

APPENDIX I

In different regions, V/Balmiki castes and sub-castes are known by various names

States	Castes/ Sub-Castes
Andhra Pradesh	Mehtar, Maal
Assam	Mehtar, Bhangi, Lalbegi
Bihar	Hari, Mehtar, Bhangi, Lalbegi
Gujarat	Bhangi, Mehtar, Olagna, Rukhi, Malkana, Halalkhor, Lalbegi, Valmiki, Korar, Meghwal, Jadmali
Haryana	Valmiki, Churha, Bhangi, Majhabi
Himachal Pradesh	Valmiki, Churha, Churhe, Majhabi
Jammu And Kashmir	Chooria
Kerala	Chandal
Madhya Pradesh	Bhangi, Mehtar, Valmiki, Lalbegi, Dharkar, Dom, Dumar, Rukhi
Maharashtra	Bhangi, Mehtar, Olagna, Rukhi, Malkana, Hallakhor, Lalbegi, Valmiki, Korar, Jadmali
Meghalaya	Mehtar, Bhangi, Lalbegi
Manipur	Mehtar, Bhangi
Orissa	Mehtar, Bhangi, Valmiki, Valakiki, Haadi
Punjab	V/Balmiki, Churha, Bhangi, Majhabi, Lalbegi, Musalli, Dom, Valmiki, Baalnik

Rajasthan	Bhangi, Churha, Mehtar, Olagna, Rukhi, Malkana, Halalkhor, Lalbegi, Valmiki, Korar, Jadmalli, Meghwal
Tamil Nadu	Paraiyaan, Chandal
Tripura	Mehtar, Bhangi
Uttar Pradesh	Balhar, Valmik, Valmiki, Hela, Majhabi, Dhanuk, Dom, Bansod, Hadi, Bhangi, Halalkhor, Daarpuri Rawat, Gojipuri Rawat, Dumar
Bengal	Mehtar, Mehtare, Hari, Bhangi, Bhuimali, Dom, Hela, Valmiki
Uttaranchal	Dom, V/Balmiki, Shilpkaar

Appendix II

Scheduled Castes in West Bengal

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Bagdi, Duley | 21. Halalkhor |
| 2. Bahelia | 22. Hari, Mehtar, Mehtor, Bhangi, |
| 3. Baiti | Balmiki ¹ |
| 4. Bantar | 23. Jalia Kaibartta |
| 5. Bauri | 24. Jhalo Malo, Malo |
| 6. Beldar | 25. Kadar |
| 7. Bhogta | 26. Kami (Nepali) |
| 8. Bhuimali | 27. Kandra |
| 9. Bhuiya | 28. Kanjar |
| 10. Bind | 29. Kaora |
| 11. Chamar, Charmakr, Mochi, Muchi,
Rabidas, Ruidas, Rishi | 30. Karenga, Koranga |
| 12. Chaupal | 31. Kaur |
| 13. Dabgar | 32. Keot, Keyot |
| 14. Damai (Nepali) | 33. Khaira |
| 15. Dhoba, Dhobi | 34. Khatik |
| 16. Doai | 35. Koch |
| 17. Dom, Dhangad | 36. Konai |
| 18. Dosadh, Dusadh, Dhari, Dharhi | 37. Konwar |
| 19. Ghasi | 38. Kotal |
| 20. Gonrhi | 39. Kurariar |

¹ Subs. by Act, 25 of 2002, s.2.

40. Lalbegi
41. Lohar
42. Mahar
43. Mal
44. Mallah
45. Musahar
46. Namasudra
47. Nat
48. Nuniya
49. Paliya
50. Pan, Sawasi
51. Pasi
52. Patni
53. Pod, Poundra
54. Rajbanshi
55. Rajwar
56. Sarki (Nepali)
57. Sunri (Excluding Saha)
58. Tiyar
59. Turi
60. Chain²

² Subs. by Act, 24 of 2016, s.2

Appendix III

Balmiki Gotras

1. Aadival
2. Adaliya
3. Athvaal
4. Aanoriya
5. Aajad
6. Aadivaan
7. Aarajya
8. Iklo Siya
9. Iktare (Bandta, Bairakthana, Bharkua, Nagpur)
10. Ujjain wal Goyar
11. Umravaal
12. Otwaal, Uttwaal
13. Kankra
14. Kangra (Haryana, Himachal)
15. Kalyani (Punjab)
16. KAndara, Kander
17. Kasotiya
18. Karotiya
19. Karoshiya (Delhi)
20. Kela
21. Kesa
22. Kesla, Keswal (Saharanpur, Dehradun)
23. Kathet (Muradabad)
24. Kachwah (Jabalpur)
25. Kundela (Delhi)
26. Kundi
27. Karwaliya (Kanpur)
28. Kalosiya, Kalla (Ajmer, Rajasthan)
29. Kaamwaal.
30. Kanaujia (Uttar Pradesh)
31. Kathumara
32. Keer
33. Kathala
34. Kathwaal
35. Khatrata
36. Kharra
37. Khareliya, Kheraliya, Kherriya (Jaipur, Bulandshahar)
38. Kharadiya
39. Khariya
40. Khairwal (Muzzaffarnagar, Uttar Pradesh)
41. Khair Waar
42. Khoda, Khode (Indore, Ujjain)
43. Khokhar
44. Kode
45. Kuntiya
46. Gangahedi, Gangaheri (Delhi)

47. Gangotri
48. Goyar
49. Gechchan, Golecha
50. Gangeriya, Gugeriya
51. Gogriya, Gogliye,
52. Gohra, Guhera (Madhya Pradesh)
53. Gathera
54. Gathariya
55. Gahlot (Rajasthan)
56. Gund
57. Girj
58. Gokhale
59. Godiwal, Godiyal, Godeeyal (Dehradun),
Raipur Berisaal (Bijnaur, Uttar Pradesh)
60. Gujrati
61. Ghoghle (Indore)
62. Gharu
63. Ghaamli (Maharashtra)
64. Ghavri (Haridwar, Uttar Pradesh)
65. Ghor
66. Ghanghet, Ghaghat (Dehradun, Uttar
Pradesh)
67. Ghusar
68. Ghoghliya
69. Chatval (Punjab)
70. Chudiyana
71. Chirya Wadia (Chaar Wadya)
72. Changra, Changriya (Nagore, rajasthan)
73. Chedwaal
74. CHauman
75. Chandaliye, Chandeliya, Chandel (Delhi,
Rajasthan, Guwahati, Indore)
76. Chinaliye, Chandril, Chandra, Chanchal
(Uttar Pradesh)
77. Choraman
78. Chavriya (Bikaner)
79. Chawla, Chaaran (Dehradun)
80. Chauhan (Pattharphor, Haadpher) (Uttar
Pradesh, Haryana, Delhi)
81. Chutela, Chautala
82. Chohtel (Jabalpur)
83. Chomar
84. Chajlaan
85. Chapri Band
86. Jediya (Jodhpur, rajasthan)
87. Java (Bikaner)
88. Jaadipat
89. Jajotar
90. Jaanewal, Jeevwal, Jainwaal
91. Jagya Sangat
92. Jadaun
93. Jhijhariya
94. Jhumliya
95. Jhnujh
96. Jhanjhote (Vardha, Maharashtra)
97. Jhanghala, Janghala, Jangghara
98. Jaavle (Jalgaon, Amravati, Maharashtra)
99. Tank, Taig (Rajasthan, Delhi, Meerut)
100. Topiya (Topya)
101. Tundlayat

- 102.Tepan
- 103.Dhor
- 104.Dagle
- 105.Daagar
- 106.Dendhuta
- 107.Dendawal
- 108.Danodiya
- 109.Dangoriya, Dindoriya (Jaipur)
- 110.Dulgach, Duglach
- 111.Dageriya (Indore)
- 112.Dekina
- 113.Dhikiya, Dikya
- 114.Dingiya (Uttar Pradesh, Bijnaur, Dehradun)
- 115.Dhakoliya
- 116.Dhalet, Dilodh (Haryana)
- 117.Danjha
- 118.Dumde (Uttar Pradesh)
- 119.Tark
- 120.Tusambar
- 121.Timboli
- 122.Teji, Tejaswi
- 123.Tanvar
- 124.Tishavar, teshvar
- 125.Thanwaal
- 126.Thapar
- 127.Thavriya
- 128.Dhariwaal
- 129.Dhaav
- 130.Dhalod
- 131.Dhigaan
- 132.Dhaul
- 133.Dishavar
- 134.Devya
- 135.Nirmal
- 136.Navliya
- 137.Narvaar
- 138.Narvale (Indore)
- 139.Nahar (Punjab, Dehradun)
- 140.Nahat (Punjab)
- 141.Nayak (Orissa)
- 142.Pacherwaal
- 143.Parihar, Padiyaar
- 144.Parmar
- 145.Premi
- 146.Panwar (Agra)
- 147.Patuna
- 148.Pathrol
- 149.Parvaan
- 150.Parcha, Paroche (Haryana, delhi, Dehradun)
- 151.Pivaal, Pahival (Shamli, Muzaffarnagar), Pihal (Rajasthan, Hyderabad, Delhi)
- 152.Pandat, Pandit
- 153.Payoriya
- 154.Pachula
- 155.Bainvadiya
- 156.Baali
- 157.Badgurjar (Uttar Pradesh, Gaziabad, Dehradun)

