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Manual Scavenging: A Practice Prohibited, Yet Continues

Abstract

It is an irony that even after seven decades since independence; our country is striving to put a stop to the most inhumane activity- manual scavenging. It is a matter of national shame that thousands of people are still working as manual scavengers and still collect human excrement from 'dry latrines', carried on their head and cart it away for disposal at the outskirt of the settlement. The authors, through this paper, seek to illustrate the issues faced by manual scavengers and the reasons for the persistence of manual scavenging in the country. This paper critically analyzes the efforts that are made to stop this practice and seeks to highlight the failure of the state instrumentalities in ensuring the rights of the scavenging community. The authors, through this article, have suggested remedial measures and progressive steps to bring the scavenging community into the mainstream of our country.

Keywords: Manual Scavenging, Dry Latrines, Dalit, Human Excreta, Untouchable, Sanitation Workers, Swachh Bharat Abhiyan.

Introduction

"Everyone must be his own scavenger" -- Mahatma Gandhi Labour force is very crucial resources of an economy as it

has the capacity to characterize the development, improvement, and prosperity of any nation. They are the general people who construct the pillar of achievement for any economy. They are in charge of the powerful and optimum utilization of the nation's assets. With India, poised to have the largest workforce in the world by 2025 it is imperative that labour issues are given the attention and importance that they deserve.

In spite of technological development, there are certain work classes, who are bound to perform inhuman and unhealthy practice, confronting the issue of untouchability denied their fundamental rights and living without nobility. This working class is known as Manual Scavengers, performing hereditary occupation, unwillingly and mightily for their unfilled stomach.

Manual Scavenger has been defined as "a person engaged or employed by an individual or a local authority or an agency or a contractor, for manually cleaning, carrying, disposing of, or otherwise handling in any manner, human excreta in an insanitary latrine or in an open drain or pit into which the human excreta from the insanitary latrines is disposed of, or on a railway track or in such other spaces or premise, before the excreta fully decomposed"

The Manual Scavenger is also known as the 'SafaiKaramchari' in Hindi. SafaiKaramchari can be defined as "a person engaged in or employed for manually carrying human excreta or any sanitation work".

As of late, on the request and battle of a few organisations and activists for solid law to handle this issue the legislature has instituted The Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013 which might be acknowledged for different reasons like an expanded meaning of a manual scavenger, prohibition of dangerous cleaning of septic tanks sewer and, severe punishments, its automatic binding nature, strong accountability mechanism, rehabilitation provisions, its shift from mere sanitation to human dignity particularly its acknowledgment in its preamble that "it is necessary to correct the historical injustice and indignity suffered by the manual scavengers, and to rehabilitate them to a life of dignity". However, the new Act is more



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extensive than its ancestor yet at the same time, it contains some escape clauses that should be plugged.

Moreover, the initiative was taken by the government like Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, Swachh Yug Abhiyan, and much more are playing a vital role to provide dignity to manual scavengers.

Manual scavenging is a profession which has been in existence since human development. It is also enumerated in the Naradiya Samhita as one of the fifteen duties of the slaves. An essential component of the Indian Caste System is that a specific occupation is associated with every cast. The unhygienic practice with regards to manually removing human excreta includes removal of night soil from dry toilets with exposed hands, floor brushes or metal scrappers; carrying excreta and baskets to dumping areas for disposal.

The scavengers are also known by various names in different parts of India viz. Bhangis, Dom, Dhanuk, Mazhabi, Thoti, Lalbegi, Balmiki, Hela, Pakay, Chuhra, Mukhiyar, Mehtar, Halalkhor and so forth.

There are 13, 14,652 toilets where human excreta is flushed in open channels, 7, 94,390 dry lavatories where the human excreta is cleaned physically. 73 percent of these are in rural areas and 27 percent are in urban areas. There are 2.6million dry lavatories in the country³.

