SKILLING FOR LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES FOR TRANSGENDERS IN INDIA
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Disclaimer The views expressed in this publication are those of the observations of the participants and do not necessarily represent those of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).
FOREWORD

National AIDS Control Organization in its long history of spearheading the national response to the HIV epidemic has always kept the marginalized communities at the center. The felt needs of these communities are addressed throughmultitudes of specially designed interventions.

National AIDS Control Programme (NACP) is known for its global success, foundation of which is evidence based programming to develop customized interventions for the most marginalized groups. Special emphasis is given to community participation while conceptualizing and implementing the programmes.

There is enough evidence to show that the transgender community faces higher levels of stigma and is conspicuous by its absence from various social entitlements and schemes provided by the government. Efforts have been made to address the issues specific to the transgender population after the path breaking judgment of the Supreme Court in 2014 recognizing transgenders as third gender. State level TG Welfare Boards have been established and schemes are being modified to make them inclusive of transgender persons. Transgenders continue to remain at the margins due to the stigma and discrimination against them and lesser opportunities to bring them to the mainstream society. Minimal livelihood options for transgenders force them to resort to begging and sex work for sustenance. We understand the direct correlation between social protection and positive health seeking behaviours therefore skill development for livelihood opportunities of transgender persons is critical.

NACO has undertaken an exercise to develop a compendium of good practices to understand the progress regarding social protection including livelihood and the achievements of the State Transgender Welfare Boards. The Compendium consists of three documents a) Good Practices post the Supreme Court judgement b) Uptake of Social Protection Schemes by Transgender population in India and c) Skilling for Livelihood Opportunities for Transgenders in India. I hope this Compendium will be used to address the special needs of the transgender persons and integrate them into the mainstream society.

I would like to thank UNDP for providing support in capturing and developing this important Compendium that recorded the efforts in making the social environment more inclusive for the transgender community.

(Dr. Naresh Goel)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This document would not have been possible if it was not for the time and valuable inputs of a few key stakeholders. We are extremely grateful to all the community members and leaders, IEC-Mainstreaming Division of NACO, State AIDS Control Societies, officers of other line departments, especially the Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment and the Department of Social Welfare, who provided relevant information regarding the progress made in States. Sincere thanks also goes to the technical consultant and the organizations SWASTI- Resource Centre and Vrutti- Livelihood Resource Centre for the scrupulous documentation.
BACKGROUND
1.1 Definitions

**TRANSGENDER PEOPLE**
Transgender is an umbrella term for people whose gender identity and expression does not conform to the norms and expectations traditionally associated with the sex assigned to them at birth; it includes people who are transsexual, transgender or otherwise considered gender non-conforming. Transgender people may self-identify as transgender, female, male, transwoman or transman, trans-sexual, or, by a variety of indigenous terms used in specific cultures, such as hijra (India), kathoey (Thailand), waria (Indonesia), or one of many other transgender identities. They may express their gender in a variety of masculine, feminine and/or androgynous ways.

- World Health Organisation [1]

**LIVELIHOOD**
A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base.


1.2 Why this study

- Transgender people are one of the most discriminated high risk groups in India. Census 2011 counted 4.9 lakh transgender people in India. The proportion of those working in the Transgender community is much lower (38%) compared to 46% in the general population. Only 65% of the Transgender Community, as compared to 75% in the general population, find work for more than six months in the year [3].

- Livelihood vulnerability directly increases risk and vulnerability to HIV. National HIV prevalence is 0.31%, whereas HIV prevalence among the transgender community is estimated to be 8.2%. [4]. Limited livelihood options adversely affect their socio-economic well being characterised by poor access to education, housing and food insecurity. Census 2011 found only 46% of the Transgender population, as compared to 76% of general population, as literate [5]. All of these increase their vulnerability to poverty.

