The International Dalit Solidarity Network (IDSN) advocates for Dalit human rights and to raise awareness of Dalit issues nationally and internationally. IDSN is a network of international human rights groups, development agencies, national Dalit solidarity networks from Europe, and national platforms in caste-affected countries.

This report is supported by:

**Dalit Solidarity Network members:**

**Dalit Solidarity Network Finland (DSNFi)**
DSNFi was founded in 2010 and operates entirely on a voluntary basis. It is a non-religious and non-partisan human rights organization that supports the Dalit human rights struggle by raising awareness of caste discrimination by informing and influencing Finnish decision-makers, companies, non-governmental organisations and individuals.

**Dalit Solidarity Network Norway (DSNNO)**
DSNNO is a coalition of Norwegian human right and development NGOs. DSNNO seeks to address the issue of caste discrimination by raising awareness at the most senior levels of their parliament, business and civil society.

**International Associates**

**Advocating Rights in South Asia - ARISA**
Arisa is an independent organisation working since 1976 to defend human rights in South Asia, by advocating in politics and companies, as well as research. Arisa does this through advocacy in politics and companies, research, critical dialogue and social awareness of human rights violations, including issues in production chains. Arisa works closely with local partners and organisations in the Netherlands and other countries.

**The International Movement Against All Forms of Discrimination and Racism (IMADR)**
IMADR is an international non-profit, non-governmental human rights organization devoted to eliminating discrimination and racism, forging international solidarity among discriminated minorities and advancing the international human rights system.
According to the official 2011 census the Scheduled caste (Dalit) population in India comprises 16.2% of the total population. However, the real number is likely to be much higher, as Dalit Muslims and Dalit Christians are not registered as scheduled caste or Dalits. Despite the constitutional prohibition of caste discrimination and the corresponding legislation, caste-based discrimination is a real problem for a vast number of the Indian population.

Dalit women are often trapped in highly patriarchal societies. The severe discrimination they face from their identities both as a Dalit and a woman, makes them a key target of violence and systematically denies them choices and freedoms in all spheres of life. This intersection of gender and caste discrimination is the outcome of severely imbalanced social, economic and political power equations.

Despite the programs of reservation for scheduled castes, among 78 women MPs, Dalit women MPs occupy only 12 seats i.e 15% of total women MPs. Dalit women do not form even one percent of the representation in Rajya Sabha. Discrimination and segregation in schools in India are forcing Dalit girls out of an education and pushing them into child labour and modern slavery.

The CEDAW Committee noted with concern that Dalit women are among the worst affected communities, facing several obstacles to obtain redress from the violations sustained, in the areas of sexual and reproductive health and information on birth registration. Despite the establishment of the Verma Committee on Amendments to Criminal Law (2013), gaps remain, leading to a stark increase of violent crimes, rape and abductions, caused mainly by the continued exemption of punishment of marital rape of a wife above 15 years old; the lack of awareness by enforcement agents of a gender perspective; poor implementation of the legislation; and persistence of dowry-related and “honour based violence” rates. Under 2% of rape cases in India, when the victim is Dalit, end in convictions, compared to a conviction rate of 25% in rape cases against all Indian women. In a majority of cases, rapists from dominant castes accused of raping a Dalit woman, are either not arrested or their arrest is significantly delayed. In cases where they are arrested, they are often let out on bail – despite this not being legal.

