses leading him to conclude the government officials did not want to cooperate. The field researchers of this study had a similar first-hand experience when approaching the local authorities in Loni with this SKA activist.

As per data obtained from the NSKFDC website (Annexure 5), camps for identification of manual scavengers were set up in Gunoor and Amanganj of Panna district on 2nd June 2018. In Panna, the NSKFDC's partner organization for identifying manual scavengers is Jan Sahas. When SKA pointed out that no camp was set up in Amanganj, a Jan Sahas activist went to enquire about the same to the local authorities. But he was told that they take orders from the Collector's office, not from Jan Sahas. However contrary to this, the municipality officials declared in their RTI response (Annexure 6) that zero manual scavengers were found in Amanganj. This is symptomatic of the fact that such gross discrepancies might not have been an exception. Particularly in districts where community watch is weak or absent, such discrepancies would easily go unnoticed.

Observation: While the Act through this provision had envisioned the involvement of community based organizations, campaigns and NGOs to fulfil its aims, much is lost in translation of the Act in reality while being implemented. This indicates the active bias of the officials who are running the machinery. This can also be seen as a testimony of the casteist, complicit and apathetic attitudes of the core structures of the administration towards the plight of the manual scavengers. For instance, when discussing the condition of manual scavengers, researchers heard from the City Manager of a Jharkhand municipal body that "If these people (Dalits) do not do this work, what will they eat? Kisi ko toh tyag karna padega." (someone will have to sacrifice) In Dehri's Ambedkar Nagar a Dalit community leader reported that he has been harassed by the local administrative officers on approaching them with legitimate grievances or pointing at non-compliance of MSA. "They heckle me demanding, 'What is your problem? Do you want to become the next Ambedkar?'. Further adding "The betrayal starts from the very same offices where Ambedkar's photo is hanging on the wall." Despite having kept provision in the law, as long as such strong active bias persists, implementation will always suffer.

(4) **Requirement:** The local authority shall invite manual scavengers through awareness campaigns to declare themselves at the self-declaration centers and have their details verified during a period and at places, which shall be notified by the local authority.

Reality: Under the MSA 2013 rules, Chapter 1 'Functions of District Level Survey Committee', it is the duty of this committee to:

- Distribute the materials for awareness campaigns to designated place
- To arrange publicity through local newspapers etc. about the survey
- To distribute translated survey materials to designated place under its jurisdiction

The Guidelines for conducting the Survey⁸ under point 4.1 (i) "A Media Plan would be prepared by the Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment for giving wide publicity about the survey for identification of Manual Scavengers, its dates, etc., through Print, and audiovisual Media, outdoor publicity, etc. After finalisation of the Media Plan, Doordarshan, All India Radio and Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity will undertake publicity work". The Centre for Equity Studies filed RTIs for all the study sites in which evidence that local authorities had published notices in newspapers, translated survey materials or created any such materials for awareness campaigns was asked. The researcher was notified that the RTI has been forwarded to the concerned department, after which no response was received.

Additionally, under point 4.1 (iii) "The awareness campaign would basically invite manual scavengers to declare themselves and have their details verified during a period and at places, which will be specified. A Toll-free helpline would also be established in each town and district to assist manual scavengers being counted in the survey". When field researchers asked local authorities what the toll free number was, they weren't even aware of the existence of such a number, neither were community members.

The National Safai Karamchari Finance Development Corporation had notified a document titled "Matter for printing of pamphlets" which outlines the necessary documents/paper works that any claimant would require to carry. The pamphlet so prepared was supposed to be printed and distributed among the public. And the document also states that it ought "[T]o be printed in Hindi, English & vernacular as per requirement". There was another document titled "Matter for Advertisement in local newspapers", which also needed to be printed in Hindi/vernacular newspapers as per requirement. When the researchers showed these documents to the local authorities, in Panna, Loni, Dehri and in Amanganj & Powai Municipality offices, it revealed that the local officials were not aware of the existence of such documents, highlighting the situation of intended public awareness about implementing the provisions of the Act.

The researchers asked community members in all study sites about how they received information about the self-declaration camps. No testimony of community members having seen newspaper ads, posters or any other type of awareness mechanisms for the self-declaration camps was found. Whatever little awareness community members had about the camps was due to local SKA activists.

In addition to this, in all four study sites, when researchers asked local authorities for copies of translated survey materials (including the self-declaration form that is attached along

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⁸ See Guidelines at http://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/surveyguidelines.pdf. Page 5 onwards

⁹ See https://nskfdc.nic.in/writereaddata/files/Publicity%20Material.pdf.

¹⁰ See https://nskfdc.nic.in/writereaddata/files/Publicity%20Material.pdf

with the MSA 2013 rules) in vernacular languages, no local authority was able to produce the same.

Though the clause does not mention in particular the many forms that the awareness campaigns may take, researchers got a glimpse of it in one encounter with a favourable officer in Sasaram (which was outside the scope of our survey). The Social Welfare Officer at Sasaram, while speaking to the researchers, mentioned that awareness campaigns in areas where literacy is low can also deploy traditional methods of the community like drum rolls (dafli) messengers.

In response to an RTI filed by the Centre for Equity Studies (Annexure 7) the Municipal Office in Loni claimed that survey camps were organised and conducted on 6-7th and 21-22nd June 2018. During these camps, 317 applications for self-identification of manual scavengers were received. Surprisingly, the final list from Loni shows that there are zero manual scavengers in the area (Annexure 1). Field interviews with several people who had presented self-identification forms in Loni revealed that no further process of verification, as mandated by this clause, had occurred and they had without notice been excluded from the list.

Observation: Once again while the clause seems to suggest that the Act does take into account the need for awareness drives within the community, and though it clearly demarcates the role of the administration in ensuring the same, the implementation is either poor or non-existent. In Panna, for instance, the local SKA activist told us that posters, that too small ones, were put up only in the morning hours before the camp was to take place.

Apart from the general apathy and caste-based bias in implementation that holds true, a measure that can to some extent ensure compliance is to make dereliction of duty in this regard *punitive* by fine or otherwise for the immediate authority in the district.

Alongside, taking cue from the Sasaram Welfare Officer, traditional forms of awareness campaigns should also be accounted for in the design of the clause itself for larger and more effective impact.

(5) Requirement: The lists of manual scavengers, if provided by the non-governmental organisations or any other persons or agency, shall be fully verified to identify manual scavengers

Reality: As noted earlier, under point (3) that although the SKA, along with the Municipal Office conducted an independent survey in 2018 to find 355 manual scavengers in Dhanbad, as opposed to the 34 that were identified from the previous survey in 2014.

However, no evidence could be found to show that the local authorities conducted a verification process, as mandated by this clause, after the said survey in 2018.

Observation: a clear understanding emerges here that there are omissions in the surveys and data collection conducted by government officials, as compared to community organizations. In order to address this problem, it may be important to make the omission/commission by the officials in identifying and eradicating manual scavengers in their area as a culpable act'

(6) **Requirement:** In case there is discrepancy between the data on insanitary latrines or the number of manual scavengers thrown up by any person or organisation, the local authority shall order house-to-house survey of insanitary dry latrines by the enumerators to know the names of manual scavengers servicing those insanitary latrines.

Reality: The Centre for Equity Studies' field inspection under RTI demanding corroborative evidence of government surveys on insanitary latrines for all study sites (Annexure 8). However, no responses were received. Additionally, when field researchers enquired with local authorities in Dhanbad in person through an inspection under RTI, the local authorities claimed to have no documents related to the survey of insanitary latrines. In another field site in Madhya Pradesh, when field researchers asked local authorities about the survey, their response was "agar aapko jaankaari chaahie toh, khud survey kara lijie, hum apni taraf se kuch nahi denge" (if you need any information, do the survey yourself, we won't provide any information from our end.) The field researchers thereafter filed a complaint at the District Collector's office stating the same. (Annexure 9)

Furthermore, during visits to all study sites, researchers asked the community on whether house-to-house surveys were conducted to which they responded that they had not been conducted.

Observation: The fact that no data was provided as to the number of insanitary latrines in these districts points towards a gross anomaly in the very enumeration. And without that, no cross verification (as intended in the clause) is even conceivable.

(7) Requirement: Local authority shall also make efforts to identify manual scavengers by visiting the habitations of concentration of safai karamcharis, sanitary workers or manual scavengers.

Reality: The broadened definition of manual scavenging goes beyond only dry latrine cleaning, and includes any contact with faecal matter including septic tank cleaning, or open drain sludge or so on. As per this broadened definition as provided by 2013 Act, the field researchers witnessed such work continuing in field cites (like in Panna or Dehri). But when we asked the community people, they said there were no efforts on the part of local authorities to identify such work or workers engaged with such work.

Observation: There seems to be a constant discrepancy between the broadening of the definition in 2013 Act and the manner in which the term "manual scavenger" is interpreted

in practice by local authorities. If in the mind of the local authorities "manual scavenging" continues to remain only those who are engaged in cleaning dry latrines (be it by convenience, or because of lack of awareness, or because of vagueness or lack of clarity in the Act itself), then it would not be surprising to see that such identification would be faulty. Those engaged in work involving direct contact with faecal matter will not be counted or identified. This definitional issue has to be resolved.

(8) **Requirement:** Any person having objection to either the inclusion or exclusion of any name in the provisional list of manual scavengers in pursuance of Act, may within a period of fifteen days from the provisional publication, file an objection in the prescribed format specified by the concerned local authority.

Reality: As per an RTI response (Annexure 10), in Dhanbad the authorities urged people to raise objections under the specified format within 7 days to the provisional list at the office of the Municipal Corporation. No response on this RTI was received from any other study sites.

This is just to note that the Municipal Corporation has completed one of the formalities in relation to raising objections on the provisional list. Field observations show a different picture.

During field visits to all four sites, local SKA activists claimed that they had filed objections within the prescribed time period and in the format specified by local authorities on the exclusion of manual scavengers from the provisional list. However, there was no response from local authorities about these objections. In Loni in fact once their objections were not acted upon, hundreds of women marched to Delhi in August 2013 protesting against the non-inclusion¹¹.

Additionally, the field researchers asked local community members about their objections to the provisional list. Although, the local community did not file objections within the given time period and under the specified format due to lack of awareness about the procedure involved, they did verbally question local authorities about the exclusion of their names from the provisional list. Again, there was no response by local authorities about the same.

Observation: Here is another instance of the design of the Act running in contravention with the implementation. The District Magistrate should in fact not just inquire into the resolution of claimant or objection to the list but also hold accountable with some punitive powers those who fail to respond to objections raised by community organizations.

(9) **Requirement:** The local authorities shall also notify the manner of publication of said list during the survey of manual scavengers carried out under the Act.

Reality: In an inspection under RTI filed by field researchers, we received a response (Annexure 9) from Dhanbad Nagar Nigam (municipal corporation) with proof of

¹¹ https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/Manual-scavengers-say-no-more/articleshow/21693656.cms

notifications in several newspapers dated 15th January 2014 (in Hindi and Urdu) letting people know that the Dhanbad Municipal Corporation has conducted the survey on manual scavengers, and has presented the provisional list in several public places. No response was received to the same RTIs in the other sites. Similarly, even from Loni we received proof of notification in newspapers (Annexure 11).

Observation: This has been followed at times, but only in letter, not in spirit. This is reflected in the fact (as stated above) that the follow up was hastened in terms of avoiding inclusion or responding to objections.

(10) **Requirement:** The local authority shall get the objections enquired into and hold a meeting, if necessary to finalise the list of manual scavengers in its jurisdiction.

Reality: As evident from the previous point, the findings suggest that there are instances wherein the objections have not been taken into account leave aside being enquired upon. In Focus Group Discussions across the sites, i.e., in Loni, Panna, Dhanbad and Dehri, community members informed researchers that they are not aware of any such meeting conducted by local authorities to finalise the list. Rama Devi in Dhanbad said, "If officials would come and do meetings among our people do you think we would be in such pitiable condition?" A local community activist at Dhanbad said that he himself was part of the process of survey-identification-objection and listing. He said that a meeting did take place where objections were raised, but none of the objections were admitted. He said he did try to raise questions about this process for a while, but ultimately had to back out as all his efforts met with frustration. In one of the four study sites, the researchers from CES met a Group IV staff who belonged to the manual scavenging community and sought to help us, unlike his upper caste counterparts whom we had met in earlier field visits. He did confirm the presence of documents pertaining to such a meeting, but despite having filed on site RTI inspection, the officer involved has till now not responded.

Observation: Loni is about one and a half hours or 27.2 kilometres away from South Delhi and is located in the National Capital Region. It is an area where SKA's work is also more entrenched and public scrutiny more intent. Despite that if there was no compliance to this particular provision, it speaks volumes about the intent of the local authorities in terms of holding such meetings.

(11) **Requirement:** After publication of the final list by the local authority no claim objection on the list shall be accepted for being included or excluded in the list, provided that a manual scavenger shall be entitled to give self-declaration about his being a manual scavenger.

Reality: In the field site in Loni, researchers asked community members in a focus group discussion about their attempts to self-declare as manual scavengers after publication of the final list. We learned that several women had attempted to self-declare as manual scavengers with assistance from local SKA activists using the same procedure enumerated earlier when filing objections to the provisional list. However, none of these women

received any response from local authorities and were therefore excluded from any rehabilitation entitlements which the Act includes.

In Dehri as well, local SKA activists reported that they had assisted several manual scavengers in the self-declaration process using the Self-Declaration Form¹² but received no reply from local authorities.

Observation: It has been repeatedly observed that local authorities have not given any response, be it to RTI's, objections by community members on the provisional list, or self-declaration efforts on the final list. This exhibits a clear implementation gap in the Act. There are no provisions for what action needs to be taken if local authorities refuse to respond. In such a situation a community member or SKA activist, and for that researcher is left with no clue of what to do.

Another important dynamic to note here is that of the power relations between local community members and local authorities. It says clearly in this clause that manual scavengers must self-identify in front of local authorities. However, field researchers heard from one of the male respondents in Dehri that he feels apprehensive and under confident in approaching local authorities about any objection to grievances as he feels that people from his community are ill-treated by local government officials, who oftentimes tend to be from upper castes. In Panna, local SKA activists informed us that whenever manual scavengers would attempt to self-declare with local authorities, they would use different tactics to avoid these claims. For example, repeatedly ask them to come back another day, harass them, disrespect them. This was also the experience of local SKA activists when dealing with local authorities. Therefore, the Act does not account for the complex caste dynamics that are at play in most rural areas in its conceptualisation.

- (12) Requirement: The District Magistrate shall notify a designated officer not below the Tehsildar (Executive Magistrate) or BDO for inquiring into claims and objections received and giving their findings and the inquiry conducted by the designated authority shall ensure that
 - i. the claimant or objector is given adequate opportunity to be heard.
 - ii. the claimant or objector is given not less than seven days' notice about the date of summary hearing as provided under sub-rule (15)
 - iii. the claimant or objector shall be allowed to support his claim with documentary evidence, if any, as provided under sub-rule (14).
 - iv. the claimant or objector shall have the right to be represented by a lawyer, NGO or a friend; and
 - v. the claimant or objector shall be given a copy of the order passed by the designated authority as provided under sub-rule (20)

Reality: As mentioned above, during field visits to all four sites, local SKA activists claimed that they had filed objections within the prescribed time period and in the format

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 $^{^{12} \} See \ Self-\ Declaration\ form\ at\ \underline{https://nskfdc.nic.in/writereaddata/files/Survey\%20\%20form.pdf}$

specified by local authorities on the exclusion of manual scavengers from the list. No response or intervention occurred from any of the local authorities which includes the District Magistrate.

(13) Requirement: Forms for filing claims and objections under these rules shall be made available to the applicants free of charge on demand at the designated place, as also through the website of the local authority and the claimant or objector may support his claim with documentary evidence if any.

Reality: Keeping forms for filings claims and objections at the municipal offices remains a formality when the ones who would need the forms are grossly unaware of the provisions of the Act. A local activist working with the SKA in Dhanbad said that ultimately it all depends on the proactiveness of the activist. He said SKA activists had made these forms available for the ones who wanted to raise objections. None procured the forms from the "designated place".

Observation: This is an outcome of the lack of implementation of the awareness drives and publicity measures which are done either in an instrumental way or are largely skipped. So, while there is no dearth of publicity regarding "swachhta"(cleanliness) and the SBM and the "achievements" of the government, when it comes to rights of manual scavengers, even the minimal is avoided.

- (14) **Requirement:** Summary hearings shall be conducted by officers designated by the local authority.
- (15) **Requirement:** The officer designated to verify the claims may order fresh verification, if necessary.
- (16) Requirement: After summary hearing and such further verification (if ordered), the officer would pass an appropriate order, accepting or rejecting the claim or objection, as the case may be and a copy of the order would be given to the persons concerned.
- (17) **Requirement:** After settlement of claims and objections by the designated authority, the local authority shall carry out necessary corrections in the draft list and transmit it to the District level survey committee for its consideration.

Reality: As mentioned above, during field visits to all four sites, local SKA activists claimed that they had filed objections within the prescribed time period and in the format specified by local authorities on the exclusion of manual scavengers from the list. No response was received. Since there has been no response on the objections filed, it is unlikely that hearings were conducted, further verification was conducted or any acceptance or rejection of claims received. If verification was conducted after objections filed, the community member who filed the objection would have been notified.

A community leader from Dhanbad in fact said that the process started with a 34-member list. After this he facilitated the filing of claims/objections by those in the community who were not in the list. But as he said, no hearing or verification was held and no orders were received by the complainants. Despite these claims the same old list of 34 was declared as final.

In FGDs in both Dehri and Loni researchers met community members who had in fact been claimants, that is to say they claimed to have filled the claim forms (at times more than once) before the final list was published. However, they had not received any response or undergone any verification process thereafter.

Observation: Though in the design of the Act there are adequate processes that have been suggested in case an objection is raised or a claim is filed, as is clear from our field experiences, none of these steps have followed. And if the first step is hastened, it effectively weakens all possible follow ups to the same.

(18) Requirement: The District Level Survey Committee shall cause compilation of list of manual scavengers received from each local authority, town and prepare a list of manual scavengers for the district which the District Collector will forward to the State Government.

Reality: The researchers were informed by a local SKA activist that in Chhatarpur (adjacent to Panna) a list of manual scavengers was prepared by the Chief Executive Officer. The same was forwarded to the District Collector's office. But the list forwarded to the state government by the Collector's office had zero manual scavengers.

From all the three local government institutions in Amanganj, Panna and Pawai that come under the Panna district of MP reported zero manual scavengers to the district collector's office and the same was forwarded to the state. This is despite the presence of manual scavengers in the district as strongly advocated by Ajay Valmiki, President of *Valmiki Mahapanchayat* in Panna.

When field researchers asked the Public Information Officer (PIO) in the District Collectors office in Ghaziabad regarding the list of manual scavengers, he said we would have to visit local authorities to acquire it. The field researchers were subsequently able to obtain this list from local authorities during their field research.

We can be sure that the District Collector's office has a list of manual scavengers from each local authority as it is critical to establishing a State level and National level list of manual scavengers. Therefore, it is clear that when our field researchers asked the Ghaziabad District Collectors office for the list of manual scavengers they did not cooperate with us.

Observation: As we have previously demonstrated, authorities from the District to local level have not been cooperative with field researchers. This report has also presented that local authorities are non-cooperative with local SKA activists and community members. As mentioned earlier there is no recourse in the Act for instances where officials do not cooperate with people for the various processes involved.

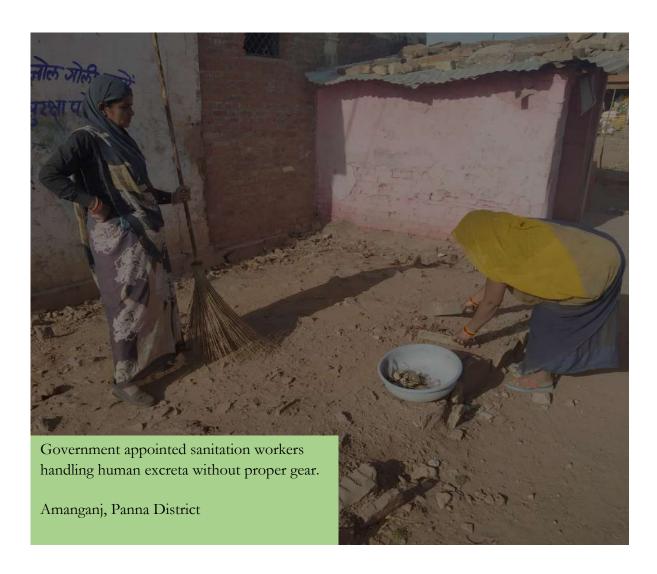
(19) Requirement: The State Government shall have the lists of manual scavengers received from various districts, compiled and prepare a consolidated state list of manual scavengers.

Reality: Out of the four states that come under the purview of this study, researchers received district-wise compiled data from the entire state only from Uttar Pradesh (Annexure 12) in response to our RTI. However, no other state level data was received from Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Jharkhand.

When we spoke to a local activist from Panna, he said that all district collectors were made to give an affidavit to the state government that there were no manual scavengers in their respective districts. A district administrator from subsequently happened to send a list to the concerned department which led to money being disbursed to this list of manual scavengers from NSKFDC. The concerned administrator had to face "action" for preparing such a list as it ended up acknowledging that there were manual scavengers, thereby nullifying the earlier affidavit.

Observation: Even for the states that do maintain a compilation, the discrepancies or omissions in the preceding points mean that the data compiled would be incomplete and inaccurate as there would be many whose claims were not taken into account and due

process was not followed to address such claims.



(20) Requirement: Any person working as a manual scavenger, may self-declare either during the survey undertaken by the local authority, or any time thereafter, apply to the chief executive officer of the local authority, or to any other officer authorised by him in this behalf, for being identified as a manual scavenger in the prescribed proforma.

Reality: Researchers filed RTIs in all four districts asking the authorities to provide a list of self-declared manual scavengers. However, no information was provided by any of these district authorities in response to this question.

While this question was addressed in FGDs in all these four districts, in Loni and in Dehri researchers were told by the community members that with the help of SKA activists they did file self-declaration forms, but no verification or updation of list took place thereafter.

Observation: While the Act in its design has been proactive enough to keep several steps in the process of identification the last being a provision of self-declaration even after the final list is made, but in practice it appears that the verification and upgradation that ought to follow has been scuttled on several instances. There also seems to be a reluctance among district and state authorities to share this relevant data.