According to the House Listing and Housing Census, 2011, there were 7.94 lakh latrines in the nation from which night soil was removed by human beings. However, the exact figure of persons still occupied with manual scavenging is not obtainable. During execution of the National Scheme for Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers, from 1992 to 2005, 7.70 lakh manual scavengers and their wards were identified by States/UTs. Later on, the Self- Employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers was launched in January 2007, for covering the remaining manual scavengers and their dependents, under which the States/UTs had recognized 1.18 lakh manual scavengers and their dependents, out of which each of the 79,454 qualified and willing beneficiaries were given assistance. So the idea of the magnitude of the issue of manual searching can be evaluated from these figures.

The Indian Railways are one of the biggest employers of manual scavengers as they don't have a proper system of disposing of excreta. The passenger coaches have toilets dropping the human excreta directly from trains on the tracks and thus need to employ manual scavengers for cleaning the tracks manually. They are employed through contractors, and they earn around Rs 200 per day. Barring a few trains, the Indian Railways does not employ any technology to keep its 80,000 toilets and 115,000 kilometers of tracks clean. They cannot

Asian Resonance

completely stop employing scavengers until stations get washable aprons and sealed toilet systems. In the Railway Budget 2016-17, Railway Minister has set the objective to fit 17,000 bio-toilets in long - distance trains in the 'Swachh Rail Swachh Bharat' program, aiming to do away with direct release toilets from passenger coaches by 2020-21. In Union Budget 2017- 2018 government informed that SMS-based "clean my coach service" is set up and by 2019 every train will have bio- toilets.

The Municipal Waste Workers do the most filthy and dangerous task of unclogging and cleaning the underground sewerage systems in the urban areas of the country. Non-availability of latest machines forced them to go into the underground sewerage lines through the sewer manholes and rinse them wherever the lines are blocked. The poisonous and toxic gases pose a direct threat to their life. As indicated by the information gathered by the Safai Kamgar Vikas Sangh 320 municipal workers lost their lifes in 2002-03, 316 in 2003-04, and 288 in 2004-05, in only 14 of the 24 wards of the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation(BMC)⁴.

By the virtue of their occupation, these workers are exposed to numerous medical issues. These health issues incorporate exposure to poisonous gasses, (for instance, methane and hydrogen sulfide), respiratory problems and infections like Leptospirosis, Hepatitis, and Helicobacter. A report submitted by the Rashtriya Gramin Abhiyan to the UN in the year 20132013 notes that direct handling of excreta by the manual scavengers lead to grave health issues such as vomiting, constant headache, skin and respiratory diseases, trachoma, anemia, carbon monoxide poisoning, and diarrhea. These conditions are further aggravated by an inability to access proper health facilities and widespread care malnutrition⁵.

Review of Literature

Philippe Cullet and Sujith Koonan, (2019) critically analyses the contributions of the law and policy framework to the realisation of the righ right to sanitation in India, including the role of the Swachh Bharat Mission, institutional aspects, initiatives to foster community participation, infrastructure dimensions, wastewater treatment and re-use, manual scavenging and rights of sanitation workers, and gender dimensions.

K.M. Noronha, (2018) made an effort to understand manual scavenging as a typology of sanitation-based activities and choices rather than the traditional focus of just caste-based social injustice faced by manual scavengers.

Philippe Cullet and Loveen Bhullar, (2015) provides an overview of the existing legal as well as policy instruments related to sanitation in India. It also highlights the importance, complexity, and fragmented nature

of the legal and policy frameworks that inform the sanitation sector.

Stephanie Tarn, (2012) examining how sanitation technology threatened caste politics, as well as how the caste system modified the way sewers were used and maintained.

Bindeshwar Pathak, (2010) provides detailed account of castes involved in manual scavenging and laid great emphasis on the sewerage system and sanitation.

Gita Ramaswamy, (2005) keeps a track on SafaiKaramchari Andolan of Bezwada Wilson, working relentlessly for the abolition of manual scavenging in India.