The 2019 National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) report on atrocities against Dalits and Adivasis, shows that a large proportion of crimes against Dalits and Adivasis involve crimes against women. Dalit women are much more likely to suffer sexual violence than non-Dalit women. Some statistics from 2014 to 2020 reveal that crimes against Dalit women and minor girls constitute 15.1% (45,435 incidents) of the total crimes against Dalits in the last seven years, from 2014-2020 (3,01,359 incidents). As per the NCRB data of 2020, more than 9 Dalit women and minor girls are raped every day. NCRB does not provide disaggregated data of all crimes against all Dalit women nor all Dalit minor girls. Trafficking for various purposes, gang rape, murder among others, is not recorded. 43.2% offences against Dalit women and girls pertains to rape from 2014 to 2020 (19,608 incidents) and there is a 51% increase recorded in 2020 (3,372) over 2014 (2,233). 46.4% incidents of crime relate to Assault on Dalit women with intent to outrage her modesty from 2014 to 2020 (21,060 incidents) which increased by 43.77% in 2020 over 2014. Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan respectively top the list of incidents of violence against Dalit women from 2014-2020 based on the cases registered under the SCs & STs (PoA) Act. The overall conviction rate in Special Courts for the incidents against Dalit women and minor girls in from 2014-2020 is recorded at 28.7%, acquittal rate at 68.2% and pendency rate at 90%.
Every two hours a Dalit woman/or girl is raped or face acute sexual assault\[10\]. Cases of rape against Schedule Caste women account for 7.5% (3,486 cases) of the total cases reported. \textit{Cases of Rape, attempt to rape and assault on women to outrage her modesty cumulatively stood at 15\% (6,985)}. In 2018, around 5,043 rapes and attempted rapes of Dalit women and children were reported\[8i\]. Which means every day 14 Dalit women, girls and children are raped. Similarly, cases of Rape against Scheduled Tribe women stood at 10.65\% (880 cases) of the total cases reported. \textit{Cases of Rape, Attempt to rape and Assault on women to outrage her modesty cumulatively stood at 24.3\% (8257)}. Cases of Murder, Attempt to murder and Grievous hurt were reported at 923, 780 and 1050 respectively against oppressed caste. When the country was still pleading for the justice for Dalit women, incidents of violence against Dalit Women in Hathras, Balrampur and Lakhimpur shocked the nation.\[xiii\]

\textbf{Recommendations:}

1. Establish concrete benchmarks for the advancement of Dalit women in society, in terms of political participation, access to education and employment, housing and career development in the public and private spheres, in consultation with Dalit women organizations and experts, whose results should be demonstrated in the next UPR reporting or at a review by a UN human rights body;

2. Produce data disaggregated by gender and caste, in order to better understand this intersecting type of discrimination and to better channel public funds to the advancement and protection of Dalit women, whose results should be demonstrated in the next UPR reporting or at a review by a UN human rights body;

3. Establish a multidisciplinary group of experts composed of Dalit women, in order to diagnose the existing legislation and practical gaps that allow the persistence of high rates of rape and sexual violence against Dalit women and girls, as well as the high rates of impunity, whose results should be demonstrated in the next UPR reporting or at a review by a UN human rights body;

\textbf{3 - Right to Life and to Personal Integrity}

Despite the legislation in force, the registered crimes against Dalits in India increased by 7\% from 2018 to 2019.\[xiv\] Registered crimes against Dalits increased by 19\% from 2015 to 2019.\[xv\] The number of registered rape cases against Dalit women rose by 37\% from 2015 to 2019.\[xvi\]

Atrocities/Crimes against Scheduled Castes have increased by 7.3\% in 2019 (45,935) over 2018 (42,793). Uttar Pradesh (11,829 cases) reported the highest number of cases of atrocities against Scheduled Castes accounting for 25.7\%, followed by Rajasthan with 14.9\% (6,794) and Bihar with 14.24\% (6,544) during 2019. The next two states on the list are Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, accounting for 11.53\% (5,300) and 4.68\% (2,150) respectively. The aforementioned top five states reported 71.05\% of cases of atrocities against Scheduled Castes. The recent incidents of atrocities against Scheduled Castes in Lakhimpur Khirki, Hathras and Balrampur reflect the harsh realities at the grassroots level.\[xvii\]

According to the National Crime Record Bureau (NCRB), atrocities against Dalits show a rising trend. The caste-based crimes reported against Dalits is increasing at a rate of 6\% to 7\% each year\[xviii\]. In 2016, a total of 40,081 crimes against Dalits was reported - that includes 2,541 rapes and attempted rapes of Dalit women\[xix\]. If 2017 and 2018 are taken together, there are around 86,000 crimes and atrocities recorded against Dalits. The overall rate of total crime against Dalits in India is around 21.3\%, which is staggering when the overall Dalit population is taken into consideration.
A total of 62,195 cases of atrocities against Scheduled Castes (SCs) were pending for investigation at the end of the year 2019, including the previous year's cases. A total of 44,236 cases of atrocities against SCs were disposed of by police. The charge sheeting percentage for the atrocities against Scheduled Castes ended with 78.5%.

