

TRANSGENDER INCLUSIVITY: A REALITY CHECK

RESEARCH PROJECT

Sponsored by



NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

NEW DELHI

Principal Investigator

RAJNI SINGH

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DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY (INDIAN SCHOOL OF MINES)
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PREFACE

The transgendered community has for long been deprived of their rights and remains a socially excluded group. Despite a few ground breaking amendments in the Indian Constitution which mandates and details formation of special employment exchanges for transgender people (Clause 24 from Chapter V); formation of national and state-levels commission for transgender people (Chapter VII); formation of special transgender rights courts (Chapter VIII); right of a transgender child to a home and foster care (Clause 11 of Chapter II), and formation of transgender welfare policies and setting up of Transgender Welfare Development Board by several States, the living conditions of the transgenders have not changed desirably. Therefore, it raises a pertinent question that while these inclusionary measures are expected to ameliorate the condition of the transgender in India, can it do away with age-old exclusion inflicted on this community? Can legal binding ensure social inclusion? If yes, to what extent are these laws successful in including the transgenders into the mainstream society? This study attempts to seek answers to the above questions.

The study investigates the reasons for the exclusion of transgender people from the social sphere and also traces out their socio-economic status and standards of living in the light of the inclusivist policies of the state. The universe of study is the transgender people residing in West Bengal. The study is restricted to a specific sample size and definite place, and no generalities or sweeping statements have been made about the transgender people. The study is highly objective, original, and meets the ethical standards of research. The identities of the respondents have been kept confidential on their request. Eventually, it is presumed that the study would fill up the void in transgender studies in Indian context.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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First and foremost, I register my indebtedness to National Human Rights Commission, New Delhi for granting this project and for providing me with an opportunity to foreground the marginalized section of the society.

I am indebted to the members of the *Transgender Community* without whose support this project would have been a failure. I would also like to render my earnest gratitude to Anu (Kolkata), Pallavi Chakraborty (Kolkata), the first transwoman driver in India, Roopsha (Gujarat), Rakhi (Patna), Nisha Biswas, Lola Bhattacharya (the first Judge in (LOK ADALAT) along with other two hijras, Rupa and Rajkumari, Gimmi, Sahnaz (Kolkata), Riya, Urnima (Kolkata), Suhana, a TG activist and film maker from Kolkata, and Raina, a TG Activist, who runs an NGO called 'Sambhavana' and all the other transgender people with whom I interacted – *much thanks to them* for their tremendous support and cooperation. Suhana and Raina were of big help to me. They guided me throughout the field survey and imparted all the necessary information about the transgender community.

Further, I register my gratitude to Prof. Rajiv Shekhar, Director, IIT (ISM) Dhanbad for his encouragement. I would also express my thanks to my researchers Archana Verma and Priyanka Banerjee, who helped me in compiling the data. A special thanks to my students, Harshit Pathak, Ashish, Ajay Shuka, Prity Barnwal, Sohini Bera, and Prithvi Raj, who helped me with my work when ever needed.

I want to thank my family and especially my father, Shri Gajendra Singh, for his infinite inspiration, constant encouragement and blessings.

In fact, there are many people, in many places who have assisted me with the ideas, advice and support, both directly and indirectly. It has not been possible to name all of them, but I am, nevertheless, grateful to all of them. And finally, I take full responsibility for all the errors and omissions in this study.

DISCLAIMER

Indian Institute of Technology (Indian School of Mines) Dhanbad has received the financial assistance under the Research Scheme of National Human Rights Commission, India to prepare this report. While due care has been exercised to prepare the report using the data from various sources, NHRC does not confirm the authenticity of data and accuracy of the methodology to prepare the report. NHRC shall not be held responsible for findings or opinions expressed in the document. This responsibility completely rests with the Institute Indian Institute of Technology (Indian School of Mines) Dhanbad.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Identity is crucial to one's being as it develops in one the sense of self-esteem and self-worth. Identity is complex in nature and determined by a range of markers such as gender, religion, class, race, location, profession, language, etc., which intersect and compound to constitute one's overall identity. The most significant marker among these are gender as it shapes the social identity of a person in relation to other members of society. Gender identity is an individual's sense of identification with one's body; it is an extremely personal sense of being a male or female. It functions at the intersection of biological, social, cultural, and psychic experiences. Despite this fact there is a lot beyond the biological or assigned sex. The construction of a person's gender identity as male or female is observed in heteronormative culture. Thus for obvious reasons, gender, sex and sexual orientations often depend on socially accepted standards of what it means to be a male or female.

Gender identity development begins at one's birth by demarcating an individual under a gender category. The genitalia that one is born with, becomes a decisive factor for determining one's gender identity and gender performativity life-long. Thus the ontological heteronormative gender binary of male-female, becomes a determining tool for setting up behavioral patterns for each sex. Any one falling out of gender norms or transgressing the set gender categories is considered as deviant or gender non-conforming person and resultantly faces exclusion from the society. Thus such individuals who are born with intersex genitalia or whose gender expression is different from gender identity become a misfit in the social system. Broadly placed under the category of transgender, the condition of such individuals in all societies remains deplorable due to their exclusion from family and society, social stigma, and their restricted access to the basic human and fundamental rights; more so, the denial of opportunities and services destroys their confidence, self-esteem and sense of social responsibility.

One may always dream of an inclusive society without divisions and binaries, a society with opportunities for all, where every individual, each with rights and responsibilities, has an

active role to play and where a sense of belongingness and trust prevails, but envisioning such social integration and cohesion seems to be quite idealistic and far-fetched thought, especially in the case of transgender community.

1.2. Literature Review

There has been a considerable amount of development in the transgender studies world-wide since the 1965, when the term 'transgender' was coined by the noted psychiatrist, John F. Oliven, Columbia University, and also since the concept of a "transgender community" evolved (by 1984), in which transgender was used as an umbrella term. By 1992, transgender was considered as an expansive umbrella term including "transsexuals, transgenderists, cross dressers", and anyone transitioning. Leslie Feinberg's pamphlet, "Transgender Liberation: A Movement Whose Time has Come", circulated in 1992, identified transgender as a term to unify all forms of gender nonconformity. And by the early 2000s, the primary terms used under the transgender umbrella were "female to male" (FtM) for men who transitioned from female to male, and "male to female" (MtF) for women who transitioned from male to female. These terms have now been superseded by "trans man" and "trans woman", respectively, and the terms "trans-masculine" or "trans-feminine" are increasingly in use. Today the numerous additions to the term transgender reflects a broader shift in the understanding of transgender people's sense of self and the increasing recognition of those who decline medical reassignment as part of the transgender community.

While the West has progressed much in terms of understanding and examining sexualities, socio-cultural, economic, political, and legal aspects of the transgender community, the studies conducted in India are far behind in comparison to the West. Perhaps, the basic reason is that, in India, the transgendered lives were never thought of before or their realities and identities were not taken seriously either socially, politically or legally. The one composite study on Hijras' lives which draws our attention is that of Serena Nanda's "The Hijras of India: Cultural and individual dimensions of an institutionalized third gender role" (1986), *Neither man nor woman: The hijras of India* (1999), and "Life on the Margins: A Hijra's Story" (2002). Likewise, one also comes across stray articles which trace out the transgenders' lives and their socio-economic status, for instance, "The socio-legal exploitation of the third gender in India" (2016) by Shilpa Khatri Babbar; "Socio-Cultural Exclusion and Inclusion of Trans-genders in India" (2013) by Konduru, Delliswararao, and Chongneikim Hangsing; "The Hijras of India" (2014) by D.S. Banerjee; "The Transgender Nation and its Margins: The Many Lives of the Law" (2019) by Sayan Bhattacharya; "Sedition, Sexuality, Gender, and Gender Identity in South Asia Transgender social inclusion and equality: a pivotal path to development" (2016) by Vivek Divan, Clifton Cortez, Marina Smelyanskaya, and JoAnne Keatley, and others. Mostly the slant in these publications is towards socio-cultural status

and exclusion of the transgender. These studies appear repetitive and incomplete as they are too local in nature, talk about the already known facts and there is nothing onward to offer. Plenty of small-scale reporting on the exclusion of transgender are available on blogs and social media, but these cannot be considered as standard and systematic study. However, a much systematic analysis of transgendered lives comes in the form of surveys carried out by UNDP and those conducted in association with the state governments, for instance, Hijras/Transgender Women In India: HIV, Human Rights And Social Exclusion (December 2010) prepared by Dr. Venkatesan Chakrapani for UNDP India; The case of Tamil Nadu transgender welfare board-insights for developing practical models of social protection programs for transgender people in India: Policy brief (2012) prepared by Dr. Venkatesan Chakrapani for UNDP India; Evidence report 106 India Livelihood, Exclusion and Opportunity: Socioeconomic Welfare among Gender and Sexuality Non-normative People in India (2015) by Pawan Dhall and Paul Boyce; "Transgender Survey Kerala 2014-2015, survey conducted for the Department of Social Justice, Government Kerala, by Sangama; "Uptake of Social Protection Schemes by Transgender Population in India" (2016), by NACO. These studies have played a pivotal role in revealing the actual condition of the TGs in India and have also raised demands for inclusionary policies to bring the community to the mainstream.

Studies conducted on transgender life suggest that the transgendered community has for long been deprived of their rights and remains a socially excluded group, with limited opportunities to participate in the society. This exclusion is multifaceted, right from education, livelihoods, employment, property inheritance, housing, to living with dignity. It is pertinent to note here that the social spaces are defined in relationship to power which further impacts the construction of identities. The weaker the social presence, the more vulnerable becomes the identity.

Several inclusionary measures have been adopted to ameliorate the condition of the transgender in India, but the basic question is whether it is helping them come out of the age- old exclusion inflicted on them, if the legal bindings can ensure their social inclusion; and if yes, to what extent these laws have been successful in mainstreaming them. In order to seek answers to these, the study makes a survey of transgendered persons to understand their present status and investigate the impact of the inclusionary policies in mainstreaming them. Although the NALSA verdict of 2014 and the setting up of Transgender Welfare policies and boards in different states of the country have proved as encouraging moves for the transgender community, the fact is that only a few transgender are experiencing legal aid of inclusion. Therefore, via this study an assessment of the present status of the transgender is made. On the basis of the findings, it would be pinpointed which exclusion needs abatement and which law needs amelioration. The study would further suggest some stronger measures in improving the lives of transgenders.

1. 3. Life & Social Status of Transgenders in India: An Overview

1. 3.1. The Transgender: Fluidity and Inherent Complexity

Transgender is an umbrella word which describes those people whose gender identity and expression are different from the sex the doctor assigned to them at their birth. It is to say that they psychologically as well as bodily disown their biological sex. In other words their own internal gender identity, their sense of being a man or woman or gender diverse does not match with the sex mentioned in their birth certificate. They discover about their gender identity as they move from childhood to adolescent and further to adulthood.

The wide spectrum of identities that the term 'transgender' embodies showcases its fluidity as well as its inherent complexity. The multiplicity in transgender identities is heavily based on the internal gender experiences and the sexual orientations of these people. There are various subgroups within the Transgender category, such as MTF, FTM, transsexual, (the one who receives surgery and/or hormone treatment), gender queer (the one who does not identify with gender labels), androgyny (the one who do not conform to masculine or feminine terms distinctly and rather consider to be in-between), gender non-conforming (those who do not conform to societal expectations of gender roles neither through mannerisms or attire) and intersexed (the one born with physical characteristics associated with males and females). In India, the naming of transgendered identity is manifold and variant across the geographical territory due to the cultural and linguistic diversity. The frequently used names for the transgender include, 'Hijra', 'Hijda', 'Kothi or Koti', 'Kinnar' (in Urdu and Hindi), 'Chhakka' (Kannada), 'Khusra' (Punjabi), 'Kojja' (Telugu), 'Janka' or 'Pavaiyya' (Gujrathi), 'Durani' (Kolkata), 'Menaka (Cochin in Kerala), 'Thiranangai', 'Aravani' or 'Aruvani' (Tamil), 'Eunuch' or 'Hermaphrodite' (English).

Sexuality's spectrum is scattered with labels. "Transgender" indicates a transgression, defying the rigid, binary constructions of gender to live partly, or fully, beyond gender roles expected by the society. "Transgender" serves as an umbrella category for a wide range of people on the gender spectrum who do not identify with the gender they were socialized in. There are several regional specificities of transgender identities like Hijras, Aravanis, Shiv Shaktis, Jogappas and so on. Hijra, a Persian word, are biological males who reject their masculine identity and identify either as women, or "not-men", or "in-between man and woman" or "neither man nor woman". It is a religious community that people get initiated into through an initiation ritual called Nirvaan. Majority of people in hijra community are usually cross dressers, and a small minority of Hijras opt for castration. So not all hijras are necessarily castrated. They tend to identify as a community with its own initiation rituals and professions (like begging, dancing at weddings or

blessing babies). They even have their own secret code language. *Kinnar* is a term for hijras in north India. They are the part of the celestial celebrations. The word 'kinnar' has been used in mythological books like Mahabharata and Purana. When describing the heaven and *indralok* it has been said "there were yaksh, gandharv, kinnar manav and devta. It is also quoted whenever there is a winning occasion for angels, gandharv and kinnar began to sing a melody. So kinnar was a singing species among angles. In Mahabharata the character shikhandi was a kinnar. In Maharashtra, the term kinnar is being used more recently by the better-educated hijras to refer to themselves. Aravani is used for hijras in Tamil Nadu. They identify themselves as women trapped in male bodies, although many aravanis would prefer to be called 'Thirunangi'. Kothi refers to biological males who show varying degrees of being effeminate. They prefer to take the feminine role in same-sex relationships, though many kothis are bisexual. Some hijras identify as kothi as well, while not all kothis identify as hijra or even transgender. They do not live in separate communities. Shiv- shakthis refers to a community of transgenders in Andhra Pradesh. They are males who are considered "possessed by" or "married to" the gods, particularly Lord Shiva. They have a feminine gender expression and cross-dress as women during religious rituals and festivals. They work typically as astrologers or spiritual healers. The community is guarded by gurus who induct disciples and train them for the work. Jogti hijras: In Maharashtra and Karnataka, jogtas and jogtis are referred to male and female servants who dedicate (or are made to dedicate) their lives to gods in different temples. Jogti hijras are referred to male-to-female transgenders who devote themselves to the service of a particular god.

The ones born with genitals which are not particularly male or female ones are known as intersex people. While Transmen are men and Transwomen are women, they are not the third gender. They consider it as offensive for being called as the third gender. Eunuch people are men who have been castrated/or have got their testicles removed. They may or may not identify as the third gender. They may still identify as a male. Or they maybe transsexual females. Transsexuals people are the ones who surgically and hormonally transform their bodies to the opposite sex. Cross-dressers cross dress for comfort, fun or sexual arousal.

1.3.2. Life of Transgenders

Signified by several signifiers, the "Transgender" suffer from gender dysphoria and have remained as a marginalized class in India. In fact, in a heteronormative societal structure, where power and privilege is gendered, transgenders are referred to as those who transgress the dichotomies of gender and are hence labelled as the 'other' (Babbar, 2016). They are considered socially outcast in the traditional value-based Indian society and therefore relatively less attempt has been made to

understand the day-to-day life spaces of this deprived and neglected human groups.

Hijra is a sub-category within the broader TG category. The hijras live in deplorable state and are strictly excluded from any involvement in social affairs. Questions arise on their existence. They do not have freedom to choose a living and therefore they struggle to sustain in the society. They stand out in the crowds in marked contrasts to the other gender diverse groups in their looks. They are often seen in loud make-up with awkwardly appearance in busy market places, railway platforms, bus stands, and at squares and traffic signals. Some land up throwing vulgar gestures if their demand is not met. They are found moving in groups and rarely move alone. If a hijra is found alone, she is usually molested, beaten up or even sexually abused. This behavior largely emanates from the societal perception towards them.

Sadly, all these perceptions toward a hijra are built from exteriority, without knowing much about their hardships. Instead of sympathizing with them or helping them in some way or just treating them like another individual who too has her/ his share of dignity, they are looked down upon as someone bereft of sexual potency. Public's disgust and perennial fear towards them results from transphobia. In fact, the very word 'hijra' connotes an obvious sense of denigration. They are considered as hooligans, mischievous and antisocial elements both by the society and unfortunately by the police as well. They are teased as chakka, kinnar, hijra, in-betweens and also addressed by derogatory sexual markers.

Unfortunately, in the country generally all TGs are viewed as hijras. Transmen is the most invisible gender minority group in India. Since this group has not made it to country's collective public imagination it continues to remain hidden and rarely gets noticed.

1.3.3. Family Status

The hijra household is a domestic unit within which the social organization of the hijras appears in the form of guru-chela relationship, which is modeled on the Hindu joint family and on the relationship of spiritual leader and disciple in Hinduism. The guru is conceived of as the head of the family who is supposed to take care of the material needs of the dependents. The chela is expected to obey the guru and give the guru "her" earnings. The chelas of a guru are like sisters. Every hijra joins the community under the sponsorship of a guru, who is ideally her guru for life. Thus those who leave their family and home because of being sexually different and under the pressure of social stigma, look out for assistance from those with whom they can identify themselves. Generally, when a transgender leaves the family out of uneasiness that springs from societal pressures to take shelter in the transgender community, then he/she has to develop a relation in the new territory. This transition is not an easy one as it assumes to be, and more so when one plans to

join the hijra community as this community has a well- structured hierarchy. Once a person plans to seek refuge in the hijra community, a formal induction into that system becomes a necessity. After a formal entry into the guru's home, the person has to leave his masculine identity and take a new feminine name.

Interestingly, hijras are usually recognized by their clans or gharanas. In *Life of a Eunuch*, Piyush Saxena suggests that in Mumbai there are presently seven gharanas of hijras, namely, (1) Haji; (2) Ibrahim; (3) Dongri; (4) Bhendi Bazaar Lashkar; (5) Poonawala; (6) Lalan; (7) Chakla (2011, 56). While in Hyderabad, there are two predominant gharanas or clans as pointed out by Gayatri Reddy: Lashkarwala and Sheharwala. Just as the contest found in the Indian social fabric, competition is natural among the hijra gharanas. Some gharanas hold a better status as compared to the others, leading to dominance, which generates a sense of friction. In Mumbai, Haji Ibrahim, headed by Farid Nayak, is considered superior to all other gharanas.

Relation in hijra community is matriarchal with relations as nani, dadnani (mother of nani), mausi, didi, gurumai (head of band), gurubhai, chela, natichela, amma or maa.

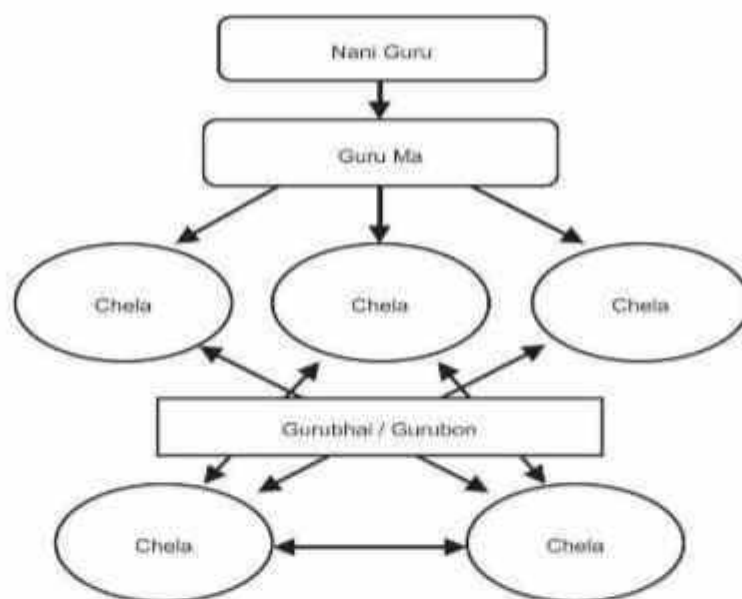


Figure 1: Relationships within Family

Hijras identify themselves as females. A group comprises a guru and her chelas and further the bunch of gurus along with their chelas are led by the superior gurus. The leader of a certain area, also called as Gharana or Mahalla, is known as Guru-Ma or Ma, Malik, Murubbi, Malkin, and Mukh-hijre. Guru-ma, usually a senior one attributed with talent and intelligence, is the protector of all hijras and the keeper of all assets of that gharana. As the head of the family or unit, she guides and controls the members. All members of the group obey her and regard her. She is responsible in disciplining the house. She ensures that all the members live with a sense of solidarity and respect for each other and maintain Gurubhai or Gurubon relationship with the other. A chela refers to his guru's bhai (gurubhai) as Kala Guru (Aunt) while the Guru-Ma of Guru-Ma is called as Nani-/Nana-Guru or Dada-Guru. Thus the hijra society is intensely tied with relational knots, stringently hierarchical and adopts a distinct regulatory mechanism, which is not easy for one to escape, even if one desires to.

Generally guru takes care of the new entrants. Thus each group is led by a superior who is designated as guru. The guru has his own set of rules which he ensures that his chelas follow. The gurus too are headed by a supreme authority called Mahanayak/ Nayaks. One qualifies for a guru on the basis of seniority, age, number of chelas, wisdom and the ability to lead and to handle situations. The gurus area-wise form an apex body comprising elders, which is called Jamat who not only demarcate the geographical boundaries for the chelas for their earnings but also monitor their functioning and act as a dispute resolving body. The council is actively involved in dispute handling and has the power to induct new members in the community or expel those who do not follow the laws of the community.

Being a disciplined and tightly hierarchal society, a hijra has to lead his life under strict regulations. For a chela, the immediate contact person for all sorts of communication, problems, brawls etc., is the guru. Guru is responsible for the welfare of all chelas and ensures that they are well-trained in the profession of badhai and begging. The money earned from badhai and begging goes to the guru on a daily basis.

If the newcomer has a choice between more than one gurus, she is free to compare her living conditions with both of them before settling for one. If a chela wishes to leave her band or guru she has to give back the maintenance charge to her guru and undergo some ritual. But the idea of changing guru is not encouraged, rather it is strictly condemned. The fee is usually very high and a small portion of this amount is sent to the leaders if the chela leaves. Money collected through such contributions is spent on celebrations and charitable work.

Once inducted into the community, hijras have to leave the religion of their parents and accept the religion of their guru. Most of the hijras adhere to Islamic faith maintaining that they are in certain way physically and psychologically castrated or circumcised persons just like Muslims. Hijras have rituals of their own that may not be strictly divided into rigid religious categories.

1.3.4. Distribution of Capital

Distribution of capital within the TG community determines the objective class structure. The mahanayak/ nayak is the person who possesses all the forms of capital. She is the owner of an occupational land area, she is full of hijra traditional knowledge, she has the connection with different mahanayak/ nayak of the hijra groups regionally and/ or nationally who as well wishers help him/her in difficulties and he is holding a position. The mahanayak/ nayak gets greater share of money. As he is the owner of lands, he gets half of the total collection. Besides money, nayak possesses the only right on the other endowments like sari, jewelry, dress materials, woolen garments/ shawl etc. She may offer any one or more items of these gifts to any of her chelas according to her wish. In West Bengal there is no concept of Bata or percentage sharing. The earned money is divided in such a way that after nayak's share, the rest half portion of the accumulated money is divided equally among the chelas, nati chelas and/ or puti chelas. Bata or percentage sharing is practiced in the regions of Uttar Pradesh. The earned money is shared in such a way that immediate Guru of the chelas gets sixty to seventy percent and the rest of thirty percent is divided between the chelas. A Guru pays sixty percent from his share to nayak (his immediate Guru) and nayak pays sixty percent to mahanayak. In every case (both West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh) a fresher usually gets less share of the money. A minimum token money is offered to the newcomer until he learns the tricks of earning money and then the rest of the collection is divided among all the members. The nayak has the power to dominate all chelas and grand chelas. If anyone ignores his command he possesses the right to punish him/her. If a nayak returns from Hajj¹, he becomes a Haji and accrues extra power and authority even to regulate other hijra factional groups of a region. Usually, nayaks of other areas do not accept such a chela who has left his group as there is an innate fear of breakdown of relation. The nayaks always maintain connection with other hijra groups regionally or nationally. In any difficulty they come to help each other.

¹ One of the fifth pillars of Islam, Hajj is an annual Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, the holiest city for Muslims. Hajj is a mandatory religious duty for a Muslim.

1.3.5. Code of Conduct as Prescribed for Community

After entering the group, the Hijras imbibe the beliefs and culture of the community during their socialization and accept it as a reality. This reality goes unanimously unquestioned. It is seen as a fact beyond any thought of enquiry. When somebody takes discipleship of a Guru, she has to assume that Guru is her parent cum husband (smear vermilion and pierce for nose ring by the name of Guru) her ultimate protector. The main responsibility of the chela is to look after guru and earn for the group. She has to follow the decorum of the Hijra culture. There are many restrictions within the community such as there should be no sexual life, no rights to share or use communal property outside the community in any case, and no privilege to gossip with any one on road particularly with men folk. If found doing so, she will be penalized by the guru. The penalty or fine is known as Don/ Dand. Even if her Guru or somebody senior (within group) scolds her, she cannot retaliate. Even if they beat her with stick or shoes, she should bow her head without any reaction. She will be penalized if she speaks with seniors in loud voice or if by chance her foot touches the Guru or her sari touches the Guru it is considered to be disrespect towards her as touching of saree is a ritual of taking discipleship from a Guru. The disciple will always sit on the floor in front of the Guru. Even Grand Chelas or Great Grand Chelas have no right to take meal with Nayak. The guru may order the chela to cook meal, massage his body, wash clothes, and do all the domestic chores as and when required. In the guru-chela system this is considered as a traditional practice and every Chela should observe it. Some Nayaks make their Chelas to stay at night in their houses. Generally they are given permission to go to their houses on Sundays but may be called as well. If someone disobeys the senior, then punishment is sure.

1.3.6. Religion

Most of the transgendered persons follow or adopt secular approach, that is, they simultaneously follow all religious views in order to impress God for having a better birth in their next life.

1.3.7. Festival

Coming to their festivals, apart from their different events and socializing platforms in West Bengal, the transgender community has two main festivals: Dhol puja and Morga Mata or Mouli Mata puja, as they call it, where they worship an idol (Mayaji) seated on a Hen. It is the

dhol (drum) which they need to learn while they first enter the house of their guru and it subsequently becomes their most important tool for wage earning as the traditional hijra occupation requires the use of dhol when they go out for badhai. Even while staying with them in the same society most of the people in Kolkata are unaware of this religious festival celebrated on the night of Deepavali or kali puja. On this day they go about roaming in the locality with their dhol which they consider most pious as it accompanies them throughout their journey as a hijra. Morga Mata worship is very popular amongst them. On this occasion they worship the deity, Mayaji, sitting on a hen. It is perhaps due to this that they refrain themselves from eating hen.

1.3.8. Cultural Practices

The transgender of the northern part of India primarily rely on performances for livelihood. They perform in marriages, child birth and on other auspicious events. The hijra are viewed as sexually ambiguous people, rather emasculated men or impotent ones, yet it is believed that they have some divine powers. Therefore they are called to confer blessings of fertility on newly-wed couple. They are also called to bless the new born. Usually the hijras are active in tracking the family where a marriage or child-birth has taken place. In case there is a delay in their visit, message is conveyed to Nayak of that area through some source and they are invited for badhai by that family. This practice is more found in Uttar Pradesh. People also fear the curses of hijra.

1.4. Demographic Status

For the first time the Indian Census, in 2011, while collecting the population count of the country recognized the identity of third gender and generated data on their population which was recorded around 4.88 Lakh.

States	Transgenders	Child(0-6)	ST	SC	Literacy
India	487,803	54,854	78,811	33,293	56.07%
Uttar Pradesh	137,465	18,734	26,404	639	55.80%
Andhra Pradesh	43,769	4,082	6,226	3,225	53.33%
Maharashtra	40,891	4,101	4,691	3,529	67.57%
Bihar	40,827	5,971	6,295	506	44.35%
West Bengal	30,349	2,376	6,474	1,474	58.83%
Madhya Pradesh	29,597	3,409	4,361	5,260	53.01%
Tamil Nadu	22,634	1,289	4,203	180	57.78%
Orissa	20,332	2,125	3,263	4,553	54.35%
Karnataka	20,266	1,771	3,275	1,324	58.82%
Rajasthan	16,517	2,012	2,961	1,805	48.34%
Jharkhand	13,463	1,593	1,499	3,735	47.58%
Gujarat	11,544	1,028	664	1,238	62.82%
Assam	11,374	1,348	774	1,223	53.69%
Punjab	10,243	813	3,055	0	59.75%
Haryana	8,422	1,107	1,456	0	62.11%
Chhattisgarh	6,591	706	742	1,963	51.35%
Uttarakhand	4,555	512	731	95	62.65%
Delhi	4,213	311	490	0	62.99%
Jammu & Kashmir	4,137	487	207	385	49.29%
Kerala	3,902	295	337	51	84.61%
Himachal Pradesh	2,051	154	433	118	62.10%
Manipur	1,343	177	40	378	67.50%
Tripura	833	66	172	181	71.19%
Meghalaya	627	134	3	540	57.40%
Arunachal Pradesh	495	64	0	311	52.20%
Goa	398	34	9	33	73.90%
Nagaland	398	63	0	335	70.75%
Puducherry	252	16	40	0	60.59%
Mizoram	166	26	1	146	87.14%
Chandigarh	142	16	22	0	72.22%
Sikkim	126	14	9	37	65.18%
Daman & Diu	59	10	1	2	75.51%
Andaman & Nicobar	47	5	0	3	73.68%

Table 1: Population Count of Transgenders, Indian Census-2011

As per the 2011 Census, the transgender population count in West Bengal was reported as 30,349 with 58.83% literacy level. However, the West Bengal Transgender Development Board and the activists believe that the population is higher; it could be even six to seven times higher than the recorded figure. If one looks at the overall child population of TGs in the country, which is around 55,000 in number, it strikingly indicates that the parents have accepted the distinct gender identity of their children.

The Census data also revealed the low literacy level in the community as compared to the general population where it is 74%. The reasons are quite obvious here as the transgender drop out of school because of being bullied by the other children and the teachers. Those who complete their schooling somehow, fail in pursuing their studies further because of discrimination faced on campus and lack of adequate support, be it monetary and/or emotional. One thing that stands positive is that the Census through its recording of the transgender population count established the fact that the community exists and it not only comprises adult population but also children, and therefore, this community cannot be side-lined for too long. They too have the basic human rights: right to life and liberty, right to equality, equality before law, freedom from torture, freedom of expression, the right to education and work among others and fundamental rights: Right to Equality (as enshrined in article 14, under the fundamental Right to Equality charter); Right to Freedom; Right against Exploitation; Right to Education; Right to privacy (added recently).

1.5. Objectives of the Study

The study will concentrate on unraveling the social status of the transgendered persons residing in Kolkata and through an examination of their social lives an attempt will be made to decipher the reasons behind their exclusion. The major objectives of the study are stated thus:

- 1) To explore and examine the various factors responsible for the exclusion of TGs:
 - i. Kinds of Problems/ constraints faced
 - ii. Facilities availed
 - iii. Guru Chela system: if it is stiffening their growth or freedom
- 2) To study the ongoing schemes for TG welfare: West Bengal TG Development Board, and some other State Boards.
- 3) To understand the viewpoint of TGs on The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act.

METHODOLOGY

This exploratory study examined the inclusivity of the Transgender community in the society, if at all. The research used a mixed-methodology to attain its objectives. The indicators for fathoming transgender exclusion and inclusion were drawn from extensive literature survey. The source of literature was multifarious ranging from electronic media, through constitutional documents to print media. Indicators were derived from interviews and survey of the target group as well as the stakeholders of the target group. The indicators were analysed statistically for finding factors and the degree of exclusion or inclusion. Thus, the study involved both qualitative (literature survey) and quantitative (statistical analysis) approaches, and hence, it was mixed in nature.

2.1. Universe of the Study

The universe of the study is the transgender people residing in and around Kolkata, West Bengal. Why Kolkata? As per the 2011 Census, West Bengal is the 5th largest State in terms of TG population with 30,349 and in Kolkata alone their number is around 16,456 as informed by the Transgender Development Board of the State. The figures can be even higher as presumed by the NGOs working in the city for the transgender welfare. The study uses the umbrella term "Transgender" throughout so as to accommodate wide range of people who fall in the gender spectrum. Here, it is worth mentioning that majority of the respondents were trans-women, but there was no such conscious choice to research on trans-women exclusively. It is also to be noted that trans-men is the most invisible gender minority group in the country. Since this group has not made it to country's collective public imagination it continues to remain hidden and rarely gets noticed. However, in the focused discussion, I had the opportunity of interacting with a trans-man.

2.2. Areas where the Respondents Stay

The respondents mainly hail from areas, such as, Damdam; Mandol Basti; Bidhannagar; Meher Ali; Tangra; Raja Ram Mohan Sarni, Kumar Pada (South Kolkata); Behella, 20 Parnasree; Maheshtala;

Beliaghat; Bidhanagar; Kankurghachhi; Panchanantala (South Dum Dum); Ikbalpur; Bedan Street; Bhawanipur; Bhagpada (Hooghly); Alam Bazar (North 24 Pargana); Regent Park; Bansdroni (South Kolkata); Krishnapur (North 24 Pargana); Ektara (South Kolkata); Debogram (Nadia); MG Road (North Kolkata); Baranagar (North 24 Pargana); Suren Sarkar Road (Beleghata), Kasba Road (South Kolkata); Sonarpur (24 Pargana); Bow Bazar; Narkeldanga; Phool Bagan, Nimta Majhar Hati; Sonarpur Parganas; Haltu; Mathurapur Parganas; Baruipur Parganas; Marjyada Parganas; Murshidabad; Ghugumari Cochbihar; Lake Garden; Kumor Para Lane; Daspara, Ultadanga, Rajpur, Sonarpur, Vidyasagar, Kundarali, Bonhooghly, Regent Estate, Kansari Para, Krishnapur, Parnasree, Baruipur, Gopatnagar, Dhakuria, Narkel Danga, Baranagar, Bijoygarh, Jadavpur, Deshbandhu Road, Bandalpara, Brace Bridge, Basudevpur, Rabindra Nagar, Hooghly, Salt Lake, Brendar Street, Petropole, Dhakapara, Motigung, Bamongachhi, Gopal Nagar, Banpur, (North 24 Parganas), Shimultale, Akaipur, Parganas, Bougaon, Swarup Nagar, Kalyanpur (Barnipur), Magrahat, Jorabagan, Slums Behind Ultademga, Subhasgram, Sodepur, Kalyani Anandanager Nadia, Bajuhuu, Lake View Park, Maharati Nagar, Agarpara, Birati, Nabanagar Sarada Park, Atal Behari Sarkar Rd. Naihati, Central Rd. Barrackpore, Ganguly Bagan, Dedar Buksh Lane Prince Anwar Shah Rd., Bharatnagar, Keranipara, Jalpaiguri, Hazra Rd., Motilal Nehru Rd, Panditiya, Beltola, Manohar Pukur, Ballygunge Kasba, Garia Station, Behala Thakurpukur, Bauria, Howrah, Baguihati, Uttar Panchanna Gram, Matpukur Jhapp, Bondol Gurun Area, Chingri Ghata, Sarisa, Goyabagan, Dehla, Paschim Chouvaga, Dimondhurbour, Deula, Subhasgram, Dhakusia, Subhasgram, Baraipur, Chetta, Tollyguge, Scaldah, etc.

2.3. Research Design

A total of two hundred two respondents, whose age is above eighteen years, were taken for this study. With the help of well-structured questionnaire which consisted of close and open ended questions, responses of the target group were taken. This investigatory study was carried out by taking the transgender people into confidence so that they play a participatory role. The reason for adopting exploratory approach with qualitative and quantitative techniques rested on the notion that TGs are a secluded intact group who do not generally interact with outsiders. Moreover, exploratory studies provide enough flexibility to the researcher to alter the techniques and tools adopted for the study as per the need and situation. Snowball sampling technique was used for the identification of the respondents as the target group is highly secluded community, which hardly comes out with

their identity candidly.

Four in-depth interviews were held with the target group. Two focus interviews were held with the Deputy Director, West Bengal Transgender Development Board and one with the Census Board at Kolkata. Some telephonic discussions were held with the TG activists, but these were of semi-structured schedule and the names of the transgender activists who were interviewed have been withheld on their request.

The areas of inquiry broadly included 5 sections: (I) Personal Profile, (II) Social Status, (III) Role of Transgender Development Board in Transgender Welfare, (IV) Role of Activists/ NGOs in Transgender Welfare, and (V) Views of the TGs on The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Bill. The first part of the questionnaire, that is, the Personal information included name, age, occupation, preferred pronoun, education, monthly income, place of stay after gender change, relationship status, religion, category, and health issues (if any). Part II, Social Status, included transgender friendly spaces like health centers, work place, restaurants, beauty parlors, spaces for leisure, school/ coaching centers, constraints felt in public places and within the community, social stigma faced, discrimination faced, disparity faced in job market, or while availing education, health facilities etc. The third part of the questionnaire dealt with the role of transgender development board in the welfare of the community. This section covered aspects such as awareness about the WB TG Development Board and its policies, benefits availed from the existing schemes, if the transgender board is friendly, views on the functioning of the board, difficulties faced in reaching out to the Board, and the response from the Board. The fourth segment dealt with role of activists/ NGOs in TG welfare. This segment included aspects such as role of activists in mainstreaming transgendered persons, kind of activities and awareness programs run by the activists groups, if they have availed any facility/ support from these groups, their experiences and satisfaction level on the support/ help taken, their views on what kind of efforts need to be made by such organizations and government in mainstreaming the transgenders, and the kind of efforts that need to be made on the part of the transgenders for uplifting their community people, their take on the relationship status within the structured hierarchy of guru-chela and if they are associated with any NGO. The final segment of the questionnaire focused on awareness of the respondents about The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Bill/Act (here it is essential to write both 'Bill/Act' as the study was conducted during a crucial period when the Bill was much debated, reintroduced and received presidential assent on 5 December 2019, following which the Ministry of Law and Justice notified it

in the Gazette of India as Act No. 40 of 2019), and if they wish to offer any suggestions.

Apart from adhering to questionnaire, preference was given to open end survey considering the transgendered persons as socially aware individuals capable of mature communication about their society and lifestyle. Initially I encountered a lot of problems in data collection as the community was reluctant to share their personal details. With the assurance that their personal identity would not be revealed they agreed to cooperate with me in filling up the questionnaire.

