

ATTITUDE TOWARDS HIJRAS AND THEIR RECIPROCAL PERCEPTIONS



BY

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2012

CONTENTS

List of Tables	i
List of Figures	vi
List of Appendices	viii
List of Abbreviations	ix
Glossary of Non-English Words	x
Acknowledgement	xi
Abstract	xiii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Who are Hijras?	4
Historical Context of Hijras	6
Psychological Context	8
Social Organization of Hijra Community	15
Myths Related to Hijras	21
Hijras' Status in Pakistan	23
Transgendered Communities World over	26
Attitude towards Hijra	31
Theoretical Perspectives on Attitudes/Prejudices	35
Factors Affecting Attitudes	40
Measuring Attitudes	64
Perception of the Attitudes	67
Anticipating Negative Consequences on Disclosure	69
Internalization of Attitudes	71
Heterophobia	72
Consequences of Attitudes and Their Perceptions	73
Mental Health Issues among Transgenders	75
Antecedents for Joining HijraCommunity	77
Theoretical Perspectives on Deviant Subculture/Identities	84
CHAPTER 2: RATIONALE OF THE STUDY, OBJECTIVES, AND RESEARCH DESIGN	90
Rationale of the Study	91

Objectives and Research Design	96
ATTITUDE TOWARDS HIJRAS (PART 1)	99
CHAPTER 3: DEVELOPMENT AND VALIDATION OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS HIJRA SCALE: (STUDY I)	100
Objectives	100
Method	100
Results	112
Discussion	119
CHAPTER 4: DEVELOPMENT OF MYTHS RELATED TO HIJRAS SCALE (STUDY II)	127
Objectives	127
Method	128
Results	129
Discussion	138
CHAPTER 5: CORRELATES OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS <i>HIJRAS</i>: (STUDY III)	144
Objectives	146
Hypotheses	147
Method	149
Results	156
Discussion	195
CHAPTER 6: ATTITUDE TOWARDS MALE-TO-FEMALE TRANSGENDER: A CULTURAL CONTEXT: (STUDY IV)	213
Method	215
Objectives	215
Hypotheses	215
Results	221
Discussion	234

CHAPTER 7: ATTITUDE AND MYTHS RELATED TO HIJRAS: A DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS: (STUDY V)	244
Objectives	245
Hypotheses	245
Method	246
Results	250
Discussion	284
CHAPTER 8: <i>HIJRAS</i>' PERCEPTION OF PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES: (STUDY VI)	301
Objectives	303
Hypotheses	303
Research Design	304
Method	305
Results	310
Discussion	335
CHAPTER 9: GENERAL DISCUSSION: AN OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH	357
Limitations and Suggestions	373
Implications of the Study	377
REFERENCES	380
APPENDICES	422

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Frequency and Percentages on Demographic Variables (<i>N</i> = 350)	111
Table 2	Factor Loadings of 33 items through Principal Component Analysis by using Direct Oblimion Method (<i>N</i> = 350)	114
Table 3	Item-to- total Correlations of Selected Items (<i>N</i> = 350)	116
Table 4	Cronbach Alpha and Correlation Matrix among AHS and Its Three Subscales (<i>N</i> = 350)	118
Table 5	Item-to-total Correlations for Initial Form of MHS (<i>N</i> = 350)	130
Table 6	Factor Loadings of 12 items through Principal Component Analysis by using Direct Oblimion Method (<i>N</i> = 350)	131
Table 7	Alpha-coefficients and Inter-correlations between MHS and its Subscales (<i>N</i> = 350)	133
Table 8	Temporal Stability and Alpha-coefficients of MHS and its Subscales (<i>N</i> = 37)	134
Table 9	Indices of Normality	134
Table 10	Mean, Standard Deviations, and t-test along Gender (<i>N</i> = 350)	135
Table 11	Mean, Standard Deviations, and t-test along Belief in Who are Hijras (<i>N</i> = 333)	136
Table 12	Mean, Standard Deviations, Frequencies and Percentages Showing degree of Agreement along Items of MHS (<i>N</i> = 350)	137
Table 13	Descriptives of AHS Scale and MHS (<i>N</i> = 186)	157
Table 14	Descriptives of ES, Age Universal Religious Orientation Scale (I/E-R), GRAS, BSRI-M, and BSRI-F (<i>N</i> = 186)	158
Table 15	Correlation Matrix among AHS, MHS, BSRI, ES, GRAS, and Religiosity (<i>N</i> = 186)	161
Table 16	Simple Linear Regression Analysis and Hierarchical Multiple Regression for Mediation Analysis Taking Extremism as Predictor for AHS (<i>N</i> = 186)	166
Table 17	Simple Linear Regression Analysis for Predictors of Subscales of AHS (<i>N</i> = 186)	168
Table 18	Hierarchical Multiple Regression for Mediation Analysis Taking Extremism as Predictor for Subscales of AHS (<i>N</i> = 186)	170
Table 19	Summary of Sobel Statistics for AHS and Subscales	172
Table 20	Differences between Groups along Extrinsic Social Religious	173

	Orientations on AHS (<i>N</i> = 186)	
Table 21	Differences between Groups along Religious Orientations on MHS (<i>N</i> = 186)	174
Table 22	Differences between Groups along Religious Orientations on ES (<i>N</i> = 186)	175
Table 23	Moderating Role of Religious Orientation for Extremism in Predicting Attitudes based on Right and Status and Social Distance Subscales of AHS (<i>N</i> = 186)	179
Table 24	Differences between Male and Female Students on AHS and MHS (<i>N</i> = 186)	182
Table 25	Moderating Role of Gender for Gender Role Attitudes in Predicting Attitudes on AHS and Social Distance Subscale (<i>N</i> = 186)	184
Table 26	Moderating Role of Gender for Masculinity in Predicting Attitudes on Social Distance and Sexual Issues Subscales (<i>N</i> = 186)	186
Table 27	Differences between Those Who Believe Hijras are Hermaphrodite and Both AHS (<i>N</i> = 180)	189
Table 28	Moderating Role of Concept of Hijra for Religiosity in Predicting Attitudes on Social Distance (<i>N</i> = 180)	190
Table 29	Moderating Role of Concept of Hijra for Gender Role Attitudes in Predicting Attitudes on AHS and Rights and Status (<i>N</i> = 180)	191
Table 30	Moderating Role of Interaction with Hijras for Gender Role Attitudes in Predicting Attitudes on AHS and Subscales (<i>N</i> = 186)	193
Table 31	Correlation between ATS and ATS-U (<i>N</i> = 42)	220
Table 32	Descriptives of ATS-U (<i>N</i> = 186)	222
Table 33	Item-total Correlations for ATS-U (<i>N</i> = 186)	223
Table 34	Cronbach Alphas and Inter-correlations between Subscales and Total ATS-U (<i>N</i> = 186)	223
Table 35	Correlation between ATS-U and MHS, ES, GRAS, and BSRI (<i>N</i> = 186)	224
Table 36	Hierarchical Multiple Regression for ATS-U and Subscales(<i>N</i> = 186)	227
Table 37	Differences between Male and Female Students on ATS-U and Subscales (<i>N</i> = 186)	230

Table 38	Gender wise Cross-Cultural Comparison	232
Table 39	Cross-Cultural Comparison across Subscales of ATS-U	233
Table 40	Frequencies and Percentages along Demographic Variables and Chi-square ($N = 1034$)	247
Table 41	Descriptives of AHS Scale and MHS ($N = 1034$)	250
Table 42	Alpha Coefficients and Correlation Coefficients of AHS, MHS, and Subscales ($N = 1034$)	252
Table 43	Correlation Coefficients of AHS and MHS along Gender	253
Table 44	Multiple Regression Analysis Showing Prediction of MHS Subscales for Subscales of AHS	253
Table 45	Gender Differences on AHS and MHS ($N = 1034$)	254
Table 46	Post Hoc Analysis for Comparison among Groups along Concept of Hijra	256
Table 47	Gender Differences in Attitude about Rights and Status on Concept of Hijra	258
Table 48	Post Hoc Analysis for Comparison among Groups along Level of Interaction	260
Table 49	Age Differences on AHS and MHS ($N = 622$)	262
Table 50	Gender Differences in AHS, Social Distance, and Sexual Issues along Age	263
Table 51	Post Hoc Analysis for Comparison among Groups along Level of Education	266
Table 52	Gender Differences in AHS, Social Distance, and Sexual Issues along Education ($N = 1030$)	268
Table 53	Gender Differences in AHS, Social Distance, and Sexual Issues along Marital Status ($N = 1034$)	271
Table 54	Differences along SES on AHS and MHS ($N = 561$)	273
Table 55	Gender Differences in AHS and Rights and Status along Monthly Income ($N = 561$)	274
Table 56	Post Hoc Analysis for Comparison among Groups along Geographical Locations	277
Table 57	Gender Differences in AHS along Geographical Location ($N = 1034$)	278
Table 58	Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for AHS	281
Table 59	Linear Regression Analysis for Subscales of MHS	283

Table 60	Item-to- total Correlations of HPAS (<i>N</i> = 143)	311
Table 61	Item-to- total Correlations of HPMHS (<i>N</i> = 143)	312
Table 62	Alpha Coefficients and Inter-scale Correlations among HPAS, HPMHS, and Their Subscales (<i>N</i> = 143)	313
Table 63	Descriptives of HPAS, HPMHS, and Their Subscales (<i>N</i> = 143)	314
Table 64	Difference in People’s Attitude towards Hijras and Hijras Reciprocal Perception (<i>N</i> = 329)	316
Table 65	Post Hoc Analysis for Differences along Gender on Attitudes and Their Perception by Hijras	317
Table 66	Difference in People’s Belief in Myths and Hijras’ Perception of These Beliefs (<i>N</i> = 329)	318
Table 67	Gender Difference in People’s Belief in Myths and Hijras’ Reciprocal Perception of These Beliefs	319
Table 68	Difference in Khusras’ and Zanas’ Perception of People’s Attitudes (<i>N</i> = 143)	320
Table 69	Difference in Perception of People’s Attitudes among Those Having Specific Territory to Work and Not Having any Territory (<i>N</i> = 143)	320
Table 70	Age Differences on HPAS among Hijras (<i>N</i> = 143)	321
Table 71	Post Hoc Analysis for Comparison among Groups on HPAS and Social Distance (<i>N</i> = 143)	322
Table 72	Differences among Hijras on HPAS along Liking Hijra Community or Not (<i>N</i> = 129)	322
Table 73	Differences among Hijras on HPAS along Experiencing Depression or Not (<i>N</i> = 125)	323
Table 74	Differences on HPAS between Those who Visit Home in Male Clothing and Those who Visit Home in Female Clothing (<i>N</i> = 138)	324
Table 75	Difference in Perception of Attitudes along Given a Label of Hijra by the People and Family	325
Table 76	Differences in Perception of Attitudes among Those who are Involved in Sex Business and Those who are Not Involved	326
Table 77	Differences on HPAS along Sexual Orientation towards Men	328
Table 78	Difference in Perception of Attitudes along Perception of One’s Gender during Sexual Activity	329

Table 79	Difference in Perception of Attitudes along Personal View of Ones Gender Identity While Offering Prayers	329
Table 80	Differences among Hijras on HPAS along Experiencing Sexual Abuse or Not ($N = 136$)	330
Table 81	Frequencies and Percentages of Perception of Familial Attitudes	331
Table 82	Frequencies and Percentages of Attitudes Experienced	334

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Categories that come under the term Hijra	6
Figure 2	Scree Plot suggesting three factor solution	113
Figure 3	Concept of hijra for sample ($N = 350$)	118
Figure 4	Scree Plot suggesting factor solution	130
Figure 5	Role of Intrinsic orientation for extremism in predicting attitudes on Rights and Status	180
Figure 6	Role of Extrinsic Social for extremism in predicting attitudes on Rights and Status	180
Figure 7	Role of Extrinsic Personal for extremism in predicting attitudes on Rights and Status	180
Figure 8	Role of Extrinsic Social for extremism in predicting attitudes on Social Distance	181
Figure 9	Role of gender for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes on AHS	184
Figure 10	Role of gender for masculinity in predicting attitudes on Social Distance	186
Figure 11	Role of gender for masculinity in predicting attitudes on Sexual Issues	186
Figure 12	Concept of Hijras for the Participants of the Study ($N = 181$)	188
Figure 13	Role of concept of hijra for religiosity in predicting attitudes on Social Distance	190
Figure 14	Role of concept of hijra for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes on AHS	191
Figure 15	Role of concept of hijra for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes on Rights and Status subscale	192
Figure 16	Role of interaction with hijras for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes on AHS	194
Figure 17	Role of interaction with hijras for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes on Rights and Status	194

Figure 18	Role of interaction with hijras for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes on Social Distance	195
Figure 19	Belief in who are hijras?	255
Figure 20	Gender differences on belief in who are hijras?	257
Figure 21	Comparing means of gender on Rights and Status along different concept of hijras	258
Figure 22	Level of interaction with hijras	259
Figure 23	Gender differences in level of interaction with hijras	261
Figure 24	Comparing means of gender on AHS along age	263
Figure 25	Comparing means of gender on Social Distance along different age groups	264
Figure 26	Comparing means of gender on Sexual Issues along age	265
Figure 27	Comparing means of gender on AHS along different levels of education	268
Figure 28	Comparing means of gender on Social Distance along different levels of education	269
Figure 29	Comparing means of gender on Sexual Issues along different levels of education	270
Figure 30	Comparing means of gender on AHS along marital status	271
Figure 31	Comparing means of gender on Social Distance along marital status	272
Figure 32	Comparing means of gender on Sexual Issues along marital status	272
Figure 33	Comparing means of gender on AHS along SES	275
Figure 34	Comparing means of gender on Rights and Status along SES	275
Figure 35	Comparing means of gender on AHS along geographical location	279
Figure 36	Diversity in Hijra Community	315
Figure 37	Label of hijra given to the person in 12-18 years of age	324
Figure 38	Indicators of homosexual interests	327

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A	Development of Attitude towards Hijra Scale	423
Appendix B	Development of Myths related towards Hijra Scale	442
Appendix C	Scales of Study III	447
Appendix D	Translation of Attitudes towards Transwoman Scale	463
Appendix E	Measures of Part-II of the Study	473

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FtMs	Female to Male
GID	Gender identity disorder
LGB	Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals
LGBTs	Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, and Transgenders
LGBTIs	Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transgenders and Intersexed
LGBTQs	Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transgenders, Queer
MtF	Male-to-female
SRS	Sex reassignment surgeries
TG	Transgender
TS	Transsexual

GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH WORDS

Words

<i>Deni Madaris/madrassa</i>	Religious schools
<i>Deras</i>	Households
<i>fa'afafine</i>	Samoaan males who behave like females and live as third gender
<i>Guru-chela</i>	Mentor-disciple
<i>Hajj</i>	Pilgrimage
<i>Hajji</i>	One who has performed Hajj
<i>Haram</i>	Prohibited in Islam
<i>Karma</i>	Blessing
<i>Kathoey</i>	Female and male transgenders of Thailand
<i>Khunsa-e-Mushkil</i>	Intersexed person with marked sexual organs' deformity
<i>Khusras</i>	Hijras by birth/ TS
<i>Maknayah</i>	Transgenders of Malaysia
<i>Mela</i>	Fair
<i>Mirasis</i>	musicians in hijra community
<i>Mukhanath</i>	Literal meaning 'triangle'; a man who dresses up and behave like a woman
<i>Namard</i>	Impotent
<i>Narban</i>	Persian word meaning 'sacrificing man'
<i>Ottarnakhattar</i>	Childless
<i>Purdah</i>	Veil
<i>Wadhais</i>	Alms
<i>Waria</i>	Cross dressers of Indonesia
<i>Zannana</i>	Cross dresser

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

By the grace of Allah Almighty, I have been able to accomplish my work with the help of many professionals and well-wishers. I am grateful to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Anila Kamal for her dedicated professional guidance. I appreciate her perseverance and patience in my case.

I acknowledge Higher Education Commission's scholarship for my PhD work that has really helped to accomplish this task without any financial uncertainties.

I appreciate Dr. Sam Winter who was a constant source of professional and moral support in completion of my work. I am also grateful to Dr. Mark King, Dr. Milton Diamond, and Dr. Hird who helped me in information gathering for literature review.

I can fill hundreds of pages if I name all who helped me in due course of my research. I am grateful to my teachers Prof. Dr. Muhammad Pervez, Prof. Dr. Naeem Tariq, and Prof. Dr. Seema Pervez, for their accommodating and appreciating attitudes that they extended towards me. I offer special thanks to my best friend Sobia Masood who ultimately got her name in acknowledgements through her valuable suggestions on my research paper. I am thankful to Dr. Jamil A. Malik who modestly extended help in addressing my analyses related queries.

I appreciate those who helped me in collecting data. I offer special thanks to Saima Ambreen, Gulnaz Zahid, Adnan Adil (PhD scholars), and Nazia Hussein. I am grateful to Shahzad Ahmed Khan, Nisar Ahmed, Sobia Maqbool, Hafiz Irfan, Khawar Mehmood, Nadra Hussein, Babar Hussein, Faisal Hussein, and Baidar Bakht who made possible for me to interview *hijras*. I offer my heartiest facilitation to the participants of my research. Special thanks to *hijras*, who agreed to participate despite having concerns related to their disclosure.

I am grateful to my colleagues and friends who were more interested in my research than I was and kept my interest alive. They have developed such a strong association between

Humaira and *hijras*, that whenever they come across any *hijra*, Humaira automatically appears in their mind. I am grateful to my Librarian Qayoom Sahib and Computer Assistant Haideree Sahib for their help whenever I needed.

I am indeed very grateful to all male members of my family including my father, father-in-law, and brothers who supported me in every stage of my research. My mother (Late), mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, and my *bhabis* (brothers' wives) were always there when I faced problems at domestic end. I offer my heartiest facilitation to my maid Sunnia who managed domestic responsibilities so professionally that my children believe that Mama does not do and know anything at home.

I think my thesis completion was gauged to birth of my female child “Khadija”, that I always aspired for. In both cases, thesis and Khadija, *der aed drust aed* [everything comes on its time]. Lastly, I owe a lot to my husband and sons Taha and Abdullah who were accommodating and supportive in every stage of my studies and profession. I will not hesitate to say that they were motherly figures for me. A very thought provoking question my 12 years old son asked his father “*baba hum kab hijra ko parrhain gay?* [Father! When will we study *hijra?*].

Humaira Jami

ABSTRACT

In Pakistan, *hijras* have legally attained third gender position yet they have marginalised and stigmatised status in cultural context. The aim in the present research was to explore people's attitude towards *hijras* and reciprocal perceptions by *hijras* with the premise that their marginalization and isolation and developing *hijra* identity is function of these. Present research was conducted in two parts: In Part I, aim was studying people's attitudes (based on five studies) and in Part II studying *hijras*' reciprocal perceptions. Twelve focus group discussions (10 of general people and 2 of *hijras*) helped in generating item pool to develop Likert type rating scales by using exploratory factor analysis ($N = 350$): (i) Attitudes toward *Hijras* Scale and (ii) Myths related to *Hijras* Scale related to *hijras* in Study 1 and 2, respectively. For attitudes the factors so generated were Rights and Status, Social Distance, and Sexual Issues; and for myths three factors were Asexuality, Nature, and Saintry qualities of *hijras*. All items pertaining to these scales referred to third gender status of *hijras* not as male to female transgenders (MtF TGs). Correlation between both measures in assumed direction suggested their construct validity. In Study 3 ($N = 186$ university students), correlates and predictors of attitudes were studied. As assumed extremism, religiosity, traditional gender role attitudes, myths related to *hijras*, and masculinity significantly negatively predicted attitudes signifying the psycho-social context of attitudes in Pakistan. Gender role attitudes, religiosity, and belief in myths related to *hijras* had significant mediating role for extremism in predicting attitudes. Men and those with extrinsic social religious orientation had more negative attitudes towards *hijras* than their counterparts. Moderating role of religious orientation, gender, concept of "who are *hijras*?", and level of interaction with *hijras* for correlates in predicting attitudes was also explored. All hypotheses were proved for attitudes based on Sexual Issues subscale showing that in socio-cultural context rules for sexuality are strongly held as core values than of gender expression that effect *hijras*' lack of acceptance in the society. In Study 4, attitudes toward MtF TGs were

studied ($N = 186$) through adapting and translating Attitude towards Transwoman Scale (Winter et al., 2009). Significant positive relationship of ATS-U with AHS was found as an indicator of convergent validity of both measures. Assumptions based on relationship of attitude towards MtF TGs with extremism, religiosity, gender role attitudes, gender differences, and differences along religious orientation were refuted which were otherwise proved for attitudes towards *hijras* in Study 3. Cross-cultural comparison with eight countries (Winter et al., 2009) showed that Pakistani sample had the most negative attitudes towards MtF TGs than other countries. In Study 5 ($N = 1034$ from five regions of Pakistan), individual differences in attitudes and belief in myths related to *hijras* along demographic variables. Women, educated, and older participants had more tolerant attitudes towards *hijras* than their counterparts. Gender played a role of moderator for demographic variables in predicting attitudes. In all studies of Part 1, large percentage of participants believed in myth that *hijras* were intersexed/hermaphrodite than MtF TGs. Those with such a belief had more positive attitudes and strong belief in saintly characteristics of *hijras* than their counterparts. Those who interacted more with *hijras* were in favour of their rights and better status, but not accepting them because of their sexual issues. In Part 2, *hijras'* ($N = 143$) perception of people's attitudes was studied through biographical interviews and data on scales. Unlike people's perception in Part I, all participants were transgenders, transsexuals, or gays except one was intersexed *hijra* (original). *Hijras* had more negative perception of attitudes than people's actual attitudes. *Hijras* who were *Zannanas*, older, operating in non-specified areas, suffering from depression being *hijra*, perceiving them as homosexual, had not yet accepted their cross-gendered identity/tendencies, had regret being *hijras*, had desire to leave *hijra* community, etc. had most negative perception of attitudes than their counterparts. Most of *hijras* had experienced severe negative reactions from their families and significant others and had abandoned their original families to pursue their sexual interests and gendered expressions. Findings were discussed in the light of literature and cultural observations. This

study will help in reducing inhibitions to work on tabooed areas shrouded under myths, religious, and cultural beliefs and will help government and nongovernment organization in implementation of welfare programs for *hijra*'s mental health and their mainstreaming.

ABSTRACT

In Pakistan, *hijras* have legally attained third gender position yet they have marginalised and stigmatised status in cultural context. The aim in the present research was to explore people's attitude towards *hijras* and reciprocal perceptions by *hijras* with the premise that their marginalization and isolation and developing *hijra* identity is function of these. Present research was conducted in two parts: In Part I, aim was studying people's attitudes (based on five studies) and in Part II studying *hijras*' reciprocal perceptions. Twelve focus group discussions (10 of general people and 2 of *hijras*) helped in generating item pool to develop Likert type rating scales by using exploratory factor analysis ($N = 350$): (i) Attitudes toward *Hijras* Scale and (ii) Myths related to *Hijras* Scale related to *hijras* in Study 1 and 2, respectively. For attitudes the factors so generated were Rights and Status, Social Distance, and Sexual Issues; and for myths three factors were Asexuality, Nature, and Saintry qualities of *hijras*. All items pertaining to these scales referred to third gender status of *hijras* not as male to female transgenders (MtF TGs). Correlation between both measures in assumed direction suggested their construct validity. In Study 3 ($N = 186$ university students), correlates and predictors of attitudes were studied. As assumed extremism, religiosity, traditional gender role attitudes, myths related to *hijras*, and masculinity significantly negatively predicted attitudes signifying the psycho-social context of attitudes in Pakistan. Gender role attitudes, religiosity, and belief in myths related to *hijras* had significant mediating role for extremism in predicting attitudes. Men and those with extrinsic social religious orientation had more negative attitudes towards *hijras* than their counterparts. Moderating role of religious orientation, gender, concept of "who are *hijras*?", and level of interaction with *hijras* for correlates in predicting attitudes was also explored. All hypotheses were proved for attitudes based on Sexual Issues subscale showing that in socio-cultural context rules for sexuality are strongly held as core values than of gender expression that effect *hijras*' lack of acceptance in the society. In Study 4, attitudes toward MtF TGs were studied ($N = 186$) through adapting and translating Attitude towards Transwoman Scale

(Winter et al., 2009). Significant positive relationship of ATS-U with AHS was found as an indicator of convergent validity of both measures. Assumptions based on relationship of attitude towards MtF TGs with extremism, religiosity, gender role attitudes, gender differences, and differences along religious orientation were refuted which were otherwise proved for attitudes towards *hijras* in Study 3. Cross-cultural comparison with eight countries (Winter et al., 2009) showed that Pakistani sample had the most negative attitudes towards MtF TGs than other countries. In Study 5 ($N = 1034$ from five regions of Pakistan), individual differences in attitudes and belief in myths related to *hijras* along demographic variables. Women, educated, and older participants had more tolerant attitudes towards *hijras* than their counterparts. Gender played a role of moderator for demographic variables in predicting attitudes. In all studies of Part 1, large percentage of participants believed in myth that *hijras* were intersexed/hermaphrodite than MtF TGs. Those with such a belief had more positive attitudes and strong belief in saintly characteristics of *hijras* than their counterparts. Those who interacted more with *hijras* were in favour of their rights and better status, but not accepting them because of their sexual issues. In Part 2, *hijras'* ($N = 143$) perception of people's attitudes was studied through biographical interviews and data on scales. Unlike people's perception in Part I, all participants were transgenders, transsexuals, or gays except one was intersexed *hijra* (original). *Hijras* had more negative perception of attitudes than people's actual attitudes. *Hijras* who were *Zannanas*, older, operating in non-specified areas, suffering from depression being *hijra*, perceiving them as homosexual, had not yet accepted their cross-gendered identity/tendencies, had regret being *hijras*, had desire to leave *hijra* community, etc. had most negative perception of attitudes than their counterparts. Most of *hijras* had experienced severe negative reactions from their families and significant others and had abandoned their original families to pursue their sexual interests and gendered expressions. Findings were discussed in the light of literature and cultural observations. This study will help in reducing inhibitions to work on tabooed areas shrouded under myths, religious, and cultural beliefs and will help government and nongovernment organization in implementation of welfare programs for *hijra's* mental health and their mainstreaming.

INTRODUCTION

“Gender is an anchor and once people decide what you are they interpret everything you do in light of that” (Kessler & McKenna, 1978, p. 6).

Belonging to a specific gender category (either male or female) entails a set of beliefs about appropriate gender roles, sexual preference, psychological makeup, and physical appearance. During the course of development, individuals incorporate these into their sense of self and evaluative processes accompany this integration (Skrapec & MacKenzie, 1981). Defining gender and sexuality (Rahman, 2010) holds great significance in everybody’s life as it regulates the future interaction of/with others (Kessler & McKenna, 1978), hence, relates to core values of the people. Deviating from normative beliefs and standards about sex/gender or gender blending --- mixture of male and female qualities --- is considered pathological and in the medical model is subject to treatment (Ekins & King, 1996a; Sharma, 2000). Being anti-normative, nonconforming, undesirable, and anti-society (Sharma, 2000; see Winter, 2002), these are considered as a threat to the cultural and religious values that propagate binary division of gender (Bouhdiba, 1975/1998; Magnier, March 03, 2010; Rahman, 2010; Totman, 2003).

Having conviction that gender identity and physiology are same and so are gender and sex, so any individual showing behaviour and interests in contradiction with this notion meet with rage, confusion, and agitation (Green, Brinkin, & HRC Staff, Sep 1994). Family, friends, and society try to culminate deviant behaviours (Gilbert, 2000; Pamment, 2010; Sharma, 2000). Such gender/sexual deviance can be physiological sexual deformity called hermaphroditic or intersexed condition (Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003; Diamond, 2002, 2004a; Diamond & Beh, 2005); cross-gendered dressing, behaviours, and identity (see DSM

IV-TR, American Psychiatric Association [APA], 2000) over all known as transgenderism (Ekins & King, 1997); or deviant sexual orientation like homosexuality and bisexuality (Crooks & Baur, 2005; Eskin, Kaynak-Demir, & Demir, 2005; Hausman, 2001; Kinnish, Strassberg, & Turner, 2005).

One finds it difficult to interact with the person whose gender is ambiguous (Crooks & Baur, 2005). People with ambiguous gender anticipate discrimination and hostility that lead to invisibility and concealing deviant sexual interests and tendencies which cause mental health problem for them (see Herek, 2009; Lesser, 1999; Little, 2001; Major & Sawyer, 2009; Marsh, 2007; Miller, 2006; Novick, 1997; Pande, 2004; Rankin, 2007; Semp, 2008; Totman, 2003; White & Franzini, 1999). Lack of social support, consequently, forces the declared deviants to find outlets for their gender expression in organized support groups/subcultures/communities to win acceptance and approval (Mabey, 2007; Yip, 2007). These groups reciprocate people's negative attitudes. Such groups based on declared gender deviants are found all over the world under different titles since centuries, trying to attain third gender role (see Boellstroff, 2004; Conway, 2002; Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Mahalingam, 2003; McLelland, 2002; Nanda, 2008; Roen, 2001; Teh, 2001; Totman, 2003; Wieringa, 1994; Winter, 2002). In some cultures, they are considered as neither men nor women and not necessarily be considered deviant as they occupy respectable social position; win sympathies by portraying being hermaphrodite/intersexed; and exploit people's belief that they are blessed with some divine power (Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Totman, 2004; Winter, 2002). In South Asia (India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh), such a unique and special group exists called *Hijras* or *Khusras* (Haider & Bano, 2006; Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999).

Nevertheless, nonacceptance of gender/sexual deviance is consensual norm and widely acknowledged having cultural and social context based on sexism and heterosexism. These social reactions are often not condemned like other forms of prejudices including racism, ageism, sexism, etc. (Herek, 2009). Such evaluative responses called attitudes have a utilitarian function. People stick to those attitudes and like the objects which are central to

their values than those which threatened these (Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Maio, Olson, Bernard, & Luke, 2006).

Gender regulates the future interaction of/with others (Kessler & McKenna, 1978), hence, relates to core values of the people. Negative attitudes underlie discrimination of gender deviants that are evident in all social settings including homes, educational institutes, and work related settings (see Dane, 2005; Freund & Blanchard, 1998; Herold & Way, 1998; Khan & Ayub, 2003; Maccoby, 2000; Murphy, 2001; Rankin, 2007; Venn-Brown, 2007). Therefore, aim of present research is to explore people's attitude towards *hijras* and reciprocal perceptions that maintain ingroup-outgroup divide. Traditional gender role attitudes, stereotypic beliefs about gender/sexual deviants, religious beliefs and practices, personality traits like extremist tendencies and sex roles, level of interaction with *hijras*, one's concept of "who are *hijras*?", etc. are a few psychosocial factors that underlie people's attitudes. Therefore, in the present research their role is also explored along with ascertaining the role of demographic variables in defining attitudes.

According to Adams, Braun, and McCreanor (2008), there are number of international forums working for Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, and Transgenders (LGBTs) often with alarming lack of insight, sensitivity, and consultation with these relevant communities. Detailed understanding of their culture and social practices is needed for their welfare. Better attitude leads to better practice (Adam et al., 2008; Kane, 2006). Therefore, in the present research reciprocal perceptions of attitudes by *hijras* are also studied along various demographic variables. Interviews with *hijras* would help in detailed understanding of this subculture and role of attitudes and reciprocal perception in sustaining this subculture within society.

Stigma associated with non-heterosexual identity and behaviour discourages researchers to do research on LGBTs (Hughes & Eliason, 2002). Similarly, lack of standard terms and definitions of gender identity and sexual orientation being multidimensional and complex constructs further complicates the estimation of LGBTs in different areas (Myer, Salenzio, Wolfe, & Dunn, as cited in Hughes & Eliason, 2002). This is the main reason for

little research in this area, especially in Pakistan. Hence, present research is exploratory in nature venturing to explore dynamics of *hijra* identity under the realm of attitudes and perception of attitudes in Pakistani context.

Various terms are used to refer *hijras* (see Haider & Bano, 2006; Khan & Ayub, 2003; Nanda, 1999; Pande, 2004; Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties, Karnataka [PUCL-K], September, 2003; Sharma, 2000). *Hijras* of Pakistan prefer the term *Khawjasara* for their recognition, otherwise known as *Khusras* in masses (see Haider & Bano, 2006). Nevertheless, in the present study, word *hijra* will be used to refer to this community in Pakistan as this is an internationally recognised term in the South Asia and have research based evidences. Pamment (2010) has recently introduced a new term *hijraism* to negotiate *hijra* identity.

Who are *Hijras*?

Hijra is an umbrella term used for those men who are suffering from gender identity problems, eunuchs, transvestites, hermaphrodites or intersexuals, bisexuals or homosexuals (Haider & Bano, 2006; Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000). They are loosely defined as third gender, neither man nor woman but containing characteristics of both (Nanda, 1999; Pande, 2004); an intersexed / impotent man, who undergoes castration in which all parts of the genitals are removed (Nanda, 1999). Sinha considered *hijra* as physically healthy man who may or may not have castration but wear female clothes (as cited in Sharma, 2000). They behave like women (Khan & Ayub, 2003). Shrama (2000) in his research focused on *hijras* who were hermaphrodites/intersexed, he posited that commonality among *hijras* is that there is something wrong with their sexual organs, while Nanda (1999) emphasized the impotency attained through sexual deformity or through castration. Women who wear men clothes or try to attain male identity (female-to-male transgender) do not fall in the category of *hijra* (Jami, 2005). *Hijras* are often known with names as *chakka*, *brinhanala*, *khusras*, *zannanas*, *hijras*, asexuals, middle sexed, neutral, eunuch, *kothi*, etc. (Khan & Ayub, 2003; Nanda, 1999; Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties, Karnataka [PUCL-K], September, 2003; Talwar, 1999),

moorath, namard, in between, sex-less (Pande, 2004); *khawjasara, khusra, mukhannis, kliba* (Haider & Bano, 2006).

Hijras have traditional role of dancing, singing, and seeking *wadhais* [alms] at the birth of male child and wedding ceremony of sons, but this traditional role has deteriorated with the passage of time (Hossain, 2002; Riaz, 1996) and many have turned to begging, dancing in functions, performing in fairs, and sex business (see Pande, 2004; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999). *Hijras* have ambivalent physical appearance and behaviour including men like physique, wearing vibrant colours, and gaudy makeup with noticeable beard underneath, emphasis on certain body parts (breasts, hips etc.), exaggerated feminine movements and gestures, use of obscene language, etc. (see Khan & Ayub, 2003; Sharma, 2000) showing their private parts in anger if refused alms (see Singh, 2001). These behaviours make others to be apprehensive in interacting with them that induce annoyance resulting in people harbouring negative attitude towards them (see Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999).

Many misconceptions prevail about *hijra* community as very few scientific and empirical studies have been carried out on this group (Riaz, 1996). These misconceptions are myths based and have resulted in developing negative attitudes toward *hijra* (discussed in upcoming section). Besides this, various sex related issues of *hijras* e.g., their sexual deformity, asexuality (Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000), cross-dressing (Khan & Ayub, 2003), gender identity problem (Haider & Bano, 2006), high risk group for AIDS/STDs, or homosexuality (Baqi, Shah, Baig, Mujeeb, & Memon, 1999; Bokhari et al., 2007; Hyder & Khan, 1998; Iqbal, 2001; Khan & Khilji, 2002; Khan, Rehan, Qayyum, & Khan, 2008; National AIDS Control Programme, Ministry of Health, 2008; Pakistan National AIDS Control Programme, 2002; Rajabali, Khan, Warraich, Khanani, & Ali, 2008; Rehan, 2006; Shafi, & Ali, 2006) have added to their stigmatization and marginalization. Their congruence in interests, activities, and shared label of deviance derive them to live in the form of close community that helps to draw security and protection from each other (Sharma, 2000). Their complete isolation from the society maintains their deviance because of lack of interaction

between these two distinct cultures i.e., society and *hijra* community (Talwar, 2002), which adds to further hatred against this community.

Historical Context of *Hijras*

Hijras of the South Asia claim their inheritance from the *Khawjasara* in the Mughal era. *Khawjasaras* were eunuchs or hermaphrodites who were employed by Mughal rulers as care takers of their harems (Gwinn, Noton, & Goetz, 1990; Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Roscoe, 1997; Talwar, 1999; The Encyclopaedia Americana, 2000, p. 661). Throughout history, *hijras* have experienced many ups and downs (for detailed account see Khan & Ayub, 2003). Various researchers (Khan & Ayub, 2003; Nanda, 1999; Pande, 2004; PUCL-K, Sep 2003; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999) have traced the religious connotation of *hijras* in Hinduism in which *hijras* have assumed heroic characters. That is why *hijras* are well respected in this region (Nanda, 1999; Pande, 2004; PUCL-K, Sep 2003). They attained notable position in courts, harems, as head of royal kitchen, and as close companion to king. Being impotent, it was believed that they would not cause any harm to the women in the harem and may not be interested in property for inability to maintain a progeny. This shows that *hijras* were purposely made to serve influential figures (Khan & Ayub, 2003; Nanda, 1999; Pande, 2004; PUCL-K, Sep 2003; Roscoe, 1997; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999). In Muslim era, they were appointed as generals and also participated in battles and played political role in government and some occupied saintly position (see Sharma, 2000; Khan & Ayub, 2003).

With advent of colonial era, their traditional role was ruined for in contradiction with Western medicalised concept of TG (Roan, 2001). As per this concept individual has to exact the binary division of gender and has to pass as either category (Cowan, 2005; Hird, 2002, Tolentino, 2000; Van Borsel, De Cuypere, & Van den Berghe, 2001) not as a third gender role (Nanda, 1999) to protect himself/herself from discrimination and harassment. They have always been legally and socially condemned in European and Eastern countries (Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000) and in religions propogating binary division of gender like in Christianity

(Totman, 2003; Magnier, March 03, 2010) and Islam where boundaries defined for both sexes are impenetrable (Bouhdiba, 1975/1998).

Although, *hijra* community met downfall through the arrival of British Raj in India in 1857 (see Kan & Ayub, 2003; PUCL-K, Sep 2003) (when India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh were part subcontinent as one Greater India) but over a period of time they are gaining momentum for their rights in India and now in Pakistan (Abid, 15 July 2009; Jajja, Dec 15, 2011). For living together in South Asia since centuries, *hijras* share rituals, traditions, customs, goals, and means of living which is the amalgamation of the Hindu and Muslim culture (Khan & Ayub, 2003). For example in Hinduism, castration of genitals is part of religious beliefs and is symbolic of rebirth (Nanda, 1999) which is also practiced in *hijras* in Pakistan as well (see Riaz, 1996). Dancing has been medium of the cross-dressing since the times of gods and goddesses (Pande, 2004). Therefore, gives a religious justification to dancing role in Hinduism, therefore, culturally but not religiously a role maintained by *hijras* in Pakistan.

Khusras, a subculture in *hijra* community, is more traditional and their lineage meets with *hijras* of India. They attend events or visit across countries in their castes only. One's caste depends upon caste of *guru*. *Khusras*' caste system is more traditional and lineage meets with *hijras* of India (Singh, 2001). Culturally Pakistan and India have strong influence on each other, nevertheless being separated on religious grounds in 1947, create difference in perceiving any phenomenon in that context. For example, in Pakistan, majority of *hijars* who did not undergo castration do so because of religious inhibition (Riaz, 1996; see also Teh, 2001 for *Mukhanath* of Malaysia). Gopinath posited that nationalism and sexual identity/sexuality are deeply entangled with each other (as cited in Iyer, 2004) that necessitates in studying *hijras* and relevant issues in Pakistani context. As people are used to see *hijras*, therefore, they readily accept them as part of their society, yet do not want to mingle with them. The reason may be the psychological realities of each culture are generally taken for granted by its members, since they have been socialized into it since birth (Cass, 2005).

Psychological Context

In masculine identity genitals and their size play an important role (Drummond & Filiault, 2007). Mostly it is believed that *hijra* community includes those individuals who are **hermaphrodite** (who have biologically both male and female sexual organs) (Pande, 2004) or **intersexed** individuals (not having either male or female qualities) born with sexual deformity (Shrama, 2000; Totman, 2003). Therefore, it is difficult to assign sex/ gender to them. They are called ‘freaks of nature’ (Khan & Ayub, 2003). Such biological sexual abnormality can have genetic, hormonal, or physiological causes (for review see Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003; Diamond, 2006b; Fairburn, Dickerson, & Greenwood, 1983; MacLean, Warne, & Zajac, 1997).