A total of 204,191 cases of atrocities against SCs were tried by the court. Out of these cases, trials of 12,498 of atrocities against SCs were completed. The conviction percentage under the SCs and STs (PoA) Act in conjunction with the IPC remained at 32.1% for SCs. The acquittal percentage (includes acquittal as well as the cases where the accused is discharged) ended with 67.9% for SCs. At the end of the year, 93.8% of cases of atrocities against SCs were pending.

Recommendations

4. Diagnose the specific causes of the high rates of crimes against the Dalit community and devise concrete means to address them, with tangible results to be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or at a review by a UN human rights body;

5. Establish a dialogue between the Judiciary, the Executive and the Legislative, aiming at reviewing and eliminating caste bias in the legislation and judicial practices that lead to high rates of atrocities against Dalits and of impunity, with tangible results to be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or at a review by a UN human rights body;

6. Promote a culture of caste awareness and tolerance within the judiciary and law enforcement staff, through concrete campaigns, trainings and dialogue, with tangible results to be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or at a review by a UN human rights body;

4 - Caste Hate Speech, Online and Offline

Hate speech perpetuates caste-based hierarchies and discrimination by humiliating and dehumanising Dalits. Hate speech relating to gender, race and sexual orientation is increasingly being addressed in a global context. However, the same cannot be said for caste-hate speech, even though it is prevalent in caste-affected societies. It remains barely mentioned in all international instruments on the elimination of discrimination and protection of human rights. According to a IDSN study, the most current forms of hate speech include discriminatory speech and trolls, Incitement to hatred, and Incitement to violence and killing.

According to Savita Ali, a social activist and lawyer from India, there are many layers and attributes to caste-hate speech. When she attends court, she constantly feels how judges from dominant castes treat her differently because she is a Dalit woman: “I can feel their behaviour is so different that they are naturally biased against the Dalit women advocate, no matter how well I present my argument and evidence [...] They also comment about our clothing, skin colour and physical appearances. They compare our dark skin with our Dalit identity or appear to be mockingly surprised for our lighter skin tone with an ‘oh, you don’t look like a Dalit’ comment.”

In 2019, when the SMP TikTok became popular in India, videos by dominant caste Tamil youths to annihilate Dalits became very common. "Our time will come. When it arrives, we will kill you,” said a TikTok user. “Fight us if you are a real man, you Dalit dogs. You bastards are worthless in front of us. We’ll butcher you lowlifes”, a drunk TikTok user ranted in another video. Casteist videos associated with a Tamil caste (known for their violence towards Dalits) is still available on TikTok with thousands of views as of November 2020.
Also, worrisome is the protection gap left in the last years. The Protection of Civil Rights (Anti-Untouchability) Act in 1955 and the SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act in 1989 criminally charge an individual or a group if a casteist slur is made against an individual or a group. However, in November 2020, the Supreme Court of India excluded from this scope insults made in the private sphere.xxiv

**Recommendations**

7. Promote a dialogue with technology companies, experts and Dalit organizations and communities, including Dalit women, in order to address online caste-hate speech, with tangible results to be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or at a review by a UN human rights body;

8. Enact specific legislation to combat caste-hate speech, online and offline, in consultation with the affected communities, in line with Articles 19 and 20 of the ICCPR, Article 4 of the ICERD and CERD General Recommendation 35, with tangible results to be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or at a review by a UN human rights body;

9. Promote a culture of tolerance and equality online and offline, enabling Dalits to express their views online and offline free from caste-hate speech, with tangible results to be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or at a review by a UN human rights body;

5 - Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

Poverty and exclusion lie at the center of caste discrimination in India. Between 2001 and 2011, there was a 37% increase in the Dalit slum populationxxv. In Punjab, 39% of the slum population are Dalits.xxvi 23% of Dalits in Delhi and 20% of Dalits in the State of Uttar Pradesh believe that caste discrimination is worsening.xxvii

The situation of poor Dalit women is even worse. The average life span of a Dalit woman is 14.6 years shorter than the national average.xxviii Anemia among Dalit Women is higher, at 55.9%, as compared with dominant caste women at 49.7%.xxix The literacy rate among Dalit women was 56.5% in 2011 – compared to a 64.6% average. Only 64% of Dalit women are literate.xxx There is a significant decline in enrolment rates of Dalit girls as level of education increases, from 99% in Primary school, numbers decrease to 15.6% in Higher education.xxxi