- (21) Requirement: There shall be no minimum age limit for identification of manual scavengers, and there shall be no restriction regarding the caste or religion or income or gender for being identified a manual scavenger
- (22) Requirement: For the purpose of sub-rule (22) a person should have engaged or employed as manual scavenger at the commencement of the Act or thereafter and should have worked as such continuously for not less than three months.

Reality: While the above two clauses do indicate no minimum age, gender, caste or religious restrictions on identification of manual scavengers, clause (23) stipulates that manual scavengers but be engaged or employed *at the commencement of the Act* which effectively disregards all manual scavengers who might have been engaged in this work prior to the Act. For instance, in Dhanbad and Loni field researchers encountered several people who had left the work of manual scavenging less than a year before the commencement of the Act and therefore were not included in the survey lists or entitled to any rehabilitation provisions under the Act, which they are in much need of.

Furthermore, the rationale behind stipulating that they should have worked *continuously for not less than three months* is unclear. When the previous clause creates an inclusive framework for identifying manual scavengers, this clause can restrict this temporarily, hence problematic. Additionally, how a person will prove that s/he has been *continuously* employed as a manual scavenger for three months is also a question, when our field research revealed that most often there are no formal contracts between the employer and the manual scavenger. In fact, one will be hard pressed to locate any employer of a manual scavenger who openly claims that they are engaging people in this employment, as it might be dangerous for them. Therefore, it seems that these clauses are creating unjust restrictions on who can be easily listed as a manual scavenger under the Act.

Observation: As has been argued in a previous section of this report, there are major flaws on the definition of manual scavengers, here it is noted that there are further restrictions to this definition. For people who have been doing this work for years, and being subjugated to centuries of caste-based marginalisation to be denied recognition and rehabilitation because of having left this profession a few months before the commencement of this Act is a grave injustice.

(23) Requirement: A provisional list of identified manual scavengers as verified by the overseers, shall be published by the concerned local authority in local newspapers and displayed in its own office and at such other places as deemed appropriate.

Reality: The clause clearly specifies that the list ought to be published in the offices *and* (not *or*) in the newspapers. But in Dhanbad it is found that though information about the list was published in the newspaper, the list of identified manual scavengers was not published, and could only be accessed by visiting the office. However, while Dhanbad authorities at least were able to furnish evidence of their newspaper advertisements notifying the provisional list, the remaining three districts did not respond to this RTI.

In Loni, for instance, during FGDs, respondents claimed that they had gone to check the list (in 2013) only at the office.

Observation: Wherever the clause is followed, it was observed this was done as a formality and in a minimalist manner. What was envisioned as a process to extend the coverage as vast as possible such that no one is left unidentified, has become a poor instrument leading to exclusion when implemented, because of the non-adherence to the processes.

(24) Requirement: a copy of the provisional list shall be made available to members of the local authority and the non-governmental organizations or community leaders of safai karamcharis or sanitary workers.

Reality: With all the flaws and lacunas that there may be, this list is shared with the local community organization or NGO.

Observation: While this information is shared, many a time the organization, as in Dhanbad, finds itself as a loss as to how to address the discrepancy between their enumeration and the underestimation by the local authorities.

(25) Requirement: While publishing the provisional list, the authority shall call upon members of the public to file claims and objections vis-a-vis the list, within a period, not less than 15 days, in a proforma notified by the local authority.

Please refer to point number (10) of this report for a detailed analysis of this clause.

(26) Requirement: after the approval of the final list by the district level survey Committee, it shall be duly published at the notice boards of concerned offices and the final list shall also be uploaded on the website of the District administration and the State Government.

Reality: We received no information regarding the presence of the final list of the survey on notice boards of concerned officers in each district. Furthermore, in none of the District administration websites of our field locations; Ghaziabad, Panna, Rohtas or Dhanbad were we able to locate the final list of manual scavengers.

Observation: Yet again, we find local administration not complying with the requirements of the Act. This is hardly surprising given the level of negligence we have demonstrated through the previous clauses.

Reflections on the Survey:

The survey and identification of manual scavengers is one of the (if not the most crucial aspect of the) Act. Any of the subsequent rehabilitative efforts can only even be possible if one is at the least correctly identified following the due process in both letter and spirit. But our field experience and the data we procured give a dismal picture that does not instil any confidence about the process of identification.

Demonstratively, let's take the example of Dhanbad. The response to our RTI (dated 14.8.18) by NSKFDC claims that "no manual scavengers were identified in Jharkhand" (Annexure 13). However, we have another RTI response from the Dhanbad Nagar Nigam (Municipal Corporation) that identifies 34 manual scavengers in Dhanbad as per the 2014 survey (Annexure 3).

Additionally, as mentioned earlier the SKA and the Nagar Palika (Municipal Council) together identified 355 manual scavengers (signed by a NSKFDC official) in a survey conducted in July 2018 (Annexure 4 (a) and 4 (b)). But the official claim as obtained in response to our RTI is still 36.

Though this pertains to rehabilitation which shall be dealt with in a separate and subsequent section, we must mention that even if we for the moment go by the official number, none of the 36 manual scavengers so identified have in fact been given rehabilitation under SRMS. The Dhanbad municipal corporation asked for Rs. 1.02 crores for rehabilitation but received 59.32 lakhs in March 2015. And as per the CAG report¹³ even this amount remains unutilised.

Then again, let's take the instance of Powai and Amanganj in Panna district. When the field researchers reached the Nagar Parishad (City Council) offices for inspection, both did not have any file that was being maintained pertaining to data or paper work around MSA 2013. When we asked the particular questions as per our RTI inspection, they simply wrote "nirank" or zero next to all our questions and handed us a print out with no basis whatsoever. (Annexure 14 & 6) It is the ease with which they produced the "zero" that makes one doubt the process of identification.

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¹³ See CAG report at

https://cag.gov.in/uploads/download audit report/2017/Chapter 4 Performance Audit %E2%80%93 Urban Local Bodies of Annual Technical Inspection Report of 2017 - Local Bodies Government of Jharkhand.pdf Pg 73.

Therefore, an exercise to identify manual scavengers for the purpose of rehabilitation has been entirely insufficient and ineffective in achieving this goal. Contrary to the claims by the local administration, a baseline survey conducted in 2018 by SKA as part of this project identified 129 manual scavengers in Panna, 58 in Rohtas, 44 in Dhanbad and 44 manual scavengers were identified in Ghaziabad.

A 2019 report by News18¹⁴ clearly demonstrates how the government's own data on the number of manual scavengers in India is contradictory. For example, after 2013, the government recognised 12,742 manual scavengers in 13 states, with 82% of them in Uttar Pradesh. However, this number has been widely criticised by various organisations working on this issue. Additionally, we have demonstrated through our own field work how this data is not entirely credible.

Interestingly, the 2011 Census records the presence of 740,078 households where waste and excreta is cleared out by manual scavengers. This number does not include septic tanks, public sewers and railway tracks which are also mostly cleaned by manual scavengers. In addition, around 21 lakh households dispose of their wastes in dry latrines or drains, which also are cleaned by manual scavengers. Alternatively, the Socio-Economic Caste Census of 2011 counted over 1.82 lakh families that had at least one member employed in manual scavenging. In the most recent survey conducted in 2018-2019, the government surveyed 170 districts in 18 states to identify 54,130 manual scavengers¹⁵. Therefore, official data as of 2013 has identified 12,742 manual scavengers whose numbers either drastically increased to 54,130 or there are other factors at play for these varied numbers. As we have demonstrated from our four study sites, there are many problems in the conduction of the survey under the 2013 act which we can assume has translated to the recent 2019 survey as well. The Act, in its design, places the survey for the identification of manual scavengers as its most important task. Only once this is done can any further rehabilitation of those identified take place. With such stark discrepancy and contradictions in the government's own data, it puts to question the entire exercise of the act.

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¹⁴https://www.news18.com/news/buzz/how-many-manual-scavengers-are-there-in-india-official-data-is-self-contradictory-1880197.html

¹⁵ https://www.thehindu.com/data/manual-scavenging-exists-in-india-despite-being-outlawed-in-2013/article29508476.ece



A woman commented during an FGD, "hamara kaam chhudwa rahe hain to hume kaam dijie, paise ka ham kya karenge."

(If you are not allowing us to do our work anymore, you need to provide us with other work. What will we do for money?

This was a recurrent and unified voice at several sites.

2.2 ASSESSMENT OF DISBURSAL OF ONE TIME CASH ASSISTANCE

A 2017 report by Scroll¹⁶ stated that "Of 12,742 manual scavengers identified in India after the promulgation of The Prohibition of Employment of Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013, 11,598 (91%) have been provided one-time cash assistance of Rs 40,000 each as part of their rehabilitation, according to this April 2017 reply to the Lok Sabha (lower House of Parliament) by Minister for Social Justice and Empowerment Thaawarchand Gehlot". By October 2018 the number of recipients officially was 12,991 identified manual scavengers.¹⁷ Another government source (answer provided in the Lok Sabha) claims the same number to be 24,853 (nearly double) by November 2018 only adding to the concern of gross discrepancies in such enumerations.

As we have seen in the previous section, the claim that there are no manual scavengers in India is a highly contested one. We have been able to demonstrate that in the four study sites pertaining to this study, the survey to identify manual scavengers was barely conducted with the required rigour and effectiveness. We will now show how the OTCA mandated for rehabilitation of identified manual scavengers is also an extremely flawed process.

Requirement: The identified manual scavengers, one from each family, shall be eligible for receiving cash assistance of Rs. 40,000/- immediately after identification. The beneficiary shall be allowed to withdraw the amount in monthly installments of maximum of Rs. 7,000/-

Reality: There is an interesting discrepancy between the official number of people identified as manual scavengers and those who received OTCA. In two of our study sites, Loni, UP and Dehri, Bihar, according to the official RTI response there are zero manual scavengers in these areas (Annexure 1 and 15 respectively). However, an RTI response received from Loni shows 11 recipients of OTCA (Annexure 16). And in Dehri, according to data obtained from the NSKFDC website¹⁸ 12 people have received OTCA.

In Dhanbad, although it has been clearly shown that 34 manual scavengers have been identified, an RTI response (Annexure 17) says that no manual scavengers have received any benefits under the SRMS scheme.

This clause clearly states that only those who are identified as manual scavengers after the survey would be eligible for OTCA. However, if the government's own data claims that there are no manual scavengers in the area, it raises the question regarding the basis of the disbursal of the OTCAs.

Even out of the study sites mentioned above, not all manual scavengers (whether officially identified or not) received OTCA. In Dehri itself, in a focus group discussion we heard people

¹⁶ See Scroll 'Government claims to have assisted 91% of India's manual scavengers, without counting 93% of them' on https://scroll.in/article/841580/government-claims-to-have-assisted-91-of-indias-manual-scavengers-without-counting-93-of-them. Accessed 12/12/2019

¹⁷ http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=184118

^{18 (}https://nskfdc.nic.in/en/node/76758)

who recalled having been to the survey camps a few months before field researchers spoke with them. After the camp, those who self-identified as manual scavengers were asked to give up manual scavenging and seek alternative employment. Most of those present at the discussion (around 25-30 people) claimed to have filled the forms to seek OTCA but till now only 12 people have received the money. And in Loni, upon physical verification by the field researchers, out of 13 reported beneficiaries of OTCA, two did not receive any cash assistance from the government.

Furthermore, all those whom field researchers encountered who had received OTCA had got the entire lump-sum as one instalment. There is a rationale behind the provision of monthly installments of Rs. 7,000/- in the Act, so that the money is spent in steps towards rehabilitation and not in conspicuous consumption as tends to happen with such one-time lumpsum disbursals. But when an Act is followed not in letter nor in spirit, then the disbursal becomes mechanical not rehabilitative. No beneficiary of OTCA that we came across had received the money in instalments as stipulated by the clause.

In Ghaziabad we also heard of someone who would help the community people in terms of their paper works to identify themselves as manual scavengers and in return take a big cut out of the 40,000 rupees which he would say was shared by those "higher up". So, in fact there were some who had received a paltry sum of money but not in full as they are supposed to.

Observations:

To start with, owing to the discrepancy in the conduction of the survey itself, as observed in the earlier section, many manual scavengers were left out of the list and hence were ineligible for OTCA. Like the remainder of the 355 identified manual scavengers in Dhanbad who remained unrecognized officially. We met several such community members who did not make it to the list despite being manual scavengers. And as observed, here, many did not receive despite being in the beneficiary list.

"It was our helplessness and compulsion that made us do this dirty job" said Saroj of Farukh Nagar (Loni, UP) when field researchers reached her house. Describing her experience of doing MS work, she says, "I used to work in around Farukh Nagar in the houses of Soni, Banias, Bramhins, Jats and Muslim families. In a day I used to cover 30-40 households. We used to get 30-50 rupees for a month." Saroj's name was also listed in the previous survey of manual scavengers, however she did not receive one-time cash assistance or any other help from the state and central government, unlike others in the basti who received it. When we asked about impact of MS Act 2013 on her life, she says, "I thought it will change my life, but nothing happened. I lost my job, now I am unemployed. Nobody asks me for other work because everybody in nearby villages thinks I am born to do this work."

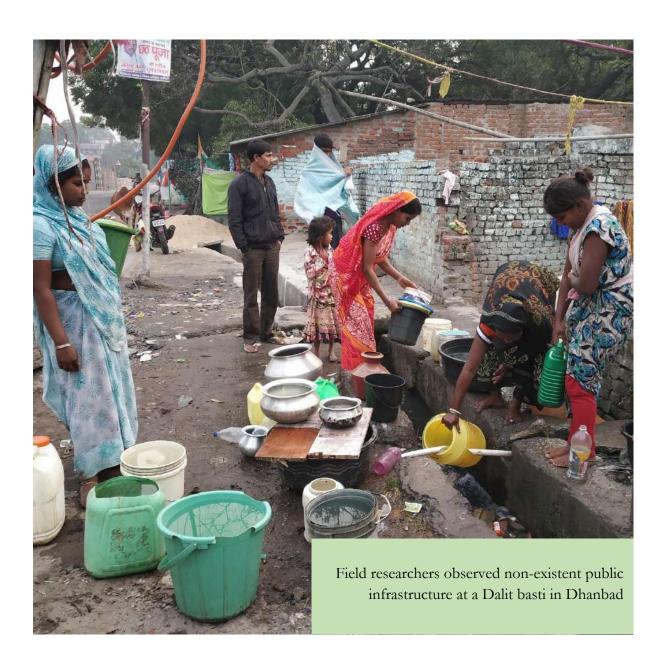
In addition to the question of people having received or not received OTCA, there was a general consensus from all our study sites when speaking to community members that Rs. 40,000/- was not enough for any type of long-term rehabilitation. Most people in the several FGD's field researchers undertook had a clear idea of what the MS 2013 Act exactly says. In Panna, for instance, for almost every community member we met the Act was equivalent to just 40,000 rupees. Not a single person has received any form of training or loan from the government for starting any other work.

Veenadevi from Dehri was one of the first in her village to fill out the self-identification form during the survey,

"Mai to bohot khush ho gai thi, lag raha tha ye dukho ka pahad tut jayega aur humari zindagi badal jayegi. Hume to acchi zindagi mili nahi par baccho ko to mil jayegi, Sarkar se 40,000/- mile par usme kya hota hai. 8-9 sal ho gaye par sarkar ne uske bad kuch nahi diya."

(I was very happy, it seemed this mountain of sorrow will break and it will change our life. I didn't get a good life but my children will get that. I received 40,000 rupees from the government, but what happens in that money. It's been 8-9 years and I have received nothing further from the government).

When asked about their expectations from the scheme, one of the women commented, "hamara kaam chhudwa rahe hain to hume kaam dijie, paise ka ham kya karenge" (if you are asking us to leave this work, give us some other work, what will we do with this money). This was a recurrent and unified voice that the manual scavengers be given permanent government jobs or land for them to effectively rehabilitated.



2.3 ASSESSMENT OF REHABILATORY EFFORTS BEYOND OTCA

The Act however in its design had made provisions to move beyond *just* one-time cash benefits. It recognized that manual scavenging communities being at the receiving end of a historical injustice, needed much more than cash transfer to recuperate and rehabilitate themselves from a profession that they have found themselves in the grip of over several generations. Such have been the prescriptions of caste.

Requirement: As per the Self-employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers, there are a range of provisions and entitlements that the Act prescribes. They may be listed as follows:

- 1. Loans upto Rs. 15.00 lacs at concessional rate of interest: Loan upto a maximum cost of Rs. 10 lacs will be admissible under the scheme and Rs. 15 lacs in case of sanitation related projects like Vacuum Loader, Suction Machine with Vehicle, Garbage Disposal Vehicle, Pay & Use Toilets etc. which are extremely relevant for the target group, with high success rate and income.
 - a) Under the Swachhta Udyami Yojana concessional loans were to be made viable for community toilet projects and sanitation related vehicles to collect the garbage.
 - b) Under the Sanitary Mart Scheme, financial assistance would be extended to individual beneficiaries/self-help groups of Liberated Manual Scavengers/Safai Karamcharis and their dependants for setting up of Sanitary Marts¹⁹
 - c) Under Green Business Scheme financial assistance was supposed to be provided in the form of loan for the activities which could tackle the climate change along with income generation (example: E-Rickshaw).
 - d) Education Loans of up to 10 and 20 lakhs respectively for studying in India and abroad were to be granted under this scheme
- 2. Credit linked back end capital subsidy upto Rs. 3,25,000/-.
- 3. Skill Development Training upto two years with stipend of Rs.3000/- per month: Training is provided to the beneficiaries for acquiring new skills and entrepreneurship capabilities. Training can be provided by Govt. agencies/Institutes as well as by reputed specialized training agencies. Training is provided in selected industries/business activities which facilitates gainful employment of the trainees.
- 4. Pre-Matric Scholarship scheme to the Children of those engaged in occupations involving cleaning and prone to health hazards. It promised Rs 110 per month to day scholars and Rs 700 per month to hostellers.
- 5. Residential plot and financial assistance for house construction, or a ready built house with financial assistance subject to eligibility and willingness of the manual scavenger, and the

¹⁹ A Sanitary Mart is a one-stop-shop for all things for sanitation and hygiene. It is a shopping place where the sanitary needs of the common man could be met. It serves both as a shop and as a service centre. https://nskfdc.nic.in/en/content/home/sanitary-marts-scheme

provisions of the relevant scheme of central government or the state government or the concerned local authority.

Reality:

Before we begin our analysis of the reality of SRMS, let us look at the Year-wise Funds Allocated under the Revised Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers (SRMS) from 2013-14 to 2018-19 (From: Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment)²⁰ in Table 1.

Year	Budget Estimates (In Crores)	Revised Estimates (In Crores)
2013-14	570	70
2014-15	448	50
2015-16	470.19	10
2016-17	10	1
2017-18	5	5
2018-19	20	NA

Table 1: Year-wise Funds Allocated under the Revised Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers (SRMS)

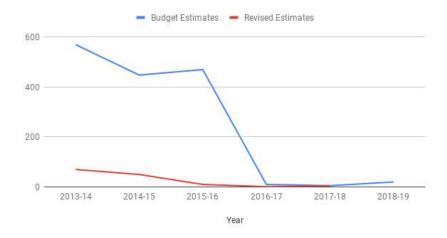


Figure 1: Budget estimates and Revised estimates

The play of numbers is such that one can present the above in such wordings like the allocation increased four times from 2017-18 to 2018-19. However, going by the actual numbers as shown by the table and graph above, one can see that the allocation has actually plummeted over the years. When asked about the abysmal allocation in the budget for SRMS, the government replied in Lok Sabha in December 2017 that the reduction was due to the unspent funds available with the NSKFDC. Data shows that there has been no expenditure incurred under SRMS between 2014-2017²¹. This raises a question about the pathetic situation of spending and apathy towards the important cause of rehabilitation of manual scavengers.

²⁰ RAJYA SABHA SESSION - 246 UNSTARRED QUESTION No 284; Year-wise Funds Allocated under the Revised Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers (SRMS) from 2013-14 to 2018-19 (From: Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment) https://data.gov.in/resources/year-wise-funds-allocated-under-revised-scheme-rehabilitation-manual-scavengers-srms-2013

²¹ Deshpande. D., & Kapur, A. (2018). Self-Employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers. Centre for Policy Research- Budget Briefs, Vol 10 (Issue 5), pp 1-8

https://accountabilityindia.in/sites/default/files/pdf_files/Self%20Employment%20Scheme%20for%20Rehabilitation%20of%20Manual%20Scavengers.pdf

The Centre for Equity Studies filed several RTIs asking local authorities for specific details pertaining to each of the above provisions that ought to have been provided by SRMS. For example, in the skill development provision, we asked;

- 1. The names of the institutions or organisations where the training was provided
- 2. A list of trainees
- 3. Date of training
- 4. Course undertaken

Under education we asked for the list of students who were beneficiaries under the scholarship plan. Under the loan provision we enquired:

- 1. How many people received the loan
- 2. For what purpose was the loan sought
- 3. And how many loans were finally sanctioned
- 4. The list of rejected candidates and reason for rejection

The following were our findings on each of the benefits awarded under the SRMS:

The information provided by NSKFDRC in response to the RTI filed regarding beneficiaries-wise details of Manual Scavengers under Swachhta Udyami Yojana, SUY (Procurement of Sanitation Related Vehicle) scheme of NSKFDC in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Jharkhand states that from 2014-15 to 2017-18, the financial and Physical achievement has been zero in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand and Madhya Pradesh.

Table 2: Achievement of Swachhta Udyami Yojna (Fin./Phy.) in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand and Madhya Pradesh from 2013-14 to 2017-18²²

(Rs. In Lac)

SI. Name of the State 2016-17 2017-18 2014-15 2015-16 Total No FIN PHY FIN PHY FIN PHY FIN PHY FIN PHY. Uttar Pradesh 0.00 0.00 0.00 0.00 0.00 2 Bihar 0.00 0.00 0 0.00 0.00 0.00

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Dated: 14.08.2018

²² NSKFDC/SDTP/RTI/81/2014-15/1161

3	Jharkhand	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0
4	Madhya Pradesh	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0

Under the 'Self Employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers (SRMS)' two schemes namely, Sanitary Mart and Green Business was implemented from the F.Y 2014-15. Under the Sanitary Mart scheme, in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Jharkhand, the Financial and Physical development under financial year 2014-15 have been the same till the financial year 2017-18, i.e zero.