According to Money (as cited in Beh & Diamond, 2006), the inability to attribute either sex to the child at the time of birth is declared social emergency that parents and the intersexed child cannot bear. Hence, early months of life (first 2 years) are critical in assigning the sex and development of sexual/gender identity and else it would have adverse psychological effect. Ambiguous genitals lead to uncertainty and later the child may feel shame and experience derogatory comments from others (see also Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003). The reliable prevalence rate of sex deformities cannot be established, because the birth of such a child is kept hidden and mostly corrective surgeries are carried out immediately (Totman, 2003). Possibility of hermaphroditism is extremely low, so one can safely say that most of the *hijras* are castrated males (Talwar, 1999).

Biological sexual abnormality since birth is different from **transgenderism** / **trassexualism** in which although individual’s biological sex characteristics are in line with announced sex, but the person shows dissatisfaction related to it (Meyer-Bahlburg, 1994). Criteria of **Gender Identity Disorder** (GID) in DSM IV-TR (APA, 2000) and ICD-10 is descriptive of discrepancy between one’s idea of gender identity and biological sex (World Professional Association of Transgender Health [WPATH], June 17, 2008). Those suffering from gender identity problem (APA, 1995) believe that they have wrong body that is not in congruence with one’s identity (Docter & Fleming, 2001).

The stronger the person's desire is to live in the desired gender role, the greater the determination to affect physical changes. This is in fact an effort to adapt to internal and external gender role expectations (Marone, Iacoella, Cecchini, Ravenna & Ruggieri, 1998) based on feedback from the social environment (Neumann & Welzel, 2004). Many take hormones in attaining the desired bodily aspects needed to pass as a member of cross-gender (Boellstroff, 2004; Marone et al., 1998; Wiessing, van Roosmalen, Koedijk, Bieleman, & Houweling, 1999) and practice voice change (Neumann & Welzel, 2004), while some plan a surgical sex change (Chaudhry, 1994; Eyre, Rebecca de Guzman, Donovan, & Boissiere, 2004; Marone et al., 1998; Pande, 2004) in an effort to more closely resemble women.

Transgender (TG) refers to the individuals who do not comply with either/or, female/male gender construction in society (Broad, 2002; Hughes & Eliason, 2002; Ormiston, 1996, p. 200); or one who "transgress gender" (Ekin & King, 1997; Hird, 2002b; Surkan, 2002, p. 169); or a person who blend gender categories (Diamond, 2006c) and shows gender fluidity (Diamond, 2002; Papoulias, 2006; Surkan, 2002). Ormiston (1996) used s/he, pronoun to refer to the TG. In 1970s, Virginia Prince coined term '*transgenderist*' in 1970 to refer to the individuals who cross-live full-time without having sex reassignment surgeries (SRS; Gilbert, 2009; Green et al., Sep 1994) or at least part time (Diamond, 2004a; Ekin & King, 1997; Lade, 2003/2004) and just perform gender (Hird, 2002b). Transgenderism refers to a social phenomenon of people who live as a sex different from the one assigned at the time of birth, may or may not have sex change operation (Hausman, 2001).

The male-to-female (MtF) TG is a person born male or ambiguously sexed, whose sense of "his" gender is that it is feminine, or at least not masculine, and whose gendered self-presentation is feminine, or at least not masculine. In this category include MtF cross-dressers, MtF operative, and non-operative TS (see Eyre et al., 2004). Winter et al. (2009) named it as a transwomen. Its counterpart is female-to-male (FtM) TG (see Diamond, 2002). Comparing to FtM TGs, MtF TGs are more evident (Boellstroff, 2004), less acceptable (Besnier, 1994), are object of laughter and oppression (Norton, 1997). TGs show many gender variations. These types vary with different cultural and geographical locations and

social privileges (Eyre et al., 2004). As mentioned earlier, *hijras* include men only who behave like women, therefore, quoting research evidences related to MtF TGs is a plausible explanation.

Dr. Harry Benjamin (endocrinologist) in 1954 (see Landen, 1999) coined term ‘*transsexual*’ (TS). The phenomenon of transsexualism refers to individuals who experience a diametrically opposed incongruence between the biological sex they were born with and the opposite sex they feel they belong to. TS often have estranged feeling about their body and resolve this discrepancy through SRS (Smith, 2002; Smith, van Goozen, Kuiper, Verschoor, & Cohen-Kettenis, 2002a). Diamond (2006a) believes that TS individuals are intersexed in brain. They consider them as neither man nor woman or both or “in-between” (Broad, 2002) that presents a clash between self and society (Hausman, 2001).

An individual can have cross-gendered feelings, GID, and corresponding behavioral manifestations since early childhood (Alexander, 2003; APA, 2000; Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003; Diamond, 2006a; Fairburn, Dickerson, & Greenwood, 1983; Smith, Cohen, & Cohen-Kettenis, 2002; Zucker & Green as cited in Smith, 2002) that gets fixed by 4 years of age. For some gender remain fluid (WPATH, June 17, 2008). Some researchers have proposed GID in children to be removed from DSM as it appears to be a symptom of homosexuality (Diamond, 2002).

Researches have shown that most children with GID do not grow up to become TS (Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003; Smith et al., 2002; Smith, 2002) neither all TS have the history of GID (Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003). They can be men who are interested in women, men, both sexes, and in neither sex taken to be non-homosexual individuals with gender dysphoria (Blanchard, 1985, 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1994). MtF TS can be categorised as heterosexual and homosexual basing on their biological sex (Blanchard, 1985, 2005; Cantor, 2011). As MtF TGs mature their falling in love with same sex individual is obvious (Chaudhry, 1994; Smith, 2002) viewing it as heterosexual relationship for strengthening his femininity that helps in boosting up their self-esteem (Eyre et al., 2004).

According to Green et al. (Sep 1994), 1-3% of people in the world are transgendered. Prevalence of TS is 1 in 30,000 for men and 1 in 110,000 for women in western countries (Meyer-Bahlburg, 1994); prevalence of adult transexualism is 3:1 in men to women. Prevalance of TS in population over 15 years of age per 100,000 people is 23.6 in Singapore, 8.18 in Scotland, 4.72 in Netherland, 2.25 in Germany, and 1.9 in England (see Antoszewski, Kasielska, Jdrzejczak, & Kruk- Jeromin, 2007). TS are not visible in subcontinent as such, or few may be present in some affluent class. Reason could that people in the subcontinent mostly perceive transsexualism negatively as an outcome of overly promiscuous western society. Contrary to this, they view *hijras* as normal part of their society (Talwar, 1999) not knowing that it might include TS (see Nanda, 1999) living as *hijra's* third gender role after joining *hijra* community.

Earlier **transvestism** was a much preferred term, later transsexualism became prevalent to distinguish transvestism from those who seek SRS (Ekins & King, 1997). TS show gender dysphoria since childhood (*primary* TS), while transvestites describe themselves for not having gender dysphoric feelings but sexual eroticism related to cross-dressing. There have been evidences in which transvestites later experience gender dysphoric feelings and ask for SRS (*secondary* TS) (see Dooren, Poortinga, & Verschoor, 1994). For transvestites, cross-dressing may serve dual purpose like orgasmic and gender expression. In old age sexual interest diminishes but the gender related feelings remain intact which are strong and stable, this leads to change of transvestism into transsexualism (Langevin as cited in et al., 1994). Sexual orientation has been found to be important for both groups. Sexual pleasure is an important factor for cross-dressing which lessens with the course of life (Leonard, 2005) for transvestite but not for MtF TS (Docter & Fleming, 2001).

Cross-gendered behaviour/ identity are also evident in some **homosexuals** (Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003). Gayness is often associated and estimated on female sexuality. Gayness is considered to be a transitional phase in the performance of being a 'complete' woman (Tolentino, 2000). In the given context, Sinha found in his research on *hijras* of North India that major reason for becoming *hijra* is to satisfy homosexual urges (as cited in Talwar,

1999). Being the member of such community provides them a cover for their sexual acts and they remain disguised in the society at large (Totman, 2003). According to Talwar (1999), one would never undergo castration to satisfy homosexual urge, it is only done when an individual has gender identity problem. Some homosexuals did reported that they wear female clothes to perform in theatre to earn money and have joined *hijra* community for this purpose (Biswas as cited in Talwar, 1999). Not all *hijras* are homosexuals and not all homosexuals are *hijras* (Jami, 2005).

Puberty is a critical stage in gender development (Beh & Diamond, 2006; Diamond, 2004c, 2006b; Diamond & Sigmundson, 1997). Many researchers have empirically studied the various aspects in process of developing transgendered identity and have also discussed identity crisis in due course of development and have also identified role of social support (see e.g., Blanchard, 1985, 1988; Dooren et al., 1994; Smith, 2002; Smith, van Goozen, Kuiper, & Cohen-Kettenis, 2002; Smith et al., 2002a, 2002b). Cross-dressing continues since childhood and often remains closeted in families who do not allow disclosure. Reportedly, women clothes and accessories are often found hidden in their rooms showing their desire to be opposite sex (Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003). Some may try to adjust as per social norms because they fear the consequences and prefer to conceal their gender problems (Smith, 2002), which is a threat to psychological well-being and reduces the chances of seeking social support (Herek, 2009).

According to Diamond (2004a, 2006c), it is nature and nurture that effect the psychosexual development. A person may be predisposed biologically (biased-predisposition theory) to develop certain behaviours (see e.g. in case of transgendered behaviour Beh & Diamond, 2006; Blanchard, 1997, 2001; Blanchard & Bogaert, 1996; Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003; Diamond, 2000, 2004a, 2006a, 2006b; Hofman & Swaab, 1989; Morris, Gbrogge, Jordan, & Breedlove, 2004; Reiner, 1996; Smith, 2002; Swaab, Chung, Kruijver, Hofman, & Ishunina, 2001; Swaab & Fliers, 1985; Swaab & Hofman, 1988). Family, especially parents, also exert shaping influence on the development of transgendered behaviour (see e.g., Bailey & Zucker, 1995; Chaudhry, 1994; Diamond, 1995, 1997, 2004b,

2004c; Eskin et al., 2005; Grant, 2004; Hird, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2003; Lade, 2003/2006; Lippa, 2002; Lottes & Kuriloff, 1998; Rees, 1996; Small, 1998; Smith, 2002; Totman, 2004).

Among many factors, children are often punished for showing cross-gendered behaviour (Diamond, 2006b; Lade, 2003/2006) that leads to rebellion. In TGs and homosexuals, worst relationship exists with father (see e.g., Dane, 2005; Freund & Blanchard, 1998; Herold & Way, 1998; Venn-Brown, 2007) that is because of intolerance of cross-gendered behaviour and effeminacy (Eskin et al., 2005). Effeminate boys are considered to be deviants (Grant, 2004). Children are often pressurized to conform to the gender stereotypes (Maccoby, 2000; Lade, 2003/2006). Boys felt more pressured to conform to the gender specific roles than girls in a study conducted in Pakistan on role of gender identity development on psychosocial adjustment of school going children (Abbas, 2002).

Opposite sex peers (see Beollstroff, 2004; Roen, 2001), attractive/feminine physical outlook, and voice in boys play an important role in identity issues of TGs (see for review Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003; Ekins & King, 1996a; Jones, Little, Burt, & Perrett, 2004; Neumann & Welzel, 2004; Pande, 2004; Smith, 2002; Van Borsel et al., 2001). It's just as attractive women are judged to be more feminine than unattractive women (Lippa, 1997; Lippa, Valdez, & Jolly, 1983). Physical (facial) characteristics reinforce cross-gender role (Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003; Smith, 2002) that leads to identity crisis and becomes unacceptable for significant others. Outlook also plays a very important role in case of *hijras* (Pande, 2004; PUCL-K, 2003) that help them to attract men (Drummond, 2005; Eyre et al., 2004; Steen, 1998).

This leads to early sexual activities because of environmental influences (see e.g., Lam, Shi, Ho, Stewart, & Fan, 2002; Small, Silverberg, & Kerns, 1993), as men have more sexual desire than women (Spector, Carey, & Steinberg, 1998). Cohen-Kettenis and Pfafflin (2003) found that boys as young as 5 can have sexual interest in other boys or show before school age. Sometimes sexual experience is unwanted in children who later developed homosexual tendencies (Caballo-Diequez & Dolezal, 1995; Eskin et al., 2005; Finlinson et al., 2003; Hughes & Eliason, 2002; Kalichman et al., 2001; Stanley, Bartholomew, & Oram,

2004). Some of these children, later in adulthood, felt that their experiences were childhood sexual abuse and some did not (Dolezal & Carballo-Diequez, 2002; Stanely et al, 2004). These early sexual experiences lead to interpersonal and sexual problems, depression, and low self-esteem (Hazzard, 1998), hence generate identity crisis.

Role models are very important to influence development (biased-interaction theory) and child explores similarities and differences with other (same-different theory). Child develops gender dysphoria when feels that he does not fit in boy category (Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003; Ekins & King, 2006; Hughes & Eliason, 2002). This distress leads to the desire to have the body of opposite sex and to be regarded by others as member of the opposite sex (Blanchard, 1994; Diamond, 2006a, 2006b). Till puberty, he does not have idea of sexual orientation as such which crystallises gradually (see overview on variation in development of TGs by Ekins & King, 2006). More permissive the culture, it's less likely that child exhibits gender restrictive behaviours and vice versa.

Society's reaction and consequences for gender performance in theater/drama is different than for gender deviance in actual life (Surkan, 2002). Colonialism promoted gender-phobic attitudes and which is not otherwise witnessed in nonwestern cultures (Besnier, 1994). With changing time gender liminal persons seek SRS to fulfil the medicalised concept of gender to become visible (Roen, 2001). Many feminists criticise TS for exercising stereotypically extreme feminine clothing and gestures, unlike normal gender development, that strengthens patriarchy and women's oppression (Hird, 2002a, 2002b). They do so or else they are not accepted in the society based on medical model, especially if no other alternatives are available (Miller, 2005) and *hijra* seems to be an alternative for such individual and they try to find recognition in communities like *hijra* community. Some *hijras* may opt for castration or SRS considering oneself a woman, but live under the label of *hijra* which is more confidently living as third gender role. Access to SRS in *hijras* is associated with affluent socioeconomic class, while those from low socioeconomic class go to unqualified practitioners for castration (PUCL-K, 2003, pp. 52-53).

In a memorandum submitted to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by Mr. Khairati Lal Bhola, Head of all India *Hijra* Kalyan Sabha, 98% of the eunuchs are castrated and very few are true hermaphrodite (as cited in Sharma, 2000; PUCL-K, Sep 2004). Most *hijras* are biologically born as male (PUCL-K, Sep, 2004). *Hijras* claim that they have female soul enclosed in their bodies since their very birth. They are victims of gender identity problem and their claim of having female soul (for *Warias* see Boellstroff, 2004) from the time of birth misleads the people in believing them as real *hijras* (Hermaphrodite/ Intersexed) (Jami, 2005). In her study, Riaz (1996) found that out of 50 participants 68% joined community for their feminine interests and 32% claimed to have female spirit enclosed in their bodies. Not all *hijras* have undergone castration although there is a lot of social pressure from community (O'Flaherty as cited in Talwar, 1999). Haider and Bano (2006) while analyzing the identity states of MtF gender dysphorics --- *hijras* --- in Pakistan posited that the degree of personal identity among *hijras* run along degree of masculinity and femininity. In historical time, motives for becoming *hijra* were power, wealth, prestige etc. but in modern times it is sexuality (finding men more sexually desirable) and gender identity problem (Talwar, 1999).

Hird (2003) suggests that intersexed condition, transsexualism, and homosexuality should not be considered pathology as it limits the discussion on gender identity. Conversely, feminist psychology and sociology emphasize the social construction of gender through social construction of sex (Hird, 2002d). Subsequently, present research is based on psychosocial approach rather than clinical to study role of attitudes and reciprocal perception in social construction of *hijras*' gender role. Considering transgendered voice equally important (see Miller, 2005), both general people and *hijras* will be taken as participants of present study.

Social Organization of *Hijra* Community

Hijras' existence is based on myths and false portrayal of identity. *Hijras* do not disclose their actual identity. At one point, portraying the identity of hermaphrodite/intersexual to the society (Sharma, 2000) and claiming that they are neither men nor women i.e., third gender (Nanda, 1999). On the other point, being men they portray womanhood by assuming woman's role (Bettrech, 2007) and identify themselves with women

(Pande, 2004). Much stratification and gender variance exist in *hijra* community. According to Ekin (1996), male femaling takes place in three modes--- sex, sexuality, and gender. Hird's (2003) writings also emphasized that it should be considered as socio-historical construct. Sex includes all the physical characteristics from genitals to secondary sex characteristics at the time of puberty. Sexuality refers to sexual arousal or orientation and gender involves socio-cultural correlates of sex involving gender stereotypes that needs not to be associated with erotic femaling. Diversity within *hijra* community is evident from definitions of *hijra*, which shows that *hijra* community is the amalgamation of many identities/subclasses (see Figure 1).

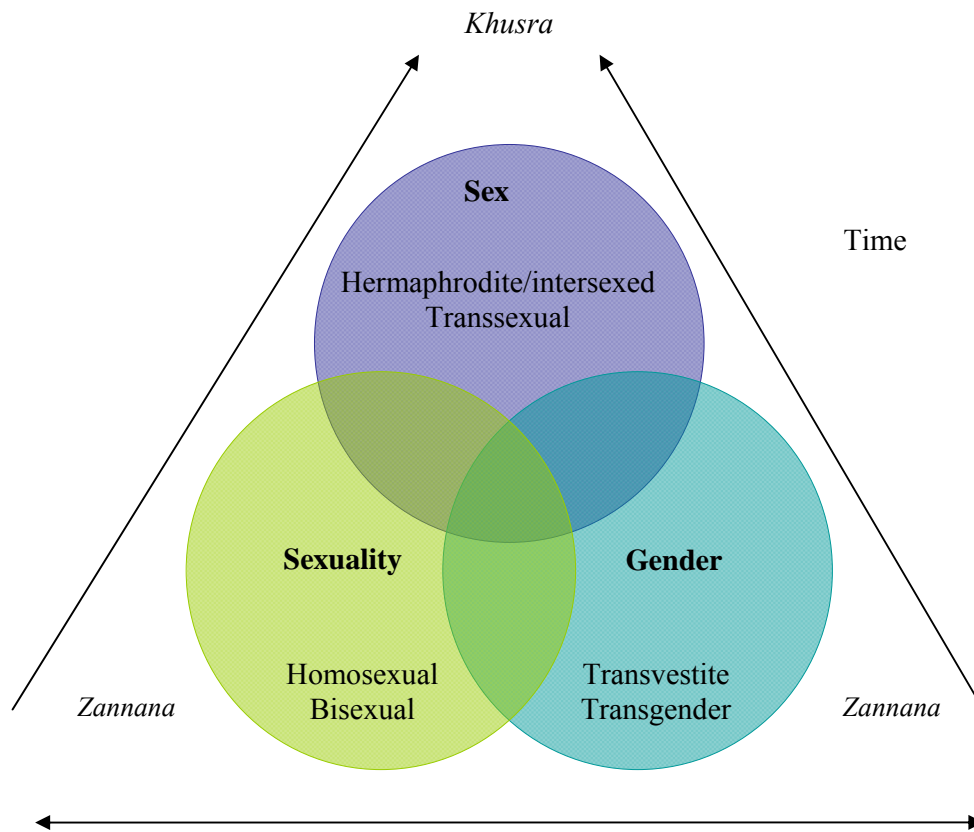


Figure 1. Categories that come under the term *Hijra*

Divisions given in Figure 1 are arbitrary based on literature review (see e.g., Khan & Ayub, 2003) that highlights significance of each of three components --- sex, sexuality, and

gender --- in defining one's gender identity as member of specific subculture (*Khusra* and *Zannana*) within *hijra* community. These components are linked together and influence each other as evident in Psychological Context.

Hijras live in the form of closely knitted community. People consider them as freaks for hiding their sexual identity from the rest of the society (Talwar, 1999). *Hijra* community is based on two main subcultures namely *khusras* and *zannanas* (see Jami, 2005; Khan & Ayub, 2003; Pamment, 2010). Female gender expression is hall mark of *hijras* regardless of their type. For *khusras*, biological sex holds significance, while for some *zannanas* overt gender expression and for some sexuality takes on central position (see Figure 1). *Khusras* in Pakistan are mostly castrated men who are taken equivalent to original *hijra* (hermaphrodite/intersexed individual) called *narban* [Persian word meaning 'sacrificing man'] after attaining asexuality through castration in their community's language (Khan & Ayub, 2003; PUCL-K, Sep 2003; Riaz, 1996), in psychological term called TS. *Khusras* liked to be called with traditional name of *Khawajasara* (Jami, 2005).

Transvestites and homosexuals who cross-dress called *zannanas* (Khan & Ayub, 2003, Riaz, 1996) are also accommodated in the *hijra* community (Khan et al., 2008; Rajabali et al., 2008; Talwar, 1999). In Pakistan, *zannanas* preferably do not under go castration for later getting married and leading normal life (Jami, 2005). Unlike *khusras*, *zannanas* have both male and female roles and often do not have long hairs but wear wigs. In a lay-man's perception, the distinction between *khusras* and *zannanas* does not exist (Haider & Bano, 2006; Riaz, 1996). The interaction exists between members of these two subcultures on personal level (PUCL-K, Sep 2003), otherwise, they prefer distance from each other and have their distinct roles and activities (Jami, 2005; Riaz, 1996).

History reveals presence of born *hijras* (hermaphrodite/intersexed) in the South Asia, that is why *hijras* claim being third gender (Sharma, 2000) and world-over such communities portray identity of hermaphrodite/intersexed (see Winter, 2002) claiming to be *asli* [original] (Teh, 2001), while such *hijras* are very rare in *hijra* community (Nanda, 1999; Riaz, 1996).

Khusras who are TS claim that woman's soul is trapped in their male body or assert being neither man nor woman (Riaz, 1996; Hird, 2002a, 2002b), hence, believe in changing body than mind (Diamond, 2002). With castration of genitals, male secondary sex characteristics diminish with time. Being *hijra* (after leaving their original families), they keep shifting places to reduce interaction with their family and to get acceptance in *hijra* community (Jami, 2005; Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Singh, 2001) till they find a place for their permanent settlement (also see Sharma, 2000) where local people do not know about his real identity and whereabouts. As a result, people of the area start believing such a *khusra* --- a genuine *hijra* born with sexual deformity (Jami, 2005) labelled as asexuals (Sharma, 2000).

Khusras (*hijras* in Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000) keenly follow their community's rules and have more strict principles of the profession. Their earning is mostly based on taking *wadhai* (to bless families as role assigned by society) or dancing and singing at the birth of the male child and wedding ceremonies of the sons (Khan & Ayub, 2003; Nanda, 1999; Pande, 2004). According to Khan and Ayub (2003), due to Government's Family Planning Programme their services at the birth of the male child are declining and many are turning towards prostitution. Performing in functions, theatre, or sex business (see Pande, 2004; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999) is much common in *zannanas* (see *Kothis* in PUCL-K, Sep 2003). Homosexuality is performed by *zannanas* in backdrop of *hijra* community because of lack of social acceptance (see Rajabali et al., 2008). *Zannanas* who cross-dress, occupy lower level in the socioeconomic ladder and are looked down upon by other *hijras* (Khan & Ayub, 2003). Very few of *zannanas* go for the castration (see Talwar, 1999) and many avoid for religious condemnation (Teh, 2001) or believe that once get castrated then there is no return back to the conventional society. They fear remaining in the *hijra* community for the rest of their lives (Jami, 2005).

Hijra community believes that the *Khusra* class ultimately maintains the *hijras'* empire, while *zannanas* might leave the community when being in *hijra* community is no more a gratifying experience (Jami, 2005). *Khusras* criticise *zannanas* for their sexual practices, but these are equally prevalent in *khusras* as well (Riaz, 1996; Singh, 2001). *Hijras*

are easily accessible for men and have 300% more cheaper rates than female prostitutes (see also PUCL-K, Sep 2003). Riaz in her research on *khusras* of Pakistan found 70% out of 20 participants stable long term sexual relationships with men. Most of their clients (60%) are *mirasis* [musicians in *hijra* community] while rest are from outgroup. Those *khusras* who get older and do not possess assets act as either support group for the young *hijras* or they live a life of misery (Singh, 2001).

Performing *Hajj* [pilgrimage] is desire of every Muslim. For women, the religious compulsion is that any *mahram* [male relative to whom she is prohibited to marry as per religion] should accompany them for performing *Hajj*. Therefore, *hijras* prefer the male sex to be written in their documents than female for the ease of performing *Hajj* ((Jami, 2005; for *Warias* of Indonesia see Boellstroff, 2004). Those who have performed *Hajj* are addressed with respect and admiration as *Hajji* [one who has performed *Hajj*] not only in their community but also in general public (Jami, 2005; see also Riaz, 1996). This shows that their identity is mixture of male and female identities, which are situational based that maintains element of doubt and ambivalence about their gender.

In their households, *hijras* live in *guru-chela* (mentor-disciple) relationship like nuclear family system. *Guru* is responsible for the welfare of *chela*. *Guru* maintains harmony in household and acts as an important socializing agent for new recruit's learning to become active member of *hijra* community, while *chela* promise loyalty and obedience to *guru* (Nanda, 1999; Pande, 2004; Riaz, 1996; Sharma, 2000). *Chelas* deposit all days earnings to *guru* who defines percentage of sharing that may vary from house to house. *Guru* keeps inducting new *hijras* to secure their future socially and economically which is mostly voluntary at *chelas* end (Khan & Ayub, 2003; Riaz, 1996; Sharma, 2000; Singh, 2001).

Unlike *hijras* of India (see Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Singh, 2001), relationships in *hijras* of Pakistan (Riaz, 1996) are both masculine and feminine. Economic relation of *guru* – *chela* is masculine. *Guru* is called 'father' not mother and *guru's guru* is grandfather not maternal mother. *Chela* is 'son' not daughter. However, the feminine relations i.e., mother, daughter, aunt, etc. are more of emotional ties with any other *hijra* who may not be member

of same household. To be without *guru* is considered to be fatherless and dishonour for that *hijra*. *Chelas* can change their household so is their *guru*. The reason for the change of *guru* can be dissatisfaction with payments, unfriendly attitude, or undue favours extended to any other *chela* (see Riaz, 1996). They keep shifting from place to place and new *guru* has to pay some amount to the previous one to induct new *chela* in his lineage (in case of *Hijras* of India see also Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Singh, 2001).

Trading of *hijras* exist in *hijra* community. Castrated and attractive *chelas* are sold in better amount (see also Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000). Some *chelas* have the names of their *gurus* as father to facilitate inheritance (Sharma, 2000). Any *hijra* who does not abide by the rules of the household undergoes punishment (Nanda, 1999; Riaz, 1996; Sharma, 2000) and who do not conform to the elders are ultimately left alone and are rejected by rest of the community (Singh, 2001). Such *hijras* lead an elderly life in misery, as there is no come back in the society and they could not adjust anywhere. Respect and regard for *guru* has a survival and economic value, which is important motive for both *guru* and *chela* (Riaz, 1996). Financial condition of *hijra* determines his status in the community. In *khusra* subculture, once get castrated, the *chela* become legal heir of *guru* and attain the property and the territory of *guru* after his demise. Like society, they also differ on the basis of sex, caste, income, etc. (Sharma, 2000).

For the fear of loss of *chela* and financial sharing, *guru* discourages *chelas* meetings with other *hijras* and blood relations. *Hijras* from different *deras* [households] visit each other at the time of mis-happenings like death and moments of happiness like birthday parties, declaration of new *chela* or new heir in household, etc. On these occasions *hijras* of Pakistan and India also visit each other (Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Singh, 2001). On funeral, no relation of the deceased is allowed to participate that may be because of property inheritance. That is why people highlight the fact that they have not seen funeral of *hijra* (Sharma, 2000), may be because they are buried as per biological sex of the *hijra* with masculine identity not as a *hijra*.

Myths Related to *Hijras*

Myths are “widely held beliefs which are usually not true” (Collins Cobuild, 2003, p. 945). These are stereotypes about any phenomenon or social object defined as person’s “knowledge, beliefs, and expectancies about some social groups” (Hamilton & Trolier as cited in Hamilton, Sherman, Crump, & Spencer-Rodgers, 2009, p. 179). Ashmore and Boca (1981) gave a neutral definition, “a stereotype is a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a social group” (as cited in Jussim, Cain, Crawford, Harber, & Cohen, 2009, p. 201) that may or may not be accurate, positive, based on essentialism, exaggerated, causing prejudices, biases, and self-fulfilling prophecies. These can be cultural stereotypes based on beliefs about a group consensually held in a given culture, or personal stereotypes --- an individual’s personal view of a group no matter it is consensually held by other members of his group or not (Jussim et al., 2009).

Myths about *hijras* are cultural stereotypes that are widely believed since centuries and effect mutual interaction (Khan & Ayub, 2003; Pande, 2004; Malloy, 1996; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 2002). A few myths about them are (Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000): They are powerful because of asexuality. If someone hurts *hijra* and gets a curse, he is likely to have a *hijra* child. Blessings of *hijras* have pronounced effect. If a *hijra* comes to home he should be pleased, otherwise, his curse may ruin the family. These beliefs about *hijras* being neither man nor woman are found in Hindu mythology, even having masculine and feminine characteristics (androgyny) is considered evidence of spirituality in this mythology and that leads to much tolerance for *hijras* in South Asia (see Nanda, 1999; Pande, 2004; PUCL-K, Sep 2003). *Hijras* are considered to be *ottar nakhattar* [childless] (Shah as cited in Riaz, 1996), hence blessed with power to bless newborn and others (Mahalingam, 2003). In some of the mythologies, being *hijra* was taken as a curse for a man turning woman (Pande, 2004). *Hijras* have shared system of beliefs and rules since centuries that might be the reason for maintenance of myths in the subcontinent through cultural transmission process.

In South Asia, those who are abnormal are considered socially powerful. *Khusras* are considered to be socially powerful for their asexuality (Shah as cited in Riaz, 1996). People

do fear this dogma (also see Singh, 2001; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999; Winter, 2002) and often get exploited by *hijras* in hoarding money and other favours. Refusal to give *wadhai* leads to verbal abuse, curses, and on rare occasions taking off their garments to show genitals (Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000), although *hijras* in Riaz's (1996) study in Pakistan never admitted performing this act in actual. *Hijras* in Pakistan (Jami, 2005; see also Teh, 2001 for *Mukhanath* of Malaysia) propagate their identification with the group of *Mukhanath* in *Haram Sharif* at Makkah and Majid-e-Nabwi (Mosque of Prophet Muhammad [SAW]) at Madina (Kingdom of Saudi Arabia), who were appointed as care takers at these Holy places centuries ago. Therefore, portray themselves as pious and holy (Pande, 2004; Sharma, 2000; Teh, 2001). Another belief is that 'the shirt of Muhammad (SAW)' kept in Cairo was guarded by eunuch (Khan & Ayub, 2003, p.155). Such myths may be propagated because historically eunuchs had been in the role of taking care of temples, servants in Mosque of Jerusalem, Madina, and Kaba (see Roscoe, 1997).

There is a myth that "*hijra* community claims the custody of a child born with sexual deformity" (Nanda, 1999; Riaz, 1996; Sharma, 2000). Nanda (1999) and Riaz (1996) did not find any evidence of support to such an impression in their research as recruitment is mostly voluntary that too in adolescence. Riaz found that it is a misconception that *hijras* are individuals with intermediate sex (hermaphrodite or intersexed). Nevertheless, Sharma (2000) and Singh (2001) reported such cases which were victim of such forcible taking away from parents at the time of childhood. Talwar (1999) believes that such stories circulate because of "normal" people's hostile prejudice towards *hijras*, otherwise its not possible in present days.

Another misconception is that majority of *khusras* (born with sexual deformities) are born to prostitutes (Riaz, 1996). Another myth is that "parents themselves hand over such a child to *hijra* community" (see Khemka as cited in Pande, 2004; Sharma, 2000). Talwar (1999) legally reviewed the standing of such act and pronounced that this is not possible in present days for growing awareness about the corrective surgeries as a possibility. Another common belief is that "at the birth of a child the *hijras* come (to home) to see the sex of the child" (Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999). Another allegation is that they forcibly castrate the

children by kidnapping them which does not hold any truth as per research evidences. This may be because of the reason that in the society there is tendency to kidnap children and maimed by adults to be used for begging. So people also imagine the same for the *hijras* (Talwar, 1999). People who do not fit in women and men role have appeared in history, legends, and narratives from almost every culture. They offer mythological explanation to this phenomenon. These myths are functional for a society, otherwise these would not have existed (Pande, 2004).

Hijras' Status in Pakistan

To a common man in Pakistan, distinction between *khusras* and *zannanas* generally does not exist (Jami, 2005; Riaz, 1996). People in Pakistan do not have adequate information about the causes of becoming *hijra* and generally accept *hijras* as part of their society. Even the educated people use the term *khusra (hijra)* as umbrella term referring to diversity in gender expression among *hijras*. *Hijras* are considered sexually deformed and physically ambivalent having both male and female qualities (Haider & Bano, 2006).

Legal status of *hijras* has recently been recognised when Supreme Court of Pakistan gave a historic decision on the petition where a group of *hijras* were tortured and raped by police. Supreme Court of Pakistan ordered police to exercise fair behaviour with *hijras* (Abid, 15 July 2009). Further, ordered National Database Registration Authority (NADRA; see National Data Base Registration Authority, Dec 16, 2010) to register *hijras* and generate possibility of third gender category in National ID cards. Therefore, third gender category --- *Mukhanath* [literal meaning triangle; see Teh, 2001] --- was generated in ID cards. In addition to that *hijras* were given employment in NADRA that was implemented in January 2011 (see NADRA, Dec 16, 2010) and they were also appointed as loan recovery officers from bank loan defaulters (Economic Times, Dec 23, 2009). Pakistani electronic and print media also mainstreamed their issues that might lead towards their acceptance in changing scenario (see Qahar, 2008). Almas Bobby (Head of Shemales Association in Pakistan) has established the first organization to fight for *hijras'* rights that may be a ray of hope to establish them on

political grounds (Jajja, Dec 15, 2011). Gradually, *hijras* of Pakistan are also gaining recognition like *hijras* in India (see Talwar, 1999).

Nevertheless, in Pakistani law, no legal provision is present for TG for changing sex or related rights and obligations (Jami, 2005), in fact it is illegal in Pakistan Penal Code (see The Major Acts, 1987; Talwar, 1999 for India). Many laws of Pakistan Penal Code (The Major Acts, 1987) may add to discrimination and violence towards them (see for overview in Jami, 2005). British colonies have decriminalized sodomy laws, but India, Pakistan, Malaysia, and Singapore are a few Asian countries that still criminalize sodomy (Talwar, 1999) which is readily practiced in *hijra* community.

The celebration thrown by US Embassy in Pakistan in the favour of LGBTs on 26th July 2011 to solemnize US agenda of strengthening human rights regardless of gender and sexual orientation internationally including Pakistan (see Embassy of the United States, Islamabad., Pakistan, June 26, 2011) was taken very negatively among religious groups, media, and masses overall. Contrary to this, the reaction on registering *hijras* as third gender by NADRA did not provoke much negative reaction, rather people were more sympathetic for *hijras*' right of identity and appreciated their mainstreaming by giving them employment in a more respectful way. This shows that in Pakistan sexuality based deviance is more point of concern than gender based. Empirical evidences (Khan & Ayub, 2003; Khan et al., 2008; Rajabali et al., 2008; Riaz, 1996; Talwar, 1999) reveal that *hijras* indulge in homosexual acts and are involved in sex business, but their portrayal of being hermaphrodite/intersexed overshadow these sexual errands.

Sexuality and gender are the core values in Islamic Republic of Pakistan. As per the Constitution of Pakistan Article 227-231 no law can be formulated which is in contradiction of teachings in *AlQuran* and *Sunnah* [way of life Prophet Muhammad (SAW)]. Under Islamic Jurisprudence and the Constitution sex/gender is dichotomous (Bouhdiba, 1975/1998; The Major Acts, 1987). A child who is born with the sexual deformity called *Khunsa* [hermaphrodite/intersexed] is required to be reared according to the rules and principles as applicable to men and women in general (Badae Sanae, 1995, pp. 751-752; Bouhdiba,

1975/1998). In case of marked sexual deformity called *Khunsa-e-Mushkil* [intersexed person with marked sexual organs' deformity], it is recommended to assign female sex to the child to maintain the respect, as respect of woman is highly aspired in Islam (Bouhdiba, 1975/1998; Badae Sanae, 1995, pp. 751-752). Once assigned either sex, the person is accorded equal rights and social status like other men and women in Islam (Badae Sanae, 1995), except for marriage; such an individual is bound to mention his physical condition before marrying, otherwise liable to punishment under Islamic law (apkar pk, 1997).

No legal coverage is available in Pakistani law for hermaphrodite/intersexed, may be because it depends upon the sex attributed to the person at the time of birth. Rules are clearly set regarding dressing and roles of men and women in Islam. Cross-dressing (Bouhdiba, 1975/1998; Sahi Bukhari, 1986, pp. 513-514, Sunnan-e-Ibne Maja, 1983, p. 533), beardlessness (Bouhdiba, 1975/1998), effeminacy (Bouhdiba, 1975/1998; Mauta Imam Malik, 1979, p.557; Sahi Bukhari, 1986, pp. 119, 513-514; Sunnan-e-Ibne Maja, 1983, p. 533), castration for abstaining from marrying (apkar pk, 1996, p. 111; Bouhdiba, 1975/1998; Sahi Bukhari, 1986, p. 8-9), sodomy (*AlQuran* 29:28-35; Bouhdiba, 1975/1998), and homosexuality (see *AlQuran* 7:80-83; 15:51-77; 26:160-175; 29:28-35; apkar pk, 1997, p. 75; Bouhdiba, 1975/1998; Sahi Bukhari, 1986, pp. 121-122; see also Yip, 2007) are strongly discouraged.

Literature suggests strength in religious practice as important indicator for influencing attitude towards sexual minorities and related issues (Yip, 2007). In Muslim countries, like Malaysia (Teh, 2001) and Pakistan (Jami, 2005) etc., people refer to the *Hadith* [sayings of Prophet Muhammad, SAW] that who dresses up resembling opposite sex are cursed down upon by Allah; therefore *hijra* community is considered cursed one (Sahi Bukhari, 1986, p. 325).

In the light of argument aforementioned, this decision to legally recognize third gender of *hijras* is in contradiction of Islamic teachings. This recognition reflect social change (Cohen-Kettenis & van Goozen, 1997; Mabey, 2007; Yip, 2007), acculturation (Crooks & Baur, 2005), and cultural impact. Hinduism and Budhism give much acceptability to such

gender deviances (de Visser, Smith, Richters, & Rissel, 2007; Khan & Ayub, 2003; Nanda, 1999; Pande, 2004; Ruth, 1996; Sharma, 2000; Totman, 2003; Winter, 2002). Culturally being part of subcontinent and living together with Hindus before partition in 1947, have created strong impact on each other's culture. That may be the reason for *hijras* living as recognized sexual minority in Pakistan since centuries and now holding a legal status.

Much is known and written about *hijras* in India (e.g., Khan & Ayub, 2003; Nanda, 1999, 2008; Pande, 2004; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999; Winter, 2002), whereas very little research evidences are available about *hijras* in Pakistan (Haider & Bano, 2006). Available evidences pertain to prevalence of HIV/STDs where *hijras* are found to be high risk group being sodomites (Baqi et al., 1999; Bokhari et al. 2007; Hyder & Khan, 1998; Iqbal, 2001; Khan & Khilji, 2002; Khan et al., 2008; National AIDS Control Programme, Ministry of Health, 2008; Pakistan National AIDS Control Programme, 2002; Rajabali et al., 2008; Rehan, 2006; Shafi, & Ali, 2006). A few unpublished work is also available (Khattak, 2004; Malik, 2008; Parvez, 2004; Riaz, 1996; Tasmeeera, 2002) but none of these are focusing at measuring attitudes towards *hijras*. As there is dearth of literature on *hijras* of Pakistan (Rajabali et al., 2008), therefore, there is dependency on western and other Asian research literature to get the understanding of phenomenon and to establish the argument.

