

INTERSECTIONALITY



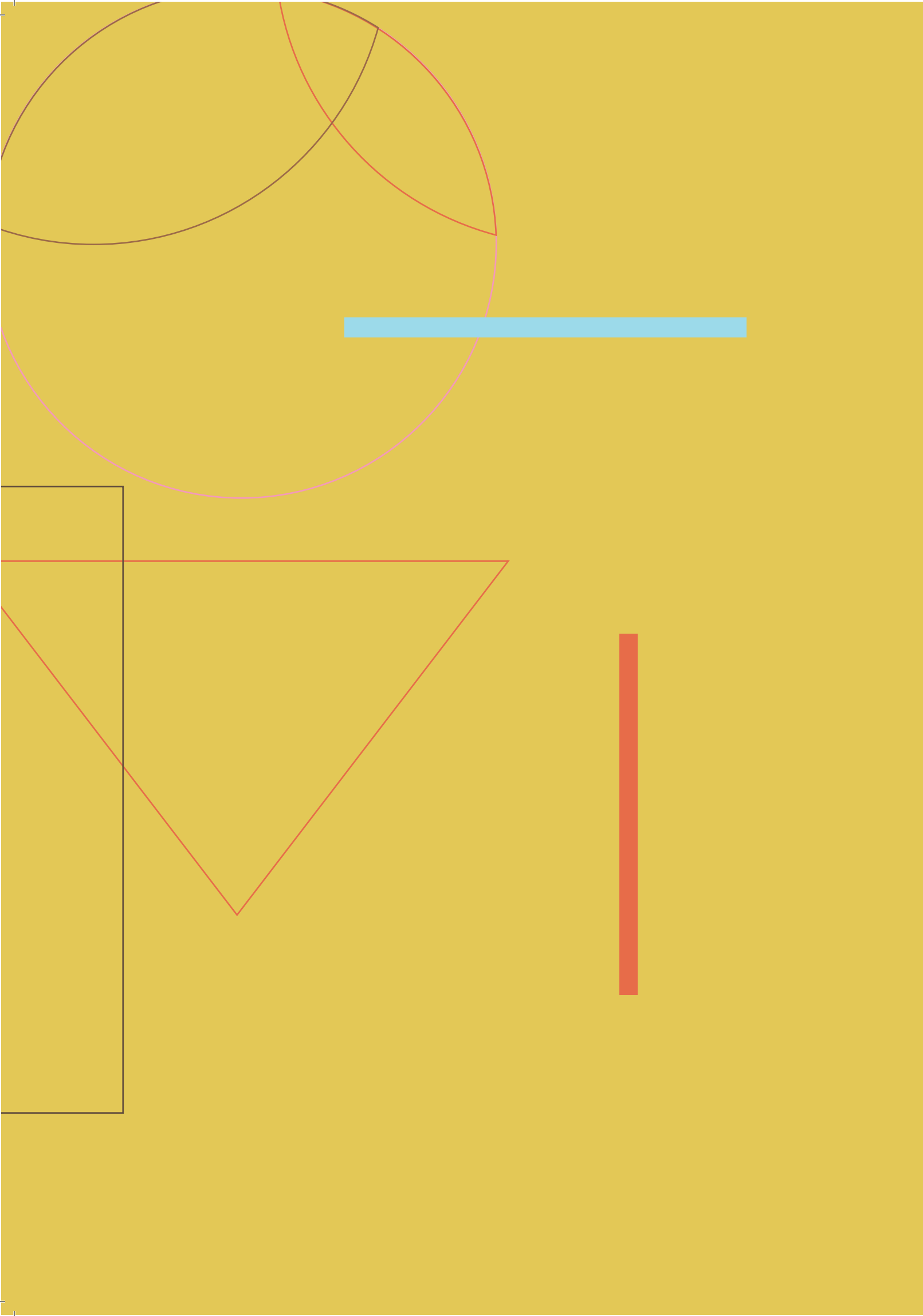
A Report on Discrimination based on
Caste with the intersections of Sex, Gender
Identity and Disability in Karnataka,
Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala



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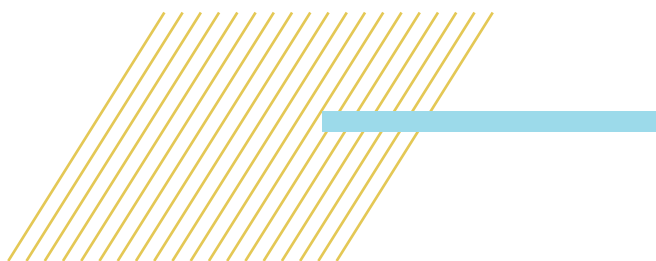
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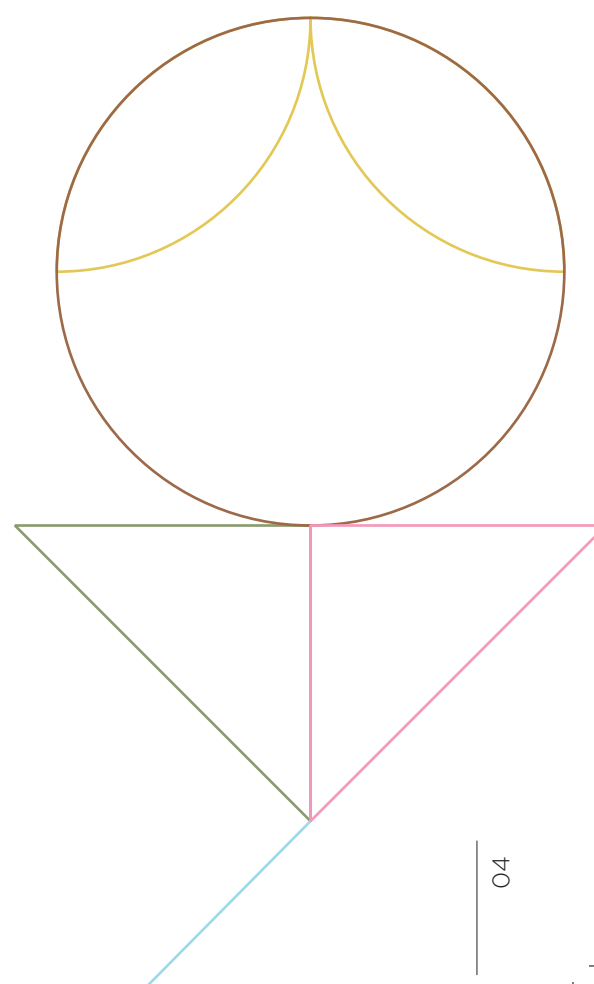
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The study aims to understand the relationships between different sites of discrimination and marginalised identities in South India.

INTRODUCTION

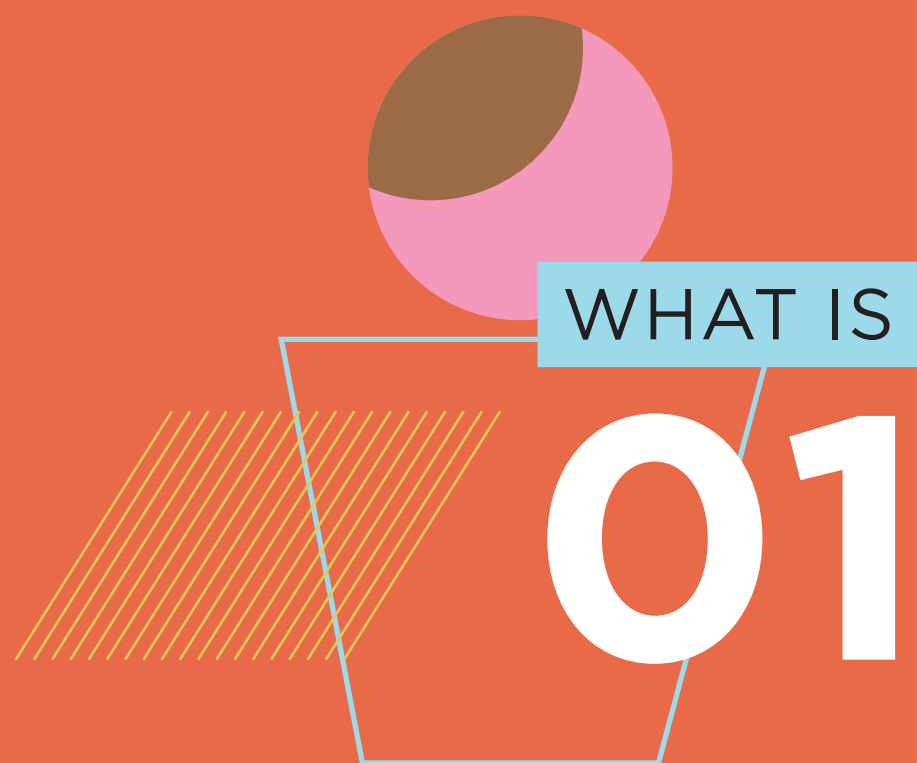
The study aims to understand the relationships between different sites of discrimination and marginalised identities in South India. This study is motivated by the need to develop a deeper understanding on the relationship between identity and discrimination. While theoretical and anecdotal accounts reveal the importance of an intersectional approach to understanding discrimination in India, few studies¹ have collected qualitative and quantitative data documenting these experiences.

This study takes a first step in collating the life experiences of discrimination based on caste, intersecting with other factors of discrimination such as disability, sex and gender identity through detailed interviews and survey research. It adopts an intersectional approach to qualitative and quantitative research on the experiences of persons who are marginalised based on caste, sex, gender identity, and/or disability, in the four South Indian states of Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu.

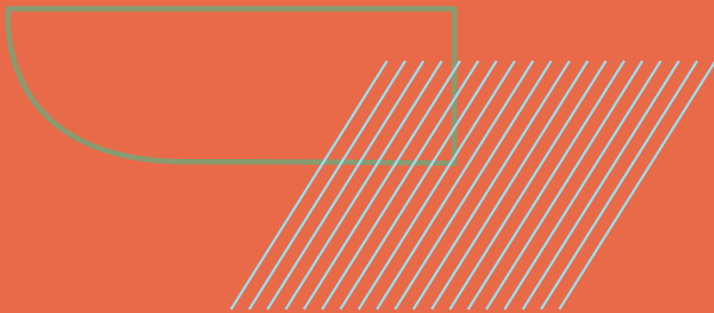
Our overall research question is: How are the experiences of persons from SC/ST backgrounds shaped by other identity factors, such as disability, sex, and gender identity? The study aims to understand the relationships between different sites of discrimination and marginalised identities in South India. The sites at which people face discrimination are also likely to differ on the basis of identity. We focus on the experience of discrimination in education, employment, healthcare, access to services, public spaces, and interactions with public officials.

This report is organised into five Chapters. In Chapter I, we discuss the literature on intersectionality theory and intersectional discrimination in the Indian context. In Chapter II, we describe the methodology of our study. In Chapter III, we present our findings from qualitative interviews with 23 persons. In Chapter IV, we present findings from our survey research with 114 respondents across the four South Indian states. In Chapter V, we conclude by assessing the key insights, and situate them in the larger context of equality and discrimination concerns in India.

¹Conversations on Caste Discrimination in South India (Alternative Law Forum: 2018).

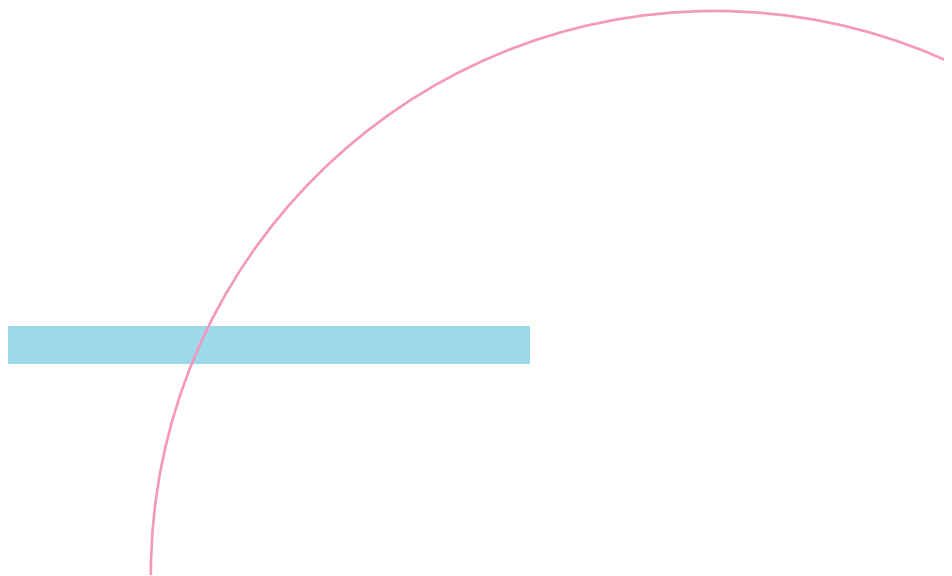


Inter Sectionality?



Discrimination and inequality in India cannot be understood by focusing on a single axis of identity, be it **caste, sex, gender identity, disability, religion or any other category**. It has to be examined and explored through an intersectional lens, where multiple and different identities of people collide.

This chapter first delves into the meaning of intersectionality and offer an overview of writings on intersectionality. Thereafter it examines intersectionality of caste, gender, and disability in the Indian context. Finally, it looks at intersectionality as method and how it has been incorporated in the research design of this study.



WHAT IS

inter sectionality?

The notion of multiple and compound discrimination and inequality is most often ascribed to Black feminist activists in the United States (US) in the 1980s and early 1990s. The term “intersectionality” was coined by Kimberle Crenshaw, who noted the limitations of anti-discrimination law in the US in addressing the experience of black women.² Scholars and activists argued that the experiences of those at the intersections of a marginalised racial identity (i.e. black) and sex (i.e. women) were more likely to be neglected, not only by the state and law but also by social movements. Social researchers from various disciplines have since noted the import of an intersectional approach in understanding the inequality, injustice, and discrimination faced by marginalised communities on different axes, such as disability or race, across the world.³

Kimberle Crenshaw introduced the concept of “intersectionality” in her 1991 piece titled ‘Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Colour’.⁴ While noting the effectiveness of identity-politics in recognising and addressing broad-scale system[s] of domination, she argued that identity politics “frequently conflates or ignores intragroup differences.”⁵ Focusing on the experiences of black women in cases of domestic violence and rape, she argued that black women face unique and aggravated forms of discrimination. They did not face marginalisation, discrimination, or violence because of their race or sex, but because of the intersections of both race and sex. She clarifies that this does not mean that their experience was an aggregate of racial and gender-based discrimination but was unique.

²Kimberle Crenshaw ‘Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color’ (1991) *Stanford Law Review* 43(6), 1241-99. ³Kathy Davis, ‘Intersectionality as Critical Methodology’ in Nina Lykke (eds) *Writing Academic Texts Differently: Intersectional Feminist Methodologies and the Playful Art of Writing* (Routledge 2014); Timo Makkonen ‘Multiple, Compound, and Intersectional Discrimination: Bringing the Experiences of the Most Marginalised to the Fore’ (2002) *Institute for Human Rights, Abo Akademi University*; G.C Pal, ‘Disability, Intersectionality, and Deprivation: An Excluded Agenda’ (2011) *Psychology and Developing Societies* 23(2), 159-176; Faye A. Ramers, Sally D. Stabb ‘Class at the Intersection of Race and Gender: A 15 year Content Analysis’ (2015) *The Counselling Psychologist* 46 (3), 794-821; Rita Kaur Dhamoon, ‘Considerations on Mainstreaming Intersectionality’ (2011) *Political Research Quarterly* 64(1), University of Utah, 230-243; Angela Frederick and Dara Shifrer (2018) *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 1-15. ⁴*Ibid.* ⁵Crenshaw (n. 2), 1242.

On this basis, Crenshaw claims that employing an intersectional perspective to understand black women's experiences would illuminate the interaction of race and gender and that an intersectional perspective is useful in "recognising multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed."⁶ It allows a deeper and comprehensive perspective on the dynamics of power in society.

Sandra Fredman points out that terms such as "multiple discrimination", 'cumulative discrimination', 'compound discrimination' and 'intersectional discrimination' are used interchangeably although they have subtly different meanings."⁷ She identifies three forms which multiple-ground discrimination may take. First, is 'sequential multiple discrimination', where a person may face discrimination on one ground at one time, and another ground on a different occasion. The second is 'additive multiple discrimination', where a person may face discrimination on more than one ground at the same time. The third type of discrimination, most evident in Crenshaw's work, is 'synergistic', where the form of discrimination is not a result of any combination of grounds but is "qualitatively different" from the form of discrimination faced by others who share one of the multiple identity characteristics.⁸ This is intersectional discrimination. As Fredman explains, "the aim of intersectionality should be to capture and address the wrongs suffered by those who are at the confluence of all of these relationships."⁹ Fredman purports that "structural intersectionality" is a more useful approach as it focuses on "(i) the need to redress disadvantage, (ii) the need to address stigma, stereotyping, prejudice, and violence, (iii) the need to facilitate voice and participation, and (iv) the need to accommodate difference and change structures of discrimination."¹⁰

⁶Crenshaw (n. 2), 71245. Sandra Fredman 'Intersectional Discrimination in the EU' (2016) European Union, Directorate-General for Justice and Consumers, 7. ⁸Fredman (n. 7), 7. ⁹Fredman (n. 7), 8.

¹⁰Fredman (n. 7), 31.

"Structural Intersectionality" is a more useful approach as it focuses on "(i) the need to redress disadvantage, (ii) the need to address stigma, stereotyping, prejudice, and violence, (iii) the need to facilitate voice and participation, and (iv) the need to accommodate difference and change structures of discrimination."

Sandra Fredman

INTERSECTIONALITY OF CASTE, SEX, GENDER IDENTITY & DISABILITY IN THE indian context

The recognition that multiple identities have an influence on one's social position and lived experience is not novel in the Indian context. Caste is an overarching system of oppression and discrimination in India. When caste intersects with other identities such as sex, gender identity or disability, we find that the nature of discrimination experienced by people at the interstices is severe. Caste and gender hierarchies in Indian society are intrinsically linked, as 'purity of caste' is maintained by exercising control over women's bodies.¹¹ Caste structure is safeguarded by placing severe restrictions on women, who are regarded as 'entry points' or 'gateways' of caste mobility for men from lower castes.¹² This has rendered those at the interstices of caste and gender particularly vulnerable to compounded discrimination because of institutional neglect of their claims by the police and other authorities.¹³ Prominent Dalit activists

and scholars have noted the aggravated marginalisation of Dalit women within Indian society which is shaped simultaneously by Brahmanical and patriarchal values. Rege has advocated for a "standpoint feminist" approach to account for the experiences and amplify the voices of Dalit women.¹⁴ Alongside theoretical writing, several studies have also utilised an intersectional approach to understand the interplay of gender and caste in the context of gender-based violence, human rights atrocities, commercial surrogacy, the devadasi system, educational access, and livelihoods.¹⁵

Kannabiran and Kannabiran argue that social spaces are structurally organised in a manner that women from different castes and classes experience discrimination very differently. Further, they argue that when women, particularly Dalit women, speak out against policing by upper caste men, the result is

¹¹Uma Chakravarti, 'Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India: Gender, Caste, Class and State' (1993) *Economic and Political Weekly*, 579. ¹²*Ibid.* ¹³See Marc Galanter and Rajeev Dhavan, *Law and Society in Modern India* (Oxford University Press Delhi 1989), 208-34. ¹⁴Sharmila Rege 'Dalit Women Talk Differently: A Critique of 'Difference' and Towards a Dalit Feminist Standpoint Position' (1998) *Economic and Political Weekly* 48(18). ¹⁵'Review of Women's Studies: Intersections of Gender and Caste' (2013) *Economic and Political Weekly* 48 (18).

The need of the hour is to tackle the manner in which caste and gender based discrimination collude.

inevitably a form of punishment that is meted out to her and rape is considered the ultimate punishment for a woman who attempts to transgress social boundaries.¹⁶ Rege argues that the mainstream feminist movement in India often tends to discount the manner in which both caste and gender reconstitute how 'woman' operates as a category in a 'graded patriarchy.'¹⁷ Ignoring how caste operates structurally to adversely affect Dalit women leaves Dalit-feminists in a position of having to choose between feminism or community ties. Notably, she argues that accentuating either the 'sameness' of how patriarchy affects all women, or the 'difference' of caste often tends to obscure the manner in which caste-based sexual violence is normalised in society. Rege rightly argues that the need of the hour is to tackle the manner in which caste and gender based discrimination collude.¹⁸ In the

absence of an intersectional discourse, incidents such as the Khairlanji violence¹⁹ tend to be framed as either "sexual assault" or "caste atrocity" while ignoring the reality that the experience of rape on the grounds of gender and caste is both inseparable and compounded.²⁰

In the context of transgender identity, the vulnerability and discrimination that the trans and intersex community faces is very distinct. Dalit transgender persons face compounded discrimination on the basis of their caste and gender identity.²¹ As Semmalar points out, there is a lack of solidarity between Dalit and transgender communities where transgender persons are often found fighting for survival from public violence. Those at the interstices of caste and gender identity tend to have fewer avenues for social support.

¹⁶ Vasanth Kannabiran, Kalpana Kannabiran, 'Caste and Gender: Understanding Dynamics of Power and Violence' (2013) *Economic and Political Weekly* 48(18).¹⁷ Sharmila Rege, *Against the Madness of Manu: BR Ambedkar's Writings on Brahmanical Patriarchy* (Navayana 2013).¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Arundhati Roy, 'India's Shame' *Prospect Magazine* (2014), 225. ²⁰ Gee Imaan Semmalar, 'Unpacking Solidarities of the Oppressed: Notes on Trans Struggles in India' (2014) 42 *Women's vStudies Quarterly* 286 ²¹*Ibid.*

Dalit transgender persons are subject to acute discrimination from upper caste transgender persons owing to their caste-status and from the Dalit community due to their gender identity.²² Living Smile Vidhya argues that transphobia is structurally similar to the way in which caste hierarchies work. Cis-gender persons tend to discriminate against her much like upper caste Hindus oppress Dalits.²³ Paradoxically, mainstream cis-gender feminists exclude her because she is not biologically female. She argues that Dalit transgender women need to fight the ways in which transphobia, patriarchy and casteism adversely affect their life choices and opportunities.²⁴ In this regard, she also observes that the transgender community has been “reduced to the status of just beggars or sex workers” and draws a parallel with the “occupational fixity” of Dalits.²⁵

Grace Banu, one of India’s most prominent Dalit trans activists points out that writers neglect the adverse and discriminatory effect that cis - brahmanical patriarchy has on transgender persons.²⁶ Transgender persons fight for their rights and survival in a society that is organised along patriarchal and caste binaries.²⁷

Banu links the discrimination that victimises transgender persons to the brahmanical patriarchal order which views sex work and begging as taboo rather than as a form of labour. Finally, she argues that cis-brahmanical patriarchy is responsible for the ways in which notions of ‘purity’ and ‘pollution’ that surround the idea of morality in our society distort socio-economic power structures to disadvantage Dalit transgender persons.²⁸

Disability in India is often not studied from the lens of intersectionality.

Persons with disability constitute nearly 2.1% of the Indian population and more than two-thirds of this population lives in rural areas.²⁹

The global and local disability rights movement has drawn attention to the systematic marginalisation and discrimination faced by persons based on their disability. Across the country, persons with disabilities face a multitude of challenges in accessing education, employment, and public services. Furthermore, social stigma and misconceptions around disabilities are pervasive. However, the experience of disability is not homogenous.³⁰

²²Gee Imaan Semmalar, Living Smile Vidhya, Karthik, Kaveri, '(Trans)Gender and Caste Lived Experience - Transphobia as a Form of Brahminism: An Interview of Living Smile Vidya' Roundtable India <http://roundtableindia.co.in/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6254:trans-gender-and-caste-lived-experience-transphobia-as-a-form-of-brahminism-an-interview-of-living-smile-vidya&catid=120:gender&Itemid=133>. ²³Ibid. ²⁴Ibid. ²⁵Kaveri, '(Trans)gender and caste lived experience - Transphobia as a form of Brahminism: An Interview with Living Smile Vidya' (Jan. 26, 2013), Sanhati <<http://sanhati.com/excerpted/6051/>>. ²⁶Grace Banu, 'Where Are the Archives of Our Dalit Trans Foremothers and Forefathers?' The Print (1 May 2018) <<https://theprint.in/opinion/dalit-history-month/dalit-trans-resilience-is-a-fight-against-caste-and-patriarchy-though-we-are-missing-from-written-archives/53509/>> ²⁷Ibid. ²⁸Ibid. ²⁹Census of India (2011), Registrar General of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India. ³⁰Philip O' Keefe, 'People with Disabilities in India: From Commitments to Outcomes' (2007) World Bank.

Feminist disability theorists have argued that “femininity and disability are inextricably linked” as both are “socially constructed and are not rooted in biology.”³¹ Interventions by feminist disability scholars note that mainstream disability scholarship has neglected the gendered expectations and experiences of women with disabilities.³² In the Indian context, Renu Addlakha notes that “the impact of barriers [faced by persons with disability] is magnified manifold when it comes to gauging the level of neglect, isolation, stigma and deprivation that characterise the lives of women with disabilities.” Women with disabilities are more vulnerable to sexual violence, are more likely to face barriers in accessing reproductive rights, and face aggravated lack of access to education, employment, and public services.

The marginalisation of women with disabilities extends into the familial space as well, where the role of a woman as a care-giver and the status of a woman with disability as a care-receiver are seemingly at odds. As Anita Ghai writes, “Disabled sons retain the possibility of marriage, as they are not gifts, but the receivers of gifts. Disabled as well as non-disabled men seek “normal” women as wives, and therefore participate in the devaluing of people because of disability.”³³

Poverty, low rates of literacy, lack of access to employment and discrimination faced by SC/ST communities in India are aggravated for persons with disability. Persons with disability also face “negligence and deprivation because of the attitude that they are not able to perform and contribute to social development.”³⁴ For Dalit persons with disability, a lack of access to reasonable accommodation, poverty, and occupational fixity aggravates this stigmatization, leading to exclusion and discrimination.³⁵ Nilika Mehrotra’s study on access to employment demonstrates that women with disabilities from Dalit communities “suffer multiple marginalities owing not only to their caste but also gender and certain nature of disability”.³⁶ Levels of literacy amongst all Dalit women with disabilities remains low. Most Dalit women with disabilities are employed in the unorganised sector.³⁷ Women with psychosocial disabilities are likely to have difficulties in accessing healthcare, are more likely to be isolated and also vulnerable to sexual violence.³⁸ Mehrotra’s study points to the need for more studies that “collate the question of caste, disability and gender together in the assertion for the rights of the marginalised”.³⁹

³¹Nilika Mehrotra, *Disability, Gender and State Policy: Exploring Margins* (Rawat Publications: 2013) 30. ³²Anita Ghai, *Rethinking Disability in India*, (Routledge: 2015); Asha Hans, ‘Introduction’ in Asha Hans (eds.) *Disability, Gender, and the Trajectories of Power* (Sage Publications: 2015), 1-19. ³³Ghai (n. 320), 54. ³⁴G.C Pal, ‘Disability, Intersectionality and Deprivation: An Excluded Agenda’ (2011), *Psychology and Developing Societies*, 23(2), 159-176, 161. ³⁵Gee Imaan Semmalar, *Living Smile Vidhya*, Karthik, Kaveri (n. 22). ³⁶Nilika Mehrotra, ‘Disability, gender and caste intersections in Indian Economy’ (2013), in (eds) *Disability and Intersecting Statuses, Research in Social Science and Disability* (7) Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 295 – 324, 298. ³⁷*Ibid.* ³⁸Nilika Mehrotra (2004), ‘Women, Disability, and Social Support in Haryana’ *Economic and Political Weekly*, 39(52), 5640-5644. ³⁹Nilika Mehrotra, (2013), *Disability, gender and caste intersections in Indian economy* (n. 35) at 321.

INTERSECTIONALITY AS method



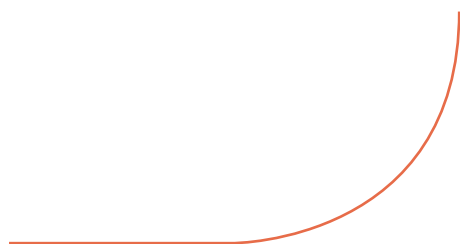
Several scholars have noted the limitation and need for a clearer perspective on how an intersectional approach may be utilised in conducting social research. In 1991, feminist scholar Maria Matsuda proposed that a starting point of employing an intersectional perspective is to “ask the other question”.⁴⁰ Matsuda argues that the “interconnection of all forms of subordination” may be identified by asking questions that may not appear as obvious in a specific situation (e.g., she explains “when I see something that looks racist, I ask, “Where is the patriarchy in this?”⁴¹ This perspective has been an important starting point in designing the questions that one purports to answer through their research or inquiry.

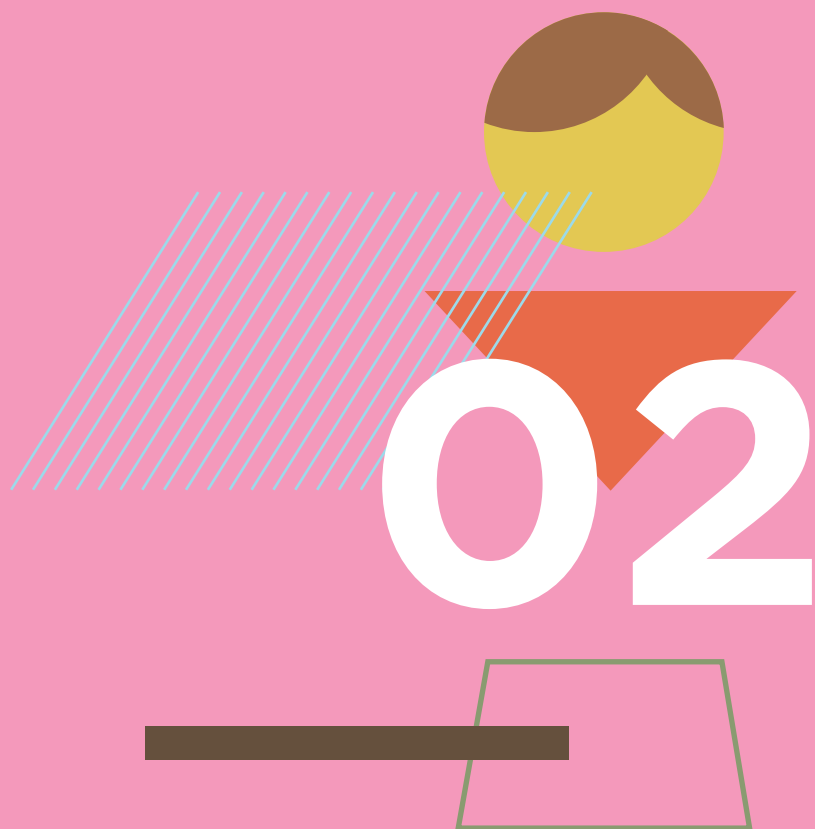
Ashlee Christoffersen’s “Intersectional Approaches to Equality Research and Data” provides a useful brief of how an intersectional approach may inform qualitative and quantitative research.⁴² Christoffersen argues that it is necessary for all research employing an intersectional approach to contextualise inequalities within the larger historical and contemporary social context.⁴³ Research design must also not assume a lack of intragroup differences and pay special attention to diversity within a specific group.⁴⁴ Additionally, they advise that research questions be broad and designed to capture this complexity rather than compel respondents to identify a singular identity that may have influenced their experiences.⁴⁵

This study has tried to follow these methods, particularly in the manner in which it carried out the qualitative interviews, in asking open ended questions so as to elicit maximum participation from the respondents, and in trying to understand the complexity of their contexts. The research design has tried to ensure maximum participation of the respondents to bring in a richer, more diverse research perspective.

⁴⁰ Maria Matsuda, ‘Beside My Sister, Facing the Enemy: Legal Theory out of Coalition’ (1991) *Stanford Law Review* 43 (6), 1183-1192. ⁴¹Matsuda, (n. 40) 1189.

⁴²Ashlee Christoffersen, ‘Intersectional Approaches to Equality Research and Data’ (2017) Equality Challenge Unit. ⁴³Christoffersen, (n. 42), 4. ⁴⁴Christoffersen, (n. 42), 4. ⁴⁵Christoffersen, (n. 42), 4.







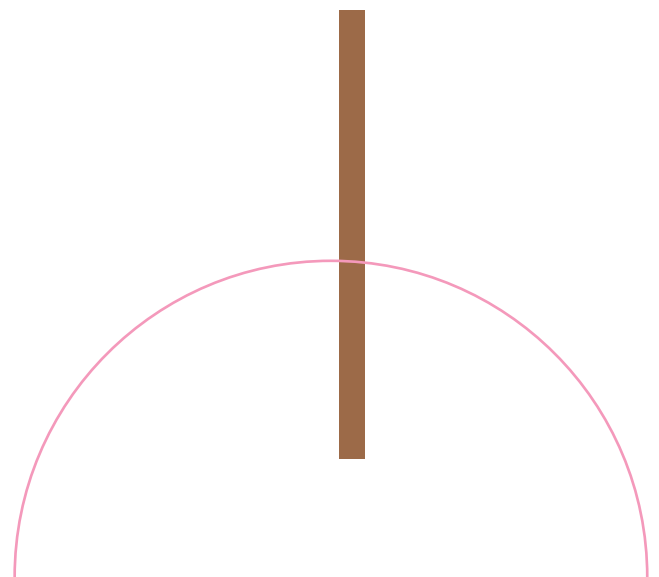
Methodology



The study was undertaken over a period of seven months, from May 2018 to November 2018 in the four South Indian states of Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. The study used a 'mixed' research design, using both intensive and extensive research methods in order to develop a comprehensive perspective on identity-based experiences.

Intensive research was qualitative and included interviews. The interviews conducted were open-ended and flexible. It allowed us to obtain deeper, textured narratives of personal experiences. The extensive research was quantitative and included administering survey questionnaires which provided representative, descriptive information that was easy to collate and compare. The survey questionnaire had pre-defined questions with multiple-choice options. It provided us an opportunity to pre-define sites and ensure a level of detail in our data collection process.

Both, the interview and survey, as research methodologies, rely on people's self-perceptions and descriptions of their experiences of discrimination. Interview and survey respondents varied in their understandings of identity-based, direct or indirect, discrimination.



SAMPLE & method



In total, we conducted this study with 137 individuals, above the age of 18, from the four South Indian states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala, and Andhra Pradesh.

QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS


We conducted intensive qualitative interviews of 23 persons who were active members of their communities, working on human rights concerns of the identity groups we sought to study. This was a “purposive sampling” method where we identified each of the respondents. Our respondents were activists, academics or other persons from SC/ST backgrounds, with disability, women and/or transgender persons. We used this sampling method because our objective was not to obtain representational narratives but have the opportunity to interact with persons who were aware of collective concerns as well as the power dynamics which were likely to have affected their life experiences.

We used a semi-structured interview by having a set of guideline questions which would allow us to guide and develop a conversation on identity-based experiences. The interview guide sought to ascertain each individual’s interactions with various sites, such as educational institutions, workplaces, police stations, and while accessing legal services and healthcare facilities. These questions were open-ended, allowing for the respondents to not only share their personal experiences but expand on their

perspective on access, equality, and discrimination. Interviewers also drew from the responses to pose follow-up questions and delve deeper into each respondent’s experience and analysis.

QUANTITATIVE SURVEYS

In addition to the intensive qualitative interviews, we conducted quantitative surveys. We surveyed 114 respondents from the four States, using a “snowball sampling” method. We developed a network of respondents for our survey by drawing on members of our network of activists, advocates, organisations, or academics working on social empowerment and justice concerns. We also relied on our interview and survey respondents to connect us to other persons who would be willing to participate in our study. 111 respondents were from SC / ST backgrounds, 1 respondent was from the Other Backward Classes category, 1 respondent did not wish to reveal their caste identity and 1 respondent was not aware of their caste. Our respondents included cisgender able-bodied women, cisgender women with disabilities, transgender persons, transgender persons with disabilities, and cisgender men with disabilities.



The survey was developed by the team at CLPR. The design and analysis of the survey questionnaire was also a consultative process with community members, activists, researchers, and translators. The survey had 61 questions that were designed to have uniform relevance for our respondents. There were two additional sections which addressed unique contexts and experiences that are relevant to persons with disability and/or transgender persons. The survey was designed to be administered in one-on-one settings, so that

accommodations could be made to ensure accessibility on the basis of language or disability.

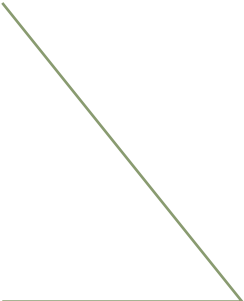
We used these sampling methods recognising that the object of our study was deeply personal, sensitive and private. Furthermore, respondents were difficult to locate because they faced active marginalisation and limited visibility. These methods were beneficial in enabling a degree of comfort and trust in our organisation and its work.

CONDUCTING the study

For this study, we obtained informed consent of each respondent by discussing the objectives of our study. We clarified that the findings of the study would be used to further advocacy efforts on understanding the experience of discrimination. All respondents were informed of their right to refrain from answering each question and were welcome to terminate the interaction at any point without question. The names of the respondents have been kept anonymous and confidential.

We initiated our study with the interviews, to develop a base level understanding of the issues and perspectives at hand. The interviews were conducted in English, Tamil, Malayalam, or Kannada, depending on the interviewee's preference, and were conversational. Interviews not only allowed us to develop a subjective and descriptive understanding of the issues but also helped refine our survey methods. Each interview took 50-60 minutes, while some extended to 120 minutes. Each interview was recorded with an audio recorder and later transcribed.

All the interviewees were informed of our decision to use pseudonyms while writing this report, to ensure their privacy, safety and anonymity. This aided in setting some of our interviewees' minds at ease.



The interviews were recorded using an audio recorder, with their consent, to ensure no loss in information. These were then transcribed into English. These interview transcripts were analysed by one researcher manually. This analysis involved identifying key themes that were common across interviews. Distinguishing features of each response were also noted.