- Few of the central and state government schemes, including the National Rural and Urban Livelihood Missions, to provide livelihood opportunities to economically weaker sections of the society include transgender people as a beneficiary group. Corporate organisations with specifically stated policies to employ sexual minorities and corporate social responsibility (CSR) programmes purposively designed to skill and employ them also open up formal employment opportunities for transgender people in India.

- Despite these measures, transgender people in India have found it extremely difficult to get skill training and jobs due to social taboos and customs, and strong prejudices dominating family and work spaces.

- Lack of livelihood options is a key reason for a significant proportion of transgender people to choose or continue to be in sex work - with its associated HIV and health-related risks. For any public health programmes to be a success, addressing barriers to livelihoods for transgender people is critical.

- Ensuring their socio-economic empowerment and a stigma free and equal society will enable the community to have access to better education, employment, and health services and live a life with dignity.

- In this context, the study aimed to understand the barriers and enablers to access to skilling and livelihood opportunities for transgender people in India, and document government, private sector and civil society measures to address the issue.
STUDY PROCESS
2.1 Objectives

The objectives of the study are:

- To identify factors affecting the skills employability and livelihood opportunities for the transgender population
- To understand the experiences (success and challenges) of the community in accessing skill training and employment opportunities
- To provide state wise recommendations for improving skill development and employability of the transgender population
- Official statistics from annual reports of government ministries and departments
- Reports from government, non-profits, academia and think tanks
- Journal and mass media articles including broadcast

Secondary research examined government poverty alleviation programmes, including skill development initiatives, and their effectiveness in inclusion of transgender persons as beneficiaries.

2.2 Methods

The methodology consisted of a mix of secondary research and primary data collection.

1. Secondary research through document review helped collate the types of livelihood programmes from Central and State governments and private sector.

2. Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and Key Informant Interviews (KII) threw light on the barriers and enablers to livelihood access of transgender people.

Tools were pilot tested on 29 and 31 October 2016 in Chikkaballapur in Karnataka. The results were analysed to check for their efficacy, revisions made based on the results and tools were then finalised.

Language validation and test for flow of questions helped ensure that interpretation of the questions remained intact throughout the translations.

2.2.1 Secondary research

Secondary research focused on understanding the various livelihood initiatives - skill building, employment and entrepreneurial - for transgender persons from government, private sector and civil society.

Information on the number and type of schemes, and the budget allocation and uptake of schemes, and success stories were documented using the following sources:

- Open data platforms of the government

2.2.2 Primary research

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informant Interviews (KII) formed the primary research methods. Fieldwork was conducted between 1 to 17 November in five states of India namely Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, and Uttar Pradesh.

The fieldwork included visits to the relevant city/town where the Transgender population was accessible.

- Two focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted in every state by a team of two researchers. Each group had 6 to 10 participants. The group of participants were guided by a moderator from Swasti, who introduced the topics for discussion and helped the groups to participate in a lively and natural manner.

2.2.3 Sampling

A sampling frame was evolved to capture the voices of both rural and urban Transgender population. Transgender groups and key informants representing rural and urban realities of Transgender community were spoken to. A total of 111 Transgender persons, from across the five states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh participated in the study.

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<th>Sl.No</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Karnataka</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
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<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
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2.2.3. Data Analysis

- For analysis of primary research data, the findings were collated and analysed after every field visit.

- Cross sectional analyses, incorporating findings from all the sites, revealed information on popular livelihood options most relevant to the Transgender population, barriers that they face in accessing them and potential solutions to increase their access to existing programmes from the government.

- In depth analyses of secondary data provided insights into the current landscape of livelihoods for transgender persons and their needs for the future.

2.2.4. Study Limitations

- There are wide variations in the available uptake data reported by multiple sources and is hence inconsistent.

- Lack of data disaggregated by state, gender or social group meant that information on uptake by transgenders could not be sourced even for those schemes, where they are listed as beneficiaries.

- The secondary data was sourced from varied sources including media reports as government data was not always available. Hence, it is difficult to ensure data quality for the listing of schemes and uptake information.

- Secondary research did not bring forth any aggregate information on private sector employment of transgenders.