No prevalence record of *hijras* in Pakistan is available. Coway (2002) tried to trace the prevalence of *hijras* in India and gave rough estimates of the number of *Hijra* in India that ranged around 1,000,000 in a country of over a billion of people. The ratio is roughly 1:375 out of 375 million males over age 13 in India. The making of *hijras* through castration—voluntary or forcible--- is still going on. There were 1.1 million *hijras* in 1993 whereas 1.2 million in 1994. United Nation International reported that around 40,000 boys are made *hijras* every year in India (Hindustan Times as cited in Khan & Ayub, 2003).

Transgendered Communities World-over

According to Besnier (1994), gender liminality cannot be addressed without considering it in historical context and then relating it to modernization and change.

Therefore, it is better to address these with their traditional or indigenous names (Totman, 2003), though these may be derogatory in connotation (Besnier, 1994). In other cultures too gender variant communities exist which share many commonalities with *hijras* e.g., *Kathoey* of Thailand (Totman, 2003), *Waria* of Indonesia (Boellstroff, 2004), *Maknyah* of Malaysia (Teh, 2001), *Berdache* of North America (Kessler & Mckenna, 1978; Mahalingam, 2003; Wieringa, 1994), *Fa'afafine* of New Zealand (Roen, 2001), *Nyuuhaafu* of Japan (McLelland, 2002), *Tvesti* or *Pasivo* of Belgium (Nanda, 2008), *Mahu* of Polynesia (Besnier, 1994), *Mahu* of Hawaii, *Xanith* of Oman (Kessler & Mckenna, 1978), *Geisha* of Japan, *Asog* of Philipines (Totman, 2003; Winter, 2002), *Waria* of Indonesia (Boellstorff, 2004), etc. By using qualitative approaches these researchers tried to describe the social organization of these communities, people's attitudes and beliefs about them, their occupational pursuits, discrimination and harassment faced by them, etc. According to Totman (2003), of all communities present in the world, *hijras*' is the most successful community in Asia.

Based on research, many commonalities and differences among these communities and *hijras* can be traced. Members of these transgendered communities exist as separate identities (third gender or mixture of both genders), not exacting the binary division of gender (Papoulias, 2006), declaring them as true hermaphrodite/intersexed while this category is very rare (Boellstroff, 2004; Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Mahalingam, 2003; McLelland, 2002; Riaz 1996; Totman, 2003; Wieringa, 1994). Like Pakistanis, Indonesians are aware of *Bentji/Waria* as cultural categories portrayed as hermaphrodites who dress like women, but even educated Indonesians do not know much about gays and lesbians (see Boellstroff, 2004).

Unlike *hijras*, *kathoeys* by definition can be both female and male TGs (see Totman, 2003). Although, these communities are marginalized, nevertheless, they are accepted and recognized in their dancing and singing role or as active member of sex, tourist, and fashion industry. Their major role is of entertainment. Comparing to *waria* of Indonesia and *kathoey* of Thailand, *hijras* have limited occupational role. Like *hijras*, most of them are sharp, loud, and vulgar in their gestures and display exaggerated femininity. To an exaggerated degree they opt for castration to attain feminine characteristics and have desire to give birth to child

like women (see Boellstorff, 2004). *Maknyah* in Malaysia avoid castration because of Islamic teachings that do not sanction such acts (Teh, 2001).

All of them enjoy sexual activities with men but still don't consider themselves as homosexual. Like *khusras* and *zannanas* of *hijra* community, distinctions are present in *kathoys* of Thailand as well and *kathoys* hold disdain for homosexuals (Totman, 2003). Boellstorff (2004) observed that although *warias* have existed since years, but gradually gays from 1960s to 1980s have attained this role. *Berdache* have also recovered from their lowered status after many moments were run for gaining right by gays and lesbians (Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Mahalingam, 2003; Wieringa, 1994). Roen (2001) found that older *fa'afafine* (Samoan males who behave like females and live as third gender) of New Zealand are concerned about young *fa'afafine* for getting attracted to glamour and lifestyle of big cities and are gradually attaining the role of western concepts of TG or transvestites and leaving the traditions of *fa'afafine* community.

Nyuuhaafu (Newhalf) of Japan, in sexual relationship, stress being intersexed while in actual they are male homosexual who go for sex change (Altbooks as cited in McLelland, 2002). They do not consider them as male homosexual. Japanese culture has always been queer in entertainment sector. Much religious and moral openness exist in Japan, therefore, sexual restrictions are few. Sex change operations were legalised in 1998 that resulted booming discussion on transsexuality and transgenderism in media. *Newhalf* net is found to be extensive and very well organized and give a sense of community as offering a safe place to like minded people. Internet helped already existing *newhalf* communities to flourish (McLelland, 2002).

Members of all such communities live in a relation of mentor-disciple (*guru-chela* in *hijras*). Boellstorff (2004) for *warias* and McLelland (2002) for *nyuuhaafu* have found that these are more of profession or occupational categories than inborn tendencies, which are learnt through apprenticeship (see also Ekin & King, 1996). Transgendering seems to be demand of their profession and inner feeling of identity (Komatsu as cited in McLelland, 2002). They give mythological justifications for their existence and acceptance as third

gender role in such communities (see Boellstorff, 2004; Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Mahalingam, 2003; Totman, 2003; Wieringa, 1994). Unlike Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism accept sexual variability (Yip, 2007) and the existence of *hijras* and *kathoeys* are related to the condition of *karma* [blessing] (Winter, 2002). They are allowed to take part in semi-religious ceremonies. Nevertheless, socially, they are often segregated and excluded from many occupations and community practices (PUCL-K, September, 2003).

They all face discrimination and criticism from all walks of life. For example, earlier name *Wadam* of *Waria* was criticised by Muslim religious group for including the name of Prophet Adam (peace be upon him), hence name was changed to *Waria* (see Boellstorff, 2004). *Waria* is a combination of the terms *wanita* [woman] and *pria* [man], roughly translated as "male transvestite". They have male femininity that is why they are not offered separate toilet but to use men's (Boellstorff, 2004). Similarly, *hijras* preferred term *khawajasara* for their recognition in Pakistan, still NADRA (Dec 16, 2010) recommended the term *Muhkannath* to be written in ID cards declaring the previous label derogatory in nature.

Communities aforementioned were eradicated in colonialism for challenging the medicalised concept 'transgender' of West (see Besnier, 1994; Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Mahalingam, 2003; Roen, 2001; Wieringa, 1994) where individual has to exact the binary division of gender (Cowan, 2005; Green et al., Sep 1994; Hird, 2002b, Tolentino, 2000; Van Borsel et al., 2001) to protect oneself from discrimination and harassment. Underlying reason for their (communities') eradication was encountering those (colonialism) who were not having concept of gender diversities in these cultures and believed in true dichotomy of gender that gradually led towards suppression of these communities. The concept of third gender in these cultures can spare the transgendered people from gender oppression (Nanda, 1999; Papoulias, 2006) as evident in Pakistan for their recently recognised legal status. These are different from western concept that have placed the individuals in different categories of transvestism, transsexualism, homosexuality, etc. (Totman, 2003).

As per Stoller (1974/1984), the intersexed individual may feel that he is different and do not belong to either category of being male and female called "hermaphroditic identity".

This feeling of being different is not related to cross-gender feeling. Because of biological deformity, *hijras* (Sharma, 2000) experience identity crisis as it puts their families at odd with the other relationships. For this reason, they leave their homes to end their families' miseries (see for familial reaction on child born with sexual deformity, Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003). Similarly, many social, governmental, and religious organizations feel threatened once a person even a minor starts exhibiting gender atypical behaviour or dressing (Diamond & Beh, 2005). Though present since centuries, no historical account about *kathoeys* of Thailand is available that reflects reluctance at the part of historians (Totman, 2003).

NGO sector working for *hijras* (e.g., Ford Foundation, 2006; PUCL-K, Sep 2003) have emphasized the need to take up research on sexual minorities for deriving academics, advocates, and community activists together for sharing information and ideas. This new wave has led to the development of more effective program interventions and services (Ford Foundation, 2006). PUCL-K (Sep 2003) maintained that much has been written about rights of lesbian, gays, and bisexuals, but nothing has been talked about TGs. Now there is demand of *hijras* to consider them as integral part of sexual minorities. This is global shift in studying issues of sexual orientation to issues of gender identity. Concerns about HIV/AIDS and *hijras'* actively taking part in nontraditional occupations of social and political nature have brought them in the limelight. According to Ormiston (1996), related to TG's oppression, privileged are heterosexuals and those belonging to either of gender dichotomy who define social norms for defining deviance.

Therefore, in the present research aim is to study attitudes toward *hijras* in psychosocial context. Expression of the attitudes makes the perception and understanding of these attitudes possible by others (Eiser, 1986), therefore, reciprocal perceptions of these attitudes by *hijras* are also explored. Terms *hijra*, *Khusras*, *Zannanas*, TG, and TS will be used interchangeably. From TG and TS in the present study mean MtF TG, for its counterpart acronym FtM TG is used, specifically. Western literature will also be referred to, as little research evidences are available in Pakistan and South Asian context. For building up argument and understanding work of clinicians, anthropologists, and sociologists is borrowed.

Attitude towards *Hijra*

Attitude is defined as:

“...an evaluative integration of cognitions and affect experienced in relation to an object. Attitudes are evaluative judgements that integrate and summarize these cognitive/affective reactions. These evaluative abstractions vary in strength, which in turn has implications for persistence, resistance, and attitude-behaviour consistency” (Crano & Prislin as cited in Prislin & Crano, 2008).

Attitudes which are category based evaluative responses towards a group or members of the group is called prejudice and are often negative (Herek, 2009; Stangor, 2009). Brown (as cited in Hogg & Vaughan, 2005) defines prejudice as “holding a derogatory social attitude or cognitive beliefs, and the expression of negative affect, or the display of hostile or discriminatory behaviour towards members of a group on account of their membership of that group (p. 315)”. Discrimination, harassment, and violence against LGBTs is a matter of public attitudes and social acceptance (Weiss, 2007) that cuts across culture, class, and race (see Pamment, 2010). This happens even in countries where LGBT groups are organized; people have favourable attitudes for LGBT rights; and related protective laws exist there (Ford Foundation, 2006). History of studying sexual prejudices in social psychology is not very old and has specific feature of less universally condemned and widely witnessed in existing time (Herek, 2009) as compare to racism, sexism, ageism, etc.

Transphobia is the term utilized most recently about the negative attitudes about transperon on the basis of the enactment of gender (Bettrech, 2007) and those who do not conform to the society’s gender expectations (Hill & Willoughby, 2005). Transphobia—fear and hatred of TG persons—is a variant of homophobia that refers to extreme pathological fear of homosexuality (see Hudson & Ricketts, 1980) or homonegativism as alternative term (White & Franzini, 1999) understood as hatred of the queer, where "queer" means any formation of sexuality and/or gender that deviates from the norm of reproductive

heterosexuality. Scott and Bavinton (2005) consider that crisis is not the LGBT identity that the service providers should focus rather it is homophobia that generates the crisis.

An alternative term *transprejudice* proposed by King is “heterosexual’s negative valuing, stereotyping, and discriminatory attitudes toward and treatment of individuals whose appearance and/or identity does not conform to the current social expectations or conventional conceptions of gender” (see King, Winter, & Webster, 2009, p. 20). Such prejudices are based on sexual stigma that society attaches with gender variant individuals, hence, highlight culturally valued attributes based on shared and consensual norms. These stigmatised people are powerless and have less accessibility to resources (Herek, 2009). People do not offer their services to TGs to avoid the stigma (Green et al., Sep 1994). Groups who live in isolation may not be deviants but their isolation might lead to hostility towards them (Sharma, 2000).

Asexuality attached with *hijras* has placed them into a marginalized and stigmatized status that makes them a kind of outsiders and isolated from the family and rest of the society (Khan & Ayub, 2003; Sharma, 2000). This is reflected by the fact that they are not allowed to meet bride at the time of wedding to protect her from the *hijras*’ infertility (Nanda, 1999). Giving away alms is only because of the fear to avoid their curse and get good wishes. Along asexuality, certain behavioural patterns such as cracking vulgar jokes, using obscene language, and throwing vulgar gestures induce annoyance resulting in people harbouring negative attitude towards them (see Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999).

Hijras may not be abnormal but their ambivalent physical appearance (Khan & Ayub, 2003) and lack of clarity about their gender (Kessler & McKenna, 1978) makes others to be apprehensive in interacting with them (Green et al., Sep 1994; Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999), hence, presents an element of doubt and ambiguity about their behavior. This is in the very nature of human beings to avoid state of uncertainty and unpredictability in their interactions with others. In the condition, where the stimulus is unfamiliar and ambiguous, it hampers the behaviour the most (Raees, Mehmood, & Baber, 1997).

According to Little (2001), LGBTQs often experience homelessness that start from intolerant family kicking them out of the home or they themselves leave to avoid verbal or

physical abuse. Gender identity is an important issue for the child and acceptance of the child is an important issue for the family (Lesser, 1999; Reiner, 1996). Because of their own anxieties, guilt, shame, or repulsion parents may not act wholly in their child's interest (Beh & Diamond, 2006). Fathers, especially, have very negative attitude towards effeminate sons (Dane, 2005; Freund & Blanchard, 1998; Herold & Way, 1998; Maccoby, 2000; Venn-Brown, 2007). The blood relations of the *hijras* (*warias* too in Boellstroff, 2004) do not want to maintain any relation with them and feel embarrassed in their presence in home and avoid them. *Hijras* visit their homes at night when no one is watching them, tuck in their long hair, wear caps and male clothing while visiting home (Boellstroff, 2004; Jami, 2005).

Hijras who come from low socio-economic class financially support their families (Nanda, 1999). Their families do accept financial assistance (see *waria* in Boellstroff, 2004) yet discourage them to visit family too often. Because of financial support they offer, married *Warias* of Indonesia are often accepted by their wives and wives of boyfriends, nevertheless *waria* cannot attain the status of second wife for their boy friends because of their inability to bear children. Some hide their *waria*-ness from wives (Boellstroff, 2004). Making *hijras* part of mainstream is against cultural tradition for the fear of creating "crisis of morality" (Talwar, 1999). Cross-dressing is often associated with homosexuality (Green et al., Sep 1994). Police suspect every MtF TG to be a prostitute and many a times TG experiences being cornered by shopkeeper and police to expose the genitals (Green et al., Sep 1994). Reportedly, *hijras* also have similar experiences (Harcourt, Ingrid van Beek, Heslop, McMahon, & Donovan, 2001; Khan et al., 2008; PUCL-K, Sep 2003; Rajabali et al., 2008).

Workplace discrimination of TGs is widespread. For example, the candidature of first ever *hijra* elected in *Lok Sabha*, India was challenged in court of India for having ambiguous sex (Khan & Ayub, 2003). *Hijras* are deprived of opportunities in life because of such negative attitudes. Seeking money in an exploitive and obnoxious manner is the only alternative they are left with (Jami, 2005; see also Talwar, 1999). Transgendered people are harassed, intimidated, and assaulted in public places (see (Green et al., Sep 1994; Lombardi, Wilchins, Priesing, & Malouf, 2001). Because of denied employment, inability to function

according to their prescribed social role, rejection, runaways, and getting stuck in the low socio-economic class, TGs commit suicide. They get into poverty for economic hardships and turn to sex work for survival (Green et al., Sep 1994, p. 9; Lombardi et al., 2001; PUCL-K, Sep 2003). Harcourt and colleagues (Harcourt et al., 2001) found that mostly TGs provided sex services in vehicles and safe houses. Community intolerance was quite observable including physical assault (see Rankin, 2007), rape at gun or knife point, etc.

Unlike West, where Standard of Care (Smith, 2002; WPATH, June 17, 2008) is practiced in case of TGs during SRS, in Pakistan, *hijras* are also denied health and psychological/psychotherapeutic assistance. They indulge in self-remedy in hormone intake, silicon injections, castrations, and in extreme cases auto-castrations because of no medical and psychological aid (Jami, 2005). Talwar (1999) and Green et al. (Sep 1994) have traced many cases of TGs world over who have been discriminated on the basis of their gender/sex for their right to get married, changing legal documents, custody of child, etc. Although, presently media portrayal of cross-gendered performance has helped to lessen society's anxiety related to cross-gendered behaviour to some extent (Surkan, 2002), still strong negative reaction on disclosure of *hijra* identity prevails.

Problem lies in people linking sex with gender, gender roles, gender identity, and then with sexual orientation rather than considering these as distinct concepts (MacCowan as cited in Pande, 2004). It is believed that sex cannot be changed. Even TS who go for sex change are believed to exact the gender dichotomy (Hird, 2002a, 2002b) as in West they cannot claim many rights till their sex is changed (Cowan, 2005). Male who is portraying female has to exaggerate his gestures and wear a lot of make up and vibrant coloured clothes to make their femininity felt (Lande, 2003/2006; Pande, 2004). *Hijras* are taken to be abnormal for highlighting their differences, as one male prostitute reported that he sometimes behave like *hijra* to protect him from ridiculing by others for being effeminate (Outlook Magazine as cited in Talwar, 1999, p. 34), and many a times victims do not report discrimination because of perceived cost of reporting (Major & Sawyer, 2009).

Theoretical Perspectives on Attitudes/Prejudices

In the present research, because of its exploratory nature no particular theory is followed to explain attitudes toward *hijras*. Therefore, an overview of perspectives are given that can later be referred for discussing findings of the research (see Levy & Hughes, 2009; Major, 1994; Major & Sawyer, 2009; Nelson, 2009; Stangor, 2009; Schwarz, 2008; Smith & Hogg, 2008; Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006).

Psychodynamic theory. In the phase of prolonged frustration people tend to displace their anger and hostility towards minorities. This is just like **escape goat** phenomenon and transferring negative behaviours on to others symbolically using as defence mechanism (Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006). Adorno and colleagues found that certain types of people are more prone to be prejudiced like those with **authoritarian personalities** and the reasons lie in their strict rearing in childhood based on physical punishment. Altemeyer's concept of **right-wing authoritarianism** is also an extension of this perspective that stresses upon conformity and submission to authority, hostility towards social deviants. Two people may hold similar attitudes but underlying reason and psychological process involved may be different (Levy & Hughes, 2009; Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006).

From the functional perspective on attitudes, people tend to defend their self-esteem and identity by holding negative attitudes towards those who threaten these like sexual minorities for their suspected undue sexual advances. Therefore, attitudes have ego-defensive and social adjustment function for the person (Herek, 2009). Since 9/11 the global scenario of Pakistan has changed a lot. Presently, Pakistan is undergoing the drastic social and cultural deterioration. Fundamentalism and extremism are hottest points of debate related to Pakistan. Therefore, impact of extremist tendencies including authoritarianism on attitude towards *hijras* is meaningful and it will be explored in present research (see Chapter 5).

Social learning theory. Allport in 1954 emphasized that attitudes are developed through observation and imitation. That is why attitude of children with their parents and peers match depending upon discussion among them related to prejudice. Based on social learning perspective, lack of knowledge and information about existing cultural diversity in

the society leads toward prejudice, discrimination, and fear of stranger proposed in **multicultural and antiracist perspectives**. Increasing relevant information and knowledge and experience with others might lead towards reducing prejudice. Like consistent exposure through print and electronic media, called **mere exposure theory**, can help in reducing negative attitudes. Yet, research also reveals that increased knowledge about cultural diversity may result in intensified feeling of being different, hence, strengthen negative attitude. This is because of varied propensities of people to react to given information (see Levy & Hughes, 2009).

Extended contact theory maintains that coming to know about members of ingroup having positive contact with outgroup also leads towards positive attitudes, it depends upon how much an individual identify with their own group. Besides this, interacting with outgroup also help in developing positive attitudes by considering each other at equal level. When there is lack of contact, negative attitude prevails toward outgroups, this is the postulate of **intergroup contact theory** (see Levy & Hughes, 2009). We learn about *hijras* through various socializing agents e.g., parents, friends, institutions, etc. Research evidences on contact with sexual deviants reveal how much interaction with such groups effect the attitude (see King et al., 2009). In the present research, interaction with *hijras* as one of the predicting factor in attitudes will be studied (see Chapter 5).

Sociocultural theory. Stereotypes are propagated through culture on which widely held attitudes towards any social groups are based. These are internalised in ones self-concept to be socially accepted. The **structural-functionalist model** emphasizes group conformity than individual differences (Ashmore & Del Boca as cited in Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006). The stereotypes that we have introjected about gender and *hijras* tend to effect our evaluation of *hijras* of *hijra* community, hence, we interact with *hijras* in the line of these stereotypes. Role of stereotypes in form of widely held myths on attitudes towards *hijras* is also studied in the present research (see Chapter 4).

Ashmore and Del Boca also propose **Conflict perspective** propagates that in a society various existing groups have their own interests and values, which are upheld by

respective group members. Groups may develop conflicts leading towards various attitudes (see Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006). The interest and values of *hijra* community are in conflict with society that generates negative feelings towards them. Eagly in 1987 gave **social role theory**. People are often associated with the role they perform in the society and the generalised view of their role is largely accepted and propagated. These are stereotypes formulated in process of observing people in their social roles. Changing stereotypes then become difficult for its origin linked with large body of belief system especially for society strongly condemning this change (Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006). When anyone like *hijras* deviate from their social roles they violate the stereotypes, hence, get rejection and maintains their membership in *hijra* community.

Cognitive theory. Stereotypes are cognitive schemas to reduce the complex stimulus in the environment in a more simplified form for making it more manageable to handle large amount of information. One tries to make out of the situation in one point in time that may have negative consequences if information processing is not done effectively. That is why most recently emphasis is in studying role of emotions and cognitive processes in attitudes and behaviours (Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006). Positive attitude and empathy depends upon the cognitive abilities. Prejudices develop when people are unable to appreciate group members as individuals (Levy & Hughes, 2009). Any man who deviates from normative belief of gender are categorised as *hijra* based on schemas built over a period. These facilitate us in comprehending any such deviant behaviours in ambiguous situations. Many a time people respond towards *hijras* in the light of stereotypes that get activated in the process of interaction. These sometimes mislead the person by categorizing all gender variant people in one homogenous category as mentioned earlier that people in Pakistan do not know about gender diversity in *hijra* community (see Haider & Bano, 2006). Both socio-cultural and cognitive perspectives emphasize the significance of myths related to *hijras* in attitudes of people.

Evolutionary theory. This theory propagates that all behaviours have survival value to promote one's generation (Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006), therefore attitudes are unavoidable

(Levy & Hughes, 2009). When people perceive threat to their survival from outgroup they might react in a damaging way towards outgroups. To protect themselves, people tend to cooperate with relatives or similar people. That similarity might be based on physical aspect and proximity e.g., facilitating members of same ethnic group to survive (*kin favouritism*) involving favouring one's own group over others (*ethnocentrism*) and this is their innate tendency to protect them. This may be because of **evolutionary aspect** of attitudes, we tend to like those who are similar to us and avoid or stigmatise those who are different. Alternatively, may not be liked being from minority status.

Discrimination has positive impact on members of outgroup i.e., by ignoring the factor of being victim they intensify their identification with their group that act as a buffer against victimization, hence, negative effect of discrimination and stereotypes is minimised through social identification with one's group achieved through self-categorization process (see Stangor, 2009). These theories consider the postulates of social categorization and social learning (Levy & Hughes, 2009). Explaining through this perspective since *hijras* have label of asexuality this threatens evolutionary concept of survival, therefore they are isolated from the society for not interested in propagation of generation, hence threatens the basic survival value and are stigmatised. Their social rejection further intensifies their identification with *hijra* community.

Social identity theory. Tajfel and Turner proposed that people tend to maintain positive self-identity, which is largely based on their group membership, hence hold positive attitude towards their own group and negative attitudes for outgroup (Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006). Our attitudes are grounded in groups we belong to and norms defined by these groups, which provide an element of certainty in influencing our future interactions in social context. Social identity process creates strong influence on attitudes (Smith & Hogg, 2008) that underlies the discrimination and prejudice against any group (Stangor, 2009). Shared system of values, beliefs, attributes, behaviours, etc. then become normative in groups (Levy & Hughes, 2009; Smith & Hogg, 2008) that leads to expectation from the member to behave in stereotypic and normative way as defined by group not based on idiosyncrasies.

Smith and Hogg (2008) stressed the importance of social context in attitude that has long been ignored in attitudinal studies by quoting Sherif in 1935, "... man's socialization is revealed mainly in his attitudes formed in relation to the values or norms of his reference group or groups". Neglecting the social context in attitude may be because of focus on individual attitudes rather group as unit of analysis (Schwarz, 2008; Smith & Hogg, 2008). However, recently studying social context of attitudes is considered a background factor than fundamental component of attitudes that may take form of social pressure, norm, and motivation affecting an individual exhibiting attitude towards social object. These groups can be defined on the basis of religion, race, sex, ethnicity, etc. (Levy & Hughes, 2009; Smith & Hogg, 2008). We tend to introject moral values and normative beliefs related to gender and belonging to one category of dichotomous gender effect our attitudes toward *hijras* that need to be studied in Pakistani context.

Recent models are **social domain model** highlighting that attitudes are context specific based on moral, social-conventional, and psychological domains that result in exclusion and inclusion of any person in ingroup or outgroup. **Social developmental perspective on lay theories** maintaining that people are integrated in their social systems and are embedded in social ecology and their personality characteristics strongly influence interaction with outgroups e.g., being egalitarian and religious or having different demographic characteristics (see Levy & Hughes, 2009). From the overview of theoretical perspective it is established that approach in present research is integrative in nature not following any specific perspective but considering all to establish functional role of attitudes.

Attitudes have a utilitarian function. It serves the cognitive and emotional needs of the people (Herek, 2009; Maio & Esses, 2001). Attitudes towards sexual minorities serve four purposes (Herek, 2009). Firstly, *social expressive* function strengthens bond with respected groups just like more extrinsically oriented people exhibiting negative attitudes towards sexual minorities for social reasons to secure their personal acceptance within their groups. Secondly, *value expressive* function just like intrinsic religiously oriented people, fundamentalists, and traditionalists showing attitudes based on values culturally, religiously,

politically, etc. acceptable, hence, affirming oneself as a moral person. Thirdly, *defensive* purpose protects against threat to self-esteem by abiding culturally and socially defined standards for gender. These can be linked with personality factor that are stable overtime (such as masculinity and femininity in present research). Lastly, *object appraisal* or *schematic* function of attitudes that makes one understand previous experiences with sexual minorities.

Factors Affecting Attitudes

Perception of stimulus is biased towards the direction of an individual's attitudes (see Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). Attitudes are developed and strengthened with experience. Many situational and personality factors, generality and specificity of the attitude influence the attitudes, their strength, and accessibility. Attitudes are more likely to be affected by various moderator variables that predict the behaviour (see Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). Following are variables that effect behaviour and attitudes towards any gender variant social group.

Visibility/Disclosure. Individuals may have multiple identities that shift in visibility according to the context (Hughes, 2006) and visibility is an important issue in TGs. Having both feminine and masculine characteristics are not unnatural (Peters, 2005) but are unacceptable, hence, conducted in secrecy (Pande, 2004) as consequences are very devastating and subtle (Green et al., Sep 1994) leading to physical assault, victimization, and transphobia (Bettcher, 2007). *Passing* in MtF TGs as a woman may go unnoticed but those who are not good at passing get exposed easily and face negative attitudes for being deceivers. Transphobia plays a significant role in blame-shift to justify violence against them (Bettcher, 2007). Successful passability of transgenders is the function of proximity, degree, nature, and context of social interaction (see Totman, 2003). TGs face discrimination when people come to know about their past, invisibility reduces this likelihood (Tawlar, 1999).

Many a times TGs do not expose their actual sex and use deception pretending as female. Findings based on 48 TG sex workers revealed that in sexual interaction 40% always tell clients that they are men, while, 23% never tell. For the fear of exposure and arrest, TG sex workers prefer to practice in bars than publicly like female sex workers (Weinberg,

Shaver, & Williams, 1999). Contrarily in Pakistan, Rajabali et al. (2008) found many *hijras* offering services in streets and public places than private homes. Some *hijras* who passed as women to save themselves from police met with physical beating on exposure (see Sharma, 2000). This discrimination is also evident in sports settings and MtF TG sportsmen fake injury at the time of medical check ups to save their souls (Pande, 2004).

Sometimes to avoid negative consequences of exposure TG may become explicit as a transperson just to stop shifting between invisibility and visibility (Bettcher, 2007) like *hijras* in Pakistan. Alison, Belgrave, and Duff (2006) basing on their research posited that visibility leads to mainstreaming. But, Miller (2006) considers that an increase in the visibility of TGs, whether in the clinical setting or the wider community, may not bring about understanding and acceptance. Isolation of an individual is considered a tactics to control the behaviour of the victim, therefore, when a victim is invisible then the consequences are severe. For maintaining secrecy, they cannot seek for better services. The wives, parents, and children of TGs also experience discrimination (Green et al., Sep 1994). This also effects their personal relationship with TG (see Bullough & Bullough, 1998). In case of intersexed child to maintain secrecy, parents sent the child to other relatives (Sharma, 2000). Mostly such individuals come to know about their sexual issues from family slip, public gossip, or while investigating about their condition, etc. (Diamond, 2004a).

Some of TGs may take up homosexual tendencies and even confession leads to dire consequences (Pratt & Buzwell, 2006). Being LGBT is a dilemma one faces in educational setting on disclosing their identity (Murphy, 2001; Rankin, 2007), however, Rankin (2007) found less discrimination as about one third of students and one quarter of employees reported that may be because TGs are visible in educational institutes in West. Contrarily, in Pakistan, they are not visible in educational set up may be because of anticipated discrimination. In societies with more negative attitudes, concealment spread over longer period psychologically damages. Visibility depends upon social support (Cohen-Kettenis & van Goozen, 1997; Lade, 2003/2004). Internet has provided a mean to come out (MacLelland, 2002; Pande, 2004) because of maintaining privacy and deriving social support. According to Sharma (2000), in

Western countries, TS can easily live in mainstream for their ability to pass as a woman, but *hijras*, may be beautiful as woman, are quite visible because of their bodily characteristics, facial hair, and voice. People never perceive them as woman.

Sexuality. Sexuality is strongly linked with one's personal and social identity (Yip, 2007). It is influenced by social, economic, cultural, political, and religious contexts and in return also influences these (Ford Foundation, 2006). Male body type is idealized rest is considered to be marginalized (Filiault & Drummond, 2007). Deviant sexuality is acceptable in folklores and myths but not in actual life (Pande, 2004). Heterosexism promotes hatred and hostility against sexual deviants by decalring them as psychopathological and against nature that make deviants to remain invisible (Herek, 2009). Sexual relationship with men is a matter of prestige for gays and TGs within TG community (see also Boellstroff, 2004; Eyre et al., 2004; Riaz, 1996; Tolentino, 2000; Wiessing et al., 1999) to affirm their female gender identity. TG does want to be taken as a woman in sexual relationship and want acceptance as a TG (Eyre et al., 2004) although have desire to live fully as a woman and men to take care of them (Van Borsel et al., 2001). Psychologically, they take their sexual relationship heterosexual (Rees, 1996). TGs take hormones to acquire feminine features (Nemoto, Luke, Mamo, Ching, & Patria, 1999; Weinberg et al., 1999) and so are gays (Tolentino, 2000).

Hijras are HIV risk group being sodomite and in sex business (Baqi et al., 1999; Bokhari et al., 2007; Hernandez et al., 2006; Hyder & Khan, 1998; Iqbal, 2001; Khan & Ayub, 2003; Khan & Khilji, 2002; Khan et al., 2008; National AIDS Control Programme, Ministry of Health, 2008; Pakistan National AIDS Control Programme, 2002; Rajabali et al., 2008; Rehan, 2006; Shafi, & Ali, 2006). Unprotected sex work and use of drugs which are unique to race and gender (Hernandez et al., 2006; Khan et al., 2008; Nemoto et al., 1999; Ostrow, DiFranceisco, & Wagstaff, 1998; Weinberg et al., 1999), HIV risk, infection, and spread of disease increase (Bockting, Miner, & Rosser, 2007; Hernandez et al., 2006; Rajabali et al., 2008; Wiessing et al., 1999). This reinforces stereotypes and further stigmatise TGs (Nemoto et al., 1999; Totman, 2003) and homosexuals (Herek, 2009). And

they reported discrimination on the basis of their sexual orientation. Being TG/TS, involved in homosexuality (see; Boellstroff, 2004) and sex business, and high-risk group for HIV/AIDS as mentioned before add to stigmatization, marginalization, discrimination, and violence again *hijras*.

Making HIV test mandatory for *hijras* (National AIDS Control Programme, Ministry of Health, 2008; Pakistan National AIDS Control Programme, 2002; Talwar, 1999) has led to more spread of disease for their becoming underground and less visible for longer period of time fearing the negative attitudes and consequences (Hernandez et al., 2006; Khan et al., 2008). Snell, Finney, and Godwin (as cited in Snell, Finney, & Godwin, 1998) found that men and women were sympathetic towards sexual deviants yet endorsed widespread AIDS mandatory testing. Having AIDS is normally viewed that the person is guilty, sexual perverts, or have indulged in sodomy (Novick, 1997). Being homosexual is often considered synonymous with having AIDS --- ‘gay plague’ (Crooks & Baur, 2005). Homophobia demonstrates as being powerful (Filiault & Drummond, 2007) and is the single strongest predictor of AIDS phobia (see Pleck, 1998).

Hijras are the lowest paid sex workers (Khan et al., 2008; Shrama, 2000) and TG sex workers experience more social discrimination than other sex workers (Weinberg et al., 1999) do. Because of discrimination and no access to traditional occupations, they indulge in commercial sex. They increase sexual encounters to earn more money in number of undesirable places like cars, deserted areas, etc. (Boellstroff, 2004; Eyre et al., 2004; Nemoto et al., 1999; PUCL-K, Sep 2003; Totman, 2003) and have non-assertive approach in using methods of safe sex with clients (Snell, Fisher, & Miller, 1998; Yesmont, 1998). They live in transient housing like hotels and shelters than other sex workers do (Nemoto et al., 1999). Unprotected sex in Pakistan may be based on people’s belief that even concept of having safe sex is promoting illegal sexual acts which is *haram* [prohibited in Islam]. Another hindrance is in Pakistani constitution, carrying a condom in public place is crime, therefore, *hijras* reported that for the fear of arrest by police they did not carry condom (Rajabali et al., 2008).

LGBTIs is taboored concept (Adams et al., 2008). Even health workers related to HIV/AIDS are victimized for promoting immorality and homosexuality (White & Gerke, 2007).

Differential acceptability of gender diversity. The gender role change seems to have more impact on the life of MtF TGs than FtM TGs, therefore, MtFs need more time to adjust (Cohen-Kettenis & van Goozen, 1997). Many studies reported more prevalence of GID in boys than girls (see Smith, van Gooven, & Cohen Kettenis, 2001) and a few studies have found high prevalence among women as compared to men (see Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003). Cross-gendered behaviour is much acceptable in girls than in boys. Girls are less ostracized and teased than boys with GID (Rees, 1996; Smith, 2002) so are FtMs than MtFs, which shows that masculinity in females is more acceptable or valuable than femininity in males (Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003; Diamond, 2006a; Grant, 2004; Lippa, 2001; Maccoby, 2000; Smith et al., 2002a). Reasons can be located in culture of two-gender system (Hird, 2001) and that historically women's place has always been legally and socially protected (Cowan, 2005). TS become victim of rape more than TGs may be because they interact with the society more and get noticed while passing like women (Lombardi et al., 2001). Contrary to this, in *hijra* community, *zannanas* (TG) are more into sex business, performing in functions, theatre, fairs, etc. hence, more exposed than *khusras* (*hijras* by birth/TS) (Nanda, 1999). Therefore, it is likely that they may experience violent incidences and harassed more by police (see for example PUCL-K, 2003).

From heteronormative point of view, men having feminine features are taken to be homosexuals that lead to negative attitude towards them (Semp, 2008). Comparing the attitudes towards TS and homosexual, people have more negative attitude towards homosexuals (Antoszewski et al., 2007; Leitenberg & Slavin as cited in Hill & Willoughby, 2005). Attitudes vary depending upon people considering homosexuality as innate or chosen. Those who believe that such behaviours are chosen are more likely to have negative attitudes (see Crooks & Baur, 2005; Herek, 2009). People often have biased view about hermaphrodites. In West, it was not until 1990s that hermaphrodite's issues began to get surfaced (Diamond, 2004a). Mostly LGBTs also propagate not to discriminate against them

as they are born that way (Crooks & Baur, 2005). Better economic position also functions as protective factor against abuse in sexual deviants (Badgett & Frank, 2007).

Sexual attitudes vary along age and among generations (Crooks & Baur, 2005). Older people are more conservative in sexual attitudes than younger. Similarity in attitudes is found among young generation and their parents and peers (Lottes & Weinberg, 1998a). Attitude also varies with class. Those from upper socioeconomic class has indifferent attitude towards role performed by *hijras*. They don't like their dancing and singing and feel that it should be banned. They stress for giving them jobs as per their abilities. They feel pressurised for giving money. Those from middle and lower socioeconomic class have more sympathetic and accepting attitude towards their role considering them as victim of nature and handicapped. However, no mythological justification was given (Sharma, 2000, p. 90). Attitude towards *Kathoey* in Thailand is the mixture of respect and disdain. Disdained attitude is mostly from middle socioeconomic class (Totman, 2003). Antoszewski et al. (2007) found that attitude vary with the place of residence. University students belonging to small towns and villages had less positive attitude towards TS.

Culture. In West, very negative attitude prevails about the individuals who show gender variations (deviations). They are considered pathological and subjected to discrimination and violence by family, peers, and society at large (see Adams et al., 2008; Diamond, 2006a; Green et al., Sep 1994; Heath, 2005; Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Leonard, 2005; Offord, 2005; Semp, 2005; Tolentino, 2000; Totman, 2003; White & Gerke, 2007). While certain researchers have found that TGs enjoy better status in western countries (see Alison et al. , 2006). Like Docter and Fleming (2001) found in US that 84% of 516 transgenders were having full time employment. In Canada, TS are taken as distinct category/group other than gender dichotomy (Cowan, 2005). Australia is among first countries to approve same sex relations (Offord, 2005). With modernism and changing times tolerance for LGBTs is emerging (Weiss, 2007).

Discrimination of TG in West is basically due to their historical invisibility, lack of understanding by others, and absence of dialogue and discussion. They are considered less

than human, therefore, discrimination and violence against them is considered justifiable (Diamond, 2006a). In West, homosexuality is accepted and even displayed openly, but TGs are marginalized and fixed to working class culture (Leonard, 2005; Tolentino, 2000). It is society's response based on homophobia, sexism/genderism, heterosexism (Adams et al., 2008; Crooks & Baur, 2005; Hill & Willoughby, 2005). Unlike West, North America (Kessler & McKenna, 1978), Asian subcontinent (Nanda, 1999; Pande, 2004), and Far East countries like Thailand (Marsh, 2007; Totman, 2003; Yue, 2007) are often credited for their acceptance of alternative gender possibilities (see Nanda, 1999). Some anthropologists have related spiritual healing and transgendered behaviour in various countries like Philippines, Indonesia, Siberia, Central and North America especially to cure infertility (see Totman, 2003). *Kathoey* of Thailand, unlike *hijras*, are much accepted and tolerated in society. They are well respected and have access to get higher education (Totman, 2003). Contrary to this, in China, pressures for continuing family lineage and morality results into stigmatizing such issues (Neilands, Steward, & Choi, 2008).

According to Foucault (as cited in Marsh, 2007, p. 104), "eastern thought can make the western thought to find the new way". Nevertheless, the rights that TGs and homosexuals are exacting in western culture give much brighter picture to those who are carrying out research in eastern cultures (Talwar, 1999). Marsh (2007) suggests that queers can meet in cross-cultural spaces. As gradually with social change Muslim sexual deviants in Britain are trying to find succorance in secular socio-political groups (Yip, 2007) and this social change is also observed in gradual emerging acceptance in religious fraternities in West (Mabey, 2007). Their acceptance and nonacceptance is based on religion (see Jami, 2005; Nanda, 1999; Pande, 2004; Teh, 2001; Totman, 2003).

If the attitudes in the western countries where homosexuality is no more considered as pathology and SRS is legal, have strong evidences of homophobia and transphobia, it's likely that in country like Pakistan where standards of sexualities are more restricted, more negative attitude towards gender variance/nonconformity would prevail. At the same time, cultural evidences show tolerant attitudes in South Asia, of which Pakistan is one of the part,

might have any impact on *hijras*' and Mtf TGs' acceptance. Taking into account contextual and cultural variation, present research is exploratory in nature for studying attitudes.