158. Bal gohar, Balgoyar
159. Bar Gohar, Bar Goyar
160. Birlaan (Uttar Pradesh, Gaziabad, Dehradun)
161. Baar Vasya, BArasa
162. Bainsdwaal, Beniwaal
163. Boyat, Bohat (Bidisha), Bahaut
164. VAid, Vaidhya
165. Baavra (Jhansi)
166. Burat
167. Baagor, Baggan, Baigi, Baagre (Malkapoor)
168. Biwaal
169. Bisnaar (Kota), Vishnariya (Malkapoor, Bharatpur, Rajasthan)
170. Baagri (Jabalpur)
171. Basaud
172. Barwaal
173. Bairathi
174. Bairagi (Allahabad)
175. Barburiya
176. Bahanwaal, Bhainwal, Beniwal (Delhi, Bulandshahar)
177. Bharti
178. Bhuranda
179. Bhunbak (Saharanpur)
180. Bhuradiya
181. Bhagwana
182. Maalya
183. Motha, Meetha (Jaipur)
184. Mathodiya (Bulandshahar)
185. Maaroth (Indore)
186. Mattu
187. Mehar
188. Mahroliya (Delhi)
189. Munim
190. Mochika
191. Mevati (Haryana, Rajasthan)
192. Maurya
193. Morotiya
194. Mailayanda
195. Maindwaal
196. Manotiya
197. Makwana
198. Maachal, Machal (Kota)
199. Malhotra (Punjab, Himachal)
200. Rahatwaal
201. Reel
202. Raanvaa, Ranawat
203. Lot, Lohat
204. Lohra, Lohariya, Luhadiya
205. Lodha
206. Lakkhan, Lakhan (Rajasthan, Gujarat)
207. Lidiya
208. Lodiya
209. Ladar
210. Vidhyarthi
211. Lidlaan
212. Lathoriya
213. Rauth (Samastipur)

- 214.Rathod
- 215.Ratnakar (Bareilly)
- 216.Rediyān
- 217.Rajauri, Rajauriya (MUrabad, Uttar Pradesh, Dehradun)
- 218.Sonwaal
- 219.Sarvaan (Ambarnath, Thane, Delhi)
- 220.Saagnaān
- 221.Saude, Sauda, Saudayi, Sood, Soodha, Saudya (UP)
- 222.Sunaliya (UP)
- 223.Silelaan
- 224.Sikhaniya (Kanpur)
- 225.Sangan
- 226.Sangoliya
- 227.Sangle (Amravati)
- 228.Sarsiya
- 229.Sagar
- 230.Satyarthi
- 231.Sarkariya
- 232.Saarsar, Saarswat
- 233.Saulanki (Bundi)
- 234.Singor (Kota)
- 235.Sallappa (Karnatakka)
- 236.Sambariya
- 237.Siotra, Sihote (Jabalpur), Suhotra- Nahan (Punjab, UP)
- 238.Sinsinwaal
- 239.Seriya Ujinwaal
- 240.Sodiya
- 241.Snehi
- 242.Hans (Punjab)
- 243.Hans Taudiya
- 244.Hatwal
- 245.Hathgen (Hamirpur, CHattarpur, Banda, UP)
- 246.Hitkar
- 247.Hadaute (Nagpur)
- 248.Harala
- 249.Rerawa
- 250.Bais
- 251.Bir Gujar
- 252.Bhadauria
- 253.Bisen
- 254.Sowa
- 255.Bundelia
- 256.Noda
- 257.Yaduvanshi
- 258.Kinwar Thakur
- 259.Bhojpuri Routh
- 260.Gazipuri Routh

APPENDIX IV

Detailed Population of Balmiki Community in Darjeeling

Ward No.	Nos. Of Families	Population	Male	Female	Children below 6 Yrs.
1	11	58	28	30	4
2	10	41	21	20	2
3	12	62	30	32	1
4	06	38	20	18	3
5	17	68	30	38	8
6	15	69	34	35	5
7	05	34	16	18	01
8	11	58	26	32	04
9	20	129	71	58	08
10	08	46	20	26	02
11	11	58	28	30	02
12	16	84	48	36	12
13	42	282	151	131	16
14	03	11	06	05	NIL
15	03	19	08	11	NIL
16	02	15	10	05	02
17	10	66	34	32	05
18	43	243	117	126	35

19	08	78	35	43	18
20	01	12	5	7	2
21	06	52	18	34	10
22	06	44	22	22	5
23	04	17	10	07	03
24	05	30	14	16	08
25	06	46	26	20	08
26	18	134	62	72	17
27	09	61	28	33	9
28	06	35	17	18	3
29	09	59	26	33	7
30	02	17	09	08	1
31	23	113	66	47	14
32	19	116	55	61	09
Total	367	2195	1091	1104	224

Detailed Population of Balmiki Community in Kalimpong

Ward No.	Nos. Of Families	Population	Male	Female	Children below 6 Yrs.
1	04	14	06	08	2
2	06	20	12	08	3
3	04	15	08	07	1
4	06	18	08	10	2
5	03	13	07	06	2
6	02	07	04	03	1
7	05	23	10	13	2
8	06	14	09	05	2
9	04	13	09	04	NIL
10	04	20	11	09	2
11	03	12	08	06	1
12	03	10	06	04	NIL
13	05	20	11	09	1
14	03	10	06	04	NIL
15	04	20	12	08	1
16	03	15	07	08	2
17	08	49	25	24	5
18	09	74	38	36	4
19	07	52	24	28	2
20	03	04	06	08	1

21	06	52	18	34	4
22	06	46	26	20	4
23	04	17	10	07	3
Total	108	538	281	257	46

Detailed Population of Balmiki Community in Kurseong

Ward No.	Nos. Of Families	Population	Male	Female	Children below 6 Yrs.
1	11	61	25	36	3
2	12	65	37	28	3
3	06	47	26	21	1
4	27	166	88	78	6
5	09	53	28	25	4
6	07	52	19	33	5
7	11	61	29	32	4
8	09	73	39	34	4
9	06	35	17	18	4
10	19	123	65	58	6
11	22	134	58	76	10
12	10	56	27	29	4
13	05	32	13	19	2
14	14	94	52	42	6
15	16	91	48	43	5
16	05	32	13	19	2
17	11	78	40	38	5

18	10	54	24	30	5
19	15	86	46	40	3
20	05	27	15	12	2
Total	230	1420	709	711	84

APPENDIX V

Employment in Darjeeling, Kalimpong And Kurseong

Departments	Male		Female		Total
	Permanent	Casual	Permanent	Casual	
Municipality (Safai Karamchari)	109	22	59	24	214
Municipality (Clerk)	06	-	-	-	06
Municipality (Peon)	03	-	-	01	04
Municipality (Inspector)	01	-	-	-	01
School (Safai Karamchari)	20	10	10	07	47
College (Safai Karamchari)	-	02	01	-	03
Cantonment (Safai Karamchari)	48	06	32	05	91
District Court/District Magistrates' Office (Safai Karamchari)	20	06	-	08	34
Hospital (Safai Karamchari)	25	05	28	26	84
DGHC/GTA (Safai Karamchari)	18	-	09	-	27
Bank (Safai Karamchari)	05	02	04	01	12
Bank (Clerk)	02	-	-	-	02
Bank (Cashier)	01	-	-	-	01
Police Station (Safai Karamchari)	06	01	01	-	08

Fire Station (Safai Karamchari)	02	-	-	-	02
Post Office (Safai Karamchari)	03	-	-	-	03
Forest Department (Safai Karamchari)	04	-	-	01	05
Army (Safai Karamchari)	05	-	-	-	05
Railways (Safai Karamchari)	09	-	-	-	09
PWD (Safai Karamchari)	05	-	-	-	05
Electric Board (Safai Karamchari)	02	01	-	-	03
BSNL (Safai Karamchari)	05	01	-	01	07
Planters' Club (Safai Karamchari)	-	-	01	-	01
Govt. Press (Safai Karamchari)	01	-	-	-	01
Backward Classes Welfare Office ((Safai Karamchari)	01	01	-	-	02
Welfare Department (Safai Karamchari)	02	-	-	-	02
PHE (Safai Karamchari)	01	-	-	-	01
HMI (Safai Karamchari)	-	01	-	-	01
Employment Exchange (Safai Karamchari)	01	-	-	01	02
LIC Office (Safai Karamchari)	01	-	-	01	02

Animal Research Development (Safai Karamchari)	01	-	-	-	01
Hotels (Safai Karamchari)	-	10	-	05	15
Shop (Salesman)	-	04	-	01	05
Carpenter	01	-	-	-	01
Labour	-	06	-	02	08
PF Office (Safai Karamchari)	-	01	-	-	01
PF Office (UDC)	02	-	-	-	02
Assistant Professor	03	-	-	-	03
School Teacher	03	01	-	01	05
Engineer	01	-	-	-	01
Army	06	-	-	-	06
Nurse	-	-	01	-	01
Driver	01	04	-	-	05
Others	-	09	-	01	10

APPENDIX VI

Article Published in Gorkha Patrika



APPENDIX VII

Estd. 1948

वार्त्नमक हरिजन संघ, दार्जीलिंग
रजि० न० एस/३८७१३

व्यापित १९४८

BALMIKI HARIJAN SANGH
Registration No. S/38713
DARJEELING

Room No. 9 and 10 Harijan Barrack
Dr. K. B. Abdul Aziz Road
Darjeeling - 734101

मकान न० ९ और १० हरिजन बरिक्
डा० के० बी० अब्दुल अजिज रोड
दार्जीलिंग - ७३४१०१

Ref. No. 94(91-92) B. H. S. Dat 5.10.91

To,
The Officer -In-Charge,
Sadar Police Station ,
Darjeeling .

Subject : Information of Annual General Meeting of this Organisation
on 6.10.91 at 2.P.M. in Turnbull High School, Darjeeling .

Sir ,
I would like to bring to your kind notice that an
annual General Meeting of Balmiki Harijan Sangh ,D rjeeling
will be held on 6.10.91 at 2.p.m. in the Turnbull High
School ,Darjeeling . This is for your kind information and
necessary action please .