- Shortage of time available for the research limited the volume of information sourced on successful livelihood initiatives for transgender persons in the country.

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FINDINGS
3.1 What factors affect the skills employability and livelihood opportunities for transgender persons?

A. Social and Cultural Factors

Transgender persons leave home very early on because their families do not accept them. Many of them are forced out of school because of transphobic bullying and violence. Hence, they do not finish education and become ineligible to apply for jobs. In addition, some of their beliefs are rooted deep within the specific cultural norms of the transgender community. The idea of adopting full-time employment comes as a cultural challenge to many transgender persons, especially from the older generation, who has for long lived on proceeds from begging. The younger transgender people, who join the Guru-Chela system, often feel compelled to beg and follow the norm to ensure the guardianship and protection of the Gurus.

B. Economic Factors

Transgender people have very few stable sources of income. Discriminatory employment practices rarely offer opportunities for transgender person to seek formal jobs. Even when they get a job, stigma and harassment at their work places often cause them to leave work. These render them vulnerable to poverty and predispose them to risky and illegal occupations. Limited prospects in formal employment result in begging, prostitution or working with civil society organisations working for the welfare of sexual minorities being the main sources of livelihood.

C. Legal and Police

Many of the transgender persons engage in sex work to earn their livelihood. They see it as a livelihood option, which provides them greater autonomy, with few barriers to entry and financial stability compared to other workplaces. But being in sex work increases transpeople’s vulnerability to harm in many ways exposing them to multifaceted violence from clients as well as law enforcement officers. Avahan data from May 2016 reports 8.49% of transgender persons faced police violence over a period of six months in the states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Maharashtra [6].

D. Policy Factors

The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Bill 2016 is silent on reservations for the community in education and employment. It does not provide an adequate definition of discrimination towards Transgender community, which is necessary when public spaces - jobs, education, and the aspect of having families - are being opened out for them. It does not align other laws - the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence (PNDVA), 2005, Sexual Harassment (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) at Workplace, 2013, the clauses on rape and sexual assault in the Indian Penal Code, 1860, the relaxing of gender barriers in laws that determine marriage - to the transgender community.

3.1.1. Government skilling and livelihood initiatives for transgender persons: An overview

Most of the livelihood schemes (9) provide interest subsidy or loans to set up enterprises, skill development or assist in income generation.

Three schemes, one in Uttar Pradesh and two in Tamil Nadu, provide employment opportunities. These include recruitment as teachers, police force or allowing for Transgender persons to use the state employment exchange to search for jobs.

Skilling and Livelihood initiatives for transgender persons from the government are little.

At the national level, there is only the Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Grameen Kaushalya Yojana (DDU-GKY) that mentions transgender persons as beneficiaries.

249 schemes, from national and state governments, can potentially be accessed by transgenders.

43% of schemes (12) in the Economic Development category list transgender persons as beneficiaries. This makes it the Social Protection Category with most number of initiatives that explicitly recognise them as beneficiaries.
Out of the five study states, Tamil Nadu has the most number of economic development schemes for transgender persons.

States of Karnataka, Gujarat, and Uttar Pradesh have one scheme each, where transgender persons are mentioned as beneficiaries.

The Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Grameen Kaushalya Yojana (DDU-GKY) under the Ministry of Rural Development, Deen Dayal Antyodaya Yojana (DDAY) under the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation and the National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) programmes are the three major national government initiatives to address the skilling and livelihoods of Indian citizens.

NSDC works on a market model, wherein the applicant agencies seek funds for conducting various training programmes for those who can pay a fee and access them. Unlike DDU-GKY and DDAY, NSDC has no explicit stated mandate to cater to the urban and rural poor.

“If there are no separate targets for special groups like PWD, victims of trafficking, manual scavengers, trans-gender, rehabilitated bonded labour and other vulnerable groups, States have to develop strategies that address issues of access of special groups who usually get left out. The nature of affirmative action that is required to overcome their challenges and barriers to participation needs to be incorporated into the Skill action plan proposed by the State...”