Objectives of the Study

- To find out the meaning, magnitude and forms of manual scavenging in India.
- To study the various reasons for the plight of manual scavengers which include historical, caste based reasons, lack of Governmental support and weak laws.
- To ascertain the merits and demerits of old legislation and establishing the need for the proper implementation of the new law.
- To analyze the provisions of new legislation passed by the government and various schemes and their outcome in the direction of eradication of manual scavenging.
- To find out the proper solution for the eradication of practice of the manual scavenging.

Role of International Organisations

The International Labor Organization planned and embraces distinctive International traditions viz. Constrained Labor Convention (1930), Abolition of Forced Labor Convention (1957), Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention no. 111 (1958), to restrict unequal treatment of workers on various biased grounds including caste. In 2007, during the International Labor Conference, the issue of manual scavenging was also discussed and examined under the applications of ratified conventions. Besides, the practices also violate the principals of Universal Declaration of Human Rights and some other conventions like The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) adopted in 1979 where India is also a signatory.

Committees, Commissions, and Rehabilitation Schemes

The Indian Government has not remained completely oblivious to the problem of manual scavenging in the country, It has constituted many committees viz. Barve Committee (1949), Kelkar Commission (1953), Central Advisory Board of Harijan Welfare (1956), Malkani Committee (1965) and has started many rehabilitation schemes for the liberation of manual scavengers.

During the Third Five Year Plan (1961-1966) the Prime Minister of India assured to prohibit manual scavenging and apportioned Rs. 800 crores to rehabilitate manual scavengers.

Asian Resonance

The National Human Rights Commission of India called for a report on the programs and schemes adopted by the Ministry of Urban Development and Poverty Alleviation concerning the prohibition of construction of dry latrines, and the replacement of dry toilets into the pour-flush latrines, as also the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment concerning with the rehabilitation of freed scavengers. In 1993 National Commission for Backward Class and National Commission for SafaiKarmachari was set up to advance socioeconomic upliftment of manual scavengers and their dependents.

On 24 January 1997, National Safai Karmachari Finance and Development Corporation was introduced under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment as a non-profit company for the upliftment of manual scavengers and their wards by way of extending monetary assistance at concessional rate of interest for income generating activities and credits to student for pursuing technical and professional education for their alternative rehabilitation. On March 1992, National Scheme of Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers and their Dependentswerelaunched to achieve this end but the scheme had failed to achieve its objectives.

In April 2007, the Indian government launched the Self Employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers (SRMS) with an aim to totally abolish the practice till March 2009. But, the due date extended to March 2010 as the implementing machinery failed to meet the objective. The main object of the scheme was to rehabilitate them in other alternate suitable professions by providing subsidy and concessional loans, but the progress report of the scheme suggested that only 31% of the allocated budget has been utilized and 33.4% of the identified individuals under SRMS program have not benefited. Later on, the scheme has been revised in 2013 to give one-time cash assistance accomplish its targets.

The Swachh Bharat Mission was launched on October 2, 2014, to realize the vision of a cleaner India by October 2, 2019, as a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi on his 150th birth anniversary by constructing 12 million toilets in rural India. Apart from making the country open defecation free, achieving universal sanitation coverage and improving cleanliness the other objectives of the Mission was include eliminating manual scavenging, ensuring proper management of solid and liquid waste, and facilitating the participation of the private sector towards the provision of cleanliness facilities. The Mission inter alia aims to achieve these objectives by behavior change and enhancing awareness about the positive effects sanitation on health outcomes.

Swachh Yug Abhiyan launched on June 7, 2014, is a collaborative effort between

the Swachh Bharat Mission, local youth leader and Namami Gange Project. The Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation, in participation with Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, and Ministry of Water Resources, River Development and Ganga Rejuvenation is extending its support to Five states of Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal, to make all villages along the river Ganga Open Defecation Free. There are 5,169 villages along the river Ganga that falls under 1,651 Gram Panchayats, 52 Districts, and 5 states⁶.