The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) has been used for the analysis of quantitative data. The data have been presented in the form of pie-charts, frequency tables, and cross tabulations, followed by a detailed critical evaluation.

2.4. Visits Made:

2.4.1. West Bengal Transgender Development Board

The interactive meetings with one of the WBTGDB members, Mr. Bhaskar Chakrabortee was conducted on 28th August, 2018 and 18th June 2019. Certain issues were raised by the interviewer regarding transgender welfare. It was informed that the state-level Transgender board of West Bengal was formed in July 2015, with thirteen members. Out of which nine were non-official members and three were official members. The non-official members included prominent transgender identities as representatives of transgender community. On the other hand, official members were minister of the department as the chairperson, state civil service officer as the member secretary, district social welfare officers and other government officials. The board had planned to work with transgender community representatives and government officials. But, unfortunately they failed to work as they had planned, so resultantly the board got dissolved in July 2018. The board attributed this failure to the lack of interest, awareness, willingness and enthusiasm on the part of the transgender community to engage as active participants. The Board now plans to re-formulate itself on entirely new lines based on the census of transgender communities which they plan to conduct in four major districts of West Bengal in near future.

2.4.2. Directorate of Census Operational, Kolkata

A visit to the Directorate of Census Operational, Kolkata, West Bengal was made on 10th December 2018. In an interaction with Nayna Nandan it was found that the Directorate of Census Operational (DCO) has no exclusive population data on Transgender or LGBTQ of West Bengal or

Kolkata, apart from the 2011 data, where the transgender or the other gender population data was counted for the very first time in Indian Census history. Narrating its experiences the DCO mentioned that, in WB in particular, it faced difficulties in gathering data on transgender as the transgender people were reluctant to reveal their identities. The DCO took the help of some transgender activists to survey their population. The office does not have district wise population count of the transgender in West Bengal. However, the office was optimistic that in the Indian Census Counting of 2021 they will get better results on Transgender or the other gender population. The DCO has published all the data of transgender people on their official site and it can be also found on internet.

SURVEY RESULTS

Results of the survey are stated below:

3.1. Name of TGs and the Problematics

The TGs live with two names and two gender identities: one of the past and the other of the present. Most of the conversations began with the question: Can I tell my real name?

The TGs live with dual identity. The transcendence from old to new identity is not smooth as it requires change of name in the school certificates and ID- Cards.

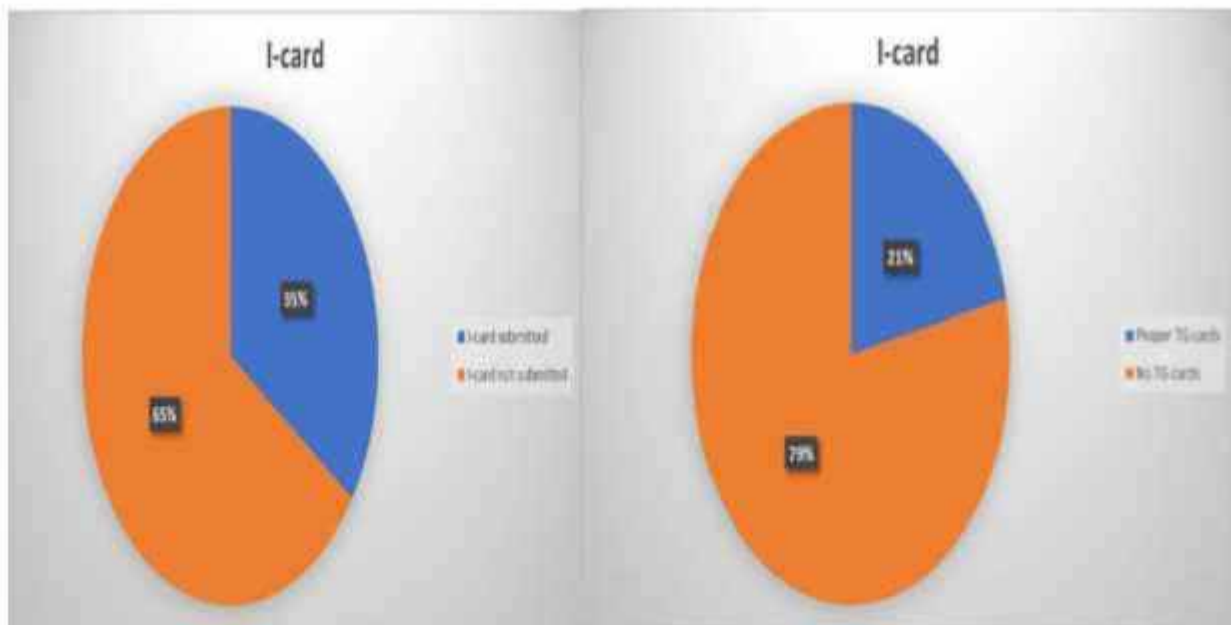


Figure 2: ID-Cards of respondents

Of the 202 respondents, 70 submitted a copy of their I-Card/ Aadhaar Card along with the filled questionnaire. From here it was noted that only 15 of them have proper TG cards for availing benefits from the schemes for the transgender.

To quote some of the responses:

TG1: *I looked like girl but was boy. Did not get support from home to change gender. At the age of 18, left home (4-5 years ago). Take hormone therapy. Changed name from Kinnoram to Bagdi Mondal.*

TG2: *Sapna Chaudhary... got my name after going for lagan.*

TG3: *I have kept my name Muskan. My guru gave it.*

TG4: *Jaya is my real name, Bobby older one.*

TG5: *Pallabi in all documents now...Previous name was Pallab. I had to go to court, get affidavit, had to struggle to get Voter Card, Adhaar Card, Driving License, and Pan-Card.*

TG6: *Adhaar carries old name. Do not know how to change.*

TG7: *Now Rajib Das (Trans Man) from Babina.*

TG8: *The name in School Certificates (Madhyamik) has old name. What to do?*

TG9: *I-cards have previous name, but don't want to change. I want to inherit my parents' property. My elder brother will take it. I will lose it.*

TG10: *I am a graduate, but did not get job. Then I learnt driving. I am the only TG driver in Kolkata. Also in my school certificates, I have my previous name. Getting job is difficult with this. School board will not change name unless you show certificate of SRS.*

3.2. Age

Age	%	Count
18-25	30.20	61
26-36	50.50	102
37-50	18.32	37
51 and above	0.99	2

Table 2: Percentage and count of the respondents' age

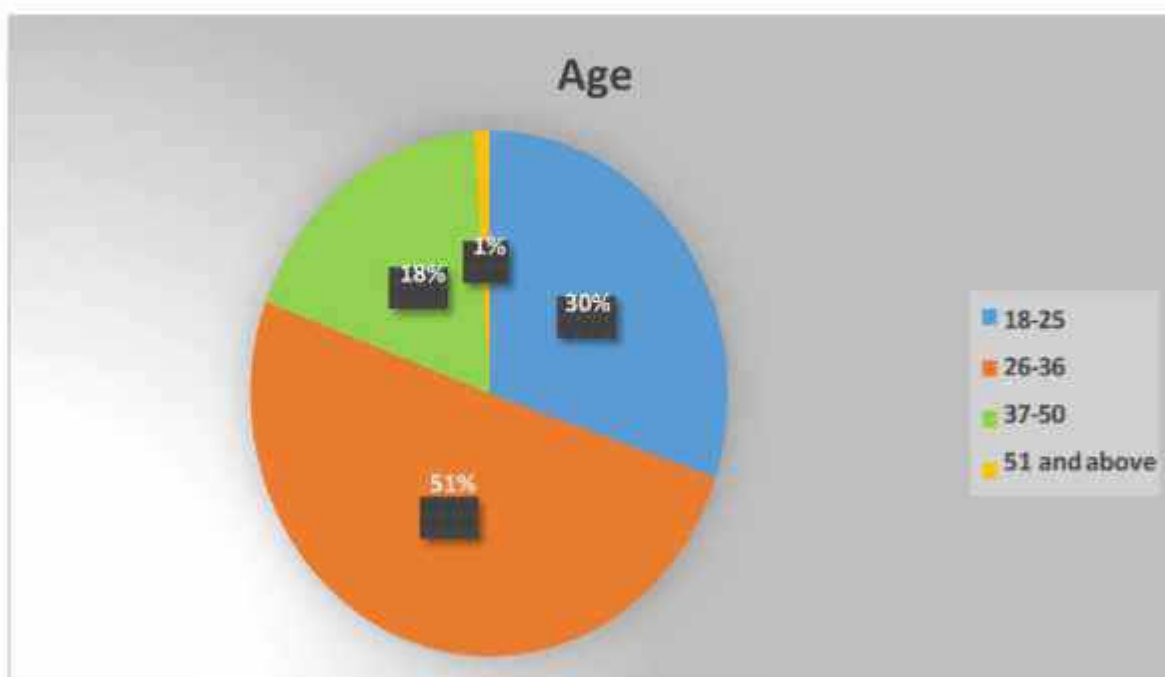


Figure 3: Age of respondents

81% of the total transgender population participated in the survey is below 36 years. The elderly TGs have bleak visibility.

3.3. Occupation

	%	count
Service/Peon/Receptionist/Nurse/Male attendant	6.44	13
Domestic worker/daily wager/maid/cooking/factory worker/cake labor/construction	8.42	17
Beauty parlor/beautician	1.98	4
Lounda dancer/dancer/mujara/singer/lagan	9.41	19
Acting/modelling/artist/painter/photographer	6.93	14
Education/student	5.45	11
Business/ self employed	8.42	17
Job/skilled job/driving/private Job	8.91	18
Social worker/NGO/activist	4.46	9
Challa/begging	8.91	18
Badhai /hijra	17.82	36
Sex worker/khajra	12.38	25
Govt. employee	0.50	1
		202

Table 3: Percentage and count of the respondents' occupation

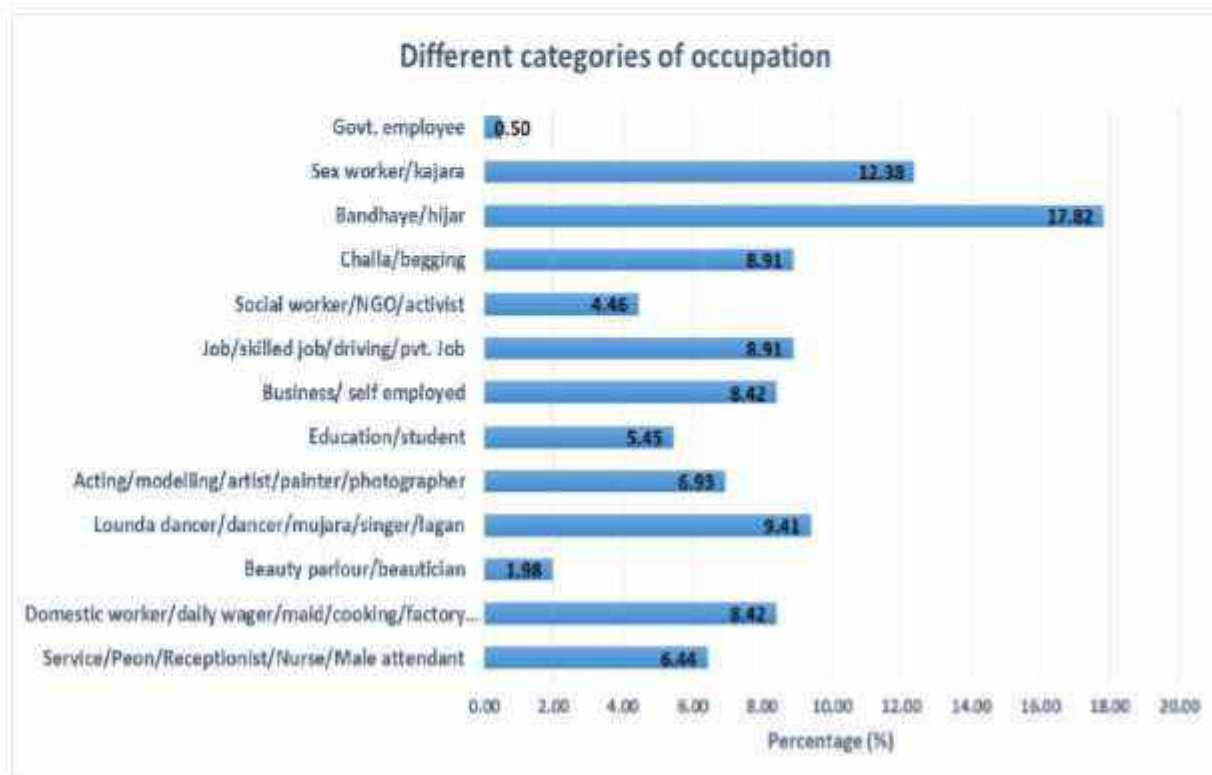


Figure 4: Categories of occupation

26.7% of the respondents are involved in the hijra profession of badhai and challa, while 12% are in sex work or khajra profession. Most of them are in professions with irregular earnings. The ones involved in begging earn Rs. 400-2000 on a daily basis. They are critical of clubbing challa with begging as they believe it is a part of their tradition and that they get money in return of blessings. Commonly known as *tola baji* or challa, the TGs popular collection spots are railway station, bigger crossings like Ballygunge Phari, Science City, Victoria Memorial, Birla Planetarium, local markets, etc. Those into badhai profession, which is considered as a traditional hijra occupation, earn Rs. 2000-10,000 from single visits. TGs in sex work earn Rs. 1000-5000 per client. The ones residing in and around Sealdah station, Park Street, Esplanade and other areas are involved in sex work.

The transgenders involved in other jobs despise the ones who do challa. So within the very structure of TG community, there is a system of class- consciousness which perpetuates through their occupation.

To earn their livelihood, the respondents are engaged in various occupations such as, badhai, challa, lagan, sex work/ khajra, driving, acting, dancing, modelling, typing, movie making, domestic work, as labor, etc. Some of them are employed in private food outlets including Haldiram, while some are either associated with or working for NGOs such as, *Saathii*, *Samabhabona* (an organization working to empower the grass root LGBTQ community), *Prothoma* (Asia's first shelter for vulnerable transgender people), *Sappho* (the first group of its kind in Eastern India with its base in Kolkata to provide safe space and emotional support for sexually marginalized women and female to male transpersons and eventually entered into the rights/justice based framework to fight homophobia, discrimination and violence against LBT persons), *Bandhan* (working for sexual minority community specially with transgender community), *Amra Odbhuth* (the one-of-its-kind café in Kolkata that gives the city's queer community a space for creativity and fun), *Pratyay Gender Trust*, *Manas Bangla*, *Prantik*, *SRS Solutions*, a community based association which is dedicated to provide all kind of plastic, reconstructive and general surgeries to transgendered individuals, among others.

While assessing their occupation, one thing that came to the fore was that still many of them are engaged in their traditional occupation, such as Badhai, challa, khajra. All these are highly coded words where badhai would mean a custom and ritual based profession. In North India, hijras are mostly engaged in the profession of badhai which is viewed with respect, while in South India the transgenders mainly involve in challa or khajra profession, where challa would imply the act of begging, but this too is considered as begging against blessing (therefore it should not demeaned), and khajra would stand for sex work.

Some of the responses received from the community are noted thus:

TG1: *I go for lagan for dance. Off season do prostitution.*

TG2: *I do badhai with kinner people but it is seasonal.*

TG3: *I used to go for lagan but now I do challa. When vehicles stop I collect money. From 2007 I am working at the same place. People harass me, ask for documents id. My monthly income is Rs. 5000. Daily I earn Rs. 300- 500 but I have to give some share to police, Rs. 100-200, depending on the earnings.*

TG4: *I am in hijra profession I also do grain selling business. My income is Rs 400 per day.*

TG5: *I do lagan, dance in Baliya. My income is approximately Rs 20,000 to 25,000 per month, during off season I am unemployed. If Government gives jobs with better salary, I will leave all these. But no Sulabh Complex jobs or Canteen jobs.*

TG6: *I was in IBM Call centre, worked in Mumbai, but left due to harassment and give tuitions now.*

TG7: *Doing badhai for 20 years.*

TG8: *I was in prostitution. Did sex work at the age of 10 - 12 years. Family threw me out. A prostitute took me to Hazra More and took Rs. 200 and gave me Rs. 20. People threw me out of Car. Now I go for badhai.*

TG9: *I am in challa. In Sealdah many TGs go for challa.*

TG10: *I started prostitution. I go to Bihar. I am also going for lagan.*

TG11: *I work in Beauty Parlor and also in massage center (it is a secret).*

TG12: *I do launda dance.*

TG13: *I got a job in BPO. I am tomboyish so I faced insult and had to leave job.*

TG14: *From 8 months left prostitution, now doing lagan. Earn Rs. 20,000 per programme but off season there is no job.*

3.4. Preferred Pronoun

	%	count
He	15.35	31
She	68.32	138
Transgender (prefer calling themselves as TG owing to confused gender identity)	16.34	33

Table 4: Percentage and count of the respondents' preferred pronoun

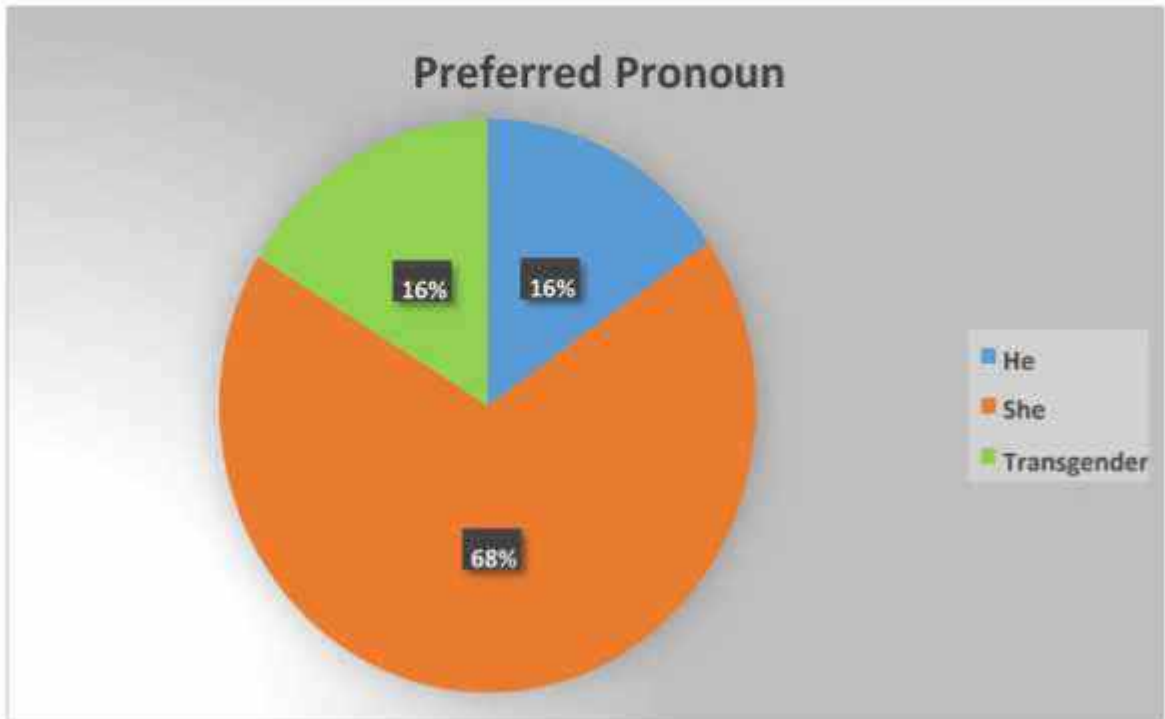


Figure 5: Preferred pronoun of respondents

68% among the respondents is Male to Female, while 16% are Trans Men. The remaining 16% prefer to be considered as transgender.

3.5. Education

	%	count
Lower Primary	19.5	39
Middle Class	16.5	33
High School	24.0	48
Higher Secondary	16.0	32
Under Graduation	22.0	44
Post-Graduation	2.5	5
Ph.D.	0.5	1
		202

Table 5: Percentage and count of respondents' education

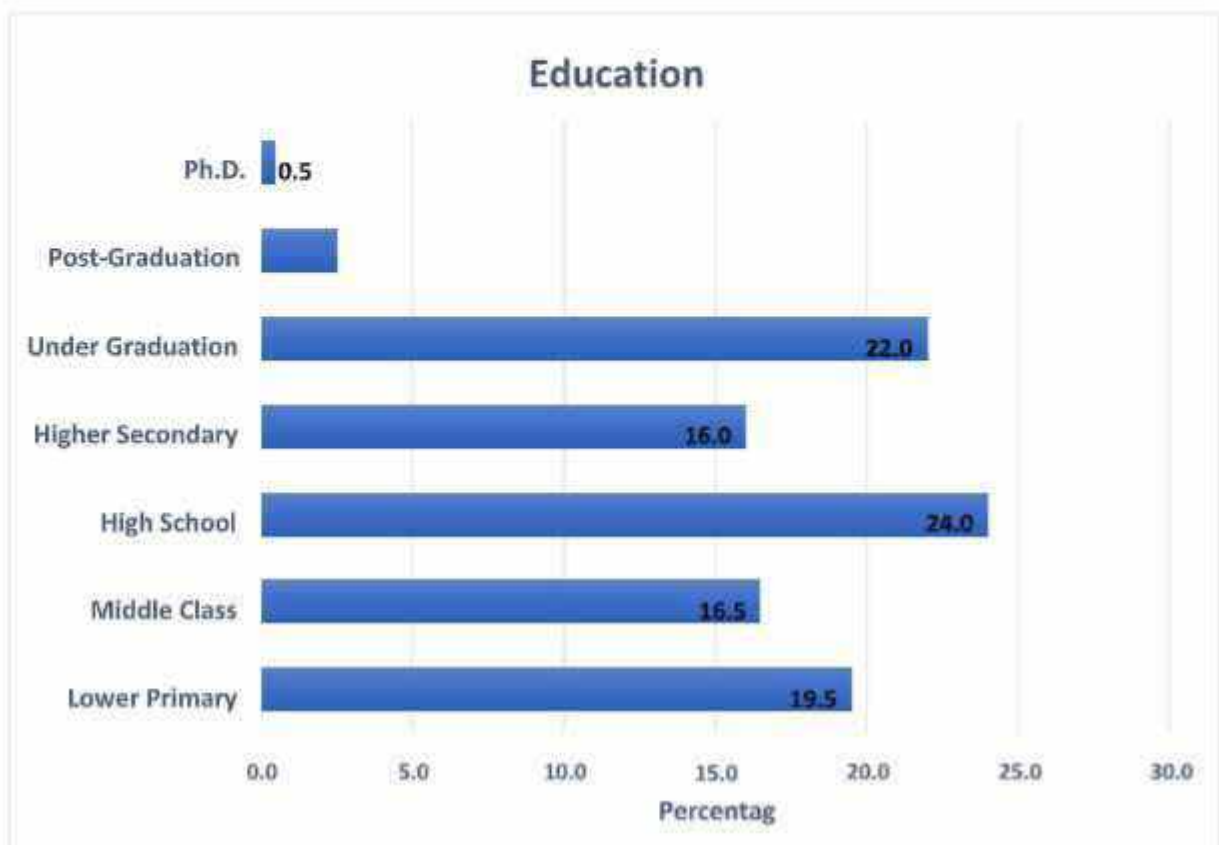


Figure 6: Education of respondents

36% drop out of school before completing Class X, but contrary to this 22% registered for or pursued graduation. Discriminatory behavior in schools/ colleges, verbal and physical abuse, hostile and humiliating behavior of classmates, lack of sensitivity from teachers, shame and stigmatization, and lack of family support compel them to discontinue their education.

TG1: *Left after class 8th due to teasing in school and lack of support from family.*

TG2: *Education till 10th. My parents harassed me because I wanted to dress as a girl. So, left home and then everything stopped.*

TG3: *After class 8, I realized that I wanted to be close to girls. I couldn't tell my family. I am from Nadia, a small village, grew up in Siliguri. When my family came to know about my relation with a girl, sent me to a teacher who would sexually harass me. After 10th I left studies.*

TG4: *Left home wanted to study, went to night school, but it threw me out.*

TG5: *In college, boys glared at me, bullied me. It was frustrating so I left.*

3.6. Monthly Income

	%	count
Less than 10000	71.29	144
10000-20000	25.74	52
25000-35000	2.97	6

Table 6: Percentage and count of respondents' monthly income

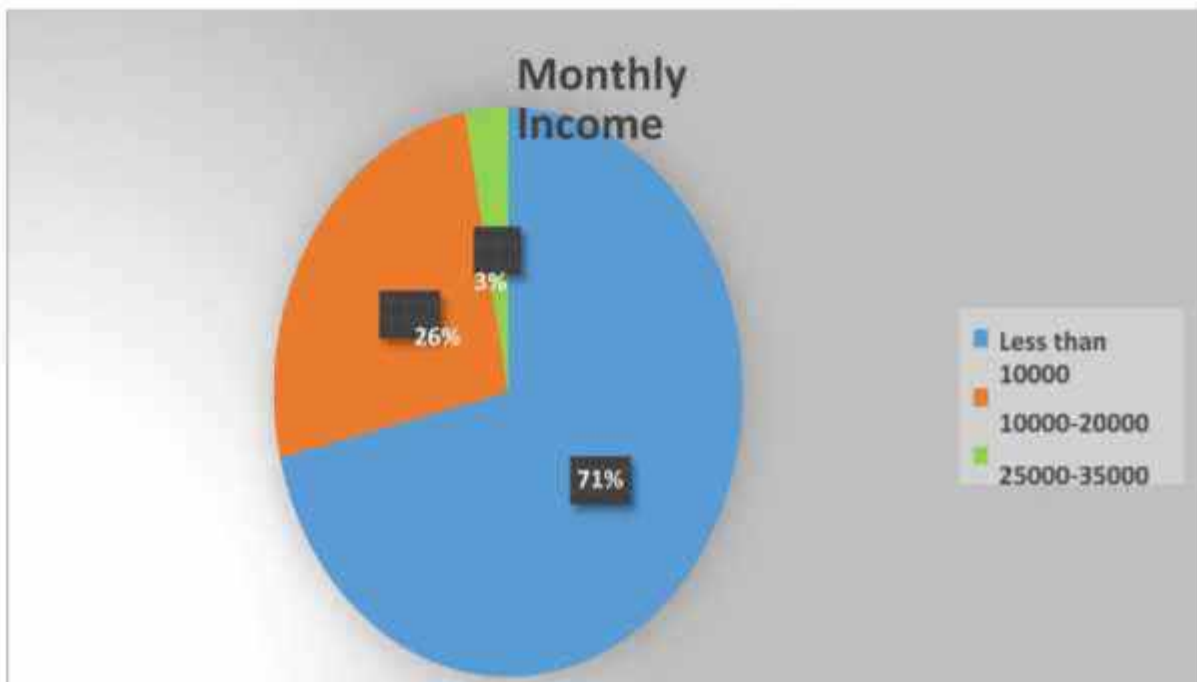


Figure 7: Monthly income of the respondents

71% of the TGs earn less than Rs. 10,000; 25.7% earn up to Rs. 20,000; while those earning between Rs. 25,000-35,000 are 3% only.

3.7. Place of Stay after Gender Change: Stays With

	%	count
Family by Birth	67.33	136
Away from Family due to third Gender	8.91	18
Alone	22.77	46
Live-in	0.99	2

Table 7: Percentage and count of place of stay after gender change



Figure 8: Place of stay of respondents after gender change

32.6% transgender left their family after realizing their gender change.

3. 8. Relationship Status after Gender Change

	%	count
Single	74.26	150
Married	4.95	10
In a Relation	17.33	35
Live In	2.97	6
Others	0.50	1

Table 8: Percentage and count of respondents' relationship status after gender change

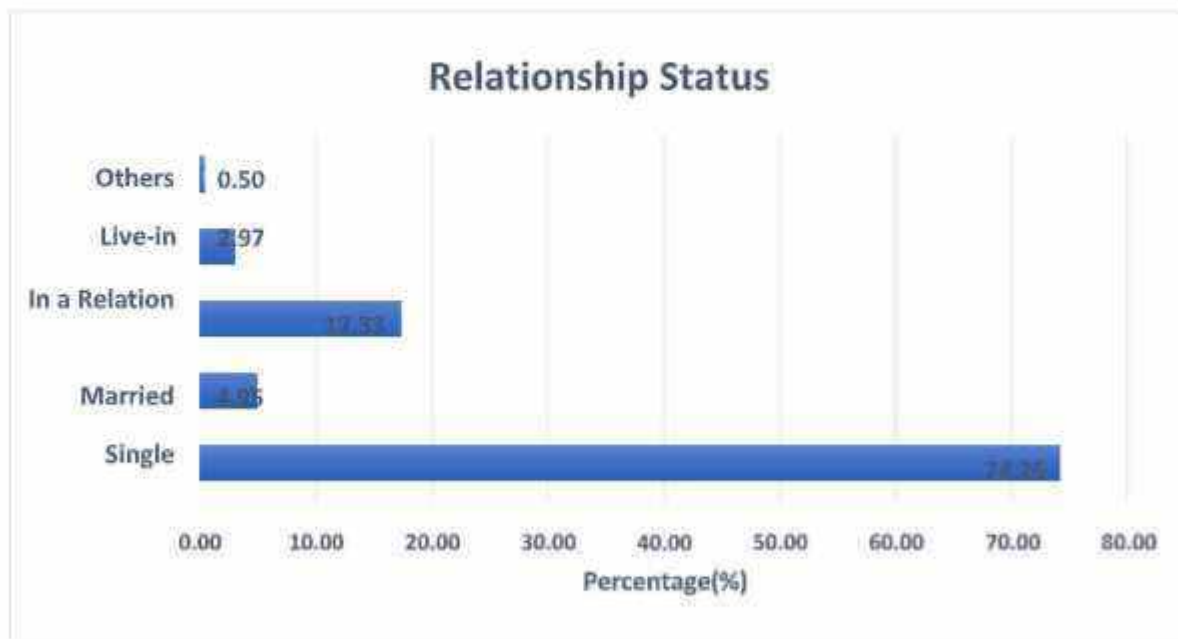


Figure 9: Relationship status after gender change

74% of respondents preferred to stay as single.

3.9. Preferable Form of Contact

	%	Count
WhatsApp /Email	71.78	145
Phone call	90.59	183
Other	24.75	50

Table 9: Percentage and count of respondents' preferred form of contact

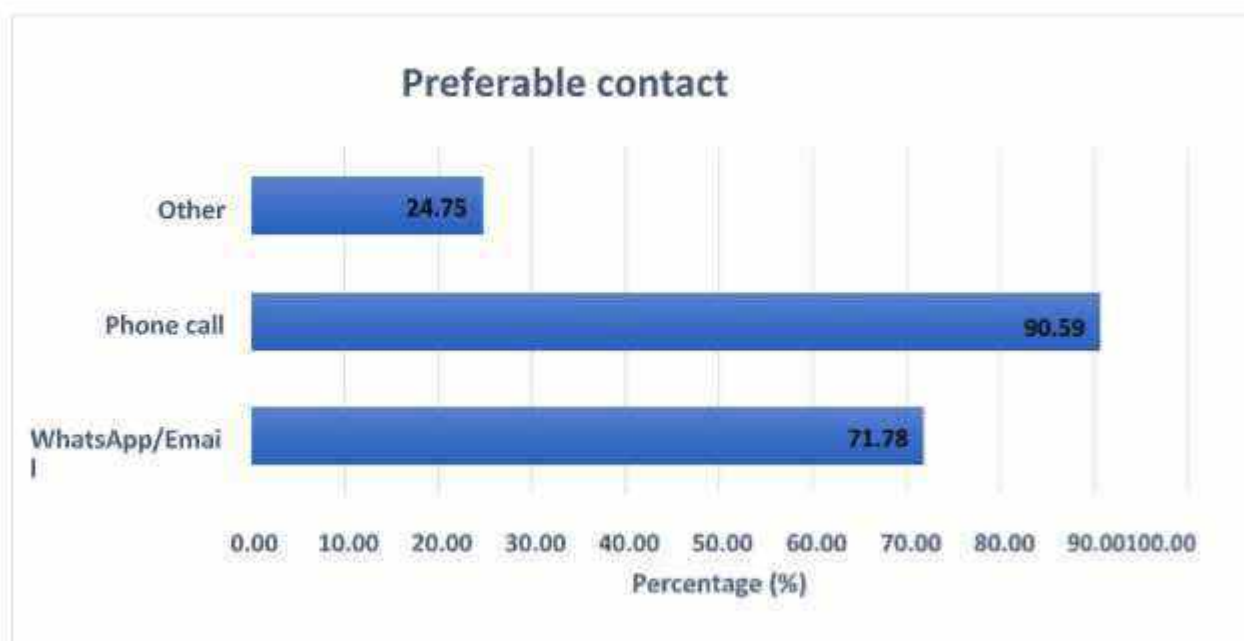


Figure 10: Preferable form of contact of respondents

71.7% use WhatsApp for communicating with friends and people. They have smart phone and can use it.

3.10. Religion

	%	count
Hindu	79.70	161
Muslim	13.86	28
Sikh	0.00	0
Parsee	0.00	0
Christian	1.49	3
Humanity	0.99	2
Others	3.96	8
		202

Table 10: Percentage and count of respondents' religion

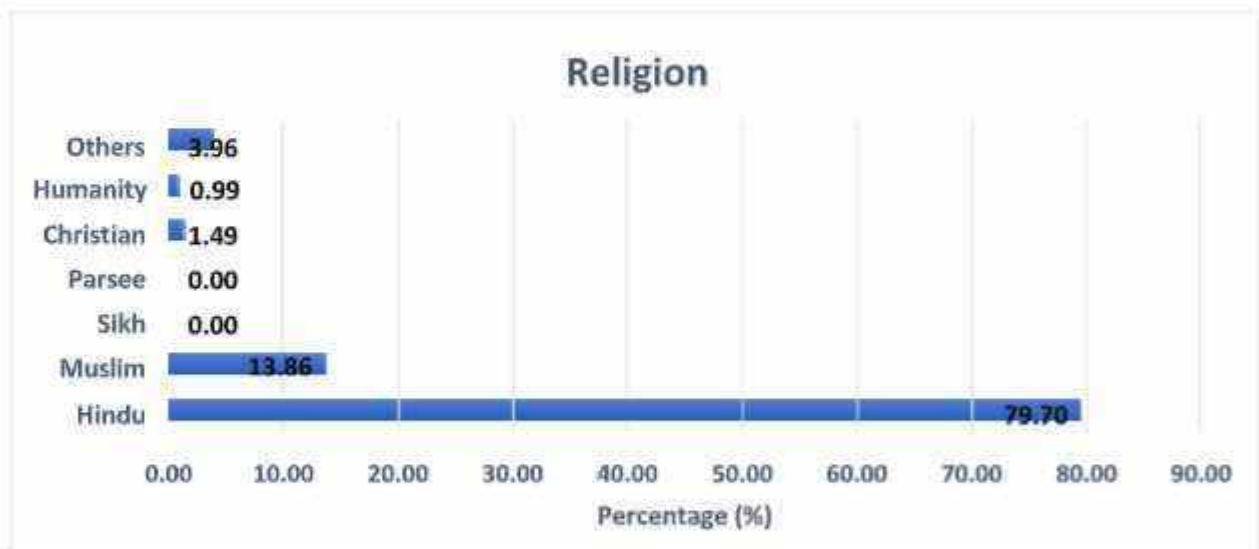


Figure 11: Religion of respondents

79.7% respondents are Hindus, while 13.8% are Muslims and the rest follow other religion. Less than 1% believes in humanity. If one looks at the religion of the general public population of West Bengal, one finds 70.54% as Hindus, 27.01% Muslims, and the rest fall within 3.08%. The demography is analogous to that of the general population statistics.

3.11. Changed religion after gender change

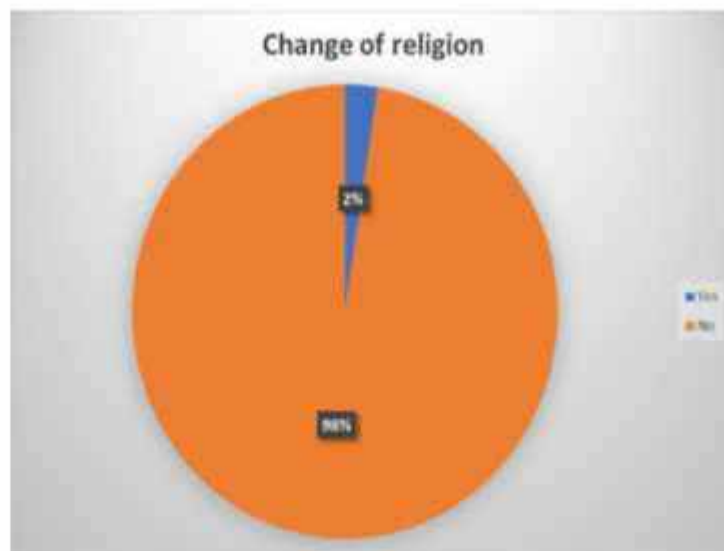


Figure 12: Changed religion after gender change

Only 2% of the respondents have changed their religion after gender change.

3.12. Category of Respondents

	%	count
General	73.76	149
OBC	10.89	22
SC/ST	15.35	31

Table 11: Percentage and count of respondents' category

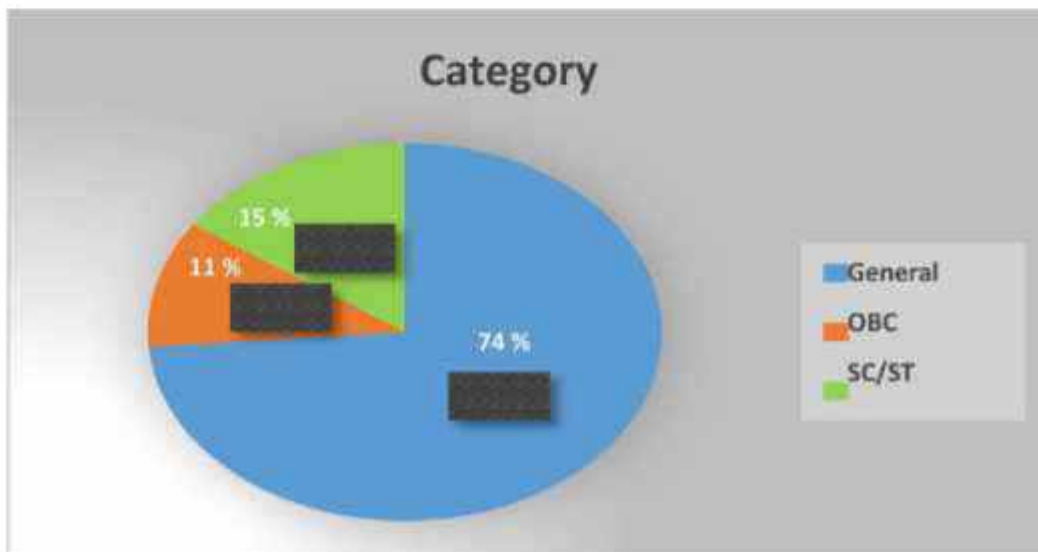


Figure 13: Category of respondents

73.7% respondents are from General Category, 10.8% are OBC, and 15% are SC/ST.