Legal status. *Hijras* face many legal problems and violation of their basic rights because of lack of recognition in law (Talwar, 1999). No anti-discrimination laws and legal protections from harassment exist, that leads to harassment by public and police. That has further in worsened condition of HIV epidemic (Global Forum on MSM & HIV [MSMGF], Sep 19, 2010; Green et al., Sep 1994; Lombardi et al., 2001; Oswald & Culton, 2003; Pratt & Buzwell, 2006). Problem lies in lack of uniformity in *hijras*' opinion about their own sex. Some believe that they are women and some believe that they are neither man nor woman. Such uncertainty is not acceptable in law, which may effect the provision of human rights to *hijras* (PUCL-K, Sep 2003; Talwar, 1999). That may be the reason that the case of Shamyle Raj, an FtM TG (BBC News, May 28, 2007) not *hijra*, for indulging in same sex female marriage went unattended for not having any legislation to address such issues in Pakistan. For a long time hermaphrodites were criminals, or crime's offspring, since their physical state confounded the law that distinguish only two sexes (Foucault as cited in Norton, 1997, p. 139).

In countries like Canada, some states of America, legislation has been formulated for protecting TGs under sexual orientation or anti-discrimination law and disabilities Act (Green et al., Sep 1994), but sexual orientation is different from transgenderism and disability does not include transexualism, transvestism, paedophilia, exhibitionism, voyeurism, GID for not involving physical impairment (Talwar, 1999). Green et al. (Sep 1994) found that more than 40 complaints were launched by TGs in the 6 years that were mishandled without fully understanding the situation of transgendered people. SRS is acceptable in various countries like Germany, Belgium, Netherland, UK, Denmark, Italy, Spain, US, Canada, Switzerland, Morocco, South Africa, and Singapore and TS are legally allowed to marry. But in a few European countries like Portugal it is still illegal (see Cohen-Kettenis & van Goozen, 1997; Talwar, 1999; Yue, 2007).

In Iran, there is death penalty for homosexual acts and in China such a person is sent to exile in labour camps (see Crooks & Baur, 2005). British colonies have decriminalized sodomy laws, but India, Pakistan, Malaysia, and Singapore are Asian countries which still have sodomy laws (Talwar, 1999; Weiss, 2007; for Jamaica see White & Gerke, 2007). In many cultures, this is considered as sinful and immoral (Crooks & Baur, 2005). Nevertheless, Pakistan is the first Asian country that took an affirmative action to legalise the status of *hijras* in National ID cards as discussed earlier. This has brought a ray of hope for changing legal scenario for *hijras* in Pakistan. Gradually, *hijras* in Pakistan, like Indonesia and India (see Boellstorff, 2004; Jajja, Dec 15, 2011; Pamment, 2010; Talwar, 1999) are getting politically active. For the first time, *hijras* also participated as candidates and voters in general body elections for National and Provincial Assembly held on 11th May 2013 in Pakistan with their third gender status (see e.g., Burke, May 9, 2013). Talwar (1999) considers that when SRS and homosexuality will be legalised many issues that *hijras* face will be resolved. In Pakistan, there is no legal coverage available for castrated *hijras*' for changing sexual identity in legal documents, however, change in sexual identity is permissible only under natural biological changes that demand SRS. Such individuals do not fall under the category of *hijra* (Jami, 2005).

Talwar (1999) and PUCL-K (Sep 2003) in India has carefully analysed various human rights declarations of various countries. Similarly, Jami (2005) in Pakistan reviewed Pakistan Penal Code (The Major Acts, 1987) and analysed the position of *hijras* as per legal Acts. They independently concluded that *hijras* stand nowhere in their position to human rights; even rape related laws do not acknowledge sexual abuse in *hijras*. In Pakistan Penal Code, *hijras* are liable to punishment under the law of the land, based on using any minor (child under 16 years) for asking alms, using vulgar language and obscene jokes, showing private parts, sodomy for having sex with men, castration/amputation of healthy sexual organ, etc. (see for other countries Talwar, 1999; Weiss, 2007; White & Gerke, 2007).

Policy and legal reforms related to sexual minorities are often based on moral and political attitudes, hence can change. These are different from attitudes related to other

domains of sexual minorities (Herek, 2009; Yip, 2007). Attitudes are changing with acculturation (Crooks & Baur, 2005). Since SRS and status of TS was legalized in New Zealand, young *fa'afafine* desire to go for SRS than maintaining transgendered identities (Roen, 2001). This shows how change in legal status brought change in transgendered status. Similarly, in case of *hijras* in Pakistan, we foresee the positive change by giving them a separate gendered category in National ID cards and giving them employment on Supreme Court's decision as mentioned earlier. While, Sharma (2000) postulated that in West, TS (living as either gendered category not as third gender) are treated with respect and soon courts will acknowledge their rights and discrimination against them, but status of *hijras* is different from TS who live as third gender in community than female identity.

Knowledge/Information. Attitudes have utilitarian and instrumental role for a person as these guide future behaviour. On encountering an object, all relevant information that a person has, gets activated that influences the behaviour accordingly. This also depends upon the nature of information. Knowledge base is influenced by level of experience with attitudinal object that arrange information in associative manner. Lack of information/knowledge takes the form of extreme opinions (see Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). Sometimes people seek out the information consistent with their past information and existing attitudes and screen out information that might challenge these (Festinger as cited in Bohner & Wanke, 2002). Antoszewski et al. (2007) studied the attitude of 300 Lodz University students towards transsexualism and related knowledge about them; 53.6% of students correctly defined TS. More than half believed that TS is not dependent upon environmental factors, but on genetic factors. Those who believed in genetic factors than environmental factors were having more positive attitude believing in refunding of TS' medical treatment.

Attitudes also depend upon categorization along attributes like sex, race, age, etc. that are considered to be important for evaluation of any object as per theories of categorization (see Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Whitley Jr., & Kite, 2006). Such categorization is often based on attributes, which are physically apparent (see Stangor, 2009).

TG identities are especially influenced by medical categorization such as dysphoria, disorder, abnormal, and deviant that does not facilitate in interaction with TGs (Miller, 2005). Tolley and Ranzijin's (2006) findings suggested that greater the lack of knowledge about LGBTs greater will be heteronormativity and heterosexism. Heterosexism can be reduced by promoting more exposure and knowledge about LGBTs.

With the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS in the 1980s, LGBT movements helped to create organizations to reduce the risk of HIV transmission through sexuality education programs and bringing attention to the underlying issues of power, coercion, and discrimination that have fueled the epidemic (Ford Foundation, 2006). Knowledgebase along legal data about the personal rights of the LGBTs including employment, discrimination, and other domestic life issues is needed for health care workers in handling LGBT health issues (Fikar & Keith, 2004; Semp, 2008). Through increasing knowledgebase about LGB, Fell, Mattiske, and Riggs (2008) tried to change the behavioural intentions, attitudes, and cultural competence of post-graduate clinical psychology students.

Queer extends greater help to queer client for sharing identity and belonging to minority group (Semp, 2008). They have more correct information about AIDS as compare to other high risk groups as homeless boys' and girls' (Koopman & Reid, 1998) and are more knowledgeable about his/her community (Hirsch & Rollins, 2007). That may be the reason that many researchers working in the relevant fields also hold similar interests and they have much of an inside view of such communities. Knowledge and information gained about any social group has direct and indirect ways. Direct ways include experience and interaction with the social group. Indirect ways include family and media that help in developing attitudes (Stangor, 2009).

Experience. Direct experience affects attitudes by providing knowledge about particular attitude object (Ajzen & Cote, 2008; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). Attitudes based on direct experience are more accessible and strong than based on indirect experience. Evaluative nature of attitudes depends upon nature of experience built through associations (classical and operant). Experiences also affect attitude salience, ambivalence, attitude

extremity, consistency between affect, behaviour, and cognition (see Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). Mere indulging in any activities without any specific intentions also effect attitude based on postulate of “mere exposure effect” as given by Zajonc (see Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Bohner & Wanke, 2002). This mostly effects when people have lack of information about any object. Hearing others’ positive and negative comments also effect attitudes (see Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). Attitudes based on indirect experiences than direct experience are more polarized as it strengthens gender stereotypes considering less individual differences in a social group and seeing things in black and white (see Maio et al., 2006).

The negative view of sexual deviants is often maintained because it is not challenged by experience (Herek as cited in White & Franzini, 1999) and is driven by societal views about them (Herek, 2002). For example, talking about homosexuality is awkward in the heteronormative society no matter how positive ones personal views may be (Semp, 2008). Individuals believing in not knowing anyone who is gay are likely to be more homophobic (Herek as cited in White & Franzini, 1999). Research evidences show that with increased exposure and contact with sexual deviants, attitudes become less in heterosexism, heteronormativity, lack of knowledge (Tolley & Ranzijin, 2006), social distance, social discrimination, and prejudice (Herek, 2008, 2009; King et al., 2009), anxiety, and increased empathy (Pettigrew, 1998). Contact with transpeople increases awareness about discrimination against transpeople, support for equal opportunities, post-operative transsexual civil rights, and support for anti-discrimination legislation (King et al., 2009).

Education. Moral conservatism (Ernst, Francis, Perkins, Britton-Williams, & Kang, 1998) and negative attitudes toward sexual minorities (Herek, 2009) has been found to be less in more educated people than less educated. People who have more accurate knowledge about homosexuality, are least prejudiced about homosexuals and less conservative on number of social issues (Harris & Vanderhoof as cited in Harris, 1998). Wright and Cullen (as cited in Crooks & Baur, 2005) found that those who take sexuality course are more accepting. At the same time, liberal arts students were found to have more positive attitude than business

students. The type of secondary school attended was differentially related to men's and women's homophobic attitudes, with male-only school attendance associated with stronger homophobic attitudes, compared to mixed-sex school attendance. A woman's same- versus mixed-sex school attendance was unrelated to homophobic attitudes (Hunsberger, Owusu, & Duck, 1999). Those who have more knowledge about sexuality have more liberal and permissive view about sexualities. Taking sexuality course also leads to more permissive attitude towards homosexuality than taking personality course (Zuckerman, Tushup, & Finner as cited in Zuckerman, 1998).

Family. Our attitudes are affected by our parents through enforcing reward and punishment contingencies and modeling through observation. A high correlation exists between parents' and children's attitudes (see Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Maio et al., 2006) and prejudice towards any social group (Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006). Research evidences have shown similarity in values of parents and children, for example, right-wing authoritarianism, gender role attitudes, and political attitudes, while for attitude towards ethnic groups there are mixed findings (see Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Maio et al., 2006; Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006). This may be because children also learn to control prejudice with time (Towles-Schewan & Fazio as cited in Maio et al., 2006).

Media. When attitudes are not strongly held then communication plays a very important role in building up attitudes (Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). Media, specifically TV, have many attitudinal and behavioural effects (Maio et al., 2006; Stangor, 2009) like propagating deviant messages (Higgins & Mackinem, 2008). Media is a powerful source to inform about social norms that follows the heterosexist ideology promoting intolerance against queer people and stereotypes about TGs (Green et al., Sep 1994; PUCL-K, Sep 2003; Stangor, 2009), where TS are portrayed negatively to the society (see Boellstroff, 2004). It also sets agenda for public by highlighting certain aspects and downplaying the others, hence, plays an important role in process of socialization for setting ideologies, values, and attitudes (Maio et al., 2006).

In traditional prescribed role *hijras* and *kathoeys* are presented as caricatured, comic characters, and sex objects in media (Pande, 2004; Totman, 2003). The Government of Thailand tried to stop programmes if there was a TG performing in it for the fear of promoting incidences of transgenderism in youth (Winter, 2002) and to show an acceptable face to the outside world (see Totman, 2003). Contrarily, much coverage is given to *hijras* in Pakistan since Supreme Court of Pakistan (see Abid, July 15 2009; Magnier, March 03, 2010) has given order for their uplift. Television programs such as Begum Nawazish Ali (Pakistani first drag queen; see Qahar, 2008), *Janjal Pura* (Pakistan Television Teleserial), and many dramas got on aired on various channels time to time (see e.g., ARY Digital, 2005, 2009) portraying *hijras*' character in positive and acceptable role. These programs shed light upon miseries, rejection that *hijras* go through in their course of gender development including issue of disclosure and visibility, and the repercussions faced afterwards. Yet these programmes also highlighted stereotypic features of their behaviour in daily errands i.e., loud and using obscene language, large bodies, exaggerated movements, gaudy makeup, etc. Such dramas were very popular among masses and source of knowledge and information.

A few documentaries have also been prepared to give an understanding of their activities and feelings. This is also getting an issue of hot debate in talk shows (see e.g., ARY Digital, July 29, 2009; Dunya News, Feb 17, 2011; Express News, Nov 28, 2010; Express News, Nov 2, 2010) inviting *hijras*, human rights activists, doctors, and religious scholars to deliberate about their status. Newspapers have also given coverage to *hijras* activities and their penalization in the hand of police. Standard of sexuality in media are also changing with time in Pakistan (BBC Urdu, 2011). Mere exposure through media can also bring about positive change in attitudes (see Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). Nevertheless, positive role of media is much needed for *hijras* recognition in masses (PUCL-K, 2003). Their playing crickets and winning the game against men's team (Bery, Aug 19, 2009) and Supreme Court appointing them for loan recovery from tax defaulters (Economic Times, Dec 23, 2009) was taken as source of amusement and delight. Negative aspect in these actions, though seems to be accommodating their status, was that their gender variance was

used as a humiliation for opponent (men's cricket team and debt receiver) not as equivalent to them, may be taking them as lesser human than others.

Extremism. Fundamentalists are found to be more optimistic than moderates and liberals because of more religious influence in their daily life (Sethi & Seligman, July 1993). Still, religious fundamentalism/authoritarianism is found to lead towards more conservative attitude towards sexuality (Crooks & Baur, 2005; Herek, 2009). Religiously conservatives with authoritarian beliefs have more negative attitudes towards sexual minorities (see for overview Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Crooks & Baur, 2005; Herek, 2009; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005), just as fundamentalist Muslim leaders have tried to ban transgenderism of any kind in Indonesia (Boellstorff, 2004). Religious fundamentalism/extremism is significantly correlated with prejudice (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005; Kirkpatrick, 1993; Rowatt et al., 2006) and has predictive role (see Stangor, 2009).

Earlier authoritarianism was conceptualised as personality trait but later Duckitt in 2001 (as cited in Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006) proposed that it is more of ideology, belief, and attitudes that predispose individuals to respond in certain way consistent with their political and social values. Adorno and his colleagues in 1950 proposed the concept of authoritarian personality (see Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006) and five characteristics are related to prejudice including authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, conventionalism, stereotypic, and projectivity (everything dangerous is going on in the world out there). Such characteristics together leads to strong negative attitudes against those who violate social norms.

Concept of authoritarian personality was later replaced by concept of Right-Wing Authoritarianism which is considered as set of attitudes than personality trait based on three clusters authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionalism considered to be endorsed by society and recognised authorities (Altemeyer, 1981, 1988). People supporting these attitudes are likely to be conservatives, prejudiced against a number of minority groups (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Herek, 2009; Wylie & Forest, 1992), endorsing sexism (Hunsberger, Owusu, & Duck, 1999), and anti gay-marriages (Gill, 2007).

Strong group identification and uncertain situations lead to extreme attitudinal polarization where people conform to group norms to deal with uncertainty (see Smith & Hogg, 2008). Conservatism and moral traditionalism predict attitude towards anti-sexual deviants policy (Herek, 2008) and religious fundamentalism best predict homophobia for both Christian and Muslim sample (Hunsberger et al., 1999). Orthodox religious attitudes were found to be strong predictors of negative attitudes of heterosexual towards homosexuals (see Larsen, 1998; Rowatt et al. as cited in Denney, 2008) but they also tend to be less racially prejudiced (Rowatt et al., as cited in Denney, 2008).

Religion is mainly affected by extremist approach and vice versa. Therefore, religion also creates influence on attitudes along extremism. Religious people are often biased to have ingroup favoritisms (Galen, 2009). Religious orientation and fundamentalism act as cognitive frame work to arrange the information in already held religious schemas; people high and low in fundamentalism deal with social phenomenon differently (Hunsberger, Alisat, Pancer, & Pratt, 1996). They strongly believe that religious teachings must be followed at any cost (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) and they believe that religion provides answer to all questions and try to follow religion in every day living (Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006). Fundamentalists who strongly practice religion have more negative attitudes toward sexual minorities than less practicing (see Herek, 2009). Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (27 July 2004, 27 Nov 2007) analyzed situation of homosexuals in Pakistan by providing an overview of official documents available. They reported dearth of information and empirical evidences about homosexuals in Pakistan and major underlying reason behind no acceptance of homosexuality is religious conservatism and no legal coverage.

All of the above mentioned phenomenon are the derivative of extremist tendencies. It is characteristics of attitudinal intolerance, inflexibility, at the cognitive and emotional levels, and rigidity in views (Gilani & Altaf, 2005). It in the present research Gilani and Altaf's concept of extremist tendencies considering it to be both personality and attitudinal construct is considered. No previous research evidence is available for using extremism as a correlate/predictor of attitude towards sexual minority in Pakistan, except a few studies

referring to its relationship with other variables. Those who are less educated were found to be more extremists (Altaf, 2002; Khan, 2008; Malik, 2004) and men also found to be more extremist than women (Malik, 2004) were. Those studying in *Deni Madaris* [religious schools] were more extremists (Altaf, 2002; Khan, 2008). Strong negative relationship was achieved for Personal Growth Index and extremism (Khan, 2008). Therefore, personality variables (like extremist tendencies) should be considered as basic motive underlying prejudices (see Stangor, 2009) as it is considered in present research (see Chapter 5).

Religiosity. Religious groups have very strong negative attitude (Crooks & Baur, 2005; Gill, 2007) towards sexual deviants. "... so called Christian background, so intolerant, so unchristian" (reported by one respondent in Oswald & Culton, 2003, p. 75). Many base their discrimination against sexual deviants by just positing "Bible says so..." or "its against the Quran..." (Yip, 2007, p. 212). Islamic stance in context of sexual deviance has already been discussed earlier in "Pakistani Context" of *Who are Hijras?* "Islamic civilization is essentially feminist" (Bouhdiba, 1975/1998, p. 116) as it ensures respect for women and encourages heterosexual relations. Anti-feminism observed in Islamic countries is because of cultural impact. Some literature reveals the homosexual aspect of Islamic literature and Sufism (see Roscoe, 1997; Wafer, 1997). Very nature of Arabic language and resultant translations are difficult to interpret in cultural context, which appear strongly homosexual in connotation cross-culturally (Bouhdiba, 1975/1998). For the role of Islamic teachings on attitude towards TGs and their perceptions, see Teh (2001) and Boellstroff (2004).

International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA; May 10, 2005) in The United Nations IRIN News Services Asia analyzed the acceptance of homosexuality in Pakistan, and reported on a scarcely available record showing that intolerance is because of religious teachings of Islam and many homosexual remains behind closet because of this. Historically, there is evidence of homosexuality in Ottomon Empire, Turkey. However, presently it is not acceptable and is stigmatised phenomenon (Eskin et al., 2005). Many feel threatened and internalize homophobia being in collectivistic culture where one is bound to exact social

norms (Gencoz & Yuksel, 2006), hence such issues are very serious in Islamic and Eastern countries. Negative attitude towards LGBT is because of strong religious beliefs held by the people who consider them sinful and deviant (Crooks & Baur, 2005; Oswald & Culton, 2003; Peters, 2005).

Buddhism and Hinduism have much tolerance for sexual variations (de Visser et al., 2007; Khan & Ayub, 2003; Nanda, 1999; Pande, 2004; Sharma, 2000; Totman, 2003; Winter, 2002; Yip, 2007). In divine and mono-atheist religions like Christianity, Judaism, and Islam there is no provision of any belief that is at odd with their religious tenets and strongly rejects such practices. These religions have conservative views about sexuality and gender roles (Crooks & Baur, 2005). Christianity is much liberal than Islam because of increased pluralism existing in that which facilitates deviant identities to find solace in any one belief system (Yip, 2007). Many changes have been made in Bible overtime and sexual deviants expect for further cleansing of anti-gay language in that (Mabey, 2007). However, rules for unlawful and lawful acts are clearly defined in Islam; even how to perform lawful acts (Bouhdiba, 1975/1998). Muslim homosexuals have less organised group than Christian in Britain that may be rooted in their religious beliefs and relevant religious information to capital about that (Yip, 2007).

There is mostly religion based discrimination (Lovett & Mannie de Saxe, 2006). According to Sullivan (as cited in Crooks & Baur, 2005) the acceptance by religion is must to make the moments of LGBTs successful. Religiosity defined as strength of religious beliefs as expressed in attitudes (subjective importance of religion) and behaviour (e.g., church attendance) (de Visser et al., 2007) is often used for the validation of scales measuring attitudes related to sexuality (see for example, Fisher & Hall, 1998; Fullard, Johnston, & Lief, 1998), imparting sexual education (see Godin, Frank, & Jacobson, 1998), extramarital sexual permissiveness (Reiss, 1998), sensation seeking (Zuckerman, Tushup, & Finner as cited in Zuckerman, 1998), homosexuality (Herek, 1998; Larsen, 1998; Zuckerman & Myers as cited in Zuckerman, 1998), LGBT (Oswald & Culton, 2003), sexual ideology (Lottes, 1998a), and

sexual polarity (Mosher, 1998a) that yielded positive relationship between religiosity and conservative attitude towards these issues (also see de Visser et al., 2007).

Attending religious services/church attendance (Denney, 2008; Fisher & Hall, 1998; Fullard et al., 1998; Larsen as cited in Larsen, 1998; de Visser et al., 2007), church affiliation (Zuckerman, Tushup, & Finner as cited in Zuckerman, 1998; Zuckerman & Myers as cited in Zuckerman, 1998), and importance of religion (Fullard et al., 1998) were taken to be indicator of religiosity for the validity purpose and the findings revealed that those who were more religious held more conservative sexual attitudes and more prejudice towards minorities (see also Herek, 2009). Multiple indicators of religiosity have been found to correlate strongly with negative attitude towards sexual minorities (Herek, 2009), hence, are helpful in assessing attitudes using multiple indicators (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1974).

For example, in Islam, five fundamental tenets for practicing religion are (1) belief in oneness of Allah and last Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.), (2) offering salat *salat* [prayers] five times a day, (3) fasting in holy month of *Ramadhan* [9th Islamic month for fasting in Muslims], (4) paying *Zakat* [offering 2.5% of alms on property yearly to the poor], and (5) performing *Hajj* [pilgrimage at Holy Makkah] for those who can financially afford (see *AlQuran*; Malik, 2008; *Sahi Bukhari*, 2000). Among these last two are applicable to financially stable Muslims, while first three are applicable to all, hence, can be used as indicators of religiosity in how much one practice these.

de Visser et al. (2007) used both intersection of religion and religiosity to study its relationship with sexuality. They studied members of four religions namely, Catholic, Protestant, Buddhist, and Muslims. Religious participation was compared with nonreligious group. Greater attendance of church/mosque showed more conservative attitudes towards homosexuality (see also Herek, 2009). Those who wanted religious services less frequently were much like nonreligious people in this approach towards sexuality. Those who had attendance at least monthly also had conservative approach. Religion is very important in developing personal and social identity (Mabey, 2007). Gill (2007) in her research by

analyzing internet messages pro and against same-sex marriages found that majority are not in the favour of these because of religious reasons.

Lottes and Weinberg (1998b) found that religious people have more restrictive view of sexuality, practices, and related media than less religious. Same difference is observed between church going and college going students for homosexuality (see Zuckerman, Tushup, & Finner; Zuckerman & Myers as cited in Zuckerman, 1998). Janghorbani, Lam, & The Youth Sexuality Study Task Force (2003) found that those who have no religion or traditional Chinese religion are more open towards sexuality. Being in religious educational set ups school does not approve of sexually deviant behaviours and this was one of the reasons not to disclose or acknowledge sexually deviant behaviours (Pratt & Buzwell, 2006).

Religious orientation. Researchers soon realized that frequency of church attendance was not the best way to gauge religiosity (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005). The main criticism of this approach was that it failed to consider the differences in how and why people are involved in religion. One of the early successful attempts to consider this was Allport's Intrinsic/Extrinsic Religious Orientation Scale (1967), which was originally proposed as a way to quantify how religious a person is. Participants who score high on the intrinsic dimension (and low on the extrinsic dimension) are considered to have internal motivations for their religious involvement, and view religion guiding them in how to interact with others. It has also been suggested that people high in intrinsic domain are more concerned with appearing to be a good person than those with low intrinsic orientation (Batson, Naifeh, & Pate, as cited in Denney, 2008). People in a study related intrinsic orientation with spirituality while outward social activity as religion (Mabey, 2007).

Scores on the Intrinsic subscale are negatively correlated with racial prejudice, whereas score on the Extrinsic subscale is positively correlated with racial prejudice (Allen & Spilka, 1967, Allport & Ross, 1967; Duck & Hunsberger, 1999). Intrinsic people have been generally found to be less prejudiced, and extrinsic people have been more prejudiced (see also Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989; Herek, 2009). These findings have been established with enough reliability which is largely proven (Gorsuch, 1988; Spilka, Hood, & Gorsuch, 1985),

while, vice versa has been found for intrinsic orientation specifically in reference to sexual deviants that shows less tolerance (see Batson et al., 1999; Case, Fishbein, & Ritchey, 2006; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005). People who score as highly religious on both scales are even more prejudiced than extrinsic people (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989). Association between sexual prejudice and religious orientation also depends upon religious denomination like intrinsic people having Christian religion have more negative attitudes toward sexual minorities (see Herek, 2009). The role of religious orientation in prejudice has been found to be inconsistent in research (Case et al., 2006); religion can promote and reduce prejudice (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005) that needs to be explored in present context.

Gender role attitudes. The expectations of society about specific behaviours of males and females have given rise to a set of attitudes called sex role attitudes (see Anila 1992b, Anila, Khan, & Sabir, 1993) that may change over time. A classic way of studying sexism is to study belief in men and women performing different role, and one who have strong belief in this discourage those who do not occupy traditional role and indulge in discriminatory behaviour. People backlash those who do not conform to gender roles (Hird, 2003; Swim & Hyers, 2009).

Researches show that people who have more traditional gender role attitudes have more negative attitudes towards sexual deviances (see Crooks & Baur, 2005; Herek, 2009), have more genderism and transphobia (Hill & Willoughby, 2005), attribute the responsibility for sexual harassment more to girls (Anila, 1992a), have hostile attitudes towards rape victims and false beliefs about rape and rapists (Ahmad & Kamal, 2000; Lottes, 1998b), observe *purdah* [veil] in their families (Anila, 1992a), attribute blame for spousal violence to women (Masood, 2004), and have more positive attitude towards spousal violence (Tahira, 2005) than those who have more modern gender role attitudes. A true egalitarian is one who does not negatively evaluate and discriminate against any person who shows typical opposite gendered characteristics (King & King, 1998). This positively predict attitudes toward outgroups (Stangor, 2009) and sexual minorities (Herek, 2008), being less stereotypic (Devine & Sharp,

2009), performing better in gender inappropriate tasks (Salik & Kamal, 2009), hence, to study its role in attitudes towards outgroups is highly recommended (Stangor, 2009).

Men stick to more traditional gender role attitudes than women (see Ahmad & Kamal, 2000; Anila et al., 1993; Herek, 2009; Nisar, 2004; Patton & Mannison, 1998; Salik, 2004; Tahira, 2005), so are religious fundamentalists (Swim & Hyerss, 2009). They have more conservative view about women's role (Khalid & Frieze, 2004). Women are more modern in their gender role attitudes may be because they face much problem because of harassment and mobility issues in the society, which men do not face directly. Men have more traditional belief and also greater belief in myths. Myths maintain the power imbalance in patriarchal society (Ahmad & Kamal, 2000). Women are less prejudiced and have more positive AIDS-related stereotypic attitudes than men (Snell, Finney, & Godwin as cited in Snell et al., 1998), are more egalitarian, so are the younger respondents than older (Beere, King, Beere, & King as cited in King & King, 1998). Education and media creates influence in gender role attitudes in a more modern direction (Anila, 1992a; Anila, 1992b; Anila et al., 1993; Masood, 2004; Nisar, 2004). Gender role attitudes are taken as correlate of attitudes and myths towards *hijras* with the assumption that those with traditional gender role attitudes have more negative attitudes towards *hijras* than those with modern gender role attitudes and have strong belief in myths as well.

Masculinity - Femininity (M-F). According to Diamond (2002, p. 323), "one is sex and one does gender". Gender is a culture-based entity that develops in the context of social norms and customs (Pande, 2004). We attribute gender (Kessler & McKenna, 1978) to others while interacting with them (Crooks & Baur, 2005). Once a gender attribution has been made, the person is expected to behave according to expected gender role/stereotypes (Ekins & King, 1996a) which is expressed through gender/sex roles (Anila, 1992b; Crooks & Baur, 2005; Diamond, 2004c; Kessler & McKenna, 1978) as an expression of gender/sexual identity (Berk, 1999; Crooks & Baur, 2005; Diamond, 2002, 2006a). These gender roles are imposed by society (Diamond, 2002, p. 323) and are developed through gender typing (Berk, 1999; Maccoby, 2000).

Gender schematic people apply the category of gender to everything—themselves, others, and even to abstract concepts (Bem, 1981, 1985). It is a cultural based phenomenon (Crooks & Baur, 2005). Masculinity and femininity are not mutually exclusive but are present in varying degree in each individual. These lie on a continuum (Abrams, 2003; Pande, 2004). Masculinity and femininity ratings are significantly higher in respective gender (Aidman & Carroll, 2003). Those who possess the characteristics of both men and women are called ‘androgynous’ (Greek root *andr* meaning man and *gynea* meaning woman; Bem, 1981) which is the indicator of gender flexibility (Crooks & Baur, 2005).

Masculinity in females is more acceptable than femininity in males (Rees, 1996; Smith, 2002; Smith et al., 2002a), therefore, men try to present themselves being “real man” by shunning stereotypical feminine characteristics of them (Herek, 2009). Researches show that extreme femininity for women and extreme masculinity for men is not desirable (see Lippa, 2001). Abrams (2003) in her research found female participants reporting that if they do not meet the standard of femininity they meet with rejection. Moreover, stereotypes prevailing in the society force them to behave in a gender categorized way or some in a resistance attain male gender role pattern. Masculinity is considered to be socially constructed, and ideals of manhood vary for different social classes, races, ethnicity, genders, sexual orientations, life stages, and historical eras (Levant & Fischer, 1998).

Those individuals who are undesirably masculine (hypermasculine) or endorse anti-feminine status and toughness, are likely to be sexually harassing towards women and perceived homosexuals (Pryor, 1998); have hostile attitudes towards rape victims; and hold false beliefs about rape and rapists (Lottes, 1998b). Extreme gender role adherence is significantly positively correlated with drug use, feeling of anger, acceptance of interpersonal violence, hostility towards women, legitimate form of aggression, dispositional impulsivity, and authoritarian beliefs (Hamburger as cited in Hamburger, Hogben, McGowen, & Dawson, 1998). However, Hill and Willoughby (2005) did not find any correlation of genderism and transphobia with masculinity and femininity using Bem Sex Role Inventory.

Although it may seem contradictory, given that gender socialization is thought to be stronger for boys than for girls, males sometimes show greater variance than females do on M-F measures (Lippa, 2001) and more extreme in their sex-role stereotyping in comparison to women (Skrapec & MacKenzie, 1981). Those men who perceive them to be more masculine take extreme measures against transgendered people (Green et al, Sep 1994). Constantinople noted that higher class and educational levels were associated with less extreme masculinity in men and femininity in women; thus, M-F scores reflect demographic factors than personality. Finally, M-F scores are often linked to age, becoming less extreme with age (as cited in Lippa, 2001). From the context, in the present research, it is assumed that with increased masculinity attitudes also become more negative, having more acceptance of myths and traditional gender role attitudes.

Gender. All the literature aforementioned have also explained gender differences in each construct, therefore, it suggests the significance of gender differences in exploring attitudes towards *hijras*. Internalization of expectations related to social roles lead to gender differences (Swim & Hyers, 2009). Patton and Mannison (1998) in the validation of their scale measuring attitude towards sexuality found significant gender differences. Women as compare to men were found to be more liberal towards sexuality and less rejecting towards homosexuality as a threat to society. Men stick to more traditional gender role attitudes than women. Zuckerman and Myers (as cited in Zuckerman, 1998) observed no gender differences on attitude towards homosexuality. While, Larsen and her colleagues (as cited in Larsen, 1998) found that women are more tolerant towards transsexuals (Landen, 1999) and homosexuality than men (see also Landen & Innala as cited in Hill & Willoughby, 2005; White & Franzini, 1999) are. Similarly, Hill and Willoughby (2005) for the validation of their Genderism and Transphobia Scale found that men reported more genderism (sexism), transphobia, and gender bashing than women.

Researches show that men have more negative attitude towards homosexuality and minority groups than women by virtue of their strongly sex-typed upbringing (see Crooks & Baur, 2005; Herek, 2009; White & Franzini, 1999), traditional gender role attitudes (see

Major & Sawyer, 2009), and disturbed by gender role violations than women (White & Franzini, 1999). However, research show that women who are more traditional in gender role attitudes are likely to endorse sexual double standards and give more allowance to men having premarital sex, multiple partners, and sex at a young age or in a new uncommitted relationship (Muehlenhard & McCoy as cited in Muehlenhard & Quakenbush, 1998). Literature suggests that gender bias has implicit component that may operate beyond conscious control (Kihlstrom, 1987, 1999) and exert a profound influence on social behaviour, including attitudes, stereotypes, and self-concept (see Aidman & Carroll, 2003).

All the correlates discussed here are used to study their relationship with attitudes and myths related to *hijras*. This will help in understanding the functional nature of attitude in psychosocial context.

Measuring Attitudes

Four models of attitude structure have been proposed from one component to three components. In all these, affective component which is evaluative in nature is the common factor. Three component model stresses cognitions, feelings, and behaviours (past behaviour extended towards social object) as important components in human experience. Last model has emphasized cluster of feelings, likes and dislikes, behavioural intentions, thoughts and ideas, which are enduring organization evaluative in nature about any object, group, phenomenon, etc. (see Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Maio et al., 2006).

Three component and two-component models are found to be comparatively strong for not denying the unidimensional model and both show strong link with belief system (Maio et al., 2006). Behavioural intentions are found to be predicting future behaviour (see Ajzen & Cote, 2008; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005) extended towards social object. Attitude towards any social group may take the form of prejudice that is based on tripartite model proposed by Allport (as cited in Hogg & Vaughan, 2005) which has three components cognitive (belief about the object), affective (strong feelings that are mostly negative about that group), and conative (intentions to act in a certain way not the action itself). For example, King et al. (2009) used Allport's tripartite model based on behavioural intentions for measuring

transprejudice, while, Hill and Willoughby (2005) have used tripartite model based on past behaviour for measuring transphobia. In the present research, The tripartite model based on behaviour intention is focused to avoid lack of predictability in behaviour by focusing at past behaviour and also gradually research evidences reveal lack of correspondence between stereotypes and prejudiced attitudes, therefore, using tripartite model based on behaviour intention seems to be more meaningful (see Balassa, 2003).

King et al. (2009, p. 20) in developing scale for measuring prejudice against transgender in China introduced term transprejudice. Winter et al. (2009) has also used the concept of transacceptance (derivative of transpositivity) and transprejudice in a factor analytic study expanded over seven nations for measuring prejudice against transwomen (MtFs). Prejudices are attitudes by nature based on cognitive, affective, and behavioural component and the terms can be used interchangeably (Fiske, Harris, Lee, & Russell, 2009; Herek, 2009). Since, present research is exploratory in nature and first in its own kind in Pakistan, so it can't be assumed beforehand that attitude will be negative and prejudiced, although general trend in attitudes show prejudice and phobic reactions. Therefore, in present research aim is to develop scale measuring attitudes toward *hijras*.

Overall attitude's predictive power for discrimination and violence against any group is low. If a measure evaluative in nature includes action, target, context, and time aspect then it may help in establishing relation of attitude and behaviours (see Ajzen & Cote, 2008). Although latest approach to study attitudes is implicit association tests (see Ahmad & Kamal, 2000; Aidman & Carroll, 2003; Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Maio et al., 2006) but predicting behaviours through explicit and implicit measures have mixed results. Even the idea of using the both type of measure to study attitude in one study is not justified as sometimes explicit measure correlate strongly with behaviour and sometimes implicit. But explicit measures like self-report measures are sensitive to element of social desirability (see Ajzen & Cote, 2008).

Further, the capability of attitude, measured through questionnaires, predicting the behaviour has shown the mixed results (see Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan,

2005). The weak association between two measures can be because of lack of correspondence (Bohner & Wanke, 2002). It is impossible to accurately measure the attitude towards a specific social object/group from a general measure, hence specific behaviour cannot be predicted. Researchers have found that predictive power of an attitude scale increases if it increases in specificity (Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). Although, tools for measuring attitude related to transgenders are available as mentioned above, but for the *hijras* being a cultural specific phenomenon that seems appropriate to develop separate scale to measure attitude towards them. We intend to develop measure to cater individual's attitudes specifically towards *hijras* of *hijra* community. Measures differ in their emphasis on either individual perspective or collective perspective, but individual opinion is grounded in the group one belongs to and social context that are reflected in one's opinion about any social group that correlate with normative beliefs (Stangor, 2009).

Likert type scale is a widely used technique for data collection form large sample (see e.g., Antoszewski et al., 2007; Hill & Willoughby, 2005; King et al., 2009; Lombardi et al., 2001; Winter, 2007; Winter et al., 2008; Winter et al., 2009). These are based on the premise that there is more than one underlying dimension for attitude that can be determined through factor analysis. These scales act as direct measures for measuring attitude; are easy to administer, more precise, and reliable as compare to indirect measures (Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Maio et al., 2006).

However, strength in predicting depends upon accessibility, centrality, and strength of attitudes and stereotypes; a persons' motives and values; and the context (Fiske et al., 2009). Davis, Yarber, Bauserman, Schreer, and Davis (1998) have given a range of sexuality related measures in which major approach for measurement was Likert-type scale. Stangor (2009) considers this the best method to study stereotypes and prejudices. Prejudices/attitudes are better at predicting discrimination than stereotypes; therefore, making measures to study attitudes are fruitful. In the same way, perception of attitude can also be explored through quantitative method (see e.g., White & Franzini, 1999).

Discrimination and violence sexual minorities experience from majority in lieu of their sexual deviant acts is called *enacted sexual stigma*. Many a times people are discriminated against on the mere feeling of they being sexual deviant, while in actual they may not be deviant, this is called *felt stigma*. Enacted stigma is also directed against close acquaintances of sexual deviants like friends, family, and those who oppose stigma, etc. called *courtesy stigma* (see Herek, 2009, p. 443). Attitudes hold great significance in the lives of people, especially who experience gender or sex related issues. Fear and hesitation exist on the both end (see also Herek, 2009) i.e., between society and *hijra* community (Tasmeera, 2002). Therefore, another objective of present research is to study reciprocal perception of attitudes by *hijras* and to differentiate between enacted and felt attitudes at the part of people and *hijras*, respectively.

Perception of the Attitudes

Expression of the attitudes makes the perception and understanding of these attitudes possible by others (Eiser, 1986). Having anticipation of enacted stigma (felt stigma), induce sexual deviants to modify their behaviour in realm of acceptable normative behaviour including passing or separating oneself from majority to avoid victimization (Herek, 2009) or become rebel out of reaction against all these forces or die young (Marsh, 2007). According to Lemert, there are two types of deviances. *Primary* is because of psychological processes in specific situation. *Secondary* is employing deviant behaviour as a defense, attack, or adjustment as a consequent of social reaction. Gender identity problems, cross-gendered expression, and resultant distress is primary deviance that gets strengthened and stable because of the punishment and social rejection that an individual receives. Finally, the individual accepts his deviant status which is maintained through stigmatization and isolation (see Liska, 1987; Rubington & Weinberg, 1987; Sharma, 2000; Thio, 1988).

“Sissy boys feel like freak as medicine take him as pathology, church as abomination, and law as outlaw and biology as some biological error” (p. 102), a stranger in the family, and

rejectee by religion (Marsh, 2007); same is true for other sexual deviants like homosexuals (White & Gerke, 2007). Negative sanctions of the society are so strong that many *hijras* permanently abandon their families and permanently join *hijra* community. Mostly their communication with the family ends with the death of the mother. Findings revealed that out of 50 *hijras*, 35% had not maintained any relation with their families and 25% once a year visited their families; very few of them visited families monthly (Riaz, 1996).