Table 3: Statement showing Fin./Phy. Achievements under Sanitary Mart in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand and Madhya Pradesh from F.Y. 2013-14 to 2017-18²³ (Rs. In Lac)

SI. No	Name of the State	2014-15		2015-16		2016-17		2017-18		Total	
		FIN	PHY	FIN	PHY	FIN	PHY	FIN	PHY	FIN	PHY.
		•	٠	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
1	Uttar Pradesh	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0
2	Bihar	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0
3	Jharkhand	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0
4	Madhya Pradesh	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0

Dated:14.08.2018

²³ NSKFDC/SDTP/RTI/81/2014-15/1159

Under the Green Business Scheme, again, in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Jharkhand, the Financial and Physical development under financial year 2014-15 have been same till the financial year 2017-18, i.e zero.

Table 4: Statement showing Fin./Phy. Achievements under Green Business Scheme in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand and Madhya Pradesh from F.Y. 2013-14 to 2017-18.

(Rs. In Lac)

SI. No	Name of the State	2014-15		2015-16		2016-17		2017-18		Total	
		FIN	PHY	FIN	PHY	FIN	PHY	FIN	PHY	FIN	PHY
		•	•	•	•		•	•			•
1	Uttar Pradesh	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0
2	Bihar	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0
3	Jharkhand	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0
4	Madhya Pradesh	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0

Under the 'Self Employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers (SRMS)' Education Loan (for study in India and abroad) was implemented from the F.Y 2014-15. Continuing the same consistency, in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Jharkhand, the Financial and Physical development under Education Loan in the years 2014-15 to 2017-18 have been the same till the financial year 2017-18, i.e. zero.

The NSKFDC in response to our RTI (Annexure 12) stated that "subsidy against loan sanctioned by various banks and state channelizing agencies for setting up the self-employment units have been provided to 469 manual scavengers and their dependents under SRMS in Uttar Pradesh". However, when we looked into the list enclosed for our concerned district, Ghaziabad (Annexure 12) we find that there were 9 applicants, all of whom had sought loans for buffalo husbandry, and all of whose loan status was recorded as 'pending' since October 2016. This is nearly two years since the RTI response which is dated August 2018.

As far as our other study sites, Bihar, MP and Jharkhand are concerned, "no proposal for providing subsidy has been received from these states". This comes as no surprise since there are apparently no manual scavengers in these states.

When researchers asked the local community about the loan scheme under MSA 2013, researchers were met with a blank look on the faces of community members. There was not a single person/family found in Dehri (BR), Amanganj, Powai, Panna (MP), Dhanbad (JH) and Loni (UP) who were aware of the loan scheme. When researchers asked the same question to implementing authorities, CMO Dhanbad Nagar Nigam (Municipal Corporation) replied, "we do not have the existence of manual scavengers in our jurisdiction" after which he refused to talk further with researchers. In Panna, Dehri and Loni, there was no response received from the authorities.

A 2015 statement released by the Press Information Bureau of the Government of India, in an Independence Day special feature, titled 'Freedom from Manual Scavenging²⁴', claims that one of the problems of rehabilitating manual scavengers is "Banks are hesitant about providing loan to manual scavengers. Even many State Channelising Agencies, due to low rate of recovery of loan from safai karamcharis, are not willing to extend loan to manual scavengers. Due to low confidence levels the identified manual scavengers demand that they may be provided jobs of safai karamchari in local authorities".

A 2018 Report titled Evaluation Study on Self Employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers (SRMS) by Research and Development Initiative (Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment & NSKFDC) says:

- 50% have had no employment due to lack of loans and more than 26% lack confidence.
- More than 55% have experienced caste discrimination.
- Health issues have been reported among 44.5% of people.
- For caste discrimination the report says: "13.9 per cent of the total respondents have reported that they face discrimination at their workplaces and out of that 95.3 per cent have reported that the discrimination is caste based."

It is interesting to note that banks and even State Channelising Agencies, which are enlisted to disburse various government schemes, are hesitant to give loans to manual scavengers. Firstly, as we have repeatedly shown that the effective rehabilitation of manual scavengers requires a lot more than simply liberating them. For people who have had limited to no access to education and have no experience in any other profession, the banks expecting a speedy loan recovery rate seems preposterous. Secondly, it has been observed in various cases (see later section on Self Rehabilitation Efforts) that when liberated manual scavengers attempt to start alternative businesses, more than often they do not succeed because only people from their own caste are willing to buy products from them.

People are not born with "self-confidence". The circumstances of one's upbringing, education, opportunities, economic prosperity and intergenerational social/cultural capital all go a long way in determining the subjective evaluation of one's confidence. So, the "low self-confidence" that the government report speaks of among manual scavengers is deeply structural. Instead of addressing the structural factors and designing rehabilitation schemes in a way that they are addressing these factors, it is quite unfortunate that the government authorities are blaming the

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²⁴ https://pib.gov.in/newsite/mbErel.aspx?relid=126057

structural outcomes, and the only solution mentioned is to again provide them with jobs of *safai* karamcharis under local bodies.

Similarly, the endemic nature of caste, under which manual scavengers have been suffering from generations, could be part of the reason for slow loan recovery rate of loans. Finally, State Channelising Agencies which are set up for the economic benefit of marginalised communities who rely heavily on state support, should ideally not be denying people much needed loans on the basis of their apparent slow repayment rate. It should rather aid these communities by providing them with relevant tools and flexible rates to ensure their businesses succeed. It is important to discuss why the "ease of business" criteria are not applied in this case, while this is the guiding principle for promoting business, when it comes to the powerful.

There was no awareness of the existence of capital subsidy in the four study sites. As the CAG report notes²⁵, the Dhanbad municipality had received a budget of 59.32 lakhs crores for the welfare of manual scavengers, however they made no attempts to spread awareness about the schemes within the community. In the other three towns Panna, Dehri and Loni implementing authorities were not responded to an RTI and an Inspection under RTI. Later, researchers found that, in Panna and Dehri there is no proper file maintained to keep the documentation of the MSA 2013.

According to an RTI response by NSKFDC, when asked for documents relating to the number of manual scavengers who have received training it revealed the following:

	opment training programs

	ATEMENT SHOW ILL DEVELOPMEN				-		-				
S.	Chaha	Hfl_	P	hysical achievement							
No.	State	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19				
1	Bihar	500	517	540	0	553	280				
2	Jharkhand	. 0	650	100	0	418	340				
3	Madhya Pradesh	90	1134	840	200	1345	710				
4	Uttar Pradesh	450	682	2190	10489	1535	2245				
	TOTAL	1040	2983	3670	10689	3851*	3575*				

None of the manual scavengers whom we met in the four study sites received any skill development training under the SRMS scheme. But in Amanganj, few women from the local self-help group received training on food processing under another scheme which proved to be useless for them as there was no food processing unit in the area and they were unable to create a sustainable income from this training as no funds were given to them after the training to start

²⁵https://cag.gov.in/sites/default/files/audit report files/Chapter 4 Performance Audit %E2%80%93 Urban Local Bodies of Annual Technical Inspection Report of 2017 - Local Bodies Government of Jharkhand.pdf

businesses. Few women connected this issue with the caste angle, "hum chhoti jaat wale hai isliye hamare taraf koi dhyan nahi deta hai." (We are lower caste people, so nobody pays attention to us)

In an RTI response received by NSKFDC on details about the education loans to be provided to children of liberated manual scavengers, the response (Annexure 18) shows that in all four of our field States, UP, Bihar, Jharkhand and MP, the number of people who have benefited from these loans is zero.

During the field visits in four towns, researchers encountered a high rate of school dropouts in younger generations and the low level of literacy among elders. When researchers asked local community about the pre-matric scholarship for their children, a local lady from Dalmiya Nagar, Dehri said, "hum bhi apne baccho ko padhana chahte hai, par koi puchta hi nahi. Hum bhi apne baccho ko padhte huve dekhna chahte hai, age badhte huve dekhna chahte hai. Hume hamare haq ke 40,000/- hi sarkar nahi de rahi hai, wo kya humare bachho ke shiksha ke khatir paisa degi." (We also want to educate our children, but no one asks. We also want to teach our children and see them grow. Government is not even giving our entitled 40,000/- rupees, so how can we expect from them to provide money for our children.



A NARROW ESCAPE

3. Efforts towards Self-Rehabilitation

"Humse kaam chudwaya, humne kaam choda. Ah kuch karne ko nahi hai, toh phir se wohi kaam pakde hai", said Leeladevi Chhoturam from Dehri.

(They made us leave manual scavenging work, so we did. But without any alternative livelihood, we have all gone back to doing the same work)

That sums up the experience of thousands of manual scavengers across the country. Despite the best of their efforts, self-rehabilitation remains a mirage for most who tried to better their lives. We will look here into glimpses of such attempts in the course of our field work across the states.

"Maine to apni taraf se pura prayas kiya, sabzi bechne ka dukan khola par koi kharidta hi nahi tha, log aise dekhte the jaise mai kuch aur hi saman bechti hun. Unche samaj ke liye mai to Dalit thi par mere sath sabzi bhi Dalit ho gai thi." (I tried so hard, I opened my own shop of vegetables but nobody comes to my shop to buy. People used to look at me like, I was selling something wrongs product. I am Dalit for the upper caste people but along with me my vegetables also became Dalit for them.) said Veenadevi laughingly as we were conducting a FGD in Dehri, Bihar. She was one of the most active ladies in the Ambedkar colony, Barah patthar and was the first one who filled the form under MS Act 2013 in Barah patthar. She voluntarily told other women also to give up this inhumane job and fill the application form of MS Act 2013.

During the field visits, the research team witnessed several self-rehabilitation efforts. But largely the ones we came across were *efforts* that did not necessarily bear fruits or have the desirable outcome. The association in our society of certain castes with unclean professions makes it rather difficult, if not impossible, to move freely to other forms of labour. Structurally a caste-based society is so designed so as to freeze one's "destiny" from birth, to work, to marriage, to status and so on. So any transgression, is either discouraged, or derided, or culled or worse still may even invite violent retribution.

In Powai (Panna district, MP), we met several women who were earlier manual scavengers. It was evident that the brunt of the abolition was borne by women as cleaning dry latrines was largely the task of women as they come at the bottom of the caste/gender hierarchy. Without proper efforts towards rehabilitation on the part of the state, and with the persistence of caste, the women remain largely unemployed now. Shikha *di* said (name changed), "They (dominant caste families around

their colony), do not let them work as maids in their house as they do not want them to touch their bartan (utensils) or enter their bed chambers." If at all, they would get called for cleaning their washrooms or toilets or septic tanks. One of them said in the FGD, "jab vo log apni ghar ke bahar khade tak nahi hone dete toh hamare haath ka khana kaise khayenge" (when they don't even allow us to stand in front of their doors how will they will eat from our hands).

Rekha di, 41, in Panna was asked to quit her job as a manual scavenger and was promised that she will be provided with alternative employment but to no avail. She said that she would get hardly 10-20 rupees per month for cleaning the latrines in kothis (houses). Upon asking whether she has been able to get any work in houses as a cook or cleaner she said that "Hume kaam kaha milega khana pakane ka? Jhaadu ponccha wala milta nahi hai, khana pakane ka kaha se milega. Darwaje tak bus jhaadu laga sakte hai" (Where will we find work as a cook? When we do not even get the work to clean the house then where will we get the work to cook in the houses? We can just clean till doorstep). Further she added, maine to apni adhi se jyada jindagi kaat li hai, bus ab apne baccho ki fikar hoti hai. Na jameen hai na jayadad aur na dhang ki padhai, pata nahi baccho ka bhavishya kaisa hoga? (I have finished my half-life, now I am worried about the future of my kids. We don't have land, no property and no quality education. I don't know what is going to happen with their future.)

Diya, 15, lives in Dehri's Ambedkar Colony (in Bihar). She wanted to join the Police, but could not continue her education owing to hardship. Her father works in a medical college as a 'safaigar' and earns 6,000/- month. Seven years back her mother was working as a dry latrine cleaner but after the implementation of MSA 2013, she left manual scavenging with the hope of living a dignified life. She thought the 40 thousand rupees one-time cash assistance would help her turn around her life and that of her children. But then, neither did she receive any money, nor does she get any other work.

Here we also met a woman, formerly a manual scavenger, who had started a *chaai-bun-anda* shop but suffered losses and had to close it down once people came to know of her caste. Another person used to work in a Bata showroom, i.e., a shoe shop and had a comfortable life. He had hidden his caste from the owner. But the owner somehow got to know his caste and removed him from the store. Hiding caste names seemed to be a common practice here and the women would do that often to get entry as maids to dominant caste households.

We met Vaishali, 47, a widow and the mother of three. She wanted to give a good education to her children so that they are able to find a decent and respectable job. She herself, however, would get no respectable job if she would disclose her identity. Every day she has to hide her real self to get the job of washing clothes and utensils in the households of upper castes. All this to earn 5000/- a month. Sharmila Devi from Dehri who works as a maid said "agar kaam karna hai toh jaati chupani padti hai". Once when one of her employers found out about her caste, they apparently came to threaten her at her house.

During our Focus Group Discussion in Loni, the respondents said that after quitting manual scavenging they opted for cleaning work because they were out of jobs, and needed money to feed their families and to educate their children. Because their caste precludes other opportunities, so

they had to undertake cleaning. Their daily experience of caste discrimination involves people asking them about their caste before offering them work. And to avoid rejection, they lie about their identity. People who know their caste identity still call them 'chudha or bhangi' which are considered to be abusive words, given that they represent worst discrimination in terms of caste slurs and their usage has been banned by the Supreme Court of India.

The above hardly counts as self-rehabilitation given the indignity and risk involved. We heard of instances where after getting exposed about their caste identity women have faced things like being accused of thievery and being thrown out from work as domestic help. There are even instances of being "shooed away" by pouring water on them if they happen to sit near an 'upper castes' house. We also heard of instances of men being denied jobs and children being harassed in schools by fellow students and teachers.



Jamna Devi's displacement and the irony of Republic Day

Jamna Devi from Dehri used to be engaged in manual scavenging for the most part of her life. She used to clean toilets and open drains for households that would hire her in exchange for a pittance and a few grains at times. Till recently she earned a meagre 1500 rupees a month. Till a day when at the age of 55 years she wanted a way out for herself.

She did fill the form with the help of SKA to lay her claim over the benefits promised under MSA 2013 provisions. But till date she didn't anything, not even the OTCA amount. Putting her meagre savings together she opened a small *paan* shop near the Nagar Parishad office. Largely it was the sanitation workers and sweepers engaged in the Nagar Parishad who were her buyers. But this didn't last long. Not even half a year.

In the pretext of Republic Day celebration in 2020, the Nagar Parishad ordered the shop to be removed a couple of nights before. Part of the shop was damaged. She was lucky they didn't demolish it completely. She was told that the authorities needed the space to hoist the national flag to celebrate the day that launched the Constitution of India.

The researchers found her relocated across the wall on the other end. But being away from the busy street and the hustle bustle of the Nagar Parishad office, she hardly has the same earnings as before.

In Loni we visited some of the community members who were previously engaged in dry latrine cleaning. A few of them have used their meagre savings to open *kiraana* stores attached to their residences. But Komal *di* says that the neighbouring *jats* (dominant caste) would rather prefer going

all the way to the market and may even cross some of their shops on the way, but would still not buy from their shops. A few of them have suffered losses as ultimately their own community people buy from these shops and after all there can only be as many shops catering to a few of them.

Again in Loni, we met Pushpa di who used to be a manual scavenger. SKA (not the government) provided her with a buffalo to help rehabilitate herself. She and her young daughter Sarla take care of the buffalo and meet their livelihood. But in the same pattern as above, only those from her own community buy milk from her. This is of significance as we saw a list of community members having applied for loans towards buying buffaloes. While all of these requisitions were pending for almost two years, the question is even if they receive the loans and they have the buffaloes, caste system will make it certain that actual shift of profession would still be impossible in absence of buyers of milk from upper caste groups.

In Amanganj, we met two families, of two brothers, both working for the nagar palika (Municipal Council) and also on call for septic tank cleaning, etc. They said, they know of some who did try to put *chaai/pakoda* (tea and snacks) stalls at the market, but none apart from their own caste people would buy from them as in a small town more or less everyone knows (or word spreads) as to who is of what caste. Shekhar, from Amanganj, who also works for the nagar palika (Municipal council) said that last year a person named Jitendra came from Sagar (names changed), around a hundred kilometres away. His family was engaged in manual scavenging and would have found it difficult to take up a different profession for himself in his town. So he came all the way to Amanganj to open a hosiery store at the main market. He took loans for the same and managed to open it and start a business. The store was in fact running well till he happened to print a few cards in his name Jitendra Valmiki. And as soon as that came to the notice of the dominant caste people of the area, they collectively boycotted the store. In a month's time Jitendra had to shut down his store and return to Sagar. And with that shut yet another attempt at self-rehabilitation.



SKA holds training workshops for women belonging to manual scavenging community in Loni, Uttar Pradesh. They learn stitching clothes, bags and such other skills that may help them to rehabilitate themselves to better futures.

Better off, but stigma sticks: Santoshi escape from Manual scavenging

About 40 km from Delhi at the border of UP we visited a Valmiki basti. The basti comes under Gram Panchayat of Loni and is the lone residence of people belonging to the Valmiki community. They are all landless. There were many insanitary latrines in the region according to the residents, however they were all demolished about two years ago. The residents are however still largely engaged in sanitation work and manual scavenging.

Santoshi (45) says, "I started doing manual scavenging only after getting married. It was my mother in law who forced me into this job." Santosh's father was a government employee with municipal corporation as a sweeper. "My mother in law used to fight with me saying how long could she do this work alone? So I agreed." She did it for 25 years.

She says, people from her community experienced multiple forms of discrimination. "Like when we used to take food or when we used to take money, they would not touch us and threw these towards us." She stopped manual scavenging after SKA's intervention. She was convinced that it is a dehumanizing work and she should leave it. So after receiving onetime cash assistance, she decided to leave the work.

But she laughs and says, "What can one do with 40,000 cash assistance? It doesn't help much". Santosh says that, "at that time, according to one's family's financial situation people ended up using the money of their own financial needs, even we did the same." While the onetime cash assistance should be withdrawn from account in six instalments, but Santosh and others withdrew entire sum. According the local activist, rehabilitation scheme had no meaning as the onetime cash assistance was too less and people ended up spending the money in their personal expenditures.

She however, managed to open a small grocery store. Santoshi never went to school herself but aspires that her children get education. Her younger son in is class 4th, elder one studied till class 8th and dropped out. Two daughters have studied till class 3rd and 5th. Santosh now makes her livelihood by running a small shop at her house.

She says, "after leaving manual scavenging work, the discrimination has significantly reduced. Now even the people who never greeted, greet us with ram ram." But nonetheless, the stigma still sticks on. The children are called "bhangi's son/daughter" in school by other kids.

Now, there are no manual scavengers left in the Basti who are working in insanitary latrines. Therefore, in a narrow definition there are 'zero' manual scavengers, however if one uses a broader definition of manual scavenger, which includes sewer workers, sanitary cleaners etc. then the numbers certainly wouldn't be the same. The local SKA activist says that situation in Loni is much better compared to other regions where the face of caste discrimination is cruder.

Remarks: It is pertinent to reiterate here that real rehabilitation self or supported is a far cry unless there are measures to counter the existing bias, prejudice and discrimination. The Act goes a long way from earlier efforts in the respect that it for the first time acknowledges historical injustice with respect to the manual scavengers. But if there is historical injustice, caste-based oppression, apathy and discriminatory practices in a society, then it is given that the same would in turn be

perpetuated by even the arms of the administration. Any Act would suffer from the same in implementation unless the historical injustice is accounted for, apprehended, and is countered at every step in the design itself. While there are some efforts to do the same, for instance with the involvement of the community coordinators at local level, but evidently far more need to be accounted for. Such is the perniciousness of caste.

So, failure of the administration in identifying (through proper training/sensitization and survey) manual scavengers ought to be made punitive. As without identification, that is the first step, there will never be an effective rehabilitation. Again, failure of rehabilitative steps as indicated by the Act also ought to be held accountable and punishable. Without such effective measures to counter the dead weight of caste, Acts by itself would remain toothless. Without meaningful implementation, or without effective rehabilitation, ultimately those who are absolutely at the bottom of the ladder, that is the Dalit manual scavenging woman bears the worst brunt. They not only end up losing their jobs, but also lose out on the possible options of rebuilding their lives.



"Chamar logo se shaadi ki bat to bhul jaiye sir, hum unke ghar pani bhi nahi pi sakte. Hume to apne samaj ke log hi apnate nahi, fir dusro se kya nyay ki ummid rakhe."

"Forget about marriage, we are not even allowed drink water from the house of a Chamar. If those in our own caste don't accept us, then why hope for others to do so"

Said Kishan, in Panna

Untouchables within untouchables

4. The perils of Graded Inequality

"The combination of caste and gender makes millions of Dalit women extremely vulnerable to discrimination and violence, including rape"- Human Rights Watch.²⁶

Unlike most other social hierarchies that have existed, one of the unique and most devious character of caste in the subcontinent has been the graded inequality. As Ambedkar explained:

"The right of a Brahmin to take a woman from the classes below him but not to give a woman to them is inequity. But Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra will not combine to destroy it. The Kshatriya resents this right of the Brahmin. But he will not combine with the Vaishya or the Shudra and that is for two reasons. Firstly, because he is satisfied that if the Brahmin has the right to take the women of three communities, the Kshatriya has the right to appropriate the women of two communities. He does not suffer so much as the other two."²⁷

Graded inequality divides the sufferers themselves based on unequal burden and benefits. So, while almost everyone is lower in caste status than someone else, they are also simultaneously higher than another and hence find the stakes in perpetuating the graded hierarchy. And this doesn't stop within caste Hindus. Even amongst the so called "outcastes", i.e., the Dalits, the hierarchies continue amongst the various subcastes. Malas consider themselves superior to Madigas and there have even been instances of honour killing if a Madiga man "takes away" a Mala woman.

And of course for all of the above, women are to be given and taken thereby marking the additional hierarchy that cuts across, that of gender and patriarchy. It is this complex mesh of graded identity-based hierarchy that informs class in the subcontinent so much so that the idea of class here is constitutive of and is simultaneously constituted by caste and gender. So when we speak of a manual scavenger, she is almost always a woman, a "lowest" among the Dalits, and also a worker.