3.13. Relationship Status within the Structured Hierarchy of Guru-Chela

	%	count
Chela	50.50	102
Guru	8.91	18
No response	40.59	82

Table 12: Percentage and count of respondents' relationship within the hierarchy of Guru- Chela

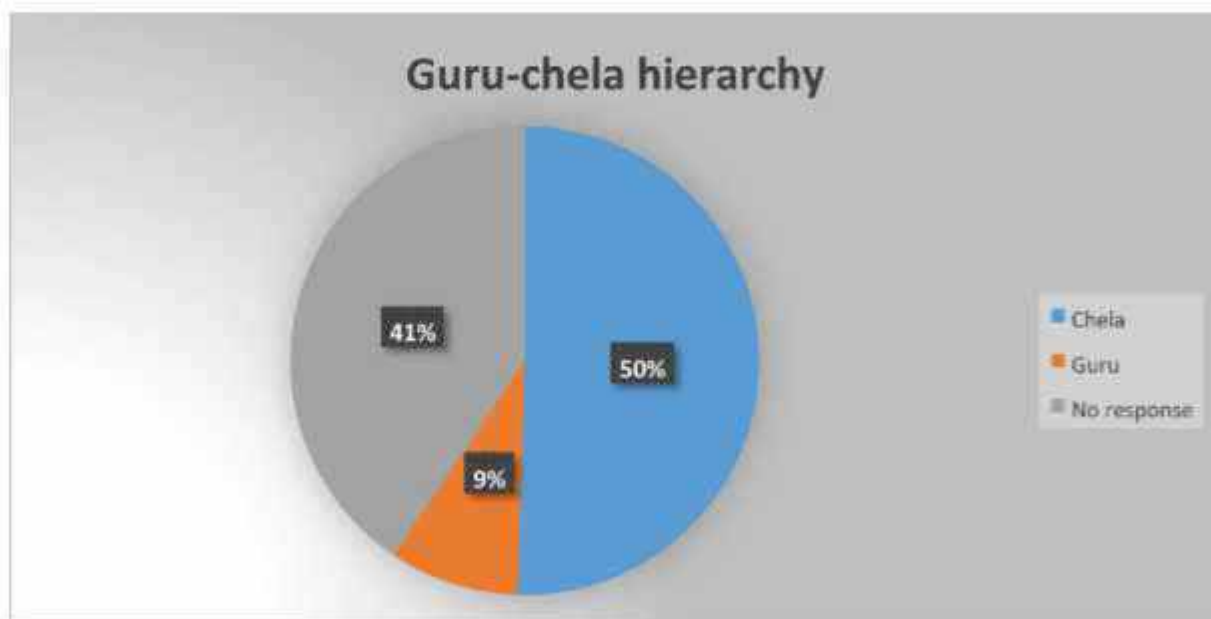


Figure 14: Guru- Chela hierarchy

59% of the respondents are a part of the guru-chela binary, of which 50% are chelas and 9% are gurus.

TG1: *We do not want to leave our guru even though she beats us. Because we cannot get job in mainstream society and cannot challenge the structure.*

TG2: *I have a guru and I give a hissa of Rs. 50 to 100 per day.*

TG3: *My guru has given me name and shelter.*

TG3: *My guru is good. She never asks for hissa.*

TG4: *My guru is good. She does not harass me for money. She is like my mother.*

TG5: *My guru harassed me. Made me work very hard, stole my money, beat me with knife and put me in sex work.*

TG6: *I joined a guru. I didn't know what I will have to face. I had to run away.*

TG7: *Some hijras of the community tortured and said you have to remain within territory. Tara hijra beats her chela with chappal.*

However, the respondents who have faith in the guru-chela system mentioned that the guru is like maa or mother to them and they cannot live outside the family. It provides them a sense of social security as well as economic security. They get a family set up and a family

which has shared experiences and therefore they understand the problems of each other well and bond in a better way, providing emotional strength to each other.

3.14. Health Issues

	%	count
Mental diseases	3.47	7
Spondylitis	0.99	2
Arthritis	0.50	1
UTI	0.50	1
BP	2.97	6
No response	85.15	172
PD	0.99	2
Gas & liver issues	1.98	4
HIV	0.99	2
Eye problem	0.50	1
Hormonal therapy & weakness	1.98	4

Table 13: Percentage and count of respondents' health issues

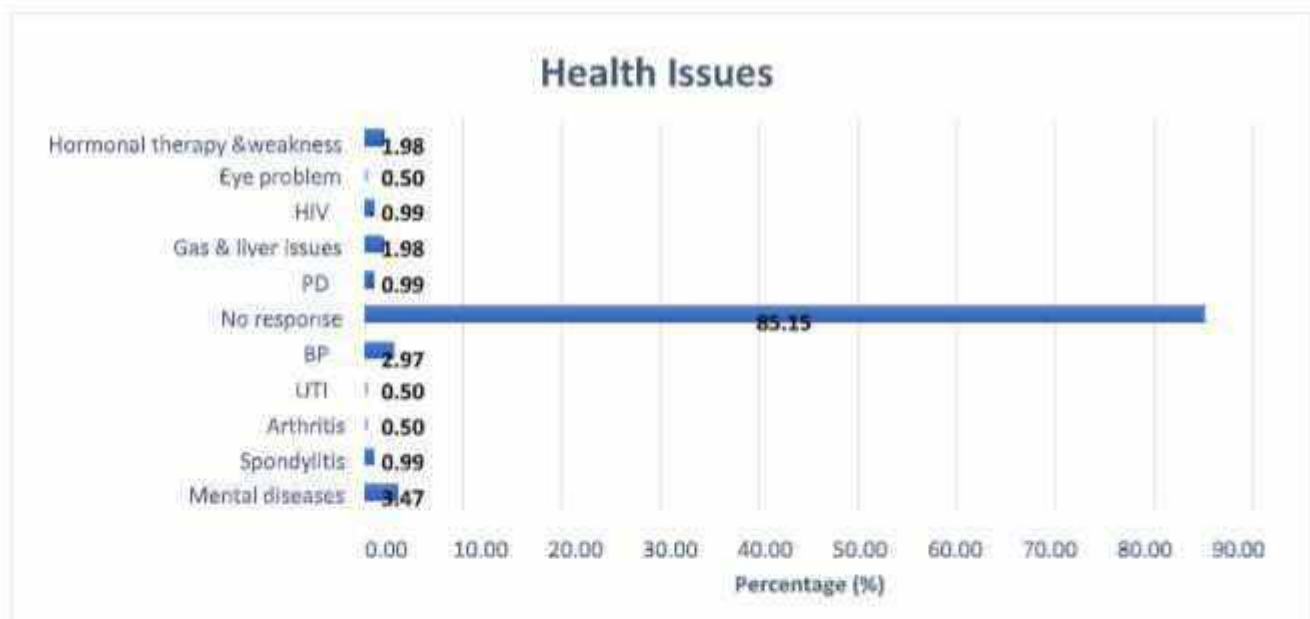


Figure 15: Health issues of respondents

More than 85% respondents did not open up on their health issues. From the responses received, majority of them suffer from mental diseases like panic disorders, depression, epilepsy, anorexia, fatigue, and schizophrenia among others.

3.15. Transgender-Friendly Spaces

Public spaces	%	count
Health	27.23	55
work place	43.56	88
Restaurants	31.19	63
Beauty Parlour	54.95	111
Leisure	25.74	52
School/ College	11.88	24

Table 14: Percentage and count of transgender-friendly spaces



Figure 16: Transgender- friendly facilities

Schools/ Colleges are the least transgender friendly space among the other spaces with just 11.8%. But the transgender community has been creating recreational spaces for its community. *Amra Odbhut Cafe*, Kolkata's first LGBTQ cafe, is a prime meeting

point and recreational space for many of the TGs. They also go to Vidya Cinema and Mehta Cinema, Sarojini Udyan in Central Kolkata. Central Kolkata is the most opted place by the TGs for recreation because it provides them the space to be themselves without worrying.

3.16. Crosstabs

In order to assess the social status of the respondents, the following variables were cross- tabbed: i) their level of education with acceptability in public spaces, ii) age with acceptability in public spaces, iii) nature/ place of stay with acceptability in public spaces, iv) relationship with acceptability in public spaces, v) religion with acceptability in public spaces, vi) caste with acceptability in public spaces

i) Education with Acceptability in Public Spaces

Education with Acceptability in Public Spaces Cross tabulation (%)							
Public Spaces→		Health	Work place	Restaurants	Beauty Parlour	Leisure	School
Percentage within education ↓	Education (%) ↓						
Lower Primary	19.50	28.21	38.46	25.64	56.41	17.95	7.69
Middle Class	16.50	27.27	33.33	24.24	57.58	15.15	6.06
High School	24.00	18.75	56.25	27.08	58.33	18.75	10.42
Higher Secondary	16.00	31.25	37.50	46.88	46.88	28.13	25.00
Under Graduation	22.00	29.55	47.73	34.09	59.09	43.18	11.36
Post-Graduation	2.50	60.00	40.00	40.00	20.00	40.00	20.00
Ph.D.	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00

Table 15: Crosstab: Education with acceptability in public spaces

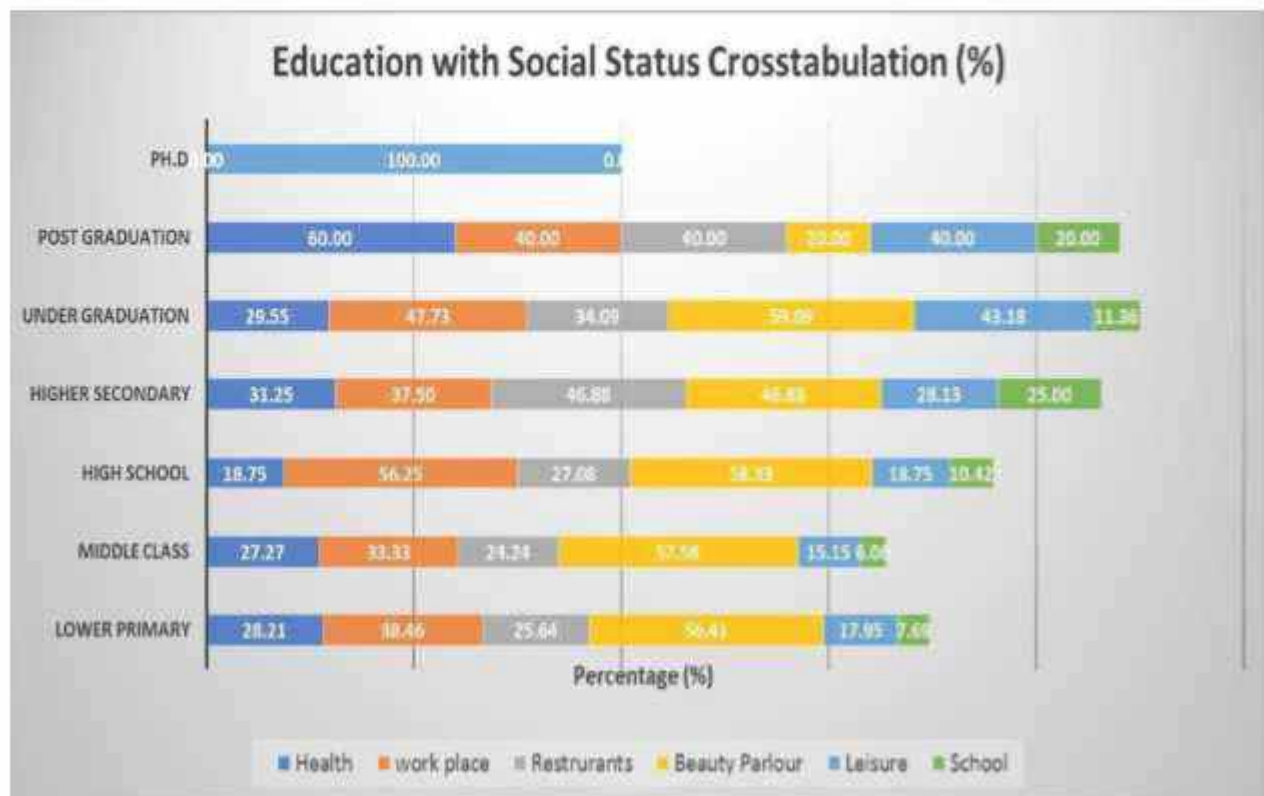


Figure 17: Education with social status cross tabulation

When established a correlation between the respondents' level of education and their acceptability in public spaces, following was noticed:

- Within lower primary 38% say that workplace is friendly while for 56% beauty parlor/ beauty care sector is friendly.
- Respondents with lower primary education to graduates find beauty care sector more friendly, ranging from 56.4%-59%.
- The ones with lower primary to high school pass do not find restaurants as friendly as compared to the ones who have higher secondary and tertiary level of education.
- Among the post graduates 60% find health centers friendly. Perhaps education makes them more conscious and aware towards their health issues. Also, it helps them in communicating their problems effectively.
- With regard to the spaces for leisure, no matter what their educational qualification be, they are stereotyped, therefore they do not find places for recreation.

f) Also, schools/ educational spaces are the least trans-friendly.

ii) Age and Acceptability in Public Spaces

Age with Acceptability in Public Spaces Cross tabulation (%)						
Public Spaces→		Health	work place	Restaurants	Beauty Parlour	Leisure
Percentage within Age ↓	Age (%) ↓					
18-25 years	30.20	23.33	41.67	25.00	56.67	16.67
26-36 years	50.50	22.33	48.54	31.07	54.37	31.07
37-50 years	18.32	45.95	35.14	37.84	51.35	21.62
51 above and above	0.99	50.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 16: Crosstab: Age and acceptability in public spaces



Figure 18: Age with acceptability in public spaces cross tabulation

On correlating age with acceptability in public places, it was found that those respondents who are 37 and above are better heard when availing health care as compared to the younger ones. But the acceptability of the younger ones between the age group of 18-36 years is more at work place. Interestingly, the percent of acceptance of TGs of the different age groups in the beauty care sector is quite close, that is, within a range of 51%-56.6%.

Spaces of leisure/ recreation is again an issue. Acceptability in leisure spaces ranges from 16.6%- 31% only.

iii) Place/Nature of Stay and Acceptability in Public Spaces

Venue (A) Stay with Acceptability in Public Spaces: Cross tabulation (%)							
Public Spaces→		Health	work place	Restaurants	Beauty Parlour	Leisure	School
Percentage within Venue (A) Stay ↓	Venue (A) Stay (%) ↓						
Family by Birth	67.33	31.11	48.15	31.11	56.30	29.63	13.33
Away from Family due to Third Gender	8.91	0.00	41.18	29.41	35.29	17.65	5.88
Alone	22.77	26.67	33.33	35.56	62.22	20.00	11.11
Live-in	0.99	50.00	50.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00

Table 17: Place/Nature of stay and acceptability in public spaces

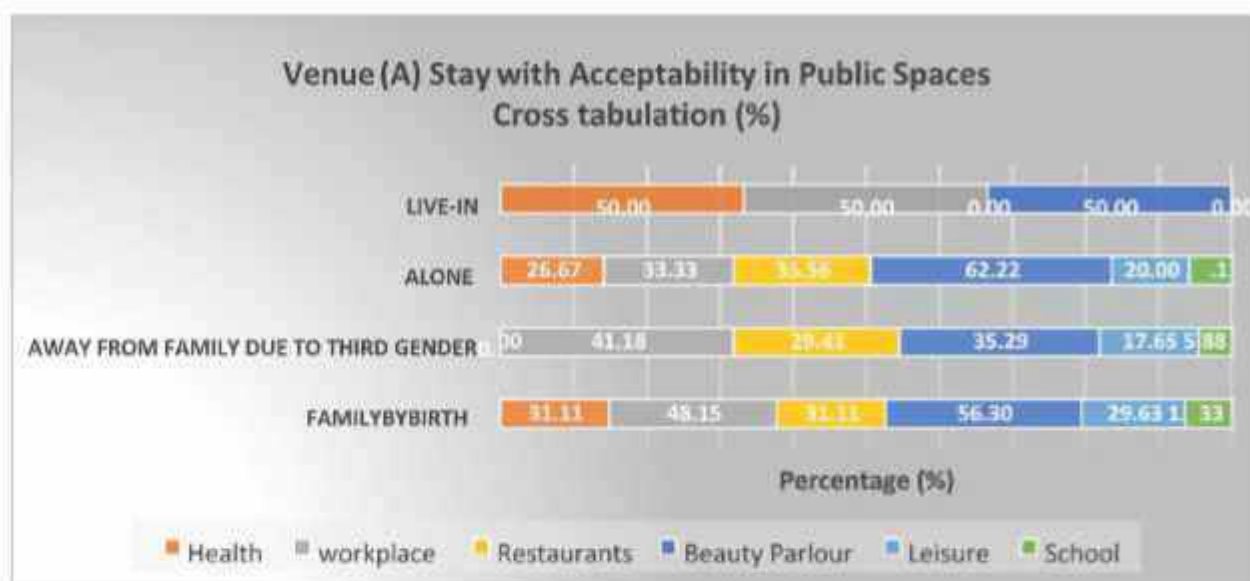


Figure 19: Place/ nature of stay with acceptability in public spaces cross tabulation

The correlation established between nature/place of stay of the respondents and their acceptability at public places shows that those staying with family find the health

centers friendlier (31%) and for them the educational spaces are also friendly to a certain extent (13.3%). The ones staying with family are better positioned and accepted in public spaces in terms of acceptability in health (31%) and education (13.3%).

iv) Relationship and Acceptability in Public Spaces

Venue (B) Relationship and Acceptability in Public Spaces Cross tabulation (%)							
Public Spaces→		Health	Work place	Restaurant	Beauty Parlour	Leisure	School
Percentage within Venue2 Relationship↓	Venue (B) Relationship (%)↓						
Single	74.26	26.00	42.67	32.67	56.67	28.00	12.00
Married	4.95	20.00	70.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	0.00
In a relation	17.33	31.43	40.00	22.86	54.29	20.00	14.29
Live in	2.97	33.33	33.33	50.00	66.67	33.33	0.00
Others	0.50	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 18: Crosstab: Relationship and acceptability in public spaces

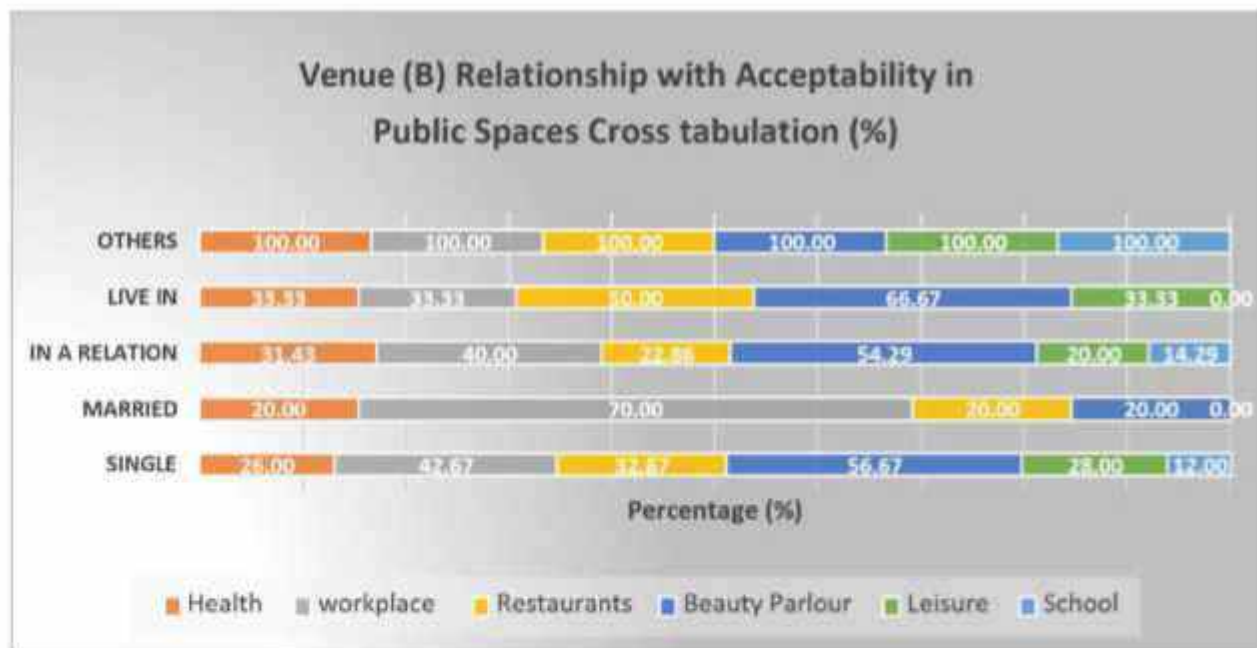


Figure 20: Relationship with acceptability in public spaces cross tabulation

The relationship status of the respondents and its impact on their social status suggests that the ones who are married experience better acceptability at workplace.

v) Religion and Acceptability in Public Spaces

Religion with Acceptability in Public Spaces Cross tabulation (%)							
Public Spaces→		Health	work place	Restaurant	Beauty Parlour	Leisure	School
Percentage within Religion ↓	Religion (%) ↓						
Hindu	79.70	26.09	46.58	33.54	59.63	27.95	11.18
Muslim	13.86	21.43	32.14	17.86	35.71	10.71	14.29
Sikh	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Parsee	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Christian	1.49	66.67	33.33	33.33	66.67	33.33	33.33
Humanity	0.99	100.00	50.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00
Others	3.96	42.86	28.57	42.86	28.57	42.86	14.29

Table 19: Crosstab: Religion and acceptability in public spaces



Figure 21: Religion with acceptability in Public Spaces Cross tabulation

While correlating the religion of the respondents with their acceptability in public spaces, it was observed that those respondents who are Hindus and Christians have better acceptability as compared to the ones who follow other religions.

vi) Caste and Acceptability in Public Spaces

Caste and Acceptability in Public Spaces Cross tabulation (%)							
Public Spaces→		Health	Work place	Restaurant	Beauty Parlour	Leisure	School
Percentage within Caste ↓	Caste (%) ↓						
General	73.76	31.08	44.59	34.46	59.46	29.05	12.84
OBC	10.89	4.35	34.78	26.09	30.43	13.04	8.70
SC/ST	15.35	25.81	45.16	19.35	51.61	19.35	9.68

Table 20: Crosstab: Caste and acceptability in public spaces

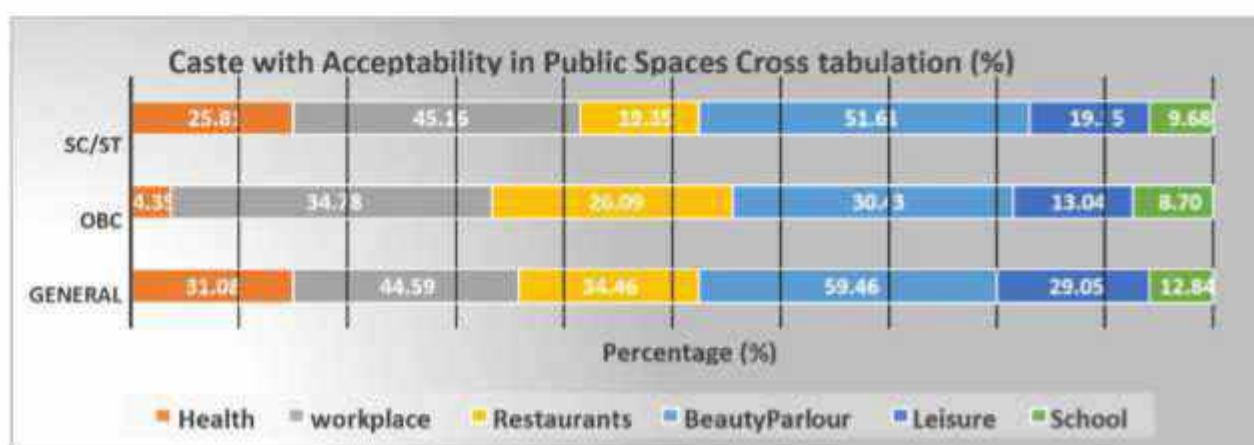


Figure 22: Caste and acceptability in public spaces

Respondents belonging to General Category are more accepted than the ones who belong to OBC, SC/ST categories.

3.17. Constraints Faced in Public Places

	%	count
Stereotyping	50.50	102
Discrimination by State Machinery	60.89	123
Discrimination In Public Space	52.97	107
Transphobic Attitude	68.32	138
Physical Assault	50.99	103
Violence	63.37	128
Mental Harassment	75.25	152
Alienation	47.03	95
Verbal Abuse	72.28	146
Other	5.94	12

Table 21: Percentage and count of constraints faced in public places

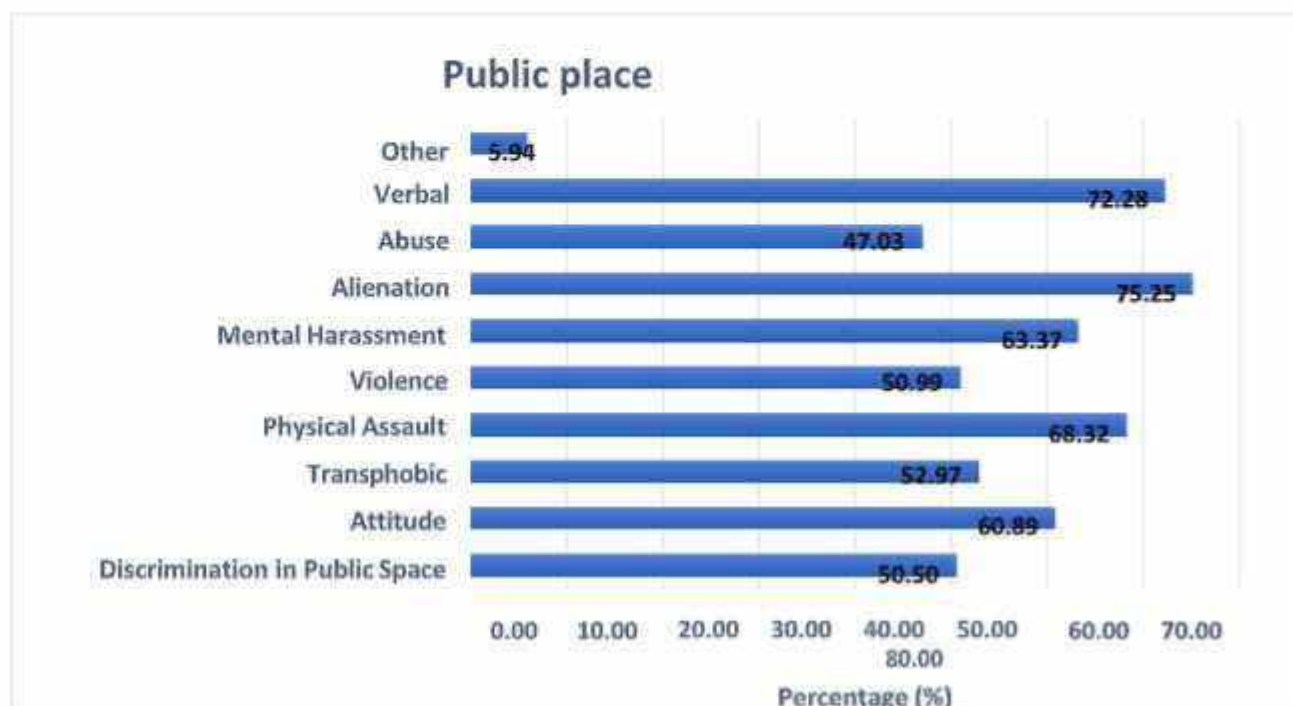


Figure 23: Public place constraints

Among the various constraints faced in public places, mental harassment is on the high (75%) followed by verbal abuse (72%), transphobia (68%), violence (63%), discrimination by state machinery (61%) and others.

3.18. Constraints Faced within Community(TG)

	%	count
Hierarchy	49.01	99
Guru-Chela Binary	24.75	50
Caste	16.34	33
Status within Community	26.73	54
Economic Status	43.07	87
Association with activities	11.88	24
Money Power	45.54	92
Other	5.45	11

Table 22: Percentage and count of constraints faced within community (TG)

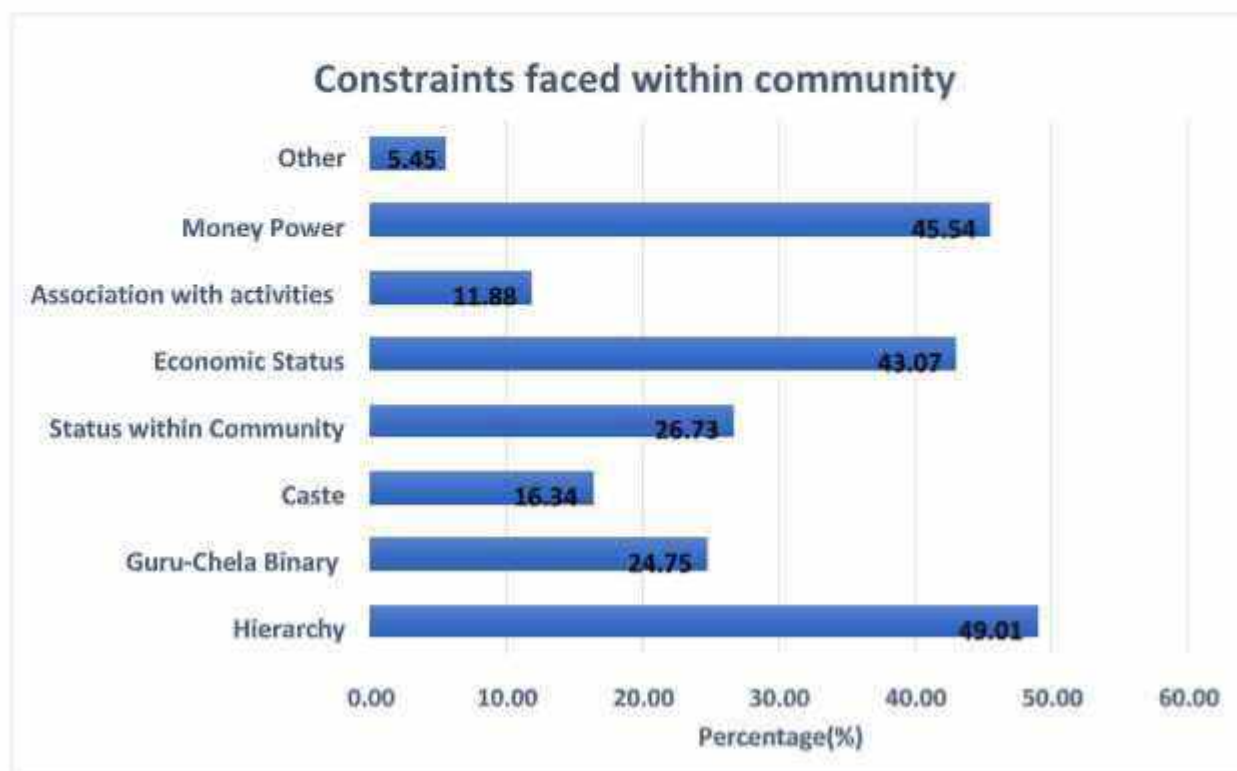


Figure 24: Constraints faced within community (TG)

49% of the respondents stated that hierarchy within the TG community is a major constraint, while above 40% attributed it to economic status and money power. Guru-chela binary is also a kind of constraint, but only for 24.7%.

3.19. Crosstabs

Further to assess the degree of constraints faced by the respondents, the following variables were cross-tabbed: vii) their caste with nature of constraints faced, viii) their age with nature of constraints faced, ix) their level of education with nature of constraints faced, x) their monthly income with nature of constraints faced, xi) their place/ nature of stay with nature of constraints faced, xii) their relationship status with nature of constraints faced.

i) **TGs' Caste and Constraints Faced**

Constraints →	% within Caste →	General	OBC	SC/ ST
	Caste (%) →	73.76	10.89	15.35
Public Place Stereotyping		51.35	52.17	45.16
Discrimination State Machinery		62.16	56.52	58.06
Discrimination Public Space		53.38	39.13	61.29
Transphobic Attitude		69.59	65.22	64.52
Physical Assault		51.35	43.48	54.84
Place Violence		64.86	47.83	67.74
Mental Harassment		76.35	65.22	77.42
Place Alienation		50.00	43.48	35.48
Verbal Abuse		73.65	60.87	74.19
Place Other		6.08	4.35	6.45
Community TG Hierarchy		45.27	56.52	61.29
Community TG Guru- Chela Binary		23.65	26.09	32.26
Community TG Caste		13.51	13.04	32.26
Community TG Status within Community		29.73	17.39	19.35
Community TG Economic Status		43.92	47.83	35.48
Community TG Association with activities		11.49	17.39	16.13
Community TG Money Power		45.27	43.48	48.39
Community TG Other		5.41	4.35	6.45

Table 23: Crosstab: TGs' caste and constraints faced

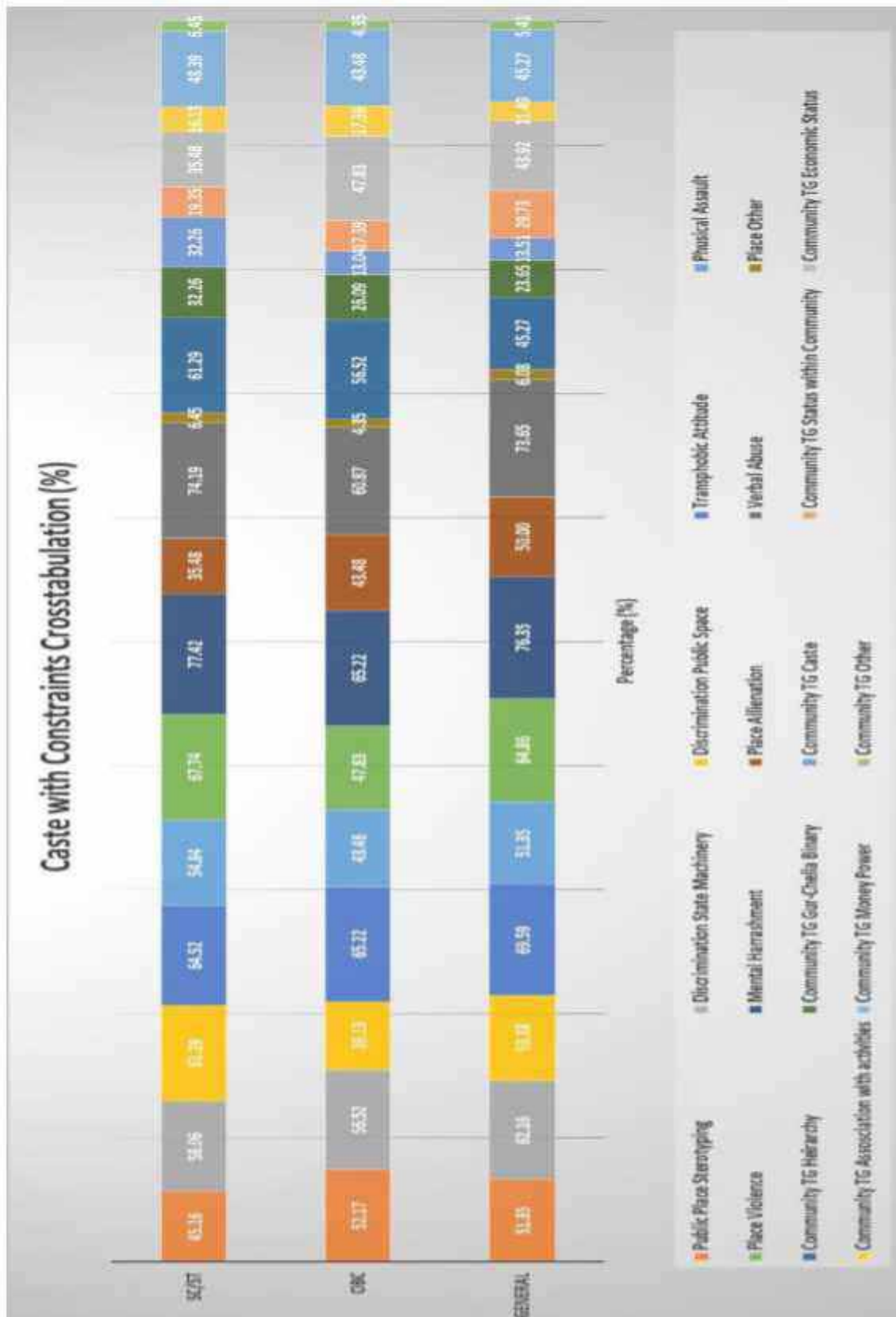


Figure 25: Caste with constraints cross tabulation

The respondents' caste was cross tabbed with the constraints faced by them like public place stereotyping, discrimination by state machinery, discrimination in public spaces, transphobic attitude, physical assault, violence, mental harassment, alienation, verbal abuse, guru-chela binary, caste, status within community, etc. Not much difference was noticed between the three caste categories in terms of discrimination faced, except that the ST/SC respondents faced more constraints due to their caste and they are the ones who are more oppressed within the guru-chela system.