Hillier, Mitchell, and Mulcare (2008) using Foucault's analysis studied the religious discourse of 119 same sex attracted youth. They found that those who considered religion to be important had significantly less positive feelings about themselves and sexuality and harm themselves than those who did not consider religion. *Warias*, *maknayahs*, and *hijras* consider Islam's rejection of effeminate men to be a deriving force behind their rejection by family (see Boellstorff, 2004; Jami, 2005; Teh, 2001). One *Waria* reported Islam to be "anti-*Waria*" (Boellstorff, 2004). Experiencing condemnation in Buddhism makes *kathoeys* to indulge in stabbing themselves or jumping from tall buildings (Totman, 2003).

According to Riaz (1996), *khusras* in Pakistan make clear distinction between outsiders and themselves and feel inhibited in giving any personal information to the outside world (for *kathoeys* also see Totman, 2003). A *hijra* in Sharma's study (2000) reported, even street dog is better off than them. Participants ($N = 20$) of his study perceived that people consider them as dirty drain; give away alms only when pressurized; do not respect them; don't accept them in their houses because they consider *hijras* as inferior human beings; believe that *hijras* are born out of wedlock. Children tease them and throw stones on them when they go for asking alms. They are treated as untouchables and stigmatized. People even look down upon the person who is walking with them in street. In public places, their appearance inflicts fear of stigma in others. People put insulting remarks, still people do consider them *karma* of God's will (see also Winter, 2002). They want happiness, respect, recognition as separate gendered category, and want right to vote and jobs.

During exploratory phase of identity development, TGs try various sexual relationships that ultimately ends up in homosexuality which is heterosexual to them (Blanchard, 2005;

Lade, 2003/2006). LGBTs are repeatedly told that they are evil, sinner, and will go to hell. This homophobia results in alienating them from the source. Gradually, these adolescents accept the negative opinion about themselves, which leads to mental health issues. Later, some resolves negative feelings by reframing negative religious discourse, dwelling into their own spirituality, and develop new discourse that lead to much positive view about them. Mostly such new discourse is the one that is not endorsed by religion. Leaving religion (then) has the survival value (Boellstroff, 2004; Hillier et al., 2008, Yip, 2007).

People within the transgendered community feel that there is a persistent pattern of discrimination and prejudice against them within society. On the sample of 402 TGs, over half of the participants within this sample experienced some form of harassment or violence within their lifetime, 37.1% experienced economic discrimination, with a quarter experienced a violent incident (Lombardi et al., 2001). In seeking public health service, mostly TG clients freak out, feel threatened, challenged, and unprepared because of anticipation of heteronormativity (Fell et al., 2008), which make them feel inferior or abnormal (Semp, 2008) that is why many sexual deviants seek private health services as health providers do not accept alternate sexualities (White & Gerke, 2007). It is the people's perception of the attitude and anticipation of the situation which lead them to leave their homes (Sharma, 2000). Perception of stigma can be different form actual experiencing the stigma. Experiencing stigma is significantly more related with indulging in HIV risk behaviour than perceived stigma (Neilands et al., 2008) which promotes stigma for sexual minorities (Herek, 2009).

Anticipating Negative Consequences on Disclosure

There lies reciprocal interaction between society and a deviant, and both anticipate each others reaction in a context (Mead as cited in Liska, 1987; Rubington & Weinberg, 1987; Sharma, 2000; Thio, 1988). Pratt and Buzwell (2006) in their research of 159 youth with age between 13-19 years attracted to same sex found that many did not disclose their interest in school out of anticipated severe consequences including isolating, derogatory comments, calling bad names (see also Becker, 1987; Boellstroff, 2004; Little, 2001), and labeling as sinful and unnatural; methods used to discourage homosexuality. Some meet

physical torture for being suspected gays even they had not disclosed their preferences. Some fear that they would lose good friends if get exposed so just avoid confrontation and rejection. Disclosure at workplace of one's deviant sexuality is more easily done in close contacts only (Bucher & Raess, 2007). LGBT students fear more discrimination in university campus than employees (Rankin, 2007).

Because of stigmatization and fear of discrimination, they are more likely to opt for the jobs which require less conformity and help to hide sexual issues. They are more likely to be underpaid that leads to economic concerns, role deprivation, or low self-esteem. Having children and lack of social support (see Smith, 2002) are the contributory factors as stressors for LGBTs, as they fear that others will comment about them to their children (Hughes & Eliason, 2002). According to Eskin et al. (2005), being in a society like Turkey with sexual deviances can be regarded as a source of constant stress for the individual. Therefore, many such individuals live behind closet. One can assume that these individuals live in a double-bind situation. That is, if they come out, they meet the rejecting attitude, but if they do not, they may feel that their lives are meaningless, empty, and unfulfilled.

Among LGBTs, strongest perception of negative attitudes exists in TGs than rest of the groups and avoiding disclosure is a strategy to avoid discrimination (Pande, 2004; Rankin, 2007), but Hirsch and Rollins (2007) found that becoming visible is a strategy that American LGBTs take in lieu of discrimination and harassment that they experience. Coming out improves mental health condition (Herek, 2009). Coming out depends upon the perceived safety and acceptance by others and many believe that visibility is no solution (Bucher & Raess, 2007; White & Gerke, 2007). However, actual experience of discrimination may not lead to nonvisibility or vice versa (Bucher & Raess, 2007; Piedfort-Marin, Chevallery, & Cochand, 2007). Passing is a way to avoid negative social consequences and maintaining secrecy (see for review Crooks & Baur, 2005). Those who are closeted do not want to show any association with the uncloseted one because of stigma attached to LGBT which is more hurting for the uncloseted one (Oswald & Culton, 2003).

Lombardi et al. (2001) found that younger people have a greater likelihood of experiencing violence than older people. Transgendered youths who disclose their status are scorned, attacked, and locked into or thrown out of their homes. Contrary to above, being old queer one foresees loneliness and despair, as only few aspects of ones identity is accepted (Hughes, 2006). Ageing LGBTs believe that there is no need to expose oneself among heterosexual group (Lovett & Mannie de Saxe, 2006). Older LGBTs not only meet with discrimination from mainstream heterosexual community but within in their community too (Lo, 2006). For them midlife is in their thirties and involve renegotiation of their self-identity as they no longer feel valued at home or in commercial, party-oriented youth culture (Leonard, 2005, p. 96).

Internalization of Attitudes

Mead in 1934 (Hird, 2002a) posited that self cannot exist without society. According to Mead, the process of interaction helps in internalizing the other's attitudes towards oneself (Sharma, 2000). In the process of constant interaction with the society, the individual starts accepting others' definition of him (Pratt & Buzwell, 2006) which Goffman posits as 'mortification of the self' (as cited in Liska, 1987; Rubington & Weinberg, 1987; Sharma, 2000; Thio, 1988). Internalized sexual stigma is introjections of sexual stigma assigned by society in self-concept and accepting its validity as sexual deviant that results in developing negative feelings not only towards self but also towards those who share stigma. This is based on negative attitude extended by nonstigmatised majority towards stigmatized minority (Herek, 2009). Wagner (1998) devised Internalized Homophobia Scale to measure degree to which negative attitudes about homosexuals are internalized and integrated into ones self-image and identity as gay. Internalized homophobia, homonegativity, or heterosexism creates strong impact on mental health (see also Eskin et al., 2005; Gencoz & Yuksel, 2006; Herek, 2009; Little, 2001; Novick, 1997; Semp, 2008; White & Franzini, 1999; Yip, 2007).

Internalized homophobia is a source of stress in itself (Eskin et al., 2005) that reduces psychological adjustment, create difficulties in dealing with heterosexuals (see for review Little, 2001; White & Franzini, 1999), and increased substance abuse (Hughes & Eliason,

2002; Little, 2001). Sharma (2000) considers that it is not only biological deformity but also the *hijras*' perception about their inability to perform desired gender roles that leads to nonacceptance, hence making them to lead a life of their own. Major and Sawyer (2009) reviewed many research studies and concluded that negative perceptions of attitudes may not effect self-esteem and self-evaluation rather being member of the group may increase these by considering discrimination an outcome of social identity rather than personal characteristics. This negative perception leads to anger and hostility (Major & Sawyer, 2009).

Sexual deviants react to stigma by making counter-culture with range of expressions (see Rubington & Weinberg, 1987). Such minorities often become paranoid because of constant penalization (Novick, 1997), which negatively correlates with degree of integration in one's community and positively correlates with age one accepted being deviant (Wagner as cited in Wagner, 1998). Todd (2008) extracted predictive factors that lead to immune response to drugs and progression of HIV/AIDS after analyzing psychoneuroimmunological database. Among many factors that are potential focus for psychological interventions include concealment rather than acceptance of sexual identity, internalized homophobia, and a sense of meaning in life despite threat of mortality.

A person's negative beliefs about his sexual and erectile functioning increase sexual problems (Fichten, Spector, Amsel, Creti, Brender, & Libman, 1998). Dane (2005) in her study asked 127 (67 female, 60 male) same-sex attracted youth aged 18 to 25 years to complete a self-report questionnaire examining the role of out-group and ingroup acceptance in predicting their psychological well-being. Perceived acceptance of their sexual orientation from heterosexual friends, neighbours, co-workers, employers, or teachers, and from their mother significantly added to the prediction of these youth's well-being, while controlling for perceived support from their sexual minority friends.

Heterophobia

Anyone from stigmatized minority being chronically oppressed can have prejudices and negative feelings against majority (see Major & Sawyer, 2009; Weinberg, 1987). Nonetheless, mostly minority is stigmatized as it is game of power (Herek, 2002). Many

studies have been conducted on homophobia, little information exists about the attitudes of homosexuals toward heterosexuals. In order to compare the attitudes of both groups, a well-known homophobia questionnaire (Hudson & Ricketts, 1980) was reworded to assess the attitudes of homosexuals toward heterosexuals, forming a “heterophobia” questionnaire. Sixty homosexual students were matched with 60 heterosexual psychology students on sex, age, race, and education. Each group was given its respective “phobia” questionnaire. Results showed that homosexual participants reported less phobia and more negative experience than heterosexuals were (White & Franzini, 1999). Sexual deviants who are ‘out of closet’ were found to be more likely to generalize negative experiences and display heterophobia based on their experiences of more negative treatment in the process of identity development and coming out (White & Franzini, 1999).

Till recently, the interactions with *hijra* with outside groups are based on research pursuits and distrust among *hijras* about whether such interactions would ever benefit them remains. Fear of being outed and societal and state violence keep them in a state of continued disorganization (PUCL-K, Sep 2003). *Hijras* are really working hard to merge into mainstream to fight against society’s negative attitude towards them. They have formed ‘All India *Hijra* Kalyan Sabha’ on 4th November 1983 (see Khan & Ayub, 2003). Similarly, in Pakistan first Shemale organization in Pakistan to fight for *hijras*’ rights has been established. The study of heterophobia (or perception of attitudes in present research) is important for essentially the same reason as the study of transphobia/homophobia. Both are conditions which may harm individuals holding the attitude as well as those who perceive these (White & Franzini, 1999).

Consequences of Attitudes and Their Perceptions

Discrimination lead to mental health issues (Major & Sawyer, 2009) that may also be an outcome of perceiving, misperceiving or over-estimating discrimination by the members of minority, therefore social psychologists are strongly recommended to study this domain

(Stangor, 2009). This is matter of perceiving discrimination based on ones' social identity and considering it to be unfair at phenomenological level or some do not consider that to be unjust but deserving attitude. People who believe that their stigma is controllable and who have status-justifying beliefs perceive negative attitudes of others as justified. People vary in perceiving discrimination, some base this perception on the frequency of discrimination experienced and some how much they will experience i.e., anticipating discrimination. However, sometimes even experiencing discrimination and negative attitude, they donot attribute it that way (Major & Sawyer, 2009).

Social support is an important factor in initiating and maintaining deviance in many studies on deviant behaviours (see e.g., Kaplan & Tolle, 2006; Rubington & Weinberg, 1987). Family, friends, and significant others, intentionally or unintentionally shape the people to commit deviance (Higgins & Mackinem, 2008). Malik (2008) carried out research in Pakistan including 50 *hijras* found social support was negatively correlated with psychological distress in which most significant aspect of social support were nurturance, reliable reliance, and reassurance of worth from the environment, which lacks in *hijras'* environment. Nonheterosexual adolescents are often raised in the families that have heterosexual orientation that raises the risks to well-being through social isolation (Dane, 2005). Severe negative sanction for behaving deviantly can have adverse effect on members of nongroup (Kaplan & Tolle, 2006).

Docter and Fleming (2001) found in their research on TGs that all excluding 12% of 516 TGs were member of some support or advocacy organization. If the interests and activities are deviant and not socially approved then there is paramount pressure to make subcultures (see for research evidences Rubington & Weinberg, 1987) or join any that helps in gaining confidence, affirmation of their sexual expression, identity, and fighting for their rights by rejecting normative expectations (Mabey, 2007; Yip, 2007). Additional problems include access, secrecy, and guilt and a subculture is the solution to these (Ekins & King, 1996b). Sexual minorities form communities out of discrimination they face in lieu of their race, age, class, gender, and sexuality (Kitsuse, 1987; Mercer, 1987; Pamment, 2010).

Mental Health Issues among Transgenders

Fikar and Kieth (2004) in an internet survey found that LGBT people have specific health information needs. This need is because of their special sexualities and the discrimination they receive from unaware and hostile society (see Khan & Ayub, 2003; Sharma, 2000). Heteronormativity (Semp, 2008) and due to rejecting attitudes towards one's differentness from the majority, sexual deviants may develop mental health problems. Several researchers have discussed the profound psychological and social consequences associated with transgenderism and transsexualism (Eskin et al., 2005; Lesser, 1999; Little, 2001; Lombardi et al., 2001; Novick, 1997; Semp, 2008; Totman, 2003; White & Franzini, 1999) and put forth theories explaining how negative attitudes effect mental health of sexual minorities. Meyer (1995, 2003) in **minority stress theory** posits that mental health issues of sexual minorities originate out of stigma associated with them for showing interests and goals incongruent to societal structures based on sexism, heteronormativity, etc. This stigma generates minority stress which is leading cause of mental health problems for sexual deviants. Consequences include stress related to secrecy, anxiety of being discovered (even after starting to live openly in the preferred gender), social avoidance, depression, low self-esteem, suicide attempts, substance use, etc. (Eskin et al., 2005; Harcourt et al., 2001; Herek, 2009; Hillier et al., 2008; Hird, 2002b; Little, 2001; Major & Sawyer, 2009; Marsh, 2007; Miller, 2006; Totman, 2003) and effect social adjustment (Sharma, 2000). This needs to be addressed along HIV/AIDS that otherwise takes more consideration in health services for sexual minorities (Mule, 2007).

Venn-Brown (2007) in book review of *Homosexuality: The Use of Scientific Research in the Church's Moral Debate* by Jones and Yarhouse 2000, criticized the authors for declaring very high incidence of mental health problems in sexual deviants comparing to heterosexual, but failed to introduce the possible causes of these mental health issues like rejection by family, societal norms of conformity, religious dissonance, and even persecution. Eskin et al. (2005) found that child sexual abuse, low perceived closeness with parents, and sexual orientation are the significant predictors of suicidal ideation during last 12 months.

Boys with cross-gendered feelings and LGBTs often experience bullying, teasing by peers, and isolation (Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003; Little, 2001). Harcourt and colleagues (Harcourt et al., 2001), in their research focusing women and TG sex worker found that most of them indulged in drug use (88% used heroine) through injections, therefore, there were high instances of hepatitis B and C, 75% had experienced violence at work place and lack of supportive relationships.

Reasons for high rate of drug use is to undo inhibition related to stigmatized same sex activity, the physical pain involved, and to intensify pleasure. Besides this, stigmatized status, stress and depression, lack of social support, homophobia, transphobia, internalization of stigma, sexism, being closeted, discrimination at work, verbal/physical and sexual abuse, peer using drugs or alcohol and creating peer pressure, racism, etc. further intensify alcohol and substance use that act as a coping strategy. Inaccessibility to health services makes them to use hormones illegally that increases the risk manifold (Hughes & Eliason, 2002).

Boys with GID show, on average, as much general psychopathology as do demographically matched boys referred for other clinical problems, although such psychopathology is biased toward internalizing symptomatology (Zucker, Bradley, & Lowry Sullivan, 1996). Gender dysphoria may be present with many comorbidities OCD, or mania, with suicide attempts, depression, paraphilias, anxiety and personality disorders (see Gallucci, Hackerman, & Schmidt, 2005; Marks, Green, & Mataix-Cols, 2000), Schizophrenia (Manderson, 2001), Autism (Gallucci et al., 2005; William, Allard, & Sears, 1996), Asperger (Kraemer, Delsignore, Gundelfinger, Schnyder, & Hepp, 2005). These types of preoccupations in children are more prevalent than realized due to parental under-reporting given the negative stigma associated with feminine interests in young boys (Williams, Allard, & Sears, 1996).

Oswald and Culton (2003) studied self-identified 527 non-metropolitan LGBT about their LGBT status. Best things they reported were close relationship, high quality life, involvement with LGBT social networks and organizations, and self-acceptance. Worst things included weak and fragmented LGBT resources, living in homophobic climate (see also

Rankin, 2007), and lacking equal rights. They suggested that their status can be improved by pursuing civil rights, fostering a supportive climate and strengthening personal relationships and there is requirement for political change.

Antecedents for Joining *Hijra* Community

Hooker defined community as, “an aggregate of persons engaging in common activities, sharing common interests, and having a feeling of socio-psychological unity” (as cited in Ekins & King, 1996b, p. 51 note). Feeling that one’s gender identity is at odd with physiology lead to discomfort and fright in the individual. Earlier they try to remain secretive yet face social rejection by friends, family, and society. Some of them assume their transgendered tendencies beyond their control. Therefore, the only option they are left with is to act out. This transition from one’s actual gender to desired gender is very challenging (Ekins & King, 2006) that involve social, emotional, and financial cost which only a strong person can endure (Green et al., Sep 1994) and the new deviant identity is developed in a process of interaction (see Higgins & Mackinem, 2008; Kaplan & Tolle, 2006; Liska, 1987; Rubington & Weinberg, 1987; Thio, 1988).

This transition starts from the humiliating, intolerating, and adusive attitude of the family (see Kaplan & Tolle, 2006; PUCL-K, Sep 2003; Rees, 1996; Riaz, 1996; Rubington & Weinberg, 1987; Sharma, 2000). Contrarily, Totman (2003) did not find any evidences of familial problems in his sample of 43 *kathoeys*. Motivation to join *hijra* community arises only when one experiences rejection from the family. The children taken away forcibly by *hijras* sometimes do not adjust in the *hijra* community. They run away from place to place, but ultimately they take refuge in the *hijra* community for their survival and *hijras* force them to live with them (Sharma, 2000). Sharma found that 68% join community voluntarily while remaining was subjected to coercion. Out of total, 32% were handed over by parents themselves at various ages among which 50% were handed over when they were few days old (see also Pande, 2004).

Its mostly in teens when to rescue their lives and pursue their interests these *hijras* leave their homes and move place to place in desired direction. When they become

economically supportive to family, their families develop acceptance, and start approving their visits to home (see Boellstroff, 2004; Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000). Literature reveals some of the factors that lead such gender variant people to join *hijra* community are as under:

Social acceptance and approval. Social acceptance and approval is the fundamental need of LGBTs (see Lade, 2003/2006) that lead them to join supportive communities (see Brady 1998; Cass as cited in Davis et al., 1998; Ekins, 1996; Levitt, Gerrish, & Heistand, 2003; Troiden, 1987). Deviant sexual activities tend to fall outside the consensual norms and sexual deviants employ means, commonly defined as “illegitimate,” to secure their ends (Tolentino, 2000). There is strong, in this context, need to belong that is fulfilled through affiliating with any community which enhances affirmation and acceptance otherwise missing in society at large. This also helps them to protect against negative attitudes of the society towards them (see Crooks & Baur, 2005; Higgins & Mackinem, 2008; Kaplan & Tolle, 2006; Liska, 1987; Thio, 1988), to draw security (Ekins & King, 2006; Nanda, 1999; PUCL-K, Sep 2003; Sharma, 2000), and to gain information (Ekins, 1996). In Riaz’s study (1996), most of the *hijras* showed cross-dressing in pre-adolescence and met with rejection and punishment. That led to developing informal contact with *hijra* community who approved and encouraged such behaviour. Cross-dressers and passive homosexuals are the frequent visitors of *hijras*’ households. These informal contacts further leads to formal joining of community mostly at the age of 12-16 years and for few in late adolescence.

Some of the true *hijras* reported that they were passing as males before joining *hijra* community to protect their honour and for social security. Among many other factors, bodily characteristics like facial hair, non-development of breasts, and voice make the *hijras* visible. Social rejections and society’s reminders that they are socially inferior, force *hijras* to look for other outlets for their existence. Even those who resist joining *hijra* community earlier, soon realise that they cannot sustain in isolation and cannot keep the life of continuous run from one place to another for the fear of visibility and non-acceptance (Sharma, 2000). Social acceptance and rights granted by the society is an important prognostic factor in the treatment of individuals with GID (Antoszewski et al., 2007).

Coming out is life stage issue for LGBTs (see Rankin, 2007) when each time they change their social circles. The coalition between LGBTI (I stands for intersexed) community does not represent the common identity but the shared experience of heterosexist discrimination (Leonard, 2005). Today, LGBT have many resources that allow them to gain information, explore identities, and to shape much larger communities and to maintain safe level of disclosure (Woodland, 1999). Among these internet is found to be a globalizing force (McLelland, 2002; Woodland, 1999), especially, for Muslim sexual minorities (Yip, 2007) and help in becoming isolated TGs coming closer and developing a feeling of collectivity and increases coalition efforts (Broad, 2002). Jardin (2006) found that LGBTs are more likely to get information from counselor, friends, or support group than internet, and they always wanted to know somebody in LGBT group from their own culture.

Woodland (1999) in his research found that internet mainly serves those who have yet not exposed themselves publicly or are in the process of coming out (see also Diamond & Beh, 2005). It acts as a safe place for them as physical harm is not faced and chances of losing jobs and relations is also low. Acceptance of ones sexuality has become easier and in a way internet is spreading it greatly. Exposing identity online is a rehearsal for exposing identity offline. LGBT members share sameness and it is easy to come out to people of same interests that help in reducing their mental health problems. Findings of Oswald and Culton (2003) revealed that community tolerance as the best thing and hostility as the worst thing being LGBT. Jardin (2006) in her research found that the members of LGBT group have to behave and dress up in certain ways to be acceptable in this group (see also researches on deviance in Rubington & Weinberg, 1987), otherwise, community reject them (see Singh, 2002).

Identity crisis. Khan and Ayub (as cited in Khan & Ayub, 2003) on personality analysis of *hijras* found that need for nurturance and succorance was higher than normal individuals. After being out-casted, they struggle for their existence which leads to stress and strain and they face identity crisis. To cope up with this situation they develop relations within community to draw emotional security that are mostly feminine e.g. mother, daughter, sister, etc. (see also Khan & Ayub, 2003; Riaz, 1996; Sharma, 2000; Singh, 2002) as they

portray female identity. Organised living creates “we feeling” among *hijras* and many sexual deviants consider this as a family (Mabey, 2007) and they derive socio-economic and psychological security (Riaz, 1996; Singh, 2001) from each other.

Cass (as cited in Davis et al., 1998), Brady (1998), Levitt et al. (2003), and Troiden (1987) studied the developmental stages in homosexuals and proposed identity confusion, ambiguity about homosexual identity, difficulty in coming out for anticipating negative social reaction, isolation and strong need for belongingness, acceptance and approval, then entering in homosexual community formally, and learning trick of trades (see acculturation in Rubington & Weinberg, 1987), having a feeling of relief, excitement, and belonging as common stages. Affiliating with community gives a sense of desirability and connection with others where gender variation is valued.

Ekins and King (1996b) have traced the historical archives of magazines, newspapers, and letters since 1867 and reported number of cases in which the various factors leading to and outcome of cross-dressing have been reported. Among many factors, few were punishment for cross-dressing (Diamond, 2006b) leading to rebellion. Ekins (1996) by using grounded theory approach has also abstracted the male femaling stages taken as a career path resolving identity crisis that constitutes femaling by developing networking in transgenderd community and through acculturation. Ones personal identity is also based on social identity (Major & Sawyer, 2009). Those who are in gender transgressing community shows that community and identity formation are very important (Ekins & King, 2006; Rubington & Weinberg, 1987).

Stigma attached with TGs increases the collective and shared sense of identity that leads to collective actions, hence help in establishing ingroup/outgroup boundaries (Broad, 2002). According to Gamson (as cited in Broad, 2002), this is more of an identity blurring process (constructing collective identity) earlier that all those who are transgressing gender come together and do great deal of networking for addressing mutual issues. This shows expansion in umbrella term TG or *hijra* (see e.g., Haider & Bano, 2006; Nanda, 1999; PUCL-K, 2003, Riaz, 1996; Sharma, 2000). Gradually group consciousness on daily basis

emerges declaring oneself as more TG or less TG and to know about ones rights. Then identity building or negotiating (deconstructing collective identity) i.e., building boundaries within community, differentiating oneself from each other as gay, MtF, cross-dresser, drag queen, etc. (see subcultural variation in Rubington & Weinberg, 1987) emerge. For example, transgenders do not want to be associated with homosexuals (see Ekins & King, 2006; see *khusras* and *zannanas* divide in Khan & Ayub, 2003; PUCL-K, Sep 2003; Riaz, 1996). Who is ingroup and who is outgroup result into formulating norms and rules that regulate behaviours within community e.g., dress code, addressing code, etc. Such a transgendered identity is constantly in flux and change in developing TG boundaries (Taylor & Whittier as cited in Broad, 2002).

Hijra community is like magnet that attracts people from different kind of cross-gender identities, attributes, and behaviours (Nanda, 1999). Within community, symbiotic relationship exists between different groups (like *zannanas* and *khusras*). There is a constant interchange of languages, symbols, and mythologies of alternative sexualities/genders between the *hijra* and homosexual subcultures (PUCL-K, Sep 2003). This shows that they draw social and emotional support from each other being different/deviant from rest of the society (Green et al., Sep 1994). Entering in these circles depend upon the person's motivation for femaling (Batalha, 2006) and anticipated discrimination and prejudice as threat to personal and social identity (Major & Sawyer, 2009).

Economic factor. Generally, low socio-economic class is more prone to deviance (see Liska, 1987; Thio, 1988) for not having many resources to achieve goals. Intersexed/ hermaphrodite child can born in any class. However, there are more problems faced by *hijras* from poor socio-economic background (Pamment, 2010). Either child is not sent to school for the fear of disclosure or meet early drop out because of stigma. Label results into isolation and later complete detachment from the family. Economically sound families and those with large family size are in better position to protect such children for longer period. Mostly children from better class leave home on reaching puberty, but those from low socioeconomic class and rural background leave early. Same is true for child with cross-gendered interests.

Poverty is a significant reason where parents demand money as compensation for handing over child to *hijra* community (Pande, 2004; Singh, 2001; Sharma, 2000).

Hijras' position is better than low socioeconomic class as they don't have any family to take care of. That is why monetary gain for a normal healthy man is an important factor to join *hijra* community for survival. This aim to achieve better status within community keep *hijra's* role continued (Sharma, 2000). In Totman's research (2003), number of the *kathoeyes* is increasing with the tourist industry boom, which is adding a strong economic factor in joining this community. The increased factor of wealth has given way to opportunists who are fake practitioners. Mostly, such individuals are those who are unemployed (Irvine as cited in Totman, 2003). Contrary to this, Riaz (1996) in her research did not find a single *khusra* who reported to join community for financial reason.

There are less employment opportunities for *hijras*/TGs (PUCL-K, Sep 2003; Riaz, 1996) except prostitution (Weinberg et al., 1999). This activates another form of economic-sexual relationship among fellow marginalized individuals (Tolentino, 2000). In a study (Eyre et al., 2004), TGs reported that their work incur easy money and for this reason they are in this circle, beside this getting attention from men is pleasurable. Although *hijra* community does provide economic subsistence to its members, but most of them have very meagre financial resources (Riaz, 1996). Research on *hijras* and *kothis* (*zannanas*) in Bangalore showed that they have willingly entered sex work for job security and for financially supporting parents. An element of pride comes in while financially supporting one's family (PUCL-K, Sep 2003) and to be acceptable (Boellstroff, 2004; Riaz, 1996). Therefore, they consider sex business a legitimate piece of work like any other (PUCL-K, Sep 2003).

Going by their physical characteristics people mostly perceive them as coming from poor class (Sharma, 2000). Price of visibility is a function of class. Degree of transphobic discrimination is high among lower class. Privilege of passing depends upon the resources, techniques, technologies available to a person to pass (makeup, clothes, wigs etc.) which is not available to poor class because of financial issues. Therefore, *hijras* frequently meet with negative attitudes. As class decreases negative consequences of visibility increase (Bettcher,

2007; Sharma, 2000). Hence, *hijras* are mostly recruited from low socio-economic class where their effeminate behaviour is not understandable (Nanda, 1999).

Geographical location. As per the research findings related to residential background, *hijras* of rural background stay for a little time with parents than of urban background, as it is difficult to conceal their identity in rural setting for much physical proximity and information sharing. Those in urban areas might lead quite a longer time with parents and might get education and lead normal life (Sharma, 2000; see also Liska, 1987; Thio, 1988). Rural LGBTs lead secretive and private lives that emphasize the relationships with closed support networks, which is a strategy to survive in the hostile climate (D'Augelli; Kramer as cited in Oswald & Culton, 2003).

Hijras in rural setting then look forward to community in urban settings to achieve solace and peace. This in turn contributes to the formation of the *hijra* community as a largely urban phenomenon (PUCL-K, Sep 2003). Returning to rural setting again is stressful (Oswald, 2002). Contrary to this, Hirsch and Rollins (2007) found large incidences of facing discrimination and harassment by LGBTs in urban settings. In the rural settings and slums, TGs are agent of sexuality to young men, and attraction for women (Tolentino, 2000). Unlike Shrama's (2000) stance, whose major emphasis in research was on those *hijras* who were hermaphrodites/intersexed, Oswald and Culton (2003) found that a lot more opportunities exist in cities for LGBT, but still they choose to live in rural areas. Cultural coherence exist in the areas where there is consistency in family values, community, and religious system (Salamon as cited in Oswald & Culton, 2003) as in rural areas. Gradually with growing increase of internet facilities and reverse migration from urban to rural areas, the organization in rural areas has reduced, but the sanctions and social pressures on LGBT still exist. In nonmetropolitan areas, LGBT experience more support within their community and tolerance in general population and economically in better position to sustain their lives than cities (see Oswald & Culton, 2003).

Deviant community is not limited to any geographical location (Rubington, 1987). However, geographical locations effect social practice and preferences (Gottlieb as cited in

McLelland, 2002). Such communities are more concerned with being or identity. In West, it was not until 1960s that first such group of cross-dressers emerged which gradually became formalised (Diamond, 2004a; King as cited in Ekins & King, 1996a). According to Totman (2003), unlike *kathoey*s or *hijras*, these communities in West do not bear any traditional and historical perspective. These are there to fight for TGs' rights to end persecution, to restore dignity, to demand basic rights and respect, and have a feeling of connectedness (Green et al., Sep 1994).

Theoretical Perspectives on Deviant Subcultures/Identities

Many theories have described the role of negative social reaction, attitudes, social sanctioning and their reciprocal perceptions in development of deviant subcultures and identities.

Social identity theory. Like attitude towards social object/group (see Levy & Hughes, 2009; Smith & Hogg, 2008; Stangor, 2009; Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006), this theory is also applicable in perception of attitudes. Witnessing discrimination of group members makes one hypervigilant of discriminatory cues being member of stigmatised group. Apprehension in interacting with nonstigmatised group and facing ambiguity in attributing discrimination to personal deservingness or social identity is experienced. Groups that have been oppressed since years more readily perceive discrimination than nonoppressed groups (Major & Sawyer, 2009).

Major and Sawyer (2009) reviewed many research studies and concluded that negative perceptions of attitudes may not effect self-esteem and self-evaluation rather being member of the group may increase these by considering discrimination an outcome of social identity rather than personal characteristics. Besides this, group is a source of emotional and social support, validation and consensus on perception and attributions, therefore, enhances self-esteem. Perceived disadvantage of ones group also enhance self-esteem with group identification in mediating role. Optimistic approach in life also moderate between self-esteem and perceived negative attitude and discrimination, hence lead to less depression.

However, unequal distribution of resources decreases self-esteem. Nonetheless, negative perception leads to anger and hostility.

Labeling theory. Labelling perspective proposed by Becker and Lemert (see Becker, 1987; Higgins & Mackinem, 2008; Kaplan & Tolle, 2006; Lemert, 1987; Liska, 1987; Thio, 1988) has emphasized the role of label in the life of person behaving deviantly. The anti-normative behaviours are considered as threat to society, hence labelled as deviant and rejected in the process of interaction. Label has social and psychological consequences that affect the future relationship, economic opportunities, and future norm violations. Earlier the primary deviance may be context based or transitory. Social reaction to the primary deviance creates prolonged effect on psychological structure and performance of social roles that take the form of secondary deviance as a mean of social defense.

People tend to see themselves from others perspective in building their self-definitions or self-concept (Schur, 1987) and behave accordingly. The label acts as a social status --- master and subordinate status—and helps in developing deviant identity and establishing a deviant career. Master status overrides all the other statuses in describing the person (see Rahman, 2010) e.g., in case of *hijras* having a label of *hijra* overrides all other traits of the person (see Haider & Bano, 2006). Sharma (2000) has comprehensively described the role of label in the life of *hijras*. For example, the person who cannot fulfil the role of procreation is looked down upon. That is why any man who is incapable in this regard is taken as *namard* [impotent] or *hijra* (Haider & Bano, 2006; Sharma, 2000). Therefore, individuals with deformed genitals are stigmatised and singled out so are castrated males (Nanda, 1999).

Label of deviance like *hijra*, TS, etc. serves as a blessing and time of enlightenment as it gives meaning of existence and reason for deviant feelings to the sexual deviant (Becker, 1987; Rees, 1996). The gender labels are facilitative in the development process that helps in assimilating new information according to gender stereotypes (Gelman, Coleman, & Maccoby, 1986; Green et al., Sep 1994) and resolve gender dysphoria (Diamond & Sigmundson, 1997). Gradually, deviant feelings start making sense. These labels have

disabling effects for the individual when he/she stops exploring other alternatives for meaningful expressions and tries to conform to some model of group-stereotyped behaviour (Diamond, 2002). Such a label can be changed by changing social group that change the label from “deviant” to “not much different from others” (Mercer, 1987). A gender label clearly initiates a process of social learning that includes modeling and reinforcement of sex-typical preferences based upon membership in that gender group (Maccoby, 2000).

People who are considered to be outsiders by the society share label, hence, come together (Becker, 1987; Sharma, 2000) because of common fate and negative attitude they experience from the society in response to their deviance; they become reactive and deviant subcultures are formed (Kitsuse, 1987). Often those who are proud and defiant make these countercultures (Novick, 1997; Sharma, 2000) and enter into anti-normative activity such as homosexuality (Nanda, 1999) that is why many homosexuals are found in TS community (Cowan, 2005). Such communities do have a code of conduct, a value system, which put them at defence against any societal rejection of their behaviour (Becker, 1987). They give justifications and excuses for the deviant behaviour that can be based on religious exploration to fulfil their spiritual needs (see Jami, 2005; Mabey, 2007; Nanda, 1999; Yip, 2007).

Social Strain. Merton in 1938 and Ohlin and Cloward in 1964 (see Kaplan & Tolle, 2006; Liska, 1987; Thio, 1988) have described the role of society, culture, and neighbourhood in controlling the means to achieve goals in life. When these goals become unachievable in conventional way, it produces strain to either reduce the due importance of goal (e.g., exacting socially approved gender role) and develop new goals or use other alternative means to achieve the goals (e.g., cross-gendered behaviour making a place in *hijra* community). for example, TGs get married for the reason that their cross-gendered feelings might get better/reduced and because of social pressure to get married from ethnic and religious communities (see Diamond, 2006b). It is true for the *kothis* (*zannanas*) as well (PUCL-K, Sep 2003).

According to Cohen’s status frustration theory (see Kaplan & Tolle, 2006; Liska, 1987; Thio, 1988), once deviant people fail in culturally approved role they experience

frustration and try to achieve status in his/her own way by changing their goals. Therefore, such people set their own standards in their own class and try to evaluate conventional people from that standard. Agnew (as cited in Kaplan & Tolle, 2006) gave three categories of strain i.e., inability to achieve positively valued goals, loss of positively valued relationship, and being object of negative actions by others. The resultant is forming deviant subcultures. According to Cohen, such groups may not be anti-normative but these are considered deviant because of their complete isolation from the rest of the society (as cited in Sharma, 2000).

Social learning. Akers (as cited in Kaplan & Tolle, 2006; Kaplan, 2006) explains the deviant behaviour as a response to reward and punishment. When a deviant act becomes more rewarding than conventional then people commit that deviant act depending on exposure to the deviant idea. Differential association with deviant group then help in approximating differential reinforcement that lack in conventional system. It seems likely that children receive mixed messages about the appropriateness of various gender-related behaviors from different socialization sources. Parents who strongly reinforce sex-typed behaviors rear children who display strongly sex-typed behaviors. On the other hand, parents who do not strongly reinforce sex-typed behaviors rear children who are less strongly sex typed and who may, therefore, show a greater incidence of deviant behaviors e.g., homosexuality (Lippa, 2002). Parents, especially the father, reinforce sex typed activities (see Bailey & Zucker, 1995; Maccoby, 2000) and peers discourage cross-sex activities (Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003).

Social control theory. Proponent of this theory were Reckless, Nye, and Hirschi (as cited in Liska, 1987; Thio, 1988) who emphasized the role of social control --- inner and outer--- in making the person abide by the social norms. One internalizes the social norms, values, beliefs, etc. as one's own. Social control is imposed by parents, peers, teachers, and significant others (taken as third parties by Rubington & Weinberg, 1987) through direct and indirect control methods. If a person has strong bonding and attachment to the conventional institutions like family and more involvement in conventional activities (Hirschi as cited in Liska, 1987; Thio, 1988), it is less likely for the person to indulge in deviant activities as

he/she is sensitive to others' evaluation. External (poverty, deprivation, minority group status etc.) and inner forces (motives, frustrations, disappointment, restlessness etc.) lead to act deviantly (Reckless as cited in Liska, 1987; Thio, 1988).

Integrative perspective. An integrative perspective proposed by Kaplan (see Kaplan, 2006; Kaplan & Tolle, 2006) explains deviance that demonstrates how attitudes and perception of the attitudes interplay in making an individual to explore various alternatives to win self-acceptance and self-worth. People are socialised to internalise standards for self-evaluation. In the process of development, earlier the youth develops a need for social approval and later self-approval based on evaluative standards of socially approved roles for getting approval from significant others. Distressful negative feelings emerge once he is unable to come upto normative standard of the group and meet rejection and failure, hence get alienated from the system and stops putting a motivated effort to conform to the conventional system. Through constant failure stable negative self-feelings are maintained. Then consciously or unconsciously, the person takes up the unconventional attributes and behaviours for self-enhancement to generate positive attitude of significant. He seeks other alternatives to avoid negative self-feelings and generate the positive self-evaluation by avoiding conventional society, and invalidating the conventional system through which the person is judged to be failure. Therefore, giving a more flexible system that has more achievable set of standards. If the person is motivated to conform that is to win social approval from the group members.

Sometimes a person's involuntary actions because of negative sanction applied gradually become voluntary. Deviant behaviour is inhibited where negative social reaction is anticipated deviant but exhibited where acceptability is anticipated (e.g., among deviant peers). The evaluative redefinition of deviant act depends upon weakening the emotional ties and social control with/from conventional group and entry in network of deviant group that provide social support to act out deviant tendencies. Gradually because of social distance from the conventional people, person become unaware of sanctions applied on the behaviour by the conventional people and gives justifications and rationalizations of the behaviour. And

gradually in self-defence, deviant person no longer gets worried about what conventional people think about him/her and no longer need their opinions and resources (Kaplan & Tolle, 2006).