Despite all various discussions about the Indian society, the manual scavengers have remained beyond the pale of any progress. Brahmanism as a social hierarchy has continued to benefit those at the top and despite the changes brought upon by modernity and technological advancement, caste has continued to reinvent itself in newer and at times subtler forms. Such is its sway over the dominant common sense, that as a society we remain oblivious or apathetic to the most abominable conditions of the manual scavengers, sewer workers or septic tank cleaners. And the

 $^{^{26}\} https://www.hrw.org/news/2013/06/07/take-action-improve-conditions-dalit-women and of the conditions of the con$

²⁷ https://velivada.com/2020/03/07/caste-and-graded-

 $inequality/\#:\sim: text=The\%20 right\%20 of\%20 a\%20 Brahmin, not\%20 combine\%20 to\%20 destroy\%20 it.\&text=But\%20 he\%20 will \%20 not\%20 combine, that\%20 is\%20 for\%20 two\%20 reasons.$

graded hierarchy ensures that even the Dalits remain divided despite their shared indignity. In the course of our fieldwork among the manual scavenging communities across the four states, we got several such glimpses of untouchability within the untouchables.



Together, yet aloof

We met Raghuvir at a Dalit basti in Panna. He retired as a sanitation worker in the Nyay Palika in Panna. His son is presently working in the Nagar Palika, again as sanitation worker. The grandson studies in class 9th. He wants to pursue higher education and move out of what his considered their "caste occupation".

CES researchers followed the retired grandfather to a marriage party where he was playing the *shehnai*. He said he used to do cleaning work in the day and earn a little playing the shehnai during marriage seasons with his band most of whom were from Dalit background. But in these marriage halls, he and his co-musicians would not be served food due to their caste identity.

But that wasn't all. Even in his basti, Chamars would not enter their houses, there wouldn't be any intermarriages, neither would they eat or drink from the same plate. The animosity and discrimination they faced from outside, was also manifest within the basti as they stayed together, yet aloof.

During a Focused Group Discussion in Powai (Panna district of MP), Kishan (name changed) said, "Chamar logo se shaadi ki bat to bhul jaiye sir, hum unke ghar pani bhi nahi pi sakte. Hume to apne samaj ke log hi apnate nahi, fir dusro se kya nyay ki ummid rakhe." (Forget about the marriage sir, we can't even drink water from their houses. If our own community members not accepting us, then how can we expect justice from others.) Others in the group also testified to the same and one among them added that the Chamars would never allow them to cross their threshold much like the "upper castes". During the field visits in Loni (UP), we found similar

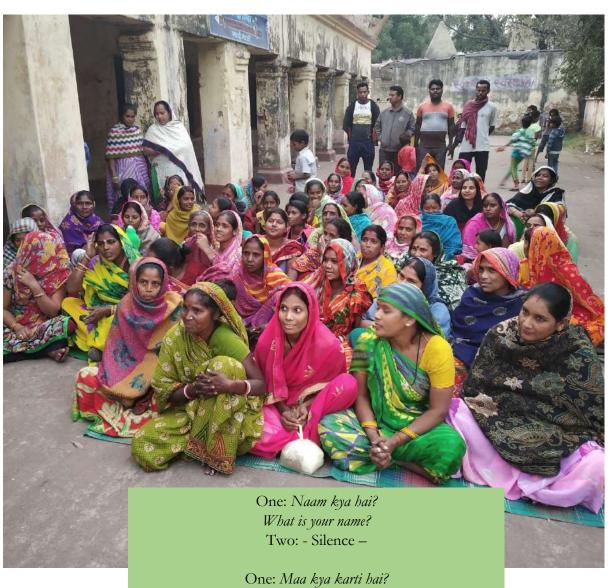
instances. Sunita from Valmiki community said, "Humne BPL ke liye apna naam likhwaya tha par ward member jo Jatav²⁸ samaj se hai unhone janbujkar humara naam hataya tha aur unchi jaat wale Jato ka naam dal diya." (I registered my name in the list of Below Poverty Line, but the ward member who belongs to a Jatav community, he intentionally removed my name and added the names of some upper-caste Jats). In Bihar, we were told by Gopal Ambedkar, a SKA official, that in Sasaram district a higher level official, despite being a Maha Dalit himself, remains apathetic to the demands and concerns of the manual scavenging communities and does not cooperate in the smallest of efforts.

In most of the field sites we noticed that the Dalits - be it Valmikis, or Chamars, - inhabit the same Dalit bastis and live in each other's vicinity while the dominant caste households lie beyond. But nonetheless, the sense of betrayal and alienation that the manual scavenging communities feel is profound as they are looked down upon by the other Dalit neighbours. Rehabilitation (self or supported) becomes further more difficult in such a context where one has to not just tide over the disdain of the "upper castes" but also the distrust of other Dalits.

In all four field sites we found that even within the Dalit community, Chamars and Jatavs don't share water and other resources with manual scavenging communities, i.e., the Bhangis and Valimikis, making the latter the untouchables within the untouchables. Such is the sway of the brahmanical notions of purity and pollution even within the Dalits.

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²⁸ The Jatavs are an endogamous caste of the Chamar, or leather worker, category of castes in India. Because of the polluting occupation of leather work, they rank among the Untouchable castes close to the bottom of India's caste hierarchy.



One: Maa kya karti hai? (what does your mother do?) Two: Saaf safai karti hai (she cleans) One: Accha toh Dom ho...

One: Accha toh Dom ho.. (So you are Dom...?)

(A conversation narrated by a manual scavenger)

A GENDERED OCCUPATION

5. Women & Manual Scavenging

Dalit women face the highest brunt of the patriarchal structures of our society. The severe discrimination they face from being both a Dalit and a woman, make them a key target of violence and systematically deny them choices and freedoms in all spheres of life. This endemic intersection of gender-and-caste discrimination is the outcome of severely imbalanced social, economic and political power equations.²⁹ This is especially true of women engaged in manual scavenging work. Whereas men of the same caste are more likely to be found working on railway tracks, cleaning sewage and septic tanks, women are more likely to clean household waste like open pits.

A number of studies have shown that more women are engaged in manual scavenging than men. The International Dalit Solidarity Network (IDSN)³⁰ claims that around 1.3 million people in India, mostly women, are involved in manual scavenging. Reports suggest that 99% of those involved in manual scavenging are Dalits and among them, 95% are women. Kumar and Preet (2020) in their study of the intersectionality of gender and manual scavenging find that of the 1.2 million Indians shackled by this practice, 95% to 98% are women³¹. A baseline report by Safai Karmchari Aandolan (SKA), Centre for Equity Studies (CES) and WaterAid India (WAI) on the Status of Women Engaged in Manual Scavenging (henceforth baseline survey) found that of 1686 respondents surveyed in four states in India, 1172 were women and 514 were men. In Panna district (MP) out of the 129 identified manual scavengers 76 (58%) are women; in Rohtas district (Bihar) out of 58 manual scavengers, 30 (51%) were women; in Dhanbad district (Jharkhand) out of 44 manual scavengers, 18 (40%) are women; and in Ghaziabad district (UP) out of 44 manual scavengers, all are women. Despite this, a large number of them remain unregistered under the 2013 Act as demonstrated in this report.

Safai karamchari women are discriminated against due to the facts that they are poor, they are Dalits and they are women. They are not only discriminated against by society at large but also within their own communities where patriarchy persists.

Differences in work

Women usually clean dry toilets, excrement from open defecation sites, gutters, and drains, and men are called upon to do the more physically demanding work of cleaning sewers and septic tanks. Clogged latrines built inside the houses are generally made to be cleaned by women as families often prefer allowing women inside their homes instead of men.

²⁹ https://idsn.org/key-issues/dalit-women/

³⁰ https://idsn.org/key-issues/manual-scavenging/

³¹https://www.epw.in/engage/article/manual-scavenging-women-face-double-discrimination-caste-gender#:~:text=Additionally%2C%20the%20Protection%20of%20Civil,enacted%20to%20eradicate%20manual%20scavenging. &text=These%20women%20are%20also%20robbed,Article%2021%20of%20the%20Constitution.

Most women crawl into open defecation pits to empty human waste into a basket which they then carry on their heads to dispose of. Not only does the waste spill onto their bodies as they carry these baskets, entrenched notions of purity lead to active discrimination from upper castes. This takes the form of lack of access to public services, threats of sexual violence, and segregation of their children in schools.

Unequal payment:

"Within Dalit families, women are the ones who clean the human excreta from the dry pit latrines because this task offers the lowest wages...men are more likely to clean the human waste on the railway lines and sewers where the wages are higher" says Bezwada Wilson, national convener of the Safai Karmchari Andolan.

A 2014 report by Human Rights Watch³² found that after spending the morning manually removing excrement from the toilets, the women return to the houses they cleaned to collect leftover food as payment. They are given grain donations at the harvest and old clothes at festival times, but rarely receive cash wages. In the off-chance they do, the report shows that on an average, women get paid as little as between Rs 10 and Rs 50 every month per household. It is much less than men who earn up to Rs 300 a day for cleaning sewer lines.

In Dehri, in a focus group discussion, field researchers heard from Deepak who works as cleaning staff in a medical college "They make us do all sorts of cleaning work. We have gone 5-10 feet inside tanks to clean them" adding that he gets a salary of Rs. 6500 per month. However, the women get a maximum of Rs.1500 per month from a household for cleaning.

Sexual and other forms of harassment:

Kadlak et al (2009)³³ in their study about safai karmchari women in Maharashtra noted that women are often subjected to mental and sexual harassment, abusive words and taunt from her male supervisors and male colleagues. A report by IDSN and Rashtriya Garima Abhiyan³⁴ has also found rampant sexual harassment of female sanitation workers.

Field researchers heard from women that the municipality would often hire people from a particular caste and women who are young and "beautiful" which hints at the possibilities of sexual exploitation of women sanitation workers.

For those who have been asked to leave the work on manual scavenging without alternative employment, sometimes under threat by local authorities of being imprisoned if they continue, the situation is much worse. In Loni, our field researchers heard from a few aged women who, since the enactment of the MSA 2013, and the removal of all the dry latrines in their area, are left with no employment and have nothing to do. So, ever so often, they travel long distances by foot to neighbouring villages in the hope that they might find some areas where there might be insanitary latrines so they can clean them. These women were, in our estimation, at least over 60 years of age.

³² Human Rights Watch, "Cleaning Human Waste: Manual Scavenging, Caste and Discrimination in India", available at https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/india0814 For Upload 0.pdf

³³ Kadlak, H., Salve, P.S. and Karwade, P., 2019. Intersectionality of Caste, Gender and Occupation: A Study of Safai Karamchari Women in Maharashtra. Contemporary Voice of Dalit, 11(2), pp.130-138.

³⁴ https://idsn.org/key-issues/manual-scavenging/

Some of them have even been identified as manual scavengers under the survey but have not received any of the benefits under the act. However, our conversations with them revealed that they are aching to have something to do, some purpose, and given that cleaning of insanitary latrines is all they know, they go out in search of areas where they can find some work.

In focus group discussions in Amangani, when field researchers asked why women who have left manual scavenging aren't pursuing the possibility of doing other types of domestic work they said "jab vo log apni ghar ke bahar khade tak nahi hone dete toh hamare haath ka khana kaise khayenge" (when they don't even allow us to stand in front of their doors how will they will eat from our hands).

Women therefore face double the brunt of discrimination, first as manual scavengers who are continuously marginalised and treated poorly, and second as women in a patriarchal society due to which women are already at a disadvantage in accessing education, health, livelihoods and other opportunities.

There have already been 11 deaths of sewer workers, primarily male, in 2019³⁵, and many more in previous years which has led to a discourse around the provision of protective gear and the use of modern technology to prevent such incidents. However, there seems to be a lack of similar demands for women engaged in manual scavenging who are made to pick up human excreta with their bare hands hence are susceptible to a number of infections and diseases. While our emphasis ought to be on the eradication of manual scavenging altogether, this differentiation in activism demonstrates the further invisibilisation of women manual scavengers.

Women have participated in large numbers in protest and resistance movements to end manual scavenging like protests in Delhi's Jantar Mantar in 2013³⁶ and 2019³⁷ during which hundreds of women manual scavengers burnt the baskets in which they carried human excreta from villages to dumping pits, as a symbolic gesture to end manual scavenging. However, according to Ashif Sheikh, of Jan Sahas, who launched a nationwide march in 2013 covering 200 districts across 18 states, "our objective was to make women aware of their right to live with dignity. We managed to liberate some 6,000 women during that yatra, and so far, we have liberated about 30,000 scavengers". Sheikh further notes "Our job does not end at liberating these women. To assure them of 'sustainable freedom', they need to be provided with an alternative livelihood option, which is difficult in many parts of the country as people belonging to this community are still looked down upon and refused jobs.". This notion of 'sustainable freedom' is critical to the rehabilitation of manual scavengers. As we have seen in so many cases through our field research, 'liberated' manual scavengers who are forced to leave this occupation are left with no scope for seeking alternative employment due to their caste status which further pushes them into destitution and marginalisation. Therefore, any concerted effort to eradicate manual scavenging must come hand-in-hand with equally concerted efforts to enable 'sustainable freedom' for those liberated from this profession.

³⁵ https://www.newsclick.in/mr-prime-minister-manual-scavenging-work-neither-spiritual-nor-glorious

³⁶ http://www.hardnewsmedia.com/2013/08/6018

https://www.newsclick.in/mr-prime-minister-manual-scavenging-work-neither-spiritual-nor-glorious



It is your claim to equality which hurts them. They want to maintain the status quo. If you continue to accept your lowly status ungrudgingly, continue to remain dirty, filthy, backward, ignorant, poor and disunited, they will allow you to live in peace. The moment you start to raise your level, the conflict starts.

- Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

Baba Tera Mission Adhura

6. Endemic Nature of Caste

One of the community members in Dehri in course of our field visits said, "hum Babasaheb ka photo kyu taangte hai? Aisa koi nahi hai jo lade, Baba Saheb ke samaaj ke logo ko hi vanchit kiya jaata hai, unhe koi nahi puchta" (Why do we hang photo frames of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (Baba Saheb)? There's no one who can fight for us. The people belonging to the same social group as Dr. B.R. Ambedkar did are being deprived, no one is concerned about them).

Much like the fate of most laws, even the MSA 2013, despite in many regards being well-intended, still fails to surmount, in both its design and implementation, the endemic nature of caste. The response of the official in Dhanbad who asks who else would do this work if not them, is in fact symptomatic of the problem that the arms of the administration from the lowest to the highest echelons are steeped in caste prejudices. The bias thereby reflects, as evident through the sections above in their inaction, (mis)interpretation, apathy, and lack of will from the process of identification to rehabilitation. The fact that several of our respondents expressed their sense of indignity and fear in even facing the local officials with their problems/demands, again speaks of the active bias on the part of the state administration. For instance, when we asked in Loni as to what is the reason for the delays or the absence of any benefits from the government, they said that it is their caste identity and poverty, that is the source of their powerlessness. A respondent in Dehri said, "the offices are filled with those from upper castes and they behave as if they are being asked to give us money from their own pockets."

Even the efforts to counter-balance the bias by involving community level organizations or NGOs, though successful to some extent, do not go the distance owing to the impertinence and lack of cooperation of the authorities. We saw how in Dhanbad despite SKA helping the administration identify more than 300 manual scavengers, the official figure remained a meagre 34.

Given the deep seated casteist and patriarchal bias in society and thereby in the state apparatus, the Act in its design has to create more robust counter balances. One of the necessary measures in this regard ought to be to hold those in positions of responsibility accountable and do so by making dereliction of duty punitive. Instead, what we heard from our respondents is that they in

turn are threatened with jail term and fine by local authorities if they engage in manual scavenging whereas it is clearly mentioned in the Act that it is those who employ them who ought to be punished. The respondents in fact were surprised to learn this from the field researchers. Pertinent it is to mention that as per the government's own admission, till date there is no report of any such employer being punished under the Act.³⁸

Again, if we recognize in the Act itself that the manual scavengers are victims of historical injustice, then we also ought to recognize what it means. It means an entire community is condemned to this and *only* to this work across generations, with no other way of imagining their lives and aspirations. Recognizing this would entail that both in design and implementation the process of rehabilitation has to be a sustainable one in the longer run, cutting across generations. Simply "freeing" them from manual scavenging would not mean much unless a meaningful process of rehabilitation is imagined commensurate to undoing the intergenerational historical injustice. A one-time cash package or even just a loan is not enough. And chances are these families may just slip into one or the other form of the same degrading profession. Like Rekha *di* in Panna, who earned a living by cleaning latrines. For most of our respondents in fact the MSA 2013 was equivalent only to the 40 thousand cash. The remainder of the discourse thereby would centre around the receipt or non-receipt of the said amount. Whereas without a robust system of scholarships for their children and actual skill development and livelihood support, it would be impossible to tide over either the historical backwardness or the present bias.

Finally, the endemic nature of caste can be fathomed when one observes the hegemonic internalisation of the brahmanical (il)logic by some of the manual scavengers themselves. In Loni, a woman said "Yeh toh bhagwan ka dia hua kaam hai, hum kaise inkaar kar sakte hai?" (This is our preordained task as prescribed by the Gods, how can we say no to it?). Despite facing discrimination, manual scavengers think their present situation is the result of their sins in previous births (Ye to humare picchle janm ke bure karmo ka fal hai).

When field researchers asked Sitala *di*, a Dalit woman from Dhanbad, what kind of job does she expect if she gets government support, her instant answer was 'safaiwaala kaam' (cleaning work). This shows the ingrained caste system where lower caste people have accepted their occupation as cleaning work only. Neelam Devi from Dehri says that she does not get any other work apart from cleaning toilets and *safai ka kaam* despite the fact that she was educated and used to be a

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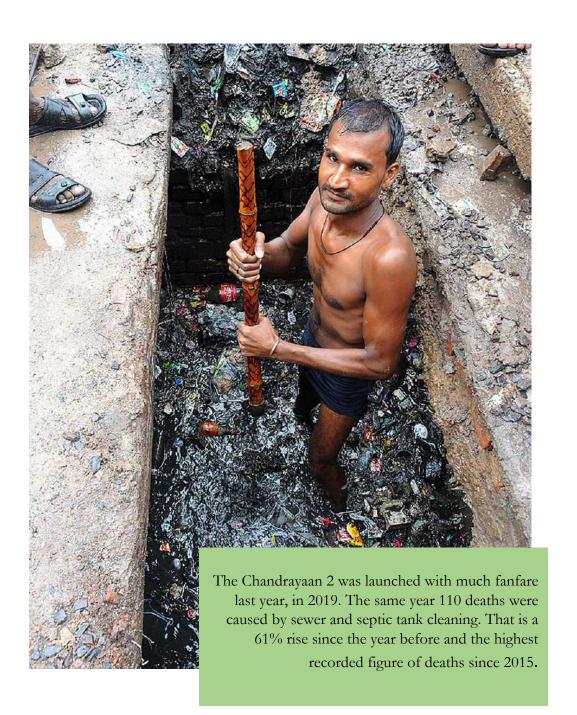
³⁸ https://thewire.in/rights/manual-scavenging-ramdas-athawale-parliament-questions

tuition teacher. But when asked whether she faces caste discrimination, her clear answer was *no*. It only goes onto show the internalisation of caste-based occupations to the extent that one does not see anything "unnatural" in it.

One of the participants in a FGD in Panna said that "agar neechi jaat waale saaf-safai ka kaam nahi karenge toh kya Brahmin aur Thaakur log karenge?" (if the lowers caste people are not going to do the sanitation work than who else will do? Brahmins and Thakurs?). He continued, "Yeh srishti ka niyam hai" (This is the law of creation). So, if any law of the land has to supersede this so called law of creation, then it has to constantly educate, sensitize, as also punish the employers and negligent authorities.

Apart from the evaluation of the specific aspects of the Act in itself, what the above analysis brings to fore is the fact that ultimately eradication of manual scavenging would require the political will to educate agitate and organize towards the goal of annihilation of caste. Unless there is a political will to actually confront and uproot caste and to counter the historical injustice, no Act, by itself, no matter how well intentioned, will be able to achieve its mandated objective. It will keep running into the wall of caste prejudice or caste blindness. So, along with robust laws, what we would need are robust social movements to compliment the same.

Renu Devi's husband is a manual scavenger in Dehri. She has three daughters. She said that when she sends her daughters to school, they are frowned upon as if it is a transgression. "Hamari jaat dekhkar hume kaam mat dijie" (Please don't only give us work based on our caste), said Shamila Devi. "We can do other work too, if only given an opportunity", she added. "S**la Hum jhaadu chalaye aur woh kalam chalaye?" ("abusive slang in Hindi..while we are holding brooms, how can they be holding pens" said Karan. "Having studied till BA I refuse to do manual scavenging, and I won't", he added. A million such transgressions and a political will towards progress and equity is the only way forward. When one of the researchers asked Leela Devi from Dehri as to how she feels this practice of manual scavenging can be eradicated, she had a simple and profound response. She said, "agar insaan ko insaan se ghin aati hai toh ye cheej kabhi nahi hategi... hum hi log saaf safai karte hai, aur inlogon ke lie hum hi gande hai, agar hum kaam karna band kar de toh, phir kya hoga?"



Do Dalit Lives Matter?

7. Deaths in Sewer & Septic Tanks

Sunny could not bear how hard his father had to work. Typically, his day would start at 3 in the morning, and he would toil until sundown. The work he did was socially humiliating, because of the stigma associated with scavenging in the Hindu tradition. Besides, he earned so little that working double, even triple shifts were never enough. Sunny dropped out of school after Class 6, and when he was barely 15, decided that he would find work to be able to meet his own expenses, and on good months he would even give some money to his mother.

It was a decision that was to cost him his life. He died cleaning a septic tank, before he could celebrate his 21th birthday. He died in December 2017 in Agra.

The Chandrayaan 2 was launched with much fanfare last year, in 2019. The same year 110 deaths were caused by sewer and septic tank cleaning. That is a 61% rise since the year before and the highest recorded figure of deaths since 2015.

The rising numbers of deaths of workers in sewers and septic tanks have led states to deny outright, or else to grossly and brazenly under-estimate the numbers of deaths, and to blame individual contractors and private homeowners for these deaths, accepting no official responsibility for the continuance of a practice which is highly hazardous, and also an assault on human dignity, therefore constituting one of the most undignified and unacceptable forms of modern work.

The older definition of manual scavenging did not include them in its purview. The 2013 definition does and thereby serves as a departure in attempting to bring such employment under the ambit of law. But still, as observed at the beginning, the attempt to associate manual scavenging *only* with insanitary latrines continues. So, while the contact with faecal matter is rampant in sanitary work, they hardly ever get counted as manual scavengers. The problem, however, is not merely definitional. It is to do with caste and the associated human worth, apathy and disdain. Based on two recent CES reports³⁹ on the subject, we present here some of our observations around the same.