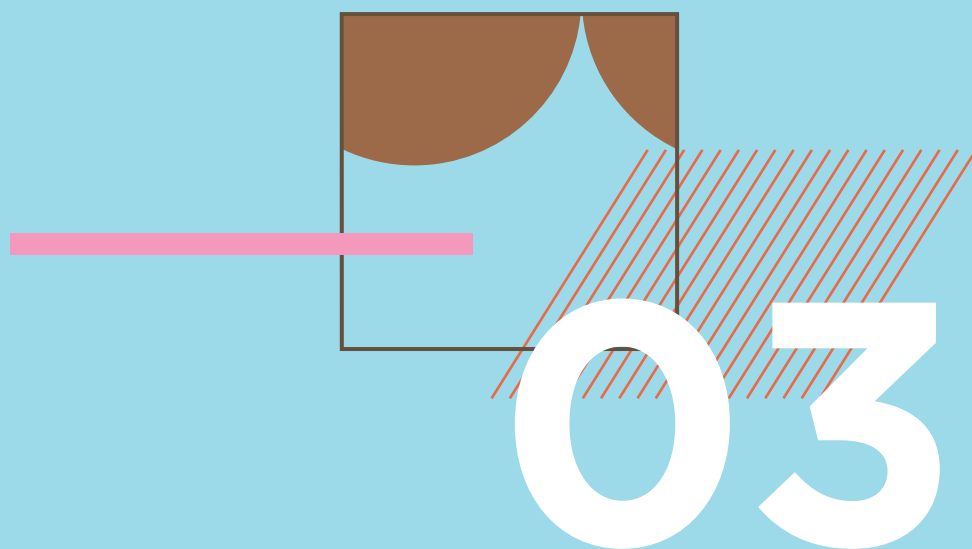
Our surveys were conducted with the help of a local translator who had been briefed on the objective and nature of the study. Each survey was administered verbally to respondents, individually. Questions in the survey were asked in multiple ways and explained where necessary. While the questionnaire was multiple-choice, the questions were asked in an open-ended format to avoid pre-emption of answers. If an answer did not fit the given choices, it was recorded separately. Our objective

was to ensure that the intent of each question was communicated during the interaction.

Surveys were recorded in English, and in the regional language, where necessary. Each survey was numbered to implement anonymity. The multiple-choice responses of each question were coded and recorded on Microsoft Excel. Responses that did not fit the multiple-choice options were post-coded. Like with the interviews, we made a note of any anecdotes and distinguishing experiences. The data sheet was then made uniform by removing any irrelevant data and accounting for gaps in the data set. We took the help of an external expert to analyse the data using frequency tables and pivot charts. This process of analysis also included defining the distinct groups of respondents and combining variables to understand experiences that were at the intersection of multiple identities.

METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS

Accessing respondents in Kerala had its unique challenges. The torrential rains and consequent floods in August 2018 curtailed researcher's access to the state for almost a month. In addition, the State of Kerala appeared to be more detached from similar movements in South India which made it difficult to identify points of contact. This experience and the responses made us aware of the state-specific challenges, concerns and conversations that shaped responses.



FINDINGS FROM OUR



Qualitative Interviews



We conducted semi-structured interviews with 23 respondents across Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, that focused on understanding how our respondents experienced discrimination at one or more of the sites that we wanted to explore – at education, in employment, in access to public places, with the police and authorities, and also generally how they experienced discrimination with their families.

INTERVIEWEES

Women

SC 05	ST 00	NON SC/ST 00
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Transgender persons

SC 08	ST 00	NON SC/ST 01
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Men with disability

SC 01	ST 02	NON SC/ST 00
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Women with disability

SC 02	ST 00	NON SC/ST 03
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Transpersons with disability

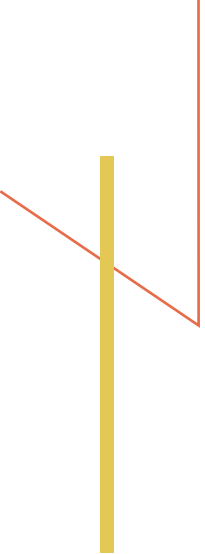
SC 00	ST 01	NON SC/ST 00
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TOTAL

SC 16	ST 03	NON SC/ST 04
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Our respondents were activists and NGO leaders proficient in the issues we wished to study. Our sample comprised of the following - 1 transman, 3 women with disability, 1 Dalit man with disability, 2 Adivasi men with disability, 5 Dalit women, 8 Dalit transgender women, 2 Dalit women with disability, and 1 Adivasi transgender man with disability. 4 out of 23 of our respondents did not belong to either SC or ST category. We have not used the real names of the respondents and have used pseudonyms instead.

ACCESS TO education



The respondents' experiences of discrimination at educational institutions varied based on their caste, gender, gender identity and disability. Caste had a significant influence over how respondents had accessed education, or the manner in which education was imparted to them. 8 out of the 19 respondents from Dalit backgrounds reported instances of discrimination that impeded access to a safe environment at school or colleges.

Karuna, a young Dalit woman recounted that she was subjected to constant ridiculing at school. She told us that her good academic performance was invalidated by her teachers in order to help forward caste students to perform better. She went on to study law in the face of such challenges during school. She describes law colleges as “temples of caste discrimination” because students from lower caste backgrounds were subject to routine verbal harassment from professors. Seema, a Dalit woman from Kerala, reported how Dalit students in her class were ignored by teachers and other students. She revealed that Dalit students had fewer opportunities to make friends in school. Rashmi, a Dalit transwoman who attended a government school in Tamil Nadu stated that Dalit children were made to sit on the ground while forward caste students were allowed to use the seating provided in schools. Saurav,

a transgender Adivasi person with disability, revealed that he was also made to sit separately in school because of his caste. He was also subject to social ostracization. Abhay's experiences of compounded discrimination on the grounds of caste, disability and gender identity prevented him from accessing higher education. Thus we can see that caste is one of the major grounds of discrimination in educational institutions, and caste discrimination coupled with other instances of discrimination based on gender, gender identity and disability have led to negative consequences such as dropping out or have an effect on the nature of access to quality education.

Violence appears to be a common experience in educational institutions among trans respondents.

Avinash, a forward caste transgender man from Karnataka, was able to access education at well-known universities in India, but he was subjected to physical assault and corporal punishment from his teachers in school.

Avinash reflected on the experience as a method of “disciplining” his gender expression.

Rashmi, a transgender Dalit respondent revealed that when her classmates and teachers found out she was transgender, they tried to make her quit school and imposed severe conditions on her if she were to remain in the same school. She was not allowed to talk to other children. Her application to a renowned university in Tamil Nadu was rejected on the ground that they had a “no trans policy.” Ambika, another Dalit transgender respondent from Tamil Nadu, noted that she was denied entry into many schools owing to her gender identity. Surya, a Dalit transgender woman from Andhra Pradesh, said that she faced constant derision from her classmates in school. Surya also mentioned that she had difficulties accessing benefits such as reservations in education. She and Karishma, another Dalit transgender woman from Karnataka said that other children would harass them in school due to the differences in their gait, speech and tone of speaking. Surya said that all this made her drop out of her school. Rashmi, a Dalit transgender woman, from Tamil Nadu said that she was not allowed to attend a full day’s school. She was not even allowed to use common entrances or exits, or enter classrooms. Tejaswi’s experiences of being a Dalit transgender student in Kerala revealed that not only was she constantly ridiculed in school, she was also subject to gender disciplining. Tejaswi was attacked by several students and the headmistress because of her gait, as a result of which she had to

change schools and her education was disrupted. Thus we see that harassment and violence due to gender non-conformity and gender disciplining is a recurrent experience among transgender respondents.

In our interviews with persons with disability, differences in accessibility to education based on caste could be observed. Anushree, a person with disability from Karnataka, was able to complete schooling, had access to, and completed several courses on disability studies and had also been employed at various formal organisations. However, she cited her fear of discrimination, and a general discomfort with unknown persons as a reason not to pursue a degree in Computer Sciences. Parvathi another upper caste woman with disability from Karnataka completed her doctorate from a public university in India. Both Parvati and Anushree said that the schools did not make reasonable accommodations for them. Rutuja, a blind respondent, revealed that she had to be tutored privately as schools did not provide access to Braille tutors. Rutuja was able to access and pursue higher education as a result of being tutored at home. All these experiences show that for persons with disabilities, even though they may be from forward castes, their access to education was restricted because of their disability.


In contrast, the experiences of Abhay, a Dalit man with disability from Andhra Pradesh, were very different. He stated that his caste was a matter of knowledge without

him ever revealing it. He admitted to lonely lunch breaks at the “Dalit table” and faced invalidation of his academic performance.

Latha, a Dalit woman with visual impairment explained how she was only allowed to complete basic schooling until Class 10 in a regular school. While she had access to curricula in large print to enable her to read the material, she recounted experiences of her classmates’ refusal to allow her to sit with them. She was made to sit on the floor in one corner of a classroom which aggravated the challenges she faced as a disabled student. However, she said that her school-teacher intervened and ensured that she was seated in the front rows. Latha revealed that her education was not regarded as important by her

family because she was a girl and was made to quit school after Class 10. She thinks that things may have turned out differently if she were a boy. Saurav, an Adivasi disabled respondent spoke of his inability to access elementary education until he was 8 or 9 years old because his parents were unable to provide the necessary support.

Thus we see that while some of the disabled respondents have completed higher education, the persons with disability who are women, and from Dalit and adivasi backgrounds are further excluded. The lack of adequate resources or support for education at the family level is a key factor that influences educational progress of persons with disabilities.



Dalit children were made to sit on the ground while forward caste students were allowed to use the seating provided in schools.

ACCESS TO employment

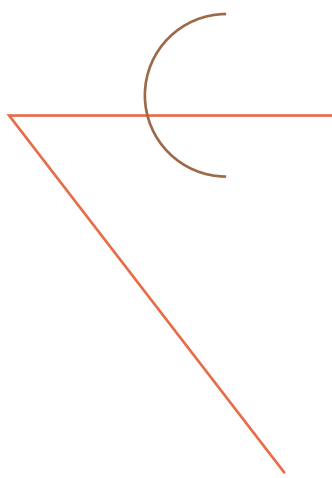
Our interviews with respondents focused on their experiences covering challenges in accessing work and discrimination at the workplace. Respondents have accessed varied forms of employment including formal employment, informal work, and self-employment.

STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT OF INTERVIEWEES

NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT	INTERVIEWEES
FORMAL SECTOR	5
SELF-EMPLOYED	3
NGO	8
SEX WORK	1
STUDENT	2
UNEMPLOYED	4

9 of the 23 respondents revealed that they had at some point of time engaged in formal employment, while only 5 respondents were in formal employment at the time of conducting the interviewees. 11 respondents were self-employed either by starting NGOs, working as professionals or working independently as writers or contributors to advocacy movements. 4 respondents informed us that they were currently unemployed. 11 of the 23 respondents had moved from varied forms of employment to working in the social sector and engaging in advocacy.

Caste-based discrimination has been recorded in different forms. They range from termination, employers verbally reminding respondents of their background, unequal pay and expecting Dalit employees to do menial tasks on a regular basis owing their caste. Karuna was subject to blatant casteist and sexist incidents and remarks from one of her forward caste employers who told her that “She must remember that she comes from a downtrodden community, and that she is a Tamil woman”. Karuna perceived that her ability to lead a successful and independent professional career, despite belonging to a Dalit family, could not be tolerated by her employer. She was consequently terminated from employment. Karuna faced discrimination for her food choices and preferences at the workplace.



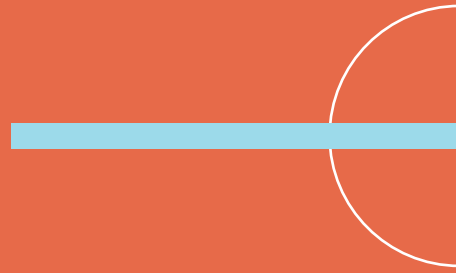
Her male supervisors would also attempt to exercise control over how she dressed by prohibiting her from wearing trousers or leaving her hair open. She explained how she had to work harder than her colleagues to be recognised. Karuna's experience is illustrative of how employers discriminate on the basis of caste and gender. Despite her achievements and hard work, glaring 'Brahminical' and patriarchal control over her person was evident to her.

An urban-rural divide could also be observed from the narrative of Vijaya, a Telugu Dalit woman who said that as her residence was in a largely urban setting, her neighbours were more or less unperturbed by her caste status. According to her "Forms [of discrimination] are different based on your position in society". According to her, intersectional discrimination follows a Dalit woman the moment she reveals her identity. "We say Dalit women are thrice oppressed-caste, class and gender...All other women are twice (sic)." She has held leadership positions in several NGOs and holds authority to take

decisions. According to her, upper-caste males believed that Dalit women "are always supposed to be led". However, she believed that Dalit women were also victims of a tokenistic approach to inclusivity, where they may be brought to the fore "not because they have that much of understanding, but to save face".

In the case of Dalit transgender respondents, the interviews reveal experiences of verbal harassment and ridicule. After much struggle, Rashmi finally secured a job at a company. However, she said she faced salary discrimination at the time, and attributed it to her caste status. Further, she even had to resign after she revealed her gender identity to her employer. Surya was a teacher at a school. She resigned after the students she was teaching ridiculed her for her gait and personality. Menaka, a Dalit transgender woman from Karnataka, said that she was made to clean the bathrooms in her office despite the formulation of a roster system in which all employees shared equal responsibilities.

Karuna was subject to blatant casteist and sexist incidents and remarks from one of her forward caste employers who told her that "She must remember that she comes from a downtrodden community, and that she is a Tamil woman."



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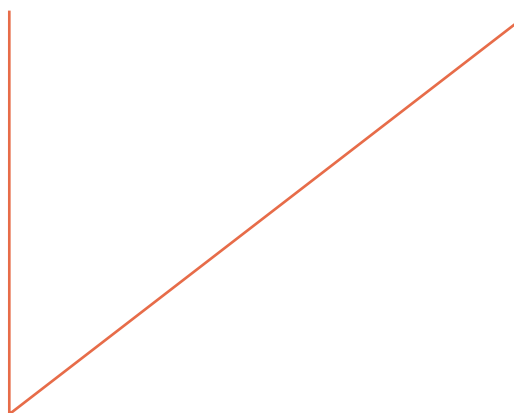


Her colleagues were even particular about the quality of her cleaning and expected higher standards only from her. Menaka attributes this to her caste status. She resigned after her former employer almost physically assaulted her.

Transgender persons have reported incidents of sexual violence and abuse at work. Avinash reported that he was drugged and raped during the course of his work by his co-workers and instead of taking action against those who sexually assaulted him, his employers engaged in victim blaming and terminated his employment. Avinash was refused a job at a BPO after he successfully cleared five rounds of the recruitment process solely because he was transgender.

Other transgender respondents who had engaged in sex work before found it hard to keep their jobs as they were terminated when such facts were revealed.

Respondents with disabilities face challenges that are related to accessibility at the workplace. Disability has been cited as a ground for either terminating employment or refusing employment in some cases. Anushree recounted how her disability was used by her employers and colleagues to constantly create an unpleasant and unaccommodating workplace for her by using the most menial instances to call her out for supposed “misbehaviour”. In our interview with Jaya, a Dalit woman with disability from Tamil Nadu, she narrated how she was terminated from her job of several years despite her excellent performance record due to her “severe disability”. It did not matter that she had passed all the qualifying criteria of a written exam and an interview. “I got the highest marks in the written, and in the interview... ‘though she scored the highest marks, but since she is severely disabled and the job requires extensive travel, we do not find her suitable for the post’.” Abhay revealed how lack of accessibility at the workplace hampered his productivity because time and energy were spent on having to manage his surroundings.



EXPERIENCE IN social interactions & family relations



We found that interviewees faced discrimination among their social circles and neighbourhoods. Vijaya's line "Dalit women are thrice oppressed..." is corroborated by the experiences of Dalit women respondents documented in this study.

Karuna who is from a a lower socio-economic Dalit family in Tamil Nadu said that she had to conceal her residence in a slum in interior Tamil Nadu, known for high rates of crimes.

Her physical appearance, such as dark skin meant that she bore the brunt of being known as a woman who belonged to the lower caste, as opposed to the relative ease with which fair-skinned women could lead their lives.

Latha, a resident of a rural village in Tamil Nadu, revealed that others did not prefer to enter their house because of her Dalit identity.

Mary's Dalit family changed her heavily Christian middle name to a more Hindu-ised name so as not to attract any suspicion about their conversion to Christianity, "just to avoid the name of the caste". She states that although she herself may not feel like a Dalit person, "I still feel like a Dalit because people around me make me feel so". **Despite changing religions, Mary states that she had no respite from caste.**

Arya, a Dalit woman from Kerala, said she has been saved from several grave discriminatory experiences because her father was a government gazetted officer, and their residence was not in a "colony". She stated that she had not lived most of her childhood as a Dalit, to an extent even being unaware of its repercussions. However, it was only after she grew up that she started noticing inequalities in treatment.

Hailing from middle class families, Vijaya and Mary said that they were victims of “soft discrimination”. Arya said that while dehumanising caste practices of spitting into a spittoon so as to keep things clean or hanging a broom from their bodies to sweep the floor may be discontinued, “it doesn’t mean caste doesn’t exist anymore”. Mary recounted that her neighbours used to perform cleaning rituals on their water tap after she played with it as a child. This was a regular event, and her parents encouraged her not to engage with their neighbours in this manner. Despite being a resident of urban settings, Vijaya observed that she would never be invited for a puja at the residence of any of her colleagues, and that the only indication of such an event would be a photograph of the event.

Several interviewees said that they were encouraged not to reveal their caste. “Whenever you keep telling your caste, the faces of your opposite persons, they change... (sic)”, recounted Mary, reiterating soft forms of discrimination. Vijaya said that her father would not even visit their native village, for fear of harm.

Another striking observation from the narratives of all the interviewees was the apparent intolerance towards persons from SC or ST communities having made progress. While recounting examples of students who faced such sentiments at their

University for adorning good clothes, or using motor vehicles, both Vijaya and Mary remembered Rohith Vemula and his “institutional murder”, according to the former.

Transgender respondents spoke widely of the ways in which they were subject to constant scrutiny from society for not conforming to traditional gender identities. Surya observed that the discrimination she experienced because of her caste seemed to vanish when she worked in a Muslim neighbourhood, stating that only her identity of being a transgender woman prevailed. However, as mentioned above, Mary recounted that her caste never seemed to leave her, despite her conversion to Christianity. This demonstrates an intricate and complex relationship between caste and religion. Religion appears to be a factor that simultaneously furthers and abates caste-based discrimination in particular contexts.

Karishma recounted tales of how she consistently received confused stares and unsolicited comments from her family and schoolmates for not conforming to her biological sex. Disturbing and derogatory words carried well into adulthood and different places of employment, to the extent that she admitted to having contemplated committing suicide.

Transgender respondents have faced social ostracization and marginalisation owing to the common bias that if cis-men spend time with trans-people, they will also become transgender.

Anushree noted how she was constantly stared at and ridiculed by her co-workers.

Transphobic prejudices such as lack of hygiene seem to be attributed to the transgender community. This could be observed well in Menaka's narration of how her co-workers would conveniently pass the responsibility of cleaning the toilets and bathrooms only to her. Also, those who fall between the interstices of caste and gender identity face acute and compounded discrimination on both grounds. Rashmi, a Dalit transgender respondent, explained how she was not allowed to visit upper caste streets or houses and that she has also faced threats by upper caste transgender people.

Moreover, the rhetoric that gender non-conformity is a mental illness is another prejudice that was observed. Rashmi's experience of being branded as "mentally ill" and institutionalised is illustrative of how gender non-conformity is viewed as a disease that ought to be treated. Transgender respondents have faced social ostracization and marginalisation owing to the common bias that if cis-men spend time with trans-people, they will also become transgender. Ambika explained how she was not allowed to stay in

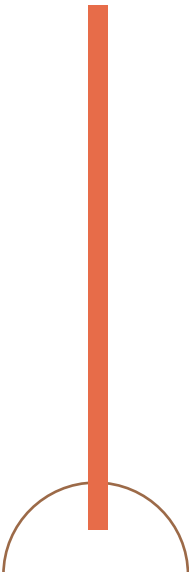
contact with cis-gender boys owing to this bias.

Transgender respondents noted that they faced difficulties in finding affordable housing. It appears that transgender persons are forced to pay relatively higher rents and face the constant threat of being evicted – both of which result in transgender persons occupying a rather fragile position when it comes to housing. Discrimination is more severe in the case of Dalit transgender respondents with disabilities. In our interview with Saurav, we learnt that his landlord filed a case against him stating that he was engaged in sex work and evicted him without returning his housing deposit.

In the case of respondents with disabilities, there appears to be multiple levels of discrimination based on the disability, gender or gender identity and caste that impede a person's ability to access social institutions. Both Rutuja and Parvathi recounted experiences of not being allowed to go out on their own. Latha's experience of being a disabled woman is illustrative of the kind of compounded discrimination in our society. She recounted how no one in her village would help her and she perceived that being a woman with a disability was a barrier in attaining assistance from people. She felt that people would be more willing to help a man with a disability.

Unlike sexuality, which can be a private identity that one chooses to reveal, gender identity becomes a public concept and a performative identity of a person.

SEXUAL VULNERABILITY



A common refrain among almost all our female interviewees was their perceived lack of sexual safety. According to Vijaya, even Dalit men consider Dalit women who venture outside the confines of their homes as “freely available” and “accessible”. She also opined that Dalit women are more vulnerable to sexual violence. According to Karuna, Dalit men “think the atrocity or the kind of violence they face is equal to the sexual violence Dalit women are facing”. She opined that while she may not be able to say that a large proportion of Dalit women fall victims to sexual violence, an act of violence against a Dalit woman is “obviously sexual”. She defended her stand by stating the ubiquitous vulnerability of all women, including Brahmin women, to sexual violence. However, she qualified the degree of brutality against Dalit women to be higher than that inflicted upon a dominant caste woman.

Both Karuna and Vijaya had been victims of severe casteist and sexist internet trolling, for their stand on various issues. Karuna recounted her helplessness before the police, in booking a troller who had posted his personal details on her Facebook page, daring her to get him arrested for the atrocious remarks he levelled against her. She compared this to an incident of a forward caste celebrity being similarly trolled, and prompt action being taken in her support, by the police.

Unlike sexuality, which can be a private identity that one chooses to reveal, gender identity becomes a public concept and a performative identity of a person. Avinash revealed

that on one occasion he was drugged and raped when he assisted some filmmakers by taking them to a hamaam (traditional bath house). However, everybody refused to believe his claims, citing his identity as a trans person, and delegitimizing his claims by stating that he suffered from “mental health issues.” He was terminated from his employment shortly thereafter.

Transwomen who are engaged in sex work face more sexual and physical abuse. Rashmi aptly summarised the issue of caste within the transgender community by stating that “...a lot of trans people are only doing begging and sex work. Most of them are Dalit trans people. The dominant caste people, they have privilege.”

Sex work turns into one of the only two options left for Dalit persons from the trans community. In solidarity with his trans-sisters Avinash opines that “...if the Dalit trans woman who is doing street-based labour gets liberated, that’s the day when we will all be liberated.”

Even Dalit men consider Dalit women who venture outside the confines of their homes as “freely available” and “accessible”.

He further observed that Brahmin transwomen come out at a much later stage. He attributed this to “the fear of losing their caste networks and privileges attendant with that (membership to upper caste)”. Transwomen on the street whose only source of livelihood is begging and sex work were primarily from Dalit-Bahujan backgrounds “because they have nothing left to lose”.

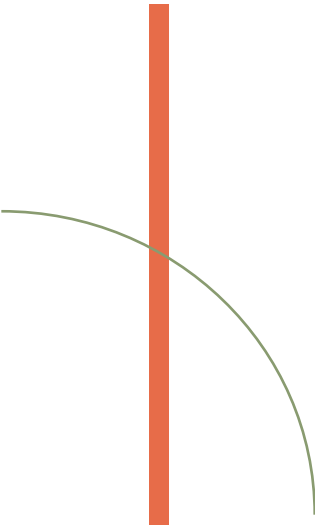
Karishma narrated disturbing instances of clients blatantly refusing to respect her refusal to engage in sexual activities and disregarding her lack of consent completely. Surya admitted to facing sexual and physical abuse regularly as a part of her trade, by her clients, police, and goondas (hooligans). Tejaswi, a Dalit transgender woman from Kerala narrated chilling instances of her “near and dear ones” sexually attacking her during her adolescence, because she was “fully feminine” and therefore treating her as a “property for sexual harassment”.

There is also social stigma associated with transgender persons, often deeming them as disrespectful and dirty. As a result of this, Karishma said that she found it difficult to find decent accommodation due to people’s fears linked to her lifestyle. She was bullied to the extent that she started dressing in men’s attire again to not draw any more criticism and unwarranted attention, and silently resigned into accepting sex work as her sole source of income.

The vulnerability that women with disability face has been affirmed multiple times over, almost unanimously in all our interviews. Saurav recounted the story of how the police refused to file an FIR in the case of a woman with disabilities who was repeatedly raped by upper caste men. He explained how external pressure from the administrative departments of the government and the police along with media coverage had to be mobilised to set the wheels of criminal justice in motion.

There is also social stigma associated with transgender persons, often deeming them as disrespectful and dirty.

MARRIAGE



Marriage proved to be a tricky issue for many of our interviewees to navigate. Abhay, a Dalit man with disability, observed that “...non-Dalits obviously don’t show any interest in you so there itself you’re excluded. And you’re Dalit so can’t even go to the Dalit girls because disability comes there...”. There was an internalised sense of being ineligible to girls from another caste due to his Dalit background, and a sense of added disenfranchisement due to his disability.

Women with disability are affected differently by marriage. Jaya, a middle-aged woman from Tamil Nadu, notes how at a swayamvar (a public mass wedding function where suitors are paired according to their wishes and expectations), a male blind suitor looking for a bride announced that his expectations from a woman was that “she should take care of me and take care of my mother.” He stressed that disability would not be an impediment to the union as long as it was mild, and the woman was not from the SC community.

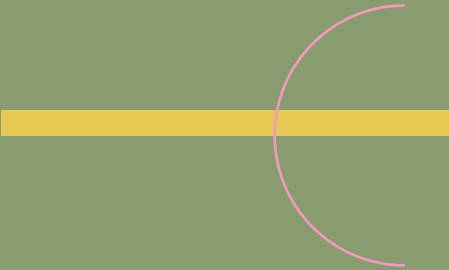
While men with disability remain eligible as suitors, women still need to live up to gender expectations of being caring partners. While men with disability turned into persons seeking care and protection, the

notion of women with disability, turned into an added disadvantage and issue.

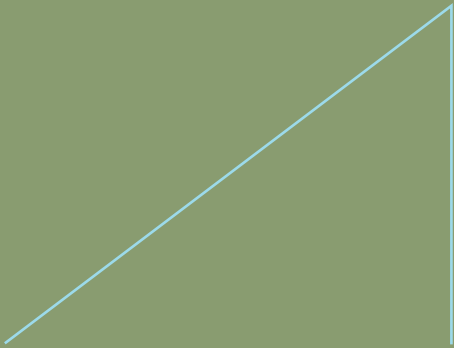
In the case of discrimination along caste lines, marriage appears to throw up very stark examples of stigmatisation, violence and social ostracization. Arya described an incident about the murder of a Dalit man for marrying above his caste. In doing so, Arya opined that the nomenclature of “honour killing” as used by the media, also results in omitting the caste element in such murders – it is considered dishonourable for an upper caste person to marry someone from a Dalit background. She stated that the term “honour killing”, referring to vengeful acts being committed to protect one’s honour, gave the crime an element of “positivity”.

Karuna recounted that she was stabbed for facilitating an inter-caste marriage. **“Being of a dark skin, I was already judged as a Dalit girl. Being an assertive woman.... they didn’t like my attitude. A straightforward authoritative woman was a problem for them.”**

Saurav was harassed and was forced to leave his hometown with his partner. Her parents charged him with kidnapping her. Their move to an urban centre away from their hometown improved conditions, but only marginally.



**“...non-Dalits
obviously don’t show
any interest in you
so there itself you’re
excluded. And you’re
Dalit so can’t even
go to the Dalit girls
because disability
comes there...”**



TEMPLE ENTRY

We found that entry to temples was a source of unequal treatment for several of our interviewees. Transgender persons are considered an important part of religious ceremonies, but are often denied entry into temples. Surya who identifies as a Shivashakthi⁴⁶ explained how she would be invited to offer religious and cultural services at festivals, but she would also be denied entry into a temple because she was Dalit. She added that forward caste Shivashakthi transgender persons were allowed to enter these temples. Rashmi said she faced threats to her life when she raised the issue about the operation of caste within the transgender community. These threats were

perpetrated by a transgender leader on the grounds that she “diverted our trans community.”

Physical features appear to define a person with respect to their gender identity and caste. Menaka compares the instances of fair skinned transgender women being allowed to enter temples, whereas transgender women with a darker skin tone were denied entry. However, when asked about her identity as a Dalit transgender woman, she differed from popular opinion that her caste played a factor in her life. According to her, “The [transgender] identity itself, it overtakes all the discriminations”.

NATAL FAMILY RELATIONS

Gender normativity was sought to be strictly enforced upon children from a very young age. Any transgression from the dichotomous understanding of the normal/ideal body as male/female was punished with continuous acts of violence. Menaka recounted her early memories of questioning the norm of gendered toys, and why any transgression would be frowned upon. Tejaswi said that she was a victim of gender normativity, as her older brother was “very masculine, very bold, always goes out”, whereas she herself was “very domestic... almost like a housemaid”.

Ambika mentions how she was constantly subject to domestic abuse by her brothers because her family did not accept her transgender identity. She recounts how living with her family was difficult which resulted in her leaving home while she was in class 12. Tejaswi describes how her family’s inability to accept her transgender identity created conflicts at home. Karishma revealed how she was not allowed to return to her family because she was transgender. All three of the abovementioned respondents reported receiving threats from their family members owing to their gender identity.

⁴⁶ A cultural identity in the Hindu religion, pertaining to the Ardhanareeshwara deity

ACCESS TO services

We noticed in several of our interviews that despite universally experiencing discrimination in their private and public lives, members from the transgender community seem hesitant to approach the court. Transgender respondents from Kerala reported that they received support from the state government and other organisations such as the Transgender Cell at the Kerala Cooperative Society for Transgenders. A particular problem in relation to government services in the case of transgender respondents is changing their gender identity status on government identification documents.

Menaka said that she has not approached the court for legal help, for fear of losing her means of livelihood. She was awarded with piecemeal compensation when she complained about her employer attempting to physically assault her, without taking any concrete action against her wrongdoers. Likewise, Surya also claimed that she never received substantial support and encouragement from any front. Karishma narrated the derogatory remarks on her “character” when she approached the police, or MLAs, or the corporation for help over a civil dispute.

The most vulnerable group in relation to accessing social or governmental support are persons with disabilities. Despite the

existence of organisations that work closely on rights of persons with disabilities across the four states, it appears that this group of respondents have the least access to benefits such as reasonable accommodation, employment under quotas and government documents. Sunil told us that he has had no access to government support and that government offices were not accessible for disabled persons. Rutuja revealed how she finally obtained a ‘blindness certificate’ from authorities in Karnataka after facing several challenges.

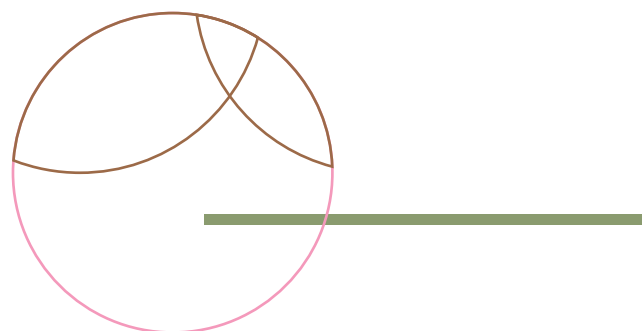
Dalit women find it harder to be supported by professional associations such as lawyers’ associations. They are routinely warned about raising their voice against discrimination on the grounds of caste.

Karuna explained how lawyers’ associations at court warned her about speaking up on Dalit rights. She observed that women lawyers rarely get involved in advocacy against discrimination because they are afraid of gaining a bad reputation. Also, they actively discouraged her from such advocacy because they were not optimistic of the results of such interventions.

Krishna remarked that when women's organisations are run by upper caste women, Dalit women find it harder have their voice heard because the issue of caste discrimination is often ignored. Vijaya explained she had to quit Dalit organisations that she was a part of because they had issues with her associations. Karuna, Krishna and Vijaya's experiences are evidence of the fact that outspoken Dalit women face challenges in finding support both from within and outside their community.

In contrast, Adivasi persons with disabilities were not entirely vocal or even aware about their rights and requirements. Both Sunil and Kamal rued the lack of accessibility to public transport, public offices, and means of livelihood. Their hopes and desires were basic – bettering their homes, having adequate means of transport, educating and marrying off their children. Expectations of Adivasi persons with disability were restricted to a minimum means of survival and housing. Kamal, an Adivasi man from Kerala, who had been paralysed from the waist down since 2010, expected a bare means of livelihood through some form of employment and an efficient vehicle, because “if this vehicle gets spoilt, everything will stop”. He was also referring to his reliance on the sole means of his livelihood, which is the Kerala government backed system of selling lottery tickets. Usage of a vehicle would ensure greater coverage in selling lottery tickets. He desired a “polished and whitewashed” house for himself and his wife. Sunil, another Adivasi man with a disability from Kerala, wished to repair his leaky house.

These interviews emphasize the low levels of access to government services for transgender persons and persons with disabilities in particular. Interestingly, transgender persons appear to rely on the transgender community in times of financial need to pursue education. Persons with disabilities face discrimination either due to lack of accessibility to government offices to obtain necessary documents, or because of lack of awareness of their rights. Finally, Dalit women respondents found themselves in situations where speaking up against caste and gender based discrimination was vehemently contested by others or the issue of caste is entirely ignored in spaces that are headed by upper caste persons. It is clear that those who fall at the intersections of caste and gender identity, or caste and disability have experienced more acute discrimination.



LACK OF intersectional approaches in social movements



Krishna, a Dalit women's rights activist notes how women in positions of leadership in Dalit organisations and movements were abysmally small. She also said that surprisingly, women's rights organisations were immune to the hardships of women from lower castes. In Krishna's words, "These women's organisations, they are headed by... upper caste women. And they only see two aspects- one gender and the class aspect of it... But they fail to see the other aspect - caste... They don't understand what ... lower caste women go through. So they never support ... lower caste women... And these women, so called leaders they say, it is your fate, you belong to SC communities so you have to go through it." Hence, Dalit women did not receive representation from either Dalit organisations or from women's rights groups.

Mary wrote a book on caste and gender discrimination, which she distributed to certain non-Dalit individuals. It was not received well, and they questioned the audacity with which they were handed this book. Mary opined that "they like me when I write fairy-tales". Karuna classified the members of appreciative viewership of her dalits rights interviews as predominantly dalit. Vijaya claimed that her anti-caste work received no support from the government, or from any other movements. This leads one to surmise that persons who do not belong to the SC or ST community do not appreciate these issues being brought to the fore. They preferred not to speak about it. However, according to Vijaya, "the truth should be uncomfortable".

Parvathi was concerned about women with disability and remarked, “... where are the women with disability!?” Several disability activists have expressed their disappointment in the mainstream feminist movement in the country which refuses to accept the presence of disabled persons and fails to indulge in conversations on discrimination and injustice occurring along the lines of gender, caste or class among other parameters. Jaya observed how she was the only Dalit woman (out of a crowd of 600) with a disability attending a seminar in Pune.

Despite the difficult experiences, most respondents stated that things seem to be changing for the better. This is particularly evident from the narratives of Karishma. She was pleased with the relatively higher degree of acceptance of transgender children by families and the level of education and employment they succeed in gaining. She mentioned this inter-generational change in attitude and betterment of transgender persons several times throughout her interview.

“These women’s organisations, they are headed by... upper caste women. And they only see two aspects- one gender and the class aspect of it... But they fail to see the other aspect - caste...”

FINDINGS FROM OUR

04

A series of thin, parallel, light green diagonal lines that sweep upwards from left to right, positioned behind the large number 04.



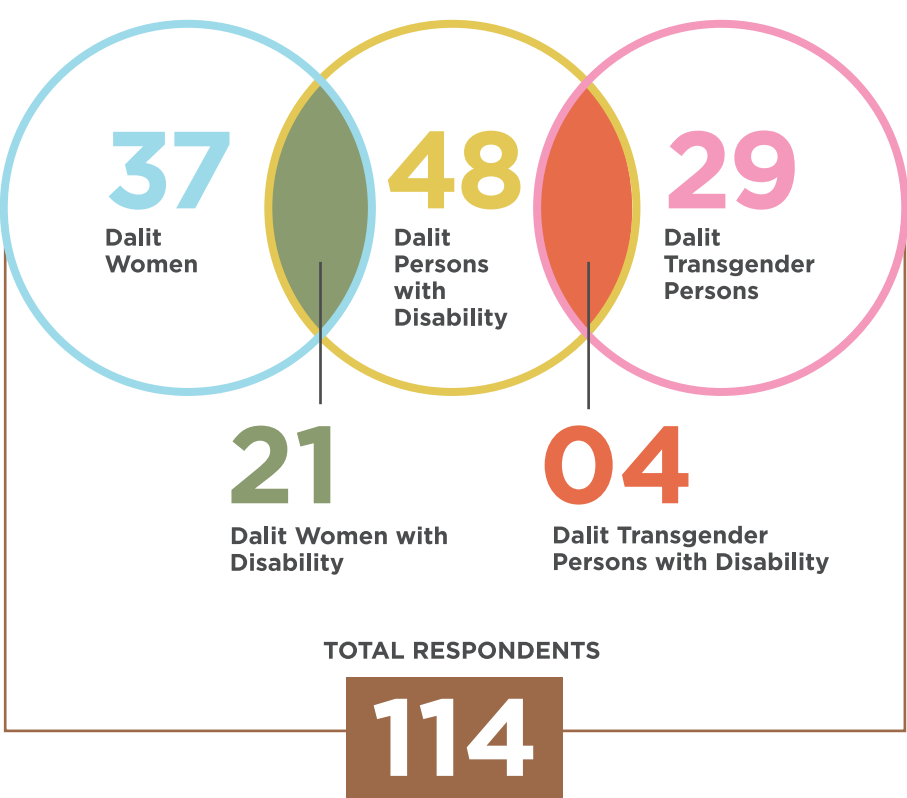
Quantitative Analysis

INTRODUCTION

The quantitative study sought to develop a wide-scale understanding of the experiences of people from marginalised communities at different sites. It included questions to gauge access, experiences and interactions in education, employment, healthcare, police, legal services, welfare schemes, and public places. The survey questionnaire which formed the basis of this study is available as an Appendix to this Report.

We conducted surveys with 114 respondents across South India. We had 30 respondents from Andhra Pradesh, 30 respondents in Karnataka, 29 respondents in Tamil Nadu, and 25 respondents in Kerala. 88 out of 114 respondents were from Scheduled Castes (SC) and 23 were from Scheduled Tribes (ST). 1 of the respondents was from “Other Backward Classes” category, 1 respondent did not wish to reveal his/ her caste identity, and 1 respondent was not aware of their caste identity. For ease of reference, we will be referring to all respondents in this study as “Dalit” and will refer to all cis-gender and able-bodied men and women as “Dalit men” and “Dalit women” respectively.