ii) Age and Constraints Faced

Percentage with in Constraints ↓	Percentage with in Age →	18 - 25 years	26-36 years	37 - 50 years	51 above and above
	Age (%) →	30.20	50.50	18.32	0.99
Public Place Stereotyping		46.67	52.43	51.35	50.00
Discrimination State Machinery		61.67	66.02	48.65	0.00
Discrimination Public Space		53.33	53.40	51.35	50.00
Transphobic Attitude e		66.67	63.11	83.78	100.00
Physical Assault		50.00	50.49	54.05	50.00
Place Violence		60.00	59.22	81.08	50.00
Place Alienation		80.00	69.90	83.78	50.00
Verbal Abuse		40.00	50.49	51.35	0.00
Place Other		73.33	69.90	78.38	50.00
Community TG Hierarchy		3.33	7.77	5.41	0.00
Community TG Guru-Chela Binary		51.67	46.60	51.35	50.00
Community TG Caste		26.67	22.33	29.73	50.00
Community TG Status with in Community		23.33	14.56	10.81	0.00
Community TG Economic Status		35.00	24.27	21.62	0.00
Community TG Association with activities		43.33	39.81	54.05	0.00
Community TG Money Power		10.00	14.56	10.81	50.00
Community TG Other		48.33	39.81	56.76	50.00

Table 24: Crosstab: Age and constraints faced

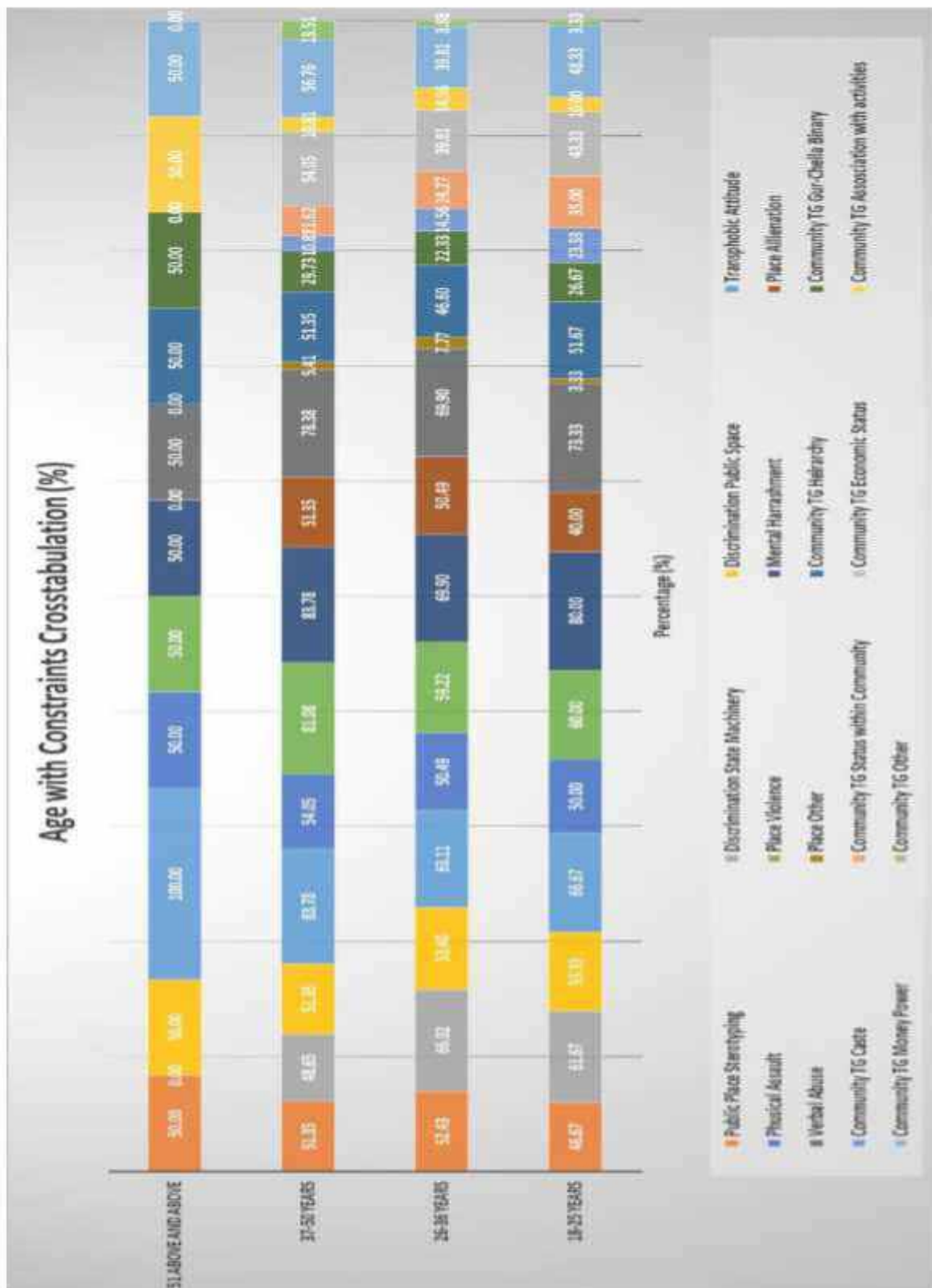


Figure 26: Age with constraints cross tabulation

Further, age of the respondents was cross-tabbed with types of constraints faced. It was found that those within the age range of 37-50 years face violence (81%), mental harassment (83.7%), and transphobic attitude (83.7%).

iii) Level of Education and Constraints Faced

Education with Constraints Cross tabulation (%)								
% With in Constraints]	% within Education →	Lower Primary	Middle Class	High School	Higher Secondary	UG	PG	Ph.D.
	Education (%) →	19.50	16.50	24.0	16.00	22.00	2.50	0.50
Public Place Stereotyping		38.46	45.45	52.08	50.00	59.09	80.00	100.00
Discrimination & State Machinery		33.33	54.55	72.92	65.63	68.18	100.00	100.00
Discrimination in Public Space		41.03	48.48	66.67	43.75	54.55	80.00	100.00
Transphobic Attitude		58.97	72.73	60.42	71.88	75.00	100.00	100.00
Physical Assault		41.03	54.55	56.25	59.38	40.91	80.00	100.00
Place Violence		53.85	75.76	68.75	53.13	61.36	80.00	100.00
Mental Harassment		74.36	75.76	72.92	78.13	72.73	100.00	100.00
Place Alienation		30.77	45.45	54.17	50.00	47.73	80.00	100.00
Verbal Abuse		66.67	75.76	75.50	68.75	70.45	100.00	100.00
Place Other		0.00	9.09	12.50	3.13	4.55	0.00	0.00
TGs & Hierarchy		74.36	51.52	45.83	43.75	31.82	40.00	100.00
TGs & Guru-Chela Binary		30.77	39.39	31.25	18.75	9.09	0.00	100.00
TG & Caste		10.26	30.30	18.75	12.50	9.09	40.00	0.00
TG Status within Community		30.77	33.33	29.17	15.63	25.00	20.00	0.00
TGs & economic Status		56.41	60.61	33.33	37.50	31.82	40.00	100.00
TGs association with activities		10.26	9.09	10.42	12.50	13.64	60.00	100.00
TGs & Money Power		64.10	48.48	33.33	37.50	45.45	60.00	0.00
TGs Other		7.69	9.09	2.08	3.13	6.82	0.00	0.00

Table 25: Crosstab: Level of education and constraints faced

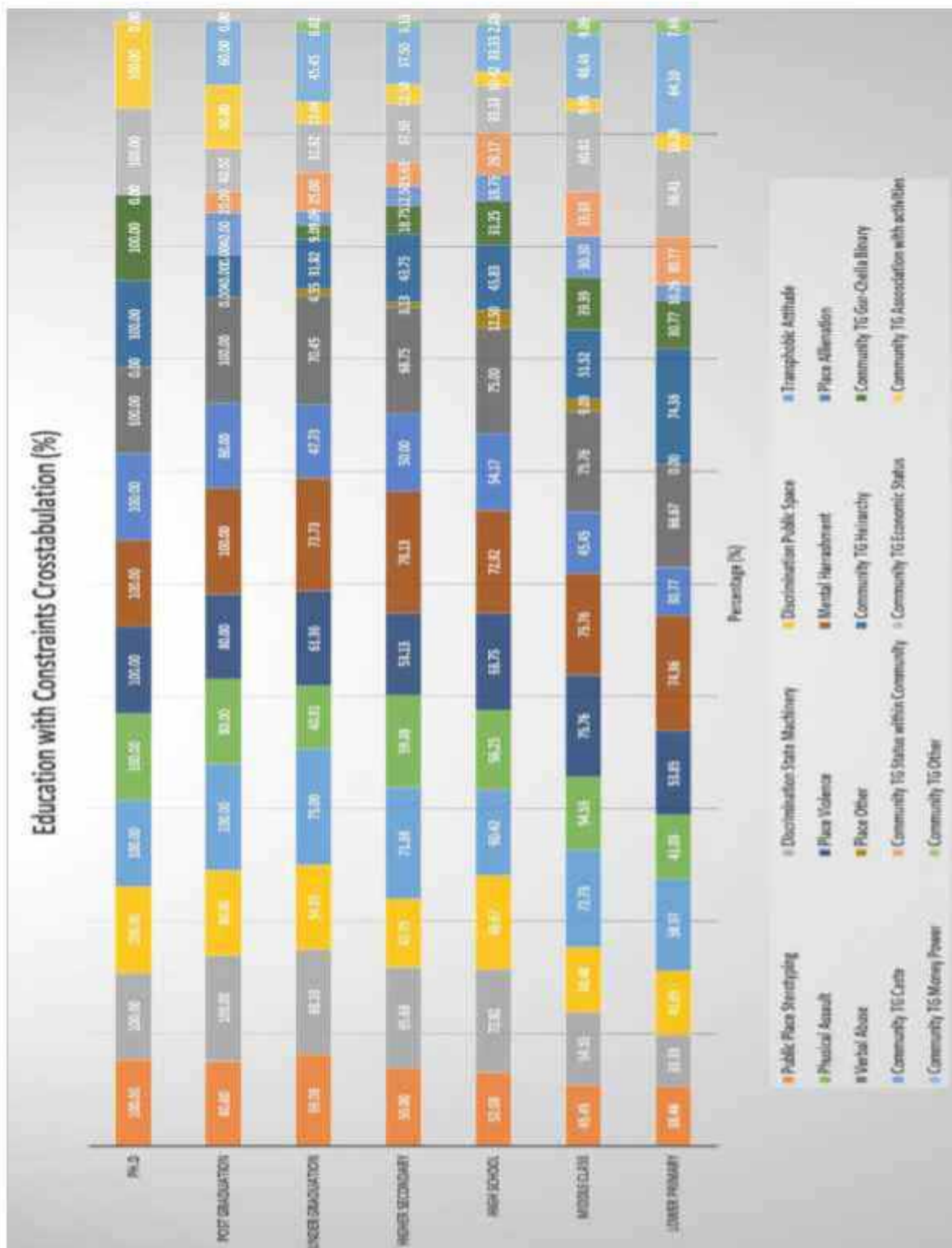


Figure 27: Education with constraints cross tabulation

The ones with tertiary education (25%) turn more sensitive towards the public gaze as they face constraints due to stereotyping, state machinery, discriminatory approach, transphobic attitude, mental harassment, verbal abuse and even physical violence, while the ones with less education face constraints due to hierarchy that exists within the TGs community. The higher the level of education, the lesser is the constraint faced due to TG hierarchy. Also education brings more awareness in one which sets one free from guru-chela system. Among the respondents who went for tertiary education, nearly 25% experienced least or no constraint due to the guru-chela binary.

iv) Monthly Income and Constraints Faced

Monthly Income with Constraints Cross tabulation (%)				
Constraints ↓	Percentage within Monthly Income →	Less than 10000	10000-20000	25000-35000
	Monthly Income →	71.29	25.74	2.97
Public Place Stereotyping g		45.83	65.38	33.33
Discrimination State Machinery		63.89	53.85	50.00
Discrimination Public Space		48.61	67.31	33.33
Transphobic Attitude e		62.50	86.54	50.00
Physical Assault		47.92	57.69	66.67
Place Violence		61.81	69.23	50.00
Mental Harassment		72.22	80.77	100.00
Place Alienation		48.61	44.23	33.33
Verbal Abuse		68.06	82.69	83.33
Place Other		4.86	9.62	0.00
TG & Hierarchy		48.61	48.08	66.67
TG Guru-Chela Binary		21.53	34.62	33.33
TG & Caste		16.67	15.38	16.67
TG Status within Community		19.44	46.15	33.33
TG economic Status		36.11	61.54	50.00
TG Association with activities		11.11	17.31	16.67
TG & Money Power		40.28	59.62	50.00
Community TG Other		3.47	11.54	0.00

Table 26: Crosstab: Monthly income and constraints faced

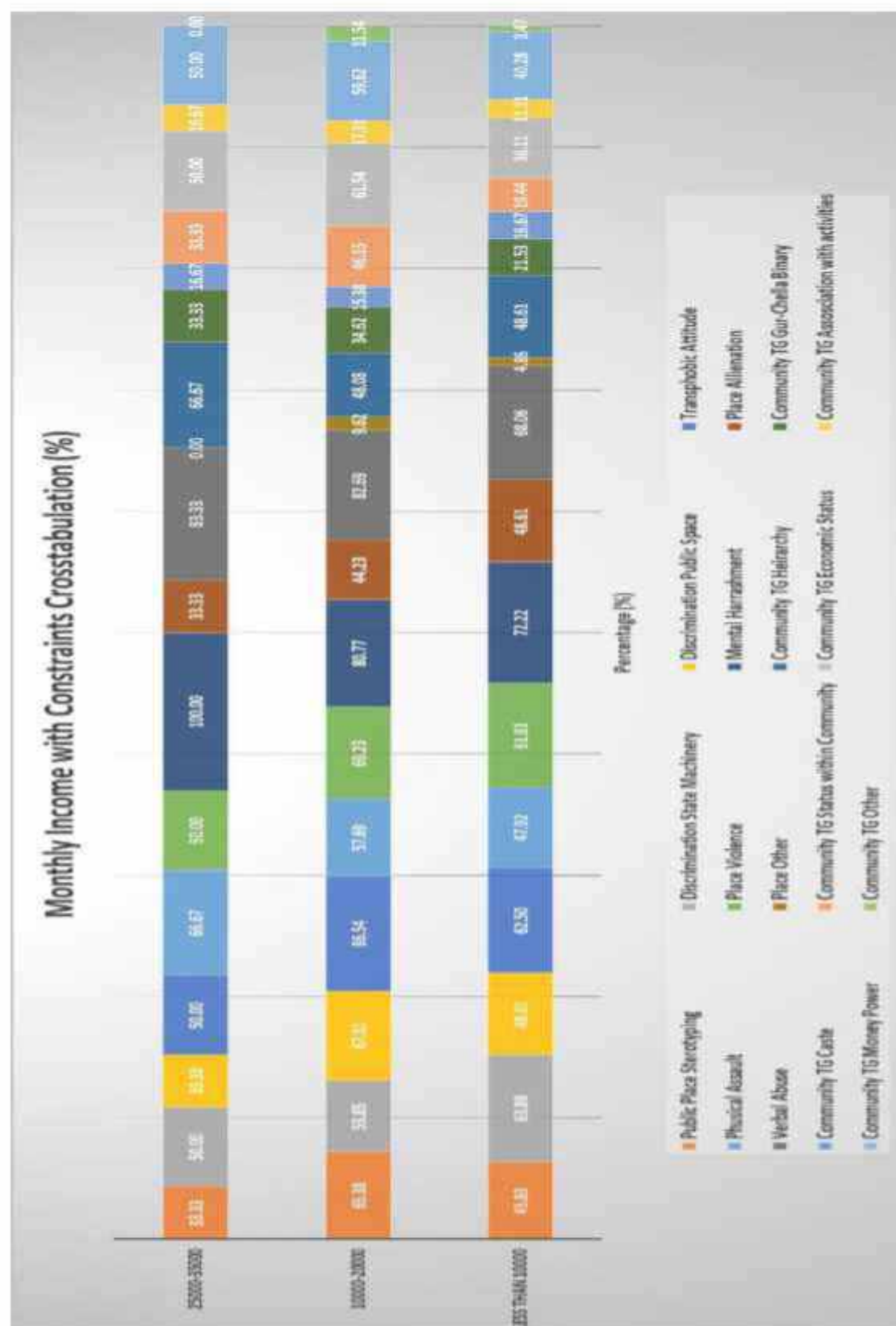


Figure 28: Monthly income and constraints cross tabulation

TGs with higher earnings (25000-35000) encounter less stereotyping and discrimination as compared to those with less earnings.

v) Place/Nature and Constraints Faced

Venue (A) Stay with Constraints Cross tabulation (%)					
Constraints ↓	Percentage with in Venue (A) Stay→	Family by Birth	Away from Family due to third Gender	Alone	Live-in
	Venue (A) Stay (%)→	67.33	8.91	22.77	0.99
Public Place Stereotyping g		57.25	23.53	37.78	100.00
Discrimination State Machinery		60.87	76.47	55.50	50.00
Discrimination Public Space		56.52	52.94	40.00	100.00
Transphobic Attitude e		72.46	70.59	53.33	100.00
Physical Assault		52.90	35.29	48.89	100.00
Place Violence		61.59	64.71	66.67	100.00
Mental Harassment		74.64	52.94	84.44	100.00
Place Alienation		44.93	47.06	53.33	50.00
Verbal Abuse		68.84	64.71	84.44	100.00
Place Other		6.52	5.88	4.44	0.00
TG & Hierarchy		45.65	52.94	57.78	50.00
TG Guru-Chela Binary		21.01	41.18	31.11	50.00
TG & Caste		18.84	17.65	8.89	0.00
TG Status within Community		23.91	11.76	40.00	50.00
TG economic Status		42.75	29.41	48.89	50.00
TG Association with activities		9.42	17.65	22.22	0.00
TG & Money Power		42.03	52.94	53.33	50.00
Community TG Other		5.07	5.88	4.44	50.00

Table 27: Crosstab: Place/Nature and constraints faced



Figure 29: Place of stay with constraints cross tabulation

Also it was noted that the one who stay alone face less stereotyping (37.7%), less discrimination by state machinery (55.5%) and in public spaces (40%), encounter less transphobic attitude (53%), but their degree of mental harassment is very high (84%). They feel alienated (53%) and encounter more verbal abuse (84%).

vi) Nature of Relationship and Constraints Faced

Venue (B) Relationship with Constraint Cross tabulation (%)						
Constraints ↓	% with in Venue (B) →	Single	Married	In Relation	Live in	Others
	Venue (B) Relationship (%) →	74.26	4.95	17.33	2.97	0.50
Public Place Stereotyping		46.67	40.00	65.71	66.67	100.00
Discrimination State Machinery		59.33	70.00	57.14	100.00	100.00
Discrimination Public Space		48.67	60.00	60.00	100.00	100.00
Transphobic Attitude		67.33	50.00	74.29	83.33	100.00
Physical Assault		47.33	70.00	57.14	66.67	100.00
Place Violence		61.33	70.00	62.86	100.00	100.00
Mental Harassment		72.00	70.00	85.71	100.00	100.00
Place Alienation		44.67	30.00	51.43	100.00	100.00
Verbal Abuse		69.33	90.00	74.29	100.00	100.00
Place Other		6.00	0.00	5.71	16.67	0.00
TG & Hierarchy		45.33	50.00	60.00	66.67	100.00
TG Guru-Chela Binary		24.67	30.00	25.71	33.33	0.00
TG & Caste		14.00	30.00	20.00	16.67	100.00
TG Status within Community		28.00	20.00	22.86	16.67	100.00
TG economic Status		43.33	40.00	45.71	16.67	100.00
TG Association with activities		14.67	10.00	5.71	0.00	100.00
TG & Money Power		45.33	60.00	40.00	50.00	100.00
Community TG Other		6.67	0.00	2.86	0.00	0.00

Table 28: Crosstab: Nature of relationship and constraints faced

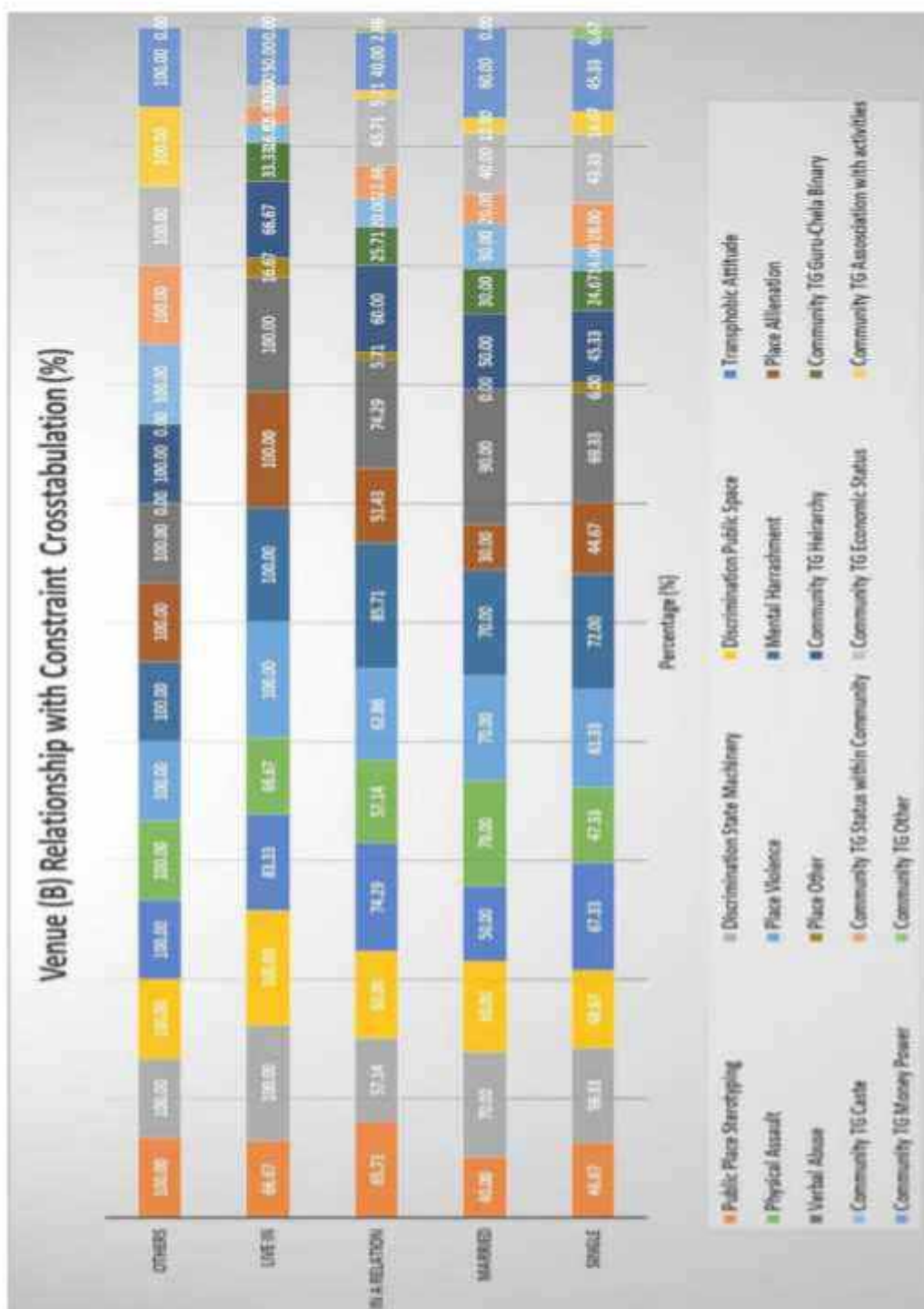


Figure 30: Nature of relationship and constraints faced cross tabulation

The ones who are in live-in relation face more public place stereotyping (66.6%) and mental harassment as compared to others. Married people face least constraints as compared to other categories.

3.20. Social Stigma Faced

	%	count
Yes	80.20	162
No	19.80	40

Table 29: Percentage and count of social stigma faced

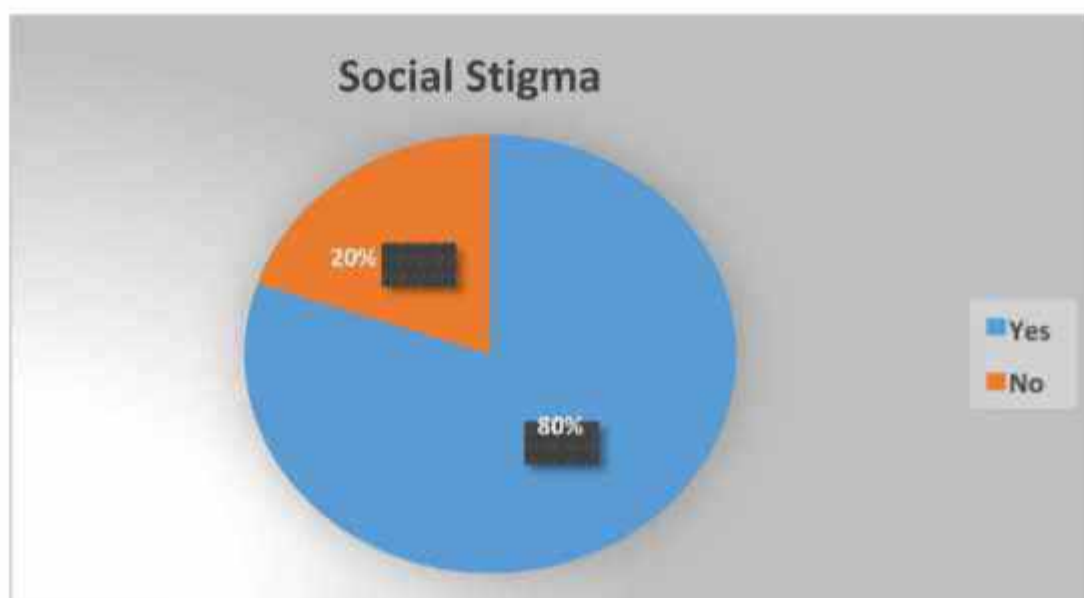


Figure 31: Social stigma faced

80% of the respondents have faced social stigma.

To quote a few responses:

TG1: *The society doesn't accept us as normal people.*

TG2: *Yes, a man who doesn't fuck a woman has no right to sunlight, air, water, urban facilities of the world.*

TG3: *I was extremely stigmatized at school and I was not in a good mental state to continue my studies.*

TG4: *In school because of my effeminate attitude I was bullied and left studies.*

TG5: *I was so badly stigmatized and was not able to continue my studies which led me to dropout.*

TG6: *When I went to my doctor after being diagnosed HIV positive, I told my doctor I am transgender and he refused the treatment thereafter.*

TG7: *My opinion does not matter because I am not even sure of my own self as they say. I just have to be different according to them.*

TG8: *What is new about this? Every kothi has to face this. I earn my own living, run my family. My parents did not support me. Even then people from my neighbourhood ridiculed me. People ridicule and humiliate me in society and at social events.*

TG9: *I do not have mother and father. I have a lot of problems in my home. They cut my hair and beat me. People from my neighbourhood say why will you be like a girl when you are a boy? I do challa and give money to my family. I stay with my elder brother and sister-in-law. I buy groceries. Even after this they do not support me.*

TG10: *Stigma is a common phenomenon of our life. Once I was seated in a row of dining to eat but my uncle came to me and bound to stop eating in front of others. The reason was I am not a boy nor girl.*

TG11: *I often faced social stigma on being gazed and isolated by friends and neighbours in social gatherings.*

TG12: *The society never accepts us as normal people.*

TG13: *They mock our appearances.*

TG14: *Verbal abuse, physical assault.*

TG15: *Yes, my family members started mental and physical violence when they came to know I am TG, and I don't have job. So, I can't open up because I stay with my family.*

TG16: *Yes, my family does not accept me as hijra. So, I stay alone, away from my family. We are Muslim and the Muslim community does not accept hijra in family. My relatives also stigmatize our family because I am hijra.*

TG17: *Because I am a sex worker I am socially stigmatized and alienated.*

TG18: *People kept on ridiculing me on the basis of my gender orientation, called 'boudi', 'chakka', 'ladies' in school by classmates.*

TG19: *Our identity is our stigma.*

TG20: *My existence is a big question within our society whether I am a man or woman. Except the town in most of the places transgender people cannot open themselves in front of the society.*

TG21: *I am a transgender but hidden. I don't feel stigma at the stage of sexual behaviour. Otherwise stigma is part of our life.*

TG22: *Every time I feel I am out of the mainstream society.*

TG23: *I am in sex work, I am harassed by police for money. Police harasses our clients also.*

TG24: *I do challa. I do not face problems as I have developed rapport with police.*

TG25: *I do business. When buying commodities from Sealdah. I am harassed. I have to bribe police.*

TG26: *Police snatches my money. I beg in train, says accept whatever is given, otherwise I will lift you.*

TG27: *Police says you earn (sex work) and harass me.*

TG28: *I need to go from Sealdah to Bolepur. Police kept me confined for 16 days in Burdwan. Took away all my money. I was beaten up. Then I went to Allahabad.*

Now I understand, violence is most in metro cities. In small towns kinnars are safe.

TG29: *Civic police, Green police have started harassing us. Unnecessary problems.*

TG30: *Police caught me with condom. Took Rs. 400 from me.*

TG31: *One police harassed me on train. Wanted to disrobe me. Women protested but didn't file complaint.*

3.21. Discrimination Faced

	%	count
Yes	81.19	164
No	18.81	38

Table 30: Percentage and count of discrimination faced



Figure 32: Discrimination faced

81% of the respondents have faced discrimination.

When asked about the discrimination faced by them, the respondents put forth their grievances:

TG1: *Some people of our society, they see me as I am not a human being. Whispering, teasing, and shocked what I am.*

TG2: *Discrimination is a part of our life. We cannot maintain our living inside the family. Our family separated us.*

TG3: *When I am going on the private job interview, they asked me where we set up your office table- in boys or in girls' category. And they did not appoint me. But my interview was good.*

TG4: *In professional life I faced discrimination because of transphobic attitude of gazing at me, making abusive comments.*

TG5: *A doctor on being informed of my transgender identity he said he doesn't look after the Trans and queer people in positive light but he considers it to be a disease and he will still treat me as a favour.*

TG6: *I was invited at a birthday of a kothi's elder brother. He did not know that his brother was a kothi. He imitated and ridiculed me. I felt humiliated in front of everyone. I am generally a good person but beat him with shoes.*

TG7: *I went as a makeup artist as I am feminine in my presentation and gesture. The client refused to be beautified by me. I lost my job. I felt very humiliated because everyone laughed at me.*

TG8: *I do not stay with my family as they object my femininity. They have cut my hair repeatedly. Family discriminates*

TG9: *Villagers were behind me. They started torturing my father and elder brother, so I had to go.*

TG10: *I was in hospital job. People disturbed me.*

TG11: *People have homophobia. They want to know my intimate details.*

TG12: *I am now 39 years, tired of being interrogated.*

TG13: *I am facing some bully throughout my life. I had to leave my job due to it.*

TG14: *My parents beat me and removed me from the house. I said I will do FIR. Worked in the milk booth for few days, could not do job due to the society.*

TG15: *First people used to comment than they harassed my father. They locked me up. Didn't give food and water. Now I live separately on rent, so that it does not have bad effect on my sister.*

TG16: *Lost my relation with family, they used to beat me.*

TG17: *I live 60% in my flat, 40% with family because parents should not suffer. I will change my documents after my sister's marriage.*

TG18: *My parents harassed me when I would go out. I liked to have boyfriend and dress up like women.*

TG19: *When I decided to change my sex my father disowned in me.*

3.22. Disparity Faced in Job Market, in Availing Education or Health Care

	%	count
Yes	68.81	139
No	31.19	63

Table 31: Percentage and count of disparity faced in job, education or health

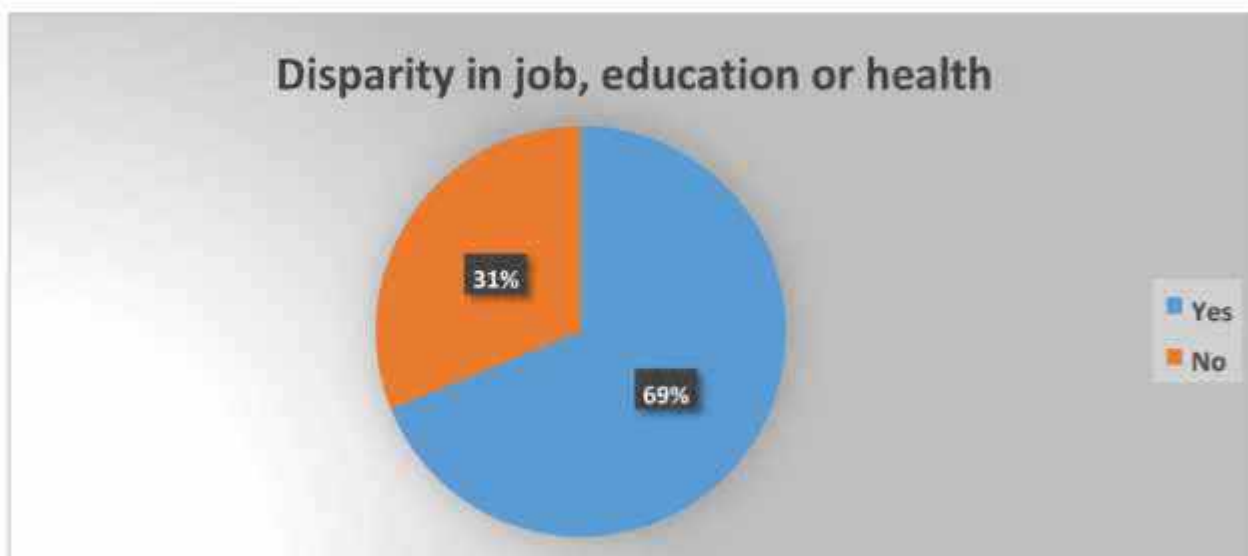


Figure 33: Disparity in job, education or health

68.8% of the respondents have faced disparity in job market, in availing education and healthcare.

As reported by the respondents on their health issues, 10 TGs have undergone SRS. It takes seven lakh in private clinic. Many transgender prefer to undergo hormonal therapy, as it is cheaper than SRS. Hormone therapy charges are Rs. 1500 to Rs. 2500 per month, they go for it for every six months. SRS is infectious and problematic. So transgender people go for Hormonal therapy. Doing vaginoplasty is difficult and success rate is only 50%. Some people do self-medication. There is SSKM hospital (Institute of Post-Graduate Medical Education and Research and Seth Sukhlal Karnani Memorial Hospital) Bose Road, Kolkata. TGs go for psychotherapy which is free here but they had very bad experience, no infrastructure, lack of sensitivity.

On being discriminated, the responses of TGs are as follows:

TG1: *I am discriminated in my business as being less paid, get less opportunities due to my gender identity.*

TG2: *I faced discrimination on basis of my gender identity in educational field.*

TG3: *Yes, job place, market, in the hotel the duty hours were 12 hours of 6 days in week but I don't get overtime payment and I don't have any helper to work.*

TG4: *I am hijra so even though I am make-up artist I rarely get customers.*

TG5: *In my workplace I faced disparity in spite of my excellent performance and I was questioned on my communicative skills.*

TG6: *Yes, in my workplace where I was stigmatized and being refused to use ladies washroom.*

TG7: *Yes, after my nirvana, my urinal tract was infected but no doctor wanted to treat me. Then I went to Bihar for treatment.*

TG8: *Mostly in school, one teacher having sex with me. When I was in class I, and he continue that and I can't say anything because he said if I open up, he was not promoting me on class.*

TG9: *One day school teacher beat me because I acted like a girl. He broke my arm.*

TG10: *Health wise yes, I suffered from sexual violence when I went to medical college in 2010-2011, when I was harassed and came to NGO clinic.*

TG11: *Due to gender identity, I am not getting job in the corporate sector. They reject my interview because I have long and colorful hair and feminine look.*

TG12: *Everywhere we feel disparity. Till now when people looking at us with their strange eyes, we faced humiliation and discrimination and sexual abuse.*

TG13: *In school I have faced lots of violence. I am a factory worker but they refused me for my gender. And that is why I am involved in our community-based professions like challa, begging.*

TG14: *As a transgender driver, I drive police department car. I get Rs.7000 and Rs.30 per hour while a male driver gets Rs.15000 and overtime Rs. 50 per hour*

TG15: *I faced sexual abuse at MNC. They locked me up in toilet for 2 days but I didn't report to police just left the job.*

3.23. Awareness of West Bengal TG Development Board

	%	count
Yes	31.68	64
No	68.32	138

Table 32: Percentage and count of awareness of West Bengal TG Development Board

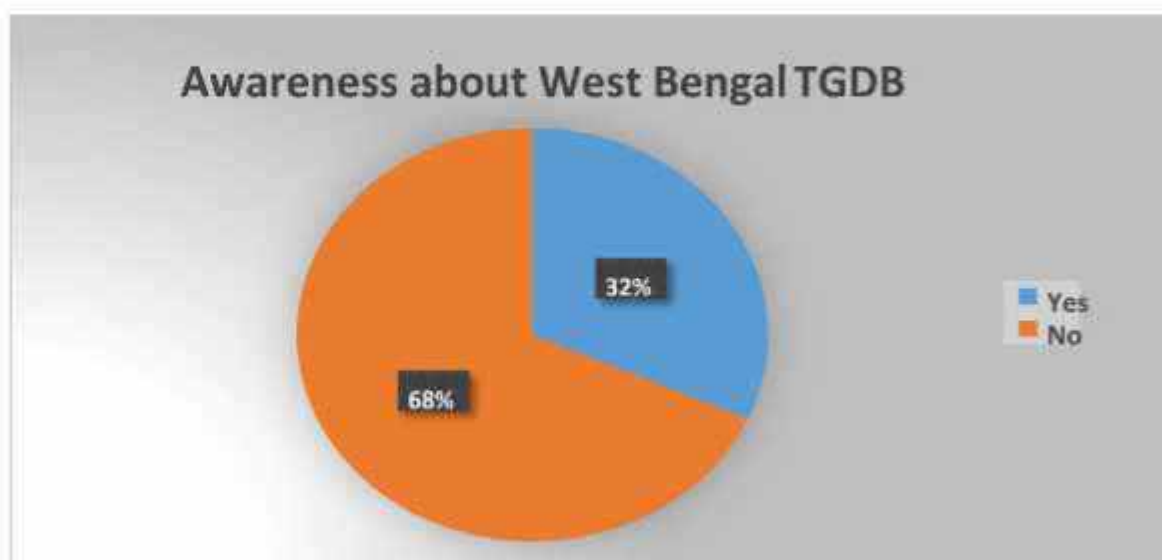


Figure 34: Awareness about West Bengal TGDB

68% of the respondents are not aware about the transgender development board and its policies for TG welfare.