Constitutional and Legislative Protection

Since independence, the government has adopted various legislative and policy measures to completely wipe out this inhuman practice. The Preamble to the Constitution of India gives assurances to every Indian equity, justice, liberty, and fraternity. The practice of manual scavenging also violates Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Indian Constitution Viz. Article 14⁷, Article 17⁸, Article 219, and Article 2310. Apart from it manual scavenging also stands in contravention of Directive Principles of State Policy mentioned in Article 39 (e) and Article 46 which directs the government to ensure a safe and healthy workplace for workers and to ensure the promotion of justice and welfare of scheduled castes.

The legal instrument that addresses the issues and interests of Dalits and manual scavengers depends on the different provision incorporated in our Constitution. The first of these Acts was the Untouchability (Offenses) Act, 1955¹¹. It was further amended in 1977 and is currently known as the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955. Under the amended Act the practice of untouchability was made both cognizable and non-compoundable offence and stricter punishment was imposed on the wrongdoer. But the penal provisions of the revised Act were too lenient like its predecessor Act of 1955 and it similarly failed to affect any change.

In response to the failure of above legislations Parliament of India passed The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act in 1989¹², to combat caste-based discrimination. This enactment was sought to prevent the commission of atrocities and serious crimes against the lower cast.

However, unlike its predecessor The Scheduled Castes Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act experienced a close total disappointment in its government implementation. The Indian conceded this disappointment in its 2001-2002 Annual Report on the Prevention of Atrocities Act which expressed that in 2002 only 2.31 percent of cases brought under the Act resulted in the conviction of wrongdoer.

Asian Resonance

In the light of its earlier disappointments, Parliament specifically confronted with the issue of manual scavenging by enacting the Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993¹³

. It prohibited engaging in or employing or permitting to be engaged in or employed for any other person for manually carrying human excreta. ¹⁴ It also prohibited the construction or maintenance of dry latrine ¹⁵. Under this law, the off ender could be imprisoned for up to one year or a fine of 2,000 rupees or both ¹⁶.

Despite these provisions, the exemptions provided under Section 3(2) of this Act makes it practically difficult to completely abolish manual scavenging 17. It is apparent that the Act puts more emphasis on sanitation and the protection of the environment and overlook the issue of human dignity mentioned in its preamble. Moreover, up to 2006, not even a sole grievance had been filed under this law.

Recently, on the demand and struggle some organization and activists the government has passed The Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013¹⁸, which may be appreciated for various reasons like a broadened meaning of a manual scavenger, its provisions prohibiting hazardous cleaning of septic tanks and sewer, clauses on severe penalties, its automatic binding nature, its shift from merely sanitation to human dignity, strong accountability mechanism, rehabilitation provisions and the acknowledgement inits preamble that "it is necessary to correct the historical injustice and indignity suffered by the manual scavengers and to rehabilitate them to the life of dignity". The new Act restricting manual scavenging is more exhaustive than its forerunner yet at the same time contains escape clauses that should be plugged.

Its main objectives are:-

- Prohibition of scavengers¹⁹, employment as manual Rehabilitation of manual scavengers²⁰. But the Act is not taking us much beyond the former rehabilitation schemes which were launched from 1993. The enactment should expressly ensure government subsidizes school education for every offspring of school - going age, with grants for advanced education, and professional and vocational training. The past experience of harassment and corruption in giving the loan, and the truth that most of the manual scavengers are older and illiterate women's, the programs ought to be fully grant based. Women ought to have the alternative of getting a monthly pension.
- 2. Unlike 1993 law the definition of "manual scavenger" is more elaborate and inclusive in this Act. But the benefits of the expanded definition are entirely undone by the proviso that a person who cleans excreta with the help of such devices and using such protective gears the Central Government may notify in this behalf shall not be

deemed to be a manual scavenger²¹. It intentionally introduces a vast escape route as employers may barely issue protective clothing and gloves, which the Central Government notifies as adequate.