Fig 1 Survey respondents by identity

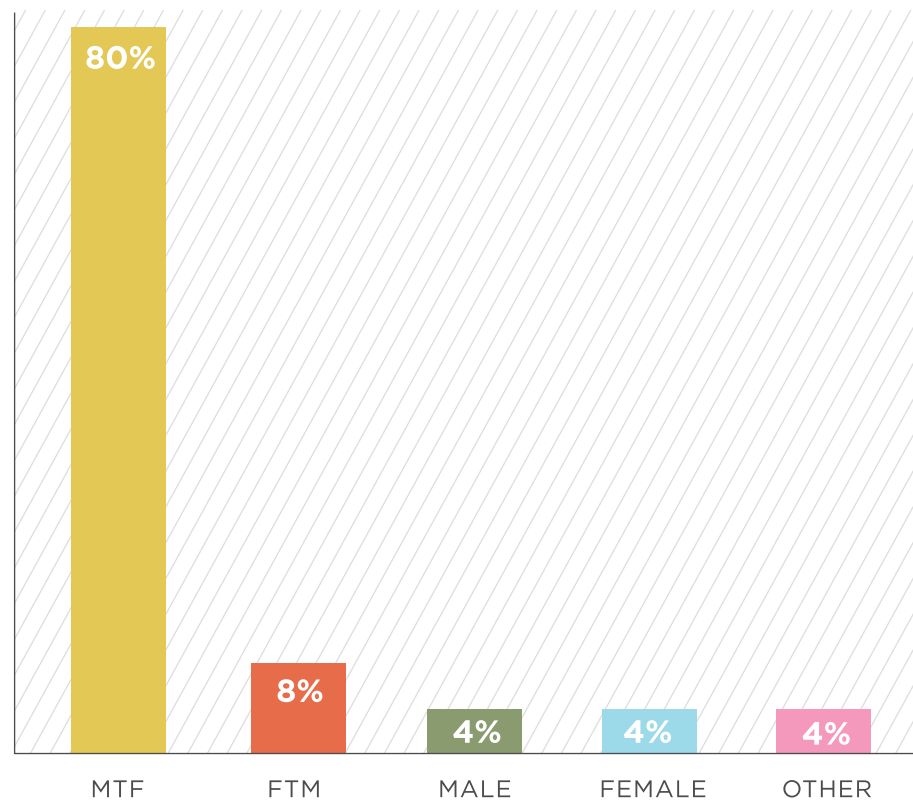


As seen from the diagram above, the respondents consisted of 21 Dalit women with disabilities, 27 Dalit men with disabilities, 25 Dalit transgender persons and 37 Dalit women. We surveyed only 4 Dalit transgender persons

who also had disabilities. We have included these respondents under the sample of Dalit transgender persons for the purpose of analysis, as the results are not adequately indicative or representative of their unique identity. We also asked our respondents about their sexual orientation but we did not get enough data to explore this in our study.

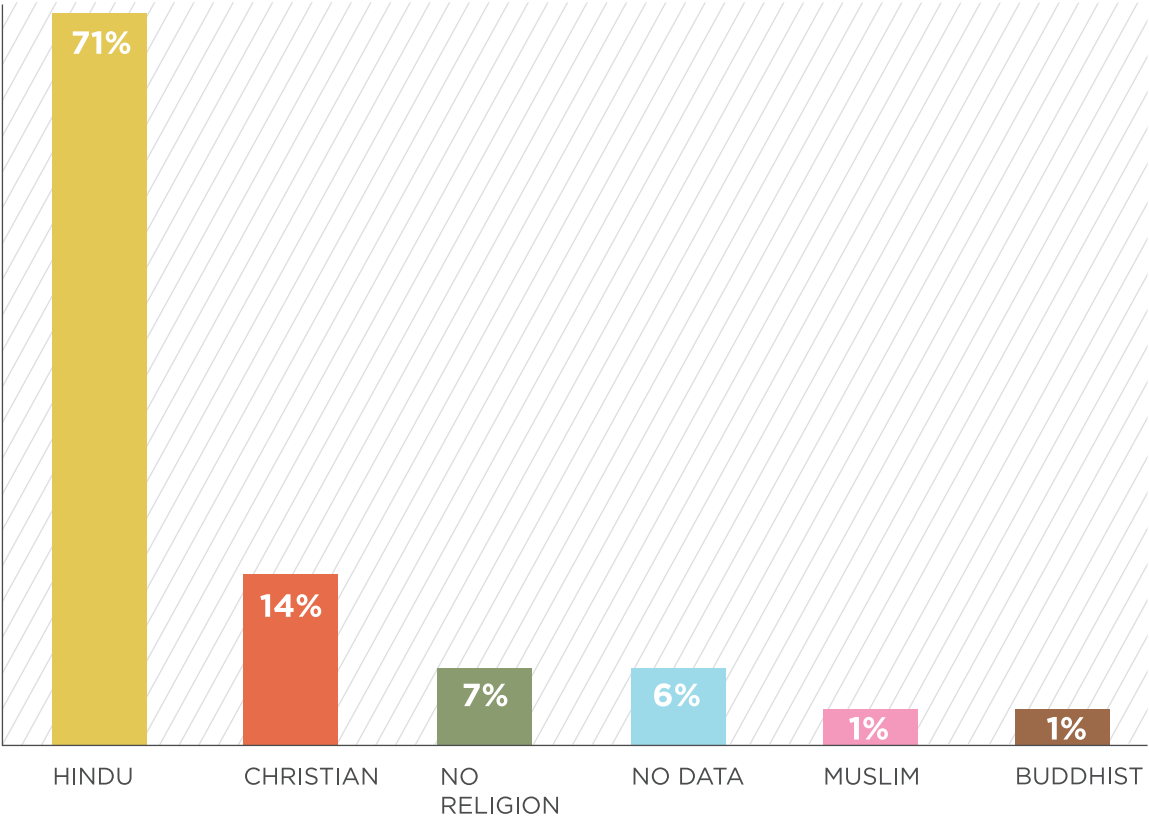
A majority (38%) of our respondents were aged between 26 to 35 years. 25% belonged to the age group of 36 to 45 years and 17% were aged between 18 to 25 years. 10% of respondents were aged between 46 to 55 years and 8% were between 56 to 65 years. Only 2 respondents (2%) were aged over 66 years. The average household income of the respondents was Rs. 98, 676 per annum.

Fig 2 **Variegation of transgender persons**



Among our transgender respondents, 80% said they identified as transwomen or male to female transgender persons (MTF), 8% identified as transmen or female to male transgender persons (FTM), 4% of the transgender respondents identified as male/ female and 4% identified themselves as gender non-conforming.

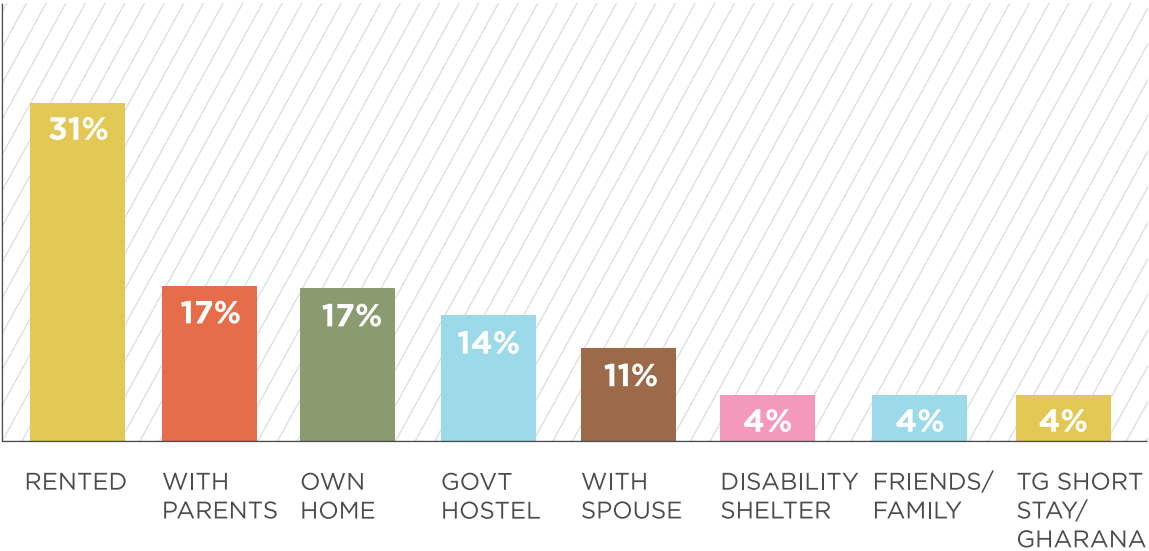
Fig 3 Survey respondents by religion



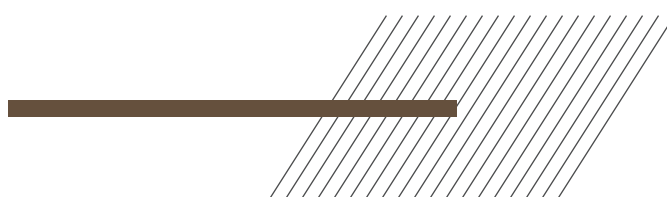
71% of the respondents identified their religion as Hindu and 14% identified as Christians. Only 1% of respondents identified as Muslim or Buddhist. Significantly, 7% answered that

they had no religion. We did not explore religious identity and the experience of discrimination in this study.

Fig 4 Housing arrangement of respondents



We asked respondents about their living arrangement. 31% of the respondents lived in rented accommodation and only 17% owned a home. 17% of our respondents lived with parents, 11% lived with their spouse, 4% with friends, a significant 14% stayed at Government hostels, 4% of the respondents, who were women with disabilities, lived in a disability shelter/ hostel and 4% of the respondents, who were transgender persons, lived in a short stay home for transgender persons.



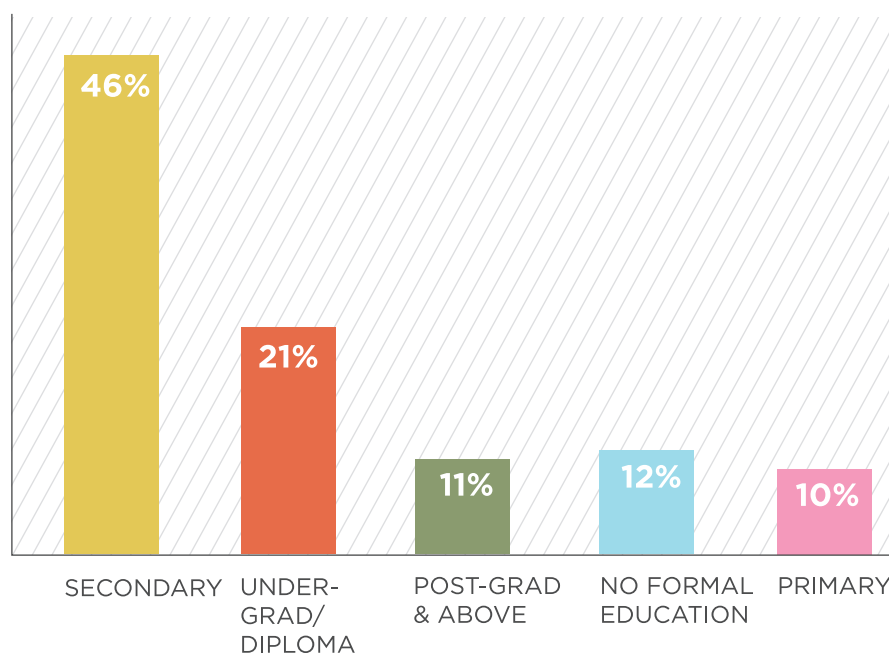
EXPERIENCE AT educational institutions

We sought to understand how identity affects access to education, as well as formal and informal experiences at educational institutions. The level of education we refer to are under five categories: no formal education, primary (until class 5), secondary (until class 12), under-graduate/diploma and post-graduate.

We asked respondents about the kind of schools they attended, in order to ascertain whether there was segregated schooling in terms of caste, religion or disability. We found that only 9% of all Dalit respondents attended caste/ religion specific schools. Only 17% of Dalit persons with disabilities attended special schools and 75% of them attended regular schools.

LEVEL OF EDUCATION

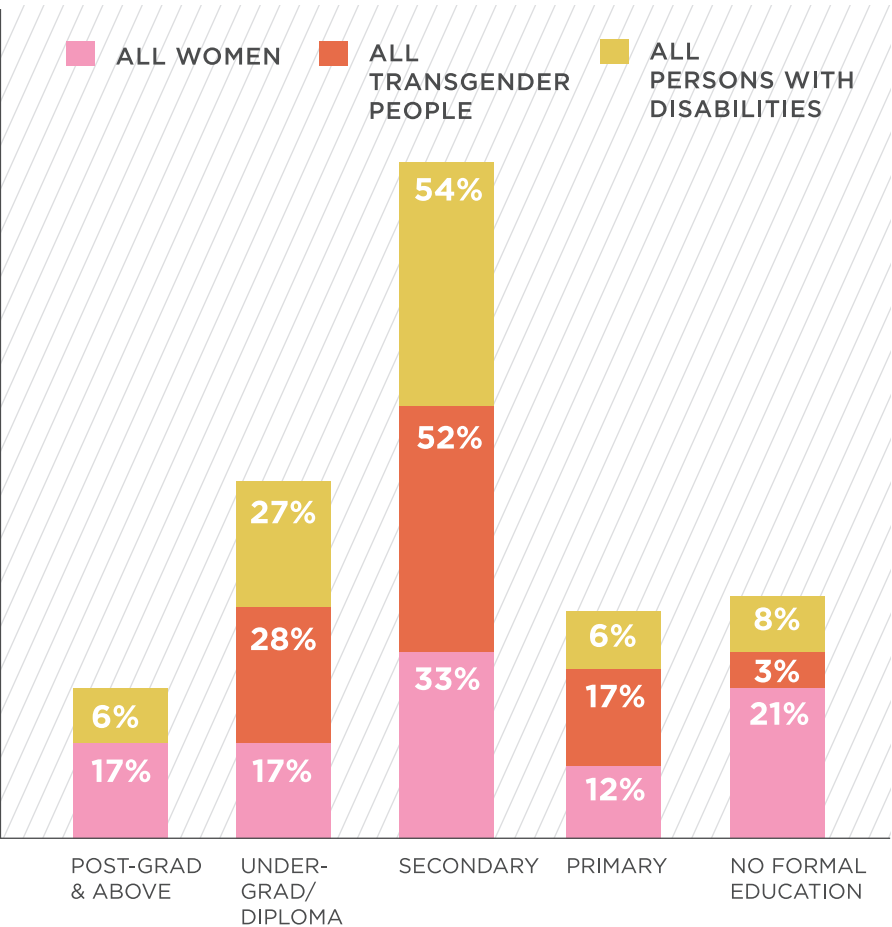
Fig 5 Highest level of education - Overall



We asked respondents about the highest level of education they had received. 12% (14) of all Dalit respondents of our study said that they

had received no formal education at all.⁴⁷ 10% of all Dalit respondents had completed only primary school. 46% of the respondents had completed high school, 21% had some form of undergraduate degree or diploma, while 11% had completed a postgraduate degree or higher.

Fig 6 Level of education

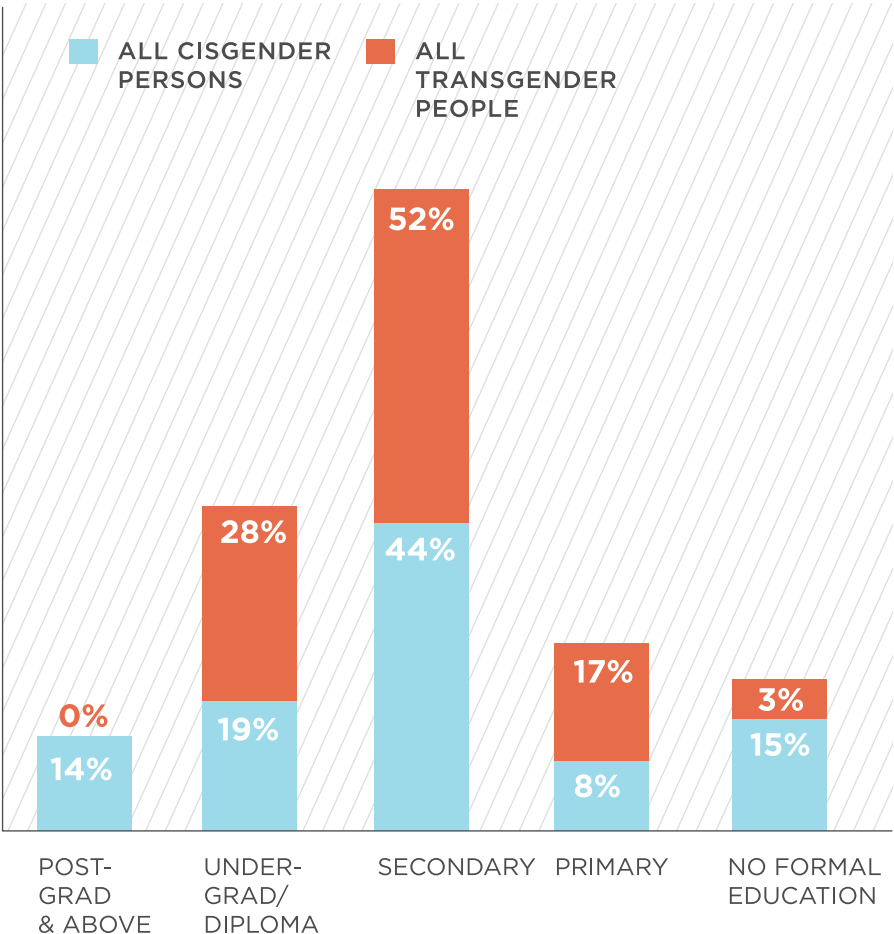


When we compare the highest level of education from amongst the different categories we find that 21% of Dalit women had no formal education, which is the category that is most excluded from formal education. A significant 12% of Dalit women had only completed primary education, 33% had completed high school education, 17% had completed an undergraduate degree or diploma and 17% had a postgraduate degree or higher. Among Dalit transgender persons only 3% had not received any kind of formal education, 52% of transgender persons had completed their secondary education and 28% had attended college for their undergraduate

⁴⁷This statistic is of particular concern as the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 guarantees free elementary school education to all children between the ages of 6 and 14. Although most of the respondents had completed primary schooling prior to the enactment of this legislation, the results of this study suggest that lack of formal education among Dalit children persists.

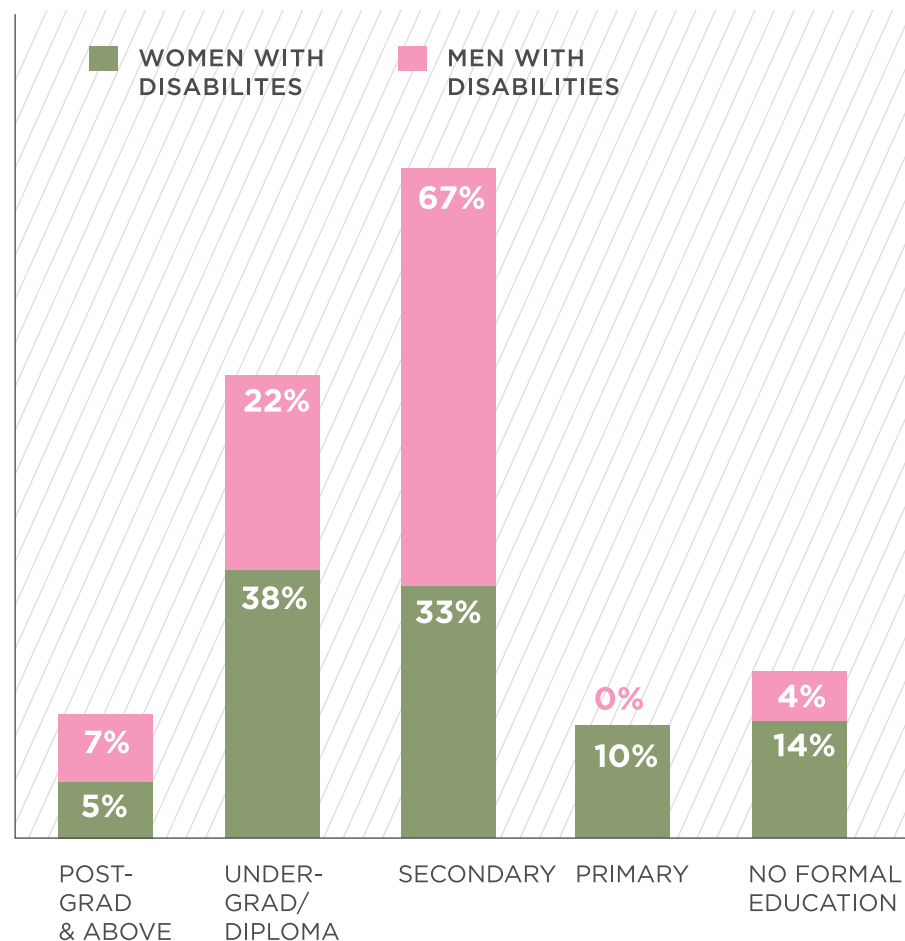
education. 54% of Dalit persons with disability had completed secondary education, 27% had an undergraduate degree or diploma, 6% had a postgraduate degree or higher, 6% had only completed primary education. 8% of Dalit persons with disability had had no education.

Fig 7 **Level of education among transgender persons**



When we analysed the responses of only Dalit transgender persons, we found that 17% had only completed primary education, 52% had completed secondary education, 28% had an undergraduate degree or diploma. No Dalit transgender persons held a postgraduate degree or higher. This result re-affirms that drop-out rates among transgender persons continues to remain high when compared to cis-gendered individuals.

Fig 8 Level of education among persons with disability

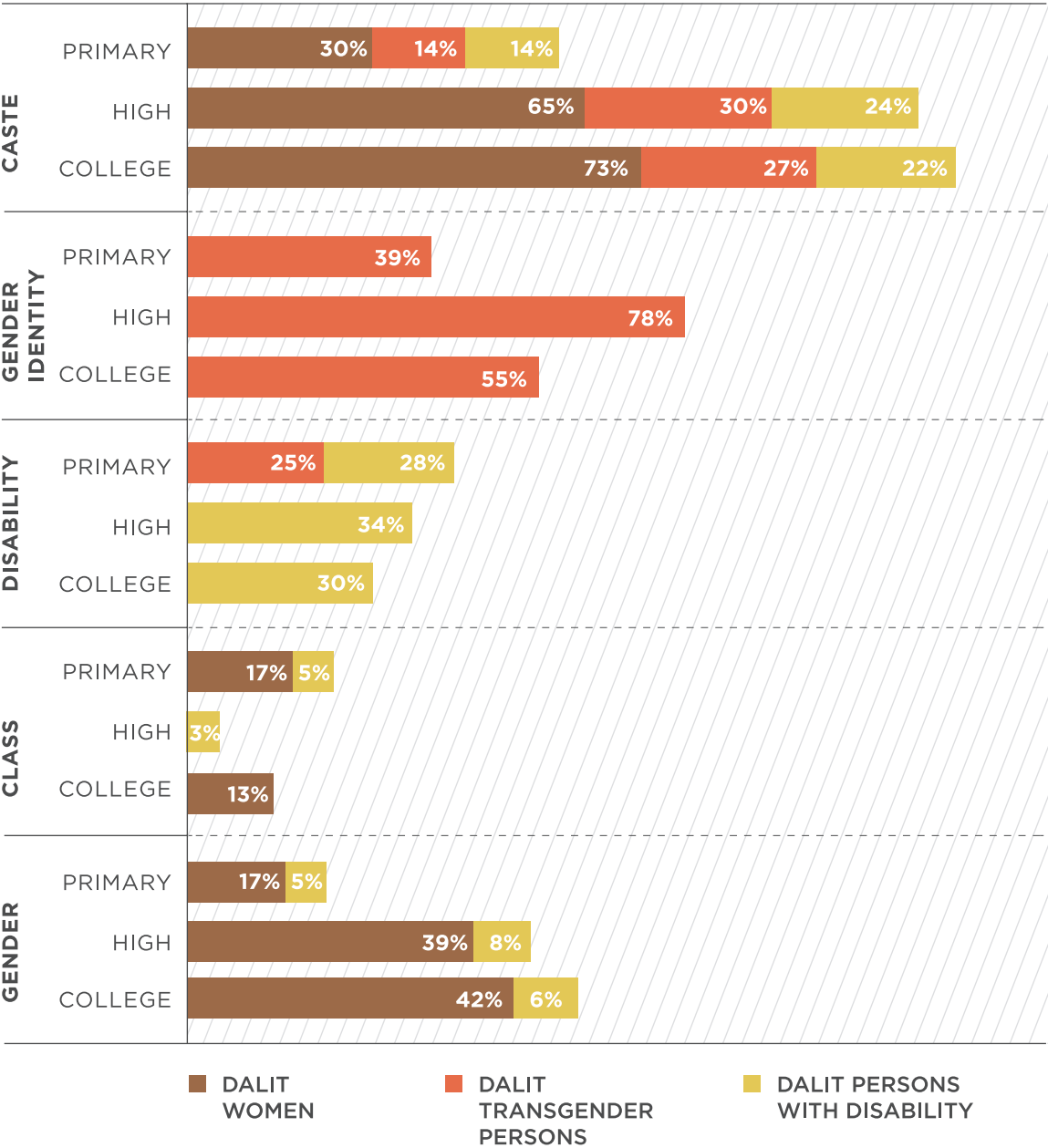


At the school level, we note a gender-based distinction in the level of education among Dalit persons with disability. 14% of women with disabilities had no formal education, compared to only 4% of men with disabilities. 10% of Dalit women with disabilities had completed only primary school and only 33% of Dalit women with disabilities had completed secondary education as compared to 67% of Dalit men with disabilities. Thus, Dalit women with disabilities are worse off than Dalit men with disabilities and have reduced access to education, even at levels where education is supposed to be free and compulsory. It is interesting to note a shift at the undergraduate level, where 38% of Dalit women with disabilities had completed some form of undergraduate education, relative to 22% of Dalit men with disabilities.

UNEQUAL AND DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT AT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

We sought to ascertain forms of unequal treatment at school, such as attendance criteria, segregated seating arrangements and interaction outside of school. These questions were asked only to the 100 respondents who had had some form of formal education.

Fig 9 Did classmates or teachers treat students differently

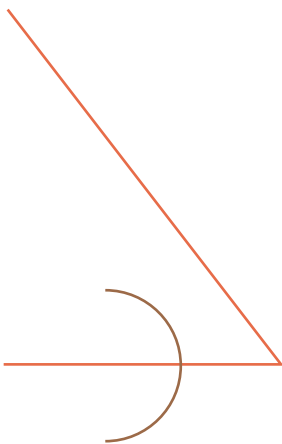


We asked our Dalit respondents if they were treated differently by their teachers or classmates at various levels of education and if so, we also asked them whether they attributed such differential treatment to their caste status, sex, gender identity, and/or disability status. Respondents were allowed to choose more than one option where applicable. It is important to note that not all respondents completed their college education.

Among Dalit women, differential treatment on the basis of caste appeared to increase with higher education. While only 30% of Dalit women felt that they faced differential treatment on the basis of caste in primary school, this increased to a significant 65% in high school and 73% in college. Among Dalit transgender persons and Dalit persons with disabilities, the experience of differential treatment increased with higher education but marginally in comparison. For instance, 14% of Dalit transgender persons and Dalit persons with disabilities felt they had been treated differently in

primary school. In high school and college, this increased to 22-30%. More Dalit women experienced differential treatment on the basis of their caste and gender. 17% Dalit women experienced differential treatment due to their gender at primary school, 39% in high school and 42% at the college level. Among Dalit transgender persons, their gender identity had a significant impact on their experience of discrimination in school. 39% felt they were treated differently due to their gender identity in primary school and 78% were treated differently in high school, which is around the time that physiological changes and gender expression are most evident among adolescent children. 28% of Dalit persons with disabilities experienced discrimination due to their disability in primary school, 34% in high school, and 30% in college.

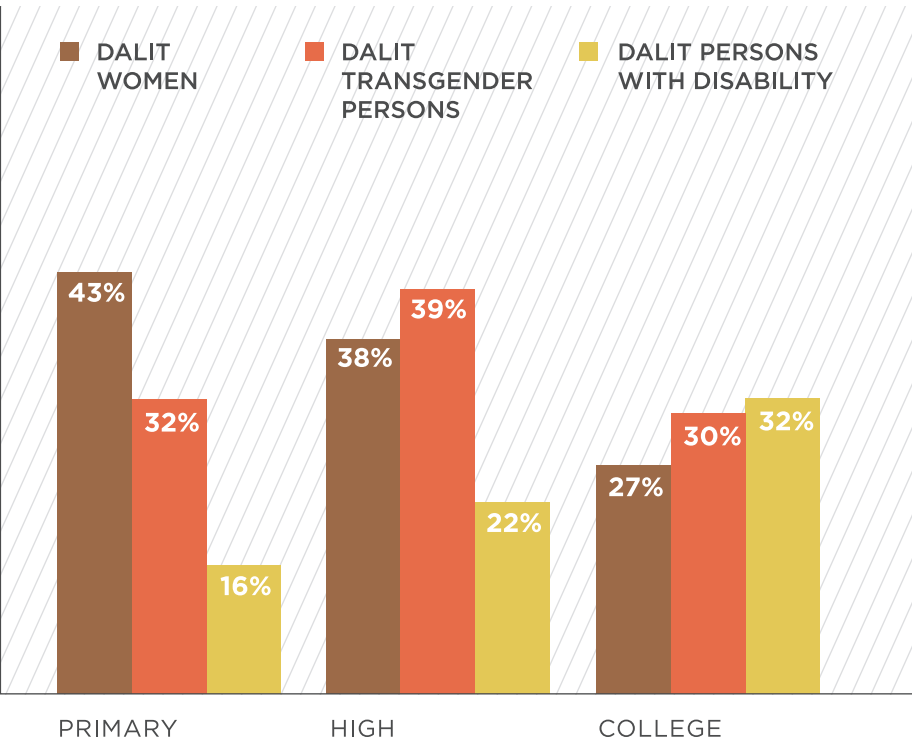
We also asked our respondents if they faced differential treatment due to their class. However, we were unable to arrive at any conclusive findings.



DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT BY THE SCHOOL AND CLASSMATES

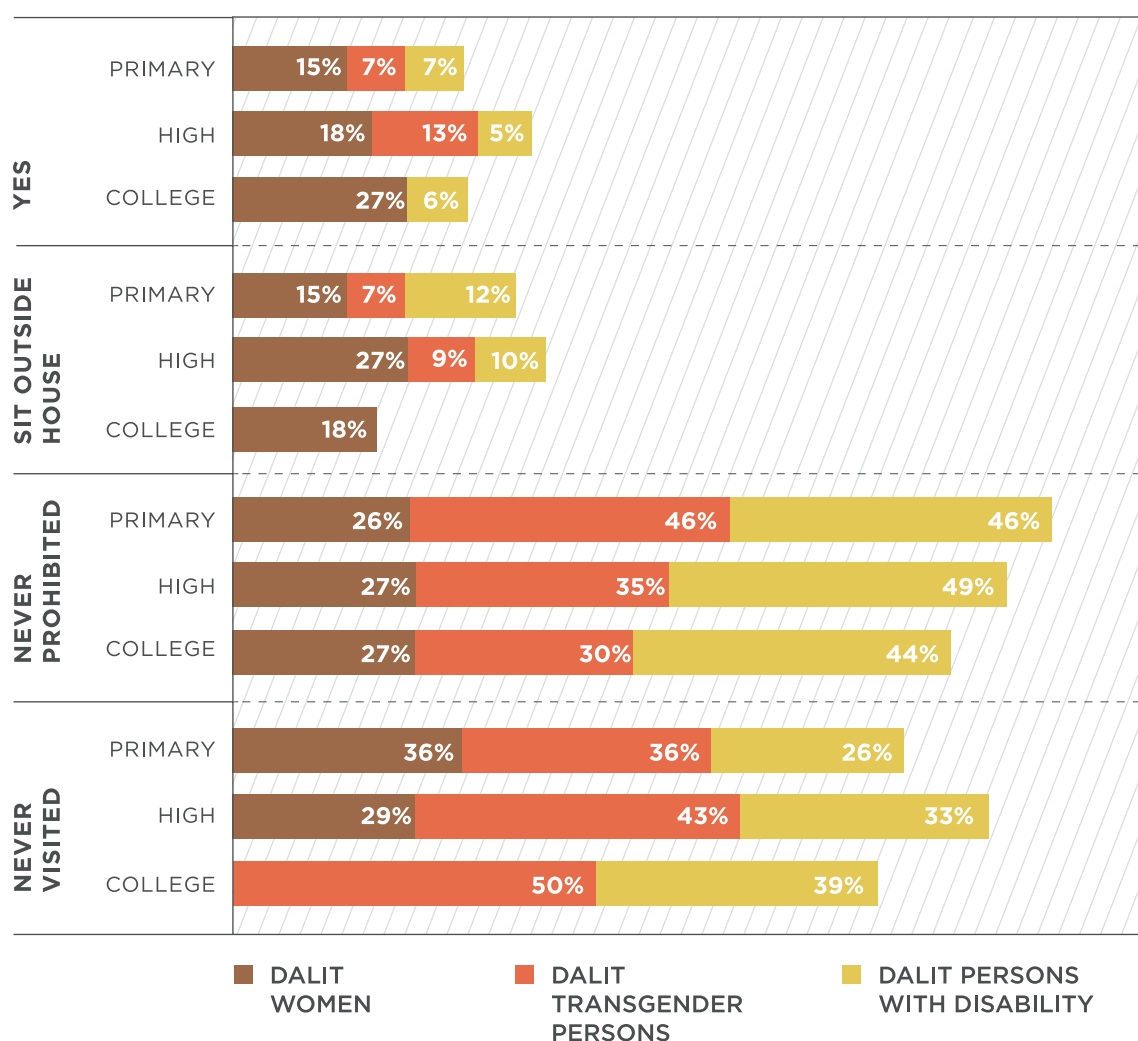
We asked our respondents about the treatment of students by the school and by their classmates. 92% of Dalit women, 81% of Dalit transgender persons and 74% of Dalit persons with disabilities felt that there was no distinction made between students. However, in college, only 64% of Dalit women and 60% of Dalit transgender persons felt they had been treated equally. Most respondents did not note any segregation in seating arrangements and in fact, at the college level, the overwhelming response from all respondents was that there was no seating segregation. Across all levels of education, no more than 10% of respondents across all three categories said that there were separate canteens or meal timings for different students in their educational institutions. However, it is important to bear in mind that a majority of our respondents came from capital cities and urban areas, which might have affected their experience of education.

Fig 10 Did not interact with classmates



We asked respondents about their interactions outside of school with their schoolmates in order to gauge their social inclusion. 57% Dalit women said they interacted with their classmates in primary school. In high school and college, 65% and 73% Dalit women respectively said that they interacted with their classmates outside of their educational institution. Among Dalit transgender persons, the proportion of individuals who did not interact with their classmates increased from 32% in primary school to 39% in high school. Dalit persons with disabilities interacted most with their peers across all levels of education.

Fig 11 **Were you prohibited from going to classmates' houses?**



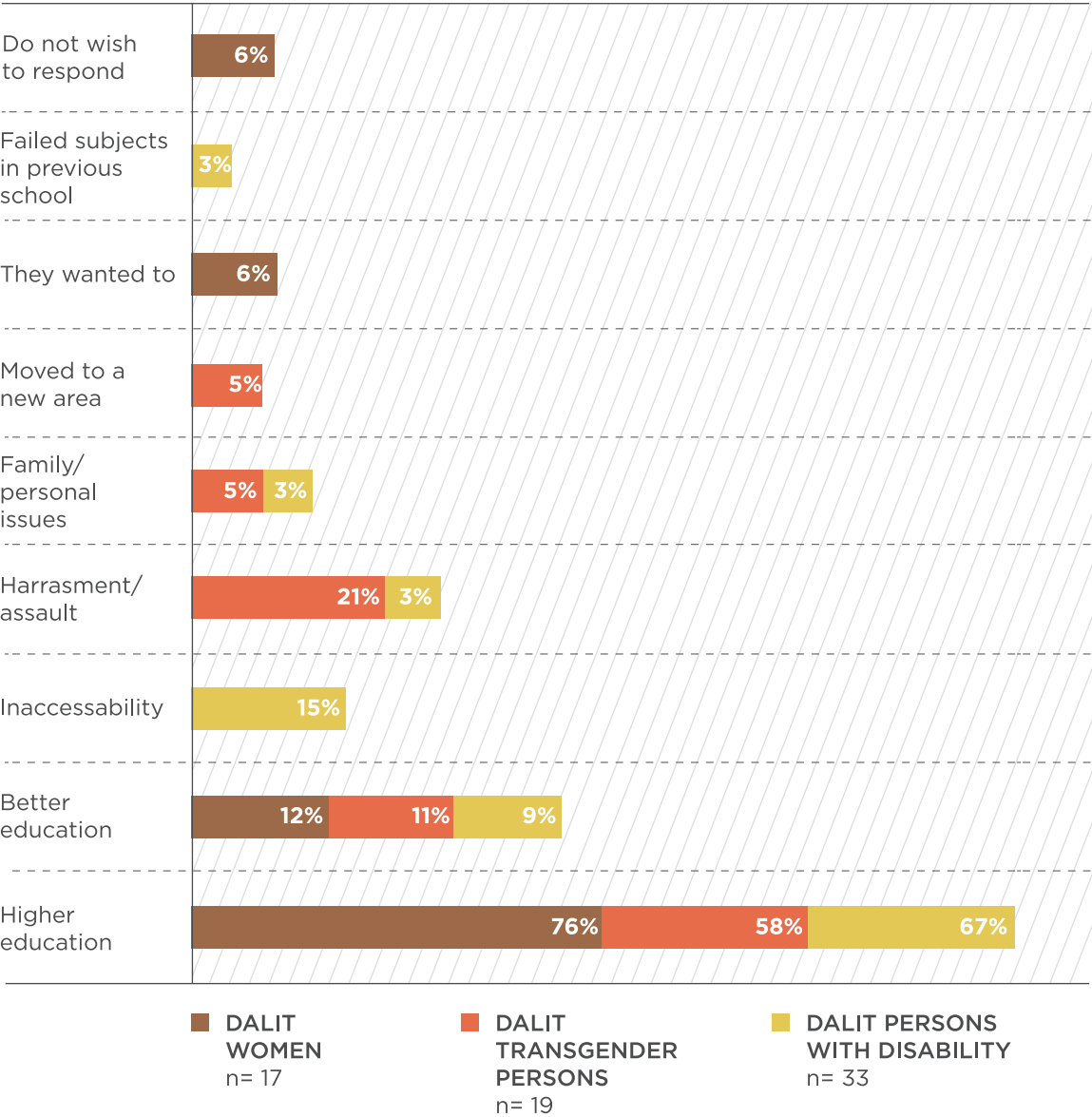
We asked respondents if they faced any barriers in visiting their classmates' homes⁴⁸. 27% of Dalit women said that they had not been prevented from visiting their classmates' homes across primary school, high school and college. Dalit transgender persons visited their classmates houses most when they were in primary school (46%), and the proportion reduced over high school and college. Among Dalit persons with disabilities as well, across all levels, around 45% said that they were never prevented from visiting their classmates' homes. However, it was startling to note that at the primary school level, 15% Dalit women and 7% Dalit transgender persons were prevented from visiting their classmates' homes and they were also made to

⁴⁸As some of our respondents had not completed their education, we excluded the respondents to whom this question was not applicable or from whom we received no response. However, we have accounted for respondents who did not wish to answer the questions.

sit outside their homes if they did visit. Among Dalit women and Dalit transgender persons, the proportion of respondents who faced such treatment increased at the high school level. At the college level 27% of Dalit women were prohibited from going to their classmates' houses.