Thanking you , Yours Faithfully ,

Enclosed : A copy of the
letter of this meeting .

(NIRMAL SARWAN)
Balmiki Harijan Sangh
Darjeeling - 734101
Regd. No. S/38713

27/10/91

APPENDIX VIII

Estd. 1948
बाल्मिकि हरिजन संघ, दार्जीलिंग
रजि. नं० एच/२८७१३
स्थापित १९४८

BALMIKI HARIJAN BANGH
Registration No. 5/38713
DARJEELING

Room No. 9 and 10 Harijan Barrack
Dr. K. B. Abdul Azis Road
Darjeeling - 734101

मकान नं० ९ और १० हरिजन बारिक
डा० के० बी० अब्दुल अजिज रोड
दार्जीलिंग - ७३४१०१

Ref. No. 74/2/(90-91) B. H. S.

Date. 12.6.1991.....

To ,
The District Magistrate ,
Darjeeling.

Sir ,

With reference to this organisation letter No. 58(90-91) at. 6.4.91 addressed to the Administrator , Darjeeling Municipality , Darjeeling and a copy of which was also sent to your honour for information and needful action . But with great regret I would like to mention that no action or reply has yet been known .No reply has yet been received from the Administrator, Darjeeling Municipality or from your honours end .

I therefore , request your honour to be kind enough to look into the matter and also to do the needful for quick and positive action .

With Warm Regards ,
Thanking you ,

Yours Faithfully ,
(Signature)
12.6.91
(NIRMAL SARWAN)

General Secretary
BALMIKI HARIJAN BANGH
Darjeeling - 734101
Regd. No. 5/38713

APPENDIX IX

Estd. 1948
बाल्मिकि हरिजन संघ, दार्जिलिंग
स्थापित १९४८

BALMIKI HARIJAN SANGH
DARJEELING

Room No. 9 and 10 Harijan Barrack
Dr. K. B. Abdul Aziz Road
Darjeeling - 734101

मकान नं० ९ और १० हरिजन बार्क
डा० के० बी० अब्दुल अजिज रोड
दार्जिलिंग - ७३४१०१

Ref. No. B. H. S. Date.....

64(90-91) 8th, April '91

To,
The Special Officer,
Scheduled Castes/Tribes welfare,
Malden,
The Mall (Road),
Darjeeling.

Subject:- Demand for the introduction and implementation of welfare schemes for the betterment and upliftment of peer Balmiki Harijans of Darjeeling.

Respected Sir,

I for and on behalf of the peer Balmiki Harijans of Darjeeling, would like to bring to your kind notice the following few facts for your kind consideration :-

1. That the Peer Balmiki Harijans are residing in and around Darjeeling since more than 100 years. But nothing has been done so far for their upliftment and betterment.
2. That the Schemes for the betterment and upliftment of Balmiki Harijans are formulated and implemented in other Districts and Towns of West Bengal, Other States and at the National Level. But these schemes has not yet been introduced in this town why?
3. That some housing Schemes are run by the HUDCO which are formulated and introduced by HUDCO for the weaker sections of the society. This Organisation demands that these Schemes are to be introduced and implemented in this town of Darjeeling for the Balmiki Harijans of Darjeeling.
4. That a COLONY for the Balmiki Harijans is a must in this town. As they do not have their own huts/shelters or houses. Though, they are residing here since more than a century. But due to their poor economic and social condition they could not manage their own huts/shelters or houses.
5. That a colony is to be built and provided to the Balmiki Harijans of Darjeeling on ownership or tenancy basis.

continued on page no.2.....

APPENDIX X

Estd. 1948

स्वाप्ति १९४८

बाल्मिकि हरिजन संघ, दार्जीलिंग
रजि० न० एस/३८७१३

BALMIKI HARIJAN SANGH
Registration No. 5/28713
DARJEELING

Room No. 9 and 10 Harijan Barrack
Dr. K. B. A. Road
Darjeeling - 734101

मकान न० ९ और १० हरिजन बरिक
डा० के० बी० डॉ. क. बी. आर. रोड
दार्जीलिंग - ७३४१०१

To,
The Special Officer,
Office of the Special Officer,
Sch. Castes and Tribes Welfare,
Darjeeling.

Ref. No. 71(90-91) E. M. S.

Date 27.5.91

Subject: Preposal for the sanction of financial assistace to Voluntary Institutions and Organisations fre carrying out cultural and other welfare activities amongst sch. castes and sch. tribes .

Sir ,
With reference to your office letter no 769(15)/TW at 14th May '91 first of all I would like to thank your heneur for inviting preposals for the subject mentione-d above . Preposals are sent herewith fer specifically in carrying out cultural and such other activities for the welfare of our community and also carrying out measures for the developement of ~~Sch.~~ Sch. Caste culture through sperts and games for the welfare of Sch. Castes during the year ~~190~~ 1990-91 - The preposals are furnished in the prescribed preferma sent by your heneur . The pre-posals with required infermation is submitted for your heneurs kind consideration .
Thanking Yeu, Yours Faithfully ,

Encle: Filled in prescribed preferma with required infermation .

27/5/91

EXHIBIT

APPENDIX XI

Estd. 1948 स्थापित १९४८

बाल्मिकि हरिजन संघ, दार्जिलिंग

BALMIKI HARIJAN SANGH
DARJEELING

Room No. 9 and 10 Harijan Barrack मकान नं० ९ और १० हरिजन बारिक
Dr. K. B. Abdul Aziz Road डा० के० बी० अब्दुल अजिज रोड
Darjeeling - 734101 दार्जिलिंग - ७३४१०१

Registration No. S/38713

Ref. No. 57(90-91) B. H. S. Date 5th April '91

To,

Shri R. B. Rai ,
Member of Parliament ,
Darjeeling.

Subject :- Grievances of the Harijan , Balmiki Community .

Sir ,

I for and on behalf of the Balmiki Harijan's would like to bring to your kind notice the following few facts for your kind information and sympathetic consideration :-

1. That some cases of unnecessary delay and harrasment are reported to this organisation , @ 10 cases are presently reported .
2. That a letter in this regard was submitted to the Special Officer , Scheduled Caste/Tribes , Welfare , Darjeeling but there is adverse affect of this letter No. 32(90-91)B.H.S at 16.11. 1990 .
3. That the Certificates (Caste) which are ready are not given or issued to the applicants and they are still lying with the Office Concerned .
4. That they demands migration certificate or Caste Certificate from the applicants native place . Which is not at ^{all} possible as because some of the applicants are residing here since more than 100 Years and ^{are} @ three generations residehs of Darjeeling . Even they do not know where is ~~knax~~ ^{their} native place .
5. That the Authority concerned of their native place regards them as the natives of Darjeeling and refused to issue them the Caste Certificates .
6. That some of our members could not get jobs due to the failure to produce the Caste C_rtificates in time due to unnecessary delay and harasment to them by ~~knax~~ not issuing the Certificates

Continued on page2.....

Ans. a copy in reply 5-4-91

APPENDIX XII

Estd. 1948

स्थापित १९४८

बाल्मिकि हरिजन संघ, दार्जीलिंग

रजि० न० एस/३८७१३

BALMIKI HARIJAN SANGH

Registration No. S/38713

DARJEELING

Room No. 9 and 10 Harijan Barrack
Dr. K. B. Abdul Aziz Road
Darjeeling - 734101

मकान न० ९ और १० हरिजन बरिक्
डा० के० बी० अब्दुल बजिज रोड
दार्जीलिंग - ७३४१०१

Ref. No. 32(90-91) B. H. S.

Date 16.11.1990

To,
The Special Officer ,
Scheduled Caste/ Tribes, welfare,
Maldon ,
The Mall (Road),
Darjeeling.

Subject:- Unnecessary delay and harrasment to issue Caste Certificates
To the Balmiki Harijans of Darjeeling.

Respected Sir ,

I would like to request you to kindly arrange to issue Caste Certificate to the Balmiki Harijans in the due course of time . Some cases of delay and unnecessary harrasment are reported to this organisation . The petitioner reports that even after the submission of all the necessary documents required , unnecessary delay and harrasment to the Balmiki Harijans is being reported by the members of Balmiki Harijan Communities . Who are the residents of Darjeeling and are the members of this Organisation .

I for and on behalf of the members of entire Balmiki Harijan community , request your honour to kindly look into the matter and save the poor Balmiki Harijans from unnecessary harrasment and long delay. This Organisation prays for your kind Co- Operation.

Thanking You ,

Yours Faithfully ,

(NIRMAL SARWAN)
General Secretary ,
Balmiki Harijan Sangh .
Darjeeling.

Copy forwarded for necessary action to :-
1, S. D. O. , Sadar, Darjeeling .

APPENDIX XIII

Estd. 1948

स्थापित १९४८

बाल्मिकि हरिजन संघ, दार्जिलिंग

BALMIKI HARIJAN SANGH
DARJEELING

Room No. 9 and 10 Harijan Barrack
Dr. K. B. Abdul Aziz Road
Darjeeling - 734101

मकान नं० ९ और १० हरिजन बारिक
डा० के० बी० अब्दुल अजिज रोड
दार्जिलिंग - ७३४१०१

Ref. No.26(90-91)..... B. H. S.

Date.....4th..September..196

To

The Prime Minister ,
Government of India ,
New Delhi -110001

Subject;: Congratulations and a lot of Thanks for the Introduction
of 27 % Reservation for SC/ST in Central Services.

Honourable Sir ,

I would like to express my heartiest sincere
thanks on behalf of the Balmiki Harijan Community which is still
neglected and @ downtrodden one , for the introduction of 27%
reservation in Central Services for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled
Tribes .

Indeed it is brave step towards true democracy and to uplift
the downtrodden peers.