- 3. Under the 2013 Act, each cantonment board, railway authority and local authority is under an obligation for surveying insanitary latrines within its area and jurisdiction as well as surveys for identifying persons employed as manuals cavengers²². They are also responsible for constructing a number of community sanitary latrines but the role of state government in the past are not satisfactory. They generally refused community findings even it was backed by strong proof. Such an act can be prevented only by the system of continuous surveillance started with a joint survey by selected teams of administrative officials and members of the community.
- 4. The new enactment also puts the responsibility upon occupier for demolishing or converting the insanitary latrine at his own cost²³. In the case of his failure to do so, the local authority shall do so and recover the expenditure from him²⁴.
- The local authority and the district magistrate shall be the authorities responsible for implementing the Act²⁵.
- Offences under this law shall be cognizable and non-bailable²⁶ and may be tried summarily²⁷.
- It provides for detailed vigilance mechanism and monitoring committee at district, state, and central level²⁸.

Role of Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs)

Many non-governmental organizations like Sulabh International, Garima Abhiyan, Safai Karamchari Andolan and Navsrajan Trust have worked relentlessly to pressurize the government to bring in a more strict penal law which makes the employment of manual scavengers an offence.

Sulabh International Social Service Organisation has tried to provide the formula for the eradication of this practice. Unique sanitation technologies founded by its founder Dr. Bindeshwar Pathak has helped in checking the practice of manual scavenging as these technologies provide for a low-cost hygienic sanitation which reduces dependencies on scavengers for cleaning. The two-pit toilet technology developed by its founder has brought the revolutionary changes in the sanitation patterns of the rural India²⁹.

The Safai Karmachari Andolan is a nationwide movement focused on the complete abolition of this practice and the rehabilitation of each scavenger for a dignified profession. Shree Bezwada Wilson, the founder of Safai Karmachari Andolan and recipient of the Magsaysay Award for the year 2016 aptly says" I realized we are not doing scavenging because we are illiterate and poor. We are doing it because of the way society is organized" His fight is "When technology has advanced so much, why the work cannot be done

Asian Resonance

mechanically?" In 2003, he filed a PIL in the Supreme Court of India praying for issuance of a writ of mandamus to the respondent- State Governments, Union of India, and Union Territories for strict enforcement of the Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993, inter alia, sought for enforcement of fundamental rights ensured under Articles 14, 17, 21 and 47 of the Constitution of India.

On March 27, 2014, the Supreme Court passed a landmark judgment and held that India's constitution requires state intervention to end manual scavenging and rehabilitate all people engaged in the practice. This meant not onlyending the practice but only ending the abuses faced by communities engaged in manual scavenging. The Court directed all the States to abolish manual scavenging and take steps for rehabilitation of such workers. The court acknowledged that Dry latrines continue to exist notwithstanding the fact that the 1993 Act was in force for nearly two decades³⁰.

Conclusion and Suggestions

On the basis of foregoing discussion it can be concluded that despite all such positive initiatives are taken by the Government, the majority of Dalits continue to work as a manual scavenger. The Indian government has come out with many Laws and Schemes but the benefit of such schemes are not reaching to them because of the lack of awareness made by the government, improper implementation of laws, schemes, inappropriate functioning of the authorities and many other reasons. Recent instances from communities involved in this practice in many states bring to light the failures of government attempts to end it. Last but not least, awareness among the general public to discourage such an inhuman practice is unavoidable. Moreover, when India committed to making the country Swaccha by 2nd October 2019, the immediate inevitable need is to address the miserable plight of the country's manual scavengers and pay focused attention acknowledging the fact that manual scavenging is a question of human dignity rather than sanitation issues. Looking to these circumstances, we can say that there are miles to go to uplift the manual scavengers from such inhumane practices.

Some of the constructive recommendations in this regard can be adopted: Use of Technology

Introduction of mechanical changes will make the occupation safe, humane and dignified, and also guarantee that people don't need to come in direct contact with night soil. The government is required to invest in the new technologies available across the globe to completely eradicate the age-old system of manual scavenging and to dispense with the necessity of an individual to directly contact with human excreta.