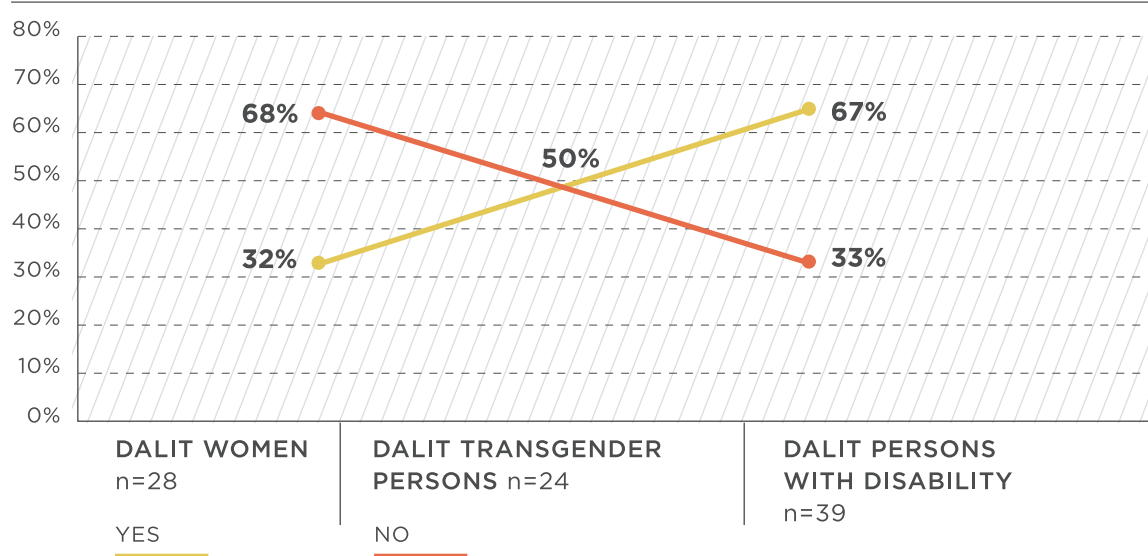
CHANGING SCHOOLS

Fig 12 Reasons for changing schools



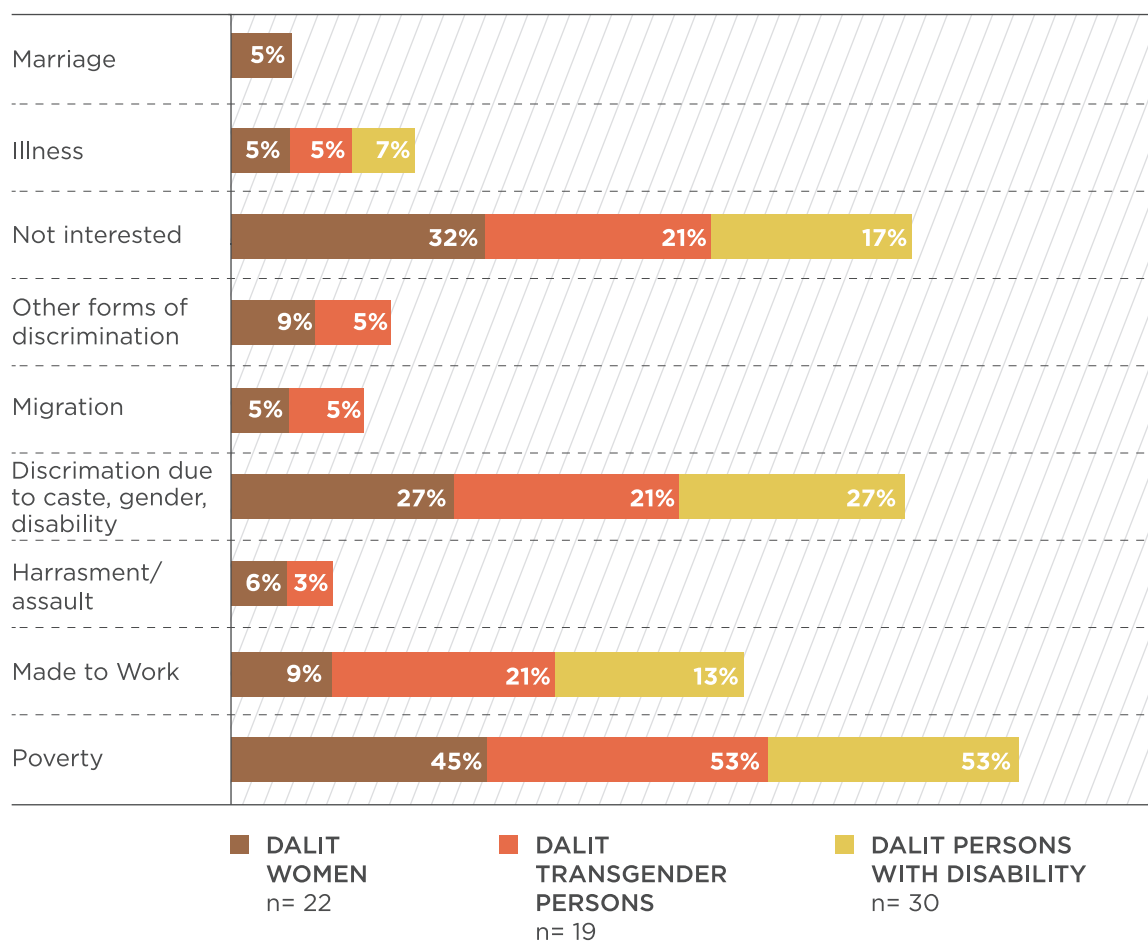
We asked respondents about changing schools. 61% of respondents reported having changed schools. 76% of Dalit women, 58% of Dalit transgender persons and 67% of Dalit persons with disability changed schools for higher education. Shockingly, 21% of Dalit transgender persons said that they changed schools because they faced harassment and violence. 3% of Dalit persons with disabilities also reported harassment and violence which caused them to change schools.

Fig 13 Accessible toilets in school



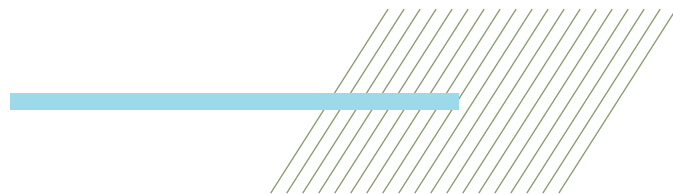
On accessible toilets in schools, 48% of all respondents stated that they did not have access to a proper toilet in their school. The results were interesting - 50% of Dalit transgender persons said they did not have accessible toilets and 67% of Dalit persons with disabilities had difficulty in accessing toilets.

Fig 14 Reasons for dropping out of school



The third and final question we asked our respondents was the reason(s) for not completing their education. Respondents were allowed to choose more than one answer where applicable. The most common reason for not completing education was poverty and unpaid care work. 45% of Dalit women did not complete their education because of poverty, as did 53% Dalit transgender persons and Dalit persons with disabilities. 9% of Dalit women, 21% Dalit transgender persons and 13% of Dalit persons with disabilities said they were made to work and could not complete

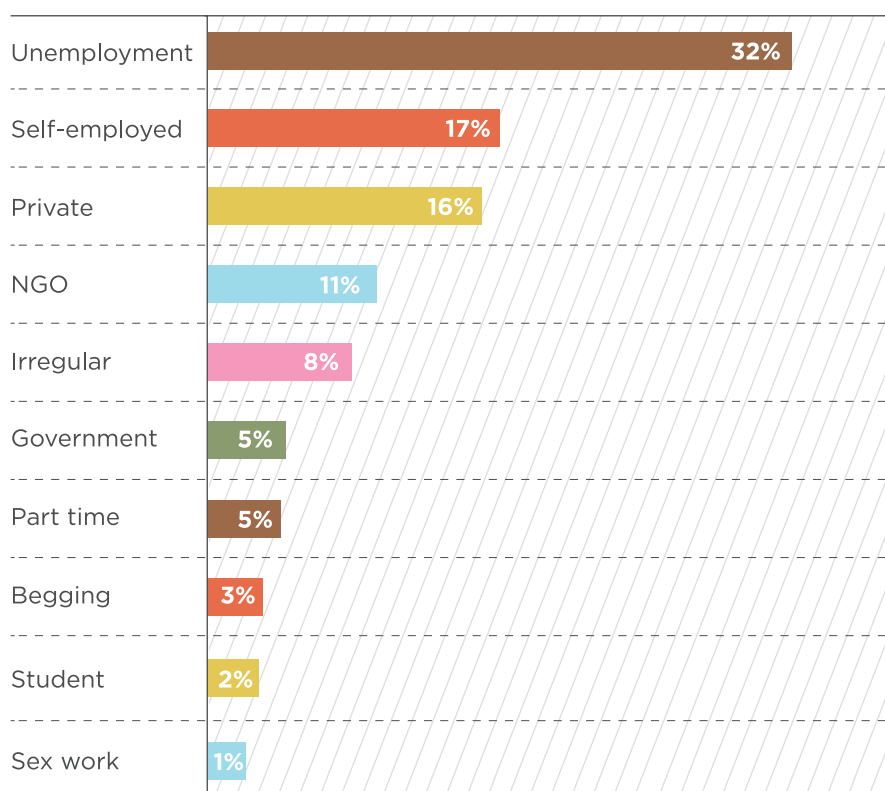
their education as a result. 27% Dalit women said they did not complete their education because they had been discriminated against in school due to their caste. 21% Dalit transgender persons 27% Dalit transgender persons also reported instances of discrimination and chose not to complete their education. At least 5% of our respondents also told us that they did not complete their education due to illness, migration, and other forms of discrimination. 5% of Dalit women had to drop out because of marriage.



ACCESS TO employment & experiences at the workplace

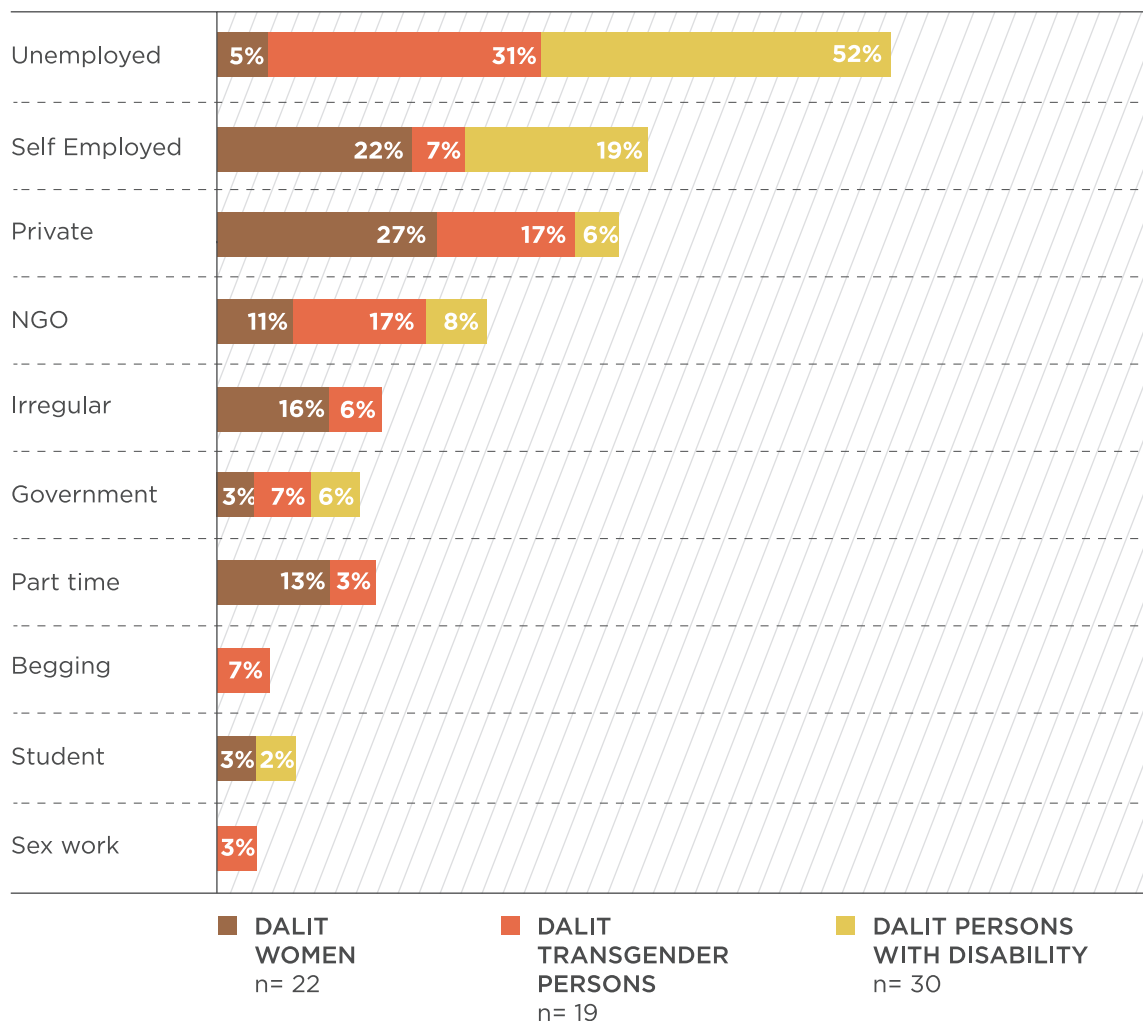
In this section, we explore the experiences of Dalit women, transgender persons and persons with disabilities in seeking employment and whether they faced discrimination at the workplace.

Fig 15 Status of employment - Overall



An enquiry on status of employment revealed that a significant 32% of our Dalit respondents were unemployed. 17% were either self-employed or worked at private establishments, 11% were employed in NGOs, 8% engaged in irregular employment, 5% had secured Government jobs or were working part time. 3% of our Dalit respondents said that they engaged in begging and 1% were engaged in sex work.

Fig 16 **Status of employment - by identity**

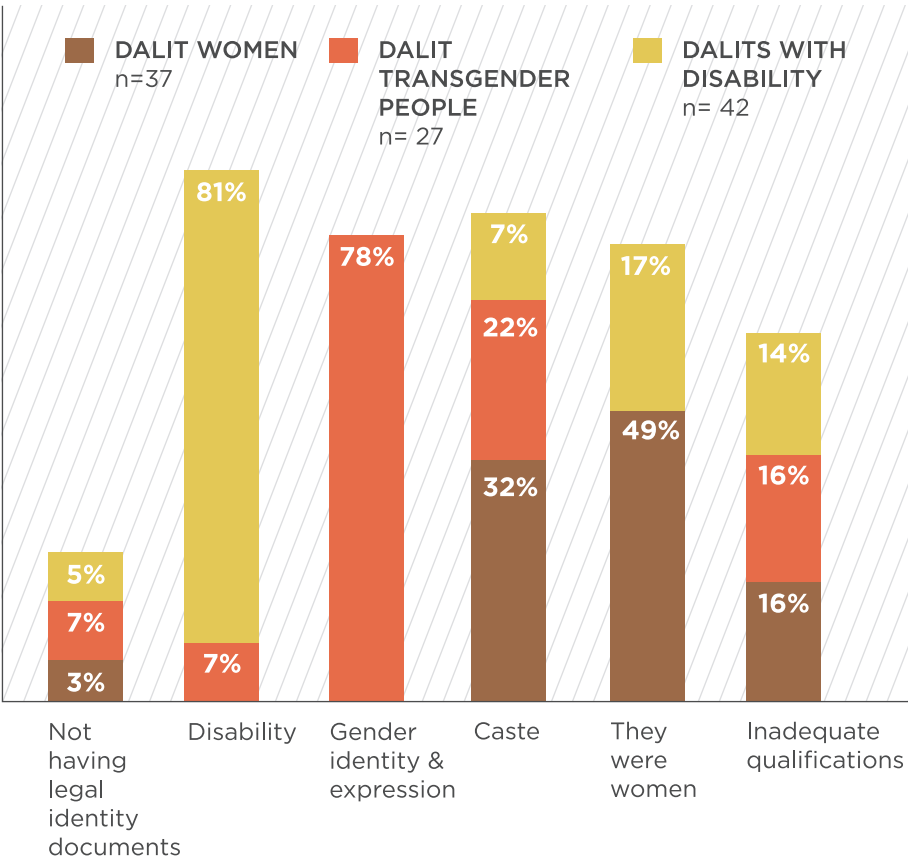


When we compared the status of employment by identity, we could see that unemployment was highest among Dalit persons with disabilities with 52% of them being unemployed. This was followed by 31% of Dalit transgender persons who were unemployed, with only 5% of Dalit women respondents being unemployed.

Even the kind of employment was revealing. Among Dalit women, 22% were self-employed and 27% were employed in the private sector, 11% worked at NGOs, 16% were in irregular jobs and only 3% were in Government jobs. When we compare this with the nature of employment among Dalit transgender persons, we could see that 17% worked in private organisations, 17% worked at NGOs, 7% were self-employed, and 7% had secured Government jobs, 7% were engaged in begging 3% in sex work. Dalit persons with disabilities were the most underrepresented with respect to employment. 6% Dalit persons with disabilities were not regularly employed. While 19% were self-employed, a small proportion worked in private companies (6%), public employment (6%), or in NGOs (8%).

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

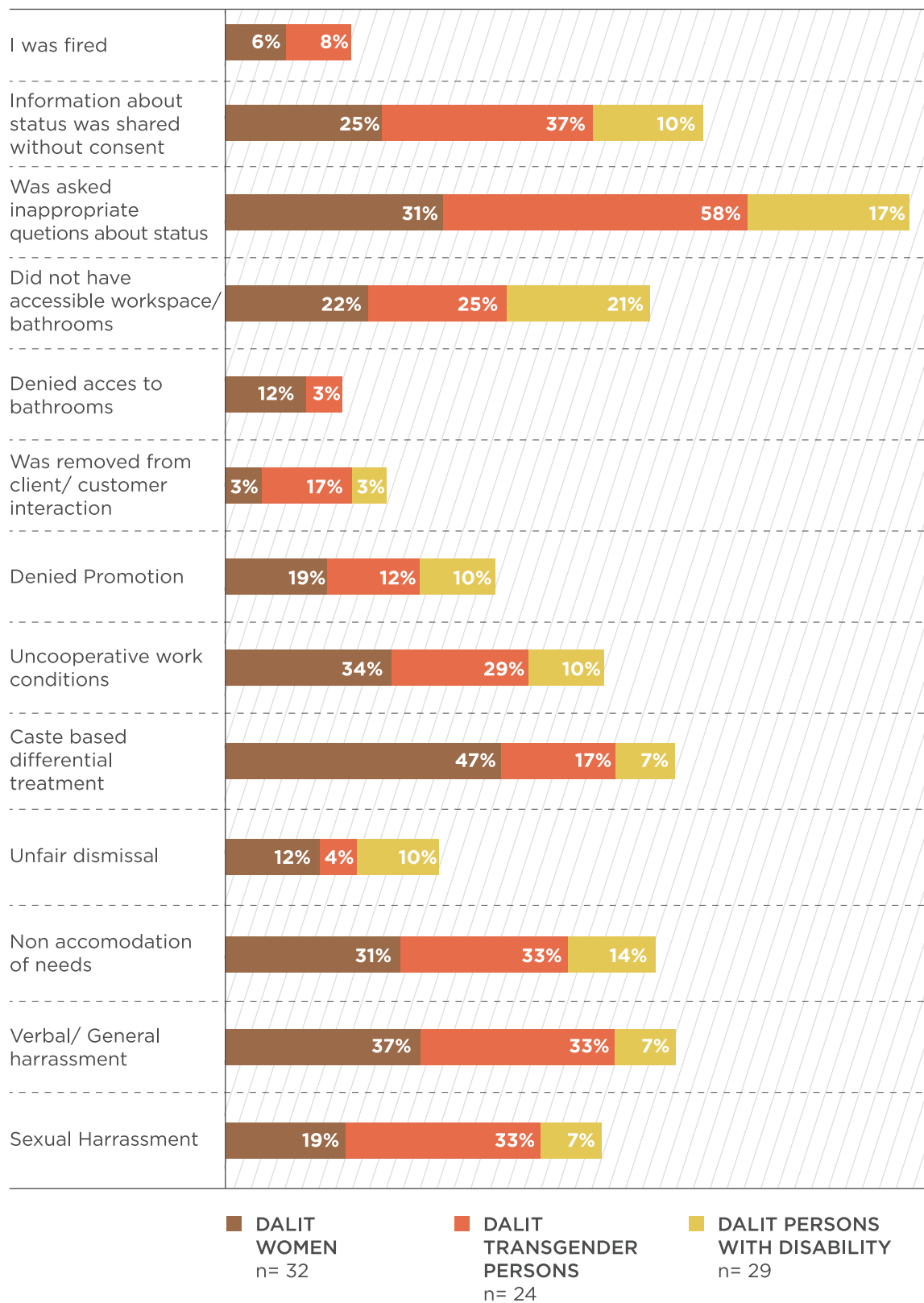
Fig 17 Reasons for difficulty in finding employment



We asked respondents why they had difficulty in finding a job. Respondents could choose more than one reason. Almost half of the Dalit women (49%) attributed difficulty in finding stable employment to their sex, followed by their caste (32%). 16% Dalit women said they did not have adequate qualifications. Only 3% said that they found it difficult to find a job because they did not have the correct legal identity documents. An overwhelming 78% of Dalit transgender persons said that they faced difficulties in securing employment due to their gender identity and gender expression. 22% felt it was because of their caste and 16% felt that it was because they did not have the necessary qualifications. 7% also said that they did not have

the correct identity documents, which posed challenges in securing employment. 7% of Dalit transgender persons with disabilities i.e. 2 individuals felt that their disability posed a challenge to securing employment. Among Dalit persons with disabilities (not including Dalit transgender persons with disabilities), 81% attributed unemployment and difficulty in finding jobs to their disability. 17% of Dalit persons with disabilities felt that they faced difficulty in securing jobs because they are women. 7% of Dalit persons with disabilities felt that their caste also played a role, while 5% said that they did not have the correct identity documents.

Fig 18 Experience of discrimination/harassment at workplace



We asked the respondents if they faced any discrimination at the workplace and if they were allowed to choose more than one option to account for varying experiences in different situations. The results of this question presented a grave picture – almost all our Dalit respondents had experienced discrimination, harassment or differential treatment in some form at the workplace.

The most common experience of discrimination at the workplace among Dalit women included caste-based differential treatment (47%), verbal harassment (37%), uncooperative work conditions (34%), non-accommodation of needs (31%) and personal information being shared without consent (25%). Surprisingly, 22% of Dalit women also said that they were denied access to bathrooms and 6% said that they were fired.

58% Dalit transgender persons said that co-workers and employers

asked them inappropriate questions about their status, 37% said that such information was shared with others without their consent. 33% of Dalit transgender respondents said that they faced sexual and verbal harassment. Over 25% felt that work conditions were uncooperative and in fact, they did not accessible workspaces or bathrooms.

Comparatively, out of Dalit persons with disabilities, 7% faced verbal and sexual harassment, and caste-based differential treatment, 21% stated that workspaces were inaccessible and 3% were completely denied access to washrooms, 17% stated that their co-workers and employers asked them inappropriate questions about their status. 14% of Dalit persons with disabilities felt that their needs were not accommodated, 10% felt that conditions of work were uncooperative and 10% also reported being unfairly dismissed and being denied promotion.

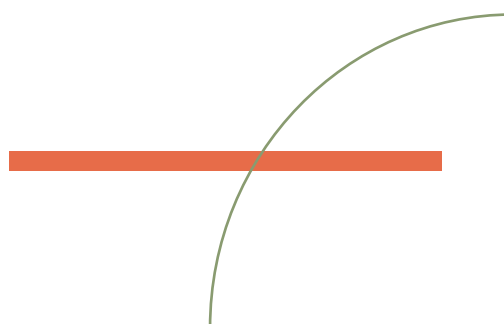
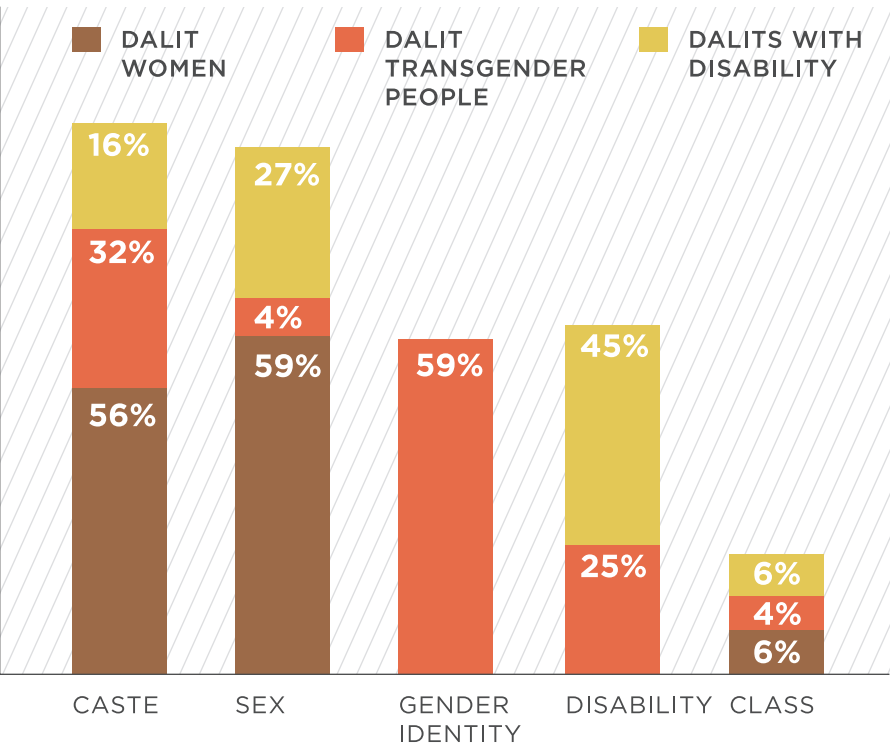


Fig 19 Did your co-workers treat you differently?



For this question, respondents were allowed to choose more than one option, to determine if they felt they were treated differently or were discriminated against on the basis of one or more identities, on different occasions. Over half our Dalit women respondents felt that they were treated differently due to their caste (56%) and gender (59%). Only 6% felt that class played a role in the way their co-workers interacted with them. Among Dalit transgender persons, 59% were of the view that they were treated differently by their co-workers due to their gender identity. 32% felt that their caste also influenced the way their co-workers treated them. One Dalit transgender person with disabilities (25%) said that their co-workers treated them differently due to their disability. Only 4% Dalit transgender persons noted that interactions with co-workers were influenced by class. 45% of Dalit persons with disabilities confirmed that their co-workers also treated them differently due to their disability. Caste (16%) and sex (27%) were also identified as other factors based on which they were treated differently by co-workers. 6% of Dalit persons with disabilities felt that their class was a reason for differential treatment from co-workers.

EXPERIENCE WITH GRIEVANCE REDRESSAL

As many of our respondents had faced some form of discriminatory treatment or harassment at the workplace, we asked them about their experience with grievance redressal.

Fig 20 Did you report the incident

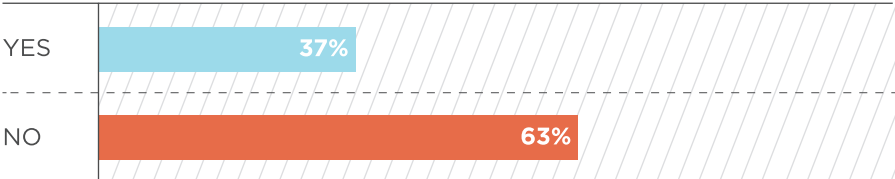
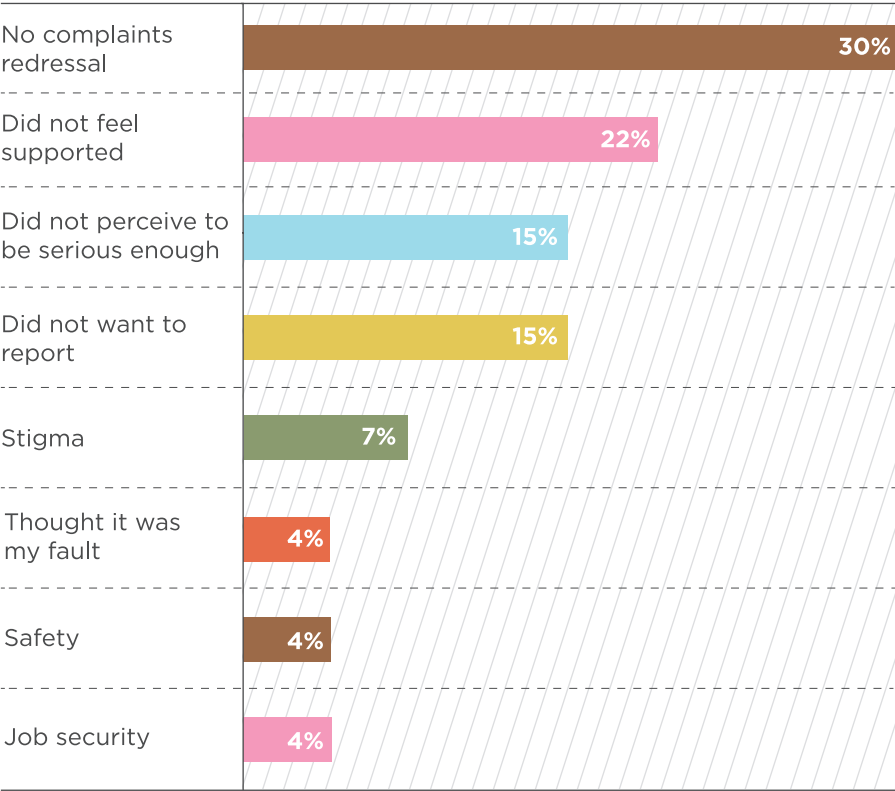


Fig 21 Reasons for not reporting the incident (n = 27)



We first asked how many respondents had reported incidents of harassment to higher authorities within the organisation. Only 37% of the Dalit respondents who faced harassment had reported the incident. The 63% of persons who did not report the incident had a range of reasons for not doing so. Out of these persons 30% said it was because there was no complaints redressal mechanism and 22% did not feel supported within the organisation.

Fig 22 Were you satisfied with how your complaint was addressed?

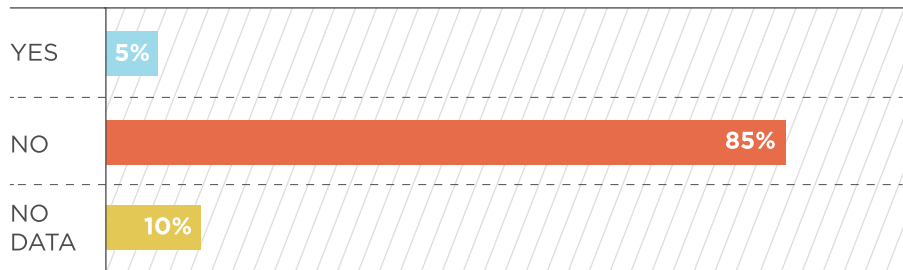
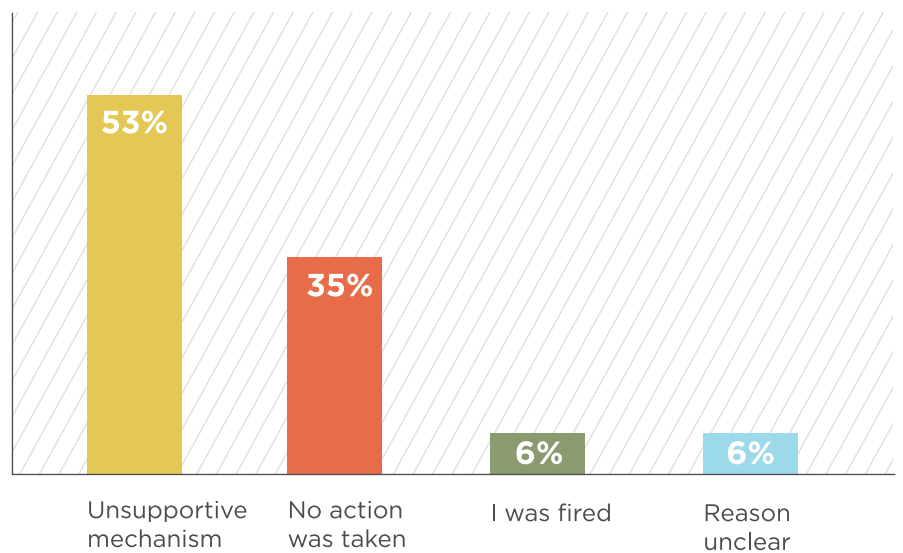


Fig 23 Reasons for dissatisfaction with handling of complaint



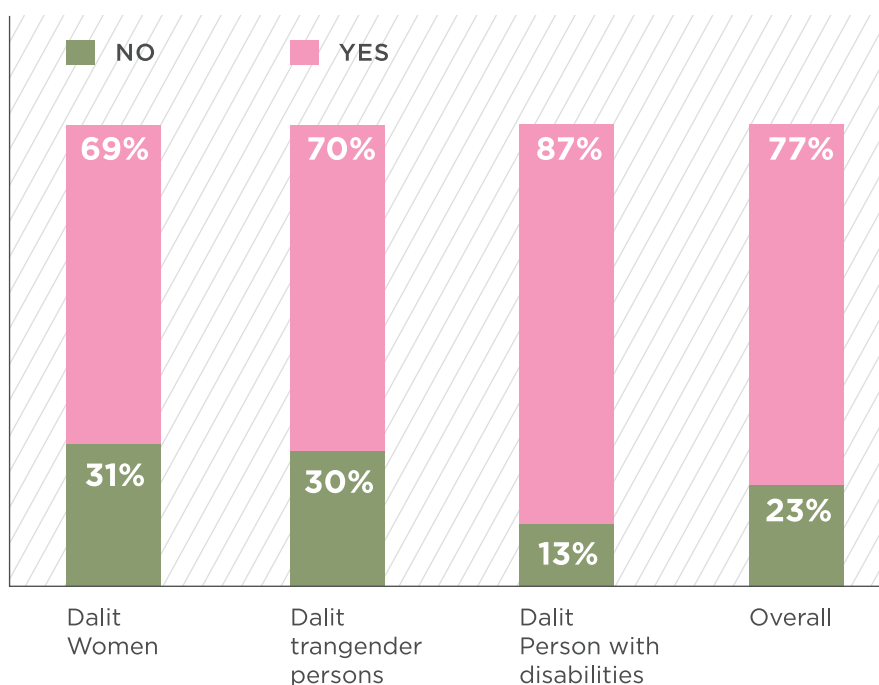
Out of the 37% of respondents who had chosen to complain about discriminatory treatment at their place of employment, an overwhelming 85% of them said that it had not been addressed to their satisfaction. Over 50% Dalit respondents attributed this to an unsupportive redressal mechanism and 35% said that no action of any kind was taken in response to the complaint. Shockingly, 6% said they were fired from their job because they had registered a complaint. It appears therefore that the organisational structure in most establishments did not create a conducive or supportive working atmosphere, and had not set up effective internal grievance redressal institutions.

ACCESS TO healthcare & experience with healthcare providers

In this section, our survey contained questions on access to healthcare, the quality of health care that was available to the respondents and if they had faced any discrimination or harassment at the hands of health care professionals based on their caste, gender, transgender status or disability.