I hope that peer Balmiki Harijan's will be benefitted by
this new bold step.

Thanking You ,

Yours faithfully,

(NIRMAL SARWAN)

General Secretary ,
Balmiki Harijan Sangh ,
13, Dr.K.B.Abdul AzizRoad,
Darjeeling .



SCAVENGING AS DEPRIVATION AND FRAMEWORKS OF REGULATION AND CONTROL

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Abstract: To terminate the inhuman practise which employed humans to "Clear, Carry and Dispose of human excreta" the act of "Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and Their Rehabilitation" was brought into effect. According to this law, the act of cleaning of sewers by men is a practise of scavenging. Even after so many campaigns that bring this issue in the forefront as a matter of difference in caste and states that this requires the immediate approach of State officials so that it can be eradicated, this issue of inadequate sanitation facility is continued. This paper aims to analyse the problem of manual scavenging critically and the role it plays in deprivation of Human Rights, in the current situation and the prohibited mechanism of this inhuman practise.

Key words: Acts, Balmiki, Dalit/s, Deprivation, Human Rights, Scavenging¹.

Background:

Among the Dalit communities, manual scavengers² are the most exploited ones. They can be found in most parts of the country, where they clean the roads and are engaged to the job of carrying night-soil. Not only do they have to undergo the social discrimination but also the amount which is paid is very low. Apart from all these, they also have to suffer from various health problems if they are continuously engaged to the job of cleaning due to the viral and bacterial effects. This community is known by various names in different parts of India such as Balmiki³, Bhangi/s⁴, Mehatar⁵, Lalbegi⁶, Chuhara⁷, Hari⁸, Olganas⁹, etc. Since they belong to the minor group, their population density is counted differently and included under the "Scheduled Castes"¹⁰.

Manual Scavenging as Deprivation

One of the most important areas of the Indian fabric has been caste system which is existent since many centuries. It is inhuman and not at all forms the basis of equality and labour is divided on the basis of caste. All the social, economic and political conditions of people are based on their caste status. These manual scavengers are also scheduled caste who belongs to the lowest strata of the caste system-'Untouchables among Untouchables'.¹¹ The

hierarchy of the society is practised in such a way that, it is based on the habitation of the village, towns or cities. Usually the upper class of the society resides in good places but manual scavengers are always found to be residing near dumping grounds. The contact with the disposed excreta makes them a victim to various diseases and infection.¹² The children of from these communities are not usually treated right by the fellow classmates and teachers. Such an abominable behaviour towards children makes the children lose their dignity and this is the reason why there are many dropout rates. Dalits are made to perform this in human practice of manual scavenging.¹³ This may be called a forced labour because dalits cannot even ask for or take up any other occupation since they are discriminated on the basis of their caste and occupation. They aren't paid right. There is even over compared to that on the minimum wage and hence they have to borrow money for the upper caste neighbours to survive. This makes them a victim to the relationship of bondage.

In one study by Ashif Sheikh,¹⁴ *Untouchability in rural India*, Dalit Muslims¹⁵ are also subjected to manual scavenging due to which they also become a victim of discrimination within their own community. A bigger part or large section of Muslim

community believes that Islam doesn't fit caste as soon as there should not be operation on the basis of caste within Islam. However it is different in case of Indian Islam.

Manual Scavenging as Human Rights Issues

Since 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been promoting and codifying a common standard of achieving for all peoples and nations. Over the years human rights has broadened with the input of socialist states and states of the third world, to incorporate a wide range of economic, social and cultural, development and the right of the indigenous people.¹⁶

The exploitation that these manual scavengers go through is a mockery on the modern Indian Labour Law and international conventions that are usually measured by the right of the workers. No individual voluntarily accepts to handle the human excreta but this is imposed tradition that only exploits the basic rights of the people and shows the inhuman caste system.

There are a number of reasons why manual scavenging is considered to be a forced labour or slavery.¹⁷

1. **It acts as a compulsion:** It is believed in most places of the world that the occupation of the citizen must not be on the basis of caste but Indian society still accept the fact that manual scavenging should be done only by a certain community of people. It is a forced compulsion for a certain class of people to pick up this manual scavenging as a job. The members of this community are prisoners of this manual scavenging job and when they try to revolt against said they are made a victim to extreme violence.
2. **It is hereditary:** Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar had said, "Our society is like a multi store pyramid and there are no doors for entering into the storeys. One has to die in the storey in which one is born" this means that a particular community of people would follow the occupation their ancestors leads to follow which is very far away from the idea of decent employment.

3. **It is an indefensible custom:** Manual scavenging is a caste based job as per the belief and arises due to the unequal society. These customs survive the social change and on the moral basis they become insupportable. Even in modern India the practice of manual scavenging is in destroyed and the people are subjected to oppression and injustice. Manual scavenging is a hindrance to social justice.
4. **It is based on caste based division of labour:** As the Brahmins belonging to the higher class in the society and have assigned the cleaning work to the lower classes of the society, is insult to the principles and ideal adopted by the modern society and economies. Due to the watertight nature of this division of labour on the basis of caste many communities are deprived of the right and also will have to live in a miserable state.¹⁸

Frameworks of Regulation and Control

Government of India has made several laws and legislations and programs which promotes the rights of the backward and the oppressed class of the society.¹⁹

Legislation: Sanitation is subject to the State, and Delhi became the first state to band manual scavenging in February 2013. Within 3 years of service the municipalities Railways and containments have been given sufficient sanitary latrine spaces available.²⁰ According to article 253 of the constitution Parliament can empower two or more States to register adoption legislation, for this several laws has been enacted by the government.²¹

The employment of manual scavengers and construction of dry latrines prohibition act 1993: the employment of manual scavengers and construction of dry latrines Provision Act 1993 was drafted by the Ministry of under the Urban Development after 6 States agreed on passing the resolution to frame a law that will insurance ointment to the manual scavengers. It was drafted under Narasimha Rao Government²² and was passed in 1993. By this time 23 states and all the union territories has adopted the act. While they were some

other states which had enacted their own form of law but within the similar act.²³

As per this ask anyone who is employing a scavenger or constructing a trilateral will have to face imprisonment for one year or will be fined rupees 2000.²⁴ The practice has been spread on a white level but there has been no convention on the law for 20 years.²⁵

National Commission for Safaikaramcharis (NCSK): NCSK is a statutory body formed in August 1994, but this commission was active till February 2004. The commission work towards the upliftment of the Safaikaramcharis ensure that correct measures are taking for the Welfare of them and also makes it suitable recommendations to the central government and investigate matters that are related to implementation of laws and schemes and maybe a matter of grievance related to the purpose.²⁶

The prohibition of employment as manual scavengers and the rehabilitation Act 2013 or MS act 2013: As per the 1993 law under the state list the question was if the Parliament has the jurisdiction to enact the prohibition of employment as manual scavengers and Rehabilitation Bill 2012. Arguments were put forward regarding the objective of the bill some believe that it aims at protecting the weaker sections of the society such as the scheduled caste and Scheduled tribe from the employing them as manual scavengers. It is also stated that it is the duty of the central and state government to make proper house with adequate sanitation and road infrastructure and quality schools for the children of SC and ST communities for all the ex-manual scavengers. The three full realisations were made in the rehabilitation plan of 2011 draft:

1. Restore the dignity of life of entire community of sanitation workers

2. To secure through educational opportunity of the future generation so that they cannot be recruited as a manual scavengers and get better employment opportunities.
3. Spells of the task must be cleared out by every ministry PSU and private sector organisations so that the order is made enforceable.²⁷

The prohibition of employment and Manual scavengers and the rehabilitation Act 2013 acts as a roadmap to a proper strategy so that the sanitation can be improved and the human practice of manual scavenging can be prohibited and there are alternative options for the employment of persons who are related to the job of manual scavenging.²⁸

Final Observations

The Parliament has tried to bring out the new law and is ready to make amends well so that the legislation and the Human Rights schemes are not made a victim to the weak implementation and the ignorant nature of the government. Today India is used as stage where it is necessary to abolish this National shame and its people must come together to see and transform the dream into reality and abolish the practice.

Do a number of people have been freed from the act of manual scavenging but still they lack the source of income and the biggest concern is the rehabilitation which the prohibition of employment as manual scavengers and the rehabilitation bill 2012 seeks address. The employment of manual scavengers and construction of dry latrines prohibition act 1993 betrayed the hope of the people but still people are really hopeful about the new law and think that it would bring out the change in the condition of Living. It is now a time to answer the questions that they have been fighting for since a long time their right must be given to them and they must not be oppressed.