54% of Dalit children are stunted.xxxii The child mortality rate of Dalits is 56 per 1,000 – as compared to a national average of 50.xxxii 51% of Dalit children drop out of elementary school.xxxiv

**Recommendations:**

10. Increase regular budget spending for the Dalit community, equivalent to the relevant specific needs, setting policy priorities in consultation with caste-affected communities, including Dalit women, with tangible results to be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or at a review by a UN human rights body;

11. Set up a group of experts on education, composed of Dalits and with a gender balance, in order to address the barriers facing Dalit children in schooling, and to make specific recommendations on how to address caste discrimination in the elementary school system, with tangible results to be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or at a review by a UN human rights body;

12. Diagnose the causes of failure of legislation leading to high rates of poverty among Dalit women, lack of advancement on equal access to welfare and public services, in close consultation with Dalit women and their organizations, with tangible results to be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or at a review by a UN human rights body;
5.1 - The Right to Water
Access to a safe water source and the wider scope of the right to water itself in India is closely linked to the concept of purity, which impacts communities affected by caste-based discrimination. While 42.3% of general households have access to latrine facilities, this figure goes as down to 23.7% in Dalit households. Only 57% of Dalit households have drinking water compared to a national average of 71%. 50% of Dalit villages are denied access to water sources. Many Dalits are unable to fetch water from taps and wells. Frequently, Dalits are fined for touching a common water source, with incidents of beatings and killings. Dalit women sustain intersectional discrimination in seeking access to water, with reported cases of physical assault and violence. A pregnant woman was assaulted and abused while defecating in the open and several other women were reported to be kidnapped and raped while returning from doing the same. Dalit students are barred from drinking water directly from the water pot and are forced to ask their classmates from higher castes to pour water into their hands, from a distance, in order to drink water.

Recommendations:
13. Diagnose the causes of unequal results of the current governments efforts on sanitation and access to water that affect disproportionately the Dalit community and devise concrete measures to adjust the relevant distortions, with tangible results to be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or at a review of a UN human rights body;
14. Diagnose the specific barriers facing Dalit women in the access to safe and drinking water, in close consultation with Dalit women and their organizations, and devise concrete measures to rectify the relevant distortions, with tangible results to be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or a review of UN human rights body;

5.2 - Bonded or Forced Labour
Dalits in India are particularly vulnerable to bonded labour, because of their socio-economic status. An estimated 90% of bonded labourers are Dalits or Adivasis. More than 60% of Sumangali workers (a form of bonded labour) are Dalits. Well-known forms of caste-based and bonded occupations in India are manual scavenging and the systems of forced prostitution. The percentage of Dalit women in the informal sector is the highest among all social groups i.e. 41.8%. This is three times more than the employment ratio for dominant caste women in casual wage labour i.e 13.4%.

The COVID-19 pandemic made the situation of Dalits in India even more precarious. These communities comprise the majority of the 120 million migrant workers who - in enormous numbers and next to no notice - lost their source of income because of the COVID-19 lockdown. They were forced to travel, often by foot, back to their native villages where they may face starvation with severe impacts for their health and immune system.

Between 70 and 80 per cent of workers in the garment and textile industry in Tamil Nadu are from oppressed castes. Many of these workers are thought to be interstate migrants hoping for better job opportunities in Tamil Nadu, coming from impoverished north and north-eastern states such as Bihar, Odisha, and Uttar Pradesh, where livelihood options are scarce. Dominant caste workers reserve bathrooms for their use only, for example, and oppressed caste workers must use the remaining bathrooms. Since most migrant workers belong to oppressed castes, they spend more time waiting in queues for the restroom. Dalit female workers are abused for their caste status by being given more overtime, heavier work, cleaning tasks, being given extra work during night shifts, being denied leave, and being subjected to verbal and physical harassment at the hostels. Female Dalit workers are not allowed to choose rooms or complain. Several deaths were reported after cases of sexual abuse in textile mills.
According to a caste discrimination expert of a Tamil Nadu-based civil society organisation, segregation based on caste and class is prevalent in canteens and hostel accommodation. Workers from oppressed castes are sometimes not allowed to drink from the same water tap as workers from dominant castes.\textsuperscript{xli}