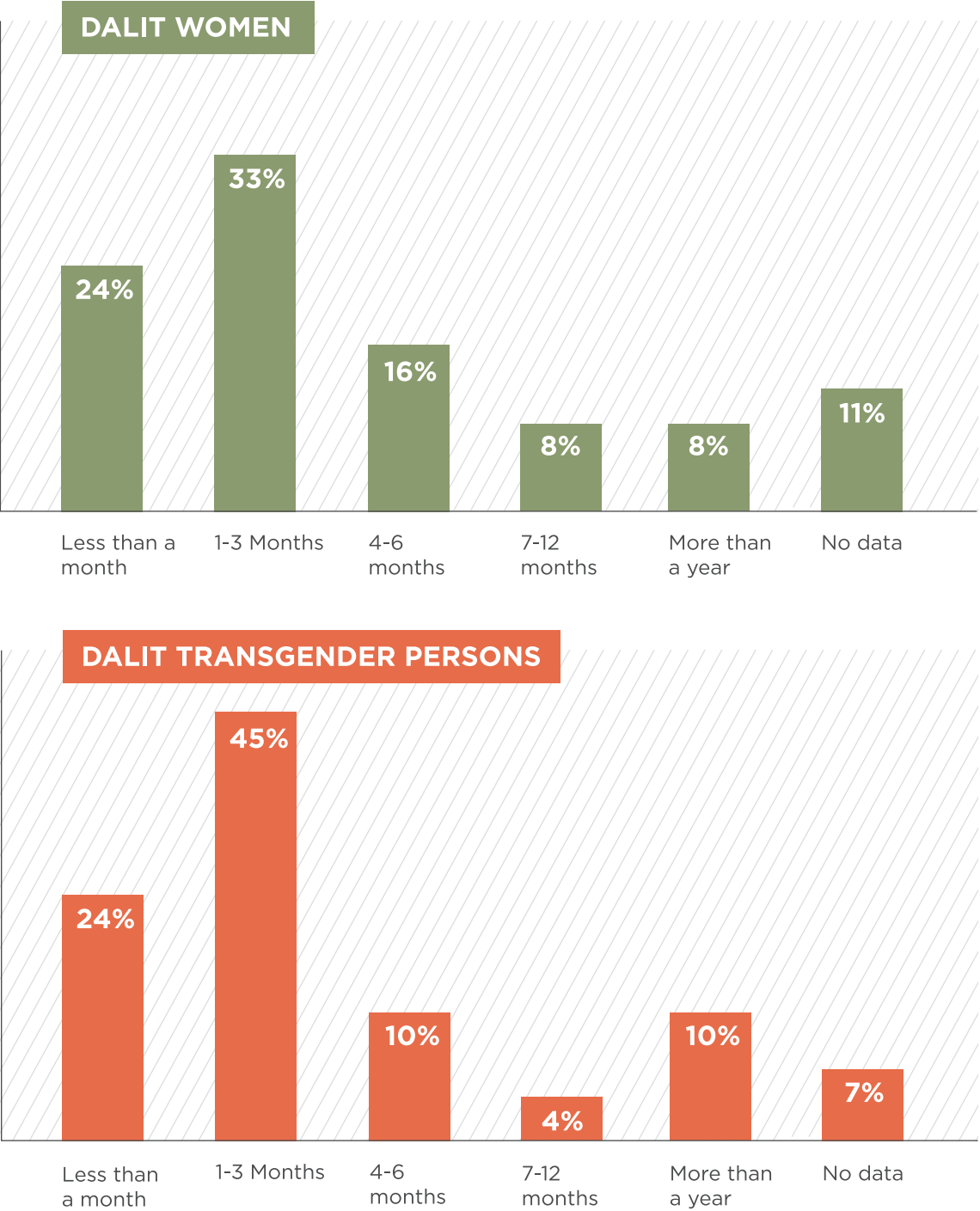
ACCESS TO HEALTHCARE FACILITIES

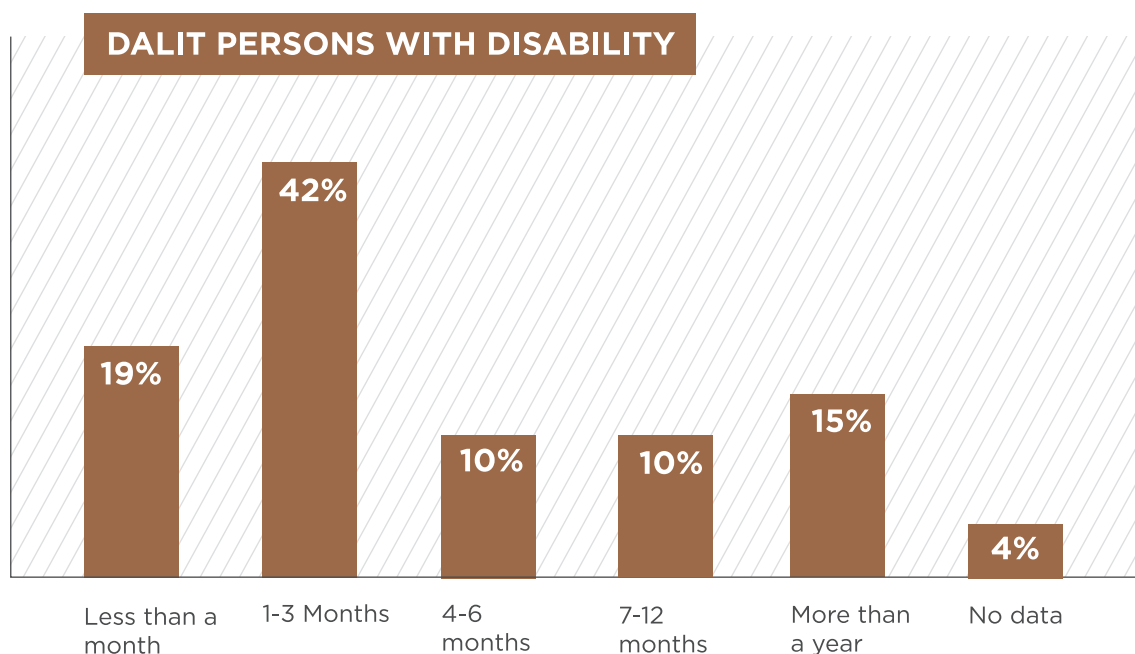
Fig 24 Access to adequate medical health care in place of residence?



We asked respondents if they had access to adequate medical health care facilities near their place of residence. 77% of all Dalit respondents said that they had access to medical care near their place of residence. While around 70% of Dalit women and Dalit transgender persons said they had access to healthcare, the proportion of Dalit persons with disabilities who had access was a significant 87%.

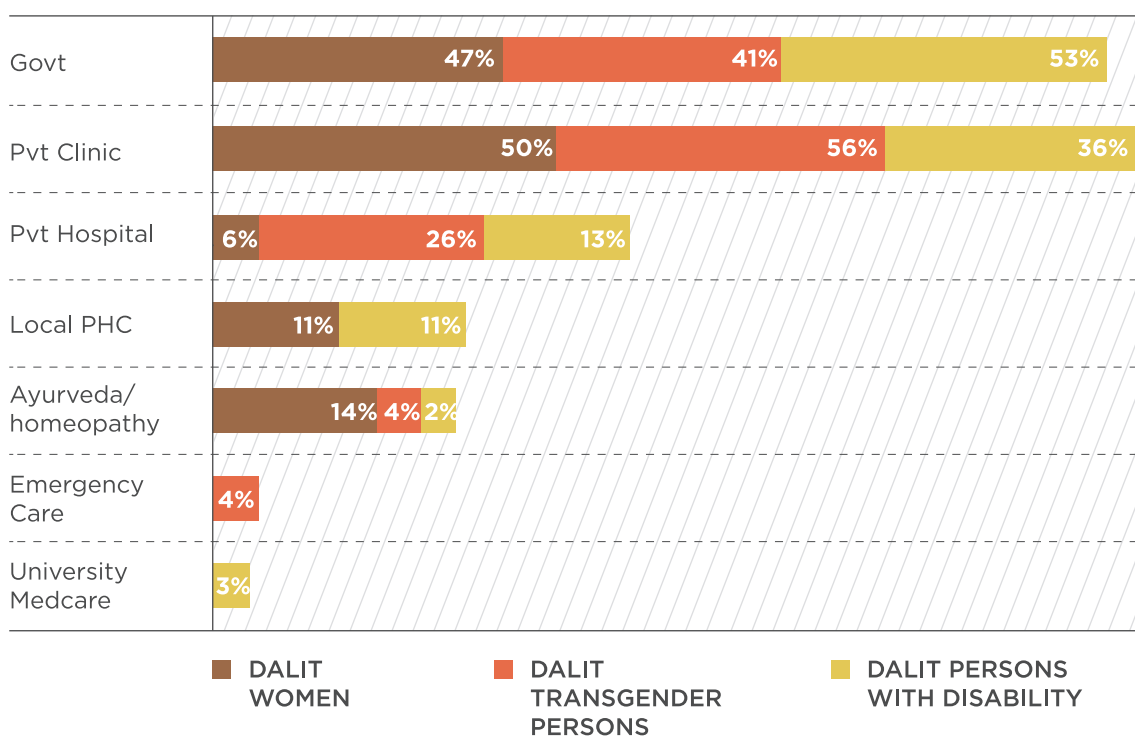
Fig 25 When did you last visit a doctor?





Next, we asked them when they had last visited a doctor, irrespective of the reason for the visit. 33% Dalit women, 45% Dalit transgender persons and 42% Dalit persons with disabilities had visited a doctor between one to three months before we conducted the survey. While 19% Dalit persons with disabilities had accessed medical assistance less than a month before we administered the survey, 24% Dalit women and Dalit transgender persons had been to a doctor less than a month before they participated in the survey. Only around 10 – 15% of Dalit respondents had visited a doctor more than a year ago.

Fig 26 What kind of doctor did you visit?



In response to the question on where they went for their medical care, it was found that 50% Dalit women visited a private clinic and 47% Dalit women had been to a Government hospital, 14% relied on ayurvedic or homeopathic treatments, 11% went to their local primary health centre (PHC) and 6% went to a private hospital. Dalit transgender persons mostly visited private clinics (56%), followed by Government hospitals (41%), 26% went to a private hospital, 4% used ayurvedic or homeopathic treatments, and 4% required emergency medical care. Significantly, no Dalit transgender person accessed their local PHC. Dalit persons with disabilities were the only group who visited Government hospitals (53%) more than private clinics (46%). While 13% went to private hospitals, 11% went to their local PHC and only 2% relied on ayurvedic or homeopathic treatments.

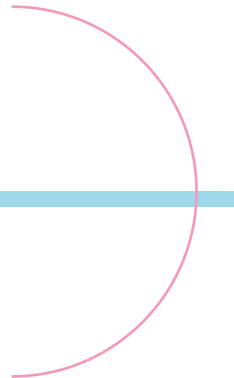
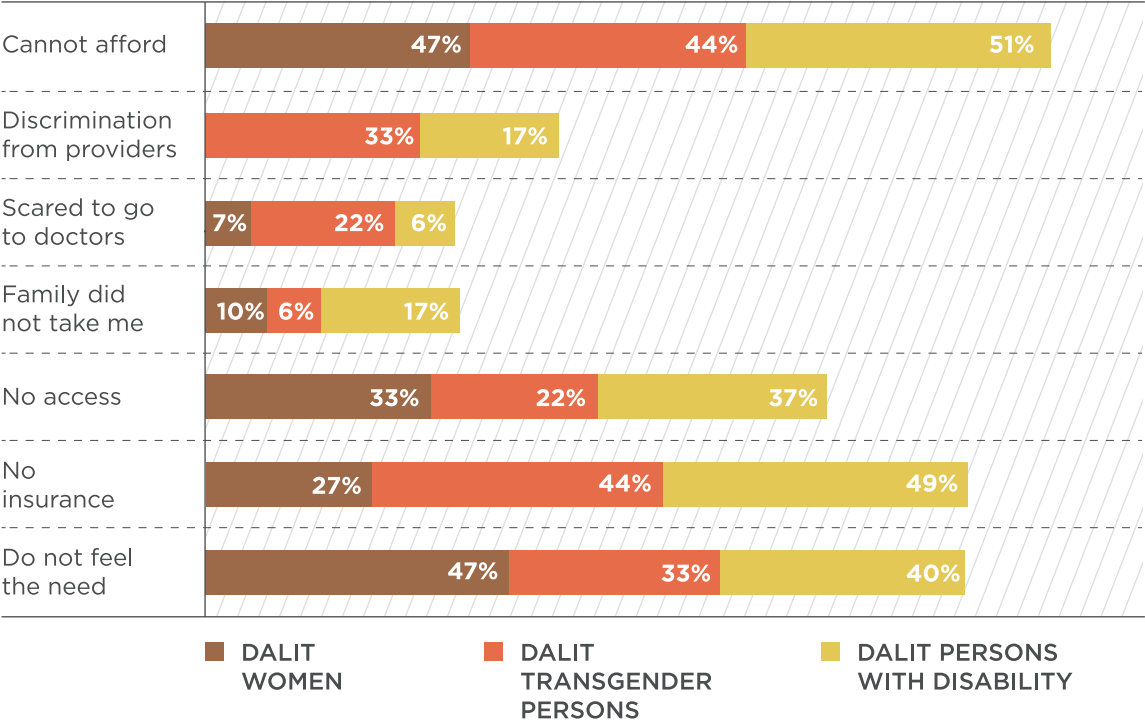


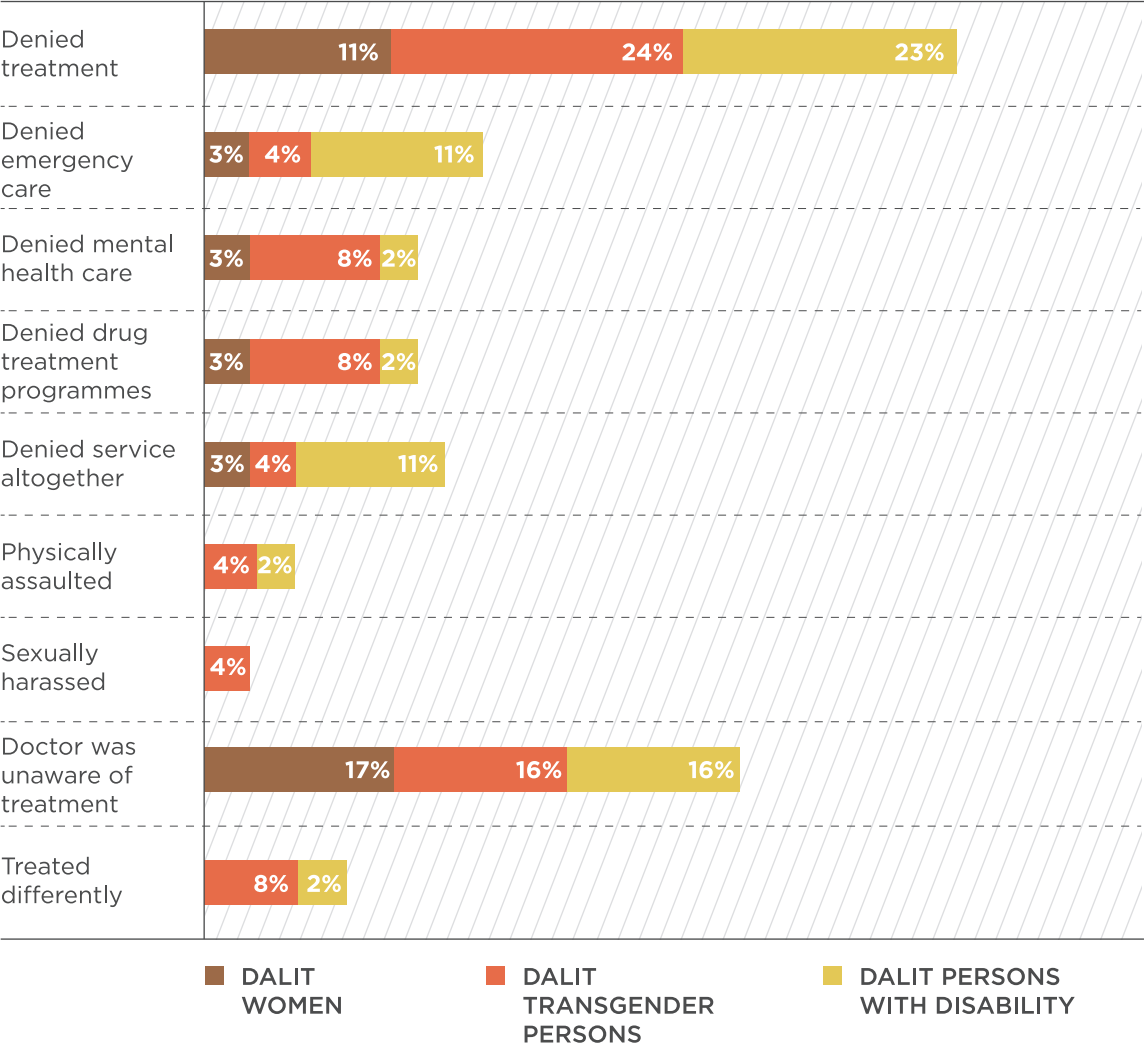
Fig 27 **Reasons for not undergoing regular health check-ups**



A large number of respondents stated that they did not regularly go for health check ups. There were several reasons for this. Inability to afford regular medical care was the reason provided by 47% Dalit women, 44% Dalit transgender persons and 51% of Dalit persons overall. A related reason was the lack of insurance according to 27% Dalit women, 44% Dalit transgender persons and 49% Dalit persons with disabilities. 33% Dalit women, 22% Dalit transgender persons and 37% Dalit persons with disabilities said they did not have access to medical care. 47% Dalit women, 33% Dalit transgender persons and 40% Dalit persons with disabilities said they did not have any need to visit. 7% Dalit women, 22% of Dalit transgender persons and 6% of Dalit persons with disabilities said they feel scared going to the doctor. 10% Dalit women, 6% Dalit transgender persons and 17% Dalit persons with disabilities also said that their families do not take them to the doctor because of which they could not for regular medical check-ups.

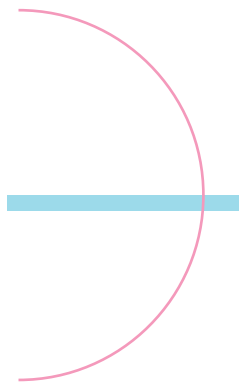
EXPERIENCE OF DISCRIMINATION WHILE RECEIVING MEDICAL CARE

Fig 28 Did you face discrimination?



We asked respondents whether they had faced any discrimination, harassment or differential treatment in receiving medical care. They were allowed to choose more than one option. 11% Dalit women said they were denied treatment, 17% said that the doctor did not know how to treat their condition and only around 3% Dalit women said they were denied medical assistance, whether emergency care, mental health care, or drug treatment programmes. No Dalit woman reported having faced physical or sexual assault while receiving medical care. In comparison, 24% Dalit transgender persons said they were denied treatment and 16% said that the doctor did not know how to treat their medical condition. 4% of Dalit transgender persons were denied emergency care, 8% were denied mental health care, 8% were denied drug treatment programmes, and 4% were

denied all medical services. 4% Dalit transgender respondents also experienced physical and sexual assault from health care professionals. 23% Dalit persons with disabilities reported that they were denied medical treatment, 11% were refused all medical services, and 11% were also denied emergency care. 2% Dalit respondents with disabilities said that they were denied mental health care and drug treatment programmes, which is lesser than the number of Dalit transgender persons who were denied similar treatment. 2% Dalit persons with disabilities reported being physically assaulted.

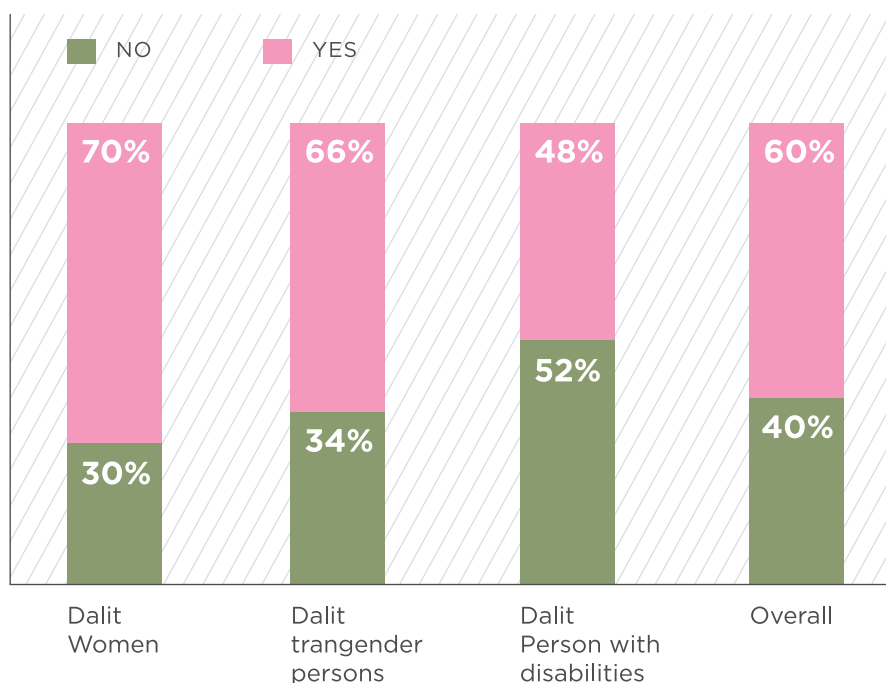


EXPERIENCE DURING interaction with the Police

The next site we explored was the police station and the experiences of our Dalit respondents during their interactions with the police force. The first few questions to our respondents gauged the level and nature of interaction with the police and the remaining questions explore their experiences in these interactions.

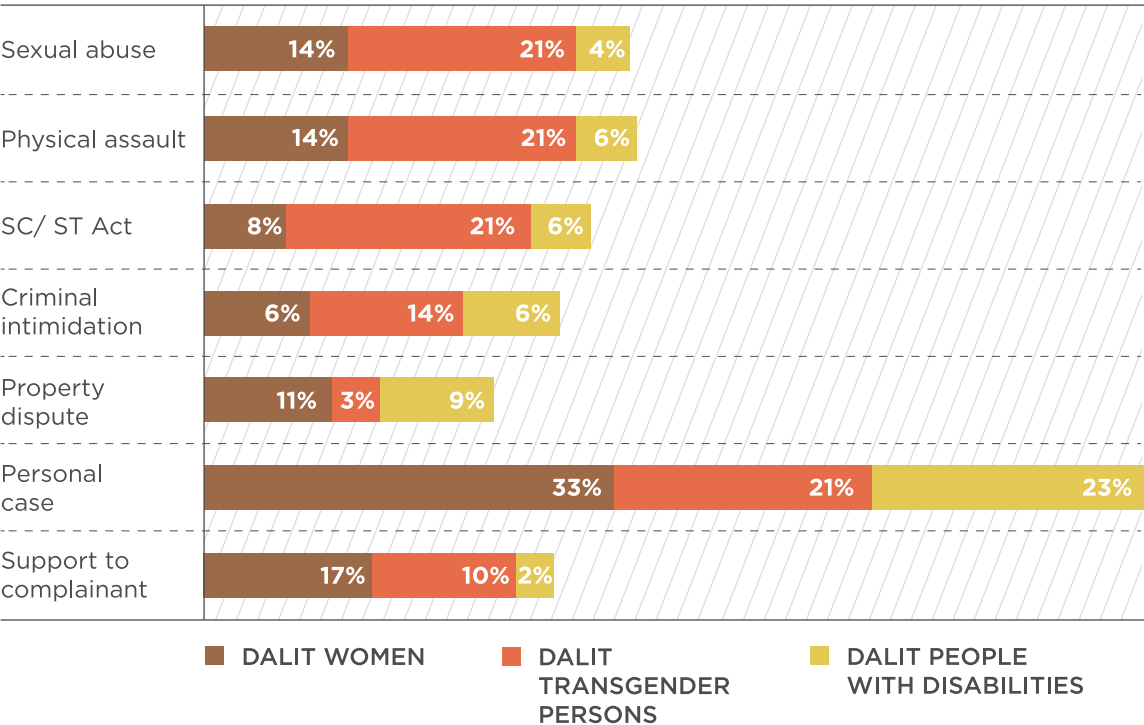
INTERACTION WITH THE POLICE

Fig 29 Have you ever approached the police for any help?



60% of Dalit respondents said that they had approached the police for help at some point. Among the three groups covered in this study, more Dalit women (70%) had approached the police for help when compared to Dalit transgender persons (66%) and Dalit persons with disabilities (48%).

Fig 30 Nature of complaint filed with the police

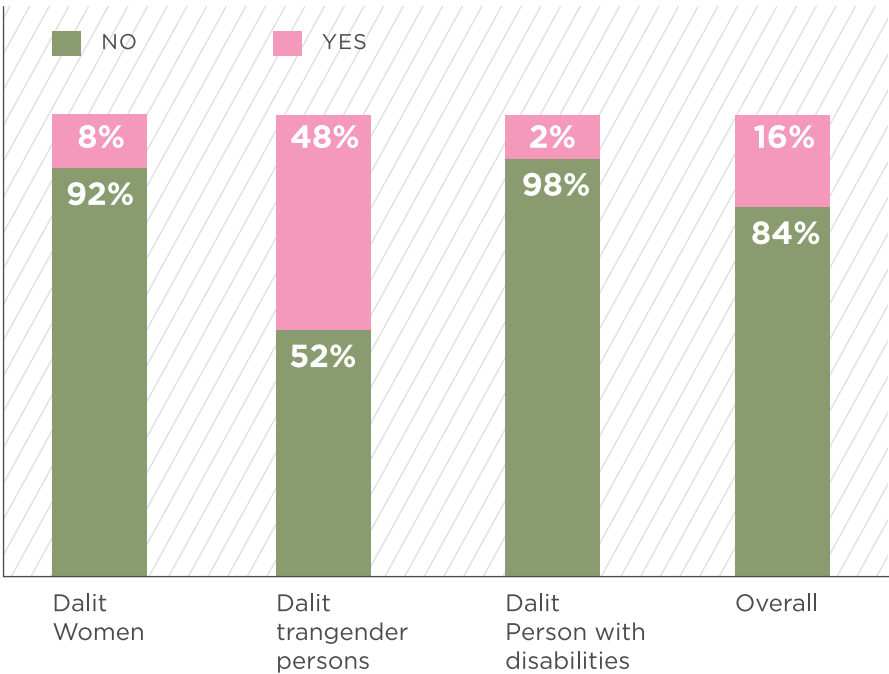


When we asked our respondents about the nature of the complaint they filed with the police, 14% of Dalit women said they went to file a complaint of sexual abuse and physical assault, 8% had filed a complaint under the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 (SC/ST Act), 6% had filed a complaint for criminal intimidation, 11% filed a complaint in relation to a property dispute. 33% Dalit women approached the police for help with personal matters and 17% Dalit women had visited the police to lend support to another. Out of the Dalit transgender respondents, 21%

had approached the police to file complaints of sexual abuse, physical assault or under the SC/ST Act, 21% had approached the police to file complaints for personal matters, 14% for criminal intimidation, 3% for property disputes and 10% had interacted with the police while providing support to another complainant. 23% Dalit persons with disabilities had approached the police for personal matters. Only around 4-6% had filed complaints of sexual assault, physical abuse, criminal intimidation and under the SC/ST Act. 9% approached the police for assistance in relation to a property dispute.

EXPERIENCE OF DISCRIMINATION

Fig 31 Have you ever been questioned by the police on the suspicion that you are engaged in sex work?



When we asked our respondents if they were ever harassed by the police as they were suspected of doing sex work, 48% of the Dalit transgender persons confirmed this. On the other hand 8% of the Dalit women and 2% of Dalit persons with disabilities had experienced this.

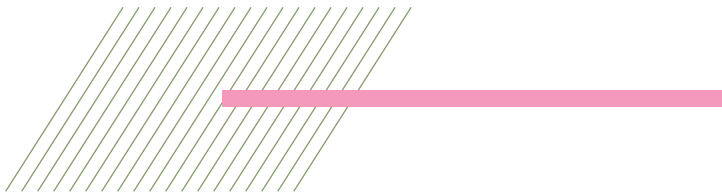
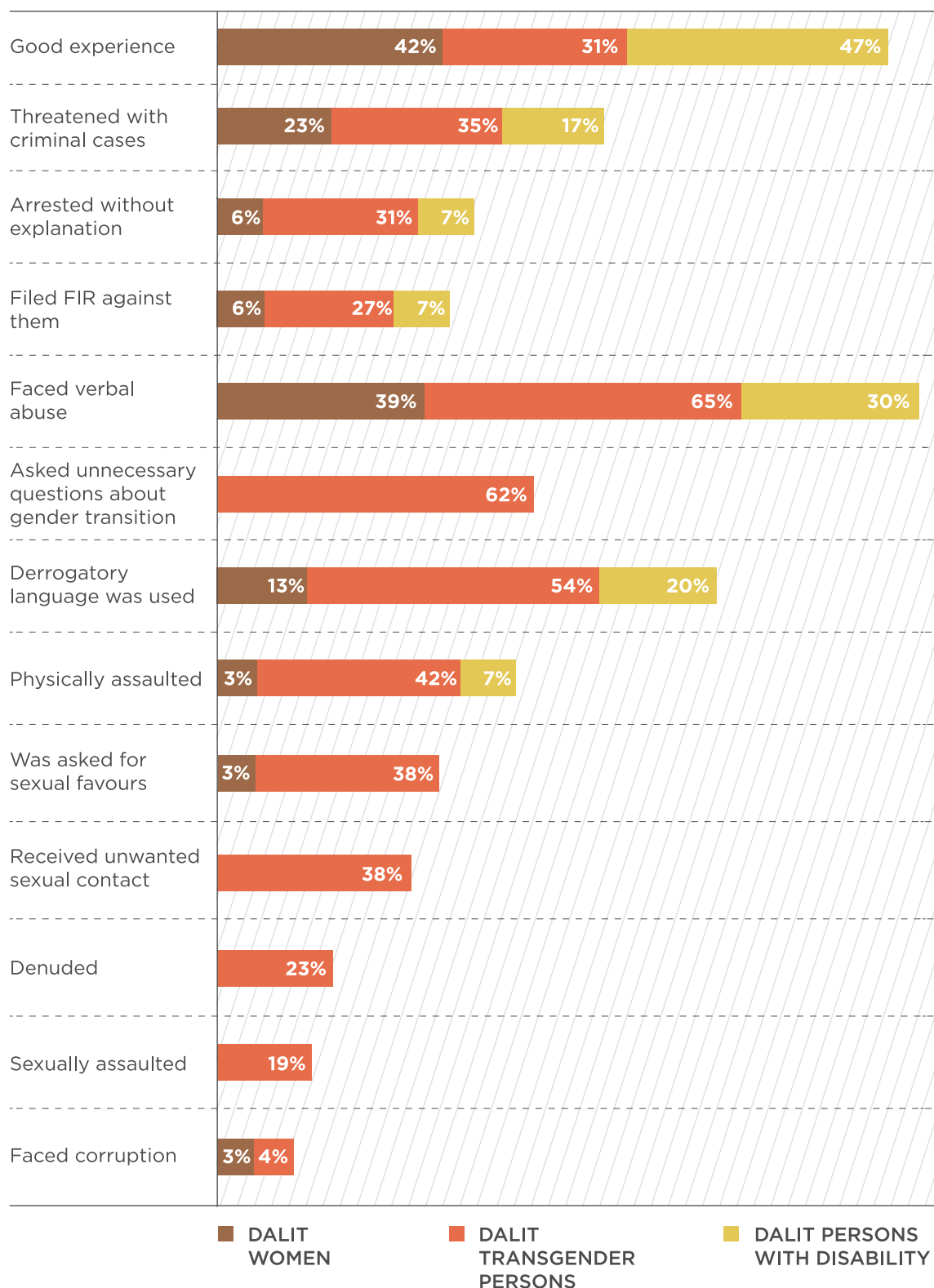
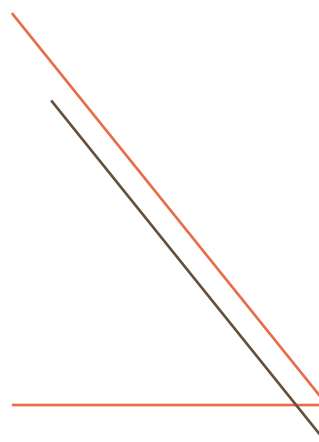


Fig 32 What has your experience of police interaction been like ?



We asked the respondents about their interaction with the police. 42% Dalit women, 31% Dalit transgender persons and 47% Dalit persons with disabilities said that they had a good experience with the police overall. 23% Dalit women said that they were threatened by the police that criminal cases would be filed against them. 6% were arrested without any explanation and a First Information Report was filed against them. 39% reported being verbally harassed by the police and derogatory words were used against 13%. 3% Dalit women said that they faced physical assault or were asked for sexual favours by the police. Dalit transgender persons faced violence and harassment at the hands of the police. Over 30% were threatened with criminal cases or arrested without explanation and FIRs were registered against 27%. A significant 65% and 54% of Dalit transgender persons said they were verbally harassed by the police and derogatory words were used against them, and were asked questions about their gender transition which was unrelated to the issue they had gone to report to the police. 42% were physically assaulted by the police and 38% reported unwanted sexual contact and requests for sexual favours from police officers. 23% Dalit transgender persons were forcibly denuded by the police and 19% were sexually assaulted when they approached the police seeking assistance. With Dalit persons with disabilities, 30% reported being verbally harassed, 20% said that the police used derogatory words to refer to them, 17% were threatened with criminal cases and 7% were physically assaulted.

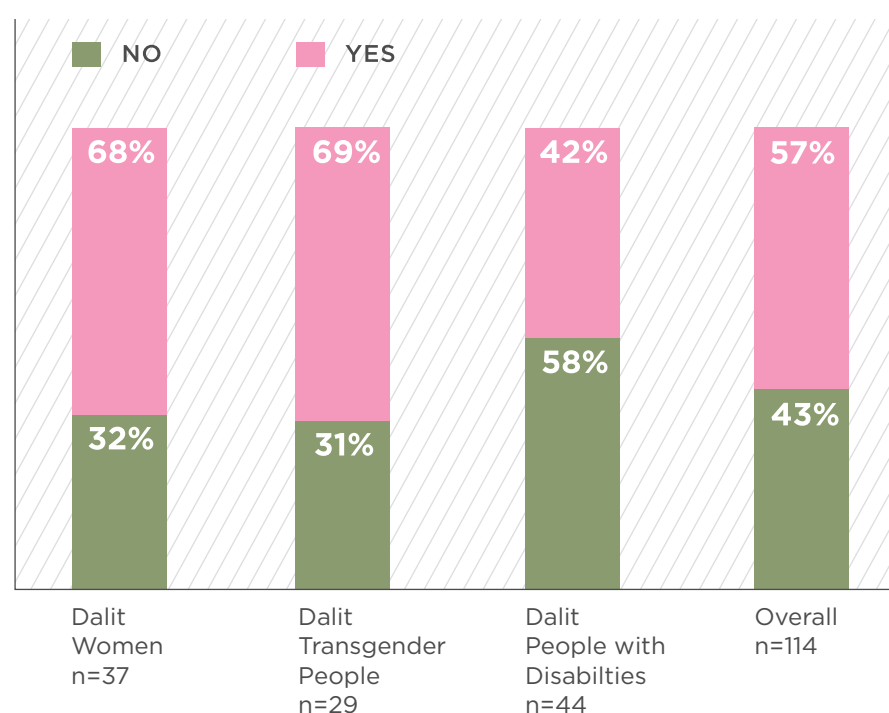


ACCESS TO legal services

In this section we focus on whether our respondents have required legal services and their experience while receiving such legal assistance. Further, in this section, we also inquire into the specific experience of transgender persons who have attempted to change their name in identity documents.

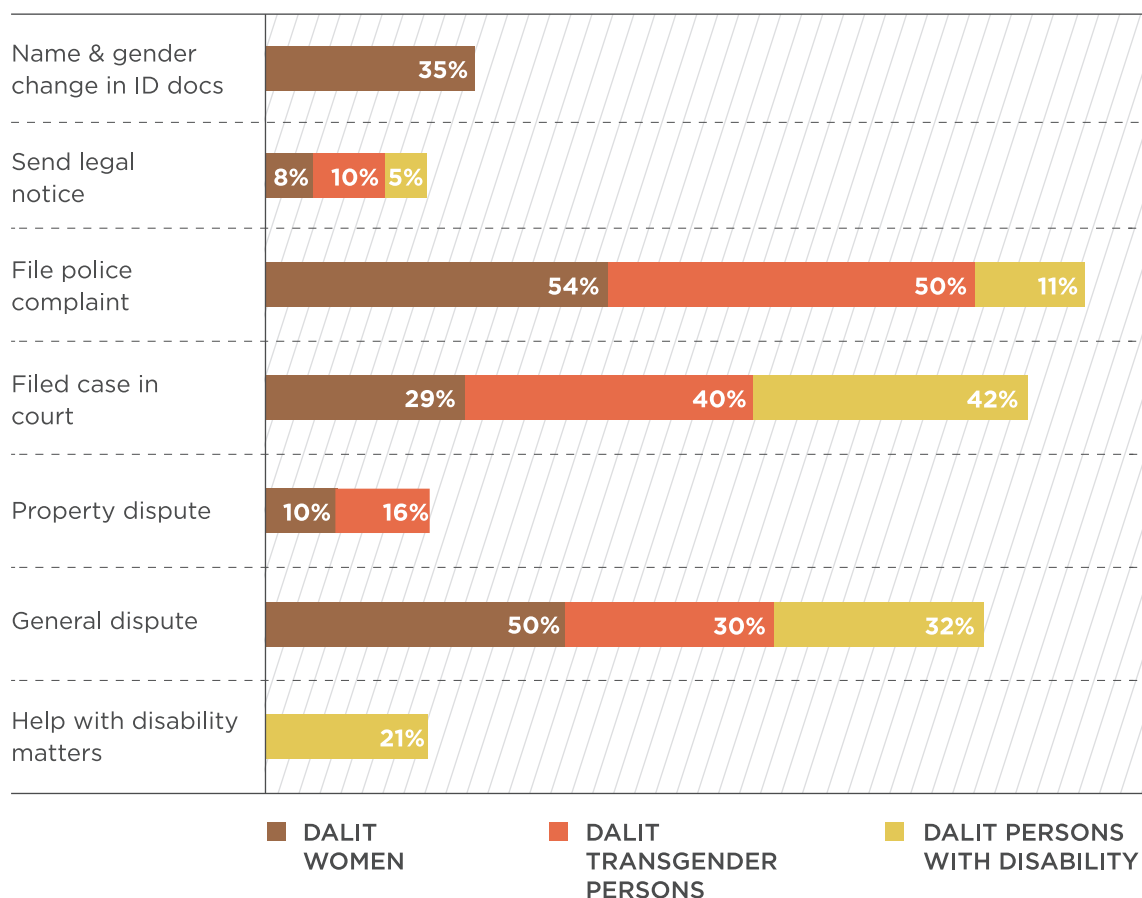
NEED FOR LEGAL ASSISTANCE

Fig 33 Have you ever required any legal services or assistance?



The first question we asked our Dalit respondents was whether they have ever required any kind of legal services or assistance. 57% of Dalit respondents said that they have required legal services. Of this, a majority were Dalit women and Dalit transgender persons – around 68% said that they have required legal services at some point. Fewer Dalit persons with disabilities (42%) said they have required legal assistance.

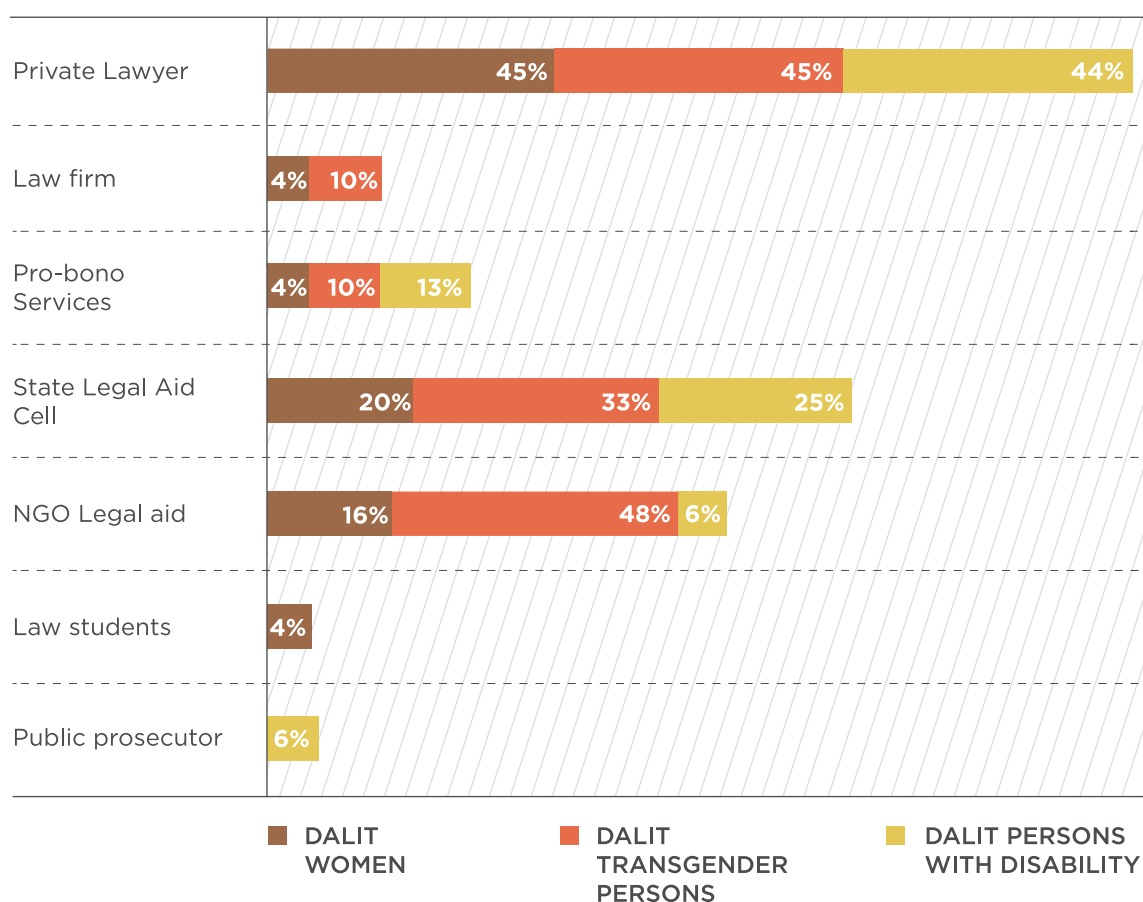
Fig 34 For what reasons have you needed legal assistance?