In the report titled 'India's Lowest Depths", the authors state that "the shift from dry to flush latrines has not eliminated manual scavenging; it has just changed form. The requirement of disposing

³⁹ Harsh Mander, Sonal Sharma, Vidit Verma, "India's Lowest Depths: Culpability for persisting sewage worker deaths and manual scavenging", April 2019 (Henceforth "India's Lowest Depths"). The case study referred above is from the same study. Shruti Iyer, "Of Sewage, Struggle, and the State: The Dynamics of Caste and Contractualisation in sanitation work", 2018 (Henceforth "Of Sewage, Struggle and the State")

human excreta that is flushed out from these toilets remains, and has grown manifold as dry latrines are gradually eliminated, and the government has given a massive push for the construction of toilets. But most city and rural local authorities have not made the necessary investments in technologies which would eliminate human contact with faecal matter." The MSA 2013 made significant advances on the earlier 1993 Act, but there are still many escape clauses built into the new law, which allows governments to continue these old practices as long as they introduce 'protective gear'. Technical options exist today which can ensure that no human contact with excreta is necessary. But urban municipalities have refused to make the investments necessary for human dignity of the sanitary workers.

Many of the workers covered by our field-works in both the studies as much as in the current study, do not identify themselves as sewage workers, but their regular work includes cleaning drains. What is often overlooked is that "Drainage workers enter the larger pipes to repair them and remove sediment, which is shovelled out and passed on to another worker at the surface or placed in buckets that are lifted up. In this work, though it is the cleaning of storm water drains, there is an unavoidable contact with sewage – particularly where the drain needs emergency repair or is blocked completely. Though jet machines are used to clear blockages, often these are ineffective (particularly where the drains are small, or the streets of the locality are too narrow to accommodate a jetting and suction machine) and workers continue to have to plunge into the sewers to clear them."⁴⁰

The deaths, when they ink the newspapers, only draw our attention to accidents. What is often overlooked is the hugely unhealthy nature of this work. "The sewer line is a confined space with a high temperature, and slippery walls and floors, with a high incidence of toxic gases, sharp objects, and insects. Sewage also causes specific occupational health risks derived from the living microorganisms in the faecal matter. The health hazards that the workers are exposed to include harmful gases, cardiovascular degeneration, musculoskeletal disorders, infections, leptospirosis, skin problems, and respiratory system problems. This is apart from the physical risks of surrounding traffic and working to construct connections to existing sewer lines. The most basic safety equipment that workers must be provided with is a safety belt with a harness – but workers often report that either these are not available, are shared between workers, or in bad condition."

This report titled "India's Lowest Depths" closely studied 20 sewage worker deaths from various parts of the country and based on what emerged from the detailed case studies, drew certain recurring features that cut across most of the instances. "What is important to note is that every one of these deaths was fully preventable. All that preventing each of these deaths required was a scrupulous adherence to law, and necessary public investments in technology and infrastructure...

It would be a mistake to look at these as simply instances of official apathy and corruption, or individual failures by individual contractors and employers. This would obscure the central sources from which these multiple failures of law and public investment arise. These are unequivocally caste and class. Most of all caste."⁴²

⁴⁰ Of Sewage, Struggle and the State

⁴¹ Of Sewage, Struggle and the State

⁴² India's Lowest Depths

None of the workers- whose deaths were investigated as part of the aforementioned study- were in permanent employment. The few lucky ones amongst them were in contractual (temporary) employment, which neither assured appropriate wages, nor job security and social benefits, although it offered them a regular income till the time their employment lasted. But the large majority of sewage workers are casual or informal workers without any legal contract, brought in for cleaning septic tanks and pits when these fill up, or when sewers get blocked. In other words, for just a few hundred rupees, these men are compelled to risk their lives by entering sewers and septic tanks. In not a single case of sewage deaths that were investigated did we find that the workers were given any kind of safety equipment, by their employers or contractors. In case anything happens to them, they don't have any documental evidence to support that they were engaged in such a life-threatening work, and hence most of their claims for compensation or other benefits get disregarded most often. None also had any kind of social security coverage, which would have provided some kind of support to their families after their accidental deaths.

Ram Shravan worked in a large factory, Kriti Industries (a major manufacturer and exporter of soya products) in Dewas, MP. On a fateful day in September 2008, the septic tank in the factory he worked had gotten choked. The factory employed more than 300 workers, and the septic tank into which their waste was flushed got filled up and choked from time to time. His manager, aware of Ram Shravan's caste and its prescribed occupation, tasked him to gather a few men to carry out the manual cleaning of the tank. Ram Shravan called in three other men, including his brother and uncle. All four men were of the Mehtar caste.

The men had managed to empty out most of the excreta and sewage from the tank. His manager asked them to scrape out the excreta which still remained stuck at the bottom of the tank. One of the men scraped away some residual shit and suddenly a gush of foul-smelling gas emitted. The men around began to faint. Ram Shravan first pulled out his brother, and his uncle. By then he collapsed. A crane was then called in to pull him out, and the other fellow worker Mohan Lal Ved, who died with him.

Among the nightmarish memories that she carries from the time her husband was killed is that officials from the factory took her to a courtroom a couple of times. She recalls that after she told the judge how her husband had died, the lawyer tried to confuse her with a number of questions. 'You were not there. Who told you what happened? How are you sure?' and so on. The factory asked her to sign a number of papers which she did not understand. Only this she knows, that no one was punished for her husband's death.

We looked carefully through the papers which she showed us. We were shocked to find what the factory had done. The papers described her husband not as a factory employee but as a 'contractor', who the factory had awarded a contract to clean the septic tank. In this way, it held him, and him alone, guilty for his own death, in the depths of the septic tank which he was tasked to clean.

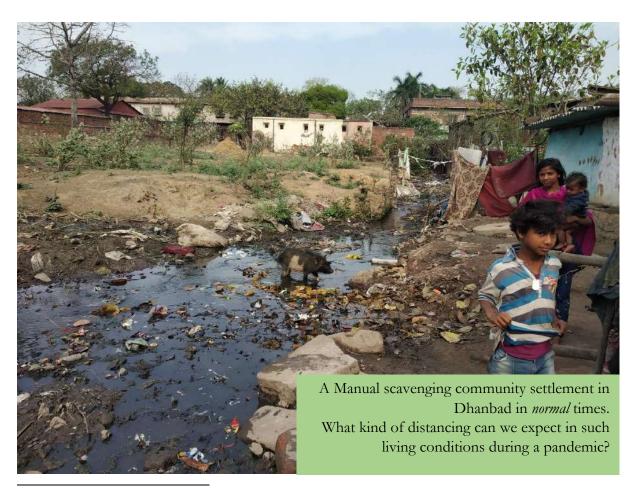
Harsh Mander, Sonal Sharma, Vidit Verma, "India's Lowest Depths: Culpability for persisting sewage worker deaths and manual scavenging", April 2019

The Supreme Court in its judgment⁴³ in 2014 prescribed that families of all persons who are killed while cleaning sewage are entitled to ten lakh rupees compensation. The study found that the

⁴³ Safai Karamchari Andolan And Ors vs Union of India And Ors on 27 March, 2014

families of very few men who dies while cleaning sewage actually got this full compensation. Where they did, it was because of the intervention of influential politicians as advocates for these families. The Rashtrya Garima Abhiyan study⁴⁴ also found that only 31 per cent of the people killed had received any kind of compensation. In several of the cases the compensation was on the condition "that by accepting financial assistance, the family will forego its right to seek other kind of legal redress, including criminal accountability, for the death of the worker." It was more like *blood money*. Finally, all the deaths were also characterised by "universal impunity for all those who were responsible for the deaths, by their failures to adhere to elementary responsibilities to secure the safety, and incidentally the elementary human dignity, of those tasked with cleaning faecal emissions from toilets."⁴⁵

At the end, what each of these deplorable deaths and alterable lives indicate is a society that either tolerates, or looks away or even justifies a reality wherein people from certain castes can be condemned to the depths of the sewers. They indicate a polity that does not have the political will to change this state of affairs. It is ironical that the very elite community condemns racial discrimination across the globe are not even realising the highly visible discrimination the sewer workers and their communities are facing every day in their own country. Because somehow the toxicity of caste has overtly or otherwise established that Dalit lives hardly ever matter.



⁴⁴ New Report: Justice Denied – Death of workers engaged in manual scavenging (Rashtriya Garima Abhiyan) https://idsn.org/new-report-justice-denied-death-of-workers-engaged-in-manual-scavenging-rashtriya-garima-abhiyan/ accessed on 26th Feb 2021

⁴⁵ India's Lowest Depths

A VIRAL APATHY

8. Sanitation Work in times of COVID 19

According to the findings of a 2013 study by the *International Dalit Solidarity Network*, poverty makes lower castes more vulnerable during emergencies. Experience from the 2001 Gujarat earthquake, the 2004 Asian Tsunami, and the flooding in Nepal (2008) or in the Indian states of Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Assam (during 2007-2009), and in Pakistan (2010) has shown that Dalits are more likely to be among the worst affected. Nevertheless, they are often systematically excluded from relief and recovery efforts due to their inherent socio-economic vulnerability⁴⁶. The pandemic hasn't changed that reality. One of the worst affected of the lot were sanitation workers, many of whom were manual scavengers. The Amnesty International also expressed concern saying that In India, five million public health and safety workers—who continue to work through the COVID-19 pandemic—are unprotected, stigmatised, unappreciated, and seen as people to be shunned.⁴⁷

In the last couple of months, we reached out to several of those whom we had met over the course of our field visits over the last two years. Alongside, we also spoke with our field partners in SKA across the states. Based on these interactions we managed to get a glimpse of their condition during the pandemic, particularly in the months of lockdown.

⁴⁶ Addressing caste discrimination in Humanitarian Response (https://idsn.org/wpcontent/uploads/user_folder/pdf/New_files/India/2012/IDSN-

EU study on CBD in humanitarian response by NDW.pdf)

⁴⁷ https://amnesty.org.in/abandoned-at-the-frontline-indias-sanitation-workers-seek-immediate-help-from-the-government-amidst-covid-19/

8.1 PUSHED BEHIND EVEN AT THE FRONTLINE

Sanitation workers, during the pandemic came under the essential services category. But without due concerns about their safety, the government seemed to have hung a death warrant around their necks sending them to the front to fight Corona. But unlike the medical professionals, the sanitation workers fell behind even at the front.

"There is no doubt about the great work that doctors, nurses and the police are doing in these tough times. They are the frontline workers. But, so are we", said Dadarao Patekar, is a sanitation worker himself and the Vice President of Kachra Vahtuk Shramik Sangh. "The safai kaamgaar are working to keep India clean, thus safe. But there is one difference. Doctors, nurses, police [personnel] have people from all communities and religions — across class and caste. Safai Kaamgaar are Dalits! How many upper caste people do you see carrying waste or human faeces? We have never had any facilities — nor provisions. We are born in such a life — we will die in such a life, with no one to question on our behalf."

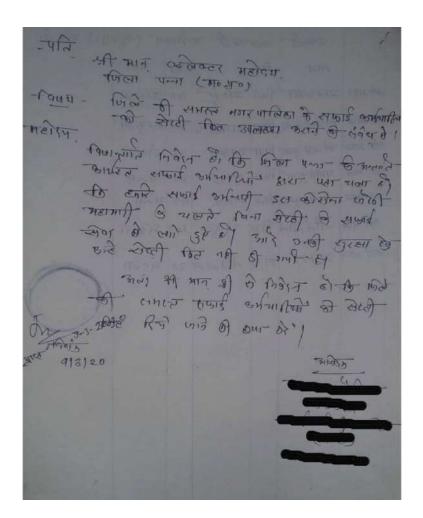
So, while five star hotels like the Taj, Hyatt, Lemon Tree or the Piccadilly were made available by state governments to house medical professionals, the sanitation workers remained invisible. It bares yet again as to how caste and class continue to shape our public policy blinding it to the concerns of some while focusing on others.

The minimum standards that was promised was hardly ever adhered to. The Ministry of Health and Family Welfare for instance <u>issued a directive</u>⁴⁹ that sanitation workers in hospitals and other places should be provided with personal protective equipment's (PPE's). Nevertheless, these directives have not been followed to the extent needed.

In Panna district of Madhya Pradesh, a local activist on 9th March asked the District Collectorate Office to provide protective gears for the sanitation workers, as an urgent need given the current situation.

⁴⁸ https://amnesty.org.in/abandoned-at-the-frontline-indias-sanitation-workers-seek-immediate-help-from-the-government-amidst-covid-19/

https://www.mohfw.gov.in/pdf/GuidelinesonrationaluseofPersonalProtectiveEquipment.pdf



After a few days, he received a call from the Collectorate office saying, Madhya Pradesh state currently does not have an "Urban Development and Housing Minister" and therefore, the state government is not sending money to procure protective equipment. Just like the sewer deaths have proved time and again, even the pandemic is not nudging the apathy of political leaders and administration.

In a study undertaken by the Urban Management Centre (UMC) and WaterAid India (WAI) among sanitation workers during the pandemic finds that 65% of the respondents did not have any insurance coverage. None of the informal workers had insurance coverage, while 70% permanent workers and 36% contractual workers were covered. 22% of the female sanitation workers and 42% of the male sanitation workers lacked insurance coverage.

The study found that 40% of the respondents lacked access to hand washing station with water and soap at places of work. 68% of the cleaners of sewers, septic tanks and drains lacked access to

bathing facilities after work at their work sites. Moreover, less than 20% of the sanitation workers reported thermal screening or medical check-ups.

The Municipal Safai Kamgar and Harnam Singh, a former chairman of the Delhi Commission for Safai Karamchari filed a petition against the Central and state governments stating "Not only is the safety of the sanitation workers being compromised, but they have not been paid their monthly salary for the last two months."

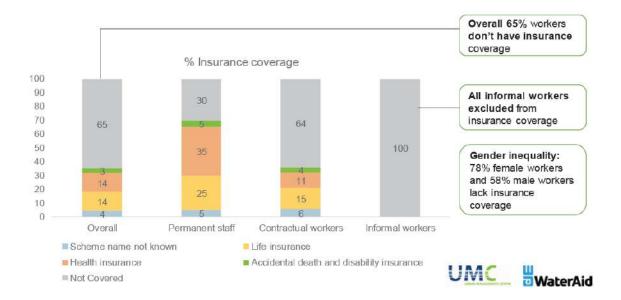


Figure 2: Gap in insurance coverage (WaterAid India-UMC Study, 2020)

8.2 VULNERABLE TO CONTAGION

A sanitation worker who was assigned to work in Dharavi tested positive in April. Like most other urban poor families in a megacity like Mumbai, the family did not have a spacious house that allow for physical distancing or self-isolation. For those from his caste and class backdrop the 80-100 square feet one-room houses were usually cramped with six to ten people living in shifts. But, during a crisis, as in the current COVID-19 lockdown period, they remained all bundled together for days and months. Inadvertently he ended up spreading it to his wife and she died on 12th April. Thereafter the son-in-law was also infected and then the entire family moved into quarantine.

Sunil Yadav, a sanitation worker and a PhD fellow from TISS said, "Everyday sanitation workers get exposed to deadly trash but no special training/guidance is provided to them for how to handle trash." According

to the *New England Journal of Medicine's* study⁵⁰ found that the coronavirus can survive on plastic and stainless steel for up to 72 hours, and on cardboard for up to 24 hours. Nobody knows what kind of waste material is there in dustbins and trash bags. In India people don't segregate the trash, they mix everything in one bag. Many a time sanitation workers encounter sanitary pads, expired medicines and broken & sharp glasses. Lack of protective gears makes sanitation workers life difficult even in normal time. During a pandemic, this makes them far more vulnerable to the virus.

When a researcher asked, being an essential worker in the pandemic, what has changed for sanitation workers, Sunil Yadav, said, "nothing, nobody cares. Here in Mumbai, sanitation workers travel 3 to 4 hours to reach their working place, nobody arranged transportation for us like they did for the doctors and other medical staff."

The researchers had met Renudevi first in the course of field work in March 2020, days before the lockdown. She used to work as a maid before the lockdown in Dehri, Bihar. The pandemic was already in air but no one knew what was to follow. With the bits and pieces, she had gathered from TV and otherwise, she was already alarmed and yet helpless in the face of any eventuality. When a researcher contacted her again in April in the middle of the lockdown, she was out of work while her husband was working as a sanitation worker in a hospital earning 7,500 rupees per month. The range of his work brought him within the broader definition of manual scavenging. Every day her husband carried an extra pair of cloth to wear at the hospital. Hospital administration needed them to work, but without proper protection gears that is required in these times. A news like the death of the sanitation chief, Mr Heera Lal, in a premier institute like AHMS brings only ends up hinting towards the precarity of those engaged in this work at the lower levels.

A local activist from Panna district of MP said, "Our people are standing amidst coronavirus crisis with courage, but there is always a fear in their minds, what if I get infected with coronavirus? Who will take care of my family and children? Who will feed them?"

Radharani (58), a sanitation worker from Khajuraho said, "From the first day of lockdown till now, we are working every day to clean this city. We are scared, we are also humans, corona can infect us also but the government don't understand this. I don't like to work here, but I have no options. Even the pandemic failed to make them realize the worth of sanitation worker."

⁵⁰ https://www.nejm.org/doi/full/10.1056/NEJMc2004973

At a stone throw away from Nagar Parishad (City Council) Office in Dehri is Dhantolia Mohallah. A populous locality of manual scavengers living in crammed houses. The locality is a slum, next to the Dehri Bus Stand. The other end of the roads opens up to the Nagar Nigam (Municipal Corporation) office. A bird's eye view from the Karyapalak Padhadhikari Chamber in the Nagar Parishad (City Council) office shows us the ugly reality of the Dehri's slums with the roads and locality littered with garbage, drainage water overflowing on the sides. An ideal place for the diseases to thrive and affect the health of the inhabitants. When asked about these conditions of the locality or the problems of the people living in this area, the Karyapalak Padhadhikari of the Nagar Nigam (Municipal Corporation), Health Inspector and other officials did not even bother to clarify the measures they were taking to solve the problems. The visit of the researchers were days before the country went into the COVID 19 lockdown. If this was "normal" in terms of sanitation there, one wonders what could one expect in a health emergency like the pandemic.

The WaterAid India-Urban Management Centre study suggests that very few workers had all the different personal protective equipments which are required to protect them for all the risks and hazards they face at work. PPEs provided by employers was not adequate in some cases. Lack of user-friendly PPEs led to irregular usage.

8.3 WITH LOCKDOWN CAME HUNGER

The UMC-WAI study among sanitation workers during the pandemic goes on to show how by far the majority of the respondents were either contractual (56%) or informal (22%) while only 21% were permanent staff. This goes on to reflect the general job insecurity and lack of social protection that comes with such work profile. Among the women, a large share of them were in informal work (41%) compared to men (14%). Waste/ rag-pickers and dry latrine cleaners were found to be entirely informally employed. The pandemic study found 74% of the respondents came from BPL category. 40% of the respondents faced challenges in meeting their day to day necessities like groceries, medical expenditure, etc.

The novel coronavirus is against the human race but an unplanned lockdown is against the poor. And as it appears both are poised disproportionately against the Dalits. Endemic poverty made Dalits more vulnerable and helpless in the times of sustained lockdown. Shivshankar is a father of five daughters and two sons. He used to work at a hotel in Dhanbad as a cleaner. His wife Rekha is also a cleaner working in houses of upper-caste Hindu and rich Muslim families. His elder son Virkumar also works as a sanitation worker on contract. They earn ₹7,000, ₹ 3,000 and ₹5,000 per

month respectively. But since the lockdown, they are all without a job. He doesn't have money and the PDS ration is far from enough for his family.

Those like Shivshankar have the rawest deal during this lockdown compared to those engaged with any government institutions – municipality or hospital – as the latter at least have work. The UMC-WAI study found that 13% of the workers they reached out to had lost their jobs since the lockdown started and out of this 92% were informal. Shivshankar added added, "Jab sab theek tha tab to kuchh mila nahi, ab kya milega? Ab to sarkar se koi ummeed nahi rakhte hai". When I asked him, why don't you take help from your employer? He said, "I can't ask my employer to provide me food or give me a salary in advance. I know them personally. Nobody will help me because I am a Basfor." (Basfor is a sub-caste that is considered even lower than the Valmikis in the Brahminical order of caste)

When one of our researchers spoke with him during the end of the fourth phase of lockdown, he said- "nobody is here to ask them, if they are alive or not? Our existence doesn't matter to these people. Half of the life we spent to serve them, but when we really wanted some help they abandoned us. But we do not have other options, let God decide, what is good for us."

Raju Basfor (38) from Dhanbad, was working as a sanitation worker along with his two sons, they are 18 and 19 years of old. He lost his wife in 2013, later he raised his four children. Lockdown made him and his sons unemployed and now he is not sure whether he will get the same work or not. "Pehle chhua chhut ke karan hum toilet saaf karte the ab to mahamari ke chalte log hume aur dur karenge."

The UMC-WAI study found that 40% of the dry latrine cleaners (all women) whom they interviewed were completely out of work since the lockdown started as households were scared of calling them for work. Even for those who partially resumed work by last week of May 2020 were earning less than 1/5th of what they used to earn earlier.

8.4 SPECIFIC DEMANDS THAT OUGHT TO BE MADE IN TIMES OF PANDEMIC:

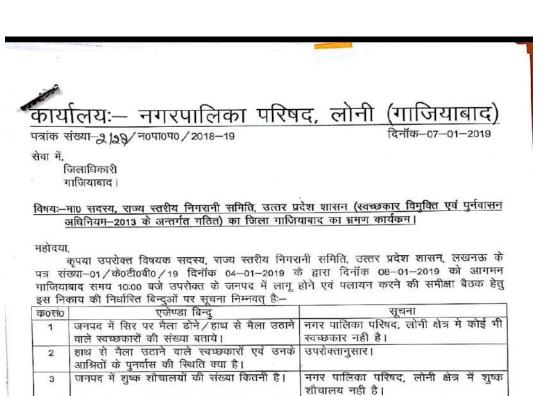
What the sanitation workers need today are Personal Protection Equipment's (PPE's), minimum wages, food, insurance, accommodation and transportation like other health workers, mechanization of the work and solidarity. But instead, the official and community level actions are limited to hollow mention of these workers as the champions during the pandemic, without attending to their basic entitlements and essential support systems- this should be seen as a

Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Rules, 2013⁵¹, (under section 4 and 5 of the rules) mandates even in normal times that the person who is getting the job done must provide the 'protective gear'. Despite the efforts of many organizations, unions, and activists, the government has shown no inclination towards enforcing the law.