- DDU-GKY, Empowering India, Powering the World, Programme Guidelines, July 2016

3.1.2. Uptake of government skilling and livelihood programmes among transgender persons remains low

Uptake of programmes, by transgender persons, under the existing government skilling and livelihood initiatives continue to be low. For instance, since the Special Groups provision was made under DDU-GKY in 2013, a total of 8.82 lakh people were trained and 5.54 lakh people placed with a cumulative expenditure of 2,398 crores. None of the beneficiaries were transgender persons and no organisations accessed the budget for improving livelihoods of transgender persons.

Out of a total of 550 projects sanctioned in 2015-'16, not one catered to groups listed under the special category. Deputy Head, State Partnerships of DDU-GKY in his interview said, “Government has the right intention and wants to reach out to the transgender community to improve livelihood opportunities for them. DDU-GKY has created a provision of ‘Special Groups’ for this purpose. Organisations that apply for funding under DDU-GKY can also include transgender persons as beneficiaries for projects in the non-Special Groups category. However, since the time this was introduced in 2013, we have received no applications. It may be that we need to create more awareness about this clause. It may also be because representation of groups under this category in the beneficiary list is not mandated unlike for women, and individuals from scheduled castes and tribes. But it is also a function of the marginalisation they face in the society that transgender persons are not in the list of beneficiaries for any project proposals submitted so far.”

Recently, DDU-GKY sanctioned three projects under Special Groups category to train 2050 Persons with Disabilities in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and Karnataka. None of the listed beneficiaries are transgender persons.
In another example, secondary research revealed that seven transgender persons were trained during the period 2009-12 by 13 Rural Self Employment Training Institutes in Tamil Nadu. A total of 3970 participants underwent training in 154 programmes. The programmes conducted for the purpose of providing opportunities to the rural youth for skill upgradation leading to self-employment reached a miniscule number of transgender persons [7].

3.2 What are the experiences of the community in accessing skill training and employability?
3.2.1. Begging is the main livelihood option among transgender persons

Figure 7 shows the livelihood profile of the transgender persons who participated in the study.

52% of the transgender respondents of the study begged for a living, making it the main form of livelihood for the community across the five states. This was followed by sex work (14%), giving blessings during traditional festivities or birth of a child (14%) and working in social development with community organisations (9%). About 3% of transgenders engaged in both sex work and begging to make ends meet.

3.2.2. Transgender persons hold low income formal jobs

“We are not asking for a good job but can’t we get something which will help us to eat roti twice a day?”
- Interview with transgender person, Gujarat, November 2016

Study respondents mentioned that their peers who held full time jobs worked as caterers, beauticians, tailors, fashion designers, school peon, office assistants, dancers and dance instructors, vegetable vendors and petty shop business.

Many of their peers, who applied for jobs were either not hired or reported as having given up the process of looking for jobs due to repeated failures.

Respondents from all five states said that at least half of their peers or friends would be interested in having full time jobs that will earn them a stable income, afford them a good house and ensure them food security.

3.2.3. Transgender persons face multiple challenges to accessing livelihoods

Transgender people’s effeminate behaviour, trans status, real or perceived association with sex work; real or perceived HIV status, dress code, physical appearance and others contribute to the multiple forms of discrimination they face from families, neighbourhood, communities and public and private institutions.

a. Discrimination and Stigma

“I have as a transperson interacted with various training institutes and find most such programs pointless. The reason is that transpeople are not lacking in training, they are lacking in job opportunities to implement that training. The programmes that place people are few and far between, and I know of only one that has actually delivered.”
- Interview with Bittu Kondaiah, Trans-activist, December 2016

Discrimination and stigma poses the biggest challenge for the community to access employment or other legal livelihood options. Respondents cited numerous instances where interviewers do not get back to them post interviews despite meeting eligibility criteria for the jobs applied. Employers are not comfortable hiring someone from the community and often neglect and reject applications based on orientation. Even if they manage to get jobs, they are not paid enough or not paid consistently. They also said that businesses fear that they will lose customers if they employ members of the community.