Among Dalit women, the primary reason for requiring legal assistance was to file a police complaint – 50% approached a lawyer for legal assistance in this regard. 50% required legal help in relation to a general dispute. 29% required legal assistance to file a case in court, while 8% accessed legal services to send legal notices.

A significant 54% Dalit transgender persons accessed legal services to file a police complaint. This result aligns with the findings from the previous section on interactions with the police where we noted that many Dalit transgender persons faced harassment at the hands of police officials. 40% required legal services to file a case in court, while 35% approached lawyers to change their name and gender in identity documents. 30% said they needed legal help with general disputes, while 16% accessed legal services to send legal notices and in relation to property disputes. 42% Dalit persons with disabilities required legal services to file cases in court. While 32% said they approached a lawyer in relation to a general dispute, 21% required legal assistance in matters related to their disability. 11% required assistance with filing a police complaint. Only 5% required a lawyer's services to send a legal notice.

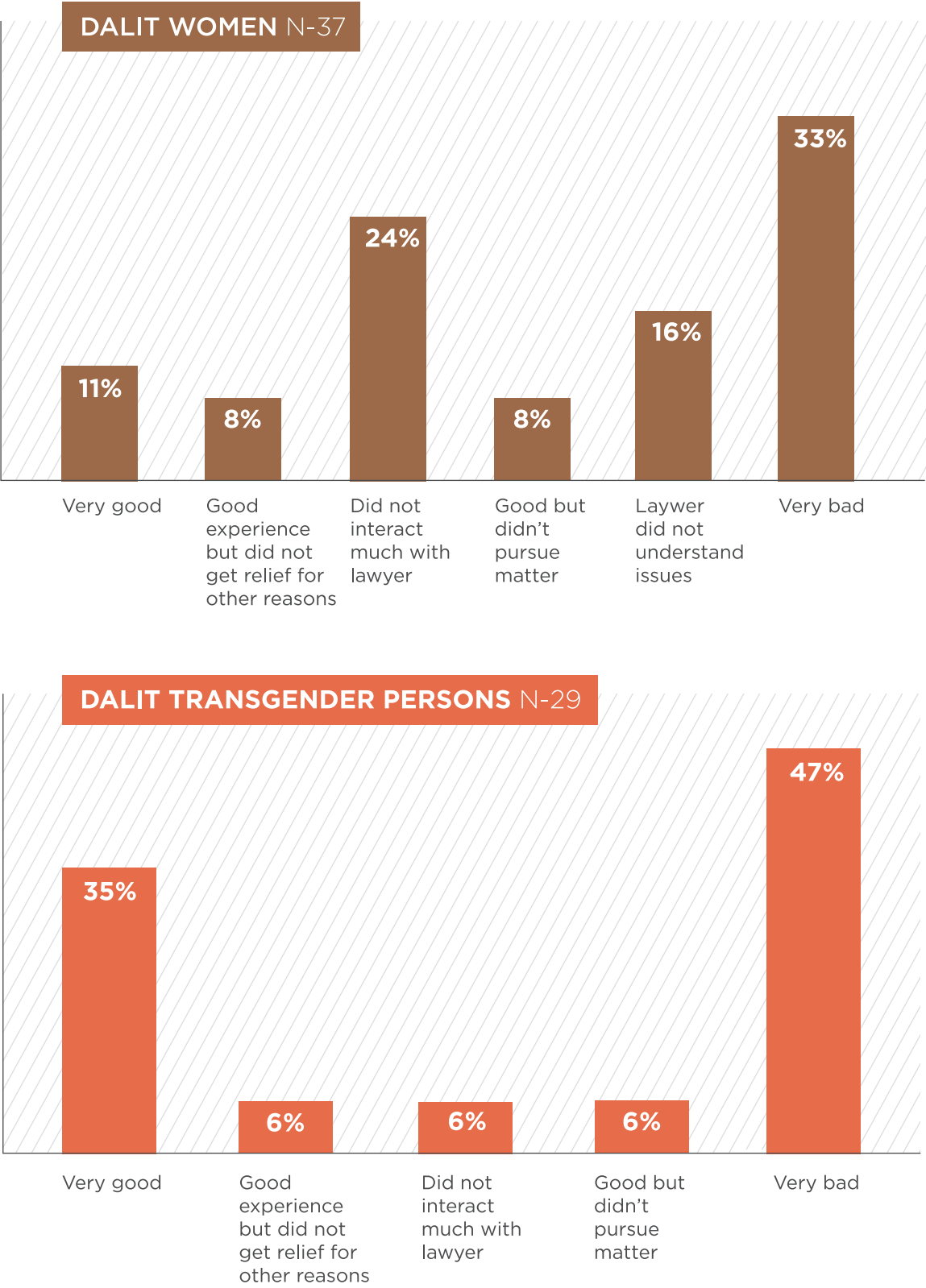
Fig 35 Who did you approach for legal assistance?

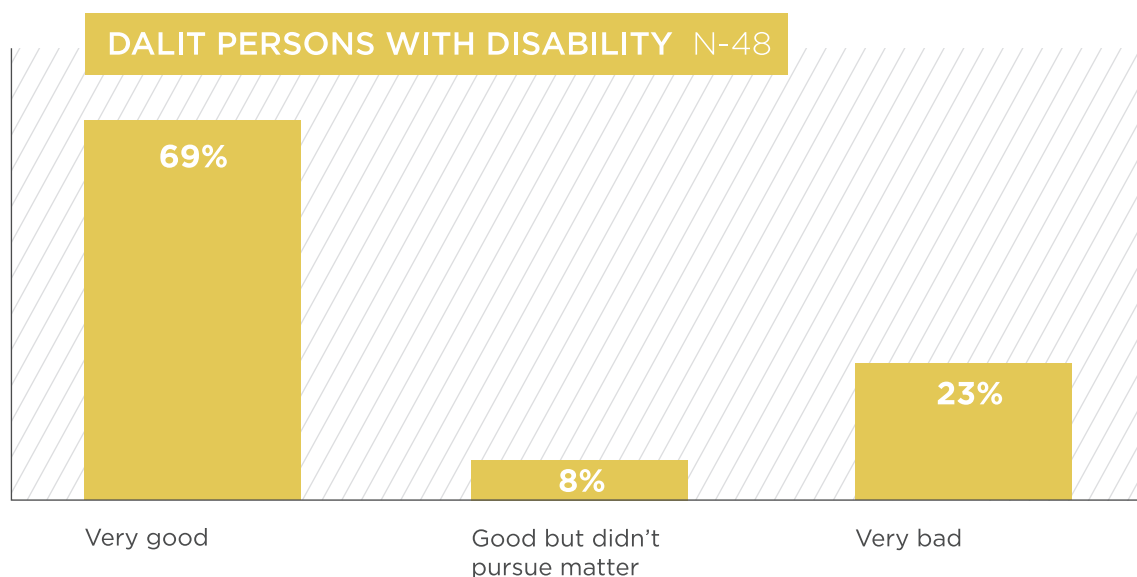


Out of our Dalit women respondents, 45% approached a private lawyer for legal assistance. 20% approached the State legal aid cell and 16% approached NGOs who in turn directed them to lawyers who might be able to render assistance. 4% Dalit women approached a law firm, a lawyer offering pro-bono legal services or law students through the legal aid clinic in their universities. Dalit women were the only group who approached law students. A majority of Dalit transgender persons (48%) approached NGOs who connected them with legal counsel. 45% approached a private lawyer while a significant 33% approached the State legal aid cell. A minority (10%) either went to a law firm or a lawyer offering pro bono legal services. 44% Dalit persons with disabilities approached a private lawyer for legal services, while 13% approached lawyers offering pro-bono legal services. 25% went to the State legal aid cell for legal assistance, and 6% approached NGOs who connected them with lawyers. From this data we note that most of our Dalit respondents approached private lawyers for any legal assistance they required. Dalit transgender persons were the only group where a substantial number approached NGOs who connected them with reliable lawyers with experience in addressing their legal concerns.

EXPERIENCE WHILE RECEIVING LEGAL ASSISTANCE

Fig 36 Experience in obtaining legal services

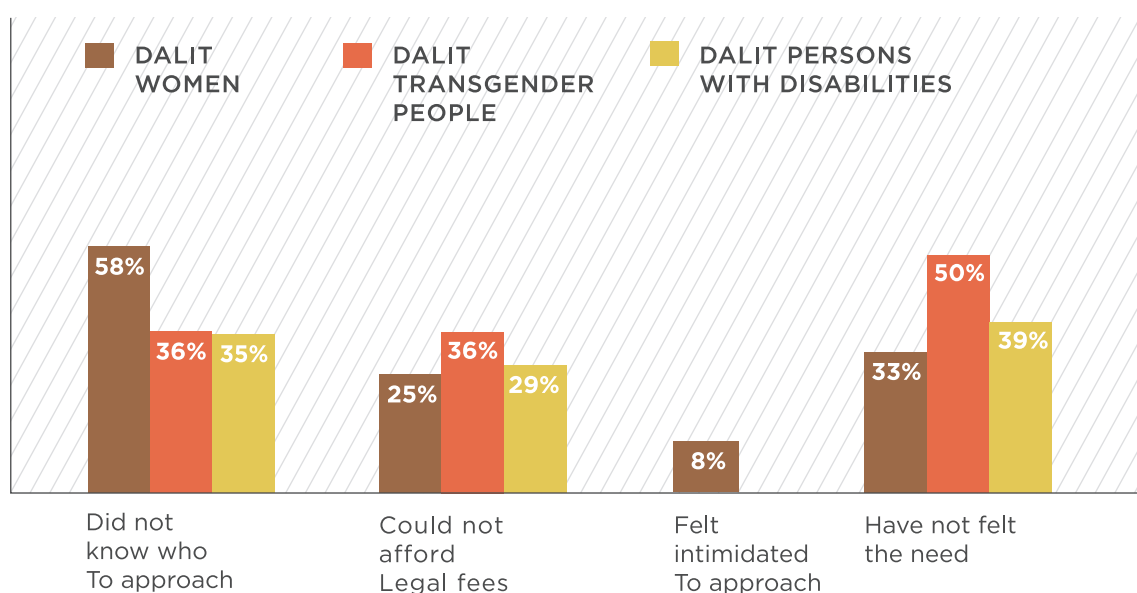




Among Dalit women and Dalit transgender persons, 33% and 47% respectively felt that they had a bad experience with their lawyer. This was surprising among Dalit transgender persons as in Fig 35, we noted that most Dalit transgender persons approached lawyers recommended by NGOs they were associated with.

While 35% Dalit transgender persons said they had a good experience, the proportion of Dalit women (11%) who received the legal assistance they wanted was significantly lesser. At the same time, 24% Dalit women said they did not interact with their lawyer much, in comparison to only 6% Dalit transgender persons who did not interact with their lawyer. The results among Dalit persons with disabilities were radically different – 69% said they received the legal assistance they required and had a good experience, and only 23% said they had a bad experience.

Fig 37 Why did you not approach anyone for legal assistance?

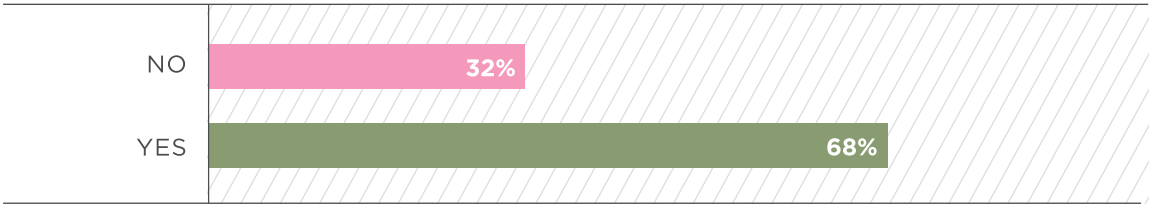


As over 30% of our Dalit respondents said that they have not approached a lawyer for legal assistance, we set out to understand the reasons for the same. Respondents were allowed to select more than one option for this question as well. Many Dalit respondents said that they have never required legal services – 33% Dalit women, 50% Dalit transgender persons and 39% Dalit persons with disabilities have not felt the need to approach counsel. 58% Dalit women said they did not know which lawyer to approach and 25% could not afford the legal fees. In fact, 8% also said that they felt intimidated to approach a lawyer. Among Dalit transgender persons, 36% said they did not know whom to approach for legal assistance and that they were unable to afford the fees. 29% and 35% Dalit persons with disabilities also said they did not know of a lawyer and could not pay the legal fees, respectively.

DALIT TRANSGENDER PERSONS AND ACCESS TO LEGAL SERVICES

The final questions in this section explored the experiences of Dalit transgender persons in accessing legal assistance.

Fig 38 Have you tried to legally change your name?



We asked our Dalit transgender respondents if they had tried to or had changed their name in identity documents. A significant 68% had either tried or completed the process of changing their name in their identity documents.

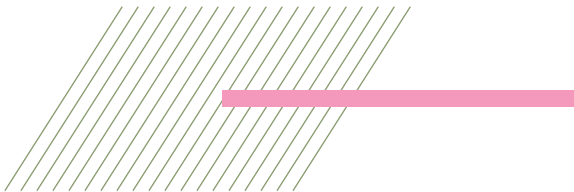


Fig 39 Reasons for not changing name (n = 5)

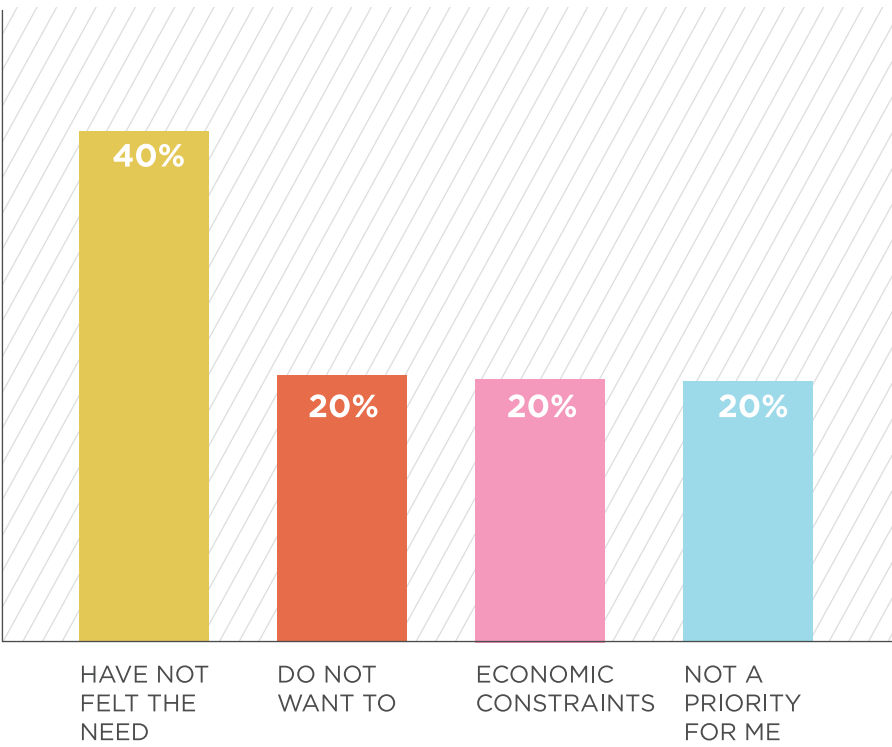
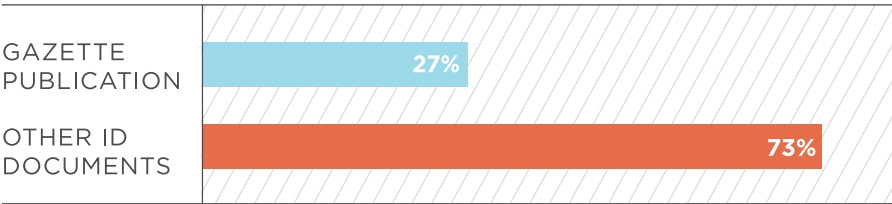


Fig 40 Process of completing change of name (n = 15)



Among the Dalit transgender respondents who had not changed their name, we were able to record the responses of only 5. 2 Dalit transgender persons (40%) did not feel the need to change their name and 1 (20%) did not want to change their name and did not think it was a priority. However, 1 Dalit transgender person (20%) could not change their name in their identity document as they were unable to afford it. Among the Dalit transgender persons who had changed their name in identity documents, 27% did so through a gazette publication. A majority 73% said that they used other identity documents in which their name had been changed to carry out change of name in their primary identity document.

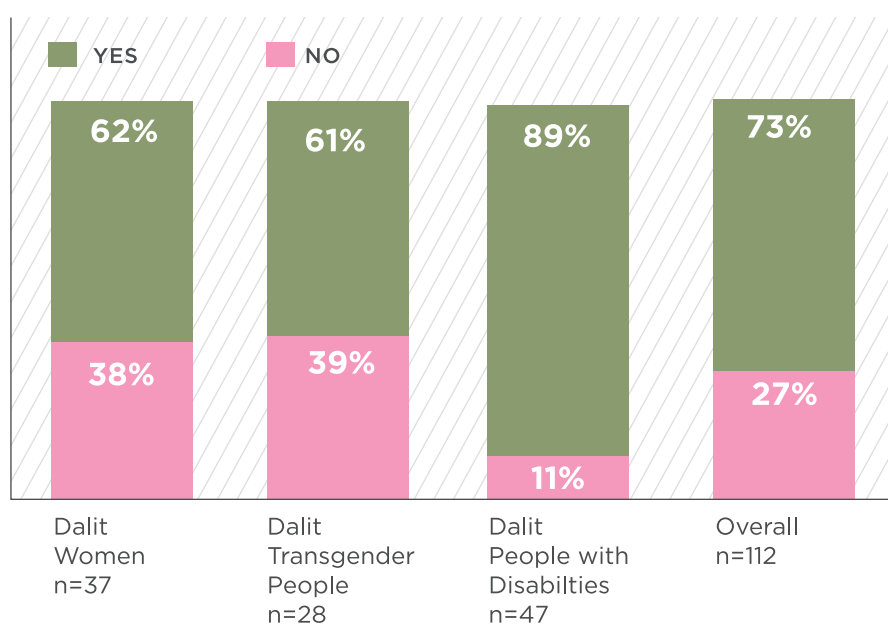
ACCESS TO public goods & services

In this section, we asked our Dalit respondents if they had accessed any welfare schemes or measures offered by the State in which they reside, and the nature of such schemes. In addition, we also tried to understand whether our Dalit respondents faced any physical barriers in accessing different State and private institutions as well as public spaces.

ACCESS TO WELFARE SCHEMES & MEASURES

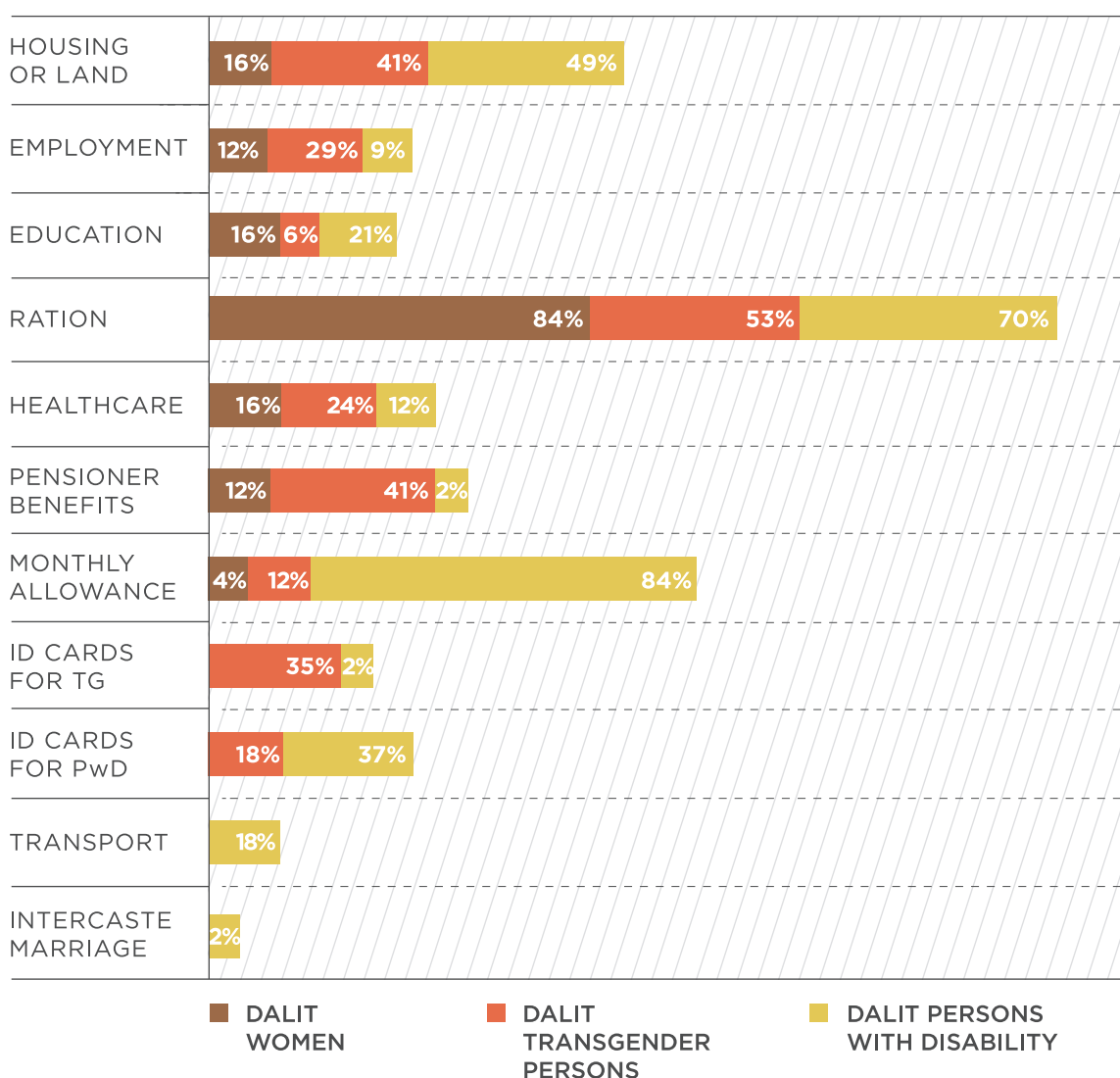
First, we asked our Dalit respondents if they were aware of any welfare schemes and measures offered by their State. 90% of our Dalit respondents were aware of targeted schemes and welfare measures that were being offered by the State. Among the three groups as well, there was a reasonably high level of awareness. 90% Dalit women and 96% Dalit persons with disabilities were aware of welfare measures being offered. However, in comparison, the level of awareness was lower among Dalit transgender persons – 77% knew of specific schemes and welfare programmes being offered by the State.

Fig 41 Are you currently availing the benefits of any government scheme(s)?



The proportion of Dalit respondents who accessed welfare schemes was lower than those who knew about different welfare schemes being offered. 73% Dalit respondents were availing benefits under Government schemes in comparison to 90% who were aware of such schemes. Around 60% Dalit women and Dalit transgender persons said they were currently availing schemes being offered by their State Government. Dalit persons with disabilities (89%) remained the group which accessed welfare schemes the most.

Fig 42 For what purpose are you availing the benefits of the scheme(s)?



Among Dalit women, 84% had availed of a ration card. However, very few Dalit women had accessed other welfare measures. Only 16% had availed of subsidised housing and schemes in relation to education and healthcare. Even fewer Dalit women (12%) had accessed schemes dealing with employment and pensioner benefits.

More Dalit transgender persons appeared to avail of State welfare schemes and measures. 53% had procured a ration card, and 41% were availing pensioner benefits and free/subsidised housing. 29% had accessed employment benefits such as low-interest loans for self-employment and 24% had insurance provided by the State. Surprisingly, only 35% had obtained an identity card provided to transgender persons. 18% Dalit transgender persons with disabilities had procured the identity cards provided to persons with disabilities. Schemes in relation to education (6%) and the monthly allowance (2%) were accessed by the smallest proportion of Dalit transgender persons.

84% Dalit persons with disabilities were availing of monthly allowances provided by the State Government, and 70% had procured a ration card. 49% had accessed free/subsidised housing schemes and 37% had procured the identity card for persons with disabilities. 21% Dalit persons with disabilities had availed of scholarships for education and the free bus/train passes provided to persons with disabilities. 9% of Dalit persons with disabilities availed of schemes in relation to employment, 2% for pension benefits and 2% for inter-caste marriages.

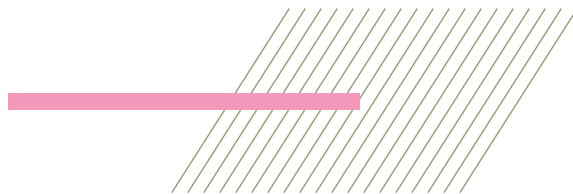
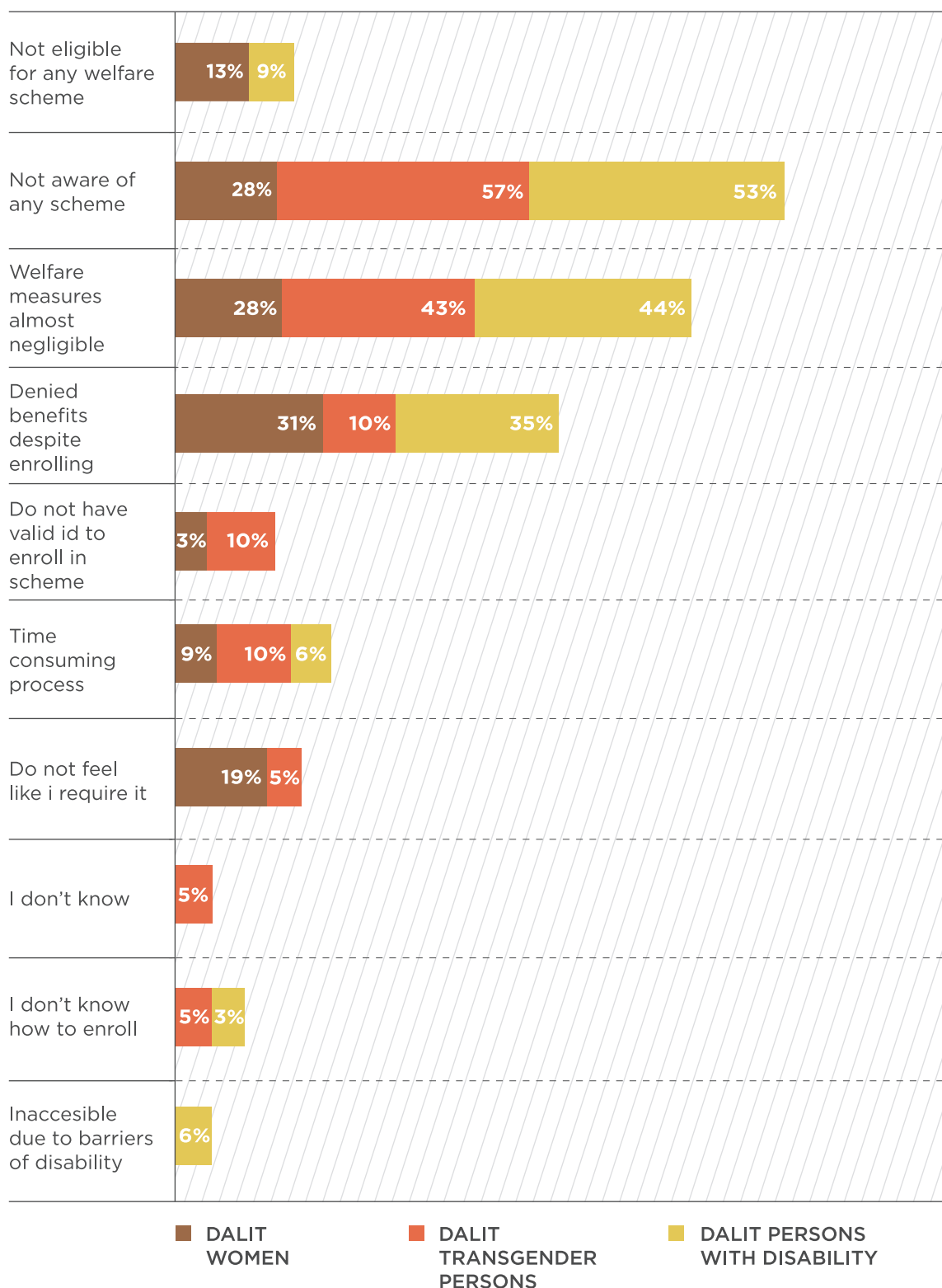
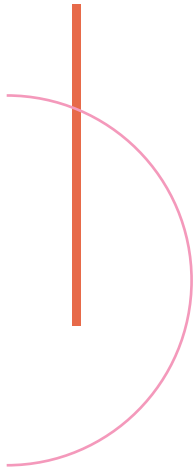


Fig 43 Reason for not enrolling in any state welfare schemes

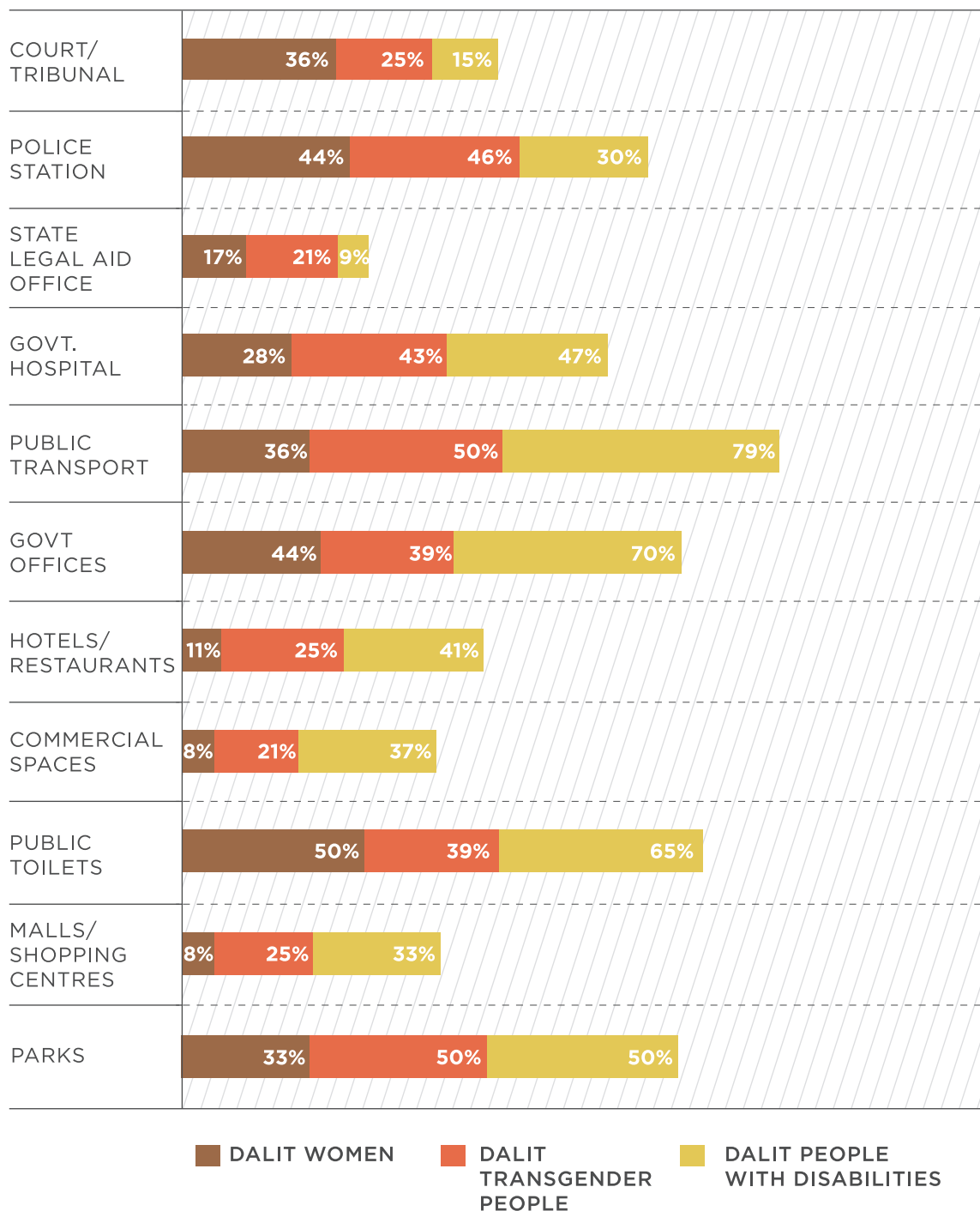


The main reasons offered for not availing welfare schemes was that our Dalit respondents were not aware of the schemes being offered. 28% Dalit women did not know of the schemes being offered. 31% said they were denied benefits despite enrolling for them. 19% Dalit women said they did not require any of the benefits being offered under the State welfare schemes and 13% were of the view that they were not eligible for them. 9% Dalit women felt that the process of availing the benefits is time consuming which was a disincentive and 3% did not possess the identity documents required to avail of the welfare measures. 57% Dalit transgender persons were not aware of the schemes being offered and 43% felt that the available schemes were negligible. 10% were denied benefits despite enrolling, did not have identity documents or felt that the process was time intensive. 5% Dalit transgender persons said that they did not require schemes or did not know how to enrol for them. 53% Dalit persons with disabilities were unaware of welfare schemes and 44% felt that in any event, the benefits offered were negligible. 35% were denied benefits despite enrolling.



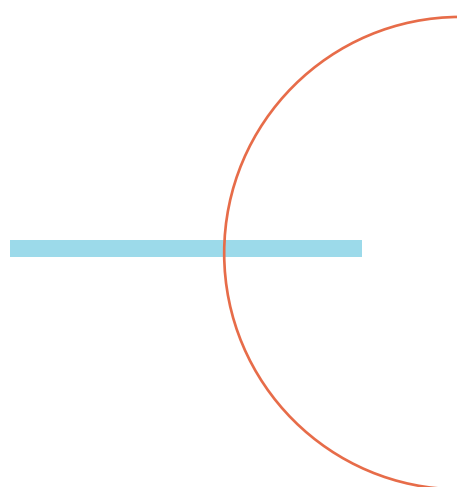
ACCESS TO PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND SPACES

Fig 44 Difficulties in accessing institutions and public spaces



The final question we asked our Dalit respondents was whether they faced any barriers in accessing different institutions and public places. Respondents could choose as many options as were applicable to them. Dalit women found it most difficult to access public toilets (50%), police stations (44%) and Government offices (44%). 36% said they faced barriers in accessing courts and public transport. 33% Dalit women said they faced difficulty while visiting parks and other similar public spaces. 28% had similar experiences in Government hospitals and 17% in State legal aid offices. Around 10% Dalit women also said they found it difficult to visit commercial establishments, restaurants and malls. 50% Dalit transgender persons said they faced most barriers to access in public transport and public spaces like parks, police stations (46%) and Government hospitals (43%). 39% said they found it difficult to

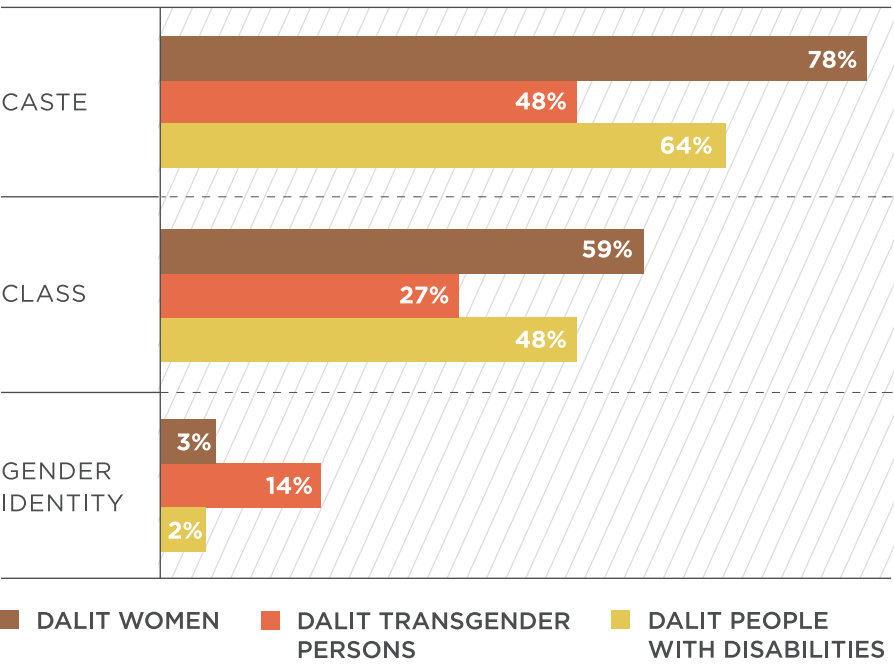
visit Government offices as well as public toilets, and 21% had a similar experience at the State legal aid office. Courts, malls, commercial establishments and restaurants were inaccessible to around 25% of Dalit transgender persons. Among Dalit persons with disabilities, public transport was largely inaccessible for 79% of them. 70% found it difficult to Government offices, noting that they were made to visit the offices multiple times even for a simple task despite their disability. A substantial 65%, especially respondents with locomotor disabilities, said they faced difficulties in using public toilets. 47% faced barriers in accessing Government hospitals where they faced similar difficulties. One half of Dalit respondents with disabilities said that parks and most public spaces were not disabled friendly. 41% stated that restaurants were inaccessible, 37% stated that commercial establishments and 33% stated that malls were inaccessible.