The caste-based apathy continues and in fact has been amplified in the face of the Corona crisis. When municipal workers expressed the need for sanitizers given the nature of their work in the national capital, they were instead provided with fluorescent jackets so that they can be identified as 'essential' workers from a distance. While sooner or later scientists will be able to invent a vaccine to fight COVID-19, but as a society, we are far from eliminating the virus of casteist thinking that continues to determine the fate of millions of marginalized sanitation workers across generations.

⁵¹ http://ielrc.org/content/e1314.pdf (Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Rules 2013)

An inspection under RTI response collected from Nagar Palika Parishad stating that the number of manual scavengers, their rehabilitation and dry latrine is zero.



अधिशासी अधिकारी नगर पालिक अरिषद, लोनी (गाजियाबाद)

Folder//2019 January 2019

Annexure 2 (a)

Names and Addresses of Manual Scavengers in Ghaziabad (Handwritten)

s. no	M code	Safai Karmchar name	Mother	Ag	vngers In Ghaziabad	Satyapan Aakhya Kamichati Nanie' Pagraiti nastaKonha'
175	10610	Kamla	Mandanpal	35	Balmiki Basti,Gitanjali	कार्येद्रा कारायुक्त वार माने पहला कार्यामा वार के विकास
176	10611	Saroj	Siyapat	35	Vihar,Loni,Ward No-28 Balmiki Basti,Gitanjali	211 4 24 5 15 1 16 14 16 14 16 16 16 16 16 16 16 16 16 16 16 16 16
177	10612	Kirshna	Surjpal	40	Vihar,Loni,Ward No-28 Balmiki Basti,Gitanjali	-21/05 m 3/11/01/2011/2011/201-1-4 0000 0000 0000
178	10613	Doli	Sunil	28	Vihar, Loni, Ward No-28 Balmiki Basti, Gitanjali	The said for a state of the sta
179	10614	Meena	Mint Pal	32	Vihar, Loni, Ward No-28 Balmiki Basti, Gitanjali	and Lucaning to the animates
180	10615	Deepa	Amit	25	Vihar Loni Ward No-28 Balmiki Basti Gitanjali Vihar Loni Ward No-28	THOSE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF THE PA
181	10616	Sheela	Chander Pal	35	Balmiki Basti Gitanjali Vihar Loni Ward No-28	Alasta Brigarian and the president about
182	10617	Meenakshi	Sanjiv	25	Balmiki Basti,Gitanjali Viher,Loni,Ward No-28	Separational million de maria de la maria
183	10618	Poonam	Sushil	32	Balmiki Basti,Gitanjali Vihar,Loni,Ward No-28	and the control of mines and a present of the control of the contr
184	10619	Savitri	Krishan Pal	30	Balmiki Basti,Gitanjali Vihar,Loni,Ward No-28	Sign Stripe Mark No. 2 Stripe and Action Control
185	10620	Babli	Rajesh	30	Balmiki Basti Gitanjali Vihar Loni, Ward No-28	and the state of t
186	10621	Shanti	Sridhan	30	Balmiki Basti, Gitanjali Vihar, Loni, Ward No-28	अविक अस्पर मार् क्या मार्गी का मिला के
187	10622	Bala	Dilawar	50	Balmiki Basti, Vikash Nagar	आवेदन हारा पुरुषा देव नापा अत्यादन में प्रत्या के मेंग है परनी
188	10623	Ram Bali	Nannu	55	Balmiki Basti, Vikash Nagar	मान्याम पर पार कि मेरी मान्या के कि
189	10624	kavita	Neeraj	25	Balmiki Basti, Vikash Nagar	out in ordin
190	10625	Anju Anju	Salish /	26	N/A	DESCRIPTION OF THE POPULATION
191	10626	Om Bathi	Shree jaggu		Vikash Nagar,Ward No-1,Loni Ghaziabad	Sugarism as all in Sun desir grand
192	10627	Bala	Mulk Raj		Vikash Nagar	भावेद्रवाम पुर पहिले भूगे भावेद्रीयोगी
		ile:	1000000			कार्याक को भी मण स्वीत

The above list identifies the names and addresses of people who are engaged in manual scavenging.

next to 35 year-old Kamla's name, the list reads "avedak dwara bataya gaya hai ki maila uthane ka karya band kar diya hai", i.e., she used to work as a manual scavenger, but has stopped doing so.

Annexure 2 (b)
Names and Addresses of Manual Scavengers in Ghaziabad (Typed)

s no	M code	Safai Karmchari name	Mother/Father /Husband	Age	Addresh	Satyapan Aakhya	Karmenari Name/Padnam/hasta- Kehnar
715	10610	Kamla	Mandanpal	(35)	Balmiki Basti Gitanjali Vinar Loni Ward No-28	नैसा इहाने का कार्य नहीं कार्त है।	হিচাৰ নির, ব্যহিত, লওক্তাত, নানিট।
176	10611	Saroj	Sıyapal	35	Balmiki Basti,Gitanjali Vihar,Loni,Ward No-28	नीजली ने आडू-पोष्टे का कार्य करती है।	विश्रान सिंह, प0याँ0, न0फ0ण्0, लोनी ।
777ر	10612	Kirshna	Surjpal	40	Balmiki Basti,Gitanjali Vihar,Loni,Ward No-28	मैता उटाने का कार्य नहीं करते हैं।	विश्राम सिंह, प0र्चा0, न0पा0प0. लोगी।
178	10613	Doli	Sunit -	28	Balmıki Bastı,Gıtanjalı Vihar,Loni,Ward No-28	मैंसा उटाने का कार्य नहीं करते हैं।	विश्राम सिंह, प0र्ची0, न0पा0प0, तोनी।
179	10614	Meena	Mint Pal	32	Balmiki Basti,Gitanjali Vihar,Loni,Ward No-28	मैला उटाने का कार्य नहीं करते हैं।	दिश्राभ सिंह, प0ची0, न0प10प0, लोनी।
180	10615	Deepa	Amit	25	Balmiki Basti,Gitanjali Vihar,Loni,Ward No-28	मैला उटाने का कार्य नहीं करते हैं।	विश्राम सिंह, प0ची0, न0पा0प0, लोनी।
181	10616	Sheela	Chander Pal	35	Balmiki Basti,Gitanjali Vihar,Loni,Ward No-28	मैला उटाने का कार्य नहीं करते हैं।	विश्राम सिंह, प0चौ०, 0पा0प0, लोनी।
182	10617	Meenakshi	Sanjiv	25	Balmıki Basti,Gitanjali Vihar,Loni,Ward No-28	मैला उदाने का कार्य नहीं करते हैं।	विश्राम सिंह, प0चौ0, न0पा0प0, तोनी।
183	10618	Poonam	Sushil	32	Balmiki Basti,Gitanjali Vihar,Loni,Ward No-28	मीहल्ले में झाडू-पीछे का कार्य करती है।	विश्राम सिंह, प0ची0, न0पा0प0, लोनी।
184	10619	Savitri	Krishan Pal	30	Balmiki Basti,Gitanjali Vihar,Loni,Ward No-28	मीहल्ले में झाडू-पोछे का कार्य करती है।	विश्राम सिंह, प0ची0, न0पा0प0, लोनी।
185	10620	Babli	Rajesh	30	Balmiki Basti,Gitanjali Vihar,Loni,Ward No-28	मीहल्ले में झाडू-पोछे का कार्य करती है।	विश्रान सिंह, प0ची0, न0पा0प0, लोनी।
186	10621	Shanti	Sridhan	30	Balmiki Bastı,Gitanjali Vihar,Loni,Ward No-28	मीहरले में झाडू-पोछे का कार्य करती है।	विश्राम सिंह, प्रवेश, नवपावपव, सोनी।
187	10622	Bala	Dilawar	50	Balmiki Basti, Vikash Nagar	मींहल्ले में आडू-पोछे का कार्य करती है।	अशोक कुमार, प0वी0, न0पा0प0, लोनी।

The same Kamla (and like her several others) have been described as "maila uthane ka karya nahi karte hai" (she does not do the work of manual scavenging). This translates into saying Kamla does not work as a manual scavenger.

Annexure 3 Dhanbad Nagar Nigam identifying 34 manual scavengers in the area.

		6	धनबाद नगर		
		ज्ञाण∓ ५०		दिनांक 13-1-14	
			-ः आवश्यक सूच	मा ::-	
*	ਪੁਰ	ए १८७ प्रा क्तित्र क्रिका -	Day & the anadas a	याय एवं अधिकारिता मन्नालय, भारत सर	
				हेतु सर्वेक्षण का कार्य धनबाद नगर्	
	- 1 N 4	र.⊶ स. रह. हे । यन	याद रागर निगम अन्तर	त कराये गये Manual Scavenger की-	त्त
	(C)(1) §				
st.	निकाय का नाम	Manual Scavenger का नाम	विता/पति का नाम	पता	
1	(12 mills)	भागते सम्बं देश	भे जल्लू बालकोर	मटकुरिया रेलवे कॉलोनी, कुसूण्डा,	
2	शमदाह सर्वास	गठलु चलकोर	स्वर सुखदेव वासफोर	मटकुरिया रेलवे कॉलोनी, कुसूण्डा	
3	धनस्य द सम्पूर्णनाथ	शीनती पारो हाडीन	स्दः यंशो हाडी	रेलदे ट्रेनिंग स्कुल, भूली धनदाद	
4	धनदाद नगर निगम	दिलीय वासफोर	श्री सुरेश वासकोर	मटकुरिया रेलवे कॉलोनी, कुसूण्डा, धनबा	Ę
5.	चन्दात नगर नियम	राजु दासकोर	धोः सुरेश दासकीर	मटकुरिया रेलवे कॉलोनी, कुसूण्डा, ध	1
ō	ंस्ट स्थाप स्थाद	संजय हाडी	श्री दुखन हाडी	रेलवे ट्रेनिंग स्कुल, भूली, धनबाद	意識
:	्राच्याः सरस्र विश्वम	धीमती मनवा देवी	भी श्याम लाल डोम	जोनल ट्रेनिंग स्कुल, भूली धनवा	
8	a . i Jack Main ,	भागती प्रगासी	रटः ताराचंद बाल्मिकी	भूली ए ब्लॉक धनबाद।	
9	HAR STAN	रा क्षित्रकार अस्त्रभार	श्री थायुला वासफोर	मटकुरिया रेलवे कॉलोनी. कुसूण्डा ध	नवाद्व
10	धनवाद नगर निगम	श्रीमती पार्वती देवी	श्री सोनाराम दात्मिकी	भूली ए ब्लॉक, धनवाद।	
11		श्रीमती चंदा देवी.	श्री स्व० गंगा बासफोर	मटकुरिया रेलवे कॉलोनी, कुसूण्डा, ध	1नवी
12	धन वाद नगर निगम	गुल्लू हाडी	स्व0 कालाचन्द हाड़ी	रेलवे ट्रेनिंग स्कुल, भूली, धनबार	: 1
13	धनवाद नगर निगम	रजीत हाड़ी	स्व0 वंशी हाड़ी	रेलवे ट्रेनिंग स्कुल, भूली, धनबा	द । हो है ।
14	धनवाद नगर निगम	संतोष डोम	स्व0 सुरेश डोम	रेलवे ट्रेनिंग स्कुल, भूली, धनबा	द।
15	धनबाद नगर निगम	श्रीमती कारो देवी.	श्री अजित डोम	रेलवे ट्रेनिंग स्कुल, भूली, धनबा	۲۱
16	्धनबाद नगर निगम	श्रीमती आशा देवी.	श्री राजेन्द्र राम	रेलवे ट्रेनिंग स्कुल, धनबाद।	
17	धनबाद नगर निगम	श्रीमती लक्ष्मी देवी,	श्री भोद्धाः श्रीम् १००५	प्रार्क्ड रेलवे ट्रेनिंग स्कुल, भूली, धनबा	a (1)
18	भगदानुस् भगदानुस्	श्रीमली जीला सर्वा	- C - C - C	रिक्रा किया स्वाप स्कुल, भूली, धनवा	द।
1		A STEEL	w 4	O day	W.C.

19	धनवाद .नगर निगम !	सुभा दक्ष	श्री गांपाल हाडी	रलवे ट्रेनिंग स्कुल, भूली, धनबाद।
20	धनबाद नगर निगम	गोपाल हाडी	स्व0 गव्चन हाडी	रेलवे देगिंग स्कुल भूली घनबाद
21	धनबाद नगर निगम	सम् डाम	स्व0 हरि डोम	जीनल ट्रेनिंग स्कुल भूली धनबाद
22	धनबाद नगर निगम	श्रीमती बुधनी देवी	रागृ डोम	जोनल ट्रेनिंग स्कुल, भूली घनबाद
23	धनगाद नगर निगम	अजित डोम	रयः। नगीना डोम	जोनल ट्रेनिंग स्कुल, भूली धनबाद
24	धनबाद नगर निगम	श्रीमती सोनीया देवी	रव0 देवा वासफोर	मटकुरिया रेलवे कॉलोनी, कुसूण्डा, धर्नु
25	धनबाद नगर नियम	श्रीमति रिकी देवी,	श्री दिलीप वासफोर	ट्रेनिंक स्कुल रेलवे कॉलोनी, मटकुरिश्र
26	धनवाद नगर निगम	श्री अलय वासफोर	रव0 देवा वासफार	मटकुरिया रेलवे कॉलोनी. कुसूण्डा, धनवा
27	धनसाद नगर निगम	शीमती रेखा देवी	श्री शिवनाथ वासफोर	मटकुरिया रेलवे कॉलोनी. कुसूण्डा. धर्नी
28	धनबाद नगर निगम	श्रीमती सीता देवी	श्री उमेश बासफोर	मटकुरिया रेलवे कॉलोनी, कुसूण्डा, धर्माह
29	धनवाद नगर निगम	श्रीमती पारू देवी	पति – श्री नरेश हाडी	सबारडीह बस्ती, सबलडीह, पाथरडीह, बन
30	धनवाद नगर निगम	ક્ષી ગોલા દાહી	श्री नरेश हाडी	सवारडीह बस्ती, सबलडीह, पाथरडीह धैन
31	धनवाद नगर निगम	श्री श्रवण वालिमकी	श्री सीताराम यालमिकी	माडा कॉलोनी, सलानपूर, कतरासू
32		श्री अशांक हाई।	श्री मंजूर हाओ	नाडा कॉल ने सलनपूर कतरास
33	धनवाद नगर निगम	श्री दीपक कु0 हाडी	श्रीएतवारी हाडी	माडा कॉलानी, सलानपूर कतरास
34	धनवाद (श्री सोनु हाड़ी	श्री अमृत हाडी	सलानपूर, हरिजन बस्ती, कतरासगढ़, घन

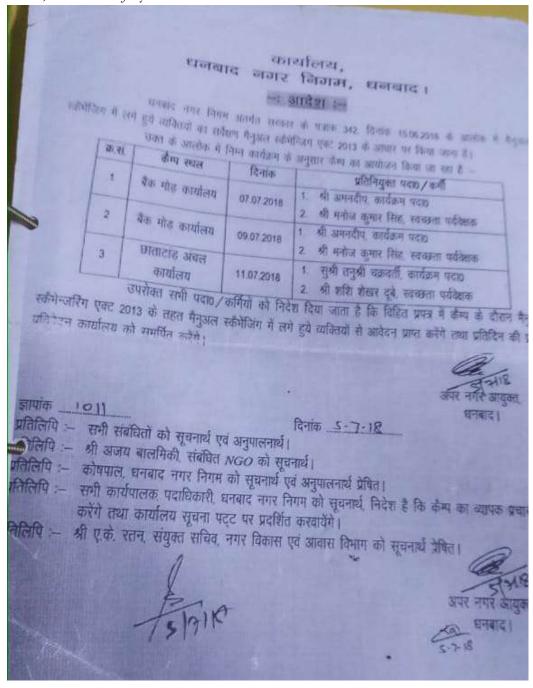
Manual Scavenger रार्वेक्षण के दिशा निदेश के आलोक में उपरोक्त नामों में यदि किसी में नाम में कोई आपत्ति हो अथवा किसी का नाम सर्वेक्षण में छुट गया हो तो, वे धनबाद नगर निग्न कार्यालय, येंक मोड़, धनबाद में सूचना निर्गत के एक सप्ताह के अन्दर अपना आपत्ति / नाम दें करा सकतें है।

नगर आयुक्त

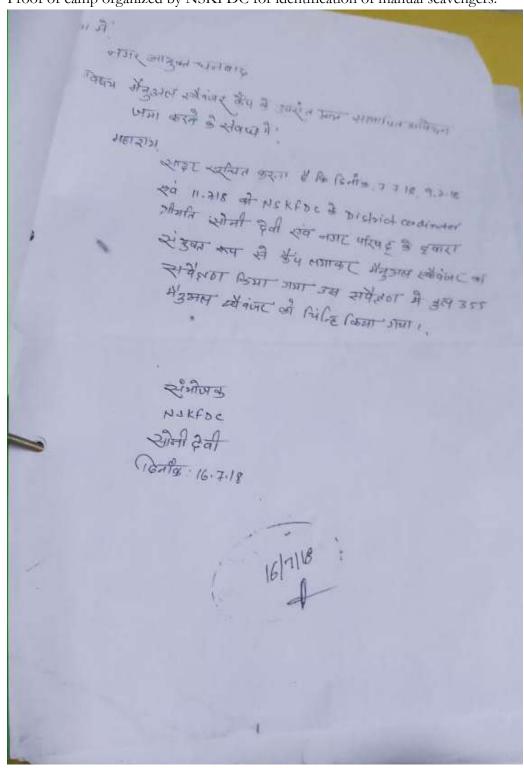
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Annexure 4 (a)

SKA has conducted a camp to identify manual scavengers along with the Dhanbad Nagar Palika on 7^{th} , 9^{th} and 11^{th} July 2018



Annexure 4 (b)
Proof of camp organized by NSKFDC for identification of manual scavengers.



Annexure 5 Amanganj camp for identification of manual scavengers by NSKFDC.

S.No	. State	District	Distt . Coord.	Dates	Location	Dates	Location	Dates	Location	Dates	Location	Dates	Location
13	Haryana	Kuruksheira	Pammi	24-64-2018	Fendaget Bhewen		Ambodkar Bhowen						
3	Haryana	Yamunanagar	Megha	4/27/201	Panchayat Shewen		Balmiki Bhawan, 18 Sedhora				* 1		
3	Herala 3	Alappuzha	Usha Kuttapan	14-03-2018 15-08-2018	Kanjikuzhy, Alapsuzha	11-64-2018 12-64-2018	Ambalapusha. Alappusha	15-04-2018 17-04-2018	Mavelikara, Alappuzha	Area of the second			
3.	Kerala	Emakulam	M Sundarara	26-03-2018 27-03-2019	Aluva, Ernakuism	03-04-2018	Kethemengalam Ematulam	05-04-2018 05-04-2019	Palluruthi, Ernakulam	09-04-2018 10-04-2018	Pampakuda, Ernakulam	- 1	
35	Kerala	Kollam	Prassana	20-03-2318 21-03-2018	Karunagapatly	23-03-2018	xollam	27-63-2018 28-63-1018	Punalore	04-04-2018 D5-04-2018	Dhadaya mangalom		
36	Kerala	Palaghat/Palakkad	Suma Muthu	23-03-2018 24-03-2018	Palaktad	09-04-2018 10-04-2018	Otrapalam	12-04-2018	Mannarkadu	16-04-2018 17-04-2018	Cofamkedu		
37	Madhya Pradesh	Anuppur	Ledunwar	24.5.18	Bhadri Kalri	27.518	la chari	79.5.18	Anuppur	3.6.18	Bijuri	5.6.18	Lakhora
38	Madhya Pradesh	Ashok Nagar	Jitendra Pawar	2.5.18	Asholmazur	13.510	laagurh	15.5.18	Mangawali .	19.5.18	Chanded		
39	Madhya Pradesh	Chattarpur	Raja Karosia	5/8/2018	District office courtyard, Bada Malhera	5/9/2018	District office courtyard, Luckushnagar	5/10/2018	District office courtyard, Naugaus	5/11/2018	District office courtyard, Chatterpur		
eser-	Madhya Pradesh	Damöho de Fridisje	Raj Kumar Ahirwar	01-05-2018	NP, Town Hall Complex, Delicyn	03.05-2018	"NP Complet, Hota"	05-05-2018 05-05-2018 06-05-2028 **	NP Complex, Javera, Rajecy Gandhi Şewa Kendia Complex, Madjado	09-05-2018 10-05-2018 11-05-2018 *** ,	lanpad Panchyat Complex Batiayagh, NP Completex	14-05-2018, 15-05-2018 16-05-2018 17-05-2018;	NP Complex Patera, NP Complex Patharis 10
41	Madhya Pradesh	Guna	Raghuver Chawaria	14-05-2018 15-05-2018	Janped Compled Mathry Nagar	16-05-2018	ianpad Aron Complex Salmihi Mandir Aron	5/17/1018	Raghogarh NP Complex, GP Madhusudan Garh	5/18/1018	Drachoda Janpad Complex Drachoda NP Hall	5/19/2018	Barnori Jang Complex NP Kumbhr
42	Vadhya Pradesh	Katni	Jitendra Mahrola	5.518	Katri Ward 7	6.5.28	Cathi Ward 1	75.18	Radwara	145.IR	Vijayawada Ward	155.18	Ward 14 Vijaywada
43	Madhya Pradesh	Mandsaur	Lafita Lona iya	3/3/2018	Janpad Panchayat, Mandsaur	5/8/2018	Nagar Pelika, Malhargarh	5/31/2018	Nagar Perishad, Sitamas	5/15/2018	Nagar Panshad, Garoth	5/18/1018	Negar Parished Bhanper
44 1	fadhya Pradesh	Narsinghour	Ramgopal	18.5.18	Nershinzour	23.5.18	Xareli	265.18	Tendukhera	30.5.18	Saithera	eseb j	- **
45 M	ladhya Pradesh	Panna V - 1592	Mayadin			26.5.18		295.18	Gevendra Nagar	2.6.10	Gunnor and Arrangani	5.6.18	Panna
46	adhya Pradesh	taisen y syll	Rajkuman Varriki	5/7/2010		5/10/2018		5/14/2018	Scheduled Caste hostel campus, Udaypura	5/17/2018	Tribal Gandhi Ashram Complex, Silwaani	5/21/2018	Scheduled Caste Girts' hostel cempus, Begurraga
47	-	a gam	Kalabai laware !		Janped Penchayet Ragarh .	5/16/2018		8/17/2018	Janpad Panchsyzt Narsinghgarh	5/18/2018	Janpad Fanchayat Saranpur, Jeerapur	5/19/2011	Janpad Pencherec Khalchipur all NPs
48 Ma	dhya Pradosh R	ewa	Begi Arman	\$/8/2018	Nagar Panchayat, Simspr	5/11/2018	MagarPalka, Maggani	5/15/2018	Nagar Panchayat, Mangawa	5/13/2018	Nagar Nigam, Rewa		
49 Ma	dhya Pracesh	atna		15.5.18		2.5.18 3.5.10		25.5.18 265.18	Nacaud	30.5.18 31.5.18	Satina		