Negative reactions and sanctions applied to initial deviant act (e.g., expelling from school, avoidance by others, etc.) increase the likelihood of continuing the deviant activities and interacting with deviant group. Stigmatization imposed by conventional people reduces the attraction of conventional system for them but increase attraction for deviant group and the person become potential recruit for deviant group. Through process of positive reinforcement and observation person is socialised into deviant group. The new induction is declared publicly as in case of *hijras* where new enterant is blessed with gifts and prayers and much celebrated (see Nanda, 1999; Riaz, 1996; Sharma, 2000). If the deviant group fail to enhance positive feeling about oneself, this leads to discontinuation of deviant behaviour (Kaplan & Lin as cited in Kaplan & Tolle, 2006). Age is an important factor that may also reduce the deviant activities with time.

Psychological experience and identities cannot be studied as pure phenomenon outside ones' culture as individual subjectivity is formed from the social identities and categories available in the culture (Batalha, 2006). According to Norton (1997), the aim of gender is to stick to the values, roles, and status distinct to the culture it portray and group it belongs to. Transgenderism or cross-dressing is not a culture specific phenomenon. Level of support gender variant people receive from their sexual minority friends significantly predict their sense of well-being that buffers against the devalued minority status by giving a strong sense of community belongingness (Dane, 2005) that warrants to study people, their attitudes, and reciprocal perceptions in the context of their groups (Maccoby, 2000).

**RATIONALE OF THE STUDY,
OBJECTIVES, AND RESEARCH
DESIGN**

RATIONALE OF THE STUDY, OBJECTIVES, AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction of present research and an overview of available research literature have provided social and psychological context to study people's attitudes toward *hijras* and the reciprocal perceptions of these attitudes by *hijras*. These attitudes and perceptions are basis for discrimination, stigmatization, marginalization, and isolation of sexual minorities. Later, these determine the pace for the development of *hijra* identity and becoming active member of *hijra* community. Therefore, in the present research aim is to explore people's attitude towards *hijras* in psychosocial context. Reciprocal perception of the attitudes by *hijras* is also explored and compared with people's attitudes to ascertain role of both in maintaining ingroup-outgroup feelings.

Rationale of the Study

Hijra is a culture based gendered category very much grounded in this part of the world (South Asia), though observable phenomenon in other cultures too under different labels. Every socio-cultural setting has unique psychological realities. A concept found in one setting may not exist or be perceived in the same way in another culture. Therefore, approach of indigenous psychology should be utilized for understanding psychological realities of gender specific to that culture (see Cass, 2005, 2006). Present research is depiction of pure indigenous approach in studying attitudes and reciprocal perceptions that sets a pace for gender construction in *hijras* of Pakistan. The role of different factors (moderating and mediating variables) namely myths related to *hijras*, extremism, gender role attitudes, sex roles, religiosity, religious orientation, level of interaction, concept of "who are *hijras*"?, gender, education, age, marital status, socio-economic level, geographical location, that affect

people's attitude towards *hijras* were explored. Role of moderating variables show that these are based on cultural norms. Culture clarifies normative beliefs and standards that effect attitudes and stereotypes, therefore, these must be studied in cultural context that has long been ignored by social psychologists declaring stereotypes based on culture as arbitrary.

Similarly, for reciprocal perception of these attitudes by *hijras*, role of variables including gender, type of *hijra*, mental health, sexual orientation, personal view of gender identity, significant others' attitudes, etc. were explored. *Khusras* and *zannanas* are two subgroups existing in *hijra* community, people might have differential attitudes towards them, and this might also be reflected in *hijras*' reciprocal differential perceptions of attitudes.

Pakistan is reflection of collectivistic culture; it suggests consistency in attitudes toward *hijras* in cultural, religious, and social context. Attitudes and stereotypes need to be studied in individualistic and collectivistic cultures, separately. Collectivistic cultures promote social cohesion and relations, have little variation in groups and hold strong resistance for outgroups and lack of contact as well. While in individualistic culture, individuals at a time have membership in many groups and have multiple opportunities to show their outgroup biases. Recently social psychologists are also interested in how people respond to subgroups within a group who violate social norms (Fiske et al., 2009).

Literature reveals an account on researches conducted in the West, where sexual minorities have earned basic human rights. Comparatively, little research is available in the eastern end that too conducted mostly in Far East countries in Asia (see e.g., Boellstroff, 2004; Besnier, 1994; King et al., 2009; McLelland, 2002; Teh, 2001; Totman, 2003; Winter, 2002). Nevertheless, Winter et al.'s (2009) seven nations study is a move towards cross-cultural studies on comparing attitudes towards transwoman in West and the East provided research based evidences of cultural differences in attitudes. In Pakistan, *hijras* are present since centuries, while concept of transgender (TG) is still alien for Pakistani population. Studying attitude towards *hijras* as well as TGs would be fruitful to culturally differentiate between two concepts.

Although, much research is available on *hijras* in India (see e.g., Khan & Ayub, 2003; Nanda, 1999; Pande, 2004; PUCL-K, September, 2003; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999; etc.), still considering them from psychological perspective lacks. Very few psychological empirical researches have been conducted on *hijras* in Pakistan (see e.g., Haider & Bano, 2006; Khattak, 2004; Parvez, 2004; Malik, 2008; Tasmeeera, 2002). Nevertheless, evidences of empirically studying people's attitude towards *hijras* and perception of these attitudes by *hijras* in Pakistan specifically and in South Asia generally are not available. Besides, what is evident in Indian culture may not be prevailing in similar fashion in Pakistan, as both countries have different cultural, social, and religious backgrounds, that does effect interaction among groups. Since, Gopinath posited that nationalism and sexual identity/sexuality are deeply enmeshed with each other (as cited in Iyer, 2004), therefore, it is desirable to study *hijras* and relevant constructs in Pakistani context. This makes the present study unique in this regard.

For exploring attitudes and reciprocal perceptions, focus is *hijras* of *hijra* community, in the role of either *guru* or *chela* regardless of being *khusras* or *zannanas*, as Pakistanis do not perceive these as distinct gender variations in *hijra* community (see Haider & Bano, 2006). The attitude towards MtF TGs (male-to-female transgenders), not otherwise part of *hijra* community and living in their homes and pursuing their careers or education, is also explored to establish the connotation that *hijra* is more of a culture based phenomenon than TG, hence, are perceived differently (see Talwar, 1999).

In the present research, no specific theoretical model is followed for studying attitudes and perceptions for exploratory nature of research. However, psychosocial approach is utilized for the understanding of *hijra*-society interface. The methodology and focus of sexuality research has evolved with local and context-specific studies (Ford Foundation, 2006). Social attitudes influence development of sexuality. Psychological processes and individual differences exist in these attitudes as no sexual experiences and attitudes are universal, therefore, psychosocial approach helps to study sexuality based issues/communities rather than considering such behaviours to be innate or natural (see Crooks & Baur, 2005).

Present research highlights significance of gender. Oppression of any group like *hijras* is more of power game (Swim & Hyers, 2009) between those who belong to binary division of gender and those in third gender role. Pakistan is a patriarchal society. TGs challenge gender dichotomy upon which patriarchal regime rests, hence incite transphobia, experience ridicule and exclusion from society (Norton, 1997). Culturally, prejudice is aimed to un-empower sexual minorities, reduce possibility of their social participation, and promote their victimization. Identities of sexual minorities so developed are also socially constructed (Herek, 2009). Feminist perspective in postmodernism took the stance of listening more to the experiences of oppressed groups in understanding how knowledge is socially constructed and explaining how those who are in position of defining rules effect lives of underprivileged through sexism and stereotyping (Swim & Hyers, 2009). Sexual prejudices are changing as social norms are changing. Homosexual's movements gained momentum through this which is now perceived as legitimate and ultimately made mental health professionals to no more consider this a psychopathology (Herek, 2009) and same is the move for Gender Identity Disorder taking it more as a choice than pathology (WPATH, June 17, 2008).

There is urgent need to conduct research in Pakistan, where *hijras* of *hijra* community have stood for their rights for last couple of years. Their concerns were legally addressed and were accommodated as third gender category --- *Mukhanath* --- in front of male sex to facilitate them in travelling and running their business (see National Data Base Registration Authority, Dec 16, 2010). There is pressing need to study matters emerging out of third gender status of *hijras* when they are also getting politically active. In Islamic countries like Pakistan where conservative standards of sexuality prevail, conducting research on sexual minority is a difficult task (see research in Turkey by Eskin et al., 2005). Such limitations do not reduce the significance of research on *hijras*. Present research will highlight issues in daily social interactions that are totally ignored considering being trivial, irrelevant, or sensitive for shaking normative belief of gender (see Besnier, 1994; Roen, 2001).

Latest approach in studying attitudes is implicit association tests but their use in studying attitude towards sexual minorities has yet not established (Herek, 2009). Still Likert

type scale is a widely used technique for data collection from large sample. Presently, attitude towards *hijra* is explored through quantitative approach but qualitative approach is undertaken for the scale development. For studying perception of the attitudes by *hijras*, a mixed method approach is used in data collection (see for example Abrams, 2003; Crooks & Baur, 2005; Hanson, Creswell, Clark, Petska, & Creswell, 2005; Oswald & Culton, 2003; Smith et al., 2002a) as qualitative methods are encouraged to be used with sexual minorities (Finlinson et al., 2003). Perception of attitudes are measured quantitatively through a scale and qualitatively by utilizing biographical interview method for getting detailed demographic information and attitudes based experiences that would be reported in descriptive statistics only (see for evidences, Dolezal & Carballo-Diequez, 2002; Dooren et al., 1994; Harcourt et al., 2001; Smith, 2002; Stanely et al, 2004; White & Franzini, 1999).

Strength and accessibility of attitude is based on level of interaction and experience with the social object (see Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Maio et al., 2006), people mostly deduce their attitude on the basis of past experience (Maio et al., 2006). *Hijras* are marginalized and isolated from the rest of the society, therefore, interaction between these two distinct cultures i.e., society and *hijra* community is very low and attitude towards *hijras* are mostly ambivalent (Sharma, 2000; for *kathoeys* see Totman, 2004). Ambivalence (mixture of negative and positive attitude) is mostly exhibited because of lack of experience (see Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Maio et al., 2006), therefore, it seems appropriate to focus at behavioural intentions in scale development, for many participants of the study might not have any experience with *hijras* of *hijra* community.

“We hate some people but we do not know them and we do not want to know them because we hate them”. This dictum is quite valid in our understanding of *hijras*. Mostly we are driven by certain myths related to them but very few of us have really tried to know about them. Having little knowledge about their sufferings and psychological issues for which they should not be held responsible, leads to negative attitudes and discrimination. Findings of present research might help in strengthening civil rights and health related services for TGs or intersexed individuals in Pakistan. This research can promote public awareness in dealing

with questions of child care, socialization process, risk factors for the development of atypical gendered behaviour and identity, consequences of negative attitudes and stigmatization, gender (de)construction, gender diversity in *hijra* community, issues related to their sexuality, their need for belongingness and social support, etc. In short, the topic under investigation holds a wide-ranging importance to society as there is need of legislation for *hijras* for their protection and alleviation of their victimization and exploitation (see Green et al., Sep 1994).

Personal behavior is shaped and constrained by social, cultural, and economic factors—such as poverty, inequality, religion, and traditional practices—and for effective and successful implementation, welfare programmes must attend to these contextual factors. Building upon association between ideologies, values, personality traits, and attitudes, can help in developing programmes for *hijras* (e.g., AIDS related interventions and monetary support programmes), and for devising gender specific laws. It can further facilitate in pinpointing the areas where the interventions are required for attitude change and making perceptions of attitudes more prudent.

Objectives and Research Design

Present research is exploratory in nature based on cross-sectional design. It comprises of two main parts. In Part 1, aim is to study attitude of people towards *hijras*. In Part 2, focus is to explore reciprocal perception of these attitudes by *hijras* of *hijra* community.

Part 1 --- Attitude towards *Hijras*

Part 1 of the research is based on five studies.

- **Study I.** It includes development and validation of Attitude towards *Hijra* Scale (AHS). Literature review reveal nonavailability of any quantitative measure for measuring attitudes toward *hijras*, therefore one of the objective is to develop a Likert type scale to measure attitudes (see Chapter 3).
- **Study II.** Literature shows stereotypic beliefs about *hijras* and many prevailing myths in the society that might effect attitudes, therefore a scale to measure stereotypic view

of *hijras* i.e., Myths related to *Hijras* Scale (MHS) is developed (see Chapter 4) so that its role in attitudes could be established.

- **Study III.** Attitudes are cultural based and are strongly grounded in social context of normative belief in gender, religion, religious orientation, extremist tendencies, stereotypes/myths, sex roles, gender, level of interaction, and one's concept of *hijras*. Therefore, in Chapter 5 aim is to study correlates and predictors of attitudes towards *hijras* that would also help to establish validity of the indigenous scales developed in Study I and II. Moderating and mediating role of these variables in predicting attitudes toward *hijras* are also explored in the same study.
- **Study IV.** As gender is cultural based entity, therefore assuming phenomenon of TG being different from concept of *hijra*, Chapter 6 is planned to study the cultural differences in attitude towards TG and comparing it with attitude towards *hijras*. This would also help us to validate attitude scale for *hijras* through correlating with attitude scale for TGs. Attitude towards Transwoman Scale (ATS) is translated and adapted. Findings from Winter et al.'s (2009) seven nation study are also borrowed for cross-cultural comparison in attitudes towards TGs with Pakistan's in this study.
- **Study V.** In Chapter 7, aim is to study individual differences in attitudes and myths related to *hijras* based on demographic variables of the participants including gender, age, education, monthly income, marital status, etc. AHS and MHS are administered on larger heterogeneous sample to determine people's attitude towards *hijra* along different demographic variables and hypotheses so formulated are tested. Moderating role of gender for other demographic variables in predicting attitudes is also explored.

Research design for Part 1 of the study is sequential exploratory with major emphasis on quantitative while focus groups are conducted for the development of the scales (qual --- QUAN). For analyses it is quantitative (QUANT) (see Hanson et al., 2005). More specific objectives and hypotheses of each study are given in respective chapters.

Part 2 --- Hijras' Perception of Attitudes

Main objective of this part of the research is to determine *hijras'* perception of people's attitudes. Participants of this part of the study are *hijras* of *hijra* community having a role of *guru* or *chela* and asking *wadhai* [alms] in wedding ceremonies or birth of the male child or having dancing and singing role in functions, *mela* [fair], circus, theatre, sex business, etc. This includes *khusras* as well as *zannanas*, castrated and noncastrated *hijras*. For achieving the objectives and test the hypotheses for Part 2 of present research, only one study (see Chapter 8) is carried out divided in two phases.

- **Phase I.** *Hijras'* Perception of Attitude Scale (HPAS) and *Hijras'* Perception of Myths related to *Hijras* Scale (HPMHS) are developed and validated after rephrasing AHS and MHS.
- **Phase II.** Data are collected from *hijras* of *hijra* community utilizing biographical interview, HPAS, and HPMHS to determine perception of attitudes and myths. Individual differences along age, type of *hijra*, sexual orientation, gender identity, mental health problems, etc. are explored on perception of attitudes. Descriptive statistics including frequencies and percentages are reported to give a more detailed experiences of discrimination and attitudes extended by family and significant others towards participants of research.

For perception of the attitude, mixed method approach is used in data collection since the target population (*hijras*) is sensitive, hence more room to their voice and perceptions are given. HPAS, HPMHS, and Biographical Interview Schedule are used with equal emphasis on both in data collection (QUANT + QUAL). Analysis was quantitative only (QUANT) for both type of measures (Hanson et al., 2005). For HPAS, inferential statistics is carried out while for biographical interviews only descriptive statistics is reported. More specific objectives and hypotheses of this study are given in respective chapter.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS *HIJRAS*

PART 1

**DEVELOPMENT AND VALIDATION OF
ATTITUDE TOWARDS *HIJRA* SCALE (AHS)
(STUDY I)**

For measuring people's attitude towards *hijras* a Likert type scale was developed. Although, tools for measuring attitude related to male to female transgenders (MtF TGs) are available (see e.g., Hill & Willoughby, 2005; King et al., 2009; Lombardi et al., 2001; Winter et al.; 2009), but the concept of *hijra* is very different from the concept of transgenders (Talwar, 1999), mostly perceived as third gender role (Haider & Bano, 2006; Nanda, 1999, Pande, 2004; Riaz, 1996; Sharma, 2000; PUCL-K, Sep 2003). Researchers have found that predictive power of an attitude scale increases if it increases in specificity (Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). *Hijra* is a culture based identity that may not exist or be perceived in the same way in another culture (see e.g., Cass, 2005, 2006; McLelland, 2002). Therefore, a scale targeting *hijras*, is a fruitful effort to measure attitude towards *hijras* for more valid and reliable findings in upcoming studies.

Objectives

The main objective of the study is to develop a Likert type scale for measuring people's attitudes toward *hijras* of *hijra* community and establish psychometric properties of the scale.

Method

Scale development was carried out in four phases.

- **Phase I.** Focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted to get the first hand information on attitude related to *hijras*.
- **Phase II.** Items were generated through content analysis of FGDs.

- **Phase III.** Committee approach was carried out to choose the items for the initial form of the scale.
- **Phase IV.** Items for final form of the scale were achieved through exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and psychometric properties of the scale were established.

Phase I --- Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Scarcity of literature on *hijras* of Pakistan led to the decision for conducting FGDs to get first hand information about the people's attitudes in an interactive process. Ten FGDs were conducted to explore peoples' attitudes towards *hijras*. Two FGDs were conducted with *hijras* of the *hijra* community (who were having role of *guru* and *chela*) for exploring *hijras*' perception of those attitudes. FGDs with *hijras* were conducted because the scale measuring attitude towards *hijras* was to be rephrased later, in the present research, for the development of *Hijras*' Perception of the Attitudes Scale (see Chapter 8) that could not be possible without considering the *hijras*' perceptions of the attitudes. Following methodology was followed for conducting FGDs.

FGDs with general public. On the basis of the literature review, variables were identified that might create meaningful differences in participants' responses. Age, gender, marital status, socioeconomic status, and geographic locations particularly focusing at level of interaction with *hijras* were considered for sample selection. Purposive convenience sampling technique was used for selection of the participants. Five FGDs were conducted with women (3 of house wives' and 2 of students of social sciences having Psychology as their major and minor subjects) and 5 with men (one each of retired government personnel, *Maulvis/Muftis* [religious preachers], peons/lascars and sweeper, natural sciences students having engineering as main subject, social sciences students having anthropology as major course).

Four FGDs were conducted with unmarried (all students) and 6 with married individuals having children. Five focus groups members were interacting with *hijras* more than once in a month, 4 less than that, and 1 had varied level of interaction. Six were from middle socioeconomic class, 2 from low middle socioeconomic class, and 2 from low

socioeconomic class (socioeconomic status is defined as per reported by participant of the study considering them above 33%, middle 33%, and low 33% of the total population socioeconomically). Four FGDs were conducted with young adults with age ranging from 17-25 years; 5 in middle adulthood age ranging from 35-45; and one from late adulthood with mean age 55 years. Number of participants in these focus groups varied from 6-9 participants. Total 71 participants participated in these FGDs. See the details given below:

Focus group 1. It was conducted at National Institute of Psychology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad that included 7 female students of M.Sc. Psychology, with mean age of 22.5 years. Reportedly they belonged to middle class and were unmarried and had very low level of interaction (may be twice in a year) with *hijras*.

Focus group 2. It was conducted in Airport Housing Society of Rawalpindi region where people were having interaction with *hijras* once in a month to twice in a month. Participants were 7 married women with mean age 44 years belonging to middle socioeconomic class. Their level of education was matric and below. All of them were mothers, too.

Focus group 3. Conducted at 10- E area of Wah Cantt, 8 married women of lower middle class participated with mean age of 40 years and education level intermediate and above. Level of interaction with the *hijras* was as low as seeing them once in a year. One participant was an ex-social worker who worked for *hijra* community before her marriage.

Focus group 4. It was conducted at F.G. College for Women F-7/2, Islamabad, with the 9 female students of 1st year of mean age 17 years. All of them were studying Psychology as one of the elective subject in their course work. Reportedly, they belonged to middle class. They had the varied level of interaction with *hijras* i.e., from once in a week to once in a month.

Focus group 5. It included 6 married women, having children too, of lower socioeconomic class residing in Dhok Chaudhrian, Rawalpindi. They were illiterate and had interaction with the *hijras* twice in a week. It was conducted at the residence of household maid.

Focus group 6. It was conducted with 8 male cadets of an armed forces academy in Khyber Pakhtoonkhwah. Their mean age was 22 years and level of interaction with the *hijras* was twice in a year. As reported, they all belonged to middle class and were unmarried.

Focus group 7. It was conducted with the 6 religious preachers with mean age of 45 years. They were all married having children and were *Khatibs* or *Muftis* [speakers or religious scholars] of Mosques. The FGD helped in getting religious point of view on *hijras* and attitudes of the participants. They belonged to low middle class and their interaction level was seeing *hijras* once in a month.

Focus group 8. It was conducted with 8 retired government personnel, all married men who were also having children and with mean age of 55 years. They belonged to middle class with interaction level of seeing *hijras* once in a week.

Focus group 9. It was conducted with the 6 married men who belonged to low socioeconomic class with occupation peon, sweeper, and lascar in government sector. The mean age of the participants was 40 years. All had varied level of interaction with *hijras* from meeting daily to seeing twice in a year. Interestingly, one of the participant claimed that he had been brought up by a *hijra*.

Focus group 10. It was conducted with 6 unmarried male students of Anthropology department of Quaid-i- Azam University, Islamabad. The mean age of the participants was 23 years. Reportedly, they belonged to middle class and their interaction level was seeing *hijras* once in a week to once in a month. Interestingly, one of the respondents claimed that *hijras* had been his friends.

Focus group guide. On the basis of literature review, a ‘topic guide’ was prepared that comprised of 29 questions. For example, what comes in your mind when you think about *hijras*? What are your related feelings? Report any incident that you remember based on interaction with any *hijra*? Probing questions were also generated under each question for getting a breath of responses. After each FGD, on exploring any new issue, raised by the respondents, which appeared to be relevant to the research objectives, the topic guide was revised and new categories were introduced. The questions which did not appear to be

important or repetitive in nature, were deleted from the guide. By the end of the last focus group, 35 probing questions based on 6 broad categories had been developed for exploration only (see Appendix A1).

These categories were: 1). *General outlook* that included probing questions as feelings related to *hijras*, their source of income, their attire and appearance, and being attractive as a woman. 2). *Positive or negative features attached with their existence* that included the probing questions as who are *hijras*? Are they responsible for the bad elements in the society? What are their good and bad points, their common personality traits, effect in their blessing and curse, and issues of STDs/ AIDS. 3). *Issues related to transgender* that included the probing questions as binary concept gender, permission to change one's sex (sex reassignment), castration, third gender role, and homosexuality. 4). *Mode of social relationship* that included the probing questions as inviting them to visit your home, eating from their home, working together, and acceptance in a relation e.g., friendship, neighbour, relative, etc. 5). *Social approval and acceptance* that included the questions as family's reaction on the presence of *hijra* among them, society's reaction, *hijras'* reaction, acceptance in the families/ society/ friends, and the person's feelings who is declared as *hijra*. 6). *Basic human rights and status* that included the questions as status in religion, educational and occupational opportunities, right to marry, legal status and rights, right to inheritance, raising voice for their rights, participating in moment for *hijras'* rights, to raise the voice in opposition to violence against *hijras*, and funeral of *hijras*.

Procedure. Each focus group comprised of 6-9 individuals. The best efforts were made to have as homogenous groups as possible. On the basis of literature review, a focus group guide was prepared. A series of FGDs were conducted till no new information was generated and saturation point had reached. The order of putting the questions was rotated in every focus group, so that the order effect on the responses of the participants could be minimized. In total 10 focus groups were conducted. As the topic area was quite broad and issues related to the *hijra* community were quite complex, so every focus group took 1 ½ to 2 hrs. for its completion.

Non-directive moderating approach was utilized in conducting the focus group in a structured format. Various techniques were utilized to explore the information from the respondents e.g., asking for the context information of any of their experience with *hijras*; asking for the top-of-mind association (what comes first in mind on pronouncing the word ‘*hijra*’ in front of you); constructing image of *hijras* through questioning; asking for the conditions that permit or create barriers in interacting with them; asking chain of questions; pointing out contradictions; imagining a *hijra* by closing ones eyes, etc.

For recording the proceedings of the discussion, verbal responses were written down as well as recoded through voice recorder. For writing it down the help of three research assistants at different occasions, having Master’s degree in Psychology, were taken who were first trained in how to note down the responses. Researcher herself played the role of moderator in discussion. Venue for each focus group was easily accessible to all members. Most of the focus groups were conducted at the geographical location where the members were residing, working, or studying. Refreshments were provided during each session and pick and drop facilities were also provided where needed. At the end of each focus group, debriefing of the respondents was carried out to clarify their queries regarding research topic and outcomes of the research.

In the focus groups, unmarried female students taking Psychology as their major and minor courses (Focus group 1 and 4) having varied level of interaction from frequent to moderate with middle socioeconomic class were very enthusiastic and curious about the topic and were well aware of the psychological terms and issues related to *hijras* excluding sexual issues. Difficulty was faced in case of married and less educated women having frequent to moderate interaction with *hijras* (Focus group 2 and 5) who mostly gave timid answers and were hesitant in discussing sex- related issues of *hijras*. As compare to them married women with more education having middle socioeconomic status and less interaction with *hijras* (Focus group 3), were more relaxed and open in their responses. One of them was an ex-social worker who had been working for *hijra* community before getting married. She gave

the expert opinions about them. All male participants regardless of age, education, and socioeconomic status had good understanding of the phenomenon and were able to relate their experiences and understandings without any inhibitions except one conducted with male cadets of an armed force's academy (Focus group 6). They were quite cautious while discussing sex related issues of *hijras*. Interestingly, one of the participants (Focus group 9) claimed that he had been brought up by a *hijra* and one reported (Focus group 10) that *hijras* have been his friends. They had sympathetic attitude towards them.

FGDs with *hijras* of *hijra* community. Two FGDs were conducted in Mandi Taban Singh, Sheikhpura. All participants were *Khusras*¹ (no *Zannanas*) i.e., claiming to be *asli* [original *hijra* born with sexual deformities] *hijras*. An inclusion criterion was original *hijras* in the role of *guru* or *chela*. These FGDs were conducted through the assistance of an acquaintance in *hijra* community. One FGD was with his (male connotation is used as *gurus* were calling themselves *baba ji* [father] not mother) own *chelas* and other with his other old relations made within *hijra* community i.e., *gurubhai* [brother, another *chela* of his own *guru*], sisters (another *hijra* in sister role made in *hijra* community), etc. and all from the same caste in *hijra* community --- *Peshaweriyay*². Only distinction among members of these focus groups was of age and having performed *Hajj* [pilgrimage at Holy Makkah] or not³.

¹ *Khusras* are castrated *hijras* or hermaphrodite/intersexed in *hijra* community, but to the society they portray being *asli*. Hermaphrodite/intersexed called *asli* [original] are very rare (see Riaz, 1996, Khan & Ayub, 2003) mostly they are castrated men. *Zannanas* are MtF TGs who have yet not undergone castration.

² Caste system prevails in *khusras* and *zannanas* of *hijra* community. One's caste depends upon caste of *guru*. *Khusras*' caste system is more traditional and lineage meets with *hijras* of India. *Khusras* attend events or visit other country in their castes only (Singh, 2001). Link of a *khusra* with members of other castes are not appreciated for the fear of losing *chela*.

³ Performing *Hajj* holds great importance for Muslim *hijras* (Jami, 2005; Nanda, 1999) as an act of piety to move up in social ladder. Same is true for *Maknanyah* of Malaysia. They prefer to perform *Hajj* over sex reassignment surgery (Teh, 2001).

Snowball sampling was used to access participants through acquaintance who was *khusra*. *Zannanas*' exclusion was not intentional.

Focus group 1. It was conducted with the 5 *khusras* who have yet not performed *Hajj* having age 17-35 years residing in Hasanabdal and Attock. They were *chelas* of the same *guru*. It took 30 min. to conduct the discussion and it ended up on request of the *guru*.

Focus group 2. It was conducted with 8 *khusras*, all *hajjis* [who have performed pilgrimage] with age between 40-98 years. All were *gurus* residing in different areas of Punjab.

Focus group guide. Same focus group guide that was utilized in FGDs with general public was used in this phase as well, but questions were put to participants like "Are people in favour of giving basic human rights (jobs, inheritance, etc.) to you?" "How do they react when you go for asking *wadhais*?" "Why do you prefer to live in your community?" etc. Some questions were put directly about people/society's attitudes and some indirectly related to their status by virtue of being *hijra*.

Procedure. On invitation from one of the established *Khusra* in Hasanabdal the researcher attended the *Barsi* [death anniversary] of a *khusra* in Mandi Taban Singh, Sheikhpura. Around 100 *hijras* from all over Pakistan had gathered to celebrate the occasion. The host introduced researcher to other *khusras* living in different home settings hired from residents of that town for the occasion. After rapport building, they were told about the nature of research and its significance to which they posited many questions like "what would they get out of it". It was intimated realistically that aim was to collect information for research purpose only that might be used by government and nongovernment organizations dealing with *hijras* for any policy decision making or in implementing their welfare programme for *hijras*, but it was not our prerogative at the moment.

After getting consent, two FGDs were conducted separately in two different home settings but on the same day one after the other. Participants were told about the purpose of

research and were asked for candidness. They were assured that their information would be used only for research purpose. After taking their consent, FGDs were conducted and unlike previous FGDs with general people (where audio recording and written documentation were taken) both audio and video recordings were carried out but no hand written documentation was done. Video recording helped in the process as members felt valued and posed for photos as well. This helped in recording their gestures during conversation. A research assistant helped during the process of video recording.

In the end an amount of 2000/- rupees for the each FGDs were paid, one to the *guru* (who invited at that occasion) of the *chelas* of FGD 1 and other to the owner (all *hijras*' head aged 98 years) of the house for FGD 2 to be distributed among participants. FGD 1 was concluded on request of *guru*. FGD 2 was concluded on some arguments going among other groups of *hijras* for their participation in the FGD too and researcher had to leave on host's request to resolve their issue. Hence, integrity of members of FGD and their privacy were taken into consideration to avoid any harm to them. Both discussions took 30 min. each. Since, *hijras* are quite sensitive and reluctant in interacting with outsiders and element of doubt exist among *hijras* themselves for each other that was why it was difficult to conduct more FGDs with *hijras* including *zannanas*.

In FGD 1, *guru* was also present during discussion who continuously interfered in discussion and he was not willing to leave the *chelas* alone. In his presence, two of senior *chelas* were quite interactive and comfortable while remaining three (young ones) were timid and inhibited. Overall, as discussion was related to people's attitudes, therefore, *chelas* were not showing any inhibitions except when questions related to sexual issues were put forward to which they avoided to give any answers, but a few gave gestures like nodding head while also keeping eye on *guru* when asked about their boy friends. In FGD 2, all were interactive and comfortable in discussion. The eldest *guru* (98 years old) reportedly was the head of all *Khusra* community. When asked about *hijras*' beauty as perceived by people, he put off his shirt and showed his breasts and claimed that *khusras* were no less than woman in beauty.

During discussion two groups of *hijras* other than members of FGD 2 started some argument outside the room, which created distraction and disturbance and members of FGD 2 asked the researcher to leave immediately before any drastic situation emerged. Therefore, discussion had to be halted after 30 min.

Phase II --- Generation of Items

The verbatim of the respondents were transcribed. Through content analysis, items were generated. Items showing overlapping responses among both types of FGDs (with general people and *hijras*) were retained. Initially, pool of 86 items was generated (see Appendix A-2). Items generated were related to feelings related to *hijras'* general outlook like their source of income, their attire and appearance, and being attractive as a woman. A few items pertained to their gender and sexual issues like they being responsible for the bad elements in the society, their good and bad traits, issues of STDs/ AIDS, binary concept of gender, permission to change one's sex (sex reassignment), castration, third gender role, and homosexuality. Level of social acceptance or feeling social distance were evident through inviting them to visit your home, eating from their home, working together, acceptance in a relation, anticipated family's reaction on the presence of *hijra* among them, society's reaction, *hijras'* reaction, acceptance in the families/society/friends, and the person's feelings who is declared as *hijra*. Some items were related to civil rights and status like their status in religion, educational and occupational opportunities, right to marry, legal status and rights, right to inheritance, raising voice for their rights, participating in moment for *hijras'* rights, to raise the voice in opposition to violence against *hijras*, and funeral of *hijras*.

Content analysis of FGDs with *hijras* revealed that *hijras* are not happy from their status in the society and complained that people are unable to differentiate between real *hijras* (*khusra*) and *zannanas* that was why people's attitudes have become more negative over passage of time, as *zannanas* are more involved into sex business. That is why it deemed important that question related to "who are *hijras*?" with three options "a) *those born with sexual deformities*, b) *only those men who behave like women*, and c) *both*", was made part of the scale that would help to delineate better analysis on the basis of people's perception of

who are *hijras* while responding to the scale. However, through subtle gestures i.e., nodding to video camera on replying to boy friends related questions while keeping an eye on *guru*, but verbally saying ‘no we don’t have boy friends’, it was evident that *khusras* also have sexual interest in men. Otherwise, responses revealed strong negative perceptions of attitudes of people by *hijras* in the discussions.

Phase III --- Committee approaches

Three Subject Matter Experts (SME), in the field of test construction (M.Phil in Psychology), who have been involved in the process of FGDs as focus group facilitators were involved in selection of 86 items from item pool, which were reduced to 69 items from initial item pool of 86 items (see Appendix A2 and A3) by removing double-barreled and overlapping items in another committee meeting based on one Ph.D. psychologist and two M.Phil scholars in Psychology. Finally, an initial form of the scale for measuring the attitude towards *hijras* was developed without any predetermined categories and put to exploratory factor analysis in next phase.

Phase IV --- Final Selection of Items

Sample. It consisted of 350 individuals with age 18-65 years ($M = 30.6$; $SD = 5.19$). Inclusion criteria for sample selection were minimum education 10th grade, age 18 years, and it included those who did not have any relation within *hijra* community. Only one person from a family was included in the sample. No other variable was controlled. Data were collected from Rawalpindi/ Islamabad. Convenient sampling was utilized as a technique for sample selection. Out of the total participants, women make more percentage of the sample, so are young participants between 18-25 years of age, those having graduate level education, unmarried, and meeting *hijras* once in a year. For monthly income, much variation exists and most of the missing values are also evident here. As an indicator of religiosity, 305(87.1%) were not offering prayers and 45(12.9%) were offering prayers daily. Following (see Table 1) is the detailed demographic information of the sample.

Table 1

Frequency and Percentages on Demographic Variables (N = 350)

Demographic Variables	<i>n</i>	%
Gender		
Men	166	47.4
Women	184	52.6
Age in years		
18-25	153	43.7
26-35	108	30.9
36-45	38	10.9
46-55	30	8.6
56-65	16	4.6
65- onwards	2	.6
Missing	3	.8
Education		
Matric (10 th grade)	62	17.7
Intermediate (12 th grade)	78	22.3
Graduate	113	32.3
Postgraduate	95	27.1
Missing	2	.6
SES (Family's monthly income in Rs.)		
40,000-above	33	9.4
20,000-40,000	46	13.1
12,000-20,000	39	11.1
7,000-12,000	75	21.4
2,000-7,000	67	19.1
Missing	90	25.7
Marital Status		
Married	165	47.1
Unmarried	184	52.6
Missing	1	.2
Frequency of Interaction		
Never	12	3.4
Once in a year	169	48.3
Once in a month	102	29.1
Once in a week	41	11.7
Everyday	26	7.4

Instrument. Initial form of the scale consisted of 69 items (see Appendix A5). It was a five point Likert scale with categories *strongly agree* (5) to *strongly disagree* (1).

Instructions emphasized that the “*main purpose of the scale is to determine attitude towards hijras who belong to hijra community asking wadhais/alms and have a dancing and singing role. It does not include those who are living in their homes with their families and leading normal life like other citizens of the country, pursuing any career or taking education in any educational institute*”.

Procedure. Those who were meeting the inclusion criteria were handed over the scale. They were requested to follow the instructions carefully while responding to the items. However, consent form (see Appendix A4) was signed if they agreed to participate in the research. They were also requested to feel free to comment about the items if they felt any ambiguity in these. They were told about no right and wrong answers and that they had to respond in the light of their personal attitude. Complete confidentiality and anonymity was assured and they were asked not to mention their names on the scale if they desire so. Data were analyzed through SPSS 16.

Results. The initial form of the scale based on 69 items was subjected to exploratory factor analysis and item-to-total correlation before final selection of the items. Content validity of the scale was also ascertained through opinion of SME.

Exploratory factor analysis (EFA). For structuring and reducing the number of items of the scale EFA was run. Data were 5 times greater than the total number of items (see Field, 2005). Initially Kaiser-Meyers-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy and Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity were employed to check for the sampling adequacy ($N = 350$) to run EFA.

KMO (.768) achieved shows that correlations are compact enough to generate distinct and reliable factors with Bartlett test of Sphericity $\chi^2(2346) = 6912.237$ significant at $p < .000$ showed that the data is good enough for carrying out factor analysis. The large value of chi-square suggests that correlation matrix is not an identity matrix and values are positively correlated with each other. The KMO for each item was greater than .50 (ranging from .522-.874) in anti-image, which shows that sample is adequate for a given pair of items, therefore, all items can be included in EFA (Field, 2005). Initial communalities achieved also equalled to 1.

Initially 23 factors were suggested with eigen values more than 1. The Scree Plot (see Cattell as cited in Kim & Muller, 1987) suggested 5 factors solution with eigen values more than 2. All items were correlated. Item total correlation ranged from .11-.54 ($p < .05-.01$), therefore, Direct Oblimion method with principal component analysis for the extraction of meaningful factors in the scale was used. It is a recommended method for factor extraction as latent variables in social sciences are correlated to some extent (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Different solutions were tried by fixing number of factors. Initially, meaningful picture emerged on 4 factors solution through oblique rotation that converged on 25 iterations with eigen values more than 2 that explained 26.78 percent of cumulative variance. After getting the factor solution, reliabilities of these factors were estimated through Cronbach Alpha coefficients. Reliability estimates showed satisfactory level of reliabilities except for Factor 1V with 7 items that was very low (.21). Therefore, reliability test was run by progressively removing the items to see its impact on reliability indices. Maximum it reached to .48 by removing 2 items which was still not in acceptable range. Then EFA was repeated again with three factor solution after discarding four factors solution. Inclusion criteria of items was:

1. Items with .40 and more factor loadings; not loaded on two or more than two factors;
2. Item which had loading .35 and more in any other factor was discarded.
3. Compatibility/face validity of the item with the content of the respective factor was also considered.

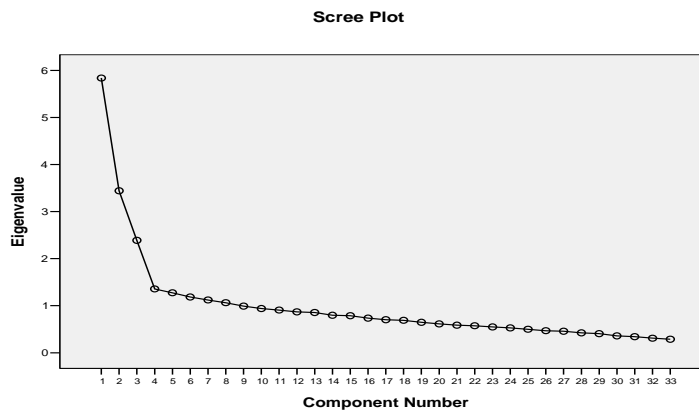


Figure 2. Scree Plot suggesting three factor solution

Table 2

Factor Loadings of 33 items through Principal Component Analysis by Using Direct Oblimion Method ($N = 350$)

Item No in Initial Form	Item No in Final Form	Statements	Factors		
			I	II	III
29	9	They should be provided with special physical and psychological health services.	-.678	.005	-.061
54	27	The State should award stipend to them for not indulging in bad deeds.	-.643	-.067	.131
63	29	They should be given special education and employment facilities.	-.632	.140	-.027
47	22	We unnecessarily taunt and make mockery of them.	-.614	-.042	.094
65	30	Our negative attitudes make them to leave their education and jobs.	-.592	-.023	-.049
68	32	I will support movement for the uplift of their rights.	-.576	.288	-.069
55	28	<i>Hijras</i> live in their community to fulfill their need for love and belongingness.	-.515	-.157	.122
30	10	They should be accepted as third gender.	-.487	-.011	.081
67	31	Their part in inheritance should be based on the gender they have opted to live.	-.457	.167	-.081
28	8	Because of no gender identity, they feel frustrated and worried.	-.445	.025	-.153
52	25	They are segregated from society to perform a specific role.	-.423	-.083	.060
50	24	I feel contented in helping them.	-.392	.294	.071
22	7	They are bad omen.	-.385	.162	.071
24	33	They get acceptance in <i>hijra</i> community than society for their feminine characteristics.	-.381	.116	.250
37	14	I have no problem in working with them.	-.154	.753	-.199
36	13	I will eat food prepared by <i>hijras</i> .	-.124	.741	-.178
41	17	I would not feel any hesitation in having friendship with them.	-.064	.685	-.094
38	15	I have no reservation to be seated with them while travelling.	.024	.635	-.091
40	16	Giving jobs to them would create negative impact on rest of the employees.	-.051	.520	.148
53	26	In my home, talking about <i>hijras</i> is considered awful.	.006	.513	.151
44	20	I cannot have any relation with them.	.168	.507	.071

Cont...