b. Lack of education and awareness

“Our education is discontinued because we leave home. You have to pass at least Class X to get a peon’s job.”
- FGD with Transgender Persons, Gujarat, November 2016

Most transgender persons leave home at an early age and so do not finish their education. Most employment opportunities seek individuals who have completed education upto Class 10 or 12. Applications get disqualified because of lack of education of the candidate. After leaving home, transgender people live secluded lives. Unless connected to local not-for-profits or community organisations, their exposure to the affairs of the world becomes limited.

c. Mismatch in skills and livelihood opportunities

In certain cases, even if the transgender persons have the required skills, they are unable to turn it into a form of livelihood. This happens mainly due to two reasons. (1) Lack of understanding on how to convert existing skillsets to livelihood opportunities (2) Lack of support from government in terms of training and employment opportunities to match their existing skillsets.

For eg, a skill in stitching can be turned into a tailoring business with proper guidance and training

d. Medical issues

Transgender people go through a body shock when they get their sex reassignment surgeries. Thus, it becomes difficult for them to do jobs that involves a lot of manual labour. Labour and daily wage jobs that can be done without educational qualification are not suitable for their bodies.

e. Mismatch of information in identity cards

“It takes six months or more to get the documents corrected. Sometimes multiple visits are needed. Most people just give up and stop going to the government office.”
- FGD with Transgender Persons, Tamil Nadu, October 2016

Discrepancy between their birth certificates and official documents after sex reassignment surgery poses a problem for transgender women while searching for suitable employment. The name and sex...
Ayesha, a graduate transwoman could not pursue higher studies

“A major hurdle hindering our opportunity for a decent livelihood is the high level of discrimination in educational institutions” Ayesha says. She is a graduate transwoman who wished to have a career in performing arts. She went for an admission in the Government school of Performing arts initially as male candidate. Seeing the performance they denied admission stating that she was acting feminine. Although she was disappointed, she wanted to give it another try. She went there again after her sex reassignment surgery. She remembers “I performed well and also gave 3 aptitude tests. They said that I was not eligible. Later, I got the call from another private college that I can join there. But why couldn’t I get the admission in the government college? I tried applying for jobs after that. Even if they had vacancy, they would reject me after hearing my voice. Now I need to do a voice change surgery.”

“The issues do not end there.” Ayesha continues, “When we apply for jobs, people will ask what our background is, what our income is, questions about our identity proof etc. My ID card says that I am male. So, they think I am faking the documents.” According to Ayesha, many transgender people do not have a valid identity proof because of their change in gender are facing similar issues. This stops them from accessing higher education or better jobs and thus they end up in begging or sexwork. “Government has made a separate column for third gender. But how many third gender people have gotten admission? How many third gender people have successfully gotten jobs? If no one gets through any job or course applications, you need to consider why this is happening.”

3.2.4. Diverse, disconnected initiatives provide skill training and livelihood access to transgender persons

In India, there are no consolidated, large scale efforts to reach the transgender community to enhance their livelihood opportunities. However, there have been disconnected and divergent initiatives from state governments, civil society organisations and private sector towards skill building, employment and supporting entrepreneurship among the community.

Below is a list of success stories from across the states.

- The Kochi Metro Rail Limited (KMRL) decided to employ transgender people for customer care, crowd management and housekeeping in July 2016. These services are outsourced and do not come directly under the KMRL’s payroll. But it is one of the few initiatives taken by government led organisations to include transgender individuals in their work force. (The Hindu, July 14, 2016) [8]

- in the year 2015, a group of students from Ramjas College in Delhi University arranged for professional training for 20 transgender people that would make them financially independent. They contacted various not for profits that work with the transgender community and executed the training through Enactus, a not for profit that works with student groups in colleges. The students also hired designers from National Institute of Fashion Technology to train transgender people. (Hindustan Times, November 24, 2015) [9]