RTI response stating that the number of manual scavengers in Amangunj, Panna is zero

कार्यालय नगर परिषद् अमानगंज, जिला पन्ना (म०प्र०)

क0 / 01 / 2019 सेवा में, अमानगंज दिनांक 01.04.2019

सागर कुम्भारे

सेंटर फ़ॉर इक्विटीस्टडीज, नई दिल्ली।

विषयः सागर कुम्भारे और बुद्ध देबहलदर (रिसर्चर, सेंटर फॉर इक्विटीस्टडीज, नई दिल्ली) का अमानगंज नगर परिषद् में मैन्युअल स्कवेंजर्स के बारे में जानकारी देने बाबत।

महोदय,

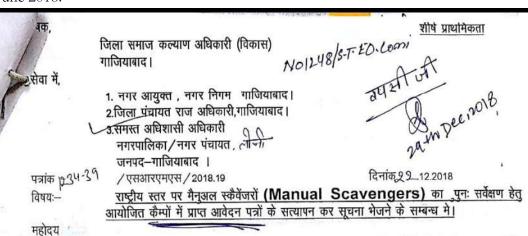
कृपया उपरोक्त विषयक रिसर्चर, सेंटर फॉरइविवटीस्टडीज, नई दिल्ली के आगमन दिनांक 28/03/2019 को नगर परिषद् अमानगंज में हाथ से मैला उठाने वाले कर्मियों के नियोजन का प्रतिषेध और उनका पुनर्वास अधिनियम 2013 के अंतर्गत, दी गयी जानकारी निर्धारित बिन्दुओ पर सुचना निम्नवत है :-

क्रमांक •	अजेंडाबिंदु	सुचना
1	अमानगंज नगर परिषद् में आने वाले क्षेत्र में सर पर मैला ढोने:/ हाथ से मैला उठाने वाले स्वच्छकारों की संख्या बताये	निरंक
2	हाथ से मैला उठाने वाले स्वच्छकारों एंव उनके आश्रितों के पुनर्वास की स्थिती क्या है।	निरंक
3	अमानगंज नगर परिषद् में आने वाले क्षेत्र में शुष्क शौचालयों की संख्या कितनी है।	निरंक
4	हाथ से मैला उठाने वाले कर्मियों के पहचान के लिए उभारे गए कैंपो की जानकारी पोहोचने के लिए अखबारों में दिए गए विज्ञापनो तथा पोस्टरों की जानकारी दे।	निरंक
5	हाथ से मैला उठाने वाले करियों के नियोजन का प्रतिषेध और उनका पुनर्वास अधिनियम 2013 के अंतर्गत किये गए सर्वे में पाए गए हाथ से मैला उठाने वाले कर्मियों की 2014 से 2018 तक की जानकारी दे।	निरंक
6.	.अमानगंज नगरं परिषद् के क्षेत्र में एस. आर. एम. एस. (सेल्फ एम्प्लॉयमेंट स्कीम फॉर रिहैबिलिटेशन ऑफ मैन्युअंल स्कवेंजर्स) के अंतर्गत कितने हाथ से मैला उठाने वाले कर्मियोंको 2014 से लेकर 2018 तक इसका लाभ मिल ाहै, इसकी जानकारी दे।	निरंक

सूचना महोदय की सादर में प्रेषित।

ख्य चरा पालिएन अधिकारी नगर परिषद अमानगंज जिला पन्ना (म०प्र०)

Nagar Palika in Loni claimed that survey camps were organised and conducted on 6-7th and 21-22nd June 2018.



कृपया उपरोक्त विषयक के सम्बन्ध में "हाथ से मैला उठाने वाले कर्मियों के नियोजन का प्रतिषेध और उनका पुनर्वास अधिनियम 2013" में भारत सरकार द्वारा दिये गये निर्देशों के कम में चिन्हित 47 जनपदों के अन्तर्गत जनपद गाजियाबाद में कैम्प आयोजित किया गया था, जिसमे 317 प्रार्थना पत्र मैनुअल स्कैवेंजरों के प्राप्त हुए थे, जो कि चिन्हान्कन हेतु अधोहस्ताक्षरी कार्यालय द्वारा आपको उपलब्ध कराये गये थे तथा आपसे अपिक्षा की गयी थी कि पात्र व्यक्तियों के चिन्होंकन उपरान्त सामाजिक न्याय और अधिकारिता मंत्रालय, भारतसरकार की वेबसाइट पर पात्र चिन्होंकित व्यक्तियों का डाटा अपलोड करते हुए आवेदन पत्र अधोहस्ताक्षरी कार्यालय को उपलब्ध कराने का कष्ट करें, तािक चिन्हित पात्र व्यक्तियों के मूलआवेदन पत्रों को सामाजिक न्याय और अधिकारिता मंत्रालय, भारत सरकार नई दिल्ली, को भेजा जा सके।

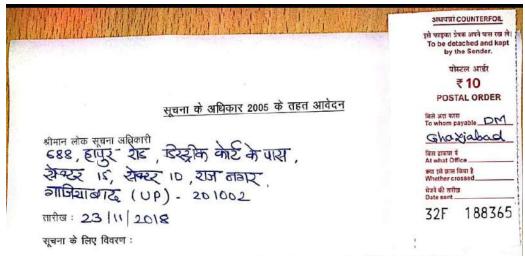
उक्त प्रकरण में विचारणीय विषय यह है कि अधोहस्ताक्षरी कार्यालय के अनुस्मारक पत्रों के माध्यम से उपरोक्त कार्यवाही करते हुए आपसे आवेदन पत्रों को उपलब्ध कराने का अनुरोध किया गया था परन्तु आज दिनांक तक पात्र चिन्हित व्यक्तियों के आवेदन पत्रों को अधोहस्ताक्षरी कार्यालय को उपलब्ध नहीं कराया गया है।

सन्दर्भित प्रकरण में प्रमुख सचिव, समाज कल्याण, उठ प्रठ शासन लखनऊ के पत्र संख्या 1226/क0नि0प्रठ/ 26-3-2018-18 (20)/2018 दिनांक 10.10.2018 द्वारा मैनुअल स्कैवंजरों के राष्ट्रीस सर्वेक्षण के सम्बन्ध में कृतिपय निम्न बिन्दुओं का संज्ञान लेते हुए कार्यवाही किये जाने की अपेक्षा की गयी है:-

- 1—.सर्वे कार्य में स्व-घोषण प्रपत्रों की पुष्टि की संकल्पना नहीं की गयी है तथा अभ्यर्थियों के दावों के समर्थन में दिये गये प्रपत्र को समुचित सबूतमान लेना चाहिए।
- 2.—नीति आयोग के परामर्शदाता ने इस बैठक में इस बात पर जोर दिया था कि जिस जिले में भी मैनुअल स्कैवेंजरों की सूचना शून्य दी है ,वह यह सुनिश्चित करें कि सर्वे एनएसकेएफडीसी द्वारा नियुक्त समन्वयको को साथ लेकर और मानक कार्यप्रणाली के अनुसार किया गया है। यह प्रयास होना चाहिए कि सभी पात्र व्यक्तियों की पहचान समावेशी दृष्टिकोण से हो तािक कोई पात्र व्यक्ति छूटे नहीं।
- 3.—यह सर्वे किसी व्यक्ति को मैनुअल स्कैवैंजिंग के अभी जारी रहने के लिए दंडित करने के लिए नहीं ,अपितु ऐसे व्यक्तियों की पहचान करने के लिए हैं जो इस कार्य को कर रहे थे, किन्तु अभी तक चिन्हित नहीं हुए हैं, ताकि उनका पुनर्वासन् कर उनको जीवन की गरिमा प्रदान करे।
- 4. सर्वे की मानक कार्य प्रणाली के अनुसार सर्वे में ऐसे व्यक्तियों की पहचान की जानी है जो 2013 या उसके बाद निम्नलिखित में से किसी तरह के कार्य में लिप्त थे:--
 - –शुष्क शौचालयो की सफाई ।
 - -ऐसे खुले नालों की सफाई जिसमें शौचालयों से मल बहाया जाता है।
 - -शौचालयों से जुडे एकल पिट की हाथ से सफाई ।

कृ०प०उ०-2

Proof of RTI demanding evidence of survey conducted on dry latrines.



मारत सरकार ने "मैला ढोने वालों के नियोजन का प्रतिषेध एवं उनका पुनर्वास अधिनियम 2013" दिसम्बर 2013 में क्रियान्वित किया है। और केन्द्र सरकार ने भी "मैला ढोने वाले के नियोजन का प्रतिषेध एवं उनका पुनर्वास 2013" के अंतर्गत नियम अधिसूचित किए हैं। कृप्या इस अधिनियम एवं नियम के संदर्भ में निम्नलिखित जानकारी प्रस्तुत करें:

- उपरोक्त अधिनियम के नियम अनुभाग 10(16) के तहत यदि शुष्क शौचालय अधिभोगी न तो शुष्क शौचालय को ध्वस्त करता है और न स्वच्छ शौचालय में परिवर्तित करता है तो स्थानीय प्राधिकारी उस शुष्क शौचालय को ध्वस्त कराएगी और खर्च की लागत शुष्क शौचालय से राजस्य के रूप में प्राप्त करेगी। कृत्या ऊपर उल्लिखित उप नियम के तहत की गयी कार्रवाई का विवरण प्रदान कीजिए।
- 2. यदि नहीं, तो कृप्या इसका कारण बताएं।
- यदि हां, तो कृष्या जिन शुष्क शौचालय के ध्वस्ती करण का वर्ष 2013 से 2018 तक जो शुष्क शौचालय ध्वस्त किए गए हैं उनकी संख्या बताइए। कृष्या उनके ध्वस्तीकरण की तारीख और समय का भी ब्यौरा दें।
- यदि कानूनी नोटिस का पालन नहीं करते हुए शुष्क शौबालयों का ध्वस्तीकरण नहीं किया गया तो ध्वस्त न करने का कारण बताएं।
- 5. अधिनियम का नियम अनुभाग 10(12) कहता है कि अनुभाग 4 के तहत एक समिति का गठन किया जाएगा और यह समिति जिला अधिकारी को अस्वच्छ शौचालयों को बारे में रिपोर्ट साँपेगी। कृष्या उप नियम 4 के तहत समिति द्वारा जिला अधिकारी को साँपी गयीं रिपोर्ट वर्ष 2013 से 2018 तक साँपी गयीं रिपोर्टों की प्रतियां प्रदान करें।

अवेदक का नाम साठार कुंझारे रोल्टर फॉर इनवीटी इटडीम 24 अद्याबीती मेजर ब्यजाब खिंग छाउरा, स्यवीद्या दुब्बलेय. हानी दिक्ली - 110017 मार. न. 19158 49 6872

23/11/2018

Postal Order no. 32F 188365

Complaint filed by Centre for Equity Studies detailing the non-cooperation of local authorities in Panna

te. 30/03/ 2019

रेंग्ना में , जिला कलेक्टर

निषय - RTI 2005 (Inspection application) के अंतर्शन जानकारी ना देश बाबते।

जियं विण्यं के संदर्भ में , सुमाना का उपरिकार, 2005 की स्थारा 4 की उपसारा (3) खोर उपस्परा (4) के तहनं-हम केनों ते मंनुसल न्कंवेंजर्स अंवर 2013 की मानकारी प्राप्त करने के लीके उपोवद्धा करेंग के लिये सी. पुत्र . खा. अमजद मनी, बार गाविका पब्बा इनसे बात की उन्होंने हम 30/03/2019 की सम्बाह के कहा हम उस दिन - एके ग्रेम, उन्होंने जातकारी देंग रेम इनकार मिया, खोर खपने पीउन के मास्थ्रम से रोम क्या "अगर आपकी आनकारी रासीके ते ख्युद सर्वे करा लीजीके, हम अपनी- तरफ हम कुछ नहीं हिंगे"।

कृष्य। हम जानकारी दिलाने में महिनीये। जानकारी प्राप्त करते के लीबे दिने गये खांवदन प्राप्ती कॉपी जीजी गरिहें।

हैंगहर -, १

साजा

Secon - Buddhadel Harden.

centre forceduity studies 24,2Adhchini major Khajam singh house, sanvodaya Emlare New Delhi - 11 00 17

RTI response showing newspaper ads in Dhanbad where the authorities urged people to raise objections to the provisional list

कार्यालय धनबाद नगर निगम, धनबाद। क्षांस्वाक्यकार्यका

एतट् द्वारा स्चित किया जाता है कि सामाजिक न्याय और अधिकारिता मंत्रालय, भारत सरकार नई दिल्ली द्वारा Manual Scavenger के स्वनियोजन एवं पूनर्वास की नीति के तहत धनवाद नगर निगम क्षेत्रान्तर्गत Manual Scavenger का सर्वेक्षण किया गया। कराये गये सर्वे की सूची धनवाद नगर निगम कार्यालय के सूचना पट्ट के साथ-साथ विभिन्न सार्वजर्निक स्थानोपर चिपका दिया गया है। उक्त सूची में यदि किसी के नाम में कोई आपित हो अथवा किसी का नाम सर्वेक्षण में छुट गया हो तो सूचना निर्गत के एक सप्ताह के अंदर धनबाद नगर निगम कार्यालय, बैंक मोड़, धनवाद में अपना आपित/नाम दर्ज कराने हेतु विहित प्रपत्र में आवेदन दें। इ०/- नगर आयुक्त

कार्यालय धनबाद नगर निगम, धनबाद

आवश्यक सूचना

एतद् द्वारा सूचित किया जाता है कि समाजिक न्याय और अधिकारिता मंत्रालय, भारत रारकार नई दिख्छी द्वारा Manual Scavenger के स्वनियोजन एवं पूर्नवास की नीति के तहत घनयद नगर निगम क्षेत्रान्तर्गत Manual Scavenger का सर्वेक्षण किया गया। कराये गये सर्वे की सूची धनबाद नगर निगम कार्यात्मय के सूचना पदट के साथ-साथ विभिन्न सार्वजनिक स्थानों पर चिपका दिया गया है। उत्तत सूची में यदि किसी के नाम में कोई आपित हो अथवा किसी का नाम सर्वेक्षण में छुट गया हो तो सूचना निगत के एक सप्ताह के अंदर धनवाद नगर निगम कार्यालय, बैंक मोड़, धनबाद में अपना आपित/नाम दर्ज कराने हेतु विहित प्रमुत्र में आवेदन दें।

हण-नगर असुक्त, पनवाद

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اس کے ڈرید مطلع کیا جاتا ہے کہ ساتی انساف اور دائرہ اختیار وزارت ، حکومت بندئی دبل کے ڈرید Manual Scavenger کے خود روزگار اور باز آبادکاری کی پالیسی کے تحت وصنباد موٹیس کار پوریش علاقہ کے تحت Manual Scavenger کا سروے کیا گیا۔ کرائے گئے سروے کی فہرست دھنا دموٹیس کار پوریش وفتر کے لوٹس بورڈ کے ساتھ ساتھ مختلف موامی مقامات پر چہاں کیا گیا ہے۔ نے کورہ فہرست میں اگر کی کے نام میں کوئی اغتراض ہویا کی کا نام سروے میں چھوٹ کیا ہوتو اس کی اطلاع جاری و نے کے ایک ہفتہ کے اعدد صدا دمیروس کا در پوریش وفتر ، بینک موز ، وهنباد میں اپنا اعتراض رفام

ی کشنره دهنیا

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ि विनांक-15.01.14

कार्यालय धनबाद नंगर निगम, धनबाद

आवश्यक सचना

एतद् द्वारा सूचित किया जाता है कि समाजिक न्याय और अधिकारिता मंत्रालय, भारत सरकार गई दिल्ली द्वारा Manual Scavenger के स्वनियोजन एवं पूनर्वास की नीति के तहत धनवाद नगर निगम क्षेत्रान्तर्गत Manual Scavenger का सर्वेक्षण किया गया। कराये गये रार्वे के सूचना पदट वे साथ–साथ विभिन्न सार्वजनिक स्थानों पर विपका दिर गया विभिन्न सार्वजनिक स्थानों पर विपका दिर गया है। उवत सूची में यदि किसी के नाम में कोई आपति अथवा किसी का नाम सर्वेक्षण में छुट गया हो तो सूच निर्गत के एक सप्ताह के अंदर धनवाद नगर निग कार्यालय, वैंक मोड़, धनवाद में अपना आपति / नाम दकराने हेतु विहित प्रपन्न में आवेदन दें।

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पहाड स सटा । अधिकारियों सतर्क होकर रहें।

कारो रेंज

.लेकिन नौकरी

पावर प्लांट : र्मल पावर प्लांट ट है। प्लांट को गंट में तकनीकी यरों को बुलाना रही तो विजली राज्य को कुल त ही पूरा करता एल ने विजली 190 प्रतिशत से

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दिनांक : 19.07.2013

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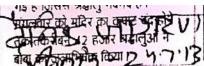
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कार्यालय, धनबाद नगर निगम, धनबाद

आवश्यक सूचना

एतद् द्वारा सूचित किया जाता है कि सरकार के उप सचिव, नगर विकास विभाग झारखण्ड, रांची के पत्रांक 2489 (अनु0) दिनांक 29.06.13 के आलोक में सामाजिक न्याय और अधिकारिता मंत्रालय भारत सरकार द्वारा Manual Scavenger के स्वनियोजन एवं पूनर्वास की नीति के तहत Manual Scavenger का सर्वे किया जा रहा है। उक्त के आलोक में सूचित करना है कि यदि किसी Manual Scavenger का नाम छुट गया हो तो धनबाद नगर निगम कार्यालय में आकर अपना नाम दर्ज करा लें।

आदेशानुसार

नगर आयुक्त, धनबाद



ज्ञापांक 764

दिनांक 23.07.2013

दिल्ली जल बोर्ड

राष्ट्रीय राजघानी क्षेत्र दिल्ली सरकार कार्यालय-कार्यपालक अभियंता (पी) W-II 401, वरुणालय फेज-I क्रोल नाम वर्ष क्रिक्टी १९०००



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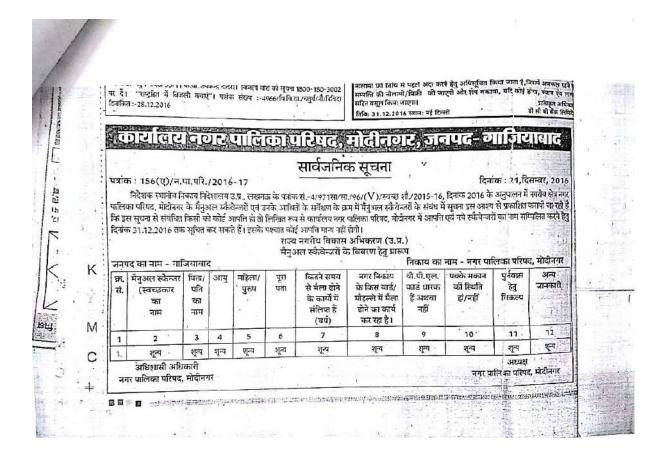
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सीओएस

निविद्यं सूचना सं.: सीओएस/सीएए पारत के राष्ट्रपति की ओर से भंडार नियंत्र के लिए अमांत्रित की जा रही है. निम्नलि संभावित/उपवृक्त आपूर्तिकर्ताओं के टिम्स → COS/KOL के तहत ये स्वीक्तर नहीं किया जायेगा. के बल इलेक्ट निक्य सूचना सीएलडब्ल्यू की बेबसाइ 083-2471-3053/3058/3062, सं.; संदार का विवरण; परिमाण; वे [303]: 3020132624; तेल छाइ प्याइंट 90 डिग्री सीएमआइएन के साथ में स्वीकृत ब्रांड्स-1. प्रोटोमैक एच-6 हिंदुरखन पेट्रोलिवमक्त , 4. सर्वोसिस्टम-प्रा. लि. का, 6. आइपॉल हाइ ड्रोमैक्ल एड

Newspaper ads in Loni asking people to raise objections to the provisional list of the survey



- नगरपालिका परिषद, लोनी (गाजियाबाद)

संस्था-1069 / ने0पाठपे / 2017-18

ः आवश्यक सूचना ः इत्तर प्रदेश पथ विकेता (जीविका संरक्षण और पथ विकेय विनियम) नियमावली

2017 के अन्तर्गत नगरीय पथ विकय समिति के गठन के सम्बन्ध में विज्ञाप्ति उत्तर प्रदेश शासन नगर विकास अनुमाग–9 की अधिशुपना संख्या–111/ 9-9-2017-1700/ 2006 दिनांक 10 मई 2017 द्वारा पथ विकेता (जीविका संरक्षण और पथ विकय विनियम) अधिनियम 2014 (अधिनियम संख्या–7 रान् 2014) की धारा 36 में अधीन नगरीय पथ विकेताओं के अधिकारों के संरक्षण करने और पथ विकय किया कलापी का विनियम करने की दृष्टि से उत्तार प्रदेश भथ विकंता (जीविका संरक्षण और पथ विकय विनियम) नियमावली

2017 अधिसूचना की गयी है, जिनकी धारा 22 के अन्तर्गत नगर पथ विक्य समिति का गठन किया जाना है, जिसका कार्यकाल पांच पर्पों के लिये होगा, जिसमें निम्न श्रेणी के व्यक्तियों को भी सम्मिलित किया जाना है-

सङ्क पटरी / फुटपाथ पंजीकृत व्यापार संगठन के पदाधिकारी।
 पंजीकृत व्यापार मण्डल / विभिन्न बाजारों के संगठन पदाधिकारी।