Notes and References

1. The evidence of the origin of Manual Scavenging is found in the Mughal periods. It started with the introduction of dry latrines in the courts. Jahangir, the Mughal ruler of India built a public toilet at Alwar which is located 120 km away from Delhi. However, there is no much evidence about its maintenance. The Municipal Records of 1870 has shown that the municipalities organized by British in India were required to

- build roads, parks and toilets. These British administrations were the organizers of the system that required removal of night soil. For this purpose, they employed Bhangis.
2. Sweeping and scavenging is often considered to be the inferior job and anyone who was associated with this job had to live under the pressure of social discrimination. In India, the social discrimination is done on the basis of caste which has made these people do certain jobs, which is termed as their "traditional" jobs. These sweepers and scavengers are regarded to be the most polluted community and are highly discriminated because of their religious, social and economic life conditions. <http://safaikarmachariandolan.org/whatismanual.html> Accessed on 10.10.2012 15:31 hrs.
 3. The Balmiki are one of the largest socially stigmatized Dalit groups in Uttar Pradesh alone and Rajasthan, Haryana, West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh. Also see Balmiki, Lekhraj (2011). "The Balmiki Community In Darjeeling: Caste Consciousness." in Terence Mukhia (Ed.). A Multi-Disciplinary Perusal. Darjeeling: KalpaGriha Publications.
 4. As defined by Shyamlal (1992). In *The Bhangi A Sweeper Caste: Its Socio-Economic Portraits*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd., According to the social hierarchy among both higher and lower castes in India the Bhangis occupy the lowest of the low position as they are night soil removers. They are found in Rajasthan, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, etc. Also see Ibid.
 5. As per Hindu tradition Mehatar or Mihtar are the sweeper or scavenger caste. They were believed to be very unclean and despicable tribe.
 6. Lalbegi have been sweepers and scavenger, both activities considered as polluting. Many members of the community work as sweepers for the municipal authorities and hospitals in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The Muslim branch of the Lal Begi are known as Hasnati and the Hindu branch are known as Balmiki.
 7. In Punjab, sweepers are known as Chuhara, and this name has been derived from their business of collecting and sweeping up scraps (Chura-Jhurna). Also see, Srivastava, B. N. (1997). *Manual Scavenging in India: A Disgrace to the Country*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
 8. Sweepers in Bengal are known as Hari, the name is supposed to come from haddi, a bone; the Haris are the bone-gatherer, and was familiar to early settlers of Calcutta under the quaint designation, of the 'harry-wench'. Also see, Srivastava, B. N. (1997). *Manual Scavenging in India: A Disgrace to the Country*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
 9. Similarly, in Bombay Scavengers are known as Olganas or scrap-eaters.
 10. The term 'Schedule Castes' actually came into use during the British Raj, (The Government of India Act, 1935).
 11. Analysis and Recommendations in the context of The Prohibition of Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Bill, 2012, Submitted to Honorable Members of Parliament (Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha), by RashtriyaGarimaAbhiyan. http://idsn.org/fileadmin/user_folder/pdf/New_files/Key_Issues/Manual_scavenging/2013/Analysis_of_manual_scavenging_bill.pdf Accessed on: 19.01.2014 12:44hrs.
 12. Violence against Manual Scavengers: Dalit Women In India. Submitted to: UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, During her visit to India between 22 April- 1 May 2013, Submitted by RashtriyaGarimaAbhiyan. <http://www.dalits.nl/pdf/violenceagainstmanualscavengers.pdf> Accessed: 18th January 2014 16:02 hrs
 13. Violence against Manual Scavengers: Dalit Women In India. Submitted to: UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, During her visit to India between 22 April- 1 May 2013, Submitted by RashtriyaGarimaAbhiyan. <http://www.dalits.nl/pdf/violenceagainstmanualscavengers.pdf> Accessed: 18th January 2014 16:02 hrs
 14. Convener of RashtriyaGarimaAbhiyan since his university years, is fighting for the empowerment of Dalit specially Dalit-Muslims through various campaigns of Jan Sahas. Ashif was born in Dewas, Madhya Pradesh,

- and face several kinds of discrimination from very early in his life, because of his Dalit Muslim identity. According to Ashif Sheikh, in the year 2000 he joined the movement to eradicate manual scavenging, after conducting a study called Untouchability in Rural India.
15. In Muslims, Haila and Halalkhor communities are involved and often forced in manual scavenging, which faces more difficulties than other Dalits in abandoning manual scavenging.
 16. Thorat, Sukhdeo. (2004). Hindu Social System & Human Rights of Dalits. Critical Quest: New Delhi.
 17. This section has been developed on the basis of the writings of Swabhimani, Eradication of inhuman practice of manual scavenging and comprehensive Rehabilitation of manual scavenging. February 24, 2013 at 6:26 PM [www.Eradicationofinhumanpracticeof manual scavenging and comprehensiveRehabilitation of manual scavenging _ World Pulse.htm](http://www.EradicationofinhumanpracticeofmanualscavengingandcomprehensiveRehabilitationofmanualscavenging_WorldPulse.htm) Accessed on: 21.01.2014 13:32hrs
 18. Ibid and Contradictory to this practice of inhumanity the "Right to Health" is included as the fundamental rights of Indian citizen. Some of them even become a victim to psychological disorder.
 19. This challenge requires urgent need so that efficiency inclusiveness and accountability can be improved such as the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee programme (MGNREGP) and Aajeevika National Rural livelihoods mission (NRLM). Back in 2011 NRLM was launched with the aim to reduce poverty of 70 million BPL households so that they could access self-employment and gets skilled wages out of the employment opportunities. UNDP has also become a partner of NRLM so that they can easily get a technical support for all the implementation of the programs. Aajeevika National rural livelihood mission NRLM focuses towards the upliftment of the poor and needy families. The NRLM puts special effort so that they could help out the vulnerable group of people who are victim to social exclusion and discrimination.
 20. Delhi first state to ban manual scavenging. Hindustan Times. 27 February 2013. <http://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Delhi/delhi-becomes-first-state-to-ban-manual-scavenging/article4458271.ece> Accessed on 18.05.2014 12:57hrs.
 21. Bhasin, Agrima (October 5, 2012). "Washing off this stain will need more. Chennai, India: The Hindu. <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/washing-off-this-stain-will-need-more/article3958626.ece> Accessed on 18.05.2014 13:00 hrs.
 22. Bhasin, Agrima (3 October 2012). "Washing off this stain will need more" The Hindus (Chennai, India). <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/washing-off-this-stain-will-need-more/article3958626.ece> Accessed on 18.05.2014 1:10 hrs.
 23. Legislative Brief The Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Bill, 2012 Pdf.
 24. The Employment Of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993. Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Govt. of India.
 25. Get serious". The Hindu (Chennai, India). September 13, 2013 <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/editorial/get-serious/article5120916.ece> Accessed on 18.05.2014 13:18 hrs.
 26. "Extension in the tenure of the National Commission for SafaiKaramcharis (NCSK) up to 31st March 2016" (Press release). Press Information Bureau Government of India. 21 February 2013. <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=92367> Accessed on 18.05.2014 13:21hrs.
 27. Bhasin, Agrima (3 October 2012). "Washing off this stain will need more". The Hindu (Chennai, India).
 28. Manual scavenging was considered as the writ petition number 583 of 2003 on the hearing of 27th March 2014 by the Supreme Court. Orders have also been disposed by the Supreme Court with various directions of the government. <https://www.devex.com/projects/tenders/identification-profiling-and-livelihood-mapping-of-manual-scavengers-among-high-prevalence-states-in-india/140510> Accessed on: 21.01.2014 12:31hrs.

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Balmiki Community in Darjeeling Hills: A Socio-Economic Profile

Lekhraj Balmiki

Abstract

The present attempt tries to explore the socio-economic profile of the Balmiki community which has been engaged with their traditionally assigned occupation as scavengers and sweepers / Safai Karmcharis¹ in the Darjeeling hills. Being a subaltern community, the Balmikis represent a strange case of community yet to come out of the traditional fold.

Key Words: Balmiki, Scheduled Caste, Subaltern Community, Socio-Economic, Municipality

1. Introduction

“Balmiki²” and not “Valmiki” is the often preferred way of spelling by people from the Darjeeling. The *Balmiki* Community (also known as “*Bhangi*”³) in Darjeeling Hills, migrated from Rajasthan, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh etc.⁴ The characteristics of *Balmiki* community include rigid, hereditary membership in the caste into which one is born; the practice of marrying only members of the same caste (endogamy); restrictions on the choice of occupation and on personal contact with members of other castes; and the acceptance by each individual of a fixed place in society.⁵ The *Balmikis*’ has been perpetuated by the Hindu ideas of *Samsara* (reincarnation) and *Karma* (quality of action). According to their religious beliefs, all people are reincarnated on earth, at which time they have a chance to be born into another, higher caste, but only if they have been obedient to the rules of their caste in their previous life on earth. In this way *karma* has discouraged the *Balmiki* people from attempting to rise to a higher caste or to cross caste lines for social relations of any kind.⁶

1.1 Brief History of Balmikis in Darjeeling

The ‘*Balmiki*’, a Dalit community numbering 6,300⁷ is one of the socially stigmatized groups in three sub-divisions of Darjeeling district and totaling 529,000⁸ in the state of West Bengal. The history of the *Balmiki* in Darjeeling is as old as the establishment of the Hill station. During the colonial period they were brought from Alwar⁹ (Rajasthan) to remove human excrement and clean the town of Darjeeling. Thus the migration of the *Balmiki* from their native villages to the hill station of Darjeeling overlaps with the growth of the Municipal body post 1850s.¹⁰

With the establishment of Darjeeling Hills, the Balmikis were brought by the Britishers

from western India to work as manual scavengers. During the post independence period, Balmikis as, scavengers carried night soil on their heads for their livelihood. Thus the migration of the *Balmiki* from their native villages to the hill station of Darjeeling overlaps with the growth of the Municipal body post 1850s.¹¹ They were employed as sweepers in the Darjeeling Municipality, as daily wage earners. A separate locality was created especially for the Balmikis near the dumping ground known as '*Harijan Barrick*' which is properly known as '*Jamadar Line*'. They were provided houses with single room and a kitchen with no toilet facility, by the Municipality. With larger families it has been very difficult to stay in such single houses. Moreover, the municipal authority hardly takes any initiative for repairing or maintenance of these municipal quarters. Due to this, workers are suffering from various illnesses, including respiratory diseases, urinary tract infections and a range of skin diseases, eye disorders, gastrointestinal ailments, and even lung cancer. Furthermore, these workers had no access to basic amenities such as adequate housing, drinking water or electricity.¹² Over the years they have become an urban community in Darjeeling and represent a substantial number of the migrant non-native Nepali speaking communities.