EXPERIENCE DUE TO caste & skin colour

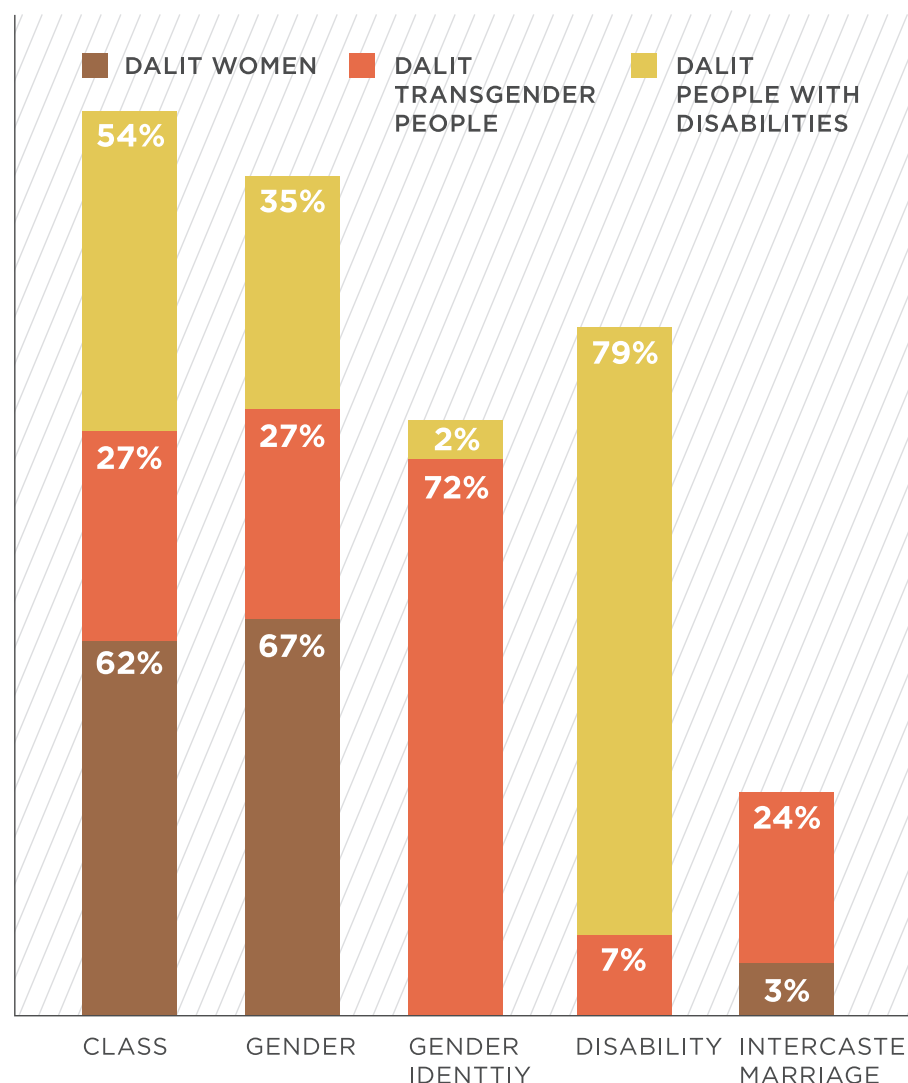
In this section, we try to understand how caste identity impacts the experience of discrimination. In particular, we explore experiences of discrimination in the context of intra-caste dynamics.

Fig 45 Has anyone associated your skin colour with your identity?



Our Dalit respondents said that people used their skin colour to identify their caste, class and on some occasions, even their gender identity. 78% Dalit women, 48% Dalit transgender persons and 64% Dalit persons with disabilities said that people have used their skin colour to identify their caste. Similarly, 59% Dalit women, 27% Dalit transgender persons and 48% Dalit persons with disabilities said that people use skin colour to associate our Dalit respondents with a 'lower class' background. More Dalit transgender persons (14%) felt that people used their skin colour to identify their gender identity when compared to Dalit women (3%) and Dalit persons with disabilities (3%).

Fig 46 Differential treatment by members of the same caste



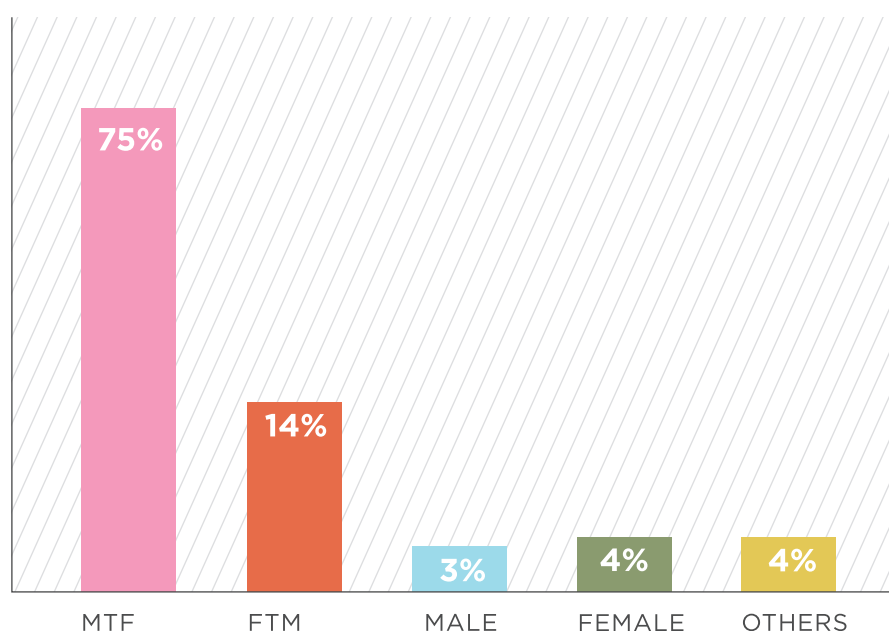
Most Dalit respondents also said that they have faced differential treatment from members of their own caste group due to other identities like class, gender, gender identity, disability, and marriage status. 62% of Dalit women said that they had been treated differently by members of their own caste due to their class and 67% because of their gender. For Dalit transgender persons, their gender identity (72%) was the main reason for differential treatment by members of their caste. 27% said that they were treated differently due to their class and gender. 24% attributed differential treatment to their decision to enter into an inter-caste marriage. Dalit persons with disabilities primarily attributed intra-caste differential treatment to their disability (79%). One Dalit respondent with disability told us that they were excluded from functions and ceremonies due to their disability for being 'inauspicious'.

EXPERIENCES OF intersectional discrimination based on gender identity

From our qualitative study of experiences of intersectional discrimination, we observed that transgender persons faced discriminatory treatment both inside and outside the home. While we have studied the experiences of our Dalit transgender respondents at different sites such as educational institutions, employment spaces, hospitals, police stations etc earlier in this chapter, we now focus on their experiences with transitioning and of discrimination within the home.

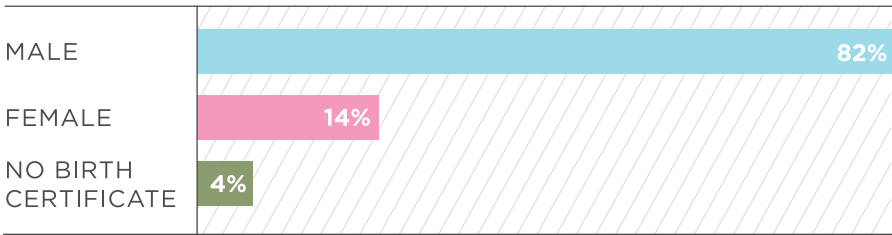
GENDER IDENTITY OF DALIT TRANSGENDER RESPONDENTS

Fig 47 If you identify as transgender, what do you identify as?



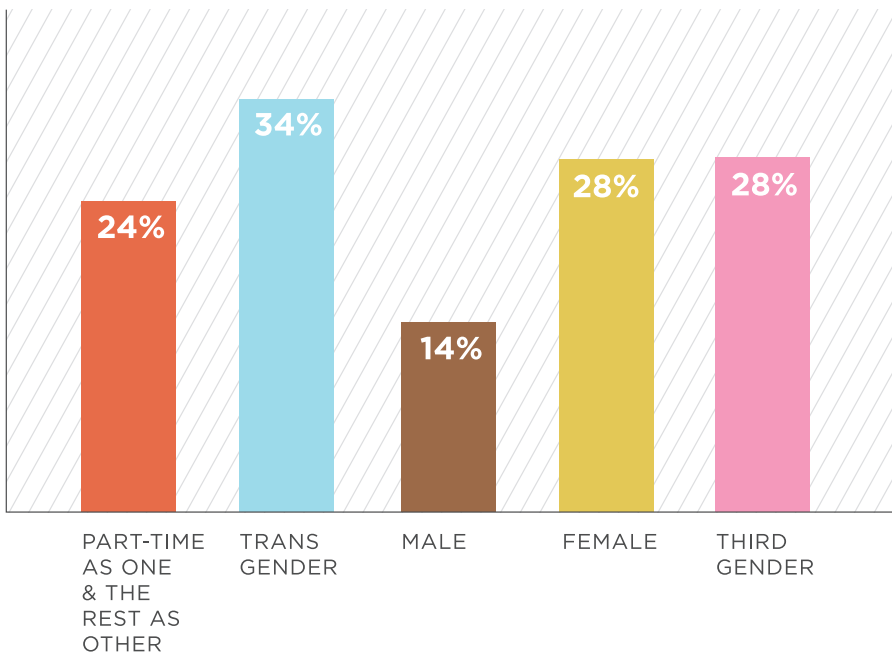
Among the respondents who identified as transgender or gender non-conforming, three-fourth (75%) identified as male-to-female transgender persons. 14% identified as female-to-male transgender persons and 4% identified as other. Further, 3% and 4% of Dalit transgender respondents identified as male and female respectively.

Fig 48 Sex assigned in birth certificate



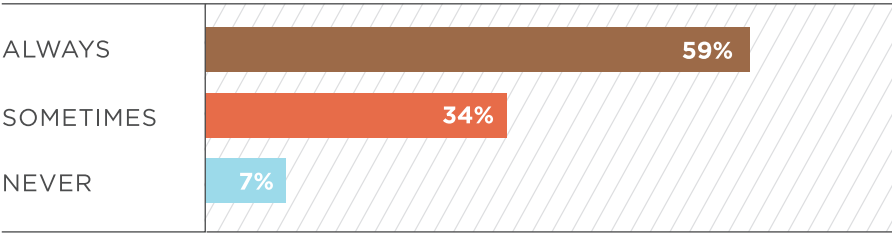
82% of the Dalit transgender respondents said that their birth certificate reflected their sex as male, which aligns with the fact that 75% of Dalit transgender respondents said that they identified as male-to-female transgender persons. 14% said their birth certificate reflected their sex as female. 4% said they do not have a birth certificate.

Fig 49 Primary gender identity



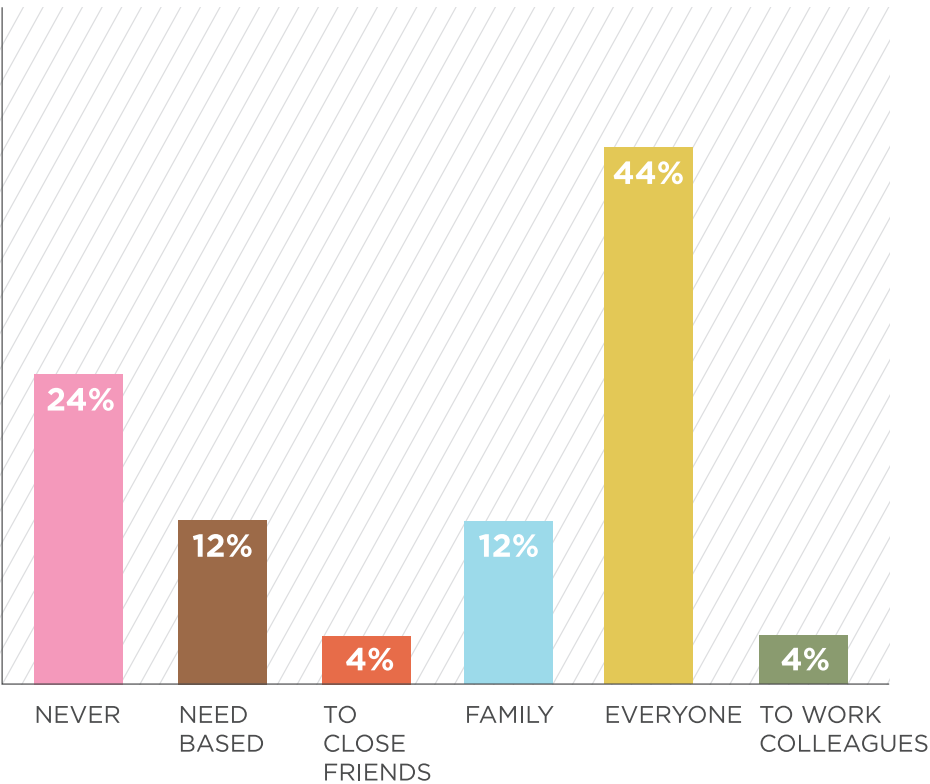
We asked our Dalit transgender respondents what their primary gender identity is at present. 14% said they identified as male and 28% identified as female. Further, 28% identified as third gender, while 34% identified as transgender. 24% of the Dalit transgender respondents said they identified as partly as one gender and partly as another gender.

Fig 50 Can people tell you are a transgender person?



When asked if persons interacting with our Dalit transgender persons could identify if they were transgender / gender non-conforming, more than half (59%) answered in the affirmative. Only 7% said that others could not tell if they were transgender / gender non-conforming while 34% said that others were able to identify their gender identity occasionally.

Fig 51 Do you tell people that you are a transgender person?

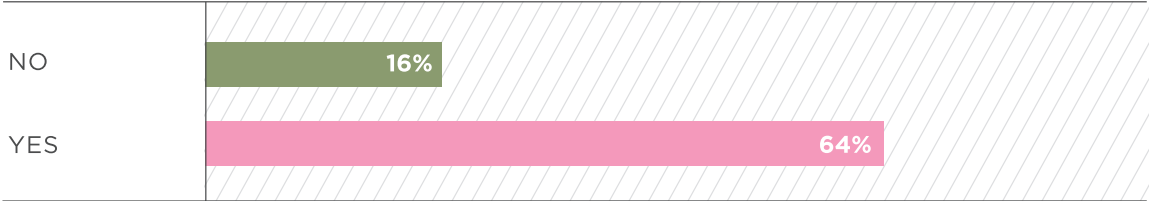


We asked our Dalit transgender respondents if they revealed their gender identity to others. A substantial 44% said that they told others that they are a transgender person while 24% said they never reveal this information. Some respondents revealed their status as a transgender person to friends and family - 12% have told their family, 4% have told their close friends, and 4% have informed their colleagues. 12% also said they reveal information about their gender identity depending on the situation.

STATUS OF IDENTITY DOCUMENTS

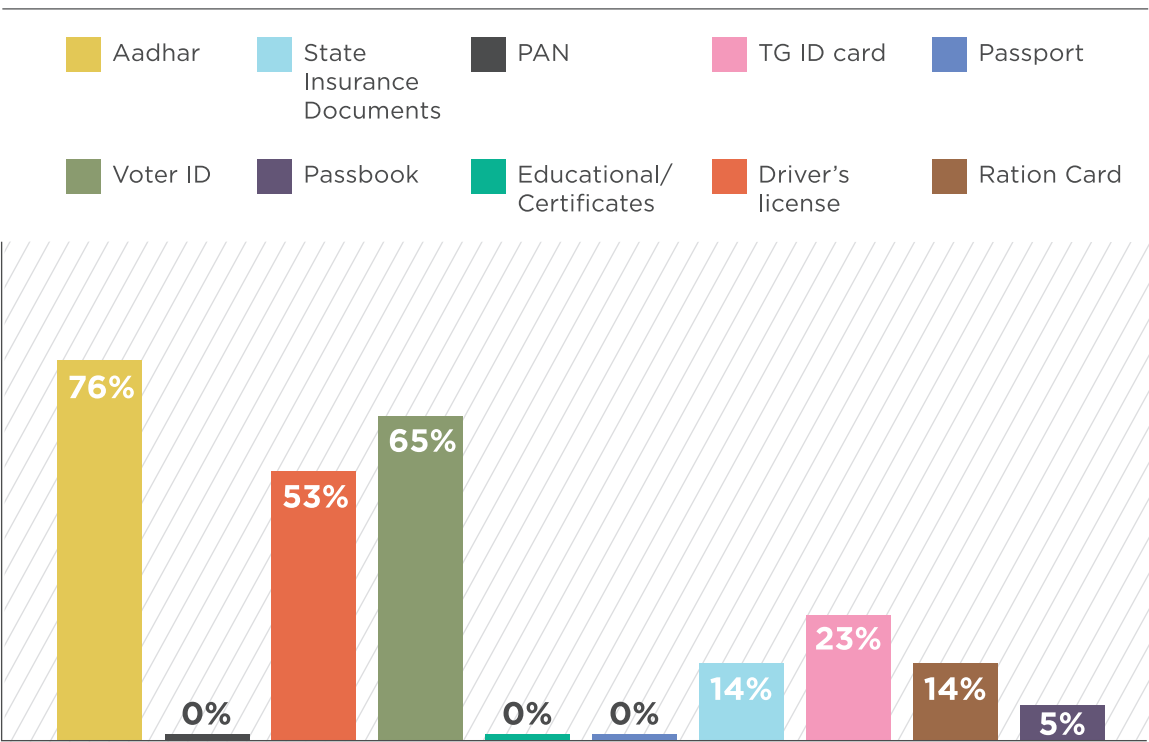
We asked our Dalit transgender respondents questions on whether they have taken steps to change their identity documents to match their chosen gender identity and the nature of documents where the change has been carried out.

Fig 52 Do you have identity documents that match your gender identity? (n = 20)



64% of our Dalit transgender respondents stated that they had identity documents which reflected their chosen gender identity, while 16% did not possess such documents. However, we were unable to record responses from 9 Dalit transgender respondents.

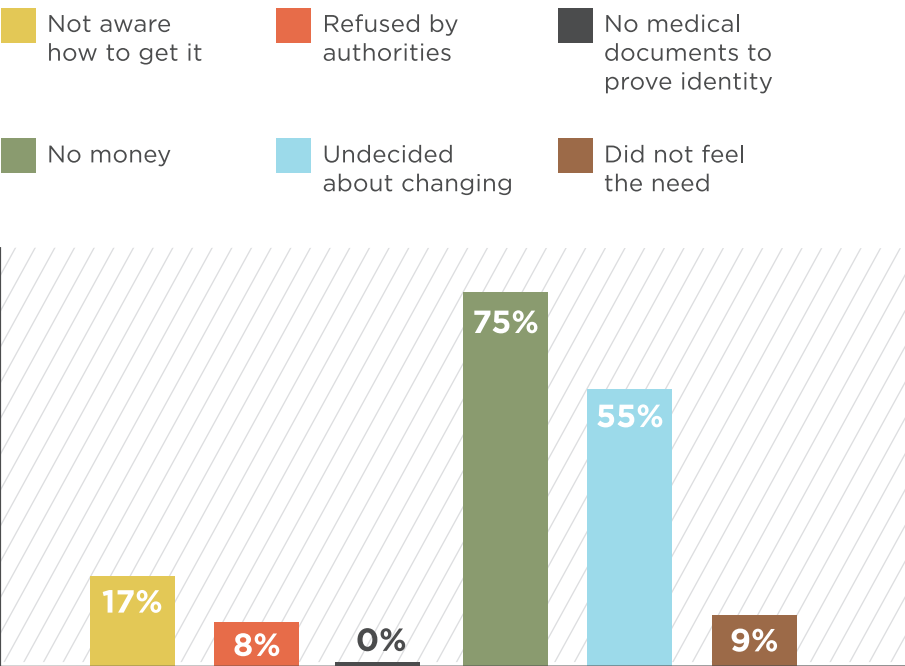
Fig 53 Which of the documents have you changed you name and gender in?



When we asked our Dalit transgender respondents to tell us in which documents they had carried out their name and gender change, the answers were revealing. Respondents could choose more than one option. The Aadhaar card (76%) and Voter identity card (65%) were the two

primary documents in which most Dalit transgender respondents had changed their gender. 53% had changed their gender identity in their driving license as well.

Fig 54 Why do you not have identity documents for your chosen gender identity?

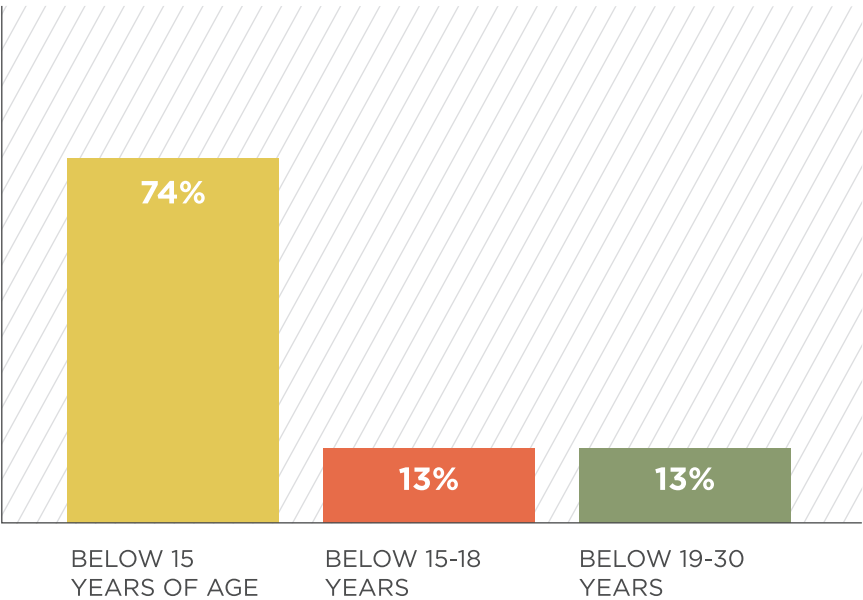


As 16% of our Dalit transgender respondents said that their identity documents did not reflect their chosen gender identity, we inquired about the reasons behind this and respondents could give any number of reasons. 75% of Dalit transgender respondents stated that they did not have financial resources to carry out the change, 55% said they were still unsure about whether to change their identity documents and 9% did not feel the need. 17% were unaware of the procedure to change their documents and 8% were refused the change by the authorities in charge.

EXPERIENCE WITH TRANSITIONING

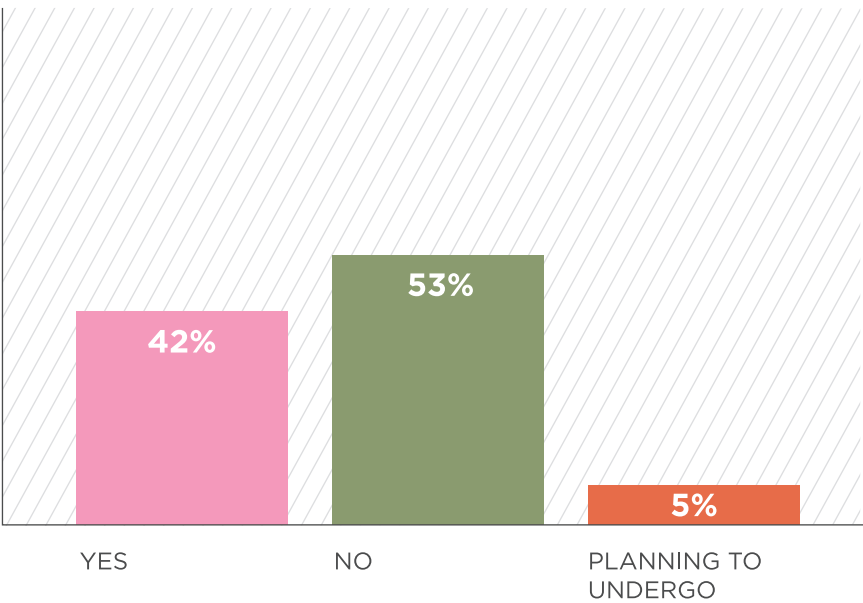
The next set of questions to our Dalit transgender respondents focused on their experience with transitioning, including undergoing any medical procedures including Sex Reassignment Surgery (“SRS”).

Fig 55 Age at which chosen gender identity was adopted (n = 23)



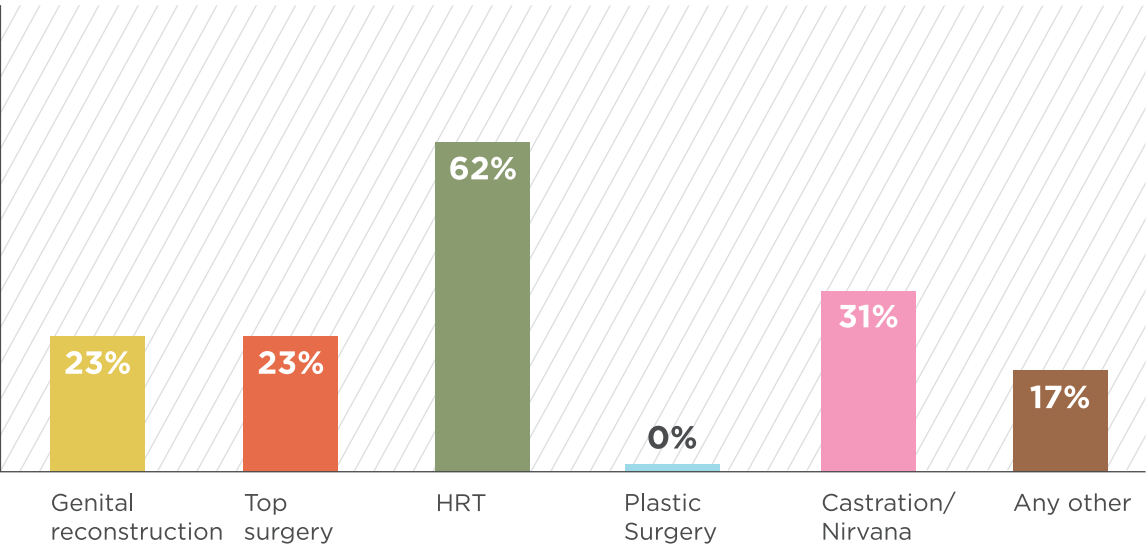
Most of our Dalit transgender respondents (74%) had adopted their chosen gender identity before they turned 15 years old, while 13% did so between the age of 15-18 years, and 13% between 19-30 years. These responses are interesting as it shows that persons decide their gender identity before the age of majority.

Fig 56 Have you undergone medical transition or SRS?



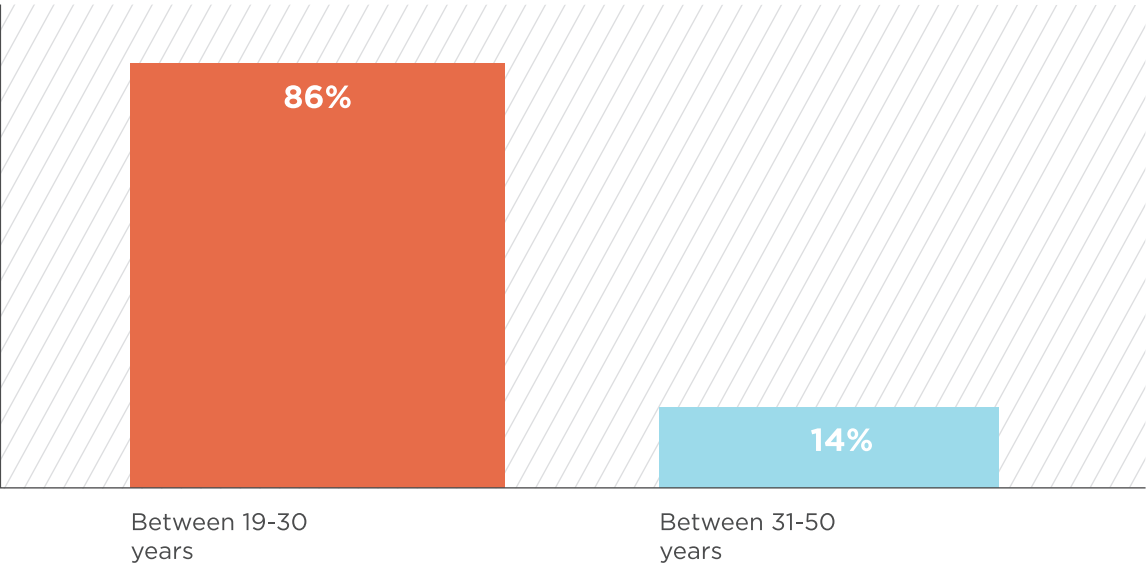
Although 74% of our Dalit transgender respondents had adopted their chosen gender identity before they turned 15 years old, 53% had not undergone SRS. Less than half (42%) had medically transitioned or undergone SRS. 5% said they had not medically transitioned yet but intended to.

Fig 57 What treatments have you received as part of the SRS or otherwise?



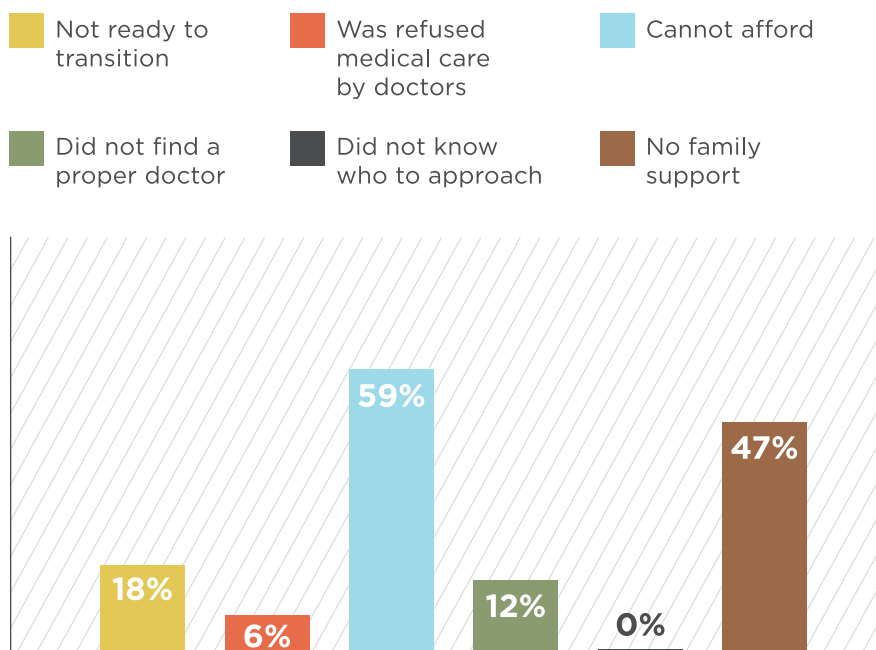
When asked what treatments they had taken for transitioning, 62% stated that they had undergone hormone replacement therapy, 31% had not formally undergone medical procedures but had undergone castration, 23% had undergone genital reconstruction and 23% had completed top surgery.

Fig 58 Age at which SRS undergone (n = 13)



86% Dalit transgender respondents had undergone these procedures between the ages of 19-30 years and 14% had completed these procedures between 31-50 years. Thus although transgender respondents identified their gender identity at younger ages, they underwent SRS procedures only after the age of 18.

Fig 59 Why did you decide not to undergo medical transition?



When we asked the respondents for the reasons as to why they did not undergo medical reassignment, they could give as many reasons as they wanted. 59% attributed this to financial difficulties and 47% said they could not undergo medical procedures to transition due to the lack of support from family members. 18% felt they were not ready to transition, while 12% said they were unable to find a doctor who could complete the procedure. 6% stated that they were refused medical treatment by doctors.

EXPERIENCE OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE FAMILY AND SOCIETY

The final set of questions to our Dalit transgender respondents pertained to their experience within the natal family and society before and after transitioning, and particularly whether they have experienced any form of assault in the recent past.

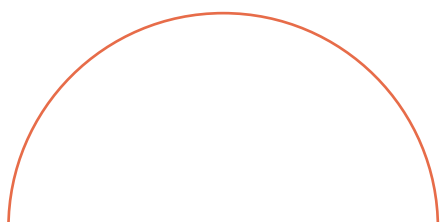
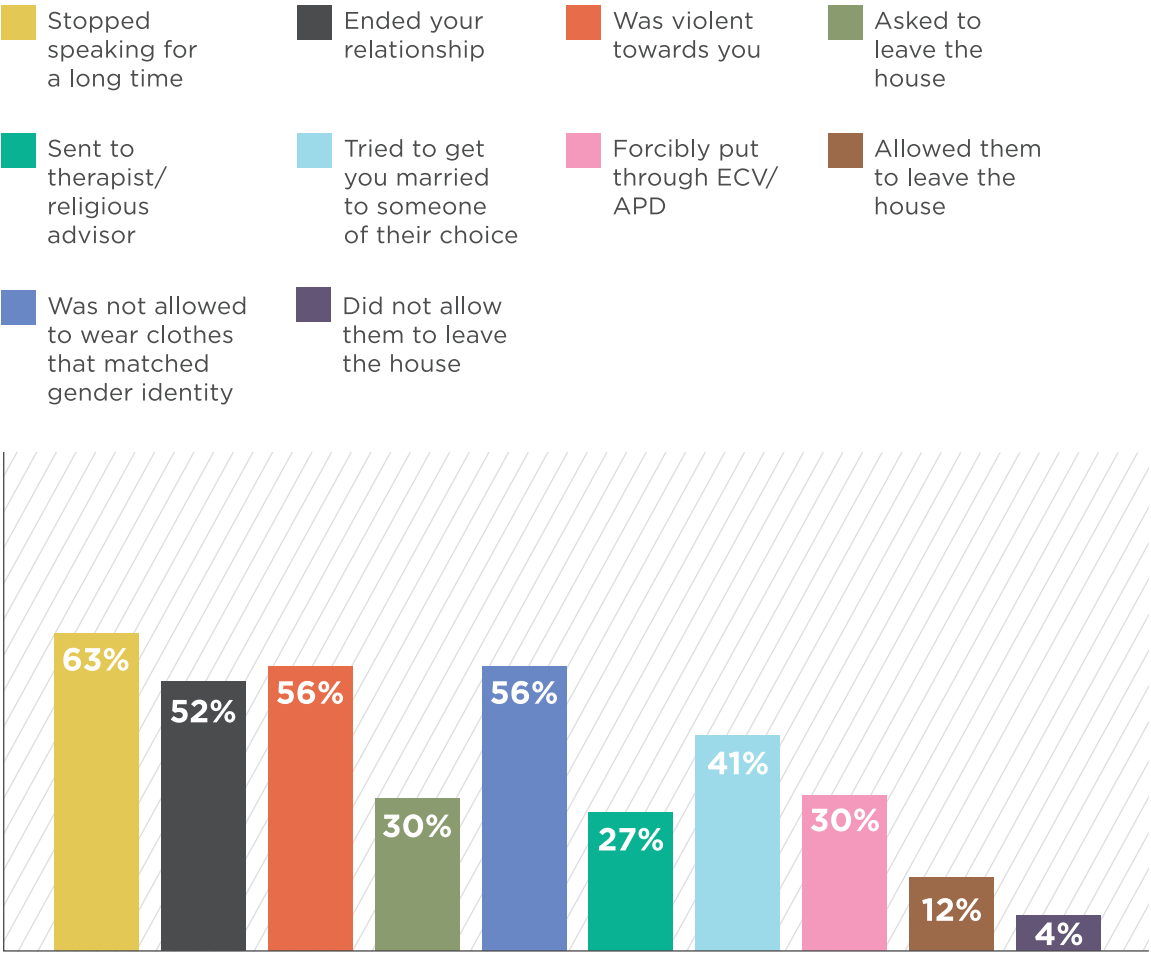


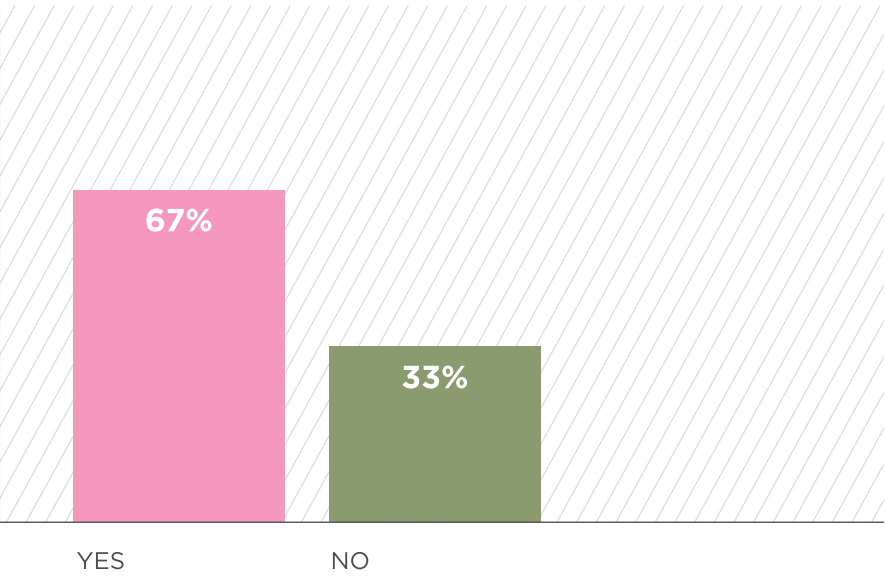
Fig 60 Did any member of your family do any of the following because of your gender identity?



We asked our Dalit transgender respondents about their family’s reaction and behaviour towards them due to their chosen gender identity. Respondents could choose as many options as applicable to them. Families of most Dalit transgender respondents responded to their chosen gender identity by cutting off contact with them. 63% said that their family members stopped talking to them and 52% said their relatives ended their relationship with them. 30% were

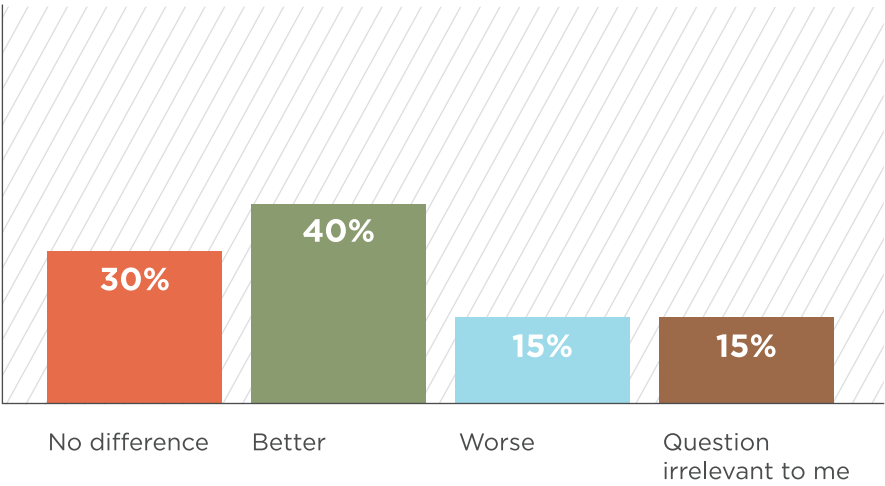
also asked to leave the house by their family. 56% also faced physical violence from their family members. 56% were not allowed to wear clothes of their choice which expressed their gender identity. Families of 41% of our respondents also tried to get them married to someone against their will. Some families tried a variety of procedures like electro-convulsive therapy (30%) and were sent to religious advisers (27%) against their will in an attempt to ‘treat’ their condition.