पंजीकृत रेजीडेन्ट्स वेलफेयर सोसाइटी एवं वेलफेयर संगठन सामुदायिक संगठन।

4- अन्य पंजीकृत सिविल सोसाइटी / स्वयं सेवा संगठन।

ज्वत सभी वर्गों में महिलाओं को भी समुश्रित प्रतिनिधित्व दिया जाना है। अतः नगर पालिका परिषद, लोनी जनपद-गाजियाबाद स्तर पर गठित होने वाली जन्त नगर पथ विकय समिति के सदस्य बनने हेतु इच्छुक व्यक्ति सादा कागज पद आवेदन पत्र, आधार कार्ड, पहचान पत्र, चरित्र प्रमाण पत्र एवं संगठन / ख्यं सेवी संगठन के पंजीकरण प्रमाण पत्र / उप निवम की ख्वः प्रमाणित छायाप्रति सहित दिनांक 14 जुलाई 2017 तक प्रस्तुत कर सकते हैं, जो नगर पालिका परिषद, लोनी के कार्यालय में जमा किये जायेंगे।

(डा० धीरेन्द्रकुमार राय) अधिशासी अधिकारी नगरपालिका परिषद,लोनी गाजियाबाद

(मनोज धामा) नगरपालिका परिषद,लोनी गाजियाबाद

कार्यालयः— नगरपालिका परिषद, लोनी (गाजियाबाद)

पत्रांक संख्या-1068/न0पा0प0/2017-18

:: आवश्यक स्चना ::

निदेशक, स्थानीय निकाय, निदेशालय, उत्तर प्रदेश, लखनऊ के पत्र संख्या— 4 / 971सा / सा. / 96 / (V) / रवच्छ शौ. / 2015—16 दिनांक 2016 के अनुपालन मे नगरीय क्षेत्र पालिका परिषद, तोनी जनपद—गाजियाबाद के मैनुअल रकैवेन्जरों एवं उनके आश्रितों के सर्वेक्षण के कम में मैनुअल स्कैवेन्जरों के सम्बन्ध में सूचना इस आश्रव से प्रकाशित करायी जा रही है कि इस सूचना से सम्बन्धित किसी को कोई आपत्ति हो तो लिखित रूप से कार्यालय नगर पालिका परिषद, लोनी को आपित्त एवं नये मैनुअल स्कैवेन्जरों के नाम सम्मिलित करने हेतु दिनांक 15-07-2017 तक स्चित कर सकते हैं। इसके पश्चात कोई आपत्ति मान्य नहीं होगी।

राज्य नगरीय विकास अभिकरण (उत्तर प्रदेश) मैनअल स्कैवेन्जरों के विवरण हेत् प्रारुप

क0 सं0	नपद का न मैनुअल स्कैवेन्जर (स्वच्छकार) का नाम			महिला / पुरुष	पता	कितने समय से मैला ढोने के कार्य	नेकाय का नाग नगर निकाय के किस वार्ड / मीहल्ले में मैला ढोने का कार्य कर रहा है	बी0पी0 एल0 कार्ड धारक है	पक्के मकान की	पुर्नवास हेतु विकल्प	अन्य जानकारी
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नोट— उपरोक्त के अतिरिक्त नगर क्षेत्र लोनी में ओठडी०एफ0 घोषित वार्डो (वार्ड संख्या-8.9,10,12,15,19,21,32,35,40,44 एवं 45) को छोड़कर जिन मकान मालिकों के पास शौचालय नहीं है अथवा शोचालय गानक के अनुसार बना हुआ नहीं है, यह अपना शौबालय बनाने हेतु नगर पालिका परिषद, लोनी में आवेदन कर अंकन 8,000.00 रुपये की आर्थिक सहायता प्राप्त कर सकता है। यदि कोई व्यक्ति खुले में शौच करता पाया जाता है, किसी गवन मालिक के पास शुष्क शौचालय पाया जाता है, तो सम्बन्धित के विरुद्ध अंकन 5,000 रुपये जुर्माना एवं एफ0आई0आर0 दर्ज करायी जायेगी। जिसकी सम्पूर्ण जिम्मेदारी सम्बन्धित की होगी।

(डा० धीरेन्द्रकुमार राय) अधिशासी अधिकारी नगरपालिका परिषद,लोनी

(मनोज धामा) STEELER नगरपालिका परिषद,लोनी गाजियाबाद

2017 जानर उजाला पुष्ठ स्ठाउति

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अति अत्यकालीन गिवदा सूचना-अधोहस्ताधरकतो द्वारा मोहरबन्द निर्व भागी में अनुभवी ठेंकदारी से दिनांक 18.07.2017, सार्थ 2:00 खंब तक व की जाती है, जो उसी दिन 3:00 बजे, अबकाश घोषित होने पर अगले कार में उपस्थित निधिदादाताओं के समक्ष खोली जाएगी। भाग प्रथम में भरोह सर्विस टैक्स का प्रमाण पत्र, टिन नम्बर, पैन नम्बर, श्रम विभाग में पंजी प्रमाण पत्र एवं संबंधित कार्य का अनुभव का प्रमाण तथा भाग द्वितीय में दर्र होंगी। निविदा प्रपत्र दिनांक 17.07.2017 तक अंकन रुपये-575.00 (आप्र जमा कराकर क्रय किए जा सकते हैं। भरोहर शशि अंकन रुपये-2,0 एफ.डी.आर./काल डिपोर्जिट के रूप में अधिशासी अभियंता, विद्युत वितरण गढ़मुबतेश्वर के पक्ष में देय होनी चाहिए। अधोहस्ताधरकर्ता को थिना कारण समस्त निविदा को निरस्त करने का पूर्ण अधिकार सुरक्षित है। निविदा नि बेबसाईट www.pvvnl.org पर भी अपलांड की गयी है। अति अल्प निविदा संख्या-02/(कार्य)/वि.वि.ख.गढ़/2017-18-दिनांक 05.07.20 मुख्यमंत्री जी उ.प्र. सरकार के ब्रजधाट गढ़ आगमन हेतु हैलीपैड के पास के.बी. एवं 11 के.बी. लाईन को हटाना व मा. मुख्यमंत्री जी के चले जाने व 33 के.बी. य 11 के.बी. विद्युत लाईन के निर्माण का कार्य। अधिशामी आ विद्युत वितरण खण्ड, गढ़मुक्तेप्रवर। विद्युत हेल्पत्ताइन 1800-180-(मेरठ) 'राष्ट्रहित में विजली बचाएं'। पत्रांक-1302, दिनांक :-07.07.20

पश्चिमाञ्चल विद्युत वितरण निगम लि

पूर्णकालीन ई-निविदा सूचना : अश्रोहस्ताक्षरकर्ता द्वारा निम्न कार्यो हेतु मी। निविदाएं दो अलग-अलग भागों में, अनुभवी ठेकेदारों से दिनांक 11.08. सायं 02.00 बजे तक आमंत्रित की जाती हैं जो कि उसी दिन 03.00 अवकारा घोषित होने पर अगले कार्य दिवस में, उपस्थित निविदादाताओं के खोली जाएंगी तथा ई-निविदा संख्या-09/वि वि.स.हा./2017-18/कार्य का भाग (प्राईस बिड) इस कार्यालय में सार्वजनिक रूप से दिनांक 19.08.1 समय 14.00 वजे खोला जाएगा। निविदा खाले जाने के दिन यार्वजनिक अर होने की दशा में अगले कार्य दिवस में खोला जाएगा। भाग प्रथम में धरोहर सर्विस टैक्स का प्रमाण पत्र, टिन नम्बर, अनुभव प्रमाण पत्र, श्रम विध पंजीकरण का प्रमाण, व पैन नम्बर एवं संबंधित कार्य के अनुभव का प्रमा तथा भाग द्वितीय में दरें व शर्तें होंगी। निविदा प्रपत्र इस कार्यालय से किसी भी दिवस में निविदा खुलने की विथि से एक दिन पूर्व तक निविदा के सम्मुख शुल्क (अप्रतिदेय) जमा कराकर प्राप्त किए जा सकते हैं। ई-निविदा की प राशि एफ.डी.आर./काल डिपोजिट के रूप में अधिशासी अभियंता, विद्युत वि खण्ड, हापुड़ के पक्ष में देय होनी चाहिए। अधोहस्ताक्षत्कर्ता को विना कारण किसी भी अथवा समस्त निविदाओं को निरस्त करने का पूर्ण अधिकार सुरिध कृपया निविदा की विस्तृत जानकारी वेबसाइट etender.up.nic.ii www.pvvnl.org पर देखी जा सकती है। ई-निविदा सं 09/वि.वि.ख.हा./2017-18/कार्य। खण्ड के अंतर्गत विभिन्न स्थानी पर स्थ 11/0.4 के.वी., 400/630/1000 के.वी.ए. क्षमता के मीडियम पावर परिट की अतिभारिता को कम करने के लिए, एल.टी. डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन वॉक्स. (Tailess Unit) ठेकेदार द्वारा स्वयं उपलब्ध कराते हुए स्थापित कर-कार्य। निविदा शुल्फ रु. 1725/- धरोहर राशि रु. 20,000/-। ई-निविदा सं 10/वि.वि.ख.हा./2017-18/कार्य। मा. विधायक जी की निधि के अंतर्गत वि कार्यों को सम्पादित कराना। निविदा शुल्क रु. 575/- धरोहर राशि रु. 3,00 ई-निविदा संख्या-11/वि.वि.ख.हा./2017-18/कार्य। उपखण्ड प्रथम के का में समय-समय पर जमा योजना के अंतर्गत विभिन्न कार्यों को सम्पादित क निविदा शुल्क रु. 575/- धरोहर राशि रु. 2,000/-। ई-निविदा संग 12/वि.वि.ख.हा./2017-18/कार्य। उपखण्ड द्वितीय के कार्यक्षेत्र में समय-भ पर जमा योजना के अंतर्गत विभिन्न कार्यों को सम्पादित कराना। निवदा शुल् 575/- धरोहर राशि रु. 2,000/-। अधिशासी अभियंता, विद्युत वितरण र हापुड़। विद्युत हेल्पलाइन 1300-180-3002 (मेरठ) 'राप्ट्रीहत में पि बचाएं । पत्रांक-2615, दिनांक :-07.07.2017

> सी अधिकारी नगर पालिका परिषद्, लोनी

UP state list of manual scavengers. RTI response received from the NSKFDC

12(iii). Loans for sustainable livelihood projects at concessional rates of interest with a capital subsidy upto a maximum of Rs.3.25 lakh, is provided beneficiaries. Kindly provide the list of all beneficiaries under this scheme, alongwith supporting name and documents, addresses in the States of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand and Madhya Pradesh between the period of 2013 and 2018.

Subsidy against loan sanctioned by various banks and State Channelizing Agencies (SCAs) for setting up the self employment units have been provided to manual scavengers and their dependants under SRMS in Uttar Pradesh (list enclosed).

As far as Bihar, Jharkhand and Madhya Pradesh states are concerned proposal for providing subsidy has been received from these States.

Response to RTI (dated 14.8.18) by NSKFDC claims that "no manual scavengers were identified in Jharkhand"

The point-wise information is given as under: -

Q.No.	Information Sought	Information Provided
2(i)	One Time Cash Assistance	Out of 13,770 manual scavengers
.,	(OTCA) of Rs.40,000/- to one	identified upto 2017-18, onetime cash
	identified manual scavenger per	assistance of Rs.40,000/- has been
	family is provided to the	released to 12,203 manual scavengers
	beneficiaries. Kindly provide the	under Self Employment Scheme for
65	list of all beneficiaries under this	Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers
	scheme, alongwith supporting	(SRMS).
	documents, name and	
	addresses in the States of Uttar	The details of the manual scavengers
	Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand and	provided onetime cash assistance
	Madhya Pradesh between the	under SRMS including those in the
	period of 2013 and 2018.	States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and
	* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Uttar Pradesh can be accessed from
		https://nskfdc.nic.in/en/node/76758. No
		manual scavenger was identified in
		Jharkhand.

RTI response stating that the number of manual scavengers in Powai, Panna district is zero

कार्यात्य नगर परिषद पवर्ड जिला पन्ना (म॰प्र॰)

क्रि. १ वर्ष १० - ०७७३३३६६३३७ Email ID- cmopawai@mpurban.gov.in
पवर्ड दिनांक 02 04 2019

प्रति,

श्री सागर कुम्भारे संटर फॉर इक्विटी स्टडीज नई दिल्ली।

विषय:-

रिसर्चर सेंटर फॉर इक्विटी स्टडीज द्वारा सूचना के अधिकार के तहत ग्राप्त आवेदन की

जानकारी के संबंध में।

संदर्भ:-

आपका आवेदन दिनांक 29.03.2019।

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उपरोक्त विषयान्तर्गत संदर्भित पत्र के माध्यम से नगर प्ररिषद पवई में मैनुअल स्कवेजिंग एक्ट 2013 हाथ से मैंला उठाने वाले कर्मियों के नियोजन का प्रतिषेध और उनका पुर्नवास अधिनियम 2013 के अंतर्गत जानकारी बिन्दुवार निम्नानुसार है:—

क0	एजेन्ड बिन्द	. सूचना
1	नगर परिषद पवई में आने वाले क्षेत्र में सर पर	. निरंक
"as (मैंला ढोने / हाथ से मैला उठाने वाले स्वच्छकारों	# E
	की संख्या बताये।	9
2	हाथ से मैला उठाने वाले स्वच्छकारों एवं उनके	. निरंक
725	आश्रितो के पुनर्वास की स्थिति क्या है।	*
3.	नगर परिषद पवई में आने वाले क्षेत्र में शुष्क	निरंक
	शौचालयों की संख्या कितनी है।	44.5
4	हाथ से मैला उठाने वाले कंर्मियों के पहचान के	. निरंक
1000	लिये उभारे गये कैंपो की जानकारी पहुचाने के	
	लिये अखबारो में दिये गए विज्ञांपनों तथा पोस्टरों	(
	की जानकारी दें।	
5	हाथ से मैला उठाने वाले कर्मियों के नियोजन का	निरंक
١.	प्रतिषेध और उनका पुर्नवास अधिनियम 2013 के	
	अंतर्गत किये गये सर्वे में पाये गये हाथ से मैला	
-	उठाने वांले कर्मियों की 2014 से 2018 तक की	
	जानकारी दें।	
6	नगर परिषद पवई के क्षेत्र में एस.आर.एम.एस	निरंक
1	(सेल्फ एम्लायमेंट स्कीम फार रिहैबिलिटेशन आफ	
	भैन्युअल स्कवेंजर्स) के अंतर्गत कितने हाथ से	
19	मैला उठानें वाले कर्मियों को 2014 से लेकर	
	2018 तक इसका लाभ मिला है. इसकी जानकारी	
	दें।	
	[9]	

मुख्य नगर पालिका अधिकारी र नगर परिषद पवई जिला पन्ना(म०प्र०)

RTI response stating that there are zero manual scavengers in Dehri

KITIC	sponse stating that there are ze	LIO IIIaiiuai	scavengers		POST STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE	
To yet			F. of	-1		
1 1/2 -	been held?			. 7		1. 3
16.	Has the State Government			14 N	-	
	constituted the State		lr.	1		
1.	Monitoring Committee, as	Mark Comment	A			ř
4	required under Section 26?	1. St. 1	francis.			
17.	Has any meeting of the State	N. A.	7			, if
0	Monitoring Committee been	(n '				
Maria Tea	held?		1000	1		4
18.	Has the State Government	101. The same of t				. 5
8			190	1 3		
9		8 ×				*
2500	Commission or any other		1 P	1		124
ħ.	statutory or other authority,		•			
1	to perform functions similar			1		. "
12.3	to that of the National			1		723
ha!	Commission for Safai	.	- 4	1 .	n 5.33	
	Karamcharis, as required					., 1
	under Section 32?			10.		
19.	Has the State Government					. 8
1	framed Rules, as required	_			1,74	
	under Section 36 of the Act?					. *
	- 1			-		. r
				I I		18
(i)	number of insanitary latrines	identified (Rural and Ur	han areas	enarately) .	
(.)		, idoliumod (rtararana or	ban aicas .	g. (Vienaiarease	200
(ii)	number of incapitant latrings	domolioho	d (Dural and			
701	number of insanitary latrines	demonstre	u (Kurai and	urban area	is separately)	103909
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(iii)		ry latrines o	constructed (F	Rural and U	rban areas	19
	separately):	5 2 700	B		Ø :	•
0		į				
(iv)	number of manual scavenge	ers identified	d (Rural and	Urban area	s senarately)	
	14 to 12 14 14 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15				40	200
(v)	number of manual scave	ngers reh	ahilitated (R	ural and	Urben	
	separately)	90.0 1011	abilitated (n	iuiai aliu	Orban area	s ADD
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Annexure 16RTI response showing 11 recipients of OTCA in Loni

	SNo	District	Sub-distric	t Village	ReceiptNo					* 1
SC	'_	- 12-		1		Name & Relation	Age	Gender	Address	FINAL OTCA STA
/	1	Ghaziabad	Ghaziabad	Asalatpur Farakh Nagar	091400073911971 100008	8 ANJALI C/o ANIL	30	Female	VILLAGE ASALATPUR FARUKHNAGAR LONI GHAZIABAD	
00	3	Ghaziabad	Ghaziabad	Asalatpur Farakh Nagar	091400073911971 100006	8 JAGROOP C/o PERKASH	56	Male	VILLAGE ASALATPUR FARUKHNAGAR LONI GHAZIABAD	OTCA RECEIVED
قهز	4	Ghaziabad	Ghaziabad	Asalatpur Farakh Nagar	091400073911971	8 KRISHNA.C/o BABU	56	Female	VILLAGE ASALATPUR FARUKHNAGAR LONI	OTCA RECEIVED N
	5	Ghaziabad	Ghaziabad	Asalatpur Farakh Nagar	091400073911971 100010	REMCHAND	50	Female	VILLAGE ASALATPUR FARUKHNAGAR LONI GHAZIABAD	STATE OF THE PARTY
	6		Ghaziabad	Asalatpur Farakh Nagar	0914000739119714 100004	RADHYSHYAM C/o	58	Male	VILLAGE ASALATPUR FARUKHNAGAR LONI	OTCA RECEIVED
	8	Ghaziabad	Ghaziabad	Asalatpur Farakh Nagar	0914000739119718 100015	RAJKUMARI C/o E LALCHAND	45	Female	VILLAGE ASALATPUR FARUKHNAGAR LONI GHAZIABAD	OTCA RECEIVED
- 1	8		Ghaziabad	Asalatpur Farakh Nagar	0914000739119718 100005	OMPERKASH	60	Female	VILLAGE ASALATPUR FARUKHNAGAR LONI	OTCA RECEIVED
~ ~	30000	1142	Ghaziabad	Asalatpur Farakh Nagar	100011	SANTOSH C/o RAJU	40	Female	VILLAGE ASALATPUR FARUKHNAGAR LONI GHAZIABAD	OTCA RECEIVED
- L	201	Ghaziabad	Ghaziabad	Asalatpur Farakh Nagar	0914000739119718 100001	SHYAM C/o OMPERKASH	45 4	Male	VILLAGE ASALATNAGAR FARUKNAGAR LONI	delino
_		inter .	Ghaziabad	Asalatpur Farakh Nagar	0914000739119718 100007	SHYAMWATI C/6 RAJAY	55	Female	GHAZIABAD AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AND A	OTCA RECEIVED
		- T		Asalatpur Farakh Nagar	0914000739119718 100002	SUKHVERI C/o NANAK	50	Female	VILLAGE ASALATPUR FARUKHNAGAR LONI GHAZIABAD	OTCA RECEIVED
				Asalatpur Farakh Nagar	0914000739119718 100014	SUNITA C/o MANOJ	40	Female	VILLAGE ASALATPUR FARUKHNAGAR LONI	OTCA RECEIVED
+	15	Shaziabad		Asalatpur Farakh Nagar	0914000739119718 100009	SURESHWATI C/o HARIRAM	55 .	Female	GHAZIABAD VILLAGE ASALATPUR FARUKHNAGAR LONI	OTCA RECEIVED
		Shaziabad G	V. S. S. A.	Masuri	0914000739119745 100001	BEENA C/o RAJU	45	Female	GHAZIAABD VILLAGE MASURE POST	OTCA RECEIVED
		haziabad G		Masuri	0914000739119745 100005	BHARTI C/o RAJAN	35	Female	DASNA TEHSIL GHAZIABAD VILLAGE DASNA MASURI	OTCA RECEIVED
		haziabad G		Masuri	0914000739119745 100004	GEETA C/o GEETA	36	Fernale	GHAZIABAD VILLAGE DASNA MASURI	OTCA RECEIVED
13	100		Service Trans	Masuri	0914000739119745	LAXMI DEVI.C/o	55	Female	GHAZIABAD VILLAGE DASNA MASURI	OTCA RECEIVED
		haziabad G		Aascori	0914000739119745 100001	SUDHA C/o RAJAN	30	Female	GHAZIABAD VILLAGE DASNA MASURI	OTCA RECEIVED
	I G	laziabad G	haziahad L	lazuri .	0914000739119745 100632	VIMLESH C/o	42	Female	GHAZIABAD * VILLAGE DASNA MASURI GHAZIABAD	OTCA RECEIVED

RTI response stating that no manual scavengers have received benefits under the SRMS scheme in Dhanbad

कार्यालय, धनबाद नगर निगम, धनबाद।

सेवा में,

जन सूचना पदाधिकारी, धनबाद नगर निगम, धनबाद।

विषय:- स

सूचना उपलब्ध कराने के संबंध में।

महाशय,

जपर्युक्त विषय के आलोक में कहना है कि श्री सागर कुंभारे द्वारा मांगी गई सूचनाएँ . निम्नवत् है।

- (1) SRMS के अंतर्गत किसी भी Manual Scavengers को लाभ नहीं दिया गया है।
- (2) छायाप्रति संलग्न।
- (3) छायाप्रति संलग्न।

अनुलग्नक :- यथोक्त्।

विश्वासभाजन

नगर प्रबंधक,

भूनबाद नगर निगम।

RTI response shows that in all four of our field States, UP, Bihar, Jharkhand and MP, the number of people who have benefited from these loans is zero

							the States of						
SI. No.	Name of State	2013	3-14	2014	-15	201	5-16	2016	-17	201	7-18	(Rs. in	
		FIN.	PHY.	FIN.	PHY.	FIN.	PHY.	FIN.	PHY.	FIN.	PHY.		-
1	Utta: Pradesh	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	PHT.	FIN.	PHY.
2	Bihar	0.00	0	0.00	0				0		U	0.00	0
3	Jharkhand	0.00	0	-		0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0
		The state of the s	U	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0
3	Madhya Pradesh	0.00				0.00		0.00	0	0.00	-	0.00	-