The Bhagiyas, members of tribal and historically disadvantaged communities have been migrating to non-tribal areas and working on landholdings owned by dominant castes to work as long-term agricultural labourers across the various parts of the state of Gujarat, migrating, as they do not find other work opportunities. This community is frequently trapped in bonded labour as they find no means to pay their debts to the land owners where they ploy.\textsuperscript{xlii}

\textbf{5.3 - Manual Scavenging}

Manual scavenging, the removing of human excreta from dry latrines, railroad tracks and sewers by hand, is a caste-based and hereditary form of slavery reserved exclusively for Dalits. It is estimated that around 1.3 million Dalits in \textit{India}, mostly \textit{women}, make their living through manual scavenging. They remove human excrement from dry toilets and sewers using basic tools such as thin boards, buckets and baskets, lined with sacking, carried on the head. Dalits trapped in manual scavenging can earn as little as one rupee a day. They are rarely able to take up another occupation due to discrimination stemming from their caste and occupational status, and are thus forced to remain scavengers. Persons employed in manual scavenging suffer from discrimination, and are seen as ‘impure’ for handling human waste. Between January 2017 and September 2018, an estimated 123 persons died as result of manual scavenging.\textsuperscript{xliii} There is insufficient regulation or surveillance of this activity.\textsuperscript{xliv}

Results from the 2018 Social Attitude Research India survey showed that 23\% of Dalits in Delhi and 20\% of Dalits in the State of Uttar Pradesh reported believing that caste discrimination is worsening. This stigma impacts the sanitation of persons who do not have access to formal pit-emptying services: as the castes who usually practise manual scavenging increasingly turn away from the practice, latrine owners have been shown to return to open defecation practices rather than to empty their own latrines.

The impact of the COVID-19 on Dalit deaths has been devastating. For example, in 2021, more than half of deaths of staff of 3 Municipal Corporations of Delhi (MCDs) (North, South and East) of COVID-19 were of safai karamcharis, a Dalit community. Around 50,000 sanitation workers, including both permanent and temporary workers, are engaged in the three MCDs doing jobs such as collecting garbage. They have also been involved in sanitisation work since the COVID-19 pandemic broke out. The data shows that 16 of 29 deaths in South MCD, 25 of 49 in North MCD and 8 of 16 deaths in East MCD were of those engaged in sanitation activities.\textsuperscript{xlv} Undertaking this sanitation work without the appropriate protection equipment exposed Dalits to the virus. They were called “the sanitation heroes” during the pandemic, as they were also forced to carry the bodies of people who died from the coronavirus.

\textbf{Recommendations:}

\begin{enumerate}
  \item Include in the current government policies on safe and drinking water and sanitation the clear objective of eradicating manual scavenging, in consultation with the affected women communities, with specific targets and benchmarks, whose results should be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or at a review by a UN human rights body;
  \item Create a National Truth Commission to determine the violations that occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic that drastically affected Dalits and manual scavengers, with a view of setting accountability, reparations and guarantees of non-repetition, whose results should be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or at a review by a UN human rights body;
\end{enumerate}
17. Urgently ratify the ILO Convention 87 (Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise), and present a plan to internalize this convention the UPR next cycle;

18. Support and protect civic space for Dalits and laborers affected by caste discrimination, in particular the civil society organisations, labour movement, grassroots organisations, and human rights defenders;

19. Ensure that companies apply enhanced human rights due diligence on the elimination of caste discrimination in their supply chains, in accordance with the UN Guiding Principles on Human Rights and fully in line with the relevant OECD Guidelines and Guidance, including to have access to government support and contracts, and excluding companies with an insufficient track record from public procurement, official trade delegations, and state aid.

6 - Forced Prostitution

In addition to being forced into the most demeaning jobs, Dalit women are extremely vulnerable to sexual exploitation and are often victims of trafficking and forced sexual labour. Amongst the Dalit communities themselves, the women of the Badi group in Nepal are largely looked down upon as sex workers.