Linking MNREGA and other social securityii. schemes with the Scavenging Act of 2013

Since the new Act doesn't have any express provision of linking rehabilitation programs for scavengers with the MNREGA³¹. Thus, an amendment must be brought to the Act of 2013 and the rehabilitation programs must be linked with MNREGA and various other social security legislations like Unorganized Sector Workers' Social Security Act, 2008³².

Effective Coordination among Public and Private Authorities

The Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation, the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, the Ministry of Rural Development, the Ministry of Urban Development, the Ministry of Housing and Poverty Alleviation, the Ministry of Women and Child Development and the Ministry of Railways are required to plays a significant role in the eradication of this practice as as rehabilitation of liberated manual scavengers. Thus a coordination committee is required to be constituted consisting of the representative of above ministries, nongovernmental organization (NGOs) and private authorities for proper and effective implementation of the laws and schemes of the government.

Community initiatives

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

The responsibility of railways

The Railway Ministry should immediately prohibit such practices and it must present progress reports in each parliamentary session. This can be achieved by speeding up the construction of biotoilets in railway stations and trains. In this regard, technical assistance of DRDO and other technical research think tank could be taken.

Sanitation programs and awareness

Since poor sanitation and lack of toilets, in rural and urban areas are the most fundamental cause and an impediment to the abolition of manual scavenging. Thus, speeding up sanitation programs and awareness regarding proper toilets are necessary. In 2014, Swacch Bharat Abhiyaan has been launched involved construction of modern toilets, discouraging the practice of open defecation and creating awareness in rural and urban areas. Swachh Yug Abhiyan is also playing a key role to make India free from the centuries - old system of open defecation.

National Monitoring System and Social Audit

The Government must strictly implement the provisions relating to the National Monitoring Committee to monitor the practice on a regular basis. A high-level social audit of Act of 2013 and all allied schemes should also be conducted by Comptroller and Auditor General of India.

Asian Resonance

The Role of Local Authorities

The civil and Panchayats bye-laws of the states ought to have arrangements not to permit the making of any new house with a dry toilet or without water sealed lavatory. It ought to be one of the criteria for making grant to Gram Panchayat and civil bodies and the penal provision against these bodies should be strictly enforced for not satisfying their commitments in this regard.

Legislative and Executive Will

The changes in different laws are required to ensure the stringency and consistency amongst different laws pertaining to manual scavenging as well as other social welfare legislation. The Recent amendment in Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Act, 2015³³ is a welcome step.

Punishment for Dereliction of Duty

The provisions related to the punishment to the public officials for the offense relating to dereliction of duties should be implemented strictly and impartially in order to correct the historical injustices done to the manual scavengers.

Endnotes

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- 6. Ahmad. Mohammad, Khan. Mohd Wazid, "Global Challenges & Solutions" Kaav Publications, 1stEdition. 2019, pp. 275-276
- 7. Art. 14 Equality before Law The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.
- Art. 17 Abolition of Untouchability "Untouchability" is abolished and its practice in
 any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any
 disability arising out of "Untouchability" shall be
 an offence punishable in accordance with the
 law.
- Art. 21 Protection of life and personal liberty -No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to the procedure established by law.
- 10. Art. 23 Prohibition of Traffic in human beings and forced labour-(1) Trafic in human beings and begar and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with the law.
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- 15. The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993, Act No. 46 of 1993, Section 3 (b).
- 16. The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993, Act No. 46 of 1993, Section 14.
- 17. The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993 Act No. 46 of 1993, Section 3(2) says that The State Government shall not issue a notification under sub-section (1) unless- (i) it has, by notification, given not less than ninety days' notice of its intention to do so; (ii) adequate facilities for the use of water-seal latrines in that area exists; and (iii) it is necessary or expedient to do so for the protection and improvement of the environment or public health in that area.
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Asian Resonance

- 21. The Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013, Act No. 25 of 2013, Explanation (b) of Sec 2 (g).
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