- Aishwarya Rutuparna Pradhan hails from the district of Kandhamal in Orissa. After spending five years giving exams for the civil services, she applied for an affidavit to change to her name after the Supreme court ruling of April 15, 2014 and became the first person from the transgender Community to become a civil servant in India. (Centre of social research· July 9, 2016) [10]

- Kajol is a transgender person who heads the Social Action for Emancipation. She arranged funding from Tamil actor Karthi Sivakumar for juicer machines (costing Rs. 28,000) for members of the transgender community to help set up juice stalls. (Inclusion of transgenders: A small step ahead,IRJBM) [11]

- Padmini Prakash became the first transwoman news anchor in India in the year 2014. (Better India, September 20, 2014) [12]

- Corporate organisations have also taken initiatives to have a workforce that is inclusive of the transgender community. Companies have groups within the organisation that address gender sensitive issues and helps create a safe workspace for the
LGBTQ community. Some of these groups include Gayglers (Google), Employee Alliance for Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Empowerment aka EAGLE (IBM). (Indiacsr.in, December 26, 2012) [13]

Voluntary Health Services Chennai trains 4000 transgender persons

“Voluntary Health Services (VHS), Chennai has successfully trained around 4000 transgender individuals”, said Vijayaram (Deputy director of VHS).

VHS identifies candidates through district non-government organisations and community organisations. It has identified few main courses for training through the assessments - housekeeping, beautician, catering, fashion design and garment design, textile trade to name a few. Assistance with self branding and application for potential jobs are also provided.

Training in folk arts is very popular and sought after among the transgender persons. The folk arts program is linked to the state government and works with an aim to raise awareness for different issues, including raising awareness about the transgender community.

VHS has also invested in community enterprises. It has helped open a chain of hotels to promote catering among the community. To encourage participation, a stipend (that would cover average daily wages) and accommodation are provided.
CONCLUSION
4.1 Summary of Findings

Transgender persons cannot participate in social, economic, cultural and political activities, nor are they associated with the mainstream social systems and institutions, including health. They face discrimination, humiliation, and deprivations at home; are excluded from their home, school, and employment settings; and have restricted access to service facilities, including health, social and legal matters. Most times, they do not have the rights to enlist as a transgender person beyond male-female dichotomy, and face severe economic deprivation of earning livelihood from mainstream occupations.

Stigma associated with transgender identity results in a narrow window of livelihood opportunities for large numbers of the community. Many of them discontinue education as they leave home, and join the ‘Guru-Chela’ system, engage in sex work and/or begging to ensure the guardianship and protection of Gurus.

4.2 Recommendations

Joint efforts by the government and non-government sectors should work to ensure a supportive and congenial environment where transgender persons in India can live fulfilling lives by upholding their human, gender, and citizenship rights.

1. Effective and functional institutional mechanisms for welfare of transgender community

a. Which aggregates demand and supply for transgender community welfare comprehensively

b. Focus should be on functionality, not form: No one size fits all (Transgender Welfare Board is NOT the only solution)

c. Options include Transgender Welfare Board, CBO of Transgender people, NGO led Transgender persons Commission, Ombudsman, Lokayukta kind of mechanisms etc.

2. Transgender community specific education and employment services coordinated through welfare mechanisms (point 1)

a. Reservations in jobs

b. Non-stigmatised employment services

c. Counselling and mental health support in educational institutions

3. Policy changes at National and State level to address Transgender identity and address proof issues

a. Inclusion of Third Gender in all applications/forms

b. Space for changing gender identity over time

4. Demand based modifications of mainstream education and skill development schemes for Transgender community (Focusing on uptake)

a. Focus on demand based schemes

b. Modify existing skill development and employment schemes to ensure they are Transpersons friendly

c. Facilitate access to these schemes

5. Facilitation of employment for Transgender persons

a. Prioritising areas where Transgender community is likely to be employed (Transpersons and employers intersect)

b. Dialogue with employers for uptake

c. Counselling, education and preparedness