Dalit girls in Nepal are often trafficked to Indian brothels in increasing numbers and forced to work as prostitutes. Many of the girls believe that they will obtain jobs as domestic helpers and willingly follow brokers in the hope of earning money to support their families. In the Pune area there are an estimated 12,000 Nepali prostitutes and in Mumbai the number is approximately 40,000.\textsuperscript{xlvii}

Sex work is caste-based in India and assumes many modalities, e.g. among members of the Banchhada Tribe, the Bhedia community, also as the devadasi system. In areas of Bengal, there is the occurrence of the Chukri system, by which women are forced into sex in order to pay the family’s and their debts, a form of bonded and forced labour. Moreover, in times of extreme financial precarity, for example, when they are deceived by family members or abandoned by their husbands, Dalit women are frequently forced into prostitution.\textsuperscript{xlviii}

The debate pertaining to sex workers is interwoven with several taboos and morality, including in some academic spaces. Here too, the extremely harsh conditions sustaining sex workers intersects with caste. “Brothels, as spaces are extremely hierarchized, including positions such as the pimp and the sex worker, followed by that of an independent sex worker who stays on rent at the brothel or the tawaifs and the musicians. As explained by one of the respondents, the pricing of sex work is dependent on not just the set-up you are a part of but also based on the women’s age, skin colour and the region she comes from.”\textsuperscript{xlviii}

Recommendations:

20. Step up efforts, goals and benchmarks on welfare policy, advancement of Dalit women, adolescent women and girls and income opportunity in order to propose alternatives to forced prostitution, whose results should be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or at a review by a UN human rights body;

21. Enact specific criminal, civil and administrative legislation to prohibit forced prostitution, sexual trafficking, exploitation and sexual debt bondage of Dalit women, adolescent women and girls, with proportionate punishment, whose results should be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or at a review by a UN human rights body;

22. Establish a programme of psychological, physical and economic rehabilitation of Dalit women, adolescent women and girls who were survivors of forced prostitution, including by addressing
the stigmas facing them in returning to the legal and formal economic sector, in close consultation with the victims and their associations, whose results should be demonstrated in the next UPR cycle or at a review by a UN human rights body;

---

i [https://censusindia.gov.in/census_and_you/scheduled_castes_and_scheduled_tribes.aspx](https://censusindia.gov.in/census_and_you/scheduled_castes_and_scheduled_tribes.aspx)

ii Members : Lok Sabha

iii Women Members


v CEDAW, Adopted by the Committee at its fifty-eighth session (30 June-18 July 2014), para 34.

vi Id, para. 14.


viii Ibid.

ix NCDHR analysis, 2020.


xi IDSN’s analysis of National Crime Record Bureau Data Sets.


xiii NCDHR Analysis 2020.


xvi Ibid.

xvii NCDHR Analysis 2020.

xviii IDSN’s analysis of National Crime Record Bureau Data Sets.

xix Crime against Dalits: UP and Bihar worst states, Lucknow and Patna worst cities | India News, The Indian Express

xx NCDHR Analysis 2020.

xxi Ibid.

xxii IDSN, Caste Hate Speech: Addressing hate speech based on work and descent (2021).

xxiii Id, p. 16.


Turning Promises into Action (UN Women), p. 31

NFHS4, 2015-16.

https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/2455328X19898449


Caste and Gender Justice (IDSN)

India National Family Health Survey, p. 219


NCDHR, STIGMATIZATION OF DALITS IN ACCESS TO WATER AND SANITATION IN INDIA.

India Exclusion Report 2015, p. 17


IDSN, Caste-Based Slavery: https://idsn.org/key-issues/caste-based-slavery/

PLFS 75th, round 2017.


Pauline Overeem Martje Theuws Diewertje Heyl: Spinning around workers’ rights - International companies linked to forced labour in Tamil Nadu spinning mills – SOMO, ARISA (2021), p. 27.

Wage sharecropping in Bt cottonseed production in Gujarat, India, Centre for Labour Research and Action Ahmedabad (India); Arisa (the Netherlands), 2021, p. 23.


Ibid.

https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/delhi/delhi-half-of-covid-dead-under-municipal-corporations-are-safai-karamcharis-7333365/?tqid=3eKhYSoiGRQBwsVVmZ.ISAAAAQixaTRw3fIMcYDr

https://idsn.org/key-issues/dalit-women/dalit-women-in-nepal-2/


Ibid.