Item No in Initial Form	Item No in Final Form	Statements	Factors		
			I	II	III
48	23	In any situation, I don't feel comfortable in talking and meeting with <i>hijras</i> .	.186	.493	.021
42	18	Making them neighbour would bring negative influence on the surroundings.	.035	.491	.273
43	19	For the fear that people might doubt my morality, I cannot have any contact with <i>hijras</i> .	.072	.469	.238
45	21	I will vote for <i>hijra</i> who will run for election.	-.257	.429	.075
35	12	They are tool for spreading homosexuality.	.013	-.092	.678
4	2	They indulge in sex business.	.097	-.030	.654
13	4	Promiscuity is spreading in the society because of them.	-.145	.072	.650
20	6	They are playing significant role in spreading HIV/AIDS/STDs.	.020	-.015	.637
14	5	One can expect any vulgar and shameful act from them.	.033	.159	.573
31	11	God has admonished them for intentionally changing their gender and going against nature.	-.211	-.025	.506
3	1	They earn through easy ways therefore not interested to do any respectable job.	.023	.030	.461
7	3	I abhor them.	-.182	.297	.353
Eigen Values			5.84	3.44	2.39
% of Variance			17.70	10.43	7.24
Cumulative Variance			17.70	28.12	35.36

Note. Original items are in Urdu. Items are translated to facilitate the understanding of non-Urdu Speaking readers. No back to back translation method was followed. Only factor loadings in acceptable range are given. Boldface are the items having acceptable factor loadings on a respective factor as per defined criteria. Factor I = Rights and Status; Factor II = Social Distance; Factor III = Sexual Issues.

Final resultant is 33 items out of 69 loading on three factors as shown in Table 2. Eigen-values for three factors are much in acceptable range. Cumulative percent variance of 35.36 in total variance presents better picture than four factor and showing more distinct factor structure, which is also evident from Scree Plot (Figure 2). Table 2 shows no double loadings more than .32 emerged (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Four items, 3 in Factor I (item no. 50, 22, 24) and one in Factor III (item no. 7) are having factor loadings less than .40, still

emerging on expected factors. Therefore, these are accepted at criteria of .35 factor loadings. Hence, it suffices to carry out item-total correlations for decision to include or exclude further items for final form of the scale.

Item-to-total correlations. To further establish the construct validity of the scale, item-to-total correlations were calculated using Pearson Product Moment Correlations. In Table 3, total score is sum of scores on 33 items out of 69 items (scale's initial form) selected in EFA.

Table 3

Item-to- total Correlations of Selected Items (N = 350)

Factor I		Factor II		Factor III	
No. of Items	<i>r</i>	No. of Items	<i>r</i>	No. of Items	<i>r</i>
22	.483**	36	.546**	3	.302**
24	.060	37	.557**	4	.313**
28	.218**	38	.449**	7	.541**
29	.345**	40	.509**	13	.520**
30	.334**	41	.519**	14	.440**
47	.368**	42	.520**	20	.353**
50	.493**	43	.472**	31	.407**
52	.240**	44	.358**	35	.327**
54	.400**	45	.536**		
55	.258**	48	.317**		
63	.438**	53	.486**		
65	.293**				
67	.338**				
68	.502**				

Note. No. of items are as per initial form of the scale based on 69 items. Total represent score on 33 items. Factor 1 = Rights and Status; Factor 2 = Social Distance; Factor 3 = Sexual Issues.
***p* < .000.

Item-total correlations (Table 3) show that all items are significantly correlating with the sum of total items at *p* < .000 level ranging from .258-.557, except item no. 24 of the Factor I that has very low correlation coefficient beyond acceptable range. Therefore, this is sufficient evidence to exclude this item in the final form of the scale.

Content validity. Selected items were given to 5 PhD students in Psychology acting as SME to assign name to 3 factors on the basis of content to ensure content validity. They were asked to suggest the most relevant title on the basis of content of each factor. After their judgments, Factor I was named as '*Rights and Status*', Factor II was termed as '*Social Distance*', and Factor III as '*Sexual Issues*'. Interestingly, factor structure validated the initial categories of focus group guide along which questions were generated and asked during FGDs.

Final form of the scale. Finally the resultant was Attitude towards *Hijra* Scale (AHS) with 32 items having scoring categories *strongly agree* (5) to *strongly disagree* (1). Out of these 15 were reverse scoring items. Minimum score achieved could be 32 and maximum 160. High score represented more positive attitude towards *hijras* of *hijra* community. The scale was meant to measure attitudes of those *hijras* only who were members of *hijra* community (having role of *chela*, *guru*, or both). Based on three component model of attitude based on behavioural intentions (Allport as cited in Hogg & Vaughan, 2005), 8 items specifically pertained to behavioural intentions (see items 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 32) and remaining revolved around feelings, cognitive, and behaviour components extended to social object under consideration (see Appendix A7).

Rights and Status (RS) referred to the beliefs, feelings, behaviours, and behavioural intentions extended towards providing basic human rights to *hijras* including right for gender identity, mental and physical health facilities, educational and occupational opportunities, and right to be loved and accepted. This included 13 items (no. 7, 8, 9, 10, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32). **Social Distance (SD)** referred to how much closeness a person can accept in having any relationship with *hijras* e.g., as a neighbour, colleague, relative, interacting or talking to/about them, and accepting them as a leader in electoral process, etc. This included 11 items (no. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26). **Sexual Issues (SI)** refers to the attitudes towards different sexual issues related to *hijras* like promiscuous behaviour, spreading HIV/ STDs and homosexuality, indulging in sex business, transgenderism, etc. It included 8 items (no. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12) (see Appendix A6).

Reliability and construct validity. For the reliability, Cronbach Alpha coefficients and for construct validity inter-subscale correlations and correlation of subscales with the total score were calculated ($N = 350$) through Pearson Product Moment Correlations.

Before carrying out analysis, Test of Normality was run for AHS and its subscales as well. AHS and its subscales fulfilled the assumption of normality except for Rights and Status (RS) subscale. It showed five outliers. These outliers were fixed before running analysis for

RS. Later Test of Normality was again run that showed improved fitness. Afterwards, for RS the correlations were computed on data of 345 than 350 given in Table 4.

Table 4

Cronbach Alpha Coefficient and Correlation Matrix among AHS and Its Three Subscales (N = 350)

Subscales	No. of items	α	AHS	RS	SD	SI
AHS	32	.85	-			
RS	13	.80	.68**	-		
SD	11	.81	.81**	.31**	-	
SI	8	.73	.68**	.22**	.37**	-

Note. RS = Rights and status; SD = Social distance; SI = Sexual issues. For RS correlation is computed after deleting 5 outliers that makes the $n = 345$ for computing correlation coefficients of RS only.

** $p < .000$.

Inter-subscale correlations are significant (see Table 4) that ranged from .22-.37 at $p < .000$ level of significance. Correlation coefficients are not very strong that represent distinct factors for AHS. Subscales to total correlations are very strong ranging from .688-.810 at $p < .000$ level representing that subscales measuring same construct i.e., attitude towards *hijras* of *hijra* community, hence ensuring the construct validity of AHS. Cronbach alpha coefficients also shows internal consistency of the scale which are in acceptable range.

Concept of *hijra* near sample. One of the objectives of the study was to determine concept of *hijra* to the general public. As an initial step a question “who are *hijras*?” with three options a) *those born with sexual deformities*, b) *only those men who behave like women (male-to-female transgender [MtF TG])*, and c) *both*, was made part of the scale to help in studying attitudes in context of respondent’s concept of *hijra* while responding to the scale.

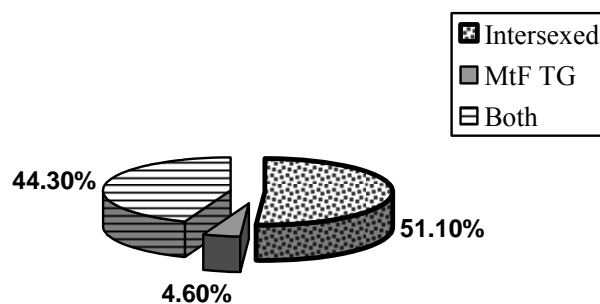


Figure 3. Concept of *hijra* for sample ($N = 350$)

Figure 3 shows that out of total participants, 179(51.1%) believed that *hijras* were hermaphrodites/intersexed individuals, 16(4.6%) believed that they were only MtFs, and 154(44%) believed that *hijras* include both categories.

Discussion

Major purpose in this study was to develop a valid and reliable measure for measuring attitudes towards *hijras* of *hijra* community. Likert type scales are widely used for measuring attitudes since years (see e.g., Shaw & Wright, 1967) including attitudes related to sexual issues and sexual minorities (see Davis et al., 1998). These are recommended when aim is to collect data from large sample (see e.g., Antoszewski et al., 2007; Crooks & Baur, 2005; Davis et al., 1998; Hill & Willoughby, 2005; King et al., 2009; Lombardi et al., 2001; McCommon, Knox, & Schacht, 2004; Winter et al., 2008; Winter et al., 2009) that facilitates in comparing groups to explore individual differences..

Likert type scales are based on the premise that there is more than one underlying dimension for attitude towards any object that can be ascertained through factor analysis. Hence, acts as direct measures for measuring attitude; are easy to administer, more precise, and reliable as compare to indirect measures (Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Maio et al., 2006). Besides this, gender variant people have specific health related needs. The need of such measure is also demand of health service providers (Adam et al, 2008; Ford Foundation, 2006; Kane, 2006). Later, AHS has to be rephrased to determine perception of attitudes of general public by *hijras* (see e.g., White & Franzini, 1999), therefore, quantitative measure for comparing attitudes and perception of the attitudes helps for establishing correspondence between two constructs (Bohner & Wanke, 2002). as No scale was previously available, therefore, Likert type scale was developed for this purpose.

Empirical approach was utilized for item generation (Cohen & Swerdlik, 2010; Kline, 2005; Worthington, & Whittaker, 2006). FGDs (see Debus & Novelli, n.d.; Krueger, 1988) were conducted which is a widely used method in sequential exploratory research designs for the development of the scale (Hanson et al., 2005). Focus groups were conducted from both general people and *hijras* as the purpose was also to rephrase AHS to measure perception of

attitudes by *hijras* later. That's why FGDs with *hijras* was considered important. This also helped in giving importance to *hijras*' views as well while developing scale (see Adam et al., 2008 Miller, 2005). While participating in FGDs, *hijras* showed concern like “what would they get out of it?”. Such concerns often emerge in socially deprived and oppressed people belonging to sexual minority to be part of any research (see PUCL-K, Sep 2003). Nonetheless, it was maintained that purpose of present data was for research purpose only.

On the basis of the literature review, the variables that might prove to be important in creating meaningful differences in responses were identified. Age, gender, marital status, socioeconomic status, and geographic locations particularly focusing at level of interaction with *hijras* (see King et al., 2009; Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000) were considered while selecting sample of FGDs. Non-directive moderating approach (see Debus & Novelli, 1989; Debus & Novelli, n.d.; Krueger, 1988) was utilized in conducting the focus group in a structured format. For FGDs with *hijras*, an amount of 2000/- rupees for the each FGD (see for example Debus & Novelli, n.d.; Dolezal & Carballo-Diequez, 2002; Finlinson et al., 2003; Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Kalichman et al., 2001, Krueger, 1988; Nemoto et al., 1999; Stanley et al., 2004) were paid to the *guru* and all *hijras*' head. Integrity of members of FGDS and their privacy were taken into consideration to avoid any harm to them (see Brinkmann & Kvale, 2008; Hesse-Biber & Patricia, 2006). Same was the strategy used in FGDs with general people but instead of paying an amount, refreshments and pick and drop facility from venue of FGDs was provided to the participants.

Three component model based on cognitions, feelings, and behavioural intentions is found to be predicting future behaviour (see Hogg & Vaughan, 2005) extended towards social object and determines prejudice held against that group. In the development of AHS, tripartite model based on behavioural intentions was followed (see also King et al., 2009). Ambivalence is mostly exhibited in attitudes because of lack of experience (see Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Maio et al., 2006), therefore, it was appropriate to focus at behavioural intentions than past behaviour, for many participants of the study might

not have any experience with *hijras* of *hijra* community. In the present sample also most of the participants reported having very low interaction level with *hijras* (see Table 1).

Initial form of the scale was administered on sample of 350 individuals which was five times greater than total number of items (Field, 2005). Empirical method for scale development was used that includes statistical analyses of item responses as the basis of item selection to form the homogenous item groupings, which is the most widely used method these days (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). KMO, Bartlett's Test of Sphericity and anti-image of KMOs for all items suggested that sample was adequate enough for running principal component analysis (Field, 2005). For EFA Direct Oblimion Method of principal component analysis with oblique rotation was utilized as items were correlated (Field, 2005; Guertin & Bailey, 1970; Kim & Muller, 1987). Other researchers have also used EFA (Hill & Willoughby, 2005; King et al., 2009; Winter, 2007; Winter et al., 2009) with Direct Oblimion Method of principal component analysis with oblique rotation. Three factors emerged having 35.36 percent of total variance. Final form consisted of 32 items. Item total correlations were significant at $p < .000$ level showing construct validity of the scale.

Later through judges opinion these factors were given titles as Rights and Status (13 items), Social Distance (11 items), and Sexual issues (8 items). Although EFA was run without limiting and defining the items for specific subscales, interestingly, the content of these subscales were clearly related to intial 6 categories in focus group guide. Most evidently content related to categories "issues related to hijras/transgenders, mode of social relationship, social acceptance and approval, and basic human rights and status" were reflected in these subscales most prominently.

First factor was named as Rights and Status as items were referring to right for identity, mental and physical health facilities, educational and occupational opportunities, and right to be loved. Evidence of civil rights related subscale is also present in other measures related to attitudes towards transwomen (see King et al., 2009). Research evidences reveal that lack of legal rights and people's information about anybody's transgendered status (Lombardi et al., 2001; Pratt & Buzwell, 2006) aggravate negative climate against sexual

deviants (Oswald & Culton, 2003). Decriminalization of sodomy and indecency related law can bring about tolerance as suggested by participants of the study by White and Gerke (2007). Heterosexism and homophobia are leading causes for LGBTIs (Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transgender, and Intersexed) health issues (Adam et al., 2008). Problem is that *hijras* are not uniform in their own opinion about their sex. Some believe that they are women and some believe that they are neither man nor woman. Such uncertainty is not acceptable in law, which may effect the provision of human rights to *hijras* (Talwar, 1999).

Herek (2009) reviewed researches and found that contradictions exist that at one time people have negative attitude towards sexual minorities still are in the favour of their civil rights. Although, *hijras* being underprivileged class is not effected by the issue of birth certificates and ID cards system, but they might face it when moving up in the social ladder like participating in election for National and Provincial Assembly held in Pakistan on 11th May 2013 in Pakistan with their third gender status (see e.g., Burke, May 9, 2013) or holding important positions in the government as representative of common people in Indian (Talwar, 1999). Pakistan Supreme Court's decision to register all *hijras* of Pakistan (Abid, 15 July 2009) and to give them employment (see Economic Times, Dec 23, 2009; NADRA, Dec 16, 2010) and establishment of first Shemale organization to fight for *hijras*' rights (Jajja, Dec 15, 2011) have raised the hope among these sexual minorities to anticipate bright future ahead.

Second subscale was Social Distance, it refers to how much closeness a person can accept in having any relationship with *hijras* e.g., as a neighbour, colleague, class fellow, relative, interacting or talking to/about them, etc. (see King et al., 2009). The ambivalent social status of *hijras* in Indian society is reflected by the fact that they are not allowed to meet bride at the time of wedding to protect her from the *hijra's* infertility (Nanda, 1999). If people give away alms, it is only because of the fear to avoid their curse and get good wishes (see Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999) and often *hijras* use this belief of people for exploitation to hoard money. Stigma of asexuality and infertility has strong negative social implications for the family and the person in Pakistan. Accepting any *hijra* within family

becomes a hard reality. Their ability to curse for childlessness if their demands are not complied with instigates fear particularly in women and children (see Sharma, 2000).

Third subscale was Sexual Issues referring to the attitudes towards *hijras* in context of different sexual issues attached with them e.g., AIDS/STDs, sex business, homosexuality, promiscuity, etc. Such items are also part of other measure but in AHS it has appeared as a complete subscale may be because standards of sexuality are much stringent in Islam (most widely practiced religion in Pakistan) and sexual deviances are looked down upon (see Bouhdiba, 1975/1998; Yip, 2007). Literature suggests that strength in religious practice as important indicator for influencing attitude towards sexual minorities and related development (Yip, 2007). *Hijras* are considered to be HIV risk group for being sodomites, involved in sex work (see Khan & Ayub, 2003; Nemoto et al., 1999; Wiessing et al., 1999), and increased sexual activities (Hernandez et al., 2006; Weinberg et al., 1999) for having their sexual interest in straight men (Boellstroff, 2004; Eyre et al., 2004; Wiessing et al., 1999). *Hijras* earn less than other sex workers, hence, increase sexual encounters to earn more money in number of undesirable places like car, deserted areas, etc. and many use drugs with customers (Nemoto et al., 1999; PUCL-K, Sep 2003). Mandatory AIDS test for *hijras* being high risk group has further strengthened the negative attitudes and stigmatization (see also Snell, Finney, and Godwin as cited in Snell et al., 1998). Such connection between HIV/AIDS and sexuality based discrimination is spreading the epidemic as victims conceal their sexual status and remain untested (see White & Gerke, 2007).

From heteronormative point of view, men having feminine features are taken to be homosexuals (Semp, 2008) that leads to negative attitude towards them and generates crisis (Scott & Bavinton, 2005). They are segregated part of society for the fear of creating ‘crisis of morality’ (Talwar, 1999) and rejected by their families. They get into the low socio-economic class because of denied employment, hence, turn to sex work for survival (Green et al., Sep 1994, p. 9; Lombardi et al., 2001; PUCL-K, Sep 2003). In bigger cities, since the number of *zannanas* is ever increasing, people are apprehensive and reluctant in interacting with all type of *hijras*. *Zannanas*’ cross-dressing is mostly to earn money or for sexual

gratification. Because of this, people blame *hijras* generally for homosexuality or sex business and related sexual issues. *Khusras* also have sexual relationships. They have *Girya* [boy friend] with whom they may or may not have sexual relationship for years (see Jami, 2005; Riaz, 1996). Men are often aware of *zannanas*' activities in their locality and consider them responsible for the spread of certain serious social problems. In FGDs, *khusras* strongly criticized *zannanas* being sexual nuisance bringing bad name to *hijra* community because of their rampant sexual errands which is devastatingly effecting *khusras*' repute as well. That was why the question "who are *hijras*" basing on *hijras* responses in FGDs sound logical to be made part of the questionnaire.

Reliability estimates of AHS were found to be very satisfactory. Inter-subscale correlations and subscale-total correlations were highly significant, hence ensuring the construct validity of the scale (see Cohen & Swerdlick, 2010) measuring attitude towards *hijra* of *hijra* community. Overall, significant positive relationships prevail in three subscales. Strongest relationship exist between Sexual Issues and Social Distance which shows that with more strong belief that *hijras* are not responsible for spread of AIDS/HIV and homosexuality sexual issues one also have more acceptability of *hijra* in close relationships. Van Borsel et al. (2001) found in their research that many transsexuals desired to live fully as a woman and men to take care of them. There are countries where transsexuals are legally allowed to marry, but homosexuality is still unacceptable, though evident in society otherwise (Yue, 2007). Cross-dressing is often associated with homosexuality (Green et al., Sep 1994). Cross-dressing is acceptable till it does not violate social norms, but it harbours hostility if it challenges heterosexuality. Sexuality is acceptable in folklores and myths but not in actual life (Pande, 2004).

Same is true in Pakistani context, homosexuality does exist, but belief that such relationships are *Haram* [not lawful, prohibited] makes it to go underground and homosexuals attain role of *hijra* and join *hijra* community to satisfy their sexual desires yet remain invisible for society in general. Being *hijra* for them is just like passing to protect and maintain their sexual orientation. Visibility of transgenders depend upon attitude and support

from others (Cohen-Kettenis & van Goozen, 1997; Smith, 2002) which is a issue in West that is why passing as opposite gender become important by not revealing the actual identity (Peters, 2005) as effects of visibility can be devastating (Green et al., Sep 1994). Same is true in *hijras* for not portraying their actual identity in case of MtF TG and portraying themselves as hermaphrodite/intersexed. Similarly, homosexuals do not declare their sexual orientation and passing like *hijra* of *hijra* community. That is why people in Pakistan are not aware of gender diversity existing in *hijra* community.

Basing on *hijra*'s observation that people are unable to differentiate between *khusra* and *zannana*, one question was made the permanent part of the scale in demographic sheet about people's perception of "who are *hijras*"? Findings revealed that most of the sample believed that *hijras* are hermaphrodites/intersexed; very few believed that they are only MtF TGs. Research evidences (also see Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999; Winter, 2002) reveal that people still have stereotypic beliefs about *hijras* and the distinction between *khusras* and *zannanas* does not exist for Pakistanis (Haider & Bano, 2006; Riaz, 1996). Present study reveals that people still believe that *hijras* are born with sexual deformities, while Riaz (1996) did not come across any hermaphrodite/intersexed individual as member of *hijra* community in her research. Same is observed in research with such minorities in Asia (see e.g., Boellstroff, 2004; McLelland, 2002; Teh, 2001; Totman, 2003).

Presently, there is a move towards mainstreaming *hijras* and defining their legal rights. This scale can be used by government and nongovernment organizations to explore attitudes towards *hijras*, so that these must be addressed for taking affirmative actions (see Meyer, 2003), implementing any related welfare programme successfully, and *hijras*' mainstreaming. Attitudinal scales are often used for counseling purpose to facilitate adjustment and productivity (Kline, 2005).

Attitudes hold great significance in the lives of people, especially who experience gender or sex related issues. Fear and hesitation exist on the both end i.e., between society and *hijra* community (Tasmeera, 2002). Social acceptance and rights granted by the society is an important prognostic factor in the treatment of individuals with gender identity disorder

(Antoszewski et al., 2007). Fikar and Keith (2004) noted that not only do LGBT health care workers need information about taking care of their patients, they also require the knowledgebase necessary to help them in dealing with the persistent societal misconceptions and stigmatization that all LGBT persons routinely encounter. In the next chapter scale for measuring myths or misconception about *hijras* is developed to study its role in attitudes later.

Limitations and Suggestions

1. Data collection was based on convenience sampling without any control variables that might affect the factor structure of the scale.
2. Sample was also heterogeneous, more homogeneous sample could be drawn in future studies to ascertain construct validity of AHS.
3. Sample size was small. Had it been at least 10 times greater than total number of items (see Nunnally, 1978), more stable factor structure would have been generated. Therefore, confirmatory factor analysis is suggested in future studies.

Conclusion

From the present study, we can conclude that people's attitudes mostly revolve around *hijras*' rights and status, acceptance in any relationship, and their sexual issues. It would not be wrong if we posit that right and status awarded to *hijras* in the society are function of their sexual issues and out of social distance they experience from the society. These attitudes are affected by people's concept of "who is *hijra*?" It became evident that still majority people believe that *hijras* of *hijra* community are individuals born with sexual deformity. Very small percent believe that they are MtF TGs. This suggests the significance of studying stereotypes and myths related to *hijra*.

DEVELOPMENT OF MYTHS RELATED TO *HIJRAS* SCALE

(Study II)

In the process of social interaction, people tend to respond and show their attitudes on the basis of the most accessible information in the memory. Sometimes, one does not retrieve complete information from memory, but rely on most readily available previously formed judgment. Such judgments contribute a lot in stability of attitudes (Schwarz, 2008). Attitudes are many times based on stereotypes that involve attributing specific characteristics or categorizing to individuals being member of a group that get activated quickly in the presence of cues, often at unconscious level (see also Devine & Sharp, 2009; Herek, 2009). Stereotypes are social norms and one feels okay about these when having the idea that others also think the same way. Therefore, these need to be studied in social context (Stangor, 2009).

Stereotypes also provide justification to hold aversive attitudes toward sexual minorities (Herek, 2009). Individual differences moderate in displaying stereotypic beliefs (Devine & Sharp, 2009). Often discrimination is displayed for the people who are negatively stereotyped (Herek, 2009; Major & Sawyer, 2009). Myths are widely believed beliefs which are usually not true (Collins Cobuild, 2003, p. 945), but are readily available in mind while interacting. The accuracy of the beliefs could be ascertained by comparing groups along gender and other demographic variables but also by comparing people's beliefs with *hijras'* perceptions of people's beliefs in myths. This is one of the method to study accuracy of stereotypes (Jussim et al., 2009). Likert type scale is considered one of the best method to study stereotypes (see Stangor, 2009).

Objectives

Objective in the present study is to develop a Likert type scale to measure strength in beliefs on myths related to *hijras* of *hijra* community and to establish psychometric properties

of the scale. For validation, gender differences and differences along one's concept of "who is *hijra*?" are ascertained on the scale.

Method

Myths related to *Hijras* Scale (MHS) was developed in six phases.

- **Phase I.** Ten FGDs with general public and 2 of *hijras* were conducted
- **Phase II.** Generation of items pool
- **Phase III.** Judges opinion
- **Phase IV.** Committee approach
- **Phase V.** Pretesting of the initial form of MHS was carried out.

Phase I --- Focus Group Discussion (FGDs)

For details see Phase 1 of Study 1 in Chapter 3. Focus groups with general people as well as *hijras* were carried out. Attitude towards *Hijras* Scale (AHS) was developed (see Chapter 3) and parallel to this MHS was also developed based on these FGDs. MHS was later rephrased to study *hijras*' reciprocal perceptions of the myths in Chapter 8.

Phase II --- Generation of Items

Through content analysis of FGDs, an item pool of 20 items based on myths related to *hijras* was generated (see Appendix B1). For example, *hijras* claim custody of the child born with sexual deformity; they cannot do any other job except dancing and singing; parents themselves give away the child born with sexual deformity to *hijras*; etc.

Phase III--- Judges Opinion

Opinion of 10 judges (M.Phil degree holder in Psychology), was sought for declaring the items as myth or attitude related to *hijras*. For inclusion criteria., if the 50% of judges agreed for an item to be myth, it was included in the initial form of MHS. On the basis of judges opinion all the 20 items achieved more than 50% agreement.

Phase IV --- Committee Approach

For the final selection of the items, a committee based on three Subject Matter Experts (SMEs), one PhD and 2 M.Phil degree holders in Psychology, evaluated the 20 items.

In the light of literature review and FGDs of *hijras* conducted in first phase, 12 items were retained in the initial form of the scale. These were item no. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 (see Appendix B2). Further, pretesting was carried out in next phase.

Phase V --- Try Out of Initial Form of MHS

The initial form of MHS was pretested at this stage and validity was ensured through item-to-total correlation. Later, exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was done to determine factor structure of the scale and reliability indices were calculated.

Sample. Sample was same as Phase IV of Study I in Chapter 3 based on factor analysis (see Table 1, for demographic details).

Instrument. MHS consisting of 12 items (see Appendix B4) was a five point rating scale with response categories ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). There were 8 negative (items no. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12) and 4 positive (items no. 1, 3, 5, 8) myths about *hijras*. These were all stereotypic beliefs generated over centuries and were mostly untrue. Participants were required to report how much they believed in those statements about *hijras*. High score meant strong belief in myths. A composite score showed overall strength of the myths.

Procedure. This is same as procedure of Phase V of Study 1 (Chapter 3) in which data was collected for EFA of AHS. Along with initial form of AHS, initial form of MHS was also administered on the same sample.

Results

Using SPSS 16, initially item-to-total correlations was computed through Pearson Product Moment Correlation (see Table 5), then EFA was done to see the structure of the scale (see Table 6). Temporal stability of the scale was established through test-retest reliability. To ascertain construct validity, concept of contrasted group was used for gender differences and differences along concept of “who are *hijras*?” computed through independent sample *t*-test.

Table 5 shows that all items have significant positive correlations with the total, hence, measuring the same construct i.e., beliefs in myths related to *hijras*.

Table 5

Item-to-total Correlations for Initial Form of MHS (N = 350)

No. of items	<i>r</i>	No. of items	<i>r</i>
1	.31**	7	.32**
2	.36**	8	.12*
3	.37**	9	.46**
4	.29**	10	.39**
5	.30**	11	.42**
6	.36**	12	.44**

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

All items in Table 5 have significant correlations ranging from .12 - .46 at $p < .01$ level except item no. 8 has significant correlation at $p < .05$ level.

Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)

EFA was run on sample of 350 participants. To check for the sampling adequacy, KMO (.669) showed that correlations were compact enough to generate distinct and reliable factors with Bartlett test of Sphericity with $\chi^2(66) = 359.122$ significant at $p < .000$. The data was good enough for carrying out factor analysis. The large value of chi-square suggested that correlation matrix is not an identity matrix and values are positively correlated with each other. The KMO for each item was greater than .50 (ranging from .791-.961) in anti-image revealing that sample was adequate for a given pair of items, therefore, all items could be included in EFA (Field, 2005). Initial communalities achieved also equalled to 1.

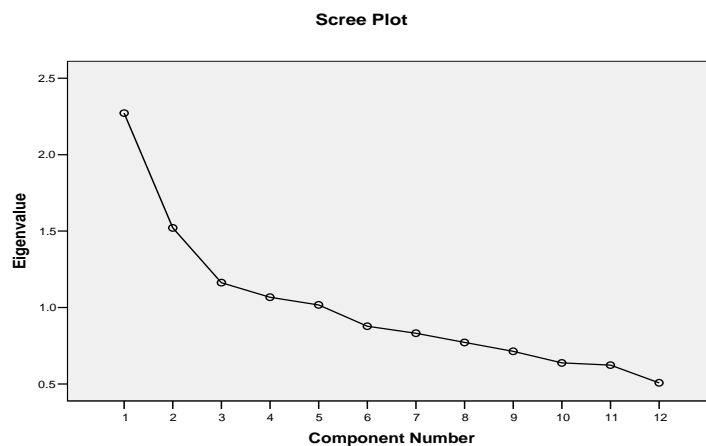


Figure 4. Scree Plot suggesting factor solution

The Scree Plot (see Cattell as cited in Kim & Muller, 1987) suggested one factor with eigen values more than 2, and remaining more than 1 (see Figure 4). Initially 6 factors were suggested with eigen values more than 1 having cumulative variance of 51%.

All items were correlated, therefore, Direct Oblimion method with principal component analysis for the extraction of meaningful factors in the scale was used. Different solutions were tried by fixing number of factors. Initially, meaningful picture emerged on 4 factors solution through oblique rotation that converged on 8 iterations with eigen values more than 1 that explained 50.1% of cumulative percent variance in total variance. On analyzing the content of the items no meaningful picture was emerging, therefore, EFA was repeated with 2 (with 31.6% cumulative variance) and 3 factors solution (with 41.3% cumulative variance). Content revealed three factor solutions to be more meaningful.

Table 6

Factor Loadings of 12 items through Principal Component Analysis by using Direct Oblimion Method (N = 350)

No. of Items	Factors		
	I	II	III
7	.69	-.10	.12
11	.68	.06	.24
10	.66	.04	.14
9	.51	.33	-.10
8	.28	.03	.17
6	-.16	.80	-.08
12	.14	.54	-.12
2	.19	.50	.19
4	-.07	.25	.18
3	.02	-.12	.79
5	.06	-.05	.78
1	.01	.09	.51
Eigen Values	2.27	1.52	1.16
% of Variance	18.93	12.67	9.68
Cumulative Variance	18.93	31.60	41.29

Inclusion criteria for accepting items are .25 as sample size was 30 times greater than total number of items (see Field, 2005). Although, item no. 8 and 4 have weak factor loadings than rest but still these are retained for future check. No double loadings are appearing. Compatibility/face validity of the item with the content of the respective factor was also considered for final inclusion in the scale (see Table 6).

Content Validity

Selected items were given to 3 PhD students and 2 PhD in Psychology to assign name to 3 factors on the basis of content to ensure content validity. They were asked to suggest the most relevant title on the basis of content of each factor. After their judgments, Factor I was named as *Asexuality*, Factor II was termed as *Nature*, and Factor III as *Saintly*.

Final Form of the MHS

Finally the resultant was MHS with 12 items having scoring categories *strongly agree* (5) to *strongly disagree* (1). None was reverse scoring item. High score meant strong belief in myths related to *hijras* of *hijra* community. Minimum score achieved could be 12 and maximum 60. Three subscales (see Appendix B3) were ***Asexuality*** (5 items; 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11) referring to the myths related to asexual status of *hijras* like birth of asexual child brings in *hijras*' notice, their claim for custody of such a child, parents' willful handing over of such a child to *hijras*, adding new *hijras* to *hijra* community on the basis of their asexuality, and finally their getting cutoff from original families because of stigma of asexuality. ***Nature*** (4 items; 2, 4, 6, and 12) referred to *hijras*' innate tendencies of getting alms aggressively, considering them product of their parent's sins, having vulgar tendencies, and their inability to change their innate tendencies. ***Saintly*** (3 items; 1, 3, and 5) referred to *hijras* being divine having power in their blessings and curses, bringing worries to whosoever shuns them, and disliking other to fiddle with them.

Psychometric Properties of MHS

For the reliability, Cronbach Alpha coefficients and for construct validity inter-subscale correlations and correlation with the total score were calculated ($N = 350$) through Pearson Product Moment Correlations (see Table 7). Later, test-retest reliability was

established as an indicator of temporal stability. Concept of contrasted group was utilized to establish construct validity along gender and concept of “Who is *Hijra*?”

Table 7

Alpha-coefficients and Inter-correlations between MHS and Its Subscales (N = 350)

MHS	No. of items	α	1	2	3	4
1. MHS Total	12	.57	-			
2. Asexuality	5	.36	.64**	-		
3. Nature	4	.32	.63**	.20**	-	
4. Sainly	3	.54	.45**	-.088	-.13*	-

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .000$.

Strong correlations exist among type of myth scores and total score, hence, both EFA and Table 7 reflect construct validities of MHS. Alpha-coefficients for total scale and subscales is low which did not improve much after removing the items successively, therefore, reliability estimates need to be checked further.

Test-retest reliability. For establishing the temporal stability of MHS, scale was re-administered with a time gap of 3 ½ months on the same sample ($N = 37$).

Sample. It consisted of 37 university female students from a public university in Islamabad studying in M.Sc. 2nd Semester of Psychology with age range 21-22 years. Out of total sample, 13(35.1%) reported meeting *hijras* yearly, 19(51.4%) monthly basis, and 5(13.5%) on weekly basis; 21(56.8%) believed that *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed, 2(5.4%) believed that they are MtF TG, and 14(37.8%) believed that they are both.

Procedure. Scale was administered in classroom setting. Out of total class of 39 students, on first time administration one student was absent. While in second administration after 3 ½ months time lapse, another student was absent. Therefore, data of these two students was not included in analysis. Rest of the students volunteered to participate in this part of study. For the administration of the scale, underlying reason was not mentioned to the students, however, after second administration they were debriefed. Analysis was done through SPSS 16.

Result. Pearson Product Moment correlation was computed between subscales and complete MHS on two administrations for test-retest reliability of MHS and subscales.

Table 8

Temporal Stability and Alpha-coefficients of MHS and its Subscales (N = 37)

MHS	No. of items	Test-retest
MHS	12	.56**
Asexuality	5	.36*
Nature	4	.65**
Saintly	3	.60**

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .000$.

Overall, temporal stability is in acceptable range except for Asexuality which is quite low (see Table 1)

Test of Normality. Before carrying inferential statistics on MHS for the decision to carry parametric or nonparametric statistics, Test of Normality was run.

Table 9

Indices of Normality

MHS	Statistic	S.E.
Mean	39.7	.26
95% Confidence Interval	Lower Bound	39.2
	Upper Bound	40.2
5% Trimmed Mean	39.6	
Median	40	
Variance	24	
Std. Deviation	4.9	
Minimum	28	
Maximum	55	
Range	27	
Interquartile Range	7	
Skewness	.26	.13
Kurtosis	.08	.26

Table 9 shows Skewness (.264) and Kurtosis (.079) which were near to zero, hence, shows that sample meet the assumption of normality. Test of normality was also run for

subscales. Stem-and-Leaf Plots and Boxplots along with Histogram presentation, Normal Q-Q plot, and Detrended Normal Q-Q plot shows that the sample meets the assumption of normality, hence, inferential statistics based on parametric test was decided to be used.

Construct validity through contrasted groups. Gender differences and differences in beliefs about myths related to *hijras* along one’s concept of “Who are *hijras*?” on MHS were explored to establish construct validity using concept of contrasted group (see Cohen & Swerdlick, 2010). For comparing belief along gender, independent sample *t*-test was carried out assuming that women have more strong belief in myths than men.

Table 10 shows significant gender differences along overall myths and saintly concept of *hijras* with medium effect size and a tilt towards significance in nature related myths of *hijras*. Women have significantly more strong belief in these myths than men. Overall gender differences show construct validity of the scale.

Table 10

Mean, Standard Deviations, and t-test along Gender (N = 350)

Scales	Men	Women	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI		Cohen’s <i>d</i>
	(<i>n</i> = 166)	(<i>n</i> = 184)			LL	UL	
MHS	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>) 31.6(3.9)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>) 33.4(4.4)	3.9	.00	-2.6	-.87	-.43
Asexuality	12.3(2.4)	12.6(2.4)	1.0	.29	-.79	.24	-.12
Nature	10.2(2.4)	10.7(2.6)	1.8	.06	-1.02	.03	-.12
Saintly	9.1(2.3)	10.1(2.6)	3.8	.00	-1.5	-.47	-.41

For the comparison independent sample *t*-test was carried out between two group, those who believe that *hijras* are intersexed/hermaphrodite individuals (*n* = 179) and those who believe that *hijras* are both intersexed/ hermaphrodite and MtF TGs (*n* = 154). Those who believed that *hijras* are MtFs (*n* = 17) only were not included in the analysis as their number was too low. For construct validity, it is assumed that those who believe that *hijras* are intersexed/hermaphrodite have more strong belief in myths than those who believe that *hijras* are both intersexed/ hermaphrodite and MtF TGs (see Table 11).

Table 11

Mean, Standard Deviations, and t-test along Belief in Who are Hijras (N = 333)

	Both Intersexed		<i>t</i> (331)	<i>p</i>	95% CI		Cohen's <i>d</i>
	Intersexed (<i>n</i> = 179)	and MtF (<i>n</i> = 154)			LL	UL	
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)					
MHS	33.3(4.1)	32.0(4.4)	2.6	.01	.30	2.1	.31
Asexuality	12.7(2.5)	12.4(2.4)	1.0	.30	-.25	.80	.12
Nature	10.7(2.5)	10.3(2.5)	1.2	.22	-.20	.90	.16
Saintly	9.9(2.4)	9.3(2.6)	2.2	.03	.06	1.1	.24

Results in Table 11 reveals significant difference between two groups exist on overall myths and myths related to saintly characteristics having weak effect size. Only those believing that *hijras* are born with sexual deformities have more strong belief in myths than those believing that they are both intersexed and MtF TGs. This shows construct validity of MHS.