However, there were a few respondents who were aware about the Transgender Board but their responses were negative, to quote:

TG1: *Yes, the board is totally dysfunctional Board.*

TG2: *Yes, but don't know in detail and we really don't bother if there is any Board or committee.*

TG3: *I went to the Board, but the people there did not tell me about its function and activities.*

TG4: *Yes, but not informed its activities and policies.*

TG5: *I had a very negative experience altogether about TG Board.*

TG6: *I am aware, they don't do any work without saying in media.*

3.24. Benefits of Any Scheme Aailed from the WBTG Development Board

	%	count
Never approached	84.7	171
No idea	5.9	12
Approached, but didn't get any benefits	8.9	18
Benefitted, but not much	0.5	1

Table 33: Percentage and count of scheme aailed from the Board

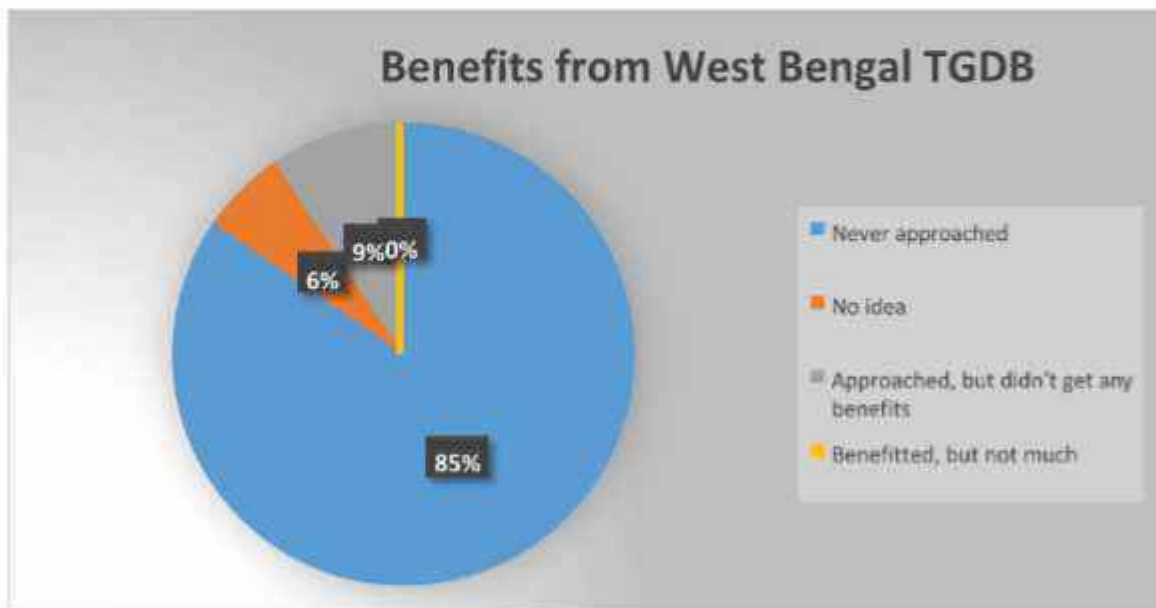


Figure 35: Benefits from West Bengal TGDB

85% of the respondents have never approached the West Bengal Transgender Development Board, 6% say they have 'No Idea', while 9% approached the board but did not get any benefits.

Some of the recorded responses are quoted below:

TG1: *Yes, but I have never been provided with any benefits as promised by them.*

TG2: *Two years ago, on 31st December night we faced physical and mental stigma from some local boys and also police. Then I called two Board members but they did not receive the call this day and also after this day.*

TG3: *Yes, I don't get benefits and one of the Board members totally direct me wrong way.*

TG4: *Never got any single benefit from the TG Board.*

3.25. If the WBTG Development Board is Friendly towards TGs

	%	count
Agree	5.94	12
Disagree	23.27	47
Somewhat agree	9.90	20
Somewhat disagree	0.99	2
No idea	59.90	121
		202

Table 34: Percentage and count of WBTG Development Board's friendliness towards TGs



Figure 36: WBTGDB friendliness towards TGs

59.9% of the respondents do not have any idea about the functioning of West Bengal Transgender Development Board, while 24% do not find the board friendly. Very few (15.8%) agree/somewhat agree with the friendliness of the board towards the TGs.

In general TG people are not even aware about the TG Development Board, its role and how to approach it for getting their needs fulfilled. To quote a few responses:

TG1: *They do not provide any help or benefit.*

TG2: *Yes visited, but did not get any benefit.*

TG3: *I heard there is a TG Board formed in West Bengal for last 4 to 5 years. How it is formed, what is the strategies, I don't know and not getting any benefits of any kind from the schemes.*

TG4: *Not at all TG friendly.*

TG5: *They try to eat all the funds provided by government for TG and never support us.*

TG6: *Nothing functional. Only the Board members get worthy salary from the government.*

TG7: *As per my opinion it was an important Board which never worked in a positive manner for the benefits of the TG community.*

3.26. Views on the Functioning of WBTGD Board

	%	count
No views on the functioning of the board	29.70	60
No idea	42.08	85
No response	11.39	23
Yes	16.83	34

Table 35: Percentage and count of views on the functioning of WBTGDB

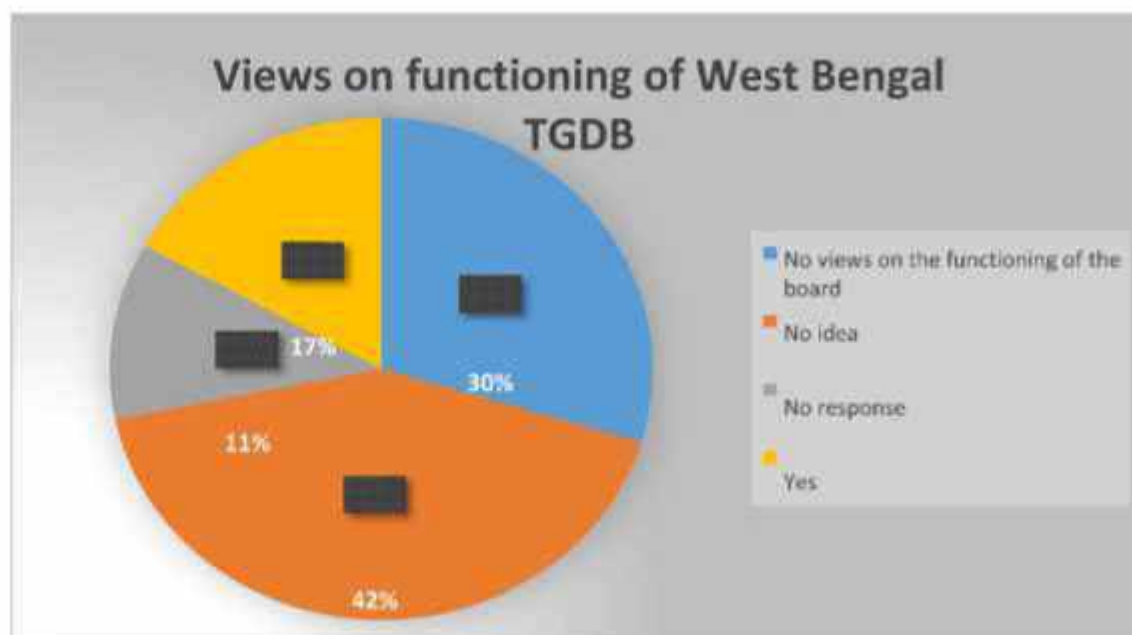


Figure 37: Views on functioning of West Bengal TGDB

When asked about their views on the functioning of the board, 42% said they have no idea, while 41% did not respond. Those responded are just 17%.

The TG Development Board of West Bengal could not fulfil its objectives which gets reflected in the following responses:

TG1: *They are still asleep.*

TG2: *Not active and lots of misunderstandings and ego problems between all members.*

TG3: *What is the role of Transgender Board? Are they still working? How long they are working to develop strategic policies and development work for TG people. They are getting honorarium from the government and they are not doing anything for the community. Why Shashi Panja and June Mallya are in TG Development Board? What is the basis of their membership and involvement in TG Board? What is their role?*

Apart from some sharp responses, some neutral responses also came to the fore, such as, “no idea”, “Don’t know”, “slow functioning”, “not effective”, “slow process”, “speak more work less”, etc.

3.27. If Faced Any Difficulty in Reaching Out to the Board

	%	count
Yes	89.60	181
No	10.40	21

Table 36: Percentage and count of difficulty in reaching out the Board

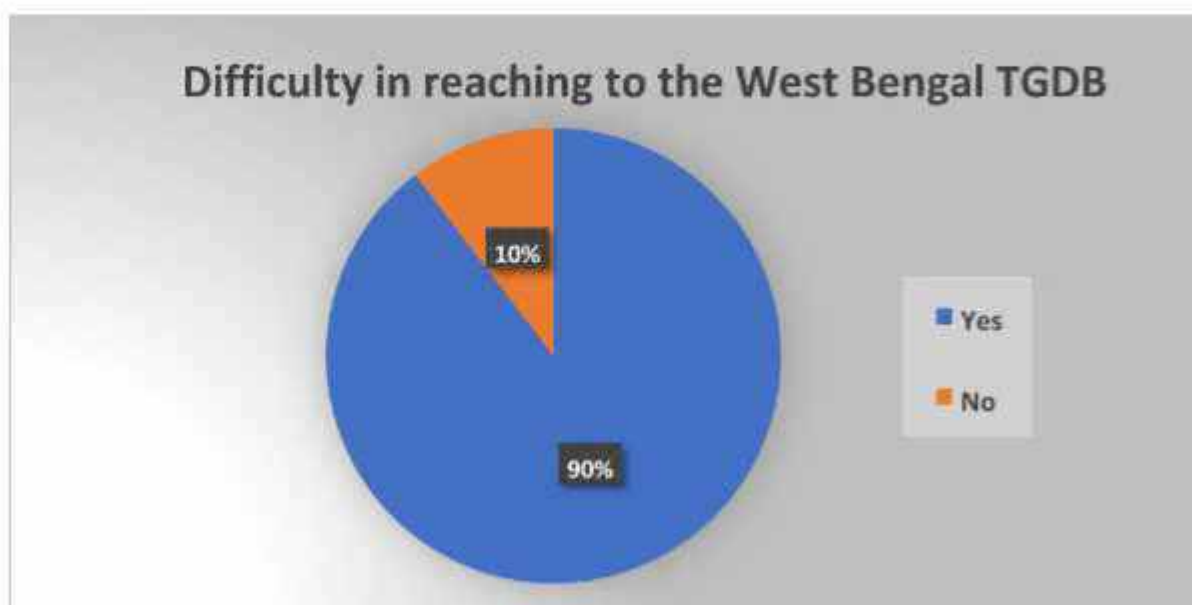


Figure 38: Difficulty in reaching to the West Bengal TGDB

90% of the respondents have faced difficulty in reaching out to the board.

Some of the responses were:

TG1: *I called Manobi Bandhopadhyaya, who is connected with West Bengal Transgender Development Board for help, but she declined saying that why police will beat anyone without reason, there must be some hassle from the hijra's side. Manobi did not even bother to ask about the issues or showed any interest in extending any help to the aggrieved. Our community people are reluctant to help us when they reach in good positions. I have no expectations from anyone. We have to support ourselves. Self-help is the best help.*

TG2: *They are not giving any reply to us by mail. If there is any query the Board says that the process is going on. We will let you know that later.*

TG3: *Have never seen anyone in the office of TG Board.*

TG4: *I directly called one of the Board members but she misguided me.*

TG5: *Yes, I faced lot of difficulties and even after approaching it many times I did not get any results.*

TG6: *Not exactly. But somehow it was difficult to get access.*

3.28. If Satisfied with the Functioning of the Board

	%	count
Yes	13.86	28
No	86.14	174

Table 37: Percentage and count of satisfaction with the functioning of the Board

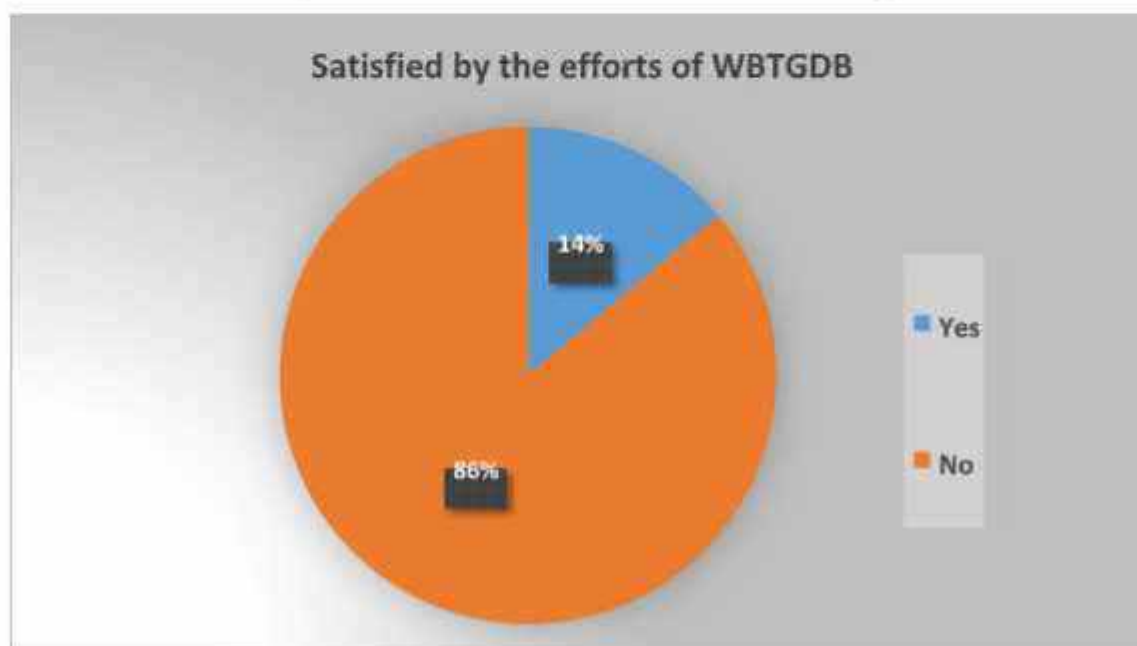


Figure 39: Satisfied by the Efforts of WBTGDB

More than 86% of the respondents are not satisfied with policies/ efforts of the WBTGDB.

To quote some of the responses:

TG1: *They have never done anything for us. How will we be satisfied?*

TG2: *We don't get any response from the Board. They are doing nothing for the TG community.*

TG3: *No, they only say and pretend. But never do any work for other community."*

TG4: *The Board is not of our class TGs.*

TG5: *I am saying with full of my confidence about the frigidity of that non-working Board.*

TG6: *There is no response from the Board. No, I am not satisfied.*

TG7: *This Board is doing nothing and Vice Chairperson is dangerous.*

3.29. Effectiveness of the NGOs in Mainstreaming the TGs

	%	count
Highly agree	28.71	58
Agree	41.09	83
Somewhat agree	14.36	29
Disagree	1.98	4
highly disagree	1.49	3
No idea	12.38	25
		202

Table 38: Percentage and count of effectiveness of the NGOs in mainstreaming the TGs



Figure 40: Effectiveness of NGOs in mainstreaming TGs

More than 84% of the respondents have found the NGOs effective in helping the TGs.

3.30. Kind of Activities/Awareness Programmes Run by Activist Groups/NGOs

	%	count
Health Care Campaigns	67.33	136
Gender Equality Session	53.47	108
Vocational Training	39.11	79
Education Support	32.67	66
Providing Jobs	32.67	66
Socialization Forum	33.17	67
Civic Right Session	34.16	69
Counselling Session	65.84	133
Others	3.96	8

Table 39: Percentage and count of activities/awareness programmes by activist Groups/NGOs

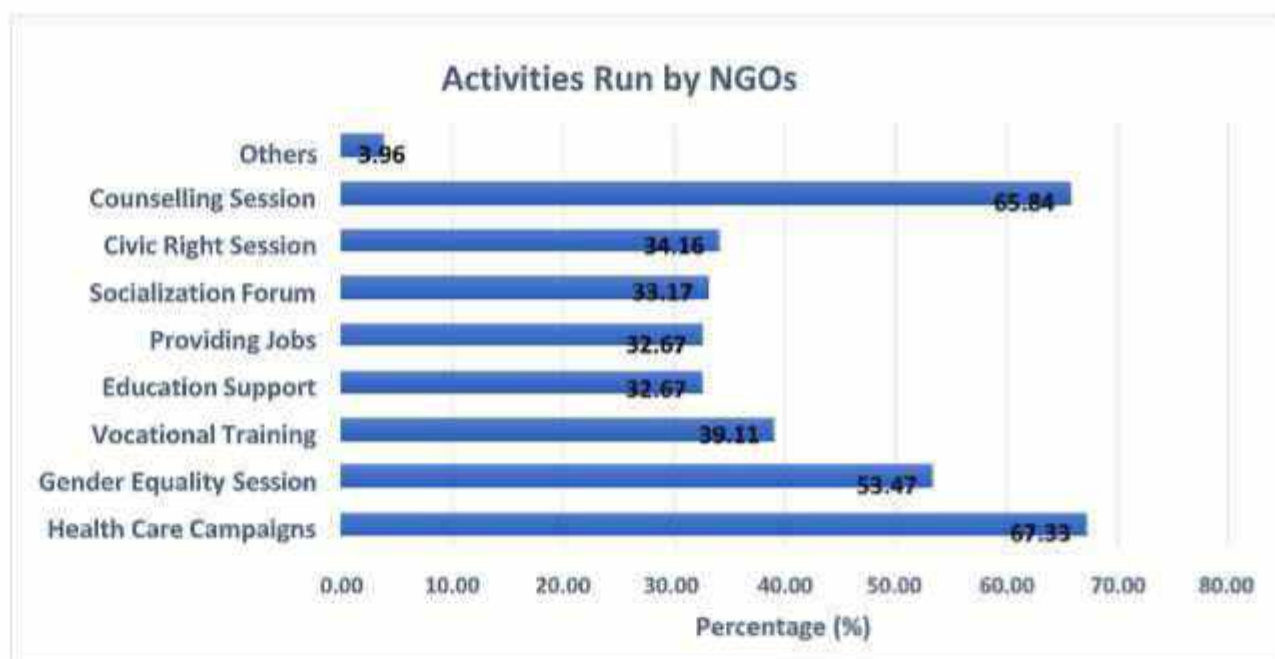


Figure 41: Activities run by NGOs

67.3% of the respondents are aware of the health care campaign run by NGOs. 65.8% know about the counselling sessions held by NGOs, while more than 53% know about the gender equity sessions conducted by such groups. 39% are familiar with the vocational trainings offered by the NGOs.

3.31. Crosstabs

To assess the degree of awareness of the respondents regarding the activities run by activist groups/ NGOs, the following variables were cross-tabbed: xiii) their caste with kind of activities run for the TGs by the activist groups/ NGOs.

i) Caste and Information about Awareness Programmes Run by Activist Groups/NGOs

Caste with Activities run by NGOs Cross tabulation (%)										
Activities run by NGOs →		Health Care Campaigns	Gender Equality Session	Vocational Training	Education Support	Providing Jobs	Socialization Forum	Civic Right Session	Counselling Session	Others
% within Caste ↓	Caste (%) ↓									
General	73.76	68.92	56.76	43.92	37.84	34.46	37.84	39.19	77.70	5.41
OBC	10.89	60.87	39.13	17.39	17.39	17.39	13.04	17.39	69.57	0.00
SC/ST	15.35	64.52	51.61	32.26	19.35	35.48	25.81	22.58	77.42	3.23

Table 40: Crosstab: Caste and information about awareness programmes by Activist Groups/NGOs

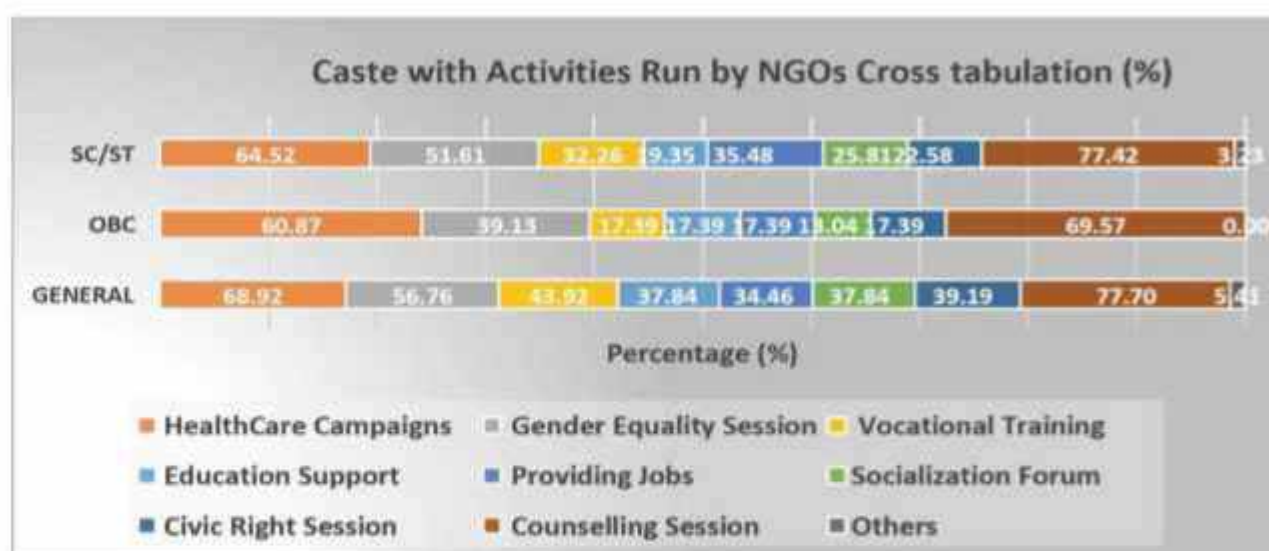


Figure 42: Caste with activities run by NGOs

The above crosstab showcases that the awareness level in TGs belonging to General Category is high in all respects as compared to other castes.

3.32. Kind of Facilities Availed from Activist Groups/NGOs

A) Education

	%	Count
Elementary	40.10	81
Secondary	14.36	29
Higher Education	7.92	16
No response	37.62	76

Table 41: Percentage and count of education facility

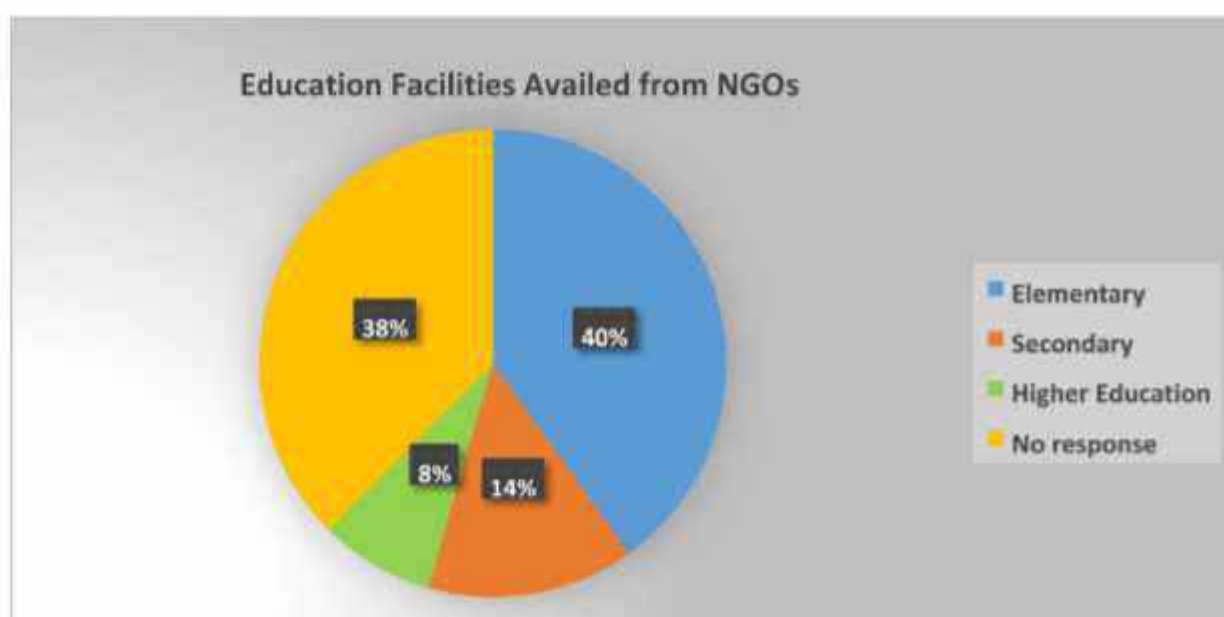


Figure 43: Education facilities availed from NGOs

More than 62% of the respondents have availed support from the NGOs for their elementary level education to higher secondary level.

B) Vocational Courses Attended

	%	count
Dance	24.75	50
Beautician	29.21	59
Photography	4.46	9
Stitching	11.88	24
Painting	5.45	11
Teaching	3.96	8
Singing	5.45	11
Typing	1.98	4
Computer Training	20.79	42
Others	14.85	30

Table 42: Percentage and count of vocational courses attended



Figure 44: TGs who attended vocational courses offered by NGOs

29% of the respondents have taken training in beauty care from NGOs, while 24.7% have been trained in dance, 20.7% have availed training in computer and 11.8% have received the skills of tailoring.

Crosstabs

To check the extent to which vocational trainings were undertaken by the respondents, the following variable was cross-tabbed: xiv) their caste with vocational trainings taken from activist groups/ NGOs.

i) Caste and Vocational Courses Availed from Activist Groups/NGOs

Caste with Facility Availed (Vocational courses) Cross tabulation (%)											
Facility Availed (Vocational courses) →		Dance	Beautician	Photography	Stitching	Painting	Teaching	Singing	Typing	Computer Training	Others
% within Caste ↓	Caste (%) ↓										
General	73.76	26.35	33.11	5.41	12.16	6.76	4.05	6.08	1.35	23.65	17.57
OBC	10.89	17.39	8.70	4.35	0.00	4.35	8.70	0.00	4.35	8.70	0.00
SC/ST	15.35	25.81	25.81	3.23	19.35	0.00	0.00	6.45	3.23	16.13	12.90

Table 43: Crosstab: Caste and vocational courses availed from activist groups/NGOs

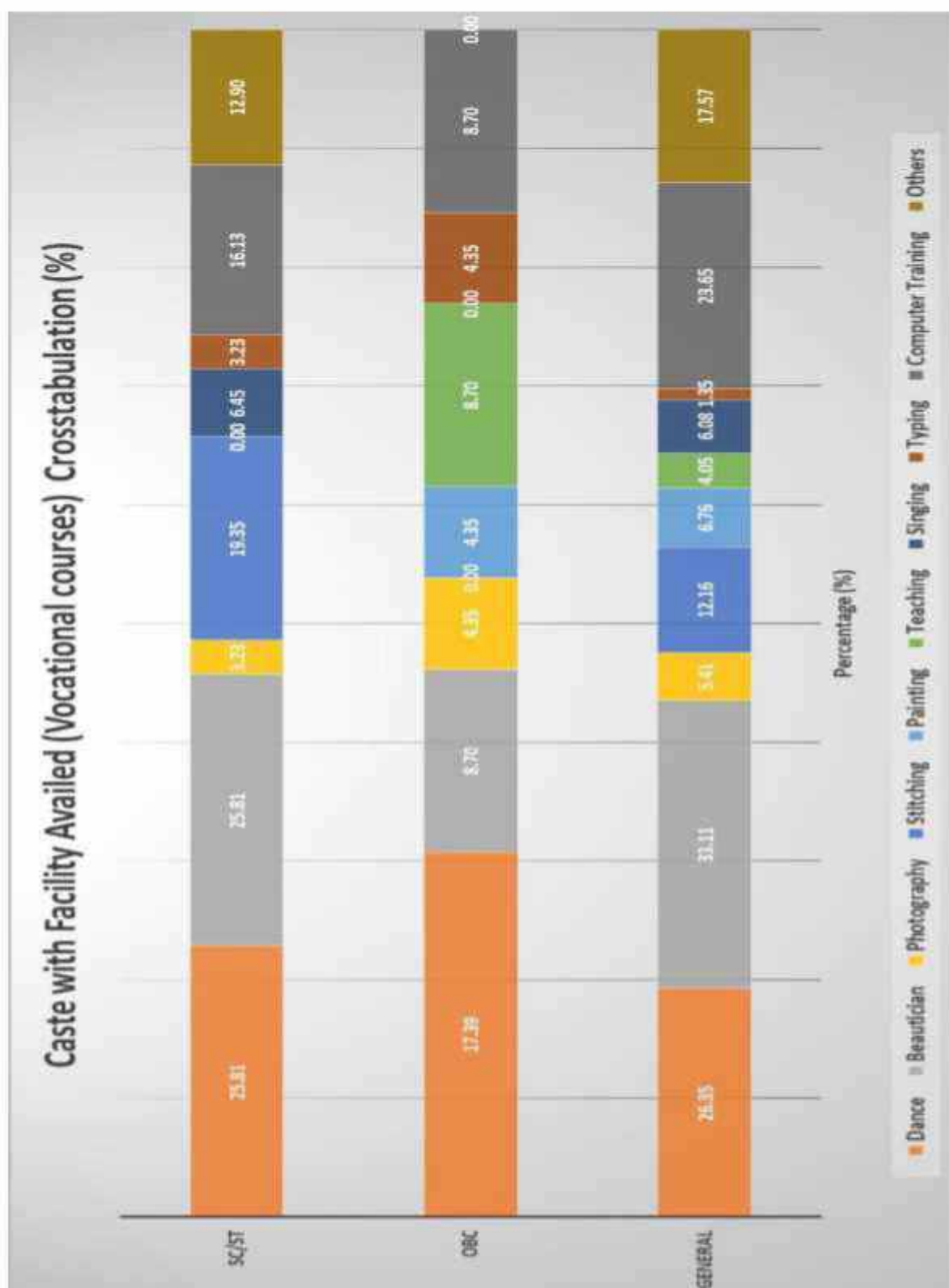


Figure 45: Caste with facility availed (Vocational Courses)

The above correlation depicts that those belonging to General Category took maximum types of training from NGOs as compared to the other TGs. The ones from reserved category were just good at availing training in typing (4.3% OBC, 3.2% SC/ST).

C) Housing

	%	count
Yes	5.45	11
No	94.55	191

Table 44: Percentage and count of housing facility availed from activist groups/ NGOs



Figure 46: Housing

Only 5% of the respondents have received support from NGOs in availing housing facilities.

D) Medical Help

	%	count
Yes	41.09	83
No	58.91	119

Table 45: Percentage and count of medical help availed from activist groups/ NGOs

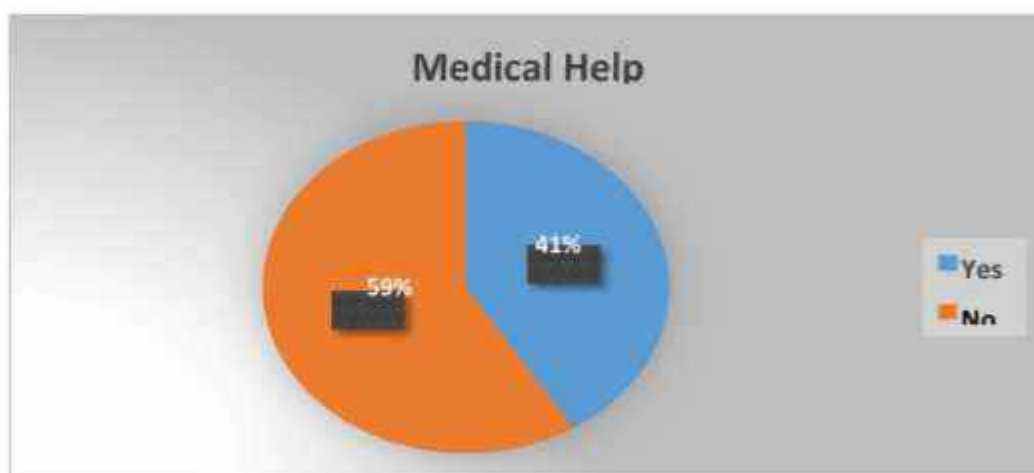


Figure 47: Medical Help

41% of the respondents have received medical support from NGOs.

E) Economic Support

	%	count
Yes	15.35	31
No	84.65	171

Table 46: Percentage and count of economic support received from activist groups/ NGO

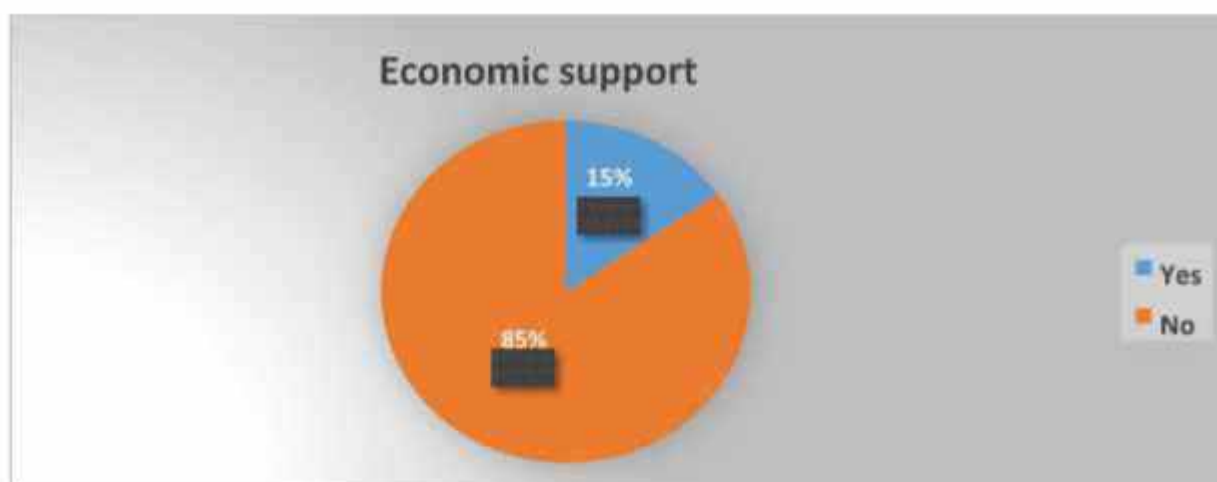


Figure 48: Economic support received

15% of the respondents have received financial support.

F) Emotional Support

	%	count
Yes	51.98	105
No	48.02	97

Table 47: Percentage and count of emotional support received

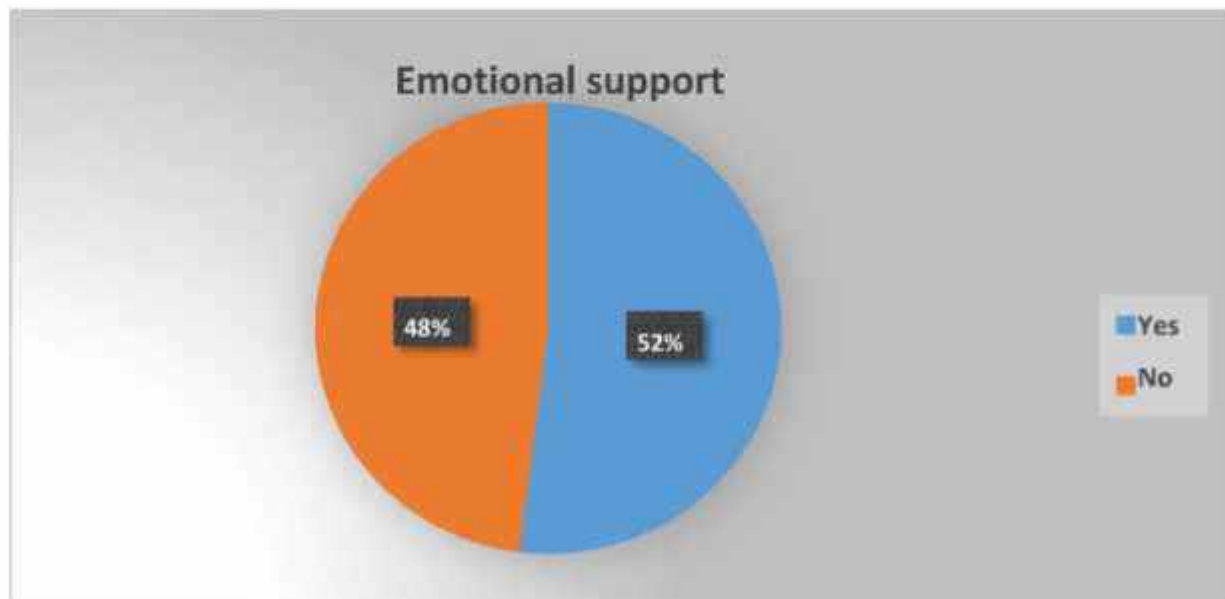


Figure 49: Emotional support

51.9% of the respondents received emotional support from NGOs which is quite high as compared to other kinds of support received.

3.33. In What Way You Received Help from Activist Groups/NGOs

To cite responses received from the respondents:

TG1: *Helped with employment at Haldiram so that I became self-sufficient. Helped to make me emotionally strong.*

TG2: *NGOs help us. They take immediate action if anything happens.*

TG3: *Gave emotional support, money when thrown out of home.*

TG4: *They try to provide a space for TGs.*

TG5: *They are warm. They understand our pain, most people working in NGOs are transgender. Their acceptance rate is high.*

TG6: *They are good. I feel comfortable to speak to NGOs about my problems.*

TG7: *I get much more information from NGO about gender, sex, sexuality, safe sex practices*

and mental peace.