Fig 61 Did you run away from home? (n = 24)



Due to the violent and invasive reactions of many families of our Dalit transgender respondents, 67% of them had, in fact, tried to run away from home.

Fig 62 How did people treat you after you transitioned? (n = 21)



We also tried to ascertain whether our Dalit transgender respondents faced any differences in treatment from society after they medically transitioned into their chosen gender identity. While 40% said that they were treated better, 30% said they felt no difference in the way they were treated before and after their medical transition. However, 15% felt they were treated worse than before as people could identify that they had transitioned to their chosen gender.

VIOLENCE AND ASSAULT

Fig 63 Have you experienced any form of assault in the last two years?

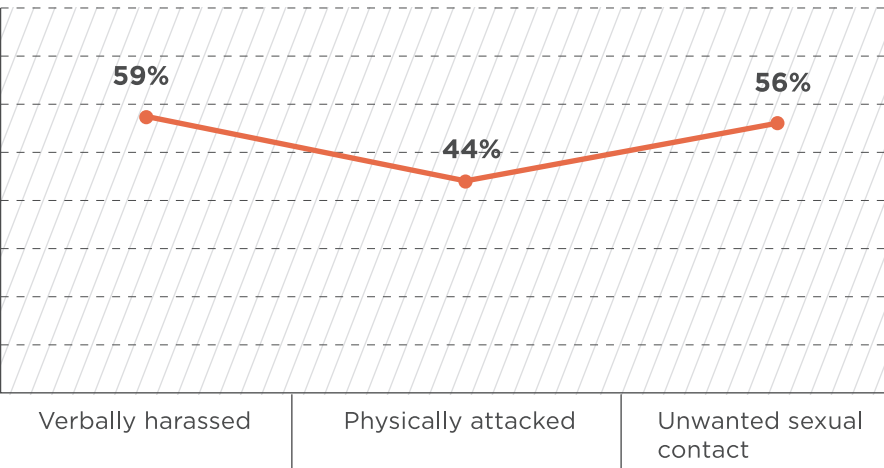
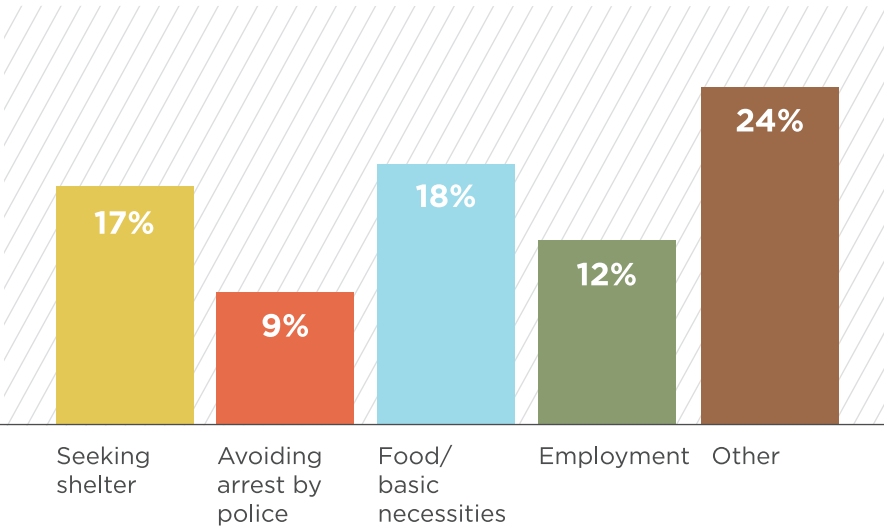
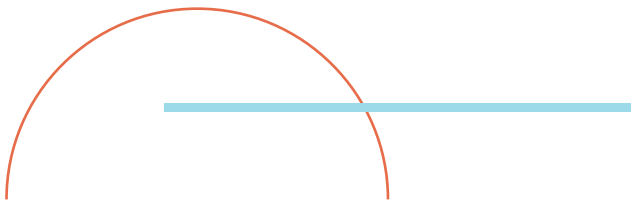


Fig 64 Have you been forced to engage in sexual activity for any reason?



The final questions to our Dalit transgender respondents inquired into experiences of assault and harassment. In the last two years, more than 55% of our Dalit transgender respondents had been verbally harassed and had faced unwanted and unsolicited sexual contact. 44% had also been physically abused.

Further, many Dalit transgender respondents were also forced to engage in sexual activity for different reasons, such as while seeking shelter (17%), to avoid arrest by police (9%), for food and other basic provisions (18%) and for employment (12%). 24% also said they were forced to engage in sexual activity for other reasons, such as by older family members during their childhood. All of this amounts to sexual assault.

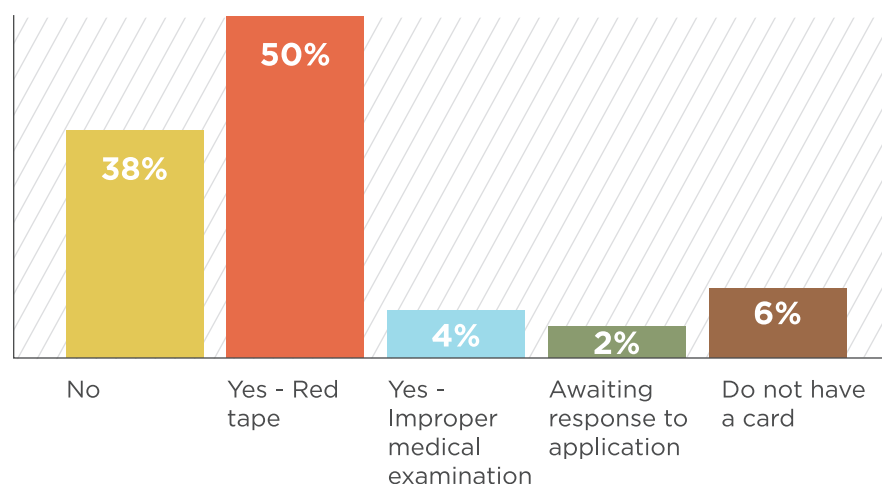


EXPERIENCES OF

dalit persons with disabilities

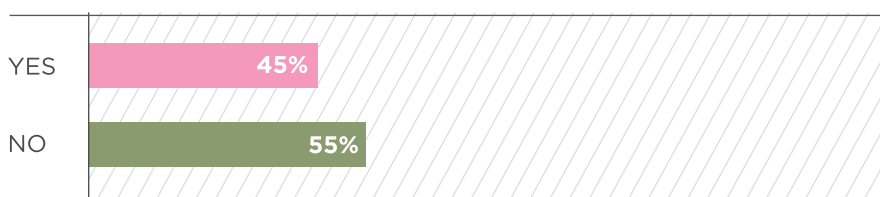
Our final set of questions were directed towards our Dalit respondents with disabilities to delve further into some concerns that are relevant for persons with disabilities. For this section, the responses of 4 Dalit transgender persons have also been accounted for under the broader category of 'Dalit persons with disabilities'.

Fig 65 Did you face any difficulty in obtaining a disability card? (n = 47)



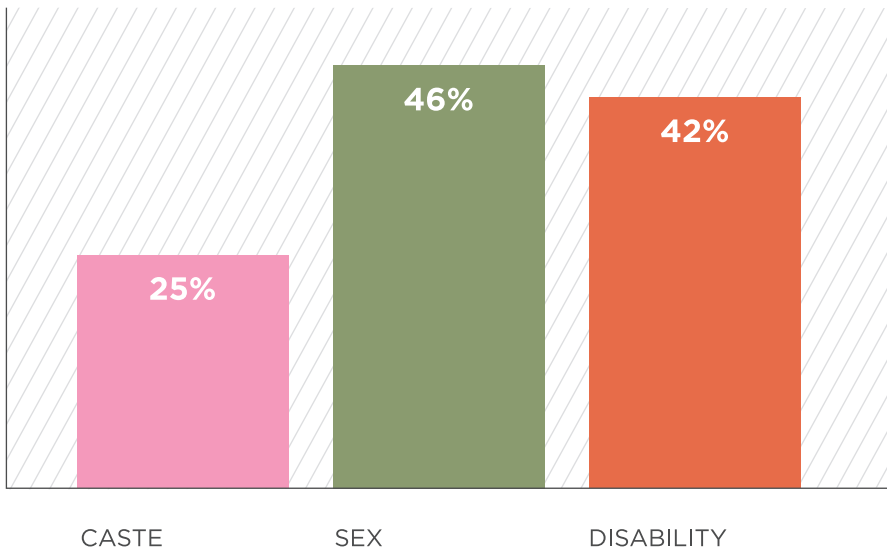
Our first question to our respondents was whether they had faced any difficulty in obtaining a disability identity card. 50% had faced difficulty in obtaining the disability card. 38% of our Dalit respondents with disabilities said they did not face any difficulty and 6% did not possess a disability identity card.

Fig 66 Did you have access to a proper toilet in your school/ workplace? (n = 22)

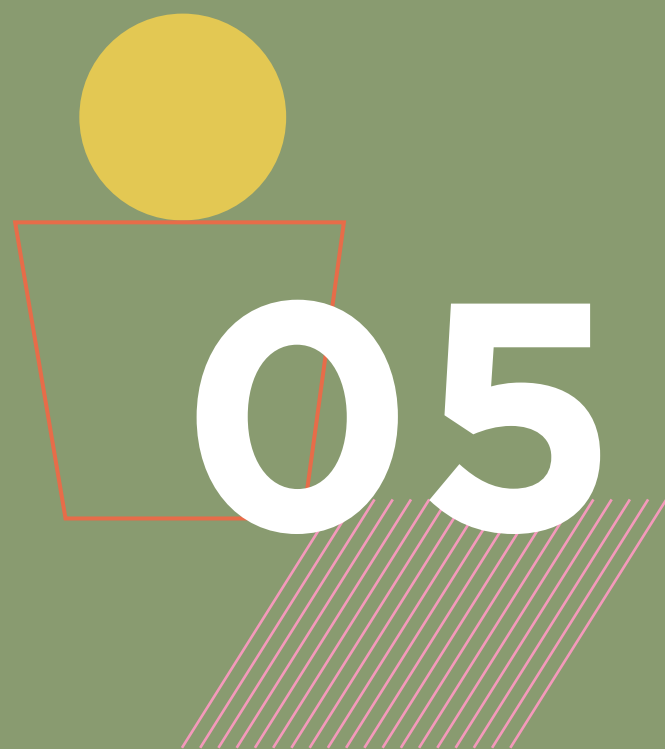


Next, we asked if Dalit persons with disabilities had access to a proper toilet in their school or workplace. We received clear responses from only 22 employed persons. 55% of Dalit persons with disabilities said they did not have access to proper toilet in their workplace.

Fig 67 Do you feel you are more vulnerable to sexual violence due to your identity? (n = 24)



Out of 52 Dalit persons with disabilities, we received an answer to this question from only 24 respondents. Respondents were allowed to choose more than one option for this question as we recognised that vulnerability to sexual violence could be on account of a variety of reasons and operate independently of and in combination with each other. Most Dalit persons with disabilities felt that they were vulnerable to sexual violence because of their sex and disability – while 46% attributed it to their gender, 42% attributed it to disability. 25% of Dalit respondents with disabilities felt that they were vulnerable to sexual violence due to their caste. We also asked our Dalit respondents with disabilities if their class or gender identity made them vulnerable to sexual violence. However, no respondent attributed vulnerability to either of these identities.





Conclusions & Recommendations

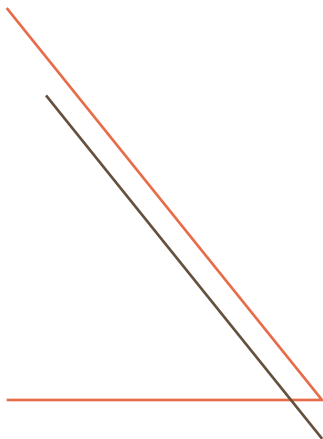


This study was undertaken to understand the experience of intersectional discrimination and to examine whether the experience of discrimination of persons from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was heightened and somehow different or more complex when the persons were women, were transgender or had a disability, and how that experience was different. From the qualitative and quantitative study it is very clear that the intersectionality of caste with gender, transgender status and disability alters the experience of discrimination significantly.

THIS REPORT SHOWS IN PARTICULAR THAT

- 01** 12% of our Dalit respondents had received no formal education and those who received education narrated personal experiences from their educational institutions of students from SC / ST backgrounds being denied opportunities, subjected to segregated seating in schools and restricted from interacting freely with their classmates. Our interviews revealed that students from SC / ST communities were made to sit on the floor or sit separately from other students. Dalit and Adivasi women face more discrimination in access to primary education when compared to other categories.
- 02** Dalit Transgender persons faced the most amount of violence in school.
- 03** 67% of Dalit persons with disabilities faced difficulties in accessing facilities in schools, such as toilets.
- 04** 32% of our Dalit respondents were unemployed.
- 05** 52% Dalit respondents with disabilities were unemployed at the time of the survey and 21% highlighted the lack of accessible workspaces.
- 06** Dalit transgender persons were especially vulnerable to sexual violence at work and 33% reported sexual assault and harassment at work.
- 07** Dalit women in particular faced blatant casteism and sexism from their employers and co-workers and over 30% Dalit women reported verbal harassment.
- 08** 63% of Dalit respondents who faced discrimination did not choose to report the incident as the avenues for grievance redressal were limited
- 09** 24% Dalit transgender persons and 23% Dalit persons with disabilities reported that they were denied medical treatment.





- 10 Skin colour was associated with caste and Dalit women faced harassment and discrimination at work due to their skin colour and caste identity,
- 11 Dalit women and Dalit transgender persons faced harassment in their interactions with police officials. Over 30% Dalit women and Dalit persons with disabilities were verbally abused by the police.
- 12 23% Dalit transgender persons were forcibly denuded by the police and 19% were sexually assaulted when they approached the police seeking assistance.
- 13 Over 70% of Dalit persons with disabilities said they had difficulty in accessing government offices and public transportation facilities.
- 14 Dalit transgender persons faced most barriers to access in public transport and public spaces like parks (50%), police stations (46%) and Government hospitals (43%).
- 15 In the last two years alone, 56% of our Dalit transgender respondents were forced to engage in sexual activity to access shelter, food, gain employment.
- 16 56% of Dalit transgender respondents reported having faced violence or exclusion from the family due to their gender identity and as a result, 67% also left their natal families. Families of 41% of our respondents also tried to get them married to someone against their will.

OBSERVATIONS

- 01 The qualitative and quantitative phases of the study on caste discrimination have underscored the aggravated forms of discrimination faced by those who fall at the intersections of multiple marginalised identities.
- 02 Existing laws on caste, disability and gender discrimination are not adequate to deal with the forms of discrimination faced by people in their daily lives. These legislations do not tackle the compounded intersectional discrimination and violence that people at the intersections of caste, gender and disability face.
- 03 Even the legislation that is enacted is not implemented for the most marginalised. The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009 is not being implemented strongly for Dalit children, especially Dalit girls. The law on sexual harassment at the workplace is not implemented as most of the respondents stated that their complaints were not taken seriously.

- 04** There is no legislation that addresses discrimination in private employment and the private sector generally.
-
- 05** The obligation to make reasonable accommodations for persons with disabilities has not been extended to private organisations in a rigorous manner under the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016 (RPD Act), which poses an additional challenge to integrating persons with disabilities into the workforce.
-
- 06** The rights of transgender persons are not protected by any statute and corresponding duties have not been placed on public authorities. We noted in this study that transgender persons report the most frequent incidence of violence from police officials.
-
- 07** Apart from the duty not to act negligently such as under the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 (PoA Act), equality and non-discrimination laws in India have not placed any other strict anti-discrimination duty on public authorities nor are there duties of non-discrimination on the basis of caste on private actors.



THE NEED FOR an equality law that addresses intersectional discrimination

This study has demonstrated that intersectional discrimination can take different forms, from verbal abuse and sexual assault to differential treatment and systematic exclusion. We noted that a significant number of our Dalit respondents had never received formal education and were unemployed at the time the survey was conducted or had been denied medical care. Despite this, there is no law in India that addresses discrimination in private employment or the health sector. The rights of transgender persons are not protected by any statute and corresponding duties have not been placed on public authorities.

At present, the Indian legal landscape consists of a motley collection of laws that address equality and non-discrimination of different vulnerable groups, such as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989, the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act 2016, and the Sexual Harassment of Women at the Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013, to name a few. However, these legislations have limited scope, different duty bearing

authorities, varying remedies and fora and these are not exhaustive legislations. These loopholes and their ineffective implementation have resulted in the sustained exclusion of vulnerable groups from society.

Most importantly, this study and the experiences of the respondents alerts us to the gaps in the legal landscape and points us to the need of the hour. We need a single and comprehensive equality and anti-discrimination legislation that recognises discrimination on one or more grounds, covers various potential sites of discrimination, clearly identifies duty bearers, extends to the private sphere, fashions appropriate remedies for violation and imposes positive anti-discrimination duties on the State. It is only when there is such an overarching equality legislation that addresses discrimination faced by people due to caste, disability, sex, gender identity and many other grounds in the private and public sector and in all fields, such as education, employment, health care, public services, legal aid, etc., that we would have the opportunity to ensure equality for all.

APPENDIX - SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

DEMOGRAPHICS

- 01** What is your age? _____
- 02** Which of the following States are you currently a resident of?
- a. Karnataka
 - b. Andhra Pradesh
 - c. Tamil Nadu
 - d. Kerala
 - e. Other (Please Specify)
- _____
- 03** What is your marital status?
- a. Married
 - b. Single
 - c. Divorced
 - d. Widowed
 - e. Living with a partner
 - f. Other (Please Specify)
- _____
- 04** What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?
- a. Primary school
 - b. High school
 - c. 10th pass
 - d. 12th pass
 - e. Undergraduate Degree
 - f. Master's Degree
 - g. Vocational training / diploma
 - h. Professional degree
 - i. Doctorate
- _____
- 05** What is your current household income? _____
- _____
- 06** Which of the following gender do you identify as? (Please mark all the applicable)
- a. Male
 - b. Female
 - c. Other
- _____
- 07** Which of the following caste category is applicable to you?
- a. SC
 - b. ST
 - c. OBC
 - d. General
 - e. Do not wish to respond

08 Do you identify as any of these?

- a. Straight
 - b. Lesbian
 - c. Gay
 - d. Bisexual
 - e. Asexual
 - f. Pansexual
 - g. Queer
 - h. Do not wish to specify
-

09 Do you have a disability?

- a. Yes
 - b. No
-

10 If yes, what is the nature of the disability?

- a. Blind
 - b. Low vision / vision impairment
 - c. Hearing impairment
 - d. Locomotor disability
 - e. Psycho social disability
 - f. Others
-

11 What is your religion?

- a. Hindu
 - b. Muslim
 - c. Sikh
 - d. Buddhist
 - e. Jain
 - f. Christian
 - g. No Religion
 - h. Other (Please Specify)
-

12 Which ration card do you have?

- a. Above Poverty Line
- b. Below Poverty
- c. Antyodaya
- d. Annapurna
- e. Do not have
- f. Any other (Please specify)

- 13** What is your current living arrangement?
- a. Homeless
 - b. I live in my own house
 - c. I live with my parents in their house
 - d. I live with my spouse in his / her house
 - e. I live in a rented accommodation
 - f. I am temporarily living with friends, relatives
 - g. I live in a transgender household / gharana
 - h. I live in a college / university housing campus
 - i. Rehabilitation Home
 - j. Other (Please specify)

EDUCATION

- 14** Who did your school admit?
- a. Students from certain religious backgrounds
☐ Yes ☐ No
.....
 - b. Students from certain communities
☐ Yes ☐ No
.....
 - c. All students other than persons with disability
☐ Yes ☐ No
.....
 - d. Only students with a disability
☐ Yes ☐ No
.....
 - e. Only Boys
☐ Yes ☐ No
.....
 - f. Only Girls
☐ Yes ☐ No
.....
 - g. Admission was open to everyone including persons with disability
☐ Yes ☐ No
.....
 - h. Other (Please specify)

- 15** Did any of your classmates or teachers treat you differently on the basis of one or more of the following? (Please write 'Yes' where applicable)

(Surveyor should not read out these options, but tick them only based on the answers given by the Respondent)

S. NO.	IDENTITY	PRIMARY SCHOOL	SECONDARY / HIGH SCHOOL	COLLEGE/ UNIVERSITY
a	Caste			
b	Gender identity			
c	Gender expression			
d	Disability			
e	Sexual orientation			
f	Other (Please specify)			

- 16** In your educational institution, your classmates were:

- a. Very supportive
- b. Supportive
- c. Neutral
- d. Not supportive

- 17** Were all students treated the same in your school? (Please write 'Yes' where applicable)

S. NO.	IDENTITY	PRIMARY SCHOOL	SECONDARY / HIGH SCHOOL	COLLEGE/ UNIVERSITY
a	Yes, all students were given the same treatment			
b	Some students were made to sit in separate areas from the others for classes			
c	We had separate canteens for separate groups of students based on caste/class.			
d	Meal timings and spaces were segregated on different criteria. (Please specify)			
e	No opinion			

- 18** What kind of interactions did you have with your classmates outside of the school?
(Please write 'Yes' where applicable)

S. NO.	IDENTITY	PRIMARY SCHOOL	SECONDARY / HIGH SCHOOL	COLLEGE/ UNIVERSITY
a	I would interact with most of my classmates frequently			
b	I did not interact with any of my classmates outside of school			
c	No opinion			

- 19** Did any of your classmates or their parents prohibit you from coming to their house?
(Please write 'Yes' where applicable)

S. NO.	IDENTITY	PRIMARY SCHOOL	SECONDARY / HIGH SCHOOL	COLLEGE/ UNIVERSITY
a	Yes			
b	I was made to sit outside the house, and never allowed inside			
c	I was never prevented from entering the house of any of my classmates			
d	I never visited the house of any of my classmates			
e	No opinion			

- 20** Did you change schools?

- a. Yes
b. No

- 21** If yes, why did you change schools?

22 Do you have access to a proper toilet in your school?

- a. Yes
 - b. No
-

23 What was the reason for you not completing your education?

EMPLOYMENT

24 What is your current employment status?

- a. Unemployed
 - b. Part time employment
 - c. In a government job
 - d. In a private job
 - e. Self-employed
 - f. Student
 - g. Professional
 - h. Other (please specify)
-

25 Have you had difficulty getting a job because of any of these reasons?

- a. Not having disability certificate
 - b. Not having correct legal identity documents
 - c. Because of your disability
 - d. Because of your gender identity and expression
 - e. Because of your caste
 - f. Because you are a woman
-

26 How many times have you been employed in the past 5 years?

- a. Once
 - b. Twice
 - c. I have had more than 3 different jobs in the past 5 years
 - d. I have had more than 5 different jobs in the past 5 years
 - e. Other
-

27 Have you ever experienced any of this at your workplace?

- a. Sexual harassment
- b. Verbal / general harassment
- c. Non-accommodation of your needs
- d. Unfair dismissal
- e. Caste based different treatment
- f. Un-cooperative work conditions
- g. Denied promotion
- h. Was removed from client / customer interaction
- i. Denied access to bathrooms
- j. Did not have accessible work space / bathrooms
- k. Was asked inappropriate questions about my status
- l. Information about me was shared and discussed without my consent
- m. I was fired

28 Did you report the incident, if any?
a. Yes
b. No (Please state reasons)

29 Were you satisfied with the manner in which your complaint was dealt with?
a. Yes
b. No (Please state reasons)
c. No Response

30 Have you ever been denied employment despite being qualified for the position?
a. Yes
b. No

31 If yes, what do you think was the reason for such denial?

32 Have any of your co-workers treated you differently on the basis of one or more of the following? (Please write 'Yes' where applicable)
(Surveyor should not read out these options, but tick them only based on the answers given by the Respondent)

S. NO.	IDENTITY	
a	Caste	
b	Gender identity	
c	Gender expression	
d	Disability	
e	Sexual orientation	
f	Other (Please specify)	

33 In your workplace, are your co-workers:
a. Very supportive
b. Supportive
c. Neutral
d. Not supportive

HEALTHCARE

34 Do you have access to adequate medical health care in your place of residence?

- a. Yes
 - b. No
-

35 When did you last visit a doctor/medical practitioner?

36 What kind of a doctor did you visit?

- a. In a government hospital
 - b. A private doctor / clinic
 - c. In a private hospital
 - d. I went to a local primary health centre
 - e. I went to an Ayurvedic/homeopathic clinic
 - f. Emergency care
 - g. Other (Please specify)
-

37 Did you face any of the following?

- a. Denied proper treatment in doctor's offices and hospitals
 - b. Denied access to an emergency room care
 - c. Denied counselling or mental health care
 - d. Was not provided access to drug treatment programs
 - e. I was denied service altogether by doctors and other providers and refused treatment
 - f. I was physically assaulted
 - g. I was sexually harassed in the clinic / hospital
 - h. The doctor did not know how to deal with my condition or concerns
-

38 Do you normally go to doctors for regular medical check ups?

- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Sometimes
-

39 Have you needed any of the health care listed below?

- a. Counselling
 - b. Therapy
 - c. Any other (Please specify)
-

40 Why do you not go for regular health check-ups?

- a. I cannot afford it
- b. Discrimination and disrespect from providers
- c. I am scared to go to doctors
- d. My family does not take me
- e. I have no access
- f. I do not have insurance

POLICE INTERACTION

- 41** Have you ever been questioned by the Police solely on the suspicion that you are engaged in sex work?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
-
- 42** Have you ever approached the Police for any help?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
-
- 43** What complaint did you have to file with the police?
- a. Complaint of sexual abuse
 - b. Complaint of physical assault
 - c. Complaint under the SC / ST Act
 - d. Criminal intimidation
 - e. Property dispute
 - f. Other
-
- 44** What has your experience of police interaction been like? (Mark all the applicable options)
- | | | |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. I have had a good experience interacting with the Police | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| b. The police threatened you with filing criminal cases against you | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| c. Arrested you without explanation | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| d. Filed an FIR against you | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| e. The Police verbally harassed you | | |
| f. The Police asked you unnecessary questions about your gender transition | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| g. The Police used derogatory words to refer to you | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| h. The Police physically assaulted you | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| i. You were asked for sexual favors by the Police | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| j. Unwanted sexual contact from a Police officer | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| k. You were denuded by the police or forced to denude yourself by the police under the pretext of physical examination to verify your gender | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| l. You were intimidated, coerced into sex & sexually assaulted by the police | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| m. Other (Please specify) | | |

- 45** In your experience, would you say that the Police was:
- a. Prompt in filing the complaint and recorded all the details
 - b. Recorded the complaint, but did not mention all the relevant details
 - c. Purposely recorded a weak complaint under the wrong provisions of law
 - d. Refused to record the complaint
 - e. I was threatened not to report the crime
 - f. The Police harassed me when I attempted to report the crime

LEGAL AWARENESS & ACCESS TO LEGAL SERVICES

- 46** Have you ever required any legal services or assistance?
- a. Yes
 - b. No

- 47** For what reasons have you needed legal assistance?
- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. To get change of name & gender in ID documents | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| b. To send a legal notice | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| c. To file a police complaint | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| d. For filing a case in court | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| e. To seek legal advice for any other reason (Please specify) | | |

- 48** Who did you approach for legal assistance?
- a. Private Lawyer?
 - b. Law firm
 - c. Pro-bono Services offered Lawyer
 - d. State Legal Aid Cell
 - e. Non-Profit Organisation offering Legal Aid
 - f. Personal Contact
 - g. Law students
 - h. Other (Please Specify)

- 49** What was your experience in getting legal assistance?
- a. Very good – I got the relief that I wanted
 - b. Very bad
 - c. The lawyer did not understand the issues

- 50** Why did you not approach anyone for legal assistance?
- a. I did not know who to approach
 - b. I could not afford legal fees

51 Have you tried or completed the process of legally changing your name?

a. Yes

b. No (State reasons)

52 If yes, how did you try to change your name?

a. Affidavit for name change

b. Gazette Publication

c. Court order

ACCESS

53 Does the State you are currently a resident of offer any schemes or welfare measures that directly benefit you?

a. Yes

b. No

c. I am not sure or aware of any such schemes

54 If yes, what is the nature of these schemes/welfare measures?

a. Housing

b. Employment benefits

c. Educational subsidies/scholarships

d. Ration

e. Healthcare

f. Pensioner benefits

g. Identity Cards for Transgender

h. Other (Please specify)

55 Are you currently availing the benefits of any Government Scheme(s)?

a. Yes

b. No

56 For what purpose are you availing the benefits of the Scheme(s)? (Mark all applicable options)

a. Housing

b. Employment benefits

c. Educational subsidies/scholarships

d. Ration

e. Healthcare

f. Pensioner benefits

i. Transgender identity Card

g. Other (Please specify)

- 57** What is the reason for not enrolling for any State Welfare Schemes?
- a. I am not eligible for any welfare scheme
 - b. I am not aware of any state welfare scheme for which I can apply
 - c. The welfare measures offered by the government are almost negligible
 - d. I have been denied benefits under the scheme despite enrolling
 - e. I do not have a valid identity card for enrolling for the scheme
 - f. Don't know

- 58** Have you had any difficulties in accessing the following?

- a. Court/Tribunal
- b. Police Station
- c. State Legal Aid Office
- d. Government Hospital
- e. Public Transport
- f. Government Offices
- g. Hotels/Restaurants
- h. Commercial Establishments
- i. Malls/ Shopping Areas
- j. Parks and Public Places
- k. Public toilets
- l. Admission into educational institutions
- m. Other

CASTE

- 59** Has anyone ever associated your skin colour to identify you? (Mark all applicable options)

- a. Caste
- b. Class
- c. Gender Identity

- 60** Have you been treated differently in any of these instances?

(Surveyor should not read out these options, but tick them only based on the answers given by the respondent)

S. No.	Instances	Cast	Class	Gender	Gender Identity	Sexual Orientation	Disability
a	Seeking Admission in School						
b	Seeking employment						
c	At a workplace						

S. No.	Instances	Cast	Class	Gender	Gender Identity	Sexual Orientation	Disability
d	When dealing with public officials/police officers						
e	In Government offices						
f	In public places						
g	Seeking Housing						
h	In Private Establishments						
i	Hospitals/Clinics						

61 Have members of your own caste group treated you differently?

(Surveyor should not read out these options, but tick them only based on the answers given by the Respondent) given by the Respondent)

- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. Class | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| b. Gender | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| c. Gender Identity | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| d. Sexual Orientation | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| e. Disability | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |

GENDER IDENTITY

62 Do you identify yourself as transgender / gender – nonconforming?

- a. Yes
- b. No

63 If you identify as transgender, which of the following do you identify as?

- a. Male-to-female transgender / MTF / transgender woman
- b. Female-to-male transgender / FTM / transgender man
- c. Gender non-conforming
- d. Hijra
- e. Intersex
- f. Other (please specify)

64 What sex were you assigned at birth in your birth certificate?

- a. Male
 - b. Female
-

65 What is your primary gender identity today?

- a. Male
 - b. Female
 - c. Third gender
 - d. Transgender
 - e. Part time as one gender and part time as another
 - f. Other (Please specify)
-

66 Can people tell that you are transgender / gender non-conforming?

- a. Always
 - b. Sometimes
 - c. Never
-

67 Do you tell people that you are transgender?

- a. Never
 - b. I tell people who are close friends
 - c. I tell my work colleagues
 - d. I have told my family
 - e. I tell everyone
-

68 Do you have identity documents that match your chosen gender identity?

- a. Yes
 - b. No (State Reasons)
-

69 Which of the documents have you changed you name and gender in?

- a. Aadhaar
 - b. Driver's License
 - c. PAN Card
 - d. Voter Id
 - e. Educatiaonal Certificates
 - f. Passport
 - g. Other (Please Specify)
-

70 Why do you not have identity documents for your chosen gender identity?

- a. I am not aware of how to get it
- b. I was refused by the authorities
- c. I do not have medical documents to prove my identity
- d. I do not have the money for legal help to get my identity documents changed

71 When did you adopt a gender identity different from your identity at birth?

- a. Below 15 years of age
 - b. Between 15-18 years
 - c. Between 19-30 years
 - d. Between 31-50 years
 - e. Above 50 years of age
-

72 Have you undergone medical transition or sex re-assignment surgery (SRS)?

- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Am undergoing
-

73 What treatments have you received as part of the SRS?

- a. Genital reconstruction
 - b. Top surgery
 - c. Hormone Replacement Therapy
 - d. Plastic surgery
 - e. Castration / Nirvana
 - f. Any other
 - g. No Response
-

74 At what age did you undergo SRS?

- a. Below 15 years of age
 - b. Between 15-18 years
 - c. Between 19-30 years
 - d. Between 31-50 years
 - e. Above 50 years of age
 - f. Do not wish to reveal
-

75 Why did you decide not to undergo medical transition? (Mark all applicable options)

- a. I am not ready to transition
 - b. I wanted to undergo reassignment but I was refused medical care by the doctors
 - c. I cannot afford the costs of medical transition
 - d. I did not find a proper doctor for transition
 - e. I did not know whom to approach
 - f. My family did not support me
 - g. For other reason (Please specify)
-

76 Did any member of your family do any of the following because of your gender identity? (Mark all applicable options.)

- a. Stopped speaking to you for a long time ☐ YES ☐ NO
 - b. Ended your relationship. ☐ YES ☐ NO
-

- | | | |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| c. Was violent towards you | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| d. Asked you to leave the house. | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| e. Did not allow you to wear the clothes that matched your gender identity | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| f. Sent you to a therapist, counselor, or religious advisor | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| g. Tried to get you married to someone of their choice | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| h. Forcibly put you through Electro-Convulsive Therapy/Anti Psychotic Drugs. | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| i. Other actions (Please Specify) | | |
| j. None | | |

77 Did you ever run away from home because of your current gender identity?

- a. Yes
- b. No

78 After your transition, have people treated you:

- a. Better
- b. Worse
- c. No difference

79 Have you ever been denied entry into a bathroom?

- a. Yes
- b. No

80 Have you had any of the following things happen to you in the last 2 years?
(Mark all applicable options.)

- | | | |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. I was verbally harassed | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| b. I was physically attacked | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| c. I experienced unwanted sexual contact | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |

81 Were you forced to engage in sexual activity for any of the following?
(Mark all applicable options.)

- a. For seeking shelter
- b. For avoiding arrest by Police
- c. For food or other basic necessities
- d. For employment
- e. For other reasons (Please specify)

DISABILITY

82 Did you have difficulty getting a disability ID card?

83 Do you have access to a proper toilet in your school / workplace?

a. Yes

b. No

84 If not, which toilet would you access?

85 Do you feel that you are more vulnerable to instances of sexual violence on account of any one or more of the following? (Mark all applicable options.)

(Surveyor should not read out these options, but tick them only based on the answers given by the Respondent)

a. Caste ☐ YES ☐ NO

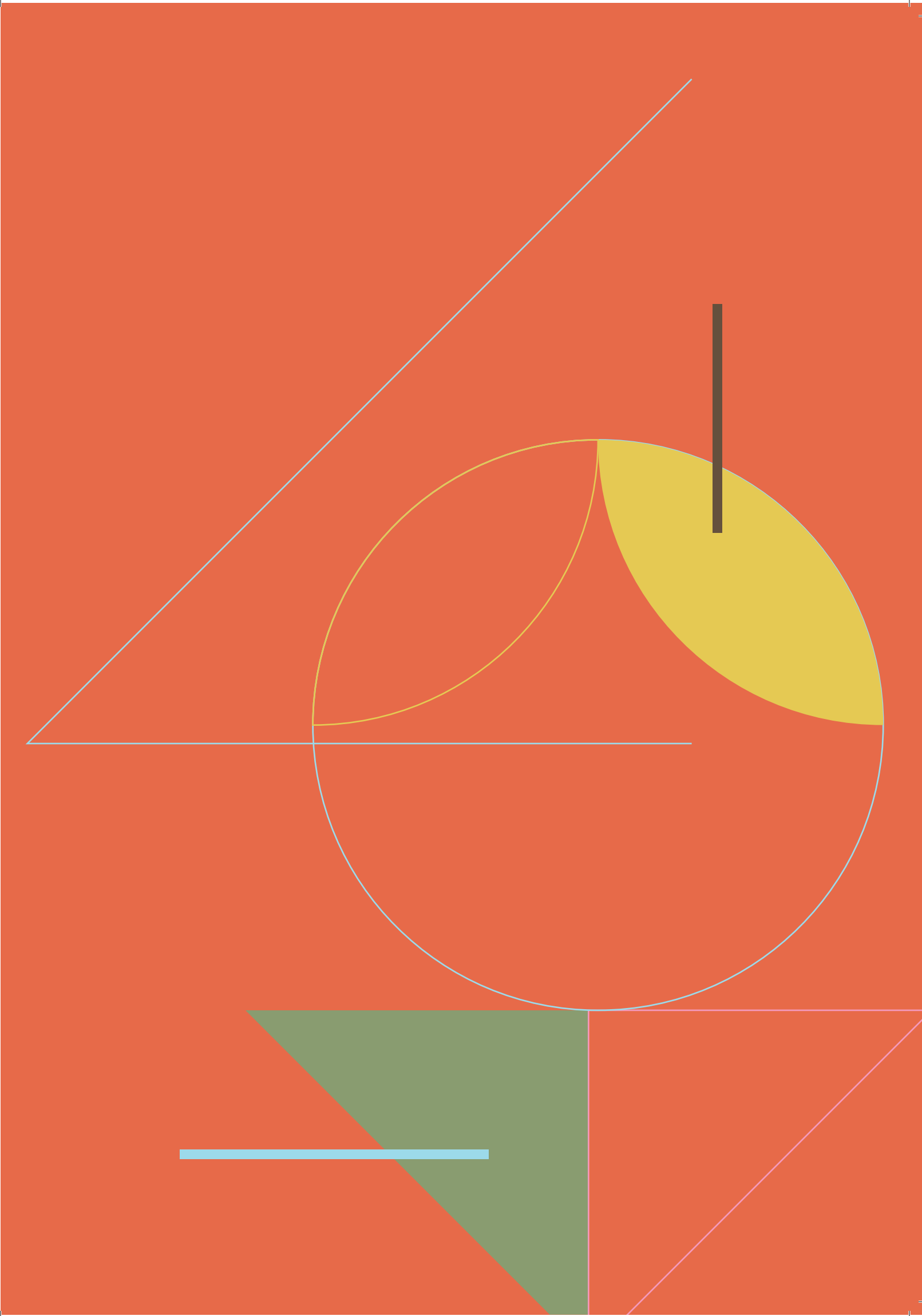
b. Gender ☐ YES ☐ NO

c. Gender Identity ☐ YES ☐ NO

d. Disability ☐ YES ☐ NO

e. Sexual Orientation ☐ YES ☐ NO

f. Other (Please Specify) _____





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