1.2 Social Structure of the Balmikis

The Balmikis are divided into various sub-castes and exogamous lineages. They recognize themselves as *Sudras*.¹³ The community has retained its social practices as carried out by their forefathers, similar to their original homeland in the north western parts of India. The community adheres to the strict norms of the caste ridden society and has retained the *Chaudhury system*¹⁴ of caste organization even in contemporary times. These *Chaudhuries* are administrators and are elected areas wise, and is also hereditary in nature. After the death of the *Chaudhury* the eldest son inherits the position of his father. As such the other members from the community could not get the opportunity to become the *Chaudhury* of the community. Being at the apex of the community the *Chaudhuries* assert themselves to represent the collective determination of the community. The *Chaudhuries* have controlled the community and have been carrying out customary practices of pre-independence days. Child marriages (especially in case of female), restrictions on widows remarrying and arranged marriage practices are still followed widely within the community.

The notion of *Izzat*¹⁵ has been greatly developed by the *Chaudhuries*. From the very early age the children are discouraged for inter-caste marriage. Accidentally, if such cases occur the performer (offender) will be socially excluded from the community. The community *Chaudhuries* declares *hukka pani bandh*¹⁶ for such a member with the entire family. As such the member with his/her's entire family is socially boycotted by the entire community. Again, for inclusion the member has to pay the penalty known as *Daand*¹⁷ to the *Chaudhury Sanstha* including the whole

of the community members both in cash and kind, along with the onetime meal and drinks to the members. There have been certain cases when the member from community going for inter-caste marriage has been socially boycotted and was made to pay *Daand* for his inclusion in the community.

In 2006 the *Chaudhury Sanstha* made an announcement saying that, those who have married other caste are supposed to pay a *Daand*, by the 31st of December, 2006.¹⁸ And as a concession the amount of cash paid as *Daand* was kept Rs. 1100 and from 01st of January, 2007 it would be converted into Rs. 11000. As a result of the announcement the members those who had went for inter-caste marriages, started to pay the *Daand* as soon as possible within the due date. This was the time when maximum assortment was done by the *Chaudhury Sanstha* for their personal desires and the members of the community were exploited within the community itself. Hence, the headmen (*Chaudhuries*) of the community misused their powers and positions, for the sake of the guiding and restricting the community from losing its identity and *Izzat* in an alien territory.¹⁹

Thus, the *Chaudhury Sanstha* has auxiliary subjugated the entire Balmiki population with its reciprocal reimbursement caucus and policy. The complexities of the system have constituted a serious obstacle to Balmikis civil progress in Darjeeling.

Balmiki women are considered equal in family matter, participate in social and religious matters on an equal footing and contribute to the family income.²⁰ But in social sphere womenfolk have no high respect in the Balmiki Community. The family is patriarchal in its character and women could not enjoy enough liberty. Male child is given more importance. There has been no such instance when girls could mix freely with young men, which is treated as shameless or a sin. Married women cannot take equal part in the religious performance. Moreover, the married women are kept '*ghunghat/ghoonghat*'²¹. *Ghoonghat* is compulsion for the women section and has been used defensible aphorism, which is a mark of respect to the elder's male section. The stumpy grade of women in Balmiki community can be traced to a number of interrelated economic, legal, cultural, political, and institutional factors. Women's poverty is exacerbated by caste and ethnicity-based discrimination, as the caste system defines access to resources and opportunities, leaving women more disadvantaged than men at every level. Women have unequal access to food, education and health care, limited opportunities to earn incomes, restricted access to and control over productive resources, and few effective legal rights. They are further disadvantaged by a lack of awareness of their legal rights and opportunities. Constant such kind of practices against the women within the Balmiki community has led to the exclusion by other section of people in hills, where the women benefit from maximum civil liberties and emancipation, and to a great extent verbal in political spheres.²² They are kept private in the domestic works of the households.

Male section has prohibited women from taking education in order to continue male domination in the community. In this context Hindu religious text has given a number of concessions to men but has imposed severe restrictions on women. Subcastes endogamy and lineage exogamy are the marriage rules. Adult marriage and monogamy are prevalent and most marriages are negotiated. Vermilion, fingerings, toe-rings and nose pins are the marriage symbols for the women. Divorce is not allowed. Families are most often nuclear in nature. Property passes from father to sons and the eldest son inherits the office and titles that were held by his father. Women have specific roles in economic, social and ritual spheres and in mundane, marriage and death. Birth pollution is observed. The marriage rituals are performed at the bride's place and her parents host the marriage feast. The marriage is consummated at the groom's residence. They cremate their dead and dispose of the mortal remains in holy waters. Death pollution is observed.²³ As such women have been left behind with the limited role to play both in social and economic spheres.

A major problem among the Balmiki is debt. A common saying of the Bhangi is that they are born in debt, live in debt and will die in debt. Social customs has been restrained and is given more significance within the community. Moncha is a ritual which is performed after the death of the family head (father/grandfather). The Mocha has to be decided by the *Chaudhuries of the Community, declaring it as Naw-beda-aar-paar*,²⁴ where all the members of the community participate for *Pagdi*²⁵ from all over Darjeeling district. This has resulted in being good customers and easy victims/preys for the moneylenders²⁶ and the economically stronger groups who charge them with high rate of interest.

There has been little effort to prevent such creamy social customs, exclusion and to reintegrate those who have become excluded through unemployment. In addition, immediate attention needs to be provided to ascertain these kinds of practices, and to maximize awareness orientation programmes so that they can sustain in monetary and societal spheres.²⁷

The condition of scavenging community is miserable. Since most of the people from the community are uneducated, social evils are prevalent in the community. Poverty gives birth to different things including alcoholism, wife beating, gambling. Most of the children cannot go to school. The girl children become part of the profession.²⁸ Dropout cases from schools can also be noticed. At a very early stage the children start helping their parents in profession.

In case of education they hardly get best schools and colleges, because of economic problems. Moreover, the mental setup of carrying out the occupation of parents has made them least interested in higher education. This has resulted in virtual isolation

of community from the rest of the society and in continuous grip of superstition and backwardness. The children continue to suffer as parents found little time to spend with them and their caste and geographical isolation led to further marginalization in the schools. The fact of the matter is even when publicly untouchability has been eliminated yet caste system is very much prevalent and nobody would deny it. The other fact is that everybody knows about Dom, Mehtar, Bhangis and Helas and such terms, denigrating they may look for a civilized society yet continue in practice. Children, inherit, these terms from their parents and in turn these communities face racial prejudices from every one. It is therefore, not ironical that names of their localities seal their fate as areas are always mentioned with the community names hence names like *Harijan Bustee*. They remind us how crude our system was vis-à-vis the untouchables. The very foundation of the discrimination in India is caste system, which denigrate Dalits and hurt the very dignity and pride of an individual, which are essentials for his growth and development.

A literacy rate among the Balmikis is low because they cannot afford it, though they view education favorably. Balmikis favour formal education for their boys and girls who study up to graduate and postgraduate levels depending upon the individual aptitude and circumstantial constraints. In maximum cases it can be seen that female child education is given less importance as they are treated *Paraya Dhan*.²⁹ Arrangements for the study of the girls are conspicuous by its absence. However, in recent years, especially in urban areas of Darjeeling town, girls are being educated at primary level.

They are further disadvantaged by a lack of awareness of their legal rights and opportunities. Constant such kind of practices against the women within the Balmiki community has led to the exclusion by other section of people in hills, where the women benefit from maximum civil liberties and emancipation, and to a great extent verbal in political spheres.³⁰ The complexities of the system have constituted a serious obstacle to Balmikis civil progress in Darjeeling. The trend today is toward the dissolution of the artificial barriers between the castes. The severity of the caste structure of the Hindus was broken to a great extent during the epoch of British rule in India.³¹ But the obligation of the son to follow the calling of his father is still binding; men being from low caste have not risen to high ranks and positions of power; and excommunication, however, loss of caste, is another serious problem as it might formerly have been. In addition, the caste system was from time to time burst from within by ecclesiastical schisms, most notably the rise of Buddhism, itself a reaction from, and protest against, the intolerable bondage of the caste system.³² The governance has not really got itself rid of the caste system though it may claim to have demolished the untouchability at least on the papers. Therefore, it is essential for the government to make its plan in a comprehensive way and not respond to a situation on purely technical way.³³

1.3 Economic Life of the Balmikis

Over the years Balmikis have become an urban community in Darjeeling and represent a substantial number of the migrant non-native Nepali speaking communities. With the introduction of septic latrines, the practice of carrying buckets of excrement on their heads is gone but they still work to clear blockages in sewers where they are half submerged in filth. The stigma remains. They are still identified with the work and considered untouchable and stereotyped as the “*Jamadar*”.³⁴ In other words the community is stereotyped to belong and represent the category of sweepers, *safai karamcharis*, *Jamadar* or sanitary workers. Given that experience they have always been marginalized and treated as outcasts socially, economically and culturally.

With the development of Darjeeling Township, they were employed by the municipality to work as the sweepers/safai karmachris in the Conservancy Department. But with the creation of septic latrines, the practice of carrying buckets of excrement on their heads is gone but they still work to clear blockages in sewers where they are half submerged in filth. They have a relatively high, steady salary³⁵, retirement benefits, and so forth.³⁶ But still for this stable remuneration (permanent job) they have to pay inducement³⁷ to the Officer In Charge in the municipality of Conservancy Department. Thus, the tendency of corruption and exploitation of the Balmikis is very high in the Darjeeling Municipality. Besides, this they have been regular victims by the section supervisor, who are paid *Bhanja*³⁸ both in cash and kind. Still, this kind of practices has never been reported by the victims neither to the authority in the municipality nor to the police. But even though their relative well-being is a source of envy, and their job is almost hereditary.