TG8: *From the NGO I know what I am. I work also for NGO project, provide counselling, TG rights knowledge."*

TG9: *When I was depressed that time the NGO provided me mental support, provide me beautician training and provide me HIV prevention support, provide knowledge about gender, sex, sexuality and rights of TGs.*

TG10: *Protected and secured me from violence and harassment.*

TG11: *I have never got any sort of help of potential support from any NGO or association. I have formed a consultancy for TG people where we try to help TG individuals as per my capacity.*

TG12: *I left my school and I was abused and they emotionally helped me.*

TG13: *I went to Sappho who helped to identify my transgender identity.*

TG14: *Koshish helped me to know that I am a woman.*

TG15: *Koshish supported me financially and emotionally.*

TG16: *Samabhabona helped me in getting a job – make-up artist job.*

3.34. Satisfaction with Facilities Availed

	%	count
Highly satisfied	22.77	46
satisfied	35.64	72
somewhat satisfied	12.87	26
dissatisfied	5.94	12
highly dissatisfied	1.98	4
No response	20.79	42
		202

Table 48: Percentage and count of satisfaction with facilities availed



Figure 50: Satisfaction with the facilities availed

More than 71% of the respondents are highly satisfied or satisfied with the facilities availed from NGOs.

3.35. Who is More Helpful/Approachable: WBTGD Board or Activist Groups/NGOs?

	%	count
NGOs	61.39	124
No	27.23	55
Activists	8.91	18
Against NGOs	0.99	2
Helped by Guru	0.50	1
Helped by TGDB &Trans-activists	0.50	1
Self-help	0.50	1

Table 49: Percentage and count of more helpful/approachable bodies

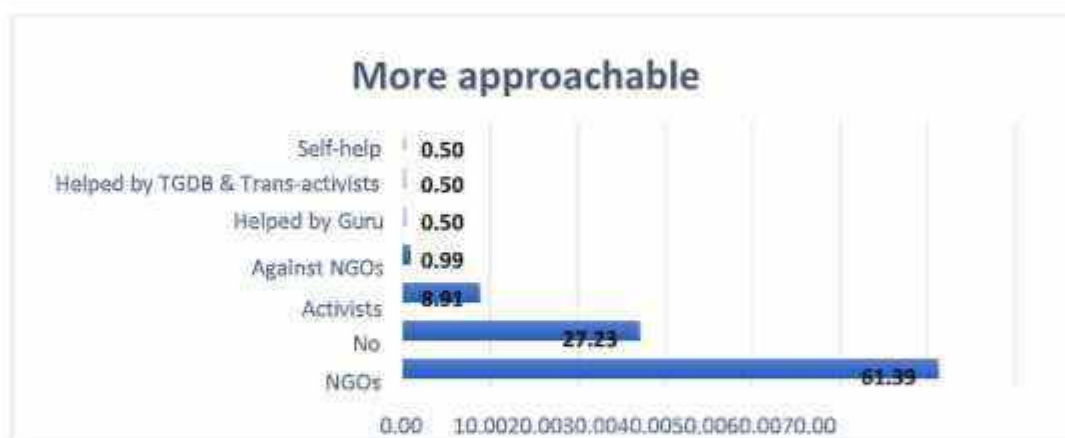


Figure 51: More approachable

61% of the respondents mentioned that NGOs are more helpful/ approachable.

To quote a few responses:

TG1: *They remain by my side, provide me courage to come out of my problems.*

TG2: *When I was thrown out of my house and had no income, NGO gave me employment, encouragement, stood by me.*

TG3: *After the 31st December incident my NGO support us mentally, medically and legally. My NGO is best.*

TG4: *NGO guide us to develop in future and Board guide us to destroy in future.*

TG5: *NGOs are like family support.*

TG6: *Of course, NGO. Because the NGO provide help for us but we just know the name of the board, nothing else about the Board.*

3.36. Kind of Efforts to be made by the State Activist Groups/NGOs for Mainstreaming TGs

	%	count
No/ not responded	10.89	22
Don't know	10.89	22
other responses	78.22	158

Table 50: Percentage and count of kind of efforts to be made by the State Activists Groups/NGOs for mainstreaming TGs

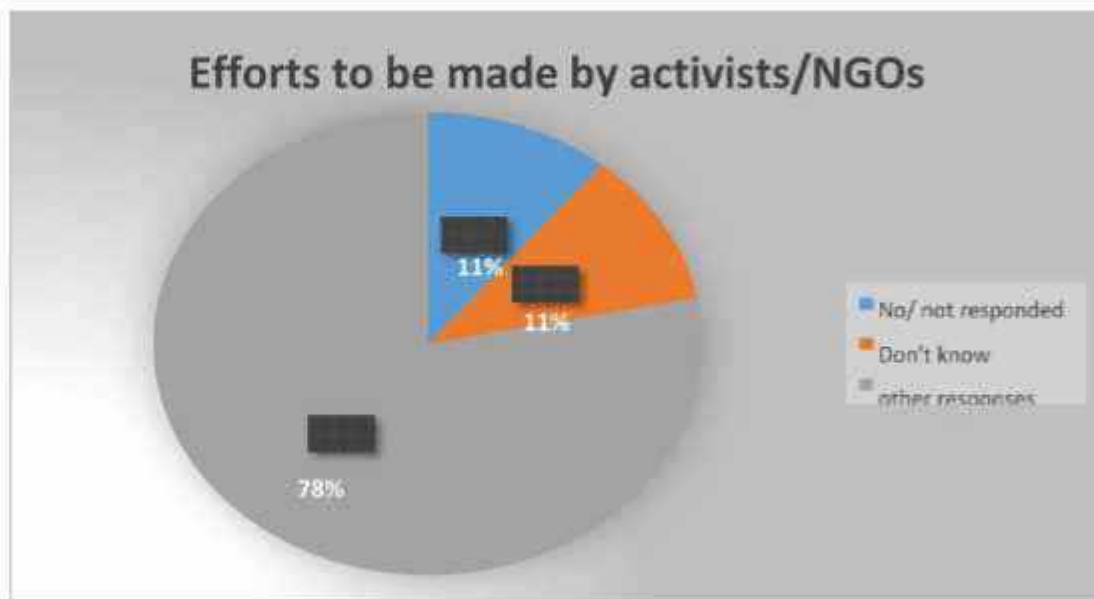


Figure 52: Efforts to be made by activists/NGOs

Among the 78% participants who gave their views on the efforts to be made by the State activist groups/ NGOs for mainstreaming transgender by large opined thus:

TG1: *TGs should be involved in social welfare schemes and religious works done in different neighborhood.*

TG2: *Activists are doing their best. They are bringing more and more gender awareness programs. It is time for State to come to us.*

TG3: *TG should be put in front of society so that society doesn't look down on them.*

TG4: *State/ NGO should give advertisement. The representation of TGs in serials and movies should not be funny. Their merits should be highlighted.*

TG5: *Reform the Board. Awareness programs on gender issues, participate as social activists and do social work. There should be unity of NGOs with TG Board.*

TG6: *I think there should be advocacy and meeting with TGs at different levels.*

TG7: *Awareness must be raised in the neighborhood through public meetings, rallies. TGs must be assimilated in the mainstream.*

Also, there were demands for awareness programs, gender equity measures, government jobs, reservation in government jobs, education, financial help, health aids, housing facilities, etc.

3.37. Kind of Efforts to be made by TGs for Mainstreaming themselves

	%	count
No/ not responded	20.79	42
other responses	79.21	160

Table 51: Percentage and count of the kind of efforts made by the TGs in mainstreaming themselves

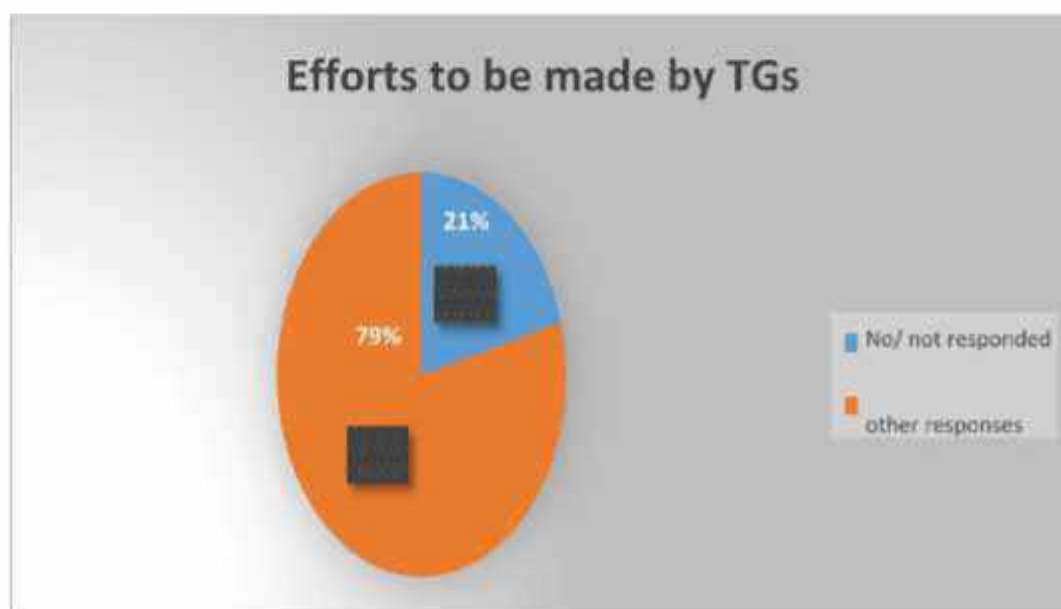


Figure 53: Efforts to be made by TGs

79% of the respondents talked about the efforts to be made on the part of TGs so that they could play active roles in the society and join the mainstream.

The responses emerged thus:

TG1: *All TGs should be united, sensitize society, educate families which have thrown out the TGs.*

TG2: *We should all come together.*

TG3: *TGs need to improve their educational qualifications so as to educate the other people of society about their importance.*

TG4: *We have been object of bullying and laughter for the mainstream people which is difficult to change but not impossible.*

TG5: *We have a lot of merit but we are scared and do not get opportunities. We should be provided such facilities by local clubs or NGOs.*

TG6: *We do our best to build a relationship with society but society does not accept us.*

TG7: *Even if NGOs work to bring TGs to the mainstream, it may not work out. If TG work with society it can bring some changes.*

TG8: *If NGOs work hard for TGs without slacking off then no one in society can ridicule them, respect them, get all opportunities and respect from government.*

TG9: *They should take different fruitful measures for the utmost employment of the TG.*

TG10: *To educate and sensitize social people, to create healthy environment in health sector, to create healthy space in educational sectors, to organize public and corporate events for sensitization.*

TG11: *First, through promotion and understanding that TG people are human beings, subject to gross dehumanization and abuse. Second, provision of counselling for TG folks, especially youth.*

TG12: *TG people became homeless so NGOs have to take the initiative to educate their families. The government has closed down many NGOs. So, the NGOs must be opened so that they can work with society.*

TG13: *NGOs should create bond between society and the TGs. They should not misappropriate funds.*

TG14: *If NGOs work properly then it would be very good. They should go to different neighborhoods, clubs, highly paced government officers and make them aware of TGs.*

There is a general notion about the TGs that these people do not fit into the society. One of the respondents said: *"TG should behave well with mainstream"* while another one stated *"We must talk to them lovingly, must have courage to talk to them."* Few responses focused on the TGs realizing their sense of duty in uplifting their community people, such as: *"Learn to claim for their rights", "Complete Education and earn respect", "Should demand for our rights", "Self-help is the best help. Let's help ourselves.", "Make ourselves bold to face challenges," "Come to people, talk to them", "TG visibility in various professions can make the other TGs confident."*

TG15: *TG should make themselves vibrant, should have friendly behavior with the people in the society."*

TG16: *People from mainstream society will not be able to live with us in a peaceful and cooperative manner. They will ridicule us whole life. We do not want to live with them.*

TG17: *TGs have to change their dressing style, postures and gestures, behave politely, and respect other people. They must stop clapping, undressing in public.*

TG18: *They should change their thinking and be bold to explore different professions.*

TG19: *They should be in regular touch with researchers and ethnographers who actively study several heterogeneous aspects of transgender and queer bodies.*

TG20: *TG folks should not have to make any special effort to serve social function. Instead they must seem to establish a self-sustaining social and material life.*

TG21: *Everyone should cooperate with each other. People should understand that TG are also human beings. TG should mix with the society in doing works. People should change their mindset that TG can do everything.*

However, there were several responses which stated that the TGs believe that unity, confidence, practical mindset, focus on education, less emotional swings, decent behavior, good employment, good behavior would help them to come to the mainstream.

3.38. Your Association with Any Organization/NGOs

	%	count
NGOs	14.85	30
No	60.40	122
As managers	4.46	9
As activists	4.46	9
Other responses	6.44	13
No response	9.41	19

Table 52: Percentage and count of the kind of association with organization/NGOs

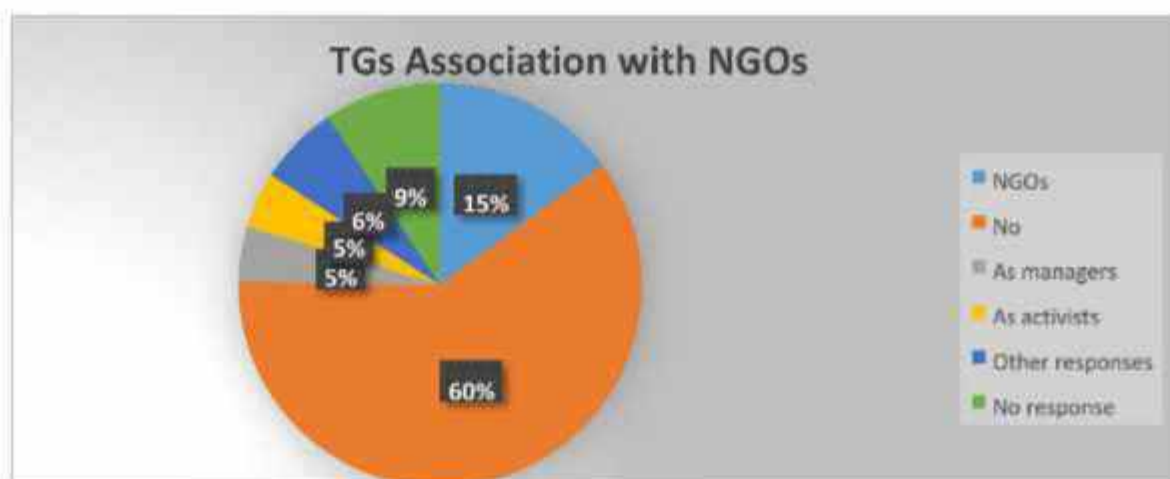


Figure 54: TGs association with NGOs

75% of the respondents are not directly associated with NGOs.

3.39. Awareness of The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act

	%	count
No	56.93	115
Yes	42.08	85
Different response	0.99	2

Table 53: Percentage and count of the opinion about the awareness of the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act



Figure 55: Awareness about TG Act

57% of the respondents are not aware of The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act and many among the ones who know about the bill have just heard about it. Very few know about the bill.

3.40. Is the Act Protecting or Enabling You? If 'Yes' in what Way, If 'No' Why.

	%	count
No	30.69	62
No idea	28.71	58
No response	11.88	24
Yes	11.39	23
Other responses	17.33	35

Table 54: Percentage and count of opinion on the TG Act

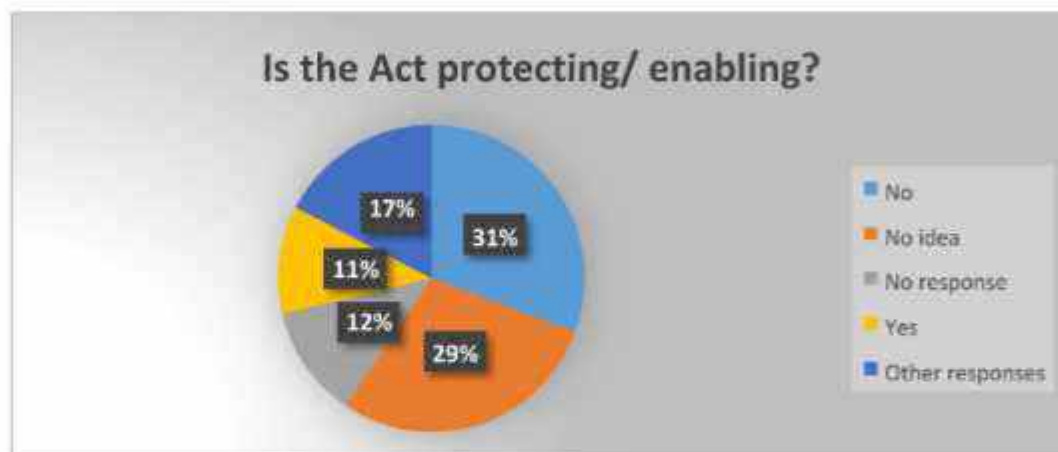


Figure 56: Is the Act Protecting/ Enabling?

72% of the respondents did not respond or had no idea whether the TG bill is protecting the interest of transgendered people whereas the others gave a mixed response.

Some of them were hopeful that the Act will help them to sustain, to quote a few:

TG1: *Will safeguard our rights.*

TG2: *Will help us in future.*

TG3: *It will help us to have freedom.*

TG4: *It will protect our community.*

TG5: *It will help us to protect our identity.*

TG6: *Our identity is defined by us, no doctor, extra officer is needed to define our identity.*

TG7: *It will protect and help, add our place in the society.*

TG8: *It directly affects the sex worker transgender. The bill is so bad.*

TG9: *It is totally opposite as NALSA.*

TG10: *It is very bad for us because of the district scrutiny committee TG8: Screening committee should be abolished and in the name of protection they are in securing our life*

TG11: *I have combined opinion about the bill, somehow it is violating few basic rights.*

TG12: *No, I don't agree with the wording and conceptual problems arising out of the bill comprehension on a how a person is a transgender.*

TG13: *No need for Screening Committee and Anti-begging Law.*

While some had altogether a different view: "...somewhere, TG Bill is protecting TG people, opportunity for job, education and health issue."; "Yes, it will. With some changes somewhat it is, but we need rights, support from government."

3.41. Your Suggestions on the Act

	%	count
No	22.77	46
No response	13.37	27
Don't know	21.78	44
Other responses	42.08	85

Table 55: Percentage and count of the suggestion on the Act

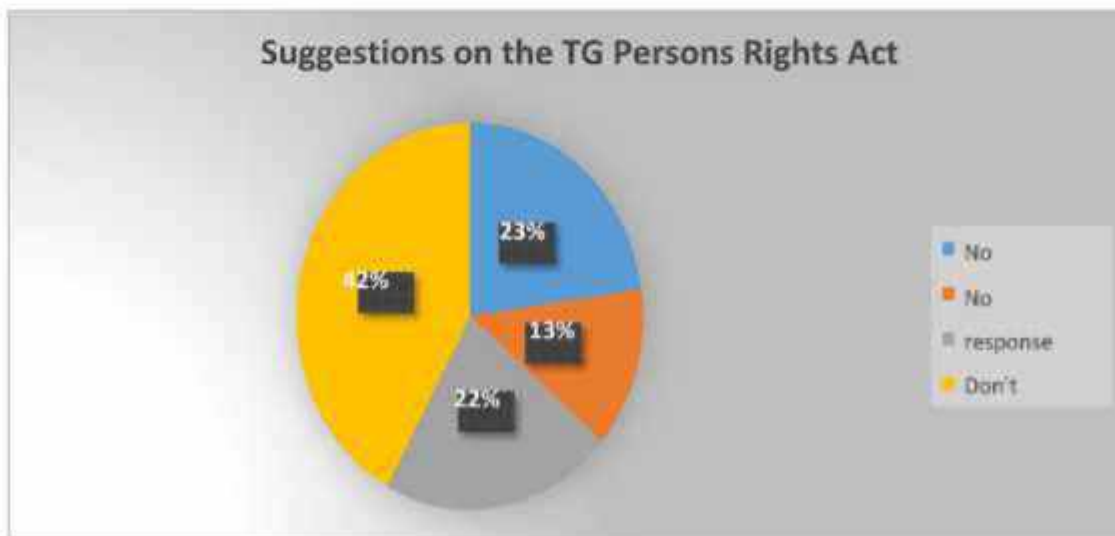


Figure 57: Suggestions on the TG Persons Rights Act

Those respondents who gave their suggestions on the Act are 42%.

Some of their suggestions are stated thus:

TG1: *TG Bill should be TG friendly.*

TG2: *Definition of transgender should be improved and taken care of.*

TG3: *Provision for marriage, there should be law for TG people for their family property.*

TG4: *Reservation, child adoption, pension scheme should be added.*

TG5: *Many changes are needed; definition change is important.*

TG6: *Need to change the bill and make it with the consultation of all TG Activists.*

TG7: *Totally change the bill, make new bill, discuss with NGO's those who are TG supportive.*

TG8: *Screening committee should be removed and reservation should be done.*

TG9: *Add transgender friendly bill, decriminalize begging and sex work.*

TG10: *Add material law in the bill.*

3.42. Expectations/ Needs of TGs Today

	%	count
Don't know	0.50	1
No response	5.45	11
Other responses	94.06	190

Table 56: Percentage and count of expectations and needs of TGs today

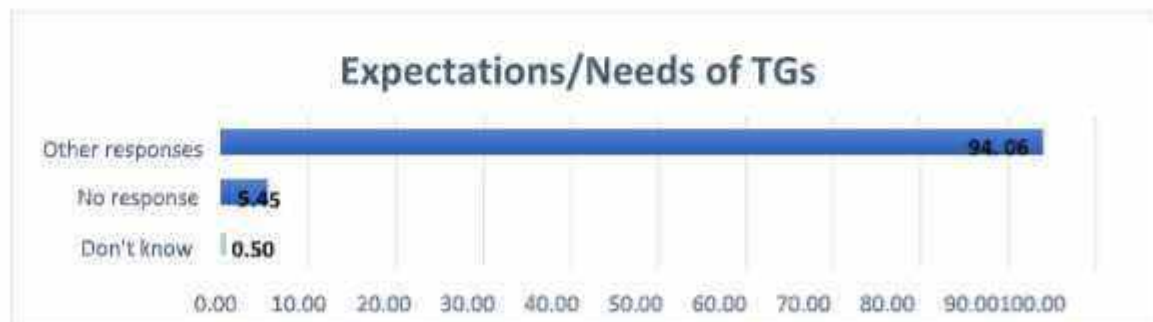


Figure 58: Expectations/Needs of TGs

More than 94% of the respondents talked about their expectations and needs.

The responses are of varied nature: “Equality”; “education”; “health”; “job facilities”; “house”; “respect in the society”; “to be treated as human beings”; “non-violence for us”; “no discrimination”; “basic needs should be provided”; “financial support”; “social inclusion”; “Money is important”; “Support from mainstream society”; “Job rights and equality”; “Housing facilities”; “Old age pension, respect, reservation in government jobs”; “social acceptance”; “Stop police harassment”; “Freedom to live with dignity”; “Right to property”; “separate bathrooms”.

While a few opined thus:

TG1: *We want employment so that we can live the life of dignity in the society.*

TG2: *Kotis need many facilities today like stipend from government, houses for those who do not have them, separate designated seats for TG reservation on jobs, medical facilities. There is a need to create Yojana / government schemes especially targeted towards transgenders' welfare.*

Eventually the collective response of the respondents was that the other oppressed and marginalized sections of the society like the girl child, women have laws which protect their rights. There are several schemes for them like Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao for educating the girl

child but the TG community does not have such popular schemes that could guarantee their rights and empower them. Their contention was that there are reservations for the SC/ ST group but the TGs are excluded from such schemes. They re-emphasized that unless the government takes concrete measures and monitors the schemes launched for the transgenders their condition cannot be remedied.

DISCUSSIONS

The questionnaire consists of five parts. The first part was about personal details of the respondents. It provided information about the participants' name, age, occupation, preferred pronoun, education, monthly income, permanent address, their place of stay, their relationship status, religion and caste, and health issues. Almost all the respondents were above 18 years. Among them the majority was under the age group of 20 to 40 years. To earn their livelihood, the respondents are engaged in various occupations such as khajra, badhai, sex work, driving, acting, dancing, modelling, typing, movie making, domestic work, daily wagers, labourer, challa, etc. Some of them are employed in Haldiram and some are working for NGOs, such as, *Saathii*, *Samabhabona*, an organisation working to empower the grass root LGBTQ community, *Prothoma*, Asia's first shelter for vulnerable transgender people, *Sappho*, first group of its kind in Eastern India with its base in Kolkata, which provides shelter and emotional support for sexually marginalized women and female to male transgender persons and has also entered into the rights/justice based framework to fight homophobia, discrimination and violence against LBT persons, *Bandhan*, in Kolkata, which works for sexual minority community especially with transgender community, Amra Odbhuth, the one-of-its-kind café in Kolkata, which gives the city's queer community a space for creativity and fun.

When asked about their relationship status, most of the respondents admitted they are single while the rest revealed that they are in a relationship or married. A few respondents said that they were married. When asked about their residence after their gender change, most of them stated that they live with their family by birth while a few lived away from their family due to social stigma and non-acceptability within the family. Those who lived in the TG community overtly and covertly reported being trapped in an exploitative relationship with their guru in the hierarchical guru – chela binary. However, the respondents who have faith in the guru- chela system mentioned that the guru is like maa or mother to them and they cannot live outside the family. The guru shelters and guards the members of the family under which they can earn a living in a protected way. It provides them a sense of social security as well as economic security. Above all they get a family set up and a family which has shared experiences and

therefore they understand the problems of each other well and bond in a better way, providing emotional strength to each other.

On being asked about their health issues, most of the respondents denied having any health problems, however, a few disclosed about their health issues, such as, liver problems, panic disorder, high blood sugar, high blood pressure, thyroid, gastric and mental health issues. A few of the respondents alleged that the health care facilities provided to TGs focus mainly on HIV/ AIDS and other health issues like cough and cold, etc. are ignored, giving an impression that TGs are largely affected by AIDs; this too is a way to stigmatize the TGs. The number of respondents who have admitted that they are suffering from HIV is very few. However, it is highly probable that the number of respondents suffering from HIV could be greater but they did not admit it due to the social stigma attached with the disease. Surprisingly, AIDS is a disease that brings them lot of benefits in disguise. In the interaction, the respondents revealed that if any NGO/ Government agency comes to know about someone being affected by AIDs, all sort of aids keep pouring in, but for the others it is extremely difficult to have access to any aids facilities. A few of the respondents admitted that since they have AIDS, they are glad to get their health care needs met by the government.

The life of TGs in India is not easy. They are subjected to extreme social stigma and discrimination. Unlike the poor and those from SC, ST and OBC category, people from the TG community are not provided any reservation for jobs and education or other benefits from government schemes. In fact, they are not even treated as human beings. Most of the respondents claimed that society has been ill-treating them on various fronts and they have been continuously harassed, abused, insulted emotionally, verbally and physically, to quote a respondent: *"The society doesn't accept us as normal people"*, while the other retorted:

"Yes, a man who doesn't fuck a woman has no right to sunlight, air, water, urban facilities of the world."

The ill- treatment meted out by the society has deeply affected the TG people. Almost every respondent has faced some or the other form of stigmatisation in their lifetime. To quote some of them:

"The society never accepts us as normal people."

"They mock our appearances."

"Verbal abuse, physical assault is so common for us."

One of the major issues frequently reported by the TG people is the identity crisis they experience. This is caused by labelling of TG people with derogatory terms like *hijra*, *chakka*, *ladies*, *moga*, *mosa*, etc. This kind of devaluation denigrates their sense of self as an individual who is already undergoing gender dysphoria due to mismatch between the self-identified gender and that assigned to them at birth. When talking about the identity issues they confront, all of them got serious, some of the responses are stated thus:

“Our identity is our stigma”

“My existence is a big question within our society whether I am a man or woman. Except the town in most of the place trans people cannot open themselves in front of the society.”

“I am a transgender but hidden. I don’t feel stigma at the stage of sexual behaviour. Otherwise stigma is part of our life.”

If the social status of TGs were good, they would have contributed to society in a productive manner. But the stigma and discrimination meted out to the TG community undermines their ability to participate in social activities, as a respondent stated, ***“Every time I feel I am out of the mainstream society.”*** When asked about the discrimination faced by them, the respondents poured forth their grievances, thus:

“Some people of our society, they see me as if I am not a human being. Whispering, teasing, and shocked at my looks. What am I?”

Another respondent stated:

“Discrimination is a part of our life. We cannot maintain our living inside the family. Our family separated us.”

The next question was about the disparities faced in job and education. The responses revealed that a large number of TG faced discrimination in job market, education and in terms of health care facilities; some of their responses are mentioned below:

“Health wise, yes, I suffered from sexual violence when I went to a medical college in 2010-2011 ... I was harassed and then I came to a clinic operated by NGO.”

“Due to gender identity, I am not getting job in the corporate sector. They reject me in the interview because I have long and colourful hair and feminine look.”

“Everywhere we feel disparity ... when people looking at us with their strange eyes we feel ashamed and humiliated ... often face discrimination and sexual abuse.”

“In school I have faced lots of violence. I am a factory worker but they refused me for my gender. And that is why I am involved in our community based professions like challa, begging.”

Majority of the respondents claimed that they have been facing disparity right from their birth by their family members as well as by the society outside their home. Most of the TGs have been forced to drop out of school due to bullying and harassment and many of them could only complete their High School education (class IX – X) or Higher Secondary (class XI – XII). This limits the opportunities for TG people in the job market. The social stigma and discrimination against TG candidates and the bureaucratic hurdles faced by them when pursuing jobs further reduces their chances of securing a proper occupation. If the TG community were provided access to education and proper jobs, they would have been productive members of the society.

The next part of the questionnaire focused on the role of the West Bengal Transgender Development Board in TG welfare. Some focussed questions were asked to know about the perception of TG people about the TG Development Board. When asked whether the respondents were aware about the TG Development Board, they answered straight away that they are not aware of it. This indicates the bureaucratic hurdles faced by the TG people who try to approach the TG Welfare Board for any support. For example, the WBTG Development Board does not have any sign board indicating its location. So, it is extremely difficult for any person, TG or otherwise, to understand where it is located. There is no receptionist, no grievance redressal cell in the office of the WBTG Development Board. The TG Development Board is merely a place with four walls with no staff apart from the Deputy Director. The silence and lack of response one is met with on entering the office reflects the disappointment and a sense of complete hopelessness. On the other hand the government has failed to implement schemes for the development of TG people. They are already excluded from the mainstream society. It was quite evident from the responses that the Transgender Development Board does not seem to be functioning properly and the respondents did not get any benefit from it. Surprisingly, most of the respondents are not even aware about TG Development Board, its role and how to approach it for getting their needs fulfilled; to put forth some the responses:

“They (WBTGDB) do not provide any help or benefit.”

“Yes visited, but did not get any benefit.”

“I heard there is a TG Board formed in West Bengal for last 4 to 5 years. How it is formed, what are its working strategies, I don’t know and I am not getting any benefits of any kind from the schemes, if there is any.”

There was a question on the TGs views on functioning of the TG Welfare Board. TG Welfare Boards have been formed in many of the Indian states and they claim to be working for the development of the TGs. But the TG Welfare Board of West Bengal could not fulfil its objectives. This was well revealed in the following responses:

“They are still asleep.”

“Inactive ... and there are lots of misunderstandings and ego problems between all members.”

“What is the role of Transgender Board? Are they still working? How long they are going to take to develop strategic policies and development work for TG people. They are getting honorarium from the government and they are not doing anything for the community. Why are Shashi Panja and June Mallya in the TG Development Board? What is the basis of their membership and involvement in the TG Board? What is their role?”

Other responses were *“no idea”, “Don’t know”, “slow functioning”, “not effective”, “slow process”, “talk more and work less.”* Only two participants said something positive about the Board: *“It is helpful and they are doing lot of good things for us ... helping in upliftment of TG through socio-economic ways.”* Perhaps, they could not get the question or just had a fanciful image of the Board in their mind.

There was another question regarding the difficulties faced by transgender in reaching out to the Board. There were mixed responses to this question. Majority of the respondents did not try to reach the Board as they were not aware of any TG Development Board in West Bengal. There were few who tried to take help from TG Development Board, but they could not get any benefit from it. One of the responses was: *“They are not giving any reply to us by mail. If there is any query, the Board says that the process is going on. We will let you know that later.”*

The last question of this section was to know about the responses from the Board and whether the efforts made by the Board satisfied the TGs. Again the responses received were varied. Most of the respondents said that they did not approach the Board. However there

were a few approached the Board but they did not receive any positive response, to quote some of them:

“They have never done anything for us. How will we be satisfied?”

“We don’t get any response from the Board. They are doing nothing for the TG community.”

The responses are sufficiently indicative of the fact that this socially and economically excluded community is not being helped even by the government Boards supposed to be functioning for their welfare. This is why the TGs rely more on NGOs, which play a significant role in their lives.

The fourth part of the questionnaire was about the role of activists and NGOs in the welfare of TG community. Among the members of the NGOs, biases and prejudice regarding the allocation of funds are quite common. On being asked about the role of NGOs in the mainstreaming of TG, mixed responses were received. The options provided were ‘Highly Agree’, ‘Agree’, ‘Somehow Agree’, ‘Disagree’, ‘Highly Disagree’, ‘No idea’. Twenty-six percent of the respondents ‘highly agreed’ about the effectiveness of NGOs in the mainstreaming TGs, while forty-six percent simply ‘agreed’ and about five percent did not agree at all.

The next step was to know the kind of activities and awareness programmes run by the NGOs and activist groups. Multiple options were provided under this question. Most of the people opted for the counseling sessions, healthcare campaigns and vocational training. A significant number of respondents also listed gender equity sessions among the activities done by the NGOs.

The next part of this segment was to know whether the TGs have availed any facilities from the activist groups/ NGOs. This question also had multiple options. It was noted that the facilities availed by the TG community were dance, beautician course, medical help, emotional support, secondary education, housing, computer training, economic help, higher education, elementary education, driving, stitching, painting, and typing.

Taking this point forward, the next thing was to know the personal experiences about being helped by Activist Groups/ NGOs. There were many who did not respond to this question. However, a few respondents related their personal experience thus:

“I was helped with employment so that I became self-sufficient. This made me emotionally strong.”

“NGOs help us. They take immediate action if anything happens.” “It gave me emotional support, money when thrown out of home.”

“They tried to provide a space for TGs.”

“They are warm. They understand our pain; most people working in NGOs are transgender. Their acceptance rate is high.”

“They are good. I feel comfortable to speak to NGOs about my problems.”

The next question was to learn how satisfied the respondents were about the facilities provided by the NGOs and activists. A majority of the respondents were satisfied and some were highly satisfied with the services.

It was further noted that the TGs of West Bengal feel free to approach activist groups/ NGOs for their problems rather than relying on the Transgender Development Board. Few responses in favour of the NGOs were:

“They remain by my side and provide me courage to come out of my problems.”

“When I was thrown out of my house and had no income, NGO gave me employment, encouragement, stood by me.”

These people believe that the *“local NGOs is better than TG board,” “They stand during difficult times.”* The respondents also mentioned about some NGOs like *Sambhavana* and *Saathii* which has helped them in some form or the other.

A number of responses were received from the TG people about the efforts to be made by the State/ Activist groups and NGOs to bring TGs to the mainstream. This provided some important insights for the development of the TGs.

“TGs should be involved in social welfare schemes and religious works done in different neighbourhood.”

“Activists are doing their best. They are bringing more and more gender awareness programmes. It is time for the State to come to us.”

“TG should be put in front of society so that society doesn’t look down on them.”

“State/ NGO should give advertisement on diverse genders. The representation of TGs in serials and movies should not be funny. They should be treated as humans and their merits should be highlighted.”

“Reform the Board. There should be awareness drives on gender issues. There should be better understanding between NGOs and the TG Board ... if the two work together, results will be good.”

"I think there should be advocacy and meeting up with TGs at different levels."

"Awareness must be raised in the neighbourhood through public meetings, rallies, etc. TGs must be assimilated in the mainstream."

Apart from the above responses there were others who demanded awareness programmes, equality measures, government jobs, reservation in government jobs, education, financial help, health aids, housing facilities etc.

The last question was about the efforts made by the TGs to come to the mainstream. It is true that the TGs are a marginalized section of our society. It is the duty of all sections of the society (NGOs, Activist groups, State, Government Board, common people) to work together in mainstreaming the TGs. At the same time, there are some ways in which they can also mainstream themselves. On efforts to be made by the TGs in mainstreaming themselves, following responses were received:

"All TGs should be united, should sensitize the society, educate families which have thrown them out."

"We should all come together."

"TGs need to improve their educational qualifications so as to educate the other people of society about their importance."

"We have been object of bullying and laughter for the mainstream people which is difficult to change, but not impossible."

"We have a lot of merit, but we are scared and do not get opportunities. We should be provided such facilities by local clubs or NGOs."

"We do our best to build a relationship with society, but the society does not accept us."

There is a general notion about the transgender persons that they do not fit into the society. One of the respondents said, *"TG should behave well with mainstream."* To this, the other added, *"We must talk to them lovingly, must have courage to talk to them."* Few responses focused on the TGs realizing their sense of duty in uplifting their community people, such as-

"Learn to claim for their rights"; "Education is important to earn respect"; "Should demand our rights"; "Self-help is the best help, Let's help ourselves", "Make ourselves bold to face challenges"; "Come to people, talk to them"; "TG visibility in various professions can make the other TGs confident."

The questionnaire wrapped up with the awareness of the transgenders about their rights. It was found that most of the respondents were unaware of the distinct moves made by the different States and the Central government to empower the transgenders, especially, the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Bill which assented as an Act on 5th December 2019 and came into effect from 10th January 2020. Surprisingly, more than half of the TGs had not heard about the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act 2019. There was a question about whether the Act is protecting the TGs or not. Again this question had a mixed response. Those who were hopeful commented thus:

"I assume it will safeguard our rights."

"It should help us in future."

"It will help us to have freedom."

"It will protect our community."

"It will help us to protect our identity."

At the same time there were others who held different views.

"...somewhere, TG Act is protecting TG people, it should provide opportunity for job, education and health issue."

"Yes, it will. ... we need rights, support from government."

The TGs were asked to give their views on the Act and some of their responses are as below:

"TG Act should be TG friendly."

"Definition of transgender should be improved and taken care of."

"Provision for marriage: there should be law for TG people for their family property."

"Reservation, child adoption, pension scheme should be added."

The last question concentrated on what are the expectations of the TGs and instant responses were:

"Equality"; "education"; "health"; "job facilities"; "house"; "respect in the society"; "being treated as human beings"; "non-violence for us"; "no discrimination"; "basic needs should be provided"; "financial support"; "social inclusion."

One of the responses was thus:

"We want employment so that we can live the life of dignity in the society."

“Kotis need many facilities today like stipend from government, houses for those who do not have them, separate designated seats for TG reservation on jobs, medical facilities, create Yojana, government schemes specially targeted towards transgenders.”

Other oppressed and marginalized sections of the society like the girl child, women have laws which protect their rights; several direct benefit schemes are launched for them like the *Ujjwala* scheme for women, *Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao* for educating the girl child, etc., but there are no direct benefit schemes targeted to guarantee the transgender rights and to empower them. There is reservation for the SC/ST, but there is no reservation for the transgender persons. It is high time the government took some steps to remedy this condition.

STUDY OF ONGOING SCHEMES

The information about ongoing schemes for transgender welfare in different States is derived from the website of the State Government and discussion with the Board officials & TG activists. Some of the State Governments have displayed schemes for TG welfare on their official portal, but in the case of West Bengal no information is supplied about the TG Development Board and its schemes on the official website.

5.1. West Bengal Transgender Development Board

West Bengal became the third State in the league after TN (2008) and Maharashtra (2014) with the formation of transgender development board in July 2015, with 13 members. The very year a Grievance Redressal Sub Committee was formed by three transgender members of the Board to address and handle the grievance received from the TGs. A separate email ID was notified for this grievance redressal cell. Series of meetings were held on different issues and mass campaign on TG. As a part of the sensitization drive an initiative was taken for playing jingles in FM radio channels for mass awareness. The same year the Board announced to recruit transgender into the Civic Police Volunteer Force (CPVC) and requested the Commissioner of Kolkata Police to empower the community by inducting them in CPVC. But the vigor with which the Board was formed that lost very soon. Apart from some meetings and a few sensitization programmes (Training on Sensitization of Government and key Stakeholders on issue affecting Transgender/Hijra HIV and human rights in 2017, Social Awareness Advertising Award Contest in “Cinematheque 2017” on the theme Transgender on 24th March 2017, etc.) the Board did not do much.

Unfortunately, very soon, the board got dissolved in July 2018. They failed to work as they had planned but they attribute this failure to the lack of interest, awareness, willingness and enthusiasm on the part of the transgender community to engage as active participants in asserting their rights.

In an interactive meeting with the Deputy Director of WBTGDB, Mr. Bhaskar

Chakrabortee it was found that in a short duration of three years their main emphasis lied in providing civic rights to the community, especially in sectors of education, employment and health. They collaborated with the Department of Technical Education and Training to train TGs in their likable profession and trades such as beautician, physiotherapist and others. They also raised resolution for separate TG hospitals. But the Deputy Director of the Board was silent on the specific kind of schemes launched, sanctioned budget and packages, schemes availed by the TGs and the number of beneficiaries under the schemes. Still they were confident to put all the blame on the reluctance of the TG community.

One of the reasons for the failure of the WBTGDB is that for the formation of the board in 2015 two consultations were held in which mostly non-governmental organizations from the state capital, Kolkata and its suburbs participated. Groups outside the circuits of funding from international donor bodies, located in various districts of the state were largely unrepresented in these meetings. Finally, when the names of the Board Members were announced, there was no representation of groups outside Kolkata and its suburbs.

5.2. Tamil Nadu TG Welfare Board

Founded in 2008 and also credited as the first TG welfare board of the country, the Tamil Nadu TG Welfare Board is specific in articulation of its schemes for TGs. The popular schemes of the Board include:

- I. Income/Jobs:** Self-employment grants (up to Rs. 20,000) to small Business Entrepreneur, Vocational Training, Material support for Self-employment, Initiatives to employ TGs as insurance/Agents (LIC).
- II. Housing/Shelter:** Free registered land for TG people in crises, grants for building houses under Indira Awaas Yojna or free supply of material to build house. There are provisions for Short stay home/Transit home. The loan scheme is open for any self-identified TG person.
- III. Education:** Education grants to support higher education of TG Youth.
- IV. Health:** Two government hospitals- KMC (Kilpark Medical College) and Rajiv Gandhi government hospital were identified in 2010 for free SRS for TGs & other emergency health issues.
- V. Ration/Food Cards:** Ration at free/subsidized costs on producing TG identity card.

Total TG population in T.N. as per 2011 Census is 22634. But the State conducted its own survey in 2015 where the TG population count is estimated around 16380.

Schemes availed and % of beneficiaries

Schemes	No of TGs availed the benefits	% of TGs
Ration/Food Cards	1211	5.35 %
Aravani I-cards	2411	10.65 %
Free land pattas	335	1.48 %
Education grants	2	0.008 %
SRS facility	49	0.21 %
Self-employment grants/loan scheme of Rs. 20,000	320	1.41 %
Sewing machines	100	0.44 %
	3887 beneficiaries in total	17.17 %

Table 57: Tamil Nadu and TG Welfare Schemes

5.3. Kerala TG Welfare Policy

The 'State Policy for Transgenders' was formed in July 2015. Further, in its letter dated 14th Sept 2017, the Govt. of Kerala re-formulated its transgender welfare policy which aims at providing Rs. 5 lakhs to each identified 14 districts (14 x 5 lakh) for providing the TGs proper training and skills so that they become self-reliant and independent. Total of 70 lakhs is allocated for providing training.

The popular schemes of the Board include:

1. **Self-employment assistance for TG persons:** There is a provision to give financial aid up to Rs. 3,00,000/- to TGs for their start up self-employment ventures.
2. **Samanwaya continuing education program for TGs.**
3. **Marriage assistance for legally married Transgender couples:** Up to Rs.30,000/- is provided to them for marriage support & SRS.
4. **Financial assistance to transgender for self-employment:** An umbrella scheme called 'Mazhavillo' has been formulated to provide financial assistance of Rs.50,000/- to the TGs for earning a livelihood through self-employment.
5. **Financial aid to transgender for SRS:** Under this scheme financial assistance of Rs. 200000/- is given to those TG persons who wish to undergo SRS.
6. **Financial aid to TGs for further treatment after SRS:** Under its financial assistance of Rs. 3000/- p.m. for one year from the date of SRS. To avail this facility the age limit is 18- 40 years.

7. **Financial aid for providing hostel facilities to TGs:** A TG, who has migrated to a new city for job, can draw Rs. 4000/- as financial assistance for finding hostel facility/accommodation.
8. **Distribution of sewing machine.**
9. **24 X 7 helpline for TG community.**
10. **Scheme for imparting skill development training to TGs:** An amount of Rs. 500000/- is allotted to district social justice officers to meet the expenses for providing skill development training, food and accommodation to selected list of TG participants.
11. **Scholarship for TG students:** Financial assistance is provided to the students thus:
 - a) 7th -10th standard: Rs. 1000/- per month for 10 months
 - b) 11th – 12th Standard: Rs. 1500/- per month for 10months
 - c) For pursuing diploma, degree, P.G professional courses: Rs. 2000/- per month for 10 months.
12. **Scheme for imparting driving classes to TGs:** Five TGs are selected from each district and they are provided four-wheeler driving classes at the rate of Rs. 8500/- per person.
13. **Identity card for TGs:** Provision for online I-card application services.

Total TG population in Kerala as per 2011 Census is 3902. But the State conducted its own survey in 2015-16 where the TG population count is estimated around 1187.

Schemes availed and % of beneficiaries

Schemes	TGs availed the benefits	% of TGs
Education grants in total	918	23.5%
Registrations in primary & higher secondary	145	3.7%

Table 58: Kerala TG Welfare Schemes

5.4. Chhattisgarh Transgender Development Board

In September 2015 Food Supply and Consumer Welfare department notified for auto inclusion of TG persons under National Food Security Act as beneficiaries in their individual capacity. And later in May, 2016 the government requested all its departments to extend its benefits of schemes to the TGs. Further in December, 2016 the Housing and Urban Development department was requested to provide livelihood support to all TGs in different local bodies under the National Urban Livelihood Mission (NULM) and the municipal corporation was asked to provide Aadhar cards to TGs.

The Social Welfare Department of Chhattisgarh government acts as a nodal department for running schemes for the welfare of TG persons. There are provisions for sanctioning of grant-in-aids for projects of skill up gradation such as Beautician course, Catering, Tailoring, etc. Raipur's Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar Memorial hospital has OPD reserved for the TG community from 11:00 am – 12:00 pm every Thursday.

The government has provided 2% reservation for Transgender (Third Gender) under Chhattisgarh Urban Administration and Development and housing construction schemes under Housing and Environment Department, and 77 homeless transgenders have been accommodated in Raipur district.

5.5. Comparison of the TG welfare boards of states: The TG welfare boards of states like Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and more recently Chhattisgarh did make commendable moves in transforming the lives of this marginalized community, but the West Bengal Transgender Development Board failed to meet any of its objectives and has remained a dormant body as noted in the interactions and survey. Eventually it got dissolved in July 2018.

The TG welfare Boards of the different States should work collectively in mainstreaming the transgender people. They should share their best practices and success stories which will motivate others to follow.

VIEWS OF THE TGs ON THE TRANSGENDER PERSONS (PROTECTION OF RIGHTS) ACT, 2019

The Transgender Person (Protection of Rights) Bill 2018 which was passed in the Lok Sabha on 17th December 2018 with 27 amendments was opposed by the TG community. They did not see the Bill in favor of the community and demanded that it should be either redrafted or withdrawn. They believed the Bill superficially claims to protect the rights of TGs, but it contains such clauses that are dangerous for the community, for instance:

1. The Bill (now Act) through clause 18 (a) of Chapter VIII lays down provision for a jail term for six months to two years for anyone who forces or entices a transgender person to indulge in the act of forced or bonded labour other than any compulsory service for public purposes imposed by Government.

Argument: The TG community interprets bonded labour in terms of Challa, which is justified in two ways by the community:

- (i) It is considered as a traditional occupation of the hijra community and is embedded with cultural codes.
- (ii) Challa is misinterpreted as begging, but it is not. It is their traditional occupation. They are critical of clubbing Challa with begging as they believe it is a part of their tradition and that they get money in return of blessings. The act of begging that is observed in the society too should come under the radar of scrutiny. The TG activists argue that if those beggars who work under rackets and the people who run these rackets are not caught by the police, then why the transgender persons should get penalized.
- (iii) It is a well-known fact that TGs face discrimination at a large scale and in almost all walks of life. There are immense structural barriers to employment. Moreover, not all of them get

proper skills or training for employment and even those who have some hard skills do not have proper support from the government or private agencies to help them in finding suitable job avenues. Therefore, there should be provisions for providing education and job opportunities to the TGs.

(iv) By making an already vulnerable occupation riskier by criminalizing it and by not providing any other alternative options the Act would be doing great injustice to the TGs.

2. The definition of transgender in the Act does not cover the gender diversity in totality. Here, the definition of transgender seems to have evolved from the older proposed definition but still there is a problem in it. It defines the transgender person in terms of 'lack' ("a person whose gender does not match with the gender assigned to that person at birth", Chapter I, 2(k), Act, 2019) which connotes mismatch with the assigned gender. But the point is that this lack also in a way further stigmatizes them, making them appear as different, an outcaste and so. It does not define them in a positive light and further conflates transgender and intersex identities without talking about the overlaps and differences.

3. Next self-perceived gender identity is crucial to a transgender and clause 4.2 of Chapter 3 of the Act has laid provisions for it, but the basic contention of the respondents was that the Act has retained the provision for district screening committee as authorities for determining whether or not, a person is transgender. The district magistrate will refer to the recommendation of the district screening committee to issue a certificate that the person is transgender. The respondents view it as a violation of the decision of the apex court and they feel that it also violates the right to bodily integrity, dignity and autonomy granted under the right to life in the Constitution.

However, The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Rules, 2020 explicitly states that the "District Magistrate shall, based on the application, the affidavit attached therewith and the report of psychologist, without any medical examination, issue the certificate of identity" (4.1) and that the certificate of identity will be issued within 30 days of receipt of duly filled in application along with the affidavit and the report of psychologist; this is quite welcoming and to be applauded.

Although a few participants including some transgender activists were of the view that the amendments are cosmetic in nature and that it will perpetuate caste supremacist transphobia and structural state violence against the transgender persons, they covertly

expressed their happiness on the change in the definition of a TG in the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) ACT, 2019 as compared to the earlier version. Undoubtedly the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) ACT, 2019 and The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Rules, 2020 are big moves towards mainstreaming the transgenders. But the real challenge lies in its implementation.

FINDINGS

I. General

1. Total TG population in West Bengal as per 2011 Census is 30,349 and in Kolkata alone their number is around 16,456 as informed by the Transgender Development Board of the State. 54.2% of the West Bengal's transgender population resides in Kolkata alone, which indicates that the city has more acceptance for TGs.
2. Total TG population in Kerala as per 2011 Census is 3902. But the State conducted its own survey in 2015-16 where the TG population count is estimated around 1187. Within a span of five years, of the total TG population in the State, only 30.42% has survived.
3. Total TG population in Tamil Nadu as per 2011 Census is 22634. But the State conducted its own survey in 2015 where the TG population count is estimated around 16380. Within a span of four years, of the total TG population in the State, only 72.36% has survived.
4. Surprisingly, in the case of Kerala and Tamil Nadu, the number of transgender populations has declined. In fact, the actual number may be higher because many people may be reluctant to identify themselves as transgender. The decline in the number of transgender people is indeed alarming and it suggests that either something has happened to them or they have migrated to more transgender friendly places.
5. 81% of the total TG population participated in the survey is below 36years.

6. The Male to Female population within the TG Community is very high (68%) while the Trans Men (16%) population is also emerging on the scene gradually.
7. Trans people are interrogated on their 'realness'; they are forced to tell the truth if they are really man/ woman/ hijra as they are perceived to be pretenders or deceptive beings.
8. Also, there is acute confusion related to the gender identity in some of them, especially while using pronouns which reflects in their talk.
9. The elderly TGs have bleak visibility as observed in the study, around 1% only.
10. No data exists on the older transgenders.

II. Religion and Category

1. The Hindu population within the TG community is very high (79.7%) followed by Muslims. Majority of them do not change their faith system after their gender change, but a few do so.
2. Among the TGs the Hindus (79.7%) and Christians (1.49%) are more accepted as compared to those who follow the other religion.
3. A large number of TGs are from General Category (73.7%).
4. Respondents belonging to General Category get much acceptance as compared to the ones who belong to OBC or SC/ST category.

III. I-Cards

1. Only 35% of the respondents have produced IDs, Aadhar / Voter ID.
2. Of the 35% only 21% of the respondents have proper Identity cards.
3. A good number of transgender people do not have proper IDs to claim their identity

and to avail any government facility, for opening bank accounts, or availing health care benefits.

4. The ones who have changed their gender identity find it difficult to apply for any changes in their Identity Cards due to lack of proper documents.
5. Also, Certification from doctor deters the TGs for changing their gender identities on their I-Cards.
6. Gender binary, 'male/female', 'Master/Miss' is quite specific in school/college certificates.
7. Since change of name and salutation: Ms. /Mr. in school certificates/ documents is not easy such documents/ certificates become useless for them.
8. There is a lack of procedural awareness among the TGs to apply for gender change in their I-Cards.
9. The fear of losing parents' property also deters them from changing their gender in I-Cards.
10. Some intentionally do not want their identity to be changed on the I-Cards because of the fear of being stigmatized.

IV. Family and Social Life

1. More than 32% of the transgender, even today, leave their family after realizing their gender change due to discriminatory behavior of family, friends and society.
2. After leaving home, majority of them prefer spending their life as single which is more than 74%.
3. Not all transgender people have understanding parents.

4. Family pressurizes them to mask their gender expression.
5. The ones doing badhai and challa are excluded from family activities, functions and gatherings, marriage, etc.
6. Families need to be more educated on gender expansiveness.

V. Guru- Chela System

1. A good number of TGs, i.e., 59% are still trapped in the Guru-Chela system, with 50% as chelas and 9% as gurus. It is a vicious trap.
2. Guru-Chela binary is undoubtedly a constraint for 24.7%.
3. Though the guru-chela system is stiffening for some of the TGs yet they prefer staying within the system for the sake of economic securities and shelter.
4. In West Bengal there is no concept of Bata or percentage sharing. But still some chelas have to give hissa (share) to their guru which varies depending on the daily/ monthly earnings.
5. Hierarchy within the TG Community and its strict disciplinary structure is one of the major hurdles for 49% of the TGs. They find it exploitative, yet, they continue to be in it as there is no support for them from other sources.
6. However, some of the respondents also pointed out the benefits of the guru-chela system. They mentioned that the guru is like *maa* or mother to them and they cannot live outside the family. The guru shelters and guards the members of the family under which they can earn a living in a protected way. It provides them a sense of social security as well as economic security. Above all they get a family set up and a family which has shared experiences and therefore they understand the problems of each other well and bond in a better way, providing emotional strength to each other.

VI. Education

1. More than 36% TGs discontinue their education due to social barriers, stigmatization and harassment. Very few complete their tertiary level education successfully.
2. 22% TGs completed/dropped out of graduation.
3. Those with higher education face lesser constraints.
4. The ones with good education do not get trapped in the guru-chela binary or hierarchy of community.
5. Among the 2.5% post graduate respondents, 60% of them find health centers friendly. Perhaps education makes them more conscious and aware of their health issues. Also, it helps them in communicating their problems effectively.
6. In the case of recreational/ leisure spaces, no matter what their educational qualification be they are stereotyped.
7. Also, educational campuses are least transgender friendly.

VII. Employment and Source of Earning

1. More than 71% of the transgender people earn less than 10,000 per month, 25.7% earn up to 20,000, while those earning between Rs 25,000-35,000 are 3% only. There are very few who are slightly better placed in terms of their economic status.
2. 26% of TGs are still involved in the hijra profession of badhai and challa. Also 12% of them are in sex work or Khajra.
3. Most of them are in professions with irregular earnings. The occupations in which the TGs are engaged include badhai, challa, sex work/khajra, driving, acting, beautician, dancing, modeling, movie making, typing, domestic work, cook, labour (on construction site), part-time/ temporary jobs, lagan, while some are associated with

NGOs or are self-employed.

4. Those into badhai which is considered as a traditional hijra occupation, earn Rs. 2000-10,000 in a single visit.
5. The ones involved in badhai and lagan have to wait for opportunities for earning.
6. The ones involved into begging earn Rs. 400-2000 on a daily basis. They are critical of clubbing Challa with begging as they believe it is a part of their tradition and that they get money in return of blessings.
7. The TGs of Sealdah mainly go for challa.
8. Those into sex work earn Rs 1000-10,000 per client. Many of them did not speak about their involvement in prostitution.
9. Prostitution is a side profession for some.
10. Just for survival they move into sex work.
11. Those involved in lagan and sex work simultaneously earn better than the other TGs.
12. The money earned from challa goes to local police which could be Rs 100-500 based on the earnings of the day.
13. Even the ones involved in sex work have to give some share to the police but this share is not fixed. It mainly depends on the earnings.
14. In the absence of proper education, skill and vocational training, they face problems in getting jobs and eventually succumb to the pressure of adopting traditional hijra profession like Badhai and Challa or even sex work.
15. Begging results from structural inequalities in society, lack of education and employment opportunities.

16. Working in mainstreams job is difficult for TGs because they are not confident about being accepted in public places.
17. Discrimination at workplace is common.
18. Physical and verbal abuses and workplace sexual harassment are the issues they dapple with.
19. TGs often migrate from one place to another for the sake of earning money due to which they lack residential proof.

VIII. Health

1. 85.15% of the respondents did not open up on their health issues.
2. A majority of TGs suffer from mental diseases, which result from day-to-day bitter experiences of their being a transgender.
3. The mental development of TGs is highly affected by the societal perception towards them.
4. They do not make friendship with hetero-normative people.
5. The ones who stay alone (37.7%) experience less of day-to-day stereotyping, (37.7%) but they suffer discrimination, feel more alienated, depressed and are mentally fragile.
6. 0.99% respondents are affected with HIV. Many of them view the disease as good as they would get attention from NGOs and other bodies and would have more support in terms of health care and monetary assistance.
7. Nothing is known about the health needs of transgender people in later life (old transgender persons), including transition related health care.

IX. Acceptability/Inclusivity of TGs

1. Schools/ educational campuses are least friendly for TGs (11.8%).
2. The ones who have tertiary education face lesser problems or acceptability issues when availing facilities in public places like, health care, restaurants, parlors etc.
3. The ones who are well educated have better acceptability as compared to the ones who are not.
4. Among the 67.33% TGs who stay with family, 31.1% feel they are accepted in health centers and 13.3% feel that they are accepted in educational spaces. So, family support plays a pivotal role in raising the degree of acceptability of the TGs in public places.
5. Acceptability of transgender people in spaces of leisure/recreation ranges from 16.6% - 31%. So, their acceptability in leisure spaces is indeed very less.
6. The ones with higher earnings, Rs. 25000-35000 encounter less stereotyping and discrimination as compared to those with less earnings.
7. The TGs, in general, are more accepted in beauty sector. They are good consumers of beauty products.

X. Constraints/Challenges Faced

1. Among the various constraints that the TGs face in public places, mental harassment is on the high (75%) along with verbal abuse (72%), transphobic attitude (68%) of public, violence (63%), and discrimination by state machinery (61%) among others.
2. SC/ST respondents face more constraints due to their caste and they are the ones who are more oppressed in the guru-chela system as compared to General and OBC category respondents.
3. The middle-aged TGs face higher degree of violence, mental harassment and transphobia as compared to the younger ones.

4. Those who are diagnosed with HIV are doubly stigmatized.
5. They face stigma from the society more so at social events and in family events.
6. 32.67% do not have family support and even the ones staying with family, i.e., 67.33% feel pressure from the family.
7. Many among those not staying with family fear of their family being stigmatized, so they live separately.
8. A large of number of TGs (80%) face social stigma in their day-to-day life.
9. 81% TGs reported being discriminated on some ground or the other.
10. 68.8% transgender persons faced disparity in job market, on educational campuses and while availing healthcare.
11. Finding a suitable accommodation is a big challenge.
12. The TGs in live-in relation (66.6%) face more stereotyping and mental harassment as compared to others.

XI. Awareness about Welfare Schemes

1. 68% of the respondents are not aware of the TG Development Board policies in general.
2. 85% respondents have never approached the West Bengal Transgender Development Board.
3. Nearly 60% TGs do not have any idea about the functioning of WBTG Development Board.

4. Only, 24% TGs approached the Board but did not find it friendly.
5. 90% respondents have faced difficulty in reaching out to the Board.
6. Majority of them have straightaway said 'No' in terms of schemes availed from WBTGDB.
7. 86% have candidly stated that they are not satisfied with the Board's functioning.

XII. Views of TGs on Role of NGOs

1. 84% have found the NGOs effective in helping out the TGs, more so in mainstreaming them.
2. They are well aware of the NGOs health care campaigns (67.3%), counseling sessions (65.8%), gender equity sessions (53.4%) and vocational trainings (39%).
3. The level of awareness among the General Category TGs about the programme run by NGOs is high in all respects as compared to other castes.
4. 62.3% have availed elementary to higher secondary education with the support of NGOs.
5. Many of the TGs have received vocational training in beautician course (29%), dance (24.7%), computer (20.7%) and tailoring (11.8%).
6. The ones belonging to General Category have availed maximum benefits by attending all kinds of vocational courses. Even the ones in reserved category have been trained in typing.
7. Only 5% of the respondents have availed housing facilities from NGOs.
8. A good number of them i.e., 41% have received medical support from NGOs.

9. 15% TGs have received financial support.
10. 51.9% TGs have received emotional support.
11. 71% respondents are highly satisfied with the facilities availed from NGOs.
12. Majority of them i.e., 61% find NGOs more transgender friendly.

XIII. Ongoing Schemes

A) West Bengal Transgender Development Board was a complete failure.

1. The West Bengal Transgender Development Board got dissolved in July 2018.
2. Except a few transgender sensitization programmes which were conducted till 2017 not much could be achieved by the Board.
3. No clear response came on functioning of the WBTGDB as to how it worked in improving the living conditions of TG people in West Bengal; the support provided to the TGs for their education and employment.
4. On providing medical help to transgender people the Board stated that the resolution for separate transgender wards in West Bengal government hospitals has been in debate. It has been formally accepted by the government hospital, but no action has been taken due to the deplorable condition of present government hospitals with scarcity of resources.
5. Board was silent on facilities and packages given to the TG Communities of West Bengal.
6. No data or record was shared by the Board on its schemes and the number of TGs benefitted from the schemes.

B) Tamil Nadu Transgender Welfare Board has been working effectively but still there is a long way to go.

1. The prominent schemes of the Tamil Nadu Welfare Board are *Employment* (Self-employment grants, Vocational Training, Material support for Self-employment, Initiatives to employ TGs as insurance/Agents (LIC)), *Housing/Shelter* (Free registered land for TG people in crises, grants for building houses under Indira Awaas Yojna or free supply of material to build house, Short stay home/Transit home), *Education* (grants to support higher education of TG Youth), *Health* (KMC and Rajiv Gandhi government hospital identified for free SRS & other emergency health issues), and *Ration/Food Cards*.
2. The State conducted its own survey in 2015 where the TG population count was estimated around 16380 as compared to the total TG population in T.N. as per 2011 Census is 22634.
3. Among the total 16380 transgenders only a few availed the schemes from the board. The percentage of beneficiaries who availed the benefits is thus: Ration/Food Cards: 5.35%, Aravani I-cards: 10.65%, Free land pattas: 1.48%, Education grants: 0.008%, SRS facility: 0.21%, Self-employment grants/loan scheme of Rs. 20,000: 1.41%, distribution of Sewing machines: 17.17%.

C) Kerala Transgender Welfare Policy

1. The 13 popular schemes of the State include: *Self-employment assistance* (financial aid up to Rs.3,00,000/- for startup/ self-employment ventures), *'Samanwaya'* (continuing education program for TGs), *Marriage assistance for legally married Transgender couples* (Rs.30,000 for marriage support & SRS), *Financial assistance for self-employment* (Rs.50,000), *Financial aid for SRS* (Rs.200000), *Financial aid for treatment after SRS* (Rs.3000/- p.m. for one year from the date of SRS for those between 18-40 years), *Financial aid for providing hostel facilities to TGs* (Rs.4000), *Distribution of sewing machine*, *24 X 7 helpline*, *Skill development training* (Rs. 500000 for providing skill development training, food and accommodation to selected TG

participants), *Scholarship for TG students* (Rs.1000-2000 pm for 10 months), *Driving classes*, and *Identity cards*.

2. The State conducted its own survey in 2015-16 where the TG population count reduced from 3902 to 1187.
3. Among the total 1187 transgender people in the State the percentage of beneficiaries who availed the benefits is thus: Education grants in total 23.5%.

D) Chhattisgarh Transgender Welfare Policy

1. The Chhattisgarh govt. has provided 2% reservation for Transgender (Third Gender) and under Chhattisgarh Urban Administration & Development and Housing & Environment Department 77 homeless transgender people have been accommodated in Raipur district.

E) Comparison of the TG welfare boards of states: The TG welfare boards of states like Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and more recently Chhattisgarh did make commendable moves in transforming the lives of this marginalized community, but the West Bengal Transgender Development Board failed to meet any of its objectives and has remained a dormant body as noted in the interactions and survey. Eventually it got dissolved in July 2018.

The TG welfare Boards of the different States should work collectively in mainstreaming the transgender people. They should share their best practices and success stories which will motivate others to follow.

XIV. On The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act, 2019

1. 57% of the TGs are not aware of the Bill (now an Act).
2. 72% are not sure if the bill is protecting their interest. TG activists see the Act to be claiming to protect their rights, though superficially, and do not see it much in their community's favor.

3. The Act provides for a jail term for six months to two years for anyone who forces or entices a transgender person to indulge in the act of forced or bonded labour. The respondents interpret it as restricting them from their profession of challa, which they consider as a traditional occupation of the hijra community, embedded with cultural codes.
4. The Act does not talk about the immense structural barriers to employment of transgender people.
5. Not all of them get proper skills or training for employment and even those who have some skills do not have proper support from the government or private agencies to help them in finding suitable job avenues.
6. Though the definition seems to have evolved from the older proposed definition, it is not fully inclusive. It defines the transgender people in terms of 'lack' which implies mismatch with the assigned gender. But 'lack' is stigmatizing. It does not define them in a positive light and further conflates transgender and intersex identities without talking about the overlaps and differences.

CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

Assigning sex to someone is based on biological terminologies namely, chromosomes, anatomy and hormones. But a person's gender identity is socially and culturally constructed. The contiguous grounds of sex and gender fail to assign transgenders their relative share of survival and assimilation. To tumble down such categories and cultural norms takes a lot of courage as stated by Dr. Helen R. Friedman, a clinical psychologist in St. Louis, who specializes in gender identity and transgender issues. In India, the naming of transgendered identity is wide and variant across the geographical territory due to cultural and religious differences. They are the ones who suffer from gender dysphoria and have remained as a marginalized community in India. Since they are considered socially outcaste in the traditional value-based Indian society relatively less attempt has been made to understand the day-to-day life spaces of this deprived and neglected human groups.

Transgenders are also a part of our society and have the right to live a dignified life, away from stigmatization. They are burgeoning in the vicissitude, trying to emancipate themselves. They suffer exclusion on multiple fronts: Exclusion from family; Social Exclusion; Cultural Exclusion; Economic Exclusion; Exclusion from political participation. While there have been studies that map the social lives of the transgendered community, no exhaustive work was exclusively carried out on investigating the inclusivity of the transgender community in the light of various inclusivist policies and legal measures. It was a less ventured or rather a virgin domain. The study began on this premise to investigate the socio-economic status and standards of living of the transgendered persons residing in Kolkata in the light of the inclusivist policies of the state and through an examination of their social lives an attempt was made to decipher the reasons behind their exclusion; the kinds of problems or constraints they face; if they have any access to the govt. schemes and facilities meant for the transgender welfare; to understand the domestic unit of guru-chela system whether it is stiffening their growth or freedom; to examine the

ongoing schemes for TG welfare; especially run by the West Bengal TG Development Board and some other state boards; and finally to understand the take of the TGs on The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act.

The universe of the study was the transgender people residing in and around Kolkata, West Bengal. West Bengal is home to more than thirty thousand transgender people, as per the population count of 2011 Census. More so, Kolkata is quite accommodative and has emerged as trans-friendly city. There are several NGOs in Kolkata, such as, Sambhovana, Bandhan, Sathi, Sappho for Equality, and others that have been working for the cause of the transgender community and trying to bridge the gap between the so-called normative and non-normative communities. A total of two hundred two respondents, whose age is above eighteen years, were taken for this study. With the help of well-structured questionnaire which consisted of close and open ended questions, responses of the target group were taken.

This investigatory study was carried out by taking the transgender people into confidence so that they play a participatory role. The reason for adopting exploratory approach with qualitative and quantitative techniques rested on the notion that TGs are a secluded intact group who do not generally interact with outsiders. Snowball sampling technique was used for the identification of the respondents as the target group is highly secluded community, which hardly comes out with their identity candidly. Four in-depth interviews were held with the target group. Two focus interviews were held with the Deputy Director, West Bengal Transgender Development Board and one with the Census Board at Kolkata. Some telephonic discussions were held with the TG activists, but these were of semi-structured schedule and the names of the transgender activists who were interviewed have been withheld on their request.

From the data analysed, the discussions held and on the basis of the study of ongoing schemes, and the views of the TGs on The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act, 2019 it was deduced that the TGs suffer exclusion on many fronts and confront negative stereotyping when their gender identity is visible to others. They are harassed and targeted at their gender expression, behaviour, clothes or for having long hair, therefore they prefer to remain hidden. It was also noted that the family pressurizes them to mask their gender expression. Nearly half of the transgenders, even today, leave their family after realizing their gender change due to discriminatory behavior of family, friends and society. It was found that a good number of transgender people do not have proper IDs to claim their identity and to avail any government facility, for opening bank accounts, or availing health care benefits. And the ones who have

changed their gender identity find it difficult to apply for any changes in their Identity Cards due to lack of proper documents. Also there is a lack of procedural awareness among the TGs to apply for gender change in their I-Cards. Both in the survey and the discussions it was observed that more than half of the participants were trapped in the Guru-Chela system, of which half consider it as a constraint for their growth and freedom, while the others pointed out the benefits of the guru-chela system as it gives them a sense of social security as well as economic security. Above all they get a home and a family with shared experiences, providing emotional strength to each other. Discrimination in education makes many transgender people (36%) quit before they finish their schooling and very few complete their tertiary level education successfully, thereby depriving them from the right to education. However, the ones with good education face lesser problems in social sphere as compared to others, but in recreational/ leisure spaces, no matter what their educational qualification be they are stereotyped. Due to lack of proper education and required skills many of them willing or unwilling get into the hijra profession of badhai and challa and some also get into sex work or Khajra. Another reason for their resorting to hijra profession is their non-acceptability (in the form of physical and verbal abuse) in workplace. They are denied the right to work due to discrimination and are segregated in narrow, marginalized occupations. It often prevents them from finding or keeping a job, making them diffident. Discrimination is rampant, unreported, socially sanctioned and further encouraged in the absence of any well-defined anti-discriminatory laws. Transgender people have the same range of general health needs as other groups. A majority of them suffer from mental ailments, which result from day-to-day bitter experiences of their being a transgender. The cumulative impact of discrimination and relative deprivation is bound to impact negatively on their health. Moreover, nothing is known about the health needs of the old transgender persons.

It was observed that majority of the respondents are simply unaware of the welfare schemes meant for the TGs. They were dissatisfied and never approached the West Bengal Transgender Development Board as it never worked effectively so as to meet its objectives. Instead they found the NGOs more supportive and helping, right from organizing health care campaigns, providing counseling sessions to vocational trainings and providing emotional and financial support. During the study the strengths and weaknesses of the transgender community also came to the fore. In the process, their quality of life and spaces also got analyzed. The 'spaces' in the study meant the social spaces and the support networks they have. It was evident

from the results that exclusion is routinely experienced by transgenders and that confidence building in them is very much required which could be realized only through legal and social reforms.

The study aimed at analysing the inclusivity of the transgender community in the light of various inclusivist policies and legal measures and identifying the reasons of their exclusion. All the stated objectives were eventually met. And it is in the light of these findings that certain recommendations have been made which are listed below.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter II of The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) ACT, 2019, 5th December 2019 embodies several prohibitions against any sort of discriminatory practices towards a transgender person and the successive Chapters, i.e., 3-8 including provision for the formation of National Council for Transgender Persons are happy indications and offer hope to the community for their improved social condition, but in all facticity transgender inclusivity is a far-fetched dream. Based on the findings of this in-depth investigatory study on the social status and inclusivity of the transgender persons, following recommendations are made. During the interaction with the community members it was observed that confidence building in the transgender persons is very much required and this could be realized only through legal and social reforms for which the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment along with the Ministries of Education, Health and Family Welfare, Home Affairs, Labor and Employment, and Department of Legal Affairs should focus on the following:

I. Applicable to Ministry of Home Affairs

1. **Population Count of Transgenders:** First and foremost, there is an urgent need to trace the actual population of the Transgender persons in the country so as to get their correct number and further categorize them as per their gender identity and expression mentioned by them under the gender spectrum. This will be a major move towards extending recognition to the TG community. This is also much needed in mainstreaming the gender minority groups like intersex and transmen.

(The West Bengal Transgender Board still relies on the population count of 2011).

II. Applicable to Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment

1. There is a need to codify laws specifically protecting transgender persons from discrimination in employment, housing, health care and adoption.
2. There is silence on whether a transgender person who holds a Male or Female gender proof will have access to government welfare schemes meant for transgendered. This should be codified well in the 2019 Act.
3. Providing social security pension for those TGs above 60 years could be also thought of.

III. Applicable to Ministry of Education

1. Advisory should be sent by the Ministry of Education to educational institutions to make their campuses 'transgender friendly' as transgender affirming education may contribute positively to school and community climate and successful youth development.
2. The Ministry of Education should issue directives to all government and private schools/ colleges to organize frequent gender sensitization programs with special focus on protection of TG rights.
3. Periodically advisory should be issued by the Ministry of Education to the gender sensitization cells at schools, colleges, higher educational institutes so that they work effectively in protecting the TG rights, rather than being a dormant body.
4. A handbook on gender/ body could be prepared by the Ministry and copies of it sent to the libraries of all educational institutes in the country. This handbook could provide basic understanding about gender spectrum and complexities related to gender identity and expression. This will prove to be quite useful to college students.

IV. Applicable to Ministry of Health and Family Welfare

1. As observed in the study, parental responses to the child's gender identity and expression matters a lot. Family support helps have the transgenders better acceptability. Families could be sensitized to become more accepting and less transphobic by:
 - Introducing provisions for counseling of the family members of TGs so that they become aware of gender expansiveness and its in-built complexities.
 - Organizing gender sensitization workshop for such parents wherein gender diversity and sexualities could be talked about.
 - Making them participatory bodies in the TG welfare campaigns.
2. There should be provision for building of a knowledge base on lives of elderly transgender persons.
3. The visibility of elderly TGs was bleak in the study, around 1% only, therefore more studies should be conducted on the living condition of the elderly TGs; their health, old age issues, available support systems, and their financial security should be analyzed. The Ministry of Health and Family Welfare may support such studies.

V. Applicable to Ministry of Information and Broadcast

1. There should be provision for TG sensitization drive through advertisements. The way the scheme Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao, Desh Badhao was popularized by the govt. for generating mass awareness on educating the girl child, the same way the TG welfare schemes also need proper advertising on new media and social networking platforms so that it creates mass awareness on TG issues and could guarantee the transgender people their rights and empower them.
2. In TV serials, films, gender deviant expressions are overtly projected, mocked at, and often ridiculed for the sake of entertainment. Such representations of gender in TV serials/ films should be condemned and censored.

VI. Applicable to Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship & Ministry of Labour and Employment

1. There should be constant capacity building drive. A good percentage of transgenders, availing education is below 36 years of age. They can be a young workforce, if trained properly. And this could wear them off begging and prostitution. Facilitation of skill development of the transgender community could be achieved in following ways:
 - Training Centres could be set up for TGs at State level. District-wise and locality-wise transgender persons should be identified and proper skills/training should be given to them so that they turn into a potential work force.
 - Special training drives should be run on a periodic basis at block level, such as, customer care executive, apprentice computer training, housekeeping, hospitality services, front office management, security, driving, make-up artistry, home delivery services, assistant fashion designing, etc.
 - They could be employed in educational institutions, govt offices on daily wages as mali, peon, cooks in govt. canteens, security guards etc. They could be employed in railways, for instance, Kochi Metro, employs transgender persons in various functions depending on their qualifications.
 - They could be also deployed in defense services, in BSF as found in Denmark and other countries.
2. Financial Support/ Loans should be given to TG owned and operated business which will not only empower them economically and boost their confidence, but also encourage other transgender persons to become self-reliant.
3. Adequate measures should be adopted to remove the structural barriers to employment of transgender persons – be it their non-acceptability at work place or the constraints faced due to hierarchy within community.
4. Workplace sexual harassment policies should be made 'transgender' inclusive.