Now a good number of them serve as sweepers in public and private sector establishments. They have shifted from serving some households on contract basis to being in regular service. Moreover, they have also been found in some unorganized sectors such as sweeping the upper caste houses and cleaning toilets which they term as *tekhas*,³⁹ and in spite of positive action programmes, their participation in the public sphere is low. More than 80% of the Balmiki population⁴⁰ is dependent on the municipality for their livelihood. Though they have a regular source of income but their living standards has not been uplifted because of their social and cultural practices where huge amount of money is squander. In some cases they even have to sustain their families in their native homeland thus, their economic condition at stake.

The bias against them is as such that even if some of the people belonging to Balmiki community who want to leave the work find it nearly impossible to get an alternative job. It also reflects that there is virtually no entry of this community in the government sector as well as other labour work. It clearly means that while in

the sanitation work of the municipalities there is a one hundred percent reservation for them, there is virtually no effort to delink them from this tradition and rehabilitate them elsewhere. And by merely proclaiming that government has banned toilets will not bring out of the chaos that the social system has inflicted upon them. One is that there is still scavenging and other grave fact is that absentee Safai Karmcharis is growing. That means because of relatively better salaries and contract system, those with connections in the higher ups get the job while the issue of cleaning and going down the drainage and sewage line. In spite of the fact that this is most ill-treated and inhuman work that any human could do, the women continue to do it because of financial crisis. We all know that this does not really fetch them any money. The tragedy is that even the schemes for poor do not reach them.⁴¹

Those who are well educated, and their number is very limited, do not get job according to their education. The scheme of the government has further marginalized them because the issue is addressed from an economic viewpoint and not a socio-cultural problem without giving enough thought to their rehabilitation. In this profession, a majority of workers are women. They leave to work in early hours of the morning without even having the tea and return late in the afternoon. During that crucial period, nobody is at home to take care of their children. They have to fetch themselves resulting in their inability to go school.⁴²

1.4 The Political Position of the Community with Special Reference to Political Participation.

The *Balmiki* community under the auspices of *Balmiki Harijan Sangh*⁴³ is mobilizing the disposition of progress to protect their rights and raise their concerns. The Sangh has been taking the initiative for the upliftment of the community. Though migrated but they have projected themselves and who claim to be a gorkhey (gorkha), are now active in awareness and upliftment of the community though the pace is low. Looking back to the history of this gorkhey Balmikis, they are now the part of Darjeeling hills like other communities (gorkhey Marwari, Gorkhey Bhutias, and others). Almost three generation of Balmikis live in Darjeeling and they participate in every festival of the Darjeeling hills. The Balmikis have witnessed both the complex transitions comparing the First Wave (1980s under Subhash Ghising) and Second Wave (Post 2007 under Bimal Gurung) in the Gorkhaland movement in Darjeeling Hills. In the first wave of the Gorkhaland movement however, the Balmikis were either politically unaware or socially not in a position to identify themselves within the majority of the hill people. They didn't have any awareness of education or alternative employment, because of which they were ignored by the majority Gorkhey. But, in the Second Wave of Gorkhaland Movement (Post 2007) under Bimal Gurung, the Balmikis got an opportunity to show their majority and participate in the movement. Over the past 20 years, an emerging Balmikis identity and social consciousness has created a new political consciousness among them. Their consciousness is by no

means limited to the SCs. It has begun to symbolize a much broader sector of the oppressed and hitherto excluded social strata. It is based on an attempted, though by no means realized solidarity and discriminated Balmiki people. Their consciousness has made a political assertion though slow in nature. Thus, the oppressed Balmikis have begun to realize their power. This new spirit of independence among the Balmikis is not confined only to the socio-economic but also political phenomenon in Darjeeling hills. This together with the logic of fresh realignment of political party Gorkha Jan Mukti Morch (GJMM) has made the Balmikis the new pivotal players in Hills politics. The Balmikis and the other marginalized communities hold immense political potential, if only they can be brought together as a powerful force, this is the case when Mr. Bimal Gurung welcomed the marginalized community for a common cause of Gorkhaland. The impact of the Balmiki Participation in Gorkhaland Movement on the Community itself is twofold. First, material and political gains in the aftermath of the Gorkhaland movement. The hope of allocation of benefits to the community derived by way of the arrangements post movement; and that their political participation would enable them to be more politically conscious with potential leadership skills so as to be capable of forming, performing and marketing their own claims and conditions in future politics. Secondly, the negative impact is largely a perceived threat of being further marginalized in future by the dominant identities in control of power and allocation of resources.⁴⁴

Though they are traditionally Manual Scavengers and the only exception is the post of a sweeper. But by supporting the movement they have proved that being a son or a daughter of safai karmchari, they don't want that it should be restricted, that he/she should have equal opportunity to dream well and to be in high positions. Accepting better future for the coming generation of the Balmikis this dissenting voice might lead for better governance.⁴⁵

1.5 Conclusion and Observation

In recent years considerable strides toward eradicating unjust social and economic aspects of the caste system as practiced in India have been made through educational and reform movements.⁴⁶ Despite several official attempts to improve the status of members of the lowest caste, the Dalits remain '*oppressed people*'.⁴⁷ The *Balmikis* as Dalits thus remain the '*lowest of the low*', in the hierarchical ordering of social positions in the Hindu Caste order. By taking up the jobs that nobody else will do, the *Balmiki* provide the most crucial service to the society and therefore help our civic system survive. Yet the society seldom takes notice of them. In fact, instead of giving them the dignity of labour that they deserve, the society treats them as filthy and polluting. And the only time that *Balmiki* are in news, is when the community is attacked/ostracized by the '*higher*' castes. Other times the community is practically invisible and unheard.⁴⁸

Balmikis, who are pushed towards margin systematically from the past in the name of religious/cultural practice, and social order, are still victimized in the society. Despite the legal provision of equality too, the society is not completely free from the influence of long run practice of caste based discrimination. Protecting the rights of marginalized and vulnerable people is probably the most overlooked and disregarded area of human rights in India.

Sanitizing scavengers' work environment does not always guarantee liberation from the stigma that has been attached to the community for so long. The government of India needs to review the schemes to ensure that they successfully benefit the target group in a sustainable manner. Moreover, it should not be ignored that it is crucial to mobilize scavengers so as to attain higher-education and employment opportunities other than sweeping.⁴⁹

Notes and References

- 1 Scavenger means and includes a Safai Karamchari wholly or partially employed for manual handling of human excreta and includes his dependents. Safai Karamchari means a person engaged in, or employed for any sanitation work and includes his dependents. http://www.stscodisha.gov.in/pdf/scheme_sc_st_NSKFDC.pdf Accessed on 12.12.2012 3:30 hrs.
- 2 The title of Balmiki (or valmiki) was affected by Balmikis (or Valmikis) to distance themselves from the manner in which they had been constructed, historically, as the lowest caste strata of the untouchables; as the sweepers, or scavengers (for an overview of the manner in which this initially occurred, see: Mahar, P.M. 1960, *Changing Religious Practices of an Untouchable Caste*, Economic Development And Cultural Change. Vol. 8, no.3, pp. 279-287).
- 3 "Bhangī", is another widely used Hindi term to denote the 'Balmiki' meaning 'one addicted to drinking bhang' (a drink made from marijuana leaves). See, Lekhraj Balmiki. (2011). "The Balmiki Community in Darjeeling: Caste Consciousness." in Terence Mukhia (Ed.). *A Multi-Disciplinary Perusal*. Darjeeling: Kalpa Griha Publications. Also see. Sharma, Rama. (1995). *Bhangī, Scavenger in Indian Society: Marginality, Identity, and Politicization of the Community*. New Delhi: M.D. Publications Pvt. Ltd.
- 4 C.f. Lekhraj Balmiki. (2011). *Ibid*. Also see. Sharma, Rama. (1995). *Ibid*.
- 5 Shyamlal. (1992). *The Bhangī: A Sweeper Caste, its Socio-Economic Portraits: With Special Reference to Jodhpur City*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan. C.f. Lekhraj Balmiki. (2011). "The Balmiki Community in Darjeeling: Caste Consciousness." in Terence Mukhia (Ed.). *A Multi-Disciplinary Perusal*. Darjeeling: Kalpa Griha Publications. Also see. Sharma, Rama. (1995). *Bhangī, Scavenger in Indian Society: Marginality, Identity, and Politicization of the Community*. New Delhi: M.D. Publications Pvt. Ltd.
- 6 Sachidananda. (2002). *People at the Bottom: A Portrait of the Scavengers*. Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.