5. To hold Job Fair exclusively for TGs. The employment exchange offices of the city may be directed to assist:
 - Invite employers to participate. Invite businesses to sponsor the job fair.
 - Create a data-base of TGs, district-wise. It will help in disseminating information about job fair and openings.
 - Consider holding workshops on career planning, résumé development, and how to face interview for jobs.
6. Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME) may be given tax incentives for hiring TGs.
7. The Ministry of Labor and Employment should issue directives to all government and private departments, offices, workplaces to organize frequent gender sensitization programs with special focus on protection of TG rights.
8. Periodically advisory should be issued by the Ministry of Labor and Employment to the gender sensitization cells at workplaces so that they work effectively in protecting the TG rights, rather than being a dormant body.

VII. Applicable to State Law Enforcement Department

1. Instances of torture, abuse (verbal, physical, sexual) or violence against transgenders should be taken seriously by police. In discussions it was noted that the transgenders face difficulties in lodging FIR. They are NOT HEARD. Officials at all levels should publicly condemn torture and other ill-treatment and make clear that any act of torture, ill-treatment or other human rights abuse, whoever the victim, will not be tolerated.
To the Police:
 - Extend all support to the victims so that can file complaints without fear of reprisal.
 - Investigate all allegations of torture, sexual assault, violence and ill-treatment of transperson (detainees) and prosecute those responsible in

accordance with the law.

- Police indifference to abuses: Instances of Verbal abuse by police are quite common. The TGs are addressed as Chakka/ hijra. Officers should address transgender individuals by the name they regularly use. It must be made clear to police officers that verbal abuse based on real or perceived sexual orientation or gender identity or expression will not be tolerated and that officers responsible for such abuse will be disciplined appropriately.
- Policing operations (like raid) should be reviewed to ensure that they are not targeted in a discriminatory fashion.

2. Training of Law Enforcement Bodies: All law enforcement training programmes should be based on human rights standards and include transgender sensitivity training. Such training should stress that police misconduct and abuse against TGs will not be tolerated.

- Police department should develop specific policies and provide training on how to respond to and investigate “hate crimes” based on sexual orientation, gender identity or expression; sexual assault or violence against TGs.
- Training should also be undertaken on how to address transgender individuals with respect for their dignity, on how to conduct searches of transgender individuals; and on detention policies and procedures for Transpersons.
- Local police should maintain systems for effective consultation with TG community and other relevant organizations and should engage proactively in outreach to TG community.

VIII. Applicable to State Govts (in general)

1. The major responsibility on the State governments for TG inclusivity is to issue proper TG I- cards to them so that they can avail benefits from the particular state. It was evident in the study that due to the absence of the employment avenues the TGs have to move from one state to another for their livelihood. Therefore, appropriate steps should

be taken to ensure that proper Identity cards are issued to all.

2. A transgender person should be given adequate support to officially register ones gender identity as per ones choice.
3. All application forms (for job, college, etc.) should uniformly mention Male/ Female/ Transgender in the slot which seeks gender identity. A blank space could also be provided just against the gender options so that those interested in mentioning their specific gender category within 'Transgender' can do so. This can also be a step towards recognition and inclusivity to transgenders.
4. The mechanism for changing name and gender in school certificate should be made smooth.
5. TG activists/ writers should be encouraged to hold discussions and debates on gender equality in educational institutions. They can sensitize the audience on transgender issues effectively.
6. The State TG Welfare Boards should work with NGOs and CBOs to identify potential employers for the uptake of transgender persons, helping them to come out of guru-chela system. By imparting vocational training and certificate courses to the transgender persons alternative livelihood could be ensured for them. They could be hired in beauty care, fashion and designing industry, security services, government canteens, etc.
7. Health camps should be organized at block levels on regular basis for the transgenders. This will prove to be a huge mental support for them.
8. There should be provisions to set up transgender people's health care unit in major government hospitals.
9. Health needs of the old transgender persons should be given equal attention.

10. As noticed in the study, the transgender persons of Kolkata have little or no awareness about the West Bengal Transgender Development Board. In general, most of them never approached the Board and they are unaware of the welfare schemes meant for them. Therefore, it should be made mandatory for all the state governments to publish their welfare policies and schemes for the transgender persons on their official webpage.
11. The State Transgender Development Boards should have dedicated staff. It would be good to employ Transgender persons for office job and as peon in the Boards. Some sort of reservation could be brought here.
12. Some mechanism should be devised to monitor the functioning of the State Transgender Welfare Boards. There should be periodic monitoring and review of the schemes launched by the Boards and a review of the expenditure.
13. Like Chhattisgarh, TGWBs of other states should work on providing housing facilities to them.
14. The Transgender Development Boards of different States should work in consonance with each other and share their success stories. This can result in TG inclusivity in real sense.
15. NGOs and CBOs should be directed to spell out the success stories of the TG achievers, be it achievements in education, employment or in any other area. This would inspire the other TGs to come up.
16. NGOs should be advised to develop their action plan for mainstreaming the transgender persons in consultation with TG community at district levels/ regional levels.
17. Efforts should be made by the State Boards to properly network and coordinate with NGOs and CBOs in planning, designing and implementing advocacy efforts.
18. Some mechanism should be evolved for monitoring the functioning of NGOs. If they

are simply accumulating money in the name of TG welfare, their registration should be cancelled and they should be penalized.

19. Above all, those transgender persons who are educated and are actively working for the welfare of their community should be involved in planning, implementation and evaluation of the schemes as they are the ones who are connected with the community the most.

While the limitation of the study lies in the fact that it was restricted to a specific sample size (two hundred two), a definite place, and by large unintentionally got oriented on trans-women (as in the study quite a number of respondents were confused about their gender identity and the those who further fall under gender minority within the umbrella of 'transgender' are almost invisible, owing to the fact that gender minority groups are still struggling to make it (to make it to the country's collective public imagination), its strength rests on its findings and recommendations.

Above all the stated objectives were eventually met. And no generalities or sweeping statements have been made about the transgenders and the identities of the respondents were kept confidential on their request. The study is objective, original, and meets the ethical standards of research.

Thus to sum up, it is evident from the results that exclusion is routinely experienced by the transgenders which shatters their confidence, but by devising ways to engage them actively in the social sphere with the aid of welfare policies and by enabling them to meaningfully participate in decisions about their lives and their communities, a positive change could be brought in. Their constant interaction with the society will enable them to come out of their anxieties and help bridge the gap between the normative and the non-normative, providing the required impetus for their mainstreaming.

Undoubtedly, the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) ACT, 2019 and The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Rules, 2020 are big moves towards extending recognition to the transgender community and mainstreaming them.

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APPENDICES

I. Focused Discussion with West Bengal Transgender Development Board

The state level Transgender Board of West Bengal was formed in July 2015 with 13 members. Out of which 9 were non-official members and 3 were official members. The non-official members included prominent transgenders identities as representatives of transgender community. On the other hand, official members were minister of the department as the chairperson, state civil service officer as the member secretary, district social welfare officers, and other government officials. The board had planned accordingly to work with transgender community representatives and government officials. But, unfortunately they failed to work as they had planned, so the board got dissolved in July 2018. They attribute this failure to the lack of interest, awareness, willingness and enthusiasm on the part of the transgender community to engage as active participants and actively assert the rights. The Board now plans to re-formulate itself on entirely new lines based on the census of transgender communities which they plan to conduct in four major districts of West Bengal.

An interactive meeting with the Deputy Director of WBTGDB, Mr. Bhaskar Chakrabortee was held on 28th August 2018 & 18th June 2019; its transcript is as follows:

Q. What are the aims and objectives of the WBTGDB?

A: First of all, we are asking them to utilize the existing government schemes and facilities. They are under the umbrella scheme. For further specific information on aims and objectives you send a letter to the member secretary WBTGDB or e-mail at wbtgdb@gmail.com.

Q. Comment on the Functioning of the WBTGDB?

A: This board is functional for three years as per the composition of our board in West Bengal. This started in July 2015 and has been dissolved in July 2018. So, after that the members will be re-appointed and they will re-constitute the board. This board has 13 members, of which 9 are non-official and the rest are official. For example, the Director of Social Welfare is an official member, among the non-official members. We have included some prominent

transgender persons, leading TG activists or who run their own NGOs or are involved in working with the TG people closely. Quite a number of non-official members are themselves transgenders, so we generally expect to get the feed-back from the general TG community or population through them only, but responses are very few. So, the Board went through certain difficulties because they wanted to identify the trades or professions which the transgenders would like to adopt or like to be trained in through the Department of Technical Education and Training, but after approaching them we got the list of only some trades after much delay. Till now, we have not got any list of beneficiaries who are interested.

Q. What steps are taken by the Board to improve the living conditions of TG people in West Bengal?

A: We have started awareness programmes with the government departments first, like Health department, Education department, Law department and Police department. While we are trying to uplift them, there is no enthusiasm on their part. So, we are conducting sensitization programmes with different departments and policy makers, who need to be made aware first. Particularly, police department has to be more sensitized because when the transgender people face any discrimination or deprivation, they approach the government officers or authorities, if that very government authority is not aware or sensitized about their issues or problems he or she may not help them in a proper way. As a part of awareness programmes, in January 2017, we held a short film competition of 40 seconds on problems of Transgender people, in collaboration with St. Xavier's College, Kolkata. Then we put those clippings on Kolkata metro stations for spreading awareness.

Q. What role the Board is playing regarding Education, Employment and Health of the transgender people?

A: Several months ago, we sat with the department of Technical Education and Training, to identify trades and professions they like to adopt. The board wanted them to be trained as beauticians, physiotherapists and their other likeable professions. So that we could give them free training and arrange rooms for their training. Through self-help groups, we also helped them to start their business and take bank-loans.

The resolution for separate transgender wards in West Bengal government hospitals has been in debate. It has been formally accepted by the government hospital, but no action has yet been taken given the deplorable condition of present government hospitals with scarcity of

resources.

Q. What is the role of the WBTGDB regarding the inclusivity of the TGs in the mainstream society?

There was no clear response from him on this.

Q. What facilities and packages the Board has given/is giving to the TG Communities of West Bengal?

Ducked the question cleverly.

Q. What support system the Board has provided to the TGs for exercising their fundamental rights at par with the normative people?

Ducked the question.

Q. What are the methods the Board is adopting to collect the actual data on population of the TGs in West Bengal?

A: No official data has been released by the government so far. So, the new constituted Board will work on census findings to be conducted in four major districts of West Bengal. For achieving so, we have some researchers and scholars as non-official members like Suthanukha Bhattacharya (a researcher in the board), helped in formulating our proposal of the *modus operandi* of the census which we are going to conduct very soon.

Q. What is the current population of TGs in West Bengal in general and Kolkata in particular apart from the 2011 Census, as per your knowledge?

A: The unpublished census on transgenders of 1991 has the data but now it has increased much. We can find out the data that is compiled district wise. So, about their current population we can add 15-20% to the increase in yearly population. For example, in Bankura district of West Bengal in 1991 census the population was found to be 2500, but it has increased cumulatively.

Q. Do you think the de-criminalization of Section 377 will help the TG community to secure their position in the mainstream society?

A: Yes, it would certainly help them to come to the fore.

Q. How is the WBTGDB different from the TG Boards of States like Tamil Nadu, Kerala,

Andhra Pradesh, Odisha?

Ducked the question.

II. Visit to the Directorate of Census Operational, Kolkata

A visit to the Directorate of Census Operational, Kolkata, West Bengal was made on 10th Census Operational (DCO) has no exclusive population data on Transgender of West Bengal or Kolkata, apart from the 2011 data, where the transgender or the other gender population data was counted for the very first time in Indian Census history. Narrating its experiences, the DCO mentioned that, in WB in particular, it faced difficulties in gathering data on transgender as the community was reluctant to reveal their identities. The DCO took the help of some transgender activists to survey their population. The office does not have district wise population count of the transgender in West Bengal. However, the office was optimistic that in the Indian Census Counting of 2021 they will get better results on Transgender population. The DCO has published all the data of transgender people on their official site and it can be also found on other web sources.

III. Focused Group Discussion with the transgender people at *Amra Odhbhut Café & Samabhabona*

The major objective was to get a first-hand experience of the problems and conditions of transgender community and the steps taken by government to improve their condition.

Q: What are the changes you think have occurred from the 1990s to this time?

A: They were able to differentiate precisely the condition of the present transgenders with those of back in 1990s. According to them, “in early 1990s people rejected our identity but now people do identify us, but they are reluctant to accept us. We are lagging behind as we were before. Support is needed by our Government and by the people.” They emphasized on the need to create appropriate spaces in the society where more discussions could be held on transgenders and their lifestyle. This is much needed for sensitizing the masses towards them. When interrogated regarding their living conditions and family life, they were skeptical of the double-standards adopted by their family. On the one hand, they are socially ostracized both by society in the larger public sphere and family at the personal level, but as earning members of the family

they are expected to support their family in case a financial crisis. One of our interviewee hijra was courageous enough to blatantly speak the bitter truth – “My family hates me, but loves my money. We provide our parents with money on certain occasion, for instance, in sister’s marriage, or death, but we are strictly restricted to visit and be a part of that occasion. Our parents are the one because of whom our life has turned to hell”. To neutralize the situation a bit, Suhana claimed the acceptability ratio of ‘other’ gender in West Bengal to be comparatively high in relation to other States. She added, West Bengal is the first State in India to start the LGBTQ movement. Supporting Suhana, Rakhi too nodded and said “yes the acceptability is high here.”

Q: Many people among them are living with their family, but what about those who have taken a harsh decision to leave their family. Where do they go? How do they survive?

A: According to Rakhi, most of them do not live with their family. So, they search for people like Rakhi and other people of transgender community, interact with them and consequently become a chela to some guru, which is indispensable for surviving in the hijra oeuvre.

Q: How is the hierarchy in guru-chela relationship? Is the guru-chela relationship exploitative in nature?

A: According to them, “our hijra community is based on matriarchal system. Our guru loves us as well as punishes us too. Whatever happens, chelas are bound to serve their Guru.” To highlight further on this hierarchical relation, some other members too joined the conversation.

Along the expanse of time, a chela can change their guru, but at the cost of stringent offences the new Guru bears on them, as directed by the older one. This chain continues. The powerful guru exploits the chela, also going harsh as far as to beat and abuse them. The most common form of exploitation is snatching earned money of the chelas and taking half the share. All the chelas under different Nayak are restricted to work in their places, for instance, they can do badhai, and begging or sex work only in their allotted place and constricted to move out from their assigned place. Despite such atrocious acts of the Gurus, it is shocking to see chelas willingness to sustain in this relation, turning down any struggle or measure to liberate themselves. The only source of support for them is the Nayak, who if caring and understanding will have her descendants too soft-hearted and caring.

Comparing this hierarchical relation in West Bengal with that of the capital city, Delhi Raina elaborates that her “hijra friends in Delhi live a life of freedom where Guru only asks them to visit her at the time of emergency or on certain occasions. They are not bound to suppress their desire and necessities. They are allowed to enjoy their life.” Clarifying situations along regions, Suhana says: “In most of the places Guru and Chela live separately but in North, Eastern North and Western North, they live with each other in dariyaad. It is an organized labor system where Nayak takes care of the money and expenses incurred. Whatever be the situation, they live together. They will never move out of this system as it is what they wanted. What society did not give; the community has provided. Yes, few hijra try to move out but only in extreme situations.”

Q: What do you know about the Transgender Persons Rights Bill (now Act)?

A: The community came to know about the Transgender Bill through Raina. They also went to Delhi for protest. They are of the view that the Bill has problematic provisions to end the begging tradition (pratha). They held radical views regarding this particular tenet of begging- “there are people who beg – men, women, children, but why they are not put behind the bars. Our begging is a ritual based professional, we in return of money give them blessings, and this is our pratha. How can they declare our begging pratha to be offensive?” Regarding other aspects of the bill they were of the opinion that “T.G Bill does not include any of these issues like, child adoption, mandatory pension, reservation. Transgender term holds improper definition, and hijra are identified as ‘female’, ‘transgender’ and ‘others’ or ‘third gender’ in government identity card. For instance, a hijra named, Pallavi has been defined as ‘transgender’ in Aadhar card and ‘third gender’ in voter ID card.” The tumult and anger in the community was in extreme forms as evident in Raina’s statement- “Our government is ravenous; they have provided three different Identity cards with gender and category as per the demand of transgender with money.”

Linking it with the HIV stigma of transgenders, I noticed the depressing tone of their words – “Why do the people and government think that we only suffer from HIV and we don’t suffer from any other diseases like, fever, cough and cold, headache etc. All the hijras got united in support to eradicate HIV and create awareness about it. In joining this we received social support and financial establishment. Doctors are not always willing to succor us unless we provide them with money. Through money they can be friendly.”

Q: How have NGOs and/ or West Bengal Transgender Development Board helped you?

A: Suhana came forward to explain: "In our West Bengal leaving two districts which has NGOs, the other places have CBOs. The objective of CBOs was not to gather funds or projects, it started to provide a safe place to hijra community so that they can assimilate and share spaces with each other. But gradually this cause shifted from humanity to money- based system. When CBOs and NGOs were supported with funds, the leading body took the grants so that they improve the living conditions of transgenders, collect more money for their upliftment. But unfortunately, with time, most of the NGOs and CBOs started safeguarding their interest; first, they started gathering money for their personal use. The West Bengal Transgender Board is no way supportive; they speak and never bother to do any work for our upliftment. They never disclose the funds that are available to them by the government, never bother to open up with aims and privileges that a hijra can avail through this board. They will support only those who are educated or have a social positioning. With money they shut the mouth of those who want to wage protest against corruption in the Board, but I do not want solely my development, my community development is important to me."

Regarding NGOs, we were informed about *Samabhabona* that aims at training the hijras according to their talent. Those associated with the NGO do feel a sense of belongingness. According to Rakhi, "*Samabhabona* has provided me a platform to support myself financially and helped me to love myself the way I am despite the verbal abuses which pinches my heart most of the time. I have visited different NGOs but this one is different. My family threw me out, but it is *Samabhabona* that has accepted me as a family member. I am emotionally connected with this organization." Moreover, *Samabhabona* acts as a connecting bridge to fill the gap between mainstream society and the Hijra community. It has also created awareness about 'The Transgender Persons Rights Bill' and how to avail the facilities that the government has been providing. Consequently, *Samabhabona* has stepped above the roles of NGOs and has formed an emotional bond with the transgender community. No doubt we are pained and feel miserable about the indifferent attitude of the Board towards us, but the philanthropic works of the NGOs cannot be denied.

Q: What do you expect from the government and if you have to say something to NHRC?

A: They held different views, mostly outrageous and distressful. Some even went forward to narrate personal stories, to add on the brutality and discrimination faced by them at the hands of government officials. For example, Lola Bhattacharya narrated a real-life incident of her hijra friend who was “brutally beaten” and “abused” by the police”. She further said: “I called Manobi Bandhopadhyaya, who is connected with West Bengal Transgender Development Board for help, but she declined saying that why police will beat anyone without reason,

there must be some hassle from the hijra’s side. Manobi did not even bother to ask about the issues or showed any interest in extending any help to the aggrieved. Our community people are reluctant to help us when they reach in good positions. I have no expectations from anyone. We have to support ourselves. Self-help is the best help.” For Pallavi, her immediate and ultimate “priority is reservation in government job. We want to live in the mainstream society with acknowledgement and respect.”

Interrupted in the midst of the conversation, I asked them more specifically on reservation, to which one of them responded: “It is believed that if reservation is given to the transgender community, many will try to grab benefit from it, they will misuse and abuse the system, will apply for fake identity cards and avail the benefits.” The question agitated many of them and Raina was quick to step in – “It is the problem of the government servants; they provide us with identity card of ‘male’, ‘female’ and ‘transgender’ by money. What will we do if it is a problem to identify between ‘real’ and ‘fake’ hijras?

Supporting her point Suhana added that “For our development it is necessary to provide us with identity and job in Government sector. Grace Banu, a transgender activist has applied for double reservation. The general notion is that first we are transgender and second we are scheduled caste. Double reservation is thus needed as it is our right; as we are discriminated for being transgender and for being a Dalit, we want our right to livelihood as it is important and our necessity.” Quoting the fierce incident of U.S. where most of the black prostitutes were made to gather together and exploded in a bomb blast, one of the respondents anticipated the same sight of horror in India with respect to transgenders. She opined that there will be a day when “the government will dig a huge hole and put all the transgender people to die and suffer”.

IV. Areas where the Respondents Stay

Participant	Address/ Block	District
1	Belighata	Kolkata
2	Bidhan Nagar	North 24 Pargana
3	Bidhan Nagar	North 24 Pargana
4	Kristophar Road	Kolkata
5	Kristophar Road Tangra	Kolkata
6	Kakorghachi	Kolkata
7	Belighata	Kolkata
8	Belighata	Kolkata
9	Kakorghachi	Kolkata
10	Rajaram Mohan Sorani	Kolkata
11	Belighata	Kolkata
12	Phool Baghan	Kolkata
13	Dhapa Road Dhapa	Kolkata
14	Kakorghachi	Kolkata
15	Bidhan Nagar	North 24 Pargana
16	Monisaha	Kolkata
17	Sonar Pur	South 24 Kolkata
18	Vidhalyay Road	Kolkata
19	Tajpur Panchim Mathura Pur	South 24 Pargana
20	Baruipor	South 24 Pargana
21	Magrahat Marjyada	South 24 Pargana
22	Barhampore	Murshidabad
23	Ghughumari	Cooch Behar
24	Jadav Pur	Kolkata
25	3 Jodhpur Colony Lake Gardens	Kolkata
26	Bahadur Road Becholia	Kolkata
27	25 Kasba Kumor Para Lane	Kolkata
28	Kankurgachi	Kolkata
29	23A Meher Ali Mondal Street Alipore	Kolkata
30	13 Bakul Bagan Row Bhawanipore	Kolkata
31	N S C Bose Road	Kolkata
32	Daspara Ultadanga	Kolkata
33	Bhawanipore	Kolkata
34	Lake Gardan Laskarpur	South 24 Parganas
35	Upanibesh Nakta'a	Kolkata
36	Kundarali	South 24 Parganas
37	Bonhooghly	South 24 Parganas
38	Bijoygarh Regent Estate	Kolkata
39	Bhawanipore	Kolkata
40	Krishnapur	North 24 Pargana
41	Parnasree Pally	Kolkata
42	Bhawanipore	Kolkata
43	Kachari Bazarbaruipur	Kolkata
44	Ghughumari	Cooch Behar
45	66 D C Dey Road	Kolkata
46	Lal Baag	Murshida Bad
47	Ded Road	Kolkata
48	T C Road	Kolkata
49	Haldibari	Cooch Behar
50	Barasat	North 24 Parganas

51	Ghughumari	Cooch Behar
52	Kandi	Murshida Bad
53	Ghughumari	Cooch Behar
54	Ghughumari	Cooch Behar
55	Kankurgachi	Kolkata
56	Krishna nagar	Nadia
57	Hossain Shah Road Ekbalpore	Kolkata
58	Kankurgachi	Kolkata
59	Dhakuria	Kolkata
60	Prafulla Road Barnagar	Kolkata
61	Ghughumari	Cooch Behar
62	Debogram	Nadia Kolkata
63	Ektara	South 24 Parganas
64	Christan Para	North 24 Parganas
65	Surya Nagar	Kolkata
66	Jadav Pur	Kolkata
67	Baranagar	North 24 Parganas
68	Maheshtala	South 24 Parganas
69	Bagpara Shirampur	Hooghly
70	Bhawanipore	Kolkata
71	Motijhil Lane Tangra	Kolkata
72	Panchanantala Road	Kolkata
73	Maheshtala	South 24 Parganas
74	APC Road Beadon Street	Kolkata
75	Gandhi Colony	Kolkata
76	Debendra Chandra Dey Road Tangra	Kolkata
77	Basudebpur Maheshtala	South 24 Parganas
78	Upen Banerjee Road Parnashree	Kolkata
79	Shanti Nagar	North 24 Parganas
80	Maheshtala	South 24 Parganas
81	Bowbazar	Kolkata
82	KPT Colony Taratala	Kolkata
83	Parnasree Pally	Kolkata
84	Sreecolony	Kolkata
85	Arambagh	Hooghly
86	Konnagar	Hooghly
87	Konnagar	Hooghly
88	Kankurgachi	Kolkata
89	Goghat	Hooghly
90	Salt Lake	Kolkata
91	Street Road	Kolkata
92	Parghata	Kolkata
93	New Govt. Colonybansdrone	South 24 Parganas
94	Chandannagar	Hooghly
95	Goghat	Hooghly
96	Khanakul	Hooghly
97	Khanakul	Hooghly
98	Beadon Street	Kolkata
99	Brendan Street	Kolkata
100	Street Road	Kolkata
101	Motigange	North 24 Parganas
102	Bamongachhi	North 24 Parganas
103	Bidhannagar	North 24 Parganas
104	Shimultala	North 24 Parganas
105	Arepota	North 24 Parganas
106	Dhakapara	North 24 Parganas

107	Motigung	North 24 Parganas
108	Bidhannagar	North 24 Parganas
109	Gopal Nagar	North 24 Parganas
110	Banpur	North 24 Parganas
111	Gopal Nagar	North 24 Parganas
112	Barrackpore	North 24 Parganas
113	Akaipur	North 24 Parganas
114	Bongaon	North 24 Parganas
115	Gopal Nagar	North 24 Parganas
116	Baneswarpur	North 24 Parganas
117	Basirhat	North 24 Parganas
118	Swarupnagar	North 24 Parganas
119	Kalyanpur, Barnipur	North 24 Parganas
120	Alipore Sadar	South 24 Pargana
121	Jorabagan	North 24 Parganas
122	Slums Behind Ultadanga	Kolkata
123	Baranagar	North 24 Parganas
124	Nungi	Kolkata
125	Subhasgram	South 24 Parganas
126	Ultadanga Muchi Bazar	Kolkata
127	Barrackpore	North 24 Parganas
128	RN Guha Road Dum Dum	Kolkata
129	Purba Sinthee Cross Road	Kolkata
130	Kalyani Anandanagar Nadia	Nadia Kolkata
131	Ghosh Bagan	Kolkata
132	Raimohan Banerjee Road	Kolkata
133	Lake View Park	Kolkata
134	Mahajati Nagar	Kolkata
135	Birati Nabanagar Sarada Park	Kolkata
136	Atal Behari Sarkar Road Naihati	North 24 Parganas
137	Central Road Barrackpore	Kolkata
138	Chayadas Kalitala Manasa	Kolkata
139	Bolpur	Birbhum
140	Dabur Park Ganguly Bagan	Kolkata
141	Dedar Buksh Lane	Kolkata
142	Prince Anwar Shah Road	Kolkata
143	Gurusaday Dutta Lane North Bharatnagar Siliguri	Darjeeling
144	Keranipara Jalpaiguri	Jalpaiguri
145	Motilal Nehru Road	Kolkata
146	Hazra Road	Kolkata
147	Motilal Nehru Road	Kolkata
148	Bolpur	Birbhum
149	Beltala Road	Kolkata
150	Mirik	Darjeeling
151	Manohar Pukur 2nd Lane	Kolkata
152	Surisadar	Birbhum
153	Satchasi Para Road	Kolkata
154	Ballygunge Kasba	Kolkata
155	Garia Station	Kolkata
156	Garia Police Para	Kolkata
157	Behala Thakurpukur	Kolkata
158	Bauria Howrah	Howrah
159	Banguiati	Kolkata
160	Central Avenue Bowbazar	Kolkata
161	Bidhan Nagar Dakshin	North 24 Parganas
162	Bidhan Nagar Basanti Colony	Kolkata

163	Ballygunge	Kolkata
164	Kasba	Kolkata
165	Malbazaar	Jalpaiguri
166	Chanchal	Malda
167	Uttar Panchanna Gram	Kolkata
168	Matha Pukur	Rangpur
169	Pank Street Bondlo Gurur Area	Kolkata
170	Chingri Ghata	Kolkata
171	Sarisa	South 24 Paraganas
172	Dehla	South 24 Paraganas
173	Rubi	Kolkata
174	Goyabagan	Kolkata
175	Paschim Chouvaga	Kolkata
176	Pukur Housing	Kolkata
177	Dimondhurbour	South 24 Paraganas
178	Dehla	South 24 Paraganas
179	Subhasgram	South 24 Paraganas
180	Subhasgram	South 24 Paraganas
181	Dhakusia	Kolkata
182	Alipore Sader	South 24 Paraganas
183	Sonarpur	South 24 Paraganas
184	Jalatank North	Kolkata
185	Bijaygath	Kolkata
186	Domjur	Howrah
187	Jadevpur	Kolkata
188	Baripur	South 24 Paraganas
189	Jadevpur Garden	Kolkata
190	Hotar	South 24 Paraganas
191	Garia	Kolkata
192	Baraipur	South 24 Paraganas
193	Sithi	Kolkata
194	Chetta	Kolkata
195	Kasba	Kolkata
196	Tollyguge	Kolkata
197	Katwa	Bardhaman
198	Sealdah	Kolkata
199	Golfgreen	Kolkata
200	Bhabanipur	Kolkata
201	Batanagar	Kolkata
202	Rajarhat	North 24 Paraganas

TRANSGENDER TOURISM QUESTIONNAIRE

I. PERSONAL DETAILS

1. Name: _____

2. Age: _____

3. Occupation: _____

4. Preferred Pronoun: _____

5. Monthly Income:

< 10,000 ☐

10,000 – 25,000 ☐

25,000- 35,000 ☐

35,000- 50,000 ☐

More ☐

6. Permanent Address: Same as their previous parent's house

7. Different new venue after gender transformation

Stays with:	Family by birth	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	Away from Family due to gender		<input type="checkbox"/>
	Alone	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	Live-in	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	In-Laws (sasural)	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Relationship status:	Single	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	Married	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	In a relation	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	Live-in	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	Others	<input type="checkbox"/>	

8. Preferable form of contact: Whatsapp
 Email
 Phone call

Letter ☐
 Facebook messenger ☐
 Instagram ☐
 Snapchat ☐
 Other ☐

9. Religion and name of the deity:

Hindu ☐
☐
☐

Muslim _____

Sikh _____

Parsee _____

Christian _____

Humanity _____

Other _____

II. NATURE OF TOURIST

1. Do you love to travel: Yes/No _____

2. Your preferred city for tourism _____

3. How often do you travel?

- a) Once every month ☐
 b) Four to Five times a year ☐
 c) Bi-yearly ☐
 d) Annually ☐
 e) Very frequently that it remains
 countless ☐
 f) Never ☐

4. Preferred Duration of Travel:

- a) 5days 4night trip plan ☐
- b) For a week ☐
- c) Fortnight ☐
- d) Month long ☐
- e) Others ☐

5. Which Kind of trip do you wish to take?

- a) Long-Haul trip ☐
- b) Short-haul trip ☐

6. Which sort of trip do you mostly end up taking due to time or budget constraint?

- a) Long-Haul trip ☐
- b) Short-haul trip ☐
- c) Both ☐

7. Do you always make prior bookings while travelling: Yes/ No ☐

8. Do you plan to have travel itinerary while you travel? Yes/ No ☐

9. If yes, how do make you itinerary?

- a) Collect information from net ☐
- b) Collect information from tour operators ☐
- c) Collect information from Friends ☐
- d) Read Books and magazines to collect information ☐
- e) Others (mention the source)

10. Do you always travel according to the itinerary? Yes/ No ☐

11. If no, reason for breaking from the itinerary?

- a) Break from Regularity/ monotony ☐
- b) Harassment from the host community ☐
- c) During emergency situation

12. Which is the peak Period for your travel? _____

13. What is your estimated budget for a trip? _____

14. Do you make savings for travelling? _____

15. Which category of tourist are you?

- a) Allocentric (adventure seeking, unplanned tourist) ☐
b) Mid-centric ☐
c) Psycho-centric (planned, well-organized trip taker) ☐

III. TOURIST PRODUCTS OR SERVICES

1. Tick the suitable choices and number it (1, 2, 3...) as per your preference while you are on tour:

- | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| Body spa | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Sex | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Partying | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Yoga | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Vanity | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Fashion | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Shopping | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Food | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Social | <input type="checkbox"/> | interaction |
| Sight-seeing | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Cross-dressing | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Cruising | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Drink-parlour | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

Other (mention the other activity) _____

2. Most wanted activity while you are on trip: _____

3. Most unwanted activity while on trip: _____

4. Preferred form of Niche tourism: Religious tourism

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Historical tourism | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Sex tourism | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Adventures tourism | <input type="checkbox"/> | (please mention the form of adventure) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> _____ Rural | | tourism <input type="checkbox"/> |

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| Trekking | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Beach tourism | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Others (mention it) | <input type="checkbox"/> |

5. One liner for:

Trans-woman at a religious spot: _____

Trans-person in a sea-beach: _____

Trans-person in a hill station: _____

Trans-person at a historical site: _____

6. Often it is heard that trans-person prefer religious tourism? Agree / somewhat agree/ disagree.

7. If agreed, what reason do you cite for agreeing on this issue?

8. Do think trans-person may prefer religious tourist spot as one could easily indulge in sexual activity and easily get away with it owing to the sanctity of the place?

9. What sort of service will you prefer in the _____ tourist spot? Food (Veg/non-Veg) ☐

Drink (Alcoholic / Non-alcoholic/ ☐ both)

Accommodation ☐

What is your expectation from the attendant boy/manager etc.? ☐

Travel ☐

10. Do you love to travel in

a. Groups ☐

b. Alone (If you travel alone why? If you don't why not?) ☐

c. Just with your partner ☐

d. All of the above ☐

e. Only a and c ☐

11. Based on the above answer, answer: If you love to travel in group mention the composition of the group with the number of members _____
12. If answer is alone, Why alone? _____
13. If answer is not alone, give reason for it:
- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Lack of safety and security | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Fear that the place might be trans-phobic | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Lack of knowledge about how to make travel plans | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Boredom | <input type="checkbox"/> |
14. If answer is with partner, what is the relationship with the partner? What is the sexual orientation of the partner? _____
15. Do you hire companions for travelling? Would you prefer hiring companions while on trip? What kind of partner would you prefer and why would you prefer a partner?

16. What sort of culture and community crowd would you like to get acquainted with?
- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Culture and members of the local queer community | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Culture and members of local straight community. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Both | <input type="checkbox"/> |
17. Have you ever traveled with travel agent? (Yes/ no) _____
18. Name of the travel agent? _____
19. Services they provide? _____
20. What expectation would you keep from your travel agent?

21. Do you feel this travel agent will turn out to be very expensive?

22. If yes, why do you think so? _____

23. Do you think the straight people can organize such trans-friendly tourism experience?
Or you expect transgender person will better run such institution?
-

24. If yes, what do you think will be exclusive and important about a transgender tour operator over a straight tour operator? Please mention in specific details.
-

IV. TRAVEL EXPERIENCE

1. Do you think the LGBT tourism is different from hetero-normative tourism?
-
2. What problems does the trans-woman face while booking for trips or when present on the tourist spot?
-

3. How do you ☐ handle any bad insulting question asked to you when on trip?
- a. Protest ☐
- b. Keep Quiet

4. Best travel memory you have till date: _____

5. Worst travel memory: _____

6. Do you experience Mental and physical satisfaction after coming back from trip?
-

7. Do you feel tourism is important? Why?
-

8. What are the major motivations that compel you to take a trip?
-

9. What apprehension do you generally hold before visiting any tourist spot?

10. What are the Do's and Don'ts for every transgender on a tourist spot?

V. WEST-BENGAL AS LGBT TOURIST SPOT

1. According to your perception which is the most trans-friendly tourist destination in India? Give reason for your answer.

2. Are you from West Bengal? (Yes/ No)_____

3. Your favourite tourist spot in West Bengal:_____

4. Which pleasure activity do you mostly indulge in when visiting that place?

Drinking

Smoking

Drugs

Sex work

Sex with
lover

Cruising

Sight-seeing

All of the above

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

5. With respect to the most trip you took in West-Bengal Where was it?

When did you take the trip? _____

Where did you stay? Name of hotel? _____

Daily rent: _____

Nearness of the hotel from the focal tourist attraction of the place _____

Facilities given: _____

Food consumed: _____

Total expenditure: _____

6. Western countries use the concept of DINK, Pink dollar when studying queer tourism, do you think it's applicable in India?

7. Embarrassing incidents you encountered while on this trip?

8. Comment on the trans-friendly assets of West-Bengal's MOT (can be based on your perception or peer review):

Most trans-friendly hotel in West Bengal: _____

Most trans-friendly tourist attraction: _____

Most trans-friendly restaurant: _____

Most-trans-friendly shopping destination: _____

Most-trans-Friendly tour operator: _____

Transgender tour guide, or a transgender holding any post in the tourism sector:

9. Are you aware of any festival or fair held exclusively for the transgender community, which becomes an important tourism spot for the trans-people?

10. Do you think the West-Bengal government has made any effort to initiate transgender tourism here?

11. Have you watched the West-Bengal tourism promotional?

12. How trans-friendly is the tourism promotional clippings of West Bengal?

13. Have you come across any pro-trans tourism promotional by West Bengal, MOT?

14. On a 10 point scale, how much would you score for West-Bengal for its transfriendly destination?

15. What are the limitations of pro-trans tourism in West –Bengal?

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| a. Lack of publicity about tourism | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| b. Lack of affordability | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| c. Lack of acceptance from the host from the community | | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Social stigma and transphobia among the crowd | | |
| e. Safety issues | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| f. Self-illusions and apprehension about dangers in a tourist spot | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| g. Alienation | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| h. Shame | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| i. Lack of support from the official body and stakeholders of tourism | | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| j. Previous bad experience encountered in a tourist spot | | |
| k. All of the above | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| l. Other (mention the cause) | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
-

16. Is transgender tourism becoming a very prosperous tourism sector in West-Bengal?
If yes why, if no why?

17. Your take on transgender tourism:

.....X.....