- 7 People-In-India Profile. <http://www.joshuaproject.net/south-asia-districts.php?rog5=IN2801> Accessed: 31.08.2012 20:30 hrs
- 8 People-In-IndiaProfile. <http://www.joshuaproject.net/peopleprofile.php?peo3=16399&rog3=IN> Accessed: 31.08.2012 20:31hrs
- 9 Gurung, Madan Kr. "*Darjeeling Municipality: Then and Now*" in Gurung, Madan Kr., & Bhutia Passang. (Ed.). (2000). Souvenir: *Darjeeling Municipality 1850-2000*. Darjeeling: Darjeeling Municipality. Pp.29.
- 10 Lekhraj Balmiki. (2012). '*The Second Wave of Gorkhaland Movement and the Marginalized: A case study of Balmiki Community in their Diaspora*', paper presented at UGC sponsored National Seminar: Regional Movements: Identity Question And National Integration: Contextualizing India's Growing Regional Assertions. SAP (DRS Phase-II) University of North Bengal 15th -16th March, 2012.
- 11 Lekhraj Balmiki. (2012). '*The Second Wave of Gorkhaland Movement and the Marginalized: A case study of Balmiki Community in their Diaspora*', paper presented at UGC sponsored National Seminar: Regional Movements: Identity Question And National Integration: Contextualizing India's Growing Regional Assertions. SAP (DRS Phase-II) University of North Bengal 15th -16th March, 2012.
- 12 Asian Human Rights Corresponding School: Asian Human Rights Commission . Lesson 2: *An Examination of the situation faced by Dalit communities working as manual scavengers and manhole workers as well as the plight of Dalit women*. <http://www.hrschool.org/doc/mainfile.php/lesson65/231/> Accessed: 25.02.2013 21:35 hrs.
- 13 Shudra, also spelled Sudra, Sanskrit Ūdra, the fourth and lowest of the traditional *varnas*, or social classes, of India, traditionally artisans and labourers. The term does not appear in the earliest Vedic literature. Unlike the members of the three *dvija* ("twice-born") *varnas* —Brahmans (priests and teachers), Kshatriya (nobles and warriors), and Vaishya (merchants) —Shudras are not permitted to perform the *upanayana*, the initiatory rite into the study of the Vedas (earliest sacred literature of India). The Shudra *varna* includes a wide spectrum of endogamous status groups with dominant, landowning groups at one end of the scale and near-untouchables at the other. These variations derive from the belief that certain behaviour patterns and occupations are polluting, a concept that gave rise to a distinction between "clean" and "unclean" Shudra groups; for example, washers, tanners, shoemakers, sweepers, and scavengers were once relegated to the status of untouchable. As evidence of group mobility in the caste system, some observers have pointed out that many castes claiming Kshatriya and Vaishya status gradually emerged from the Shudra class. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/571589/Shudra> Accessed: 28.09.2013 12:23 hrs
- 14 Chaudhury are elected areas wise, in Darjeeling they follow nine biras (meaning areas) at present there are nine chaudhury in 32 wards of Darjeeing Municipality area. See Lekhraj Balmiki. (2011). "*The Balmiki Community in Darjeeling: Caste Consciousness.*" in Terence Mukhia (Ed.). *A Multi-Disciplinary Perusal*. Darjeeling: Kalpa Griha Publications.
- 15 The honour or good reputation of a person, family, or group of people. <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/izzat> Accessed on 28.12.2012 17:30

hrs.

- 16 In case if the inter-caste marriage takes place the member is not allowed to enter the other community members house. Moreover, he/she with the entire family is not invited or not allowed to participate in any ceremony of the community. As such the member/family is isolated or excluded within the community. The community members are not allowed to have any kind of relations with that family.
- 17 Daand is a penalty paid by the member to *Chaudhury Sanstha* including whole community both in cash and kind, and proper meal with drinks has to be offered and also has to apologies in front of the community members. The Chaudhuries has to be informed regarding the payment of the Daand, and accordingly they finalize the date and day for the payment. Within the given date the person has to invite the entire community member for Daand. The person has to pay a certain amount of cash to the Chaudhury Sanstha (till 2006, the cash was 1100 rupees) along with proper meal, such pork, roti and rice, and drinks are also offered to the Chaudhuries and community members.
- 18 This part has been interview with Shri Kailesh Ram Balmiki, a person who was compelled to pay the *Daand* because he married a female from other caste. Personal interview with Shri Kailesh Ram Balmiki, who paid the Daand because he had married an outcaste; during the given year (2006) the Chaudhuries has given concession, supposed to pay Rs 1100 with proper food and drinks were offered to the whole Community.
- 19 Lekhraj Balmiki. (2013). '*Darjeeling Municipality and the Case of the Balmikis*', paper presented at ICSSR sponsored National Conference: Scavenger Communities: Problem, Dynamics and Way Forward. Organised by Centre for Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. 16th – 17th September, 2013.
- 20 Singh, K.S. (2010). *The Scheduled Castes*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. Pp. 235-243.
- 21 The Sari grew in length with one end used to cover the bosom, the head and the face. This allowed women to work in the fields beside men or even ride a horse like men. Traditionally, in some parts of India, women are supposed to have a Ghoonghat in front of the family elders and men, except husbands and close family members.
- 22 Lekhraj Balmiki. (2012). '*The Second Wave of Gorkhaland Movement and the Marginalized: A case study of Balmiki Community in their Diaspora*', paper presented at UGC sponsored National Seminar: Regional Movements: Identity Question and National Integration: Contextualizing India's Growing Regional Assertions. SAP (DRS Phase-II) University of North Bengal 15th -16th March, 2012.
- 23 Singh, K.S. (2010). *The Scheduled Castes*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. Pp. 105-112.
- 24 This phrase is used to call upon all the members of the community along with entire family and relatives, its some kind of open invitation
- 25 Pagdi is a turbon which has to be put on by the Chaudharies and relatives to the next head in the family specially in case of elder son who takes the charge of the family.

- 26 In most cases these moneylenders belong to the Upper Caste. However, money lending business cuts across the caste association in the sub-continent wherein the moneyed class continues to control the business of lending and earning interest on the principle amount. The Afghans for instance have been traditionally a ready source of liquid cash for the cash trapped individuals.
- 27 Lekhraj Balmiki. (2013). '*Darjeeling Municipality and the Case of the Balmikis*', paper presented at ICSSR sponsored National Conference: Scavenger Communities: Problem, Dynamics and Way Forward. Organised by Centre for Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. 16th – 17th September, 2013.
- 28 Swachchakar Dignity: Manual Scavenging in Uttar-Pradesh Status of manual scavengers in Gorakhpur, Uttar-Pradesh By Vidya Bhushan Rawat, Social Development Foundation, Delhi, Ram Bhuvan, Jan Kalyan Sansthan, Chauri Chaura, Kirti Singh, Social Development Foundation, Delhi Thursday, February 22, 2007 <http://swachchakar.blogspot.in/2007/02/manual-scavenging-in-uttar-pradesh.html> Accessed: 25.02.2013 20:29 hrs
- 29 As per Indian Tradition, a girl is wedded to a boy who is her Pati (husband). The parents brought up the girl child to her adulthood to wed out to her in laws in a different home. Though she was given birth by a couple, she will be living her valued period of rest of the life with her husband not with her parents. It seems that she has been given birth and brought up to handed over to another party. So, a girl is called Paraya Dhan. (The girls are considered Laxmi, the Goddess of Money).
- 30 Lekhraj Balmiki. (2012). '*The Second Wave of Gorkhaland Movement and the Marginalized: A case study of Balmiki Community in their Diaspora*', paper presented at UGC sponsored National Seminar: Regional Movements: Identity Question and National Integration: Contextualizing India's Growing Regional Assertions. SAP (DRS Phase-II) University of North Bengal 15th - 16th March, 2012.
- 31 Mathew Atmore Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes as Represented in Benaras, 3 vols.* Calcutta: 1872-1881. *The Tribes and Castes of the Madras Presidency.* London: 1909.
- 32 Jaideva, Paramanshi. (2002). *Dalits in Early Buddhism.* Delhi: Kalpaz Publications. Also see, Ambedkar, Dr. B.R. "*Buddhism and Communism*", National Seminar on Marx, Ambedkar and Polarization of Oppressed and Exploited Classes in India. New Delhi: Sanjivayya Institute of Socio-Economic Studies, 1991. Also see, Ambedkar, Dr. B.R. (1957). *The Buddha and his Dhamma.* Bombay: Siddharth College Publications.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 According to Oxford Dictionaries Jamadar is a person who sweeps homes or offices as job. <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/jamadar> Accessed on 12.12.2012 at 1 : 10 am. See, Sharma, Balchandra. (1962). *Nepali Shabda Kosh. Royal Nepal Acedamy.* Pp. 366. Also see Ralph Lilley Turner, (1931). *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trybner & Co., Ltd. Pp 209, 'where Jamadar has been defined as the lowest Commissioned Gurkha or Indian rank in the Indian Army'. Also see Rai, R.B. "*Jiten Mitra: Sab Bhandra Youge Purano Commissioner*", in Gurung, Madan Kr., & Bhutia, Passang. (Ed.). (2000). *Souvenir.*

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- 35 Regular monthly Basic pay ranges from Rs 9000-Rs 12000, only if the employ is permanent in Darjeeling Municipality. Source: Staff Statistic Report of Darjeeling Municipality as on 01.04.2012
- 36 Deliege, Robert. (2001). *The Untouchables of India*. New York: oxford International Publishers Ltd. (Translated from French by Nora Scott).
- 37 In 1998, the people those who were given permanent (made permanent) posts according to the Municipality Order, were asked to may Rs. 2000 individually, this part has been interviewed on the field survey with the Balmiki Harijan Sangh member. One of the employ named Lila Dev was withheld as she refused to pay the bribe for her permanent post. Similarly, in the year 2006, the amount was increased to Rs. 10000- 30000 depending on the capacity of the employ for being permanent.
- 38 Bhanja is bribe paid to the supervisor of a particular section by the Safai Karamchari.
- 39 Tekhas are unorganized sectors where the community men/women members work as sweepers and earn his/her family livelihood. They are paid very low wages and sometimes both in cash wage and kinds during festivals.
- 40 See, Staff Statistic Report of Darjeeling Municipality as on 01.04.2012.
- 41 Swachchakar Dignity: Manual Scavenging in Uttar-Pradesh Status of manual scavengers in Gorakhpur, Uttar-Pradesh By Vidya Bhushan Rawat, Social Development Foundation, Delhi, Ram Bhuvan, Jan Kalyan Sansthan, Chauri Chaura, Kirti Singh, Social Development Foundation, Delhi Thursday, February 22, 2007 <http://swachchakar.blogspot.in/2007/02/manual-scavenging-in-uttar-pradesh.html>. Accessed: 25.02.2013 20:29 hrs
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- 43 Balmiki Harijan Sangh was established in 1948, Registration No.:- 3/38713.
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