Relative Strength of Beliefs in Myths

For determining strength in myths, mean and standard deviations, and frequencies and percentages for each myth are computed. Table 12 shows frequencies and percentages along myths related to *hijras*. Most of agreement is evident in item no. 1, 3, and 4; neutral for item 5 and 8; and for remaining items disagreement is more evident. For only four items (1, 3, 4, and 8) a general trend of agreement is observed in mean, for remaining items values are less than 3 (cutoff point for each item) hence showing more tilt towards disagreement; least is observed for item no. 9 and 2.

Table 12

Mean, Standard Deviations, Frequencies and Percentages Showing Degree of Agreement along Items of MHS (N = 350)

Item no.	No. of items	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	SDA <i>f</i> (%)	DA <i>f</i> (%)	NEU <i>f</i> (%)	A <i>f</i> (%)	SA <i>f</i> (%)
1	They don't like fiddling with them.	3.21	1.26	34(9.7)	80(22.9)	83(23.7)	85(24.3)	68(19.4)
2	Insisting while asking alms is their distinct characteristic.	<u>2.1</u>	1.0	104(29.7)	153(43.7)	52(14.9)	35(10)	6(1.7)
3	Their blessings and curses hold effects.	3.46	1.1	15(4.3)	47(13.4)	125(35.7)	89(25.4)	74(21.1)
4	They are product of their parents sins.	3.65	1.14	18(5.1)	23(6.6)	133(38.0)	66(18.9)	110(31.4)
5	Shunning them bring worries.	2.94	1.05	28(8)	86(24.6)	148(42.3)	55(15.7)	33(9.4)
6	For their vulgarity they are not welcomed in daughters' weddings and not allowed to go in female wing.	2.3	1.16	98(28)	131(37.4)	58(16.6)	45(12.9)	18(5.1)
7	On knowing about birth of an intersexed child, they come and claim custody.	2.24	.90	77(22)	134(38.3)	120(34.3)	15(4.3)	4(1.1)
8	Parents themselves handover such a child to <i>hijras</i> .	3.1	.92	15(4.3)	60(17.1)	178(50.9)	69(19.7)	28(8)
9	For increasing their income new <i>hijras</i> are inducted in the community.	<u>2.1</u>	.84	90(25.7)	150(42.9)	97(27.7)	11(3.1)	2(.6)
10	Visiting home of a new born child is to actually investigate about sex of the child.	2.61	.98	49(14)	106(30.3)	135(38.6)	51(14.6)	9(2.6)
11	One who goes to <i>hijra</i> community gets cutoff from the family for ever.	2.44	.96	56(16)	139(39.7)	108(30.9)	40(11.4)	7(2)
12	Even if given job they cannot mend their ways.	2.42	1.1	75(21.4)	132(37.7)	77(22)	54(15.4)	12(3.4)

Note. SDA = Strongly disagree; DA = Disagree; NEU = Neutral; A = Agree; SA = Strongly agree. Original items are in Urdu. Items are translated to facilitate the understanding of non-Urdu Speaking readers. No back to back translation method was followed. Boldface shows the more frequency and percentage under respective category of agreement and disagreement.

Discussion

Lack of knowledge about sexual minorities is major precursor for intolerance towards them and their discrimination (Lovett & Mannie de Saxe, 2006; Mule, 2007; Tolley & Ranzijin, 2006). Myths related to *hijras* are clear indication of lack of knowledge about them. This implies to examine the gaps between mythology and lived experiences (Lather as cited in Oswald & Culton, 2003). Not knowing the people, belonging to any group, results in activation of stereotypes in responding while in case of knowing well, group membership is ignored and person is responded at individual level (see Stangor, 2009). Therefore, activation of stereotypes depends upon social context and social roles (Devine & Sharp, 2009).

Fikar and Keith (2004) noted that knowledgebase help LGBT health care workers in dealing with the persistent societal misconceptions and stigmatization that LGBTs routinely encounter. There are evidences that researches have utilized the concept of myths about various social object in their researches e.g., about rape (see Ahmad & Kamal, 2000; Crooks & Baur, 2005), sexual harassment (Anila, 1992a), etc. MHS was developed to study people's beliefs about *hijras* and to use it for studying its relationship with AHS (see Chapter 5).

Many researches have reported myths related to *hijras* (e.g., Khan & Ayub, 2003; Nanda, 1999; Riaz, 1996; Sharma, 2000), nevertheless, no research has ever put these to empirical testing. An ethnomethodological research (Riaz, 1996) explored belief that *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed. This myth has been made part of demographic of AHS in the present research (see Chapter 3) as it might effect attitudes towards *hijras*. Out of total participants, 51.1% believed that *hijras* were hermaphrodites/intersexed individuals, 4.46% believed that they were MtFs, and 44% believed that *hijras* include both categories. People still have very strong belief that *hijras* are hermaphrodites/intersexed or having biological cause (see also Khan & Ayub, 2003; Haider & Bano, 1996; Nanda, 1999; Riaz, 1996; Sharma, 2000; for transsexuals see Antoszewski et al, 2007; for *Waria* see Boellstorff, 2004; for *maknayah* see Teh, 2001; for *Kathoe* see Totman, 2004; Winter, 2002). Although, media has given a lot of exposure to *hijras* but still it is under strong grip of stereotypes and portray these quite often (PUCL-K, Sep 2003).

During Study I of AHS development, it became evident that many attitudes were based on myths. Therefore, it deemed significant to determine people's belief in myths too that underlie attitudes towards *hijras*. Stereotypes are underlying rationale for attitudes and responses (see Devine & Sharp, 2009; Stangor, 2009). Like development of AHS in Study I (see Chapter 3), MHS was also developed by utilizing empirical approach (Cohen & Swerdlik, 2010; Kline, 2005; Worthington, & Whittaker, 2006). FGDs were conducted (see Debus & Novelli, 1989; Krueger, 1988) for items generation (Hanson et al., 2005). Finally, after pretesting and EFA (see Field, 2005), a valid measure with significant item-to-total correlations and inter-subscale correlations was achieved. Most of the responses given in FGDs under the category of "positive and negative features" of *hijras* in focus group guide were reflected in items so generated for the subscales of MHS i.e., Asexuality, Nature, and Saintly characteristics.

Alpha coefficient was quite low for myths may be because with the passage of time, increased education, and awareness through media (PUCL-K, Sep 2003) the beliefs on myths are not giving a consistent picture. Stereotypes are cognitive schemas that can be fluid in nature (Stangor, 2009). Alpha coefficients did not improve much even after progressively removing the items. Therefore, it was decided to keep the item number same, as emerged in EFA, for further exploration. Neilands et al. (2008) in their study of validation of The China MSM Stigma Scale achieved low reliability and rationalized that it may be because participants endorsed a few type of stigmas not other or may be because of low number of items or may be because all forms of stigma were not included in the scale.

Low reliability may also be because of heterogeneity of sample. Age, gender, marital status, socioeconomic status, geographic locations, and level of interaction with *hijras* (see King et al., 2009; Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000) are important in attitudes and beliefs about *hijras*/TGs. These were taken into account while selecting sample of FGDs, but not in sample selection for pretesting of MHS. Nevertheless, temporal stability was established considering myths as more stable construct; cronbach alpha coefficient represents consistency. In case of myths belief in one myth may not bring in belief in other in the similar direction on same

subscale. EFA ensures construct validity not reliability. Content of each factor had meaningful similarity that enabled SMEs in naming each subscale.

With respect to level of agreement with the statements, increased agreement is observed on four items referring to *hijras* not liking fiddling with them; their blessings and curses being effective; *hijras* being product of their parents' sins; and parents themselves hand over such children born with sexual deformity to *hijras*. Evidences of these findings are also available in anthropological researches (see Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000). Disagreement exists on remaining items and much frequency of responses is observed in neutral category. This might reflect state of dissonance while responding to statements related to any social object or group (see Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005).

Dissonance to either go along strongly held traditional beliefs about *hijras* or to have less superstitious view in the light of modernism or lack of interaction with *hijras* (Tolley & Ranzijin's, 2006; Lovett & Mannie de Saxe, 2006) might be function of young age and more education reflected in demographics of sample. This shows ambivalence in their perceptions while thinking about *hijras*, hence taking central position while responding to items (see Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Conner & Armitage, 2008; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Maio et al., 2006). Sample description also showed that maximum number of participants used to rarely meet *hijras* (48.3% yearly) against those who used to meet daily (7.4%); this might have created dissonance in responding to the items.

Being the part of South Asia and because of influence of Hinduism in our culture, some myths of Indian mythology are reflected in our culture. Like it is believed that their curse and blessings hold special affects (Ruth, 1996; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 2002). *Hijras* propagate that those who do not oblige to their demands may suffer from some heavenly wrath. *Hijras* use this tool more frequently to exploit others to earn money; especially, women and children are the two target populations where they can use this exploitation more successfully. Women are more likely to be effected by the myths and impressions made by the *hijras* (Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Winter, 2002). So in this scenario, women have strong belief in these myths. *Hijras* during process of socialization also learn how to interact

with men and women as dirty language is not to be used with woman (Nanda, 1999; Riaz, 1996; Sharma, 2000), therefore, women develop much soft corner for *hijras*. Often, gender differences appear in inventories that are based on gender stereotypes. Women endorse more stereotypes implicitly than explicitly (Swim & Hyers, 2009). This psychological discourse considering women to be irrational than men is governed by patriarchal power that maintains rigid division based on gender stereotypes (Batalha, 2006).

In our society, men interact more frequently with *hijras* as compare to women. They get more chance of having information about *hijras*' behaviors and activities. Even in the functions and weddings, *hijras* perform in male sitting areas and they are not allowed to go to female sitting areas. Considering the interaction as an important variable in determining the attitude of the people, men are less likely to have belief in myths than women (Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Winter, 2002).

Early researches have found that those who believe in genetic factors for transsexuals showed much acceptability than those who believed them to be product of environment (Antoszewski et al., 2007). In Study 1, more than half of the people still had very strong belief that *hijras* are hemaphrodites/intersexed or having genetic cause (see also Khan & Ayub, 2003; Haider & Bano, 1996; Nanda, 1999; Riaz, 1996; Sharma, 2000; for TS see Antoszewski et al., 2007; for *Waria* see Boellstorff, 2004; for *maknayah* see Teh, 2001; for *Kathoeey* see Totman, 2004; Winter, 2002). Therefore, differences along one's concept of *hijra* on belief in myths were observed. Those who believed that *hijras* are born with sexual deformities had more strong belief in myths that too related to saintly characteristics of *hijras* than those who believed that *hijras* are both MtF TGs and hemaphrodites/intersexed. Very significant result might have appeared if compared with those who believed that *hijras* are MtF TGs only. Presently, very few participants endorsed that *hijras* are MtF TGs only. Their data was excluded from analysis because of diabolic distribution.

Study II, is a research of its own kind providing an empirical evidences of myths related to *hijras* and how these are related to other relevant constructs. Earlier records of myths on *hijras* are anthropological, sociological, or historical archives. Present is the first

psychological study to highlight significance of these. To justify ones standing and status, deviants often give justifications and excuses for their deviant behaviours and quote only those aspects in religious practices that justify their existence (see Liska, 1987; Rubington & Weinberg, 1987; Thio, 1988). Same is true in case of *hijras* to justify their existence from anywhere (Hinduism or Islam) for generating acceptance among general public (see Nanda, 1999). Myths related to them are unique example of these propagated justifications.

Stereotyping is outcome of categorizing process based on cultural connotation of sexual minority and has grounds in sexual stigma like asexuality in *hijras*. Even perceiving individual differences among sexual minorities, still stereotypes are generalized on all group members based on entitativity (Hamilton et al., 2009; Herek, 2009). Not only social categorization but self-categorization also activate stereotypes which influence behaviour. Stereotypes help in categorization for simplicity especially if it is based on categorizing one in ingroup or outgroup which is an important aspect of social identity. Stereotypes are based on role which is assigned to being member of any group (Campbell & Storo, 1994; Stangor, 2009).

Better attitude leads to better practice. Effective health promotion for any group is dependent upon a detailed understanding of their culture and social practices (Kane, 2006; Adam et al., 2008). Attitudes serve the cognitive and emotional needs of the people i.e., people high in need of affect often possess extreme attitudes (Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Maio & Esses, 2001). If the person is in good mood then it's likely that evaluation is more positive. If the people have stereotypic view of *hijras* that they hoard money in an obnoxious, its likely to generate fear and negativity. Therefore, while interacting with *hijras*, people are likely to extend negative attitude and behaviour or vice versa. At the cognitive level, it facilitates in object appraisal and simplify interaction with the object. It also has value-expressive function.

Myths are functional in nature and maintain the power imbalance in patriarchal society (Ahmad & Kamal, 2000) especially in case of sexual minorities. Studying rape myths have been found to be an important indicator of sexism (Swim & Hyers, 2009) showing that

men had more strong beliefs in myths (Ahmad & Kamal, 2000; Lief, 1998). According to Lather, “Feminist researchers are sensitized to examine the gaps between mythology and lived experiences” (as cited in Oswald & Culton, 2003, p. 72). Many researchers have utilised the concept of myth to study this link (see e.g., Ahmad & Kamal, 2000; Lottes, 1998 b). In Study III, aim is to establish correlates of attitudes toward *hijras* including myths related to them.

Limitations and Suggestions

1. Reliability estimates were low that needs to be established before using MHS in future study.
2. Data of those who believed that *hijras* are MtF TGs only was excluded in analysis comparing belief in myths along participants’ concept of *hijras*. In future, equal number of people believing in three categories could be taken to compare the attitudes to get authentic results.
3. For EFA, sample size was very large to generate stable factor structure, still for future use CFA is advised.
4. Many changes regarding *hijras* status in Pakistan has emerged since data collection. Therefore, belief in myths need to be explored again in changing scenario.

Conclusion

Findings help us to conclude that MHS is a valid tool to measure relative strengths of beliefs, but its reliability is questionable may be because of their nature. Myths mostly revolve around beliefs in *hijras*’ asexuality and increasing their number with a plan. People hold stereotypic beliefs in their aggressive and vulgar characteristics; their inability to change themselves; and being product of their parents’ sins. Strong belief is reflected in their saintly characteristics of holding divine power in their curse and blessings, bringing in worry for the person who shun them, and not liking anybody who interferes in their social errands. Women have more strong belief in myths, especially, in *hijras*’ saintly characteristics and so are those who believe that *hijras* are born with sexual physical deformities than their counterparts.

CORRELATES OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS *HIJRAS*

(STUDY III)

Values and ideologies are more rigid in nature for defining behaviour towards a social object/group (Maio & Olson, 1998). Including attitudes these share common features like all are evaluative, subjective, exist at conscious and unconscious level at a given time, and none of these construct exist in isolation but influence each other. The large effects of these values and ideologies make them powerful constructs (Maio et al., 2006). Therefore, in the present study aim is to establish relationship of attitude towards *hijras* of *hijra* community⁴ with values (e.g., religious), ideologies for example extremist tendencies being conservative and liberal, personality traits as masculinity and femininity, beliefs about gender in form of traditional gender role attitudes, and stereotypes as myths related to *hijras*.

Personality traits and motivations play important role and act as value systems. Low self-monitors give importance to internal cues and regard their ideologies, values, and attitudes (e.g., intrinsic motivation in religion) to direct their behaviours, while high self-monitors give importance to external or social cues (e.g., extrinsic motivation in religion) (see Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Maio et al., 2006; Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006). Beliefs that are easily accessible in the memory readily affect behaviours (Ajzen & Cote, 2008). Attitudes based on indirect experiences are more polarized as based on indirect information that strengthens gender stereotypes. Second hand information based on indirect information leads the people to consider less individual differences in a social group that

⁴ Male-to-Female transgender or hermaphrodite/intersexed individuals having role of *guru* (mentor) or *chela* (disciple) or both in *hijra* community, significant behaviours include like clapping, asking *wadhai* (alms), and dancing and signing role are evident being member of that community.

strengthen attitudes in black and white than information gained through direct experience (see Ajzen & Cote, 2008; Maio et al., 2006). Such stereotypes generated through process of social categorization are often inaccurate, negative, over-generalised, and unfair for considering all group members similar. These may be positive but often reported negatively and have strong impact on attitudes. These are fluid in nature and based on social context, therefore, it is recommended to measure these on regular basis as part of people's perceptions about any social object (Stangor, 2009). In the present study, such a form of stereotypes i.e., myths related to *hijras* is also studied in predictive role for attitudes toward *hijras*.

Hill and Willoughby (2005) suggested that if anyone is studying functional approach to anti-trans attitudes, it will be useful to study the underlying traditional values such as social conformity, religious fundamentalism, conservative ideology, and moral dogmatism that promote hate against TGs. Allport and his colleagues indicated that one's religiosity is tied together with the degree to which one has a prejudiced personality (as cited in Denney, 2008). Literature suggests that extremism is a general orientation in life that predispose any individual to look any phenomenon in conservative or liberal way. Since values and ideologies underlie attitudes, therefore, aim in the present study is to explore the predictive role of these in attitudes toward *hijras* considering extremism (fundamentalism) in major predictive role with other variables like religiosity, gender role attitudes, myths related to *hijras*, and sex roles in mediating role for extremism in predicting attitudes.

Hijras of *hijra* community being isolated from the rest of the world only interact with general people while asking alms (*wadhai*), otherwise interaction is very low, therefore it might lead people to have more polarized view of them as their attitudes are not based on direct experience. Contact with sexual minorities play important role in attitudes (Herek, 2009; see King et al., 2009). Generally, it is observed that women interact less with *hijras* than men and are more in grip of myths related to them (see Sharma, 2000) also evident as finding in Study II (Chapter 4). Therefore, moderating role of gender, interaction with *hijras*, one's belief in who are *hijras*, and religious orientation for other variables of the study in predicting attitudes towards *hijras* is also studied.

Since 9/11, 2001 the interest in research focusing at conflicts and intergroup attitudes based on religion and extremism have increased manifold (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005). Pakistan is the most effected country by this incident. Therefore, presently the aim is to establish a context of the attitudes by adopting a psychosocial approach with special focus on extremism as predictor and other variables in mediating role for predicting attitudes toward *hijras*. Present study will also help in ascertaining the validity indices of Attitude towards *Hijra* Scale (AHS) and Myths related to *Hijras* Scale (MHS) developed in Study I (Chapter 3) and Study II (Chapter 4), respectively.

Objectives

Main objectives of Study III are to study correlates of attitudes and myths related to *hijras* and to establish the psychometric properties of the AHS and MHS. Objectives are to:

1. Establish psychometric properties of AHS and MHS.
2. Explore people's belief in "who is *hijra*"?
3. Find relationship of attitudes and belief in myths related to *hijras* with each other and also their relationship with extremism, religiosity, gender role attitudes, and sex roles (masculinity and femininity) independently.
4. Determine the predictors of attitude towards *hijras* among correlates of the study including myths related to *hijras*, extremism, religiosity, gender role attitudes, and sex roles (masculinity and femininity).
5. Explore differences in attitudes and belief in myths related to *hijras* along religious orientation, gender, level of interaction with *hijras*, and concept of *hijra* (hermaphrodite/intersexed, Male to female transgender MtFs, and both).
6. Explore gender differences and differences along religious orientation in myths related to *hijras*, extremism, religiosity, gender role attitudes, and sex roles (masculinity and femininity).
7. Establish mediating role of religiosity, gender role attitudes, myths related to *hijras*, and sex roles (masculinity and femininity) for extremism in predicting attitudes toward *hijras*.

8. Establish moderating role of religious orientation, gender, level of interaction with *hijras*, concept of *hijra* (hermaphrodite, MtFs, and both) for extremism, religiosity, gender role attitudes, myths related to *hijras*, and sex roles (masculinity and femininity) in predicting attitudes toward *hijras*.

Hypotheses

Based on literature review following hypotheses were generated:

1. With increased belief in *hijras*' saintly characteristics related myths, attitudes get more positive, while with increased belief in asexuality and nature related myths of *hijras*, attitudes are become more negative.
2. Attitudes towards *hijras* get negative with increased extremism, traditional gender role attitudes, religiosity, and masculinity.
3. Belief in myths related to *hijras* get strong with more extremism and traditional gender role attitudes.
4. Extremist tendencies are positively correlated with traditional gender role attitudes, masculinity, and religiosity.
5. With increased masculinity and religiosity, gender role attitudes get traditional.
6. Extremist tendencies, gender role attitudes, religiosity, myths related to *hijras*, and masculinity significantly predict attitude towards *hijras*.
7. Belief in myths related to *hijras*, gender role attitudes, religiosity, and masculinity have mediating role for extremism in predicting attitudes toward *hijras*.
8. Those with extrinsic social religious orientation have more negative attitudes towards *hijras* than with non-extrinsic social religious orientation.
9. Those with intrinsic religious orientation have less belief in myths than with non-intrinsic religious orientation.
10. Those with extrinsic social religious orientation have strong belief in myths, high extremist tendencies, increased religiosity, traditional gender role attitudes, and high masculinity than those with non-extrinsic social religious orientation.

11. Women have more positive attitudes towards *hijras*, stronger belief in myths, less extremism, modern gender role attitudes, more femininity, strong belief that *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed, and less interaction with *hijras* than men.
12. *Hijras* are intersexed/hermaphrodite than MtF TGs is a more common belief.
13. Those who believe that *hijras* are hermaphrodites/intersexed than MtF TGs have more positive attitudes and strong belief in myths.
14. With increase in interaction with *hijras* attitudes get more positive and belief in myths less strong.

Operational Definitions

Extremism. It is characteristics of attitudinal intolerance, inflexibility, at the cognitive and emotional levels, and rigidity in views (Gilani & Altaf, 2005). Measured by five point Likert scale, high score shows more extremist tendencies based on Conservatism, Hostility/Intolerance, Submission to Authority, Rigidity, and Power and Toughness.

Religiosity. In the present study, multiple indicators of religiosity were used basing upon five basic tenets of Islam as described in Introduction (Chapter 1). First tenet i.e., belief in Allah and last prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) is must for any to be declared Muslim. Last i.e., performing *Hajj* [pilgrimage in Holy City of Makkah] was not included as it is must for financially stable Muslims only. Remaining three indicators were utilised in the present study i.e., firstly, how much *Salat* [prayers] one offers everyday i.e., none to 5 times a day. It was also measured as how much one is regular in offering prayers from *regularly* (4), *frequently* (3), *occasionally* (2), and *rarely* (1). Secondly, Fasting in the holy month of *Ramadhan* [9th Islamic month for fasting in Muslims]; and thirdly, paying *Zakat* [offering 2.5% of alms on property yearly to the poor].

Religious orientation. It is defined as the extent to which person lives out his/her religious beliefs (Allport & Ross, 1967; Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989). The person with strong intrinsic religious orientation seeks to live day to day life according to religion. Person with extrinsic orientation is more influenced by other social forces for social benefits (Extrinsic Social). One who participates in religious activities for personal needs like personal

affiliation or personal advantage for personal comfort and gain (Extrinsic Personal). High score on either domain show that orientation.

Gender role attitudes. The expectations of society about specific behaviours of males and females have given rise to a set of attitudes called gender role attitudes (Anila, 1992b, p. 31; Anila et al., 1993). These are traditional when specify that men and women have distinct roles in the society or modern when do not label that their roles are distinct from each other (Thoronton, Alvin, & Camburn as cited in Salik, 2003). High score on the scale means more modern gender role attitudes and low score means traditional gender role attitudes.

Sex roles. These are culturally desirable traits for males and females (Bem, 1981). It is based on concept of traditionally sex-typed person who is highly attuned to cultural definition of sex appropriate behaviour; who chooses the behaviour and attitudes that enhance the image; and avoid those who violate the image. It is based on two separate indices of sex role --- masculinity and femininity. High score on either show inclination towards that sex role.

Interaction. It is defined as how frequently one meets/sees *hijras* ranging from daily to never.

Method

Sample

Since an introductory account on present research (see Chapter 1) has revealed role of education and age in creating differential effect in each construct, therefore, it was decided to control the variable of education and age in sample selection. Purposive convenience sampling was used to collect data from 186 university students with age range between 20-25 years ($M = 23$; $SD = .07$), all studying in M.Sc. level from both natural and social sciences disciplines. All were unmarried and were residents of Rawalpindi/Islamabad. Data were collected from three public universities including Quaid-i-Azam University, Fatima Jinnah Women University, and Arid Agricultural University in Rawalpindi/Islamabad. Out of total sample 83(44.6%) were male students and 103(55.4%) were female students; 120(64.5%)

were from social sciences and 66(35.5%) from natural sciences area of discipline; 15(8.1%) saw/met *hijras* on daily basis, 47(25.3%) weekly, 56(30.1%) monthly, 59(31.7%) yearly, and 9(4.8%) reported that they have never seen a *hijra* in their life. None of the participants reported any relation within *hijra* community.

Instruments

A booklet of seven measurement tools including Attitude towards *Hijras* Scale (AHS), Myths related to *Hijras* Scale (MHS), Extremism scale, Gender Role Attitude Scale, Bem Sex Role Inventory, Age Universal Religious Orientation Scale Revised, and Attitude towards Transwomen Scale along demographic sheet was administered on the sample (see Appendix C).

Demographic sheet. It required information relating to age, sex, monthly family income, and area of discipline in studies (see Appendix C1). Three close ended questions were made part of the demographic sheet. One was about participant's belief in "**Who are *hijras*?**" with options *Hermaphrodite/intersexed*, *only MtF TGs*, or *Both*. Originally this is part of AHS, but here placed in this sheet. To determine **level of interaction** with *hijras*, a question pertaining to how frequently one see/meets *hijra* was made apart of demographic sheet. It had a five-point rating scale with response categories *Never* (1), *yearly* (2), *monthly* (3), *weekly* (4), to *daily* (5).

For the indicator of **religiosity** three indicators were taken: a) Do you offer *salat* [prayer]? (b) Do you fast? And (c) Do you offer *Zakat* [offering 2.5% alms on property on yearly basis to the poor]? All of these items were having four response categories from *Regularly* (4) to *Never* (1). Besides this to measure the strength of religiosity further, how much one offers *salat* daily (out of five) was also made part of the demographic sheet.

Attitude towards *Hijras* Scale (AHS). It consisted of 32 items, all measuring attitudes of people as perceived by *hijras* (see Appendix A7). It consisted of three subscales Rights and Status (13 items; 7, 8, 9, 10, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32), its content referred to the attitude towards providing basic human rights to *hijras* including right for identity, mental and physical health facilities, educational and occupational opportunities, and right to

be loved. Social Distance (11 items; 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26) referring to how much closeness a person can accept in having any relationship with *hijras* e.g., as a neighbour, colleague, class fellow, relative, interacting or talking to/about them, etc. And Sexual Issues (8 items; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12) catering attitudes in reference to different sexual issues/stigma attached with *hijras* e.g., related to AIDS/STDs, sex business, homosexuality, promiscuity, etc. Out of 32 items 15 were reverse scoring items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, and 26. It was a five point Likert scale with response categories ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5); high score meant positive attitudes. Highest score achieved on the scale was 160 and lowest 32. Inter-subscale correlations as achieved in Study I (Chapter 3) were .22-.37 at $p < .000$ level ($N = 350$). Subscales correlations with the total sum of AHS was strong that ranged from .69-.81 at $p < .000$ level. Item-total correlations are observed ranging from .26-.56 at $p < .001$. Cronbach alpha coefficients for these scales were .80, .81, and .73 for Rights and Status, Social Distance, and Sexual Issues, respectively, and .85 for the total AHS.

Myths related to Hijra Scale (MHS). It consisted of 12 items (see Appendix B4). It had three subscales. *Asexuality* (5 items; 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11) refers to the myths related to asexual status of *hijras* like birth of asexual child brings in *hijras'* notice, *hijras* claim for custody of such a child, parents' willful handing over of such a child to *hijras*, adding new *hijras* to *hijra* community, and finally their cutting off from original families because of stigma of asexuality. *Nature* (4 items; 2, 4, 6, and 12) refers to perceiving *hijras'* innate characteristic of getting alms aggressively, being product of their parent's sins, having vulgar tendencies, and their inability to change their natural behaviour. *Saintly* having three items (1, 3, and 5) refers to *hijras* having divine power in their blessings and curses, bringing worries to whosoever shuns them, and disliking other to fiddle with them. It was a five point rating scale with response categories from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). Participants were required to report how much they believed in those particular cultural beliefs about *hijras*. High score means strong belief in myths. Alpha coefficients are found to be ($N = 350$) .57 for the total scale and .36, .32, and .54 (Test-rest reliability for AHS .58 and

.36, .65, .60 [$n = 37$] for subscale given beyond parentheses) for Asexuality, Nature, and Saintly, respectively. Low alpha coefficient reliabilities may be because of no reverse scoring is done for the items. Correlation of subscales with total score is .45 - .64 at $p < .000$. Item-to-total correlations ranged from .12 - .46 ($p < .05-.01$).

Extremism Scale (ES). This scale was developed by Gilani and Altaf (2005) to study tendencies of extremism (see Appendix C2). Consisting of 42 items, ES has five subscales namely Conservatism having 16 items (1, 4, 8, 11, 16, 17, 23, 25, 28, 30, 33, 34, 39, 40, 41, and 42), Hostility/Intolerance having 8 items (2, 5, 10, 13, 18, 20, 29, and 37), Submission to Authority having 7 items (7, 15, 19, 22, 32, 35, and 38), Rigidity having 8 items (3, 6, 9, 12, 26, 27, 31, and 36), and Power and Toughness having 3 items (14, 21, and 24). It was a five point Likert with response categories *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). Out of total items, 2 (4 and 30) were reverse scoring items. Score ranged from 42 to 210. High score meant higher tendencies for extremism (Altaf, 2002). Inter-correlations of subscales with total score were achieved on ($N = 230$) as .88, .79, .76, .76, and .56 significant at $p < .000$ level (in the same order aforementioned). While inter-correlations among subscales ranged from .30-.63 significant at $p < .000$ level. For overall scale Cronbach alpha coefficient was .86 (Gilani & Altaf, 2005) and .80 (Malik, 2004). Khan (2008) achieved Cronbach alpha coefficient ($N = 235$) of .87 for ES and .79 (Conservatism), .60 (Hostility/Intolerance), .56 (Submission to authority), .40 (Rigidity), and .40 (Power and Toughness) for the subscales and inter-subscale correlations ranging from .14-.68 ($p < .01$).

Age Universal Religious Orientation Scale (I/E-R). In the present research Urdu translated and adapted version (Ghous, 2003) (see Appendix C3) of the Scale originally developed by Gorsuch and McPherson (1989) was utilised. There were three domains Intrinsic (I), Extrinsic Social (Es), and Extrinsic Personal (Ep) orientations to practicing religion. People with Intrinsic orientation (item no. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, and 14) seek to live day to day life according to religion; those with Extrinsic Social (item no. 2, 11, and 13) use religion for social benefits; and with Extrinsic Personal (item no. 6, 8, and 9) use religion for personal comfort and gain. It was a five point Likert scale consisting of 14 items; response

categories ranged from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). There were three reverse scoring items (3, 10, and 14) all related to Intrinsic orientation. High score in each domain showed that person had that orientation to religion. Original authors suggested scoring on the basis of median i.e., each score in each domain should be divided by number of items for that domain and then individual scoring high than midpoint of the domain can be taken to have that orientation to religion.

Reliabilities of these domains were .83, .58, and .83 for I, Es, and Ep, respectively, as reported by original authors (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989). Ghous (2003) found these as .40, .70, and .60 for I, Es, and Ep, respectively. While, Zahra (2007) for Urdu translated version found these to be .83, .58, and .83 for I, Es, and Ep, respectively ($N = 120$). Item-total correlations were found to significantly positive for all items with the total of their respective domains ranging from .30 - .60 for I, .77 - .83 for Es, and .68 - .77 for Ep at $p < .001$. Many researches have used translated and adapted version of this scale to study its relationship with locus of control (Zahra & Muqtadir, 2007), mental health (Raza, 2004), and personal meaning (Janjua, 2005) and found the scale as a valid and reliable measure for religious orientation.

Gender Role Attitudes Scale (GRAS). Originally developed by Anila and Ansari (1992) as Sex Role Ideology Scale and revised by Kamal and Saqib (2004) under new title. It was a 30 item Likert type scale measuring attitudes regarding roles of men and women inside and outside home, personal relationship between men and women, their occupational abilities and academic achievements, decision making, and parental responsibilities (see Appendix C4). Half of the items were phrased in traditional manner and other half as modern. Scoring of all traditional items was reversed (item no. 1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29, and 30) so that high score indicated more modern attitudes toward gender roles. Response categories vary from *strongly agree* (5) to *strongly disagree* (1). Alpha coefficient reliability of GRAS is .81 to .84 (Kamal & Saqib, 2004; Masood, 2004; Nisar, 2004). Many researchers have ensured validity and reliability of the GRAS (Anila, 1992a; Masood, 2004; Nisar, 2004; Salik, & Kamla, 2009; Tahira, 2005).

Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI). This inventory originally developed by Bem in 1974 (Bem, 1981) treats masculinity and femininity as two independent dimensions rather than bipolar concepts that enable the person to represent whether the person is high on both called Androgynous, low on both called Undifferentiated, or high on one and low on other (either Masculine or Feminine). It consisted of 60 personality characteristics (see Appendix C5). Twenty were stereotypically feminine (e.g., gentle, affectionate, and sensitive to the needs of others); 20 masculine (e.g., independent, assertive, self-reliant); and 20 were filler items. In the inventory the first adjective and then every third was masculine, while second adjective and every fourth was feminine. It was a seven point rating scale and response categories ranged from *Never or almost never true* (1) and *Always and almost always true* (7). Filler items were not scored. For scoring, BSRI suggested hybrid and median-split method. Presently, aggregate scores on masculine and feminine items are used in analysis. For the convenience, Bem (1981) later suggested the shorter version as well with 30 items in total. It included first 30 items of the longer version (BSRI-M --- 1, 4, 7, 10, 13, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28; BSRI-F --- 2, 5, 8, 11, 14, 17, 20, 23, 26, 29; remaining 10 are filler items).

As far as validity and reliability were concerned, for both shorter and longer versions gender differences were found in desired direction on two scales ($N = 816$). No correlation was observed in both masculinity and femininity scores for both shorter and original version. Alpha coefficients and test-retest reliabilities for two versions in respective forms of BSRI-M and BSRI-F were satisfactory (see Bem, 1981). Saleem (2006) validated BSRI on Pakistani sample. For complete version, the internal consistency ($N = 300$) of BSRI-M was found to be .82, and for BSRI-F it was .74. Item-total correlation achieved were also significant ranging from .30-.64 ($p < .01$) for BSRI-M and .29-.56 ($p < .01$) for BSRI-F. Test retest reliability was .86 for BSRI-M and .84 for BSRI-F. Significant gender differences were observed in desired directions i.e., men scored high on BSRI-M and women on BSRI-F. This shows that BSRI is a valid and reliable instrument to be used for Pakistani population. Saleem also carried out factor analysis to check the factor structure on complete and shorter versions of

BSRI. She offered new versions with some reduced items in each version. In the present study, all versions complete, short, and Pakistani version were used in analyses.

Saleem (2006) suggested a few modification in items on the basis of students opinion ($N = 15$) on 7 items, 2 of BSRI-F and 5 from BSRI-M. She changed Item no. 3 as Careful, 14 as Kind, 24 as Arrogant, 30 as Traditional, 42 as Artificial, 50 as Innocent, and 51 as Serious. In the present study, these were placed in parentheses in front of original items for understanding, but original were not completely replaced. In the present research, BSRI was used for considering sex roles as personality traits rather than bipolar concept as in Femininity/Masculinity scale of CPI (Ahmad, 1986; Ahmad, Anis-ul-Haq, & Anila; 1994; Anila & Ansari, 1992). There are evidence of BSRI to be used with Tiwanese (Peng, 2006), United States and China (Zhang, 2001), Hong Kong (Fung & Ma, 2000), and with transsexual populations (Skrapec & MacKenzie 1981; Herman-Jeglinska, Grabowska, & Dulko, 2002) as well.

Attitude toward Transwoman Scale – Urdu (ATS-U). Details are given in Study IV (Chapter 6).

Procedure

Prior to data collection permission from administration of each department of respective universities was sought. Booklet of the scales was shown to the administrative authorities to address any of their reservations on the test material. None of the authority showed concern. Booklet of the scales along demographic sheet was administered in classroom setting on the students present on that day. Each time, order of the scales was changed to control order effect. First participants were told about aim of the research and their related queries were addressed. Informed consent was sought from participants of the study. They were told to feel free to continue with filling the booklet or leaving it if they desired, hence, that activity was made optional for them. However, after taking up the task they were requested to complete the booklet and not to leave any items unanswered. None of the students disagreed from participation; 186 questionnaires were distributed in face to face group setting and all were received back at the same occasion. As phenomenon under study

was quite new for the participants and none of the students had ever been part of any research about *hijras*, so it appeared to be quite interesting activity for them. Their queries during course of data collection were clarified. For AHS, it was mentioned that they should keep *hijras of hijra* community in mind while filling the scale.

Participants did not face any significant problem while responding to items except for ATS-U as they were not much familiar with concept of man behaving and dressing like woman except witnessing such characters in a few TV dramas (this is discussed in next Chapter 6). For BSRI, where participants felt some problem regarding adjectives' understanding, standard dictionary explanation of adjective was provided. It took 1 ½ hour to complete the booklet. Lastly, debriefing was carried out and three lucky draws of Rs. 500/- were carried out in each university as an incentive to students.

Results

Data was analyzed through SPSS 16. Firstly, psychometric properties of AHS and MHS were ensured. Relationships among variables and prediction were established through Pearson Product Moment correlation and linear regression analysis to test hypotheses that were clear indicators of construct validities including convergent and discriminant validities. Hierarchical regression analysis was used for testing the model explaining the differential role of variables in predicting attitudes towards *hijras* and mediation analysis for extremism in prediction attitudes towards *hijras*. Independent sample *t*-test was done to compare groups (e.g. gender, religiosity, religious orientation, masculinity, femininity, and concept of *hijra* for the participant). ANOVA was done to compare groups along level of interaction. Study III is a clear indication of psychometric properties of AHS and MHS. Analyses are reported as under:

Missing Values

Data was initially checked for the missing values. As missing values for some of the items of measures under consideration were less than 3, except for BSRI it was less than 5, so

it was decided to impute the values by replacing the missing values through “mean of nearby points”. After this, test of normality was run.

Test of Normality

Before running inferential statistics, test of normality was run for all the variables of the study to determine either the sample distribution approximates normal distribution and symmetry or not for accurate measure of standard deviations and standard errors. For this, skewness and kurtosis were compared against standard error. If it is twice greater than standard error of normal distribution, as suggested, then distribution is not normally distributed and neither it is symmetrical (see Miles & Shevlin, 2001).

Table 13

Descriptive Statistics of AHS and MHS (N = 186)

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min	Max	Range	Median	95% CI		Skewness	Kurtosis
							LL	UL		
AHS	104.4	15.6	65	145	80	104	102.1	106.7	.20	-.46
RS	53.2	5.9	32	65	33	54	52.2	54.1	-.46	.40
SD	29.1	8.6	11	52	41	28	27.9	30.4	.23	-.69
SI	22.1	5.8	9	39	30	22	21.2	22.9	-.01	-.35
MHS	39.9	5.3	25	56	31	40	39.1	40.6	.16	.75
Asex	17.2	3.0	5	25	20	17	16.8	17.7	-.14	.94
Nature	13.3	2.6	7	20	13	14	13.0	13.7	-.08	-.41
Saint	9.3	2.3	3	15	12	10	9.0	9.7	-.36	.67

Note. CI = Confidence Interval; LL = Lower Limit; UL = Upper Limit; RS = Rights and Status; SD = Social Distance; SI = Sexual Issues; Asex = Asexuality; Nature = Natural Characteristics; Saint = Saintly. S.E. for Skewness = .18; S.E. for Kurtosis = .40.

Results in Table 13 shows that skewness and kurtosis for AHS and MHS along their subscales are less than 1 and none of these are exceeding their respective S.E. except for Asexuality subscale of MHS. Its still less than 1, hence, is acceptable. Therefore, normality as per Tukey’s statistics is achieved. As outliers are not evident in this statistics, therefore, graphical plots were consulted, including Stem-and-Leaf Plots and Box-and-whisker plots- along with Histogram presentation, Normal Q-Q plot, and Detrended Normal Q-Q plot. These

show that the sample meets the assumption of normality, hence, inferential statistics based on parametric test can be used for the present sample. For all variables, whiskers were longer than boxes. Outliers shown in histograms and boxplots were not very extreme as they were not very far from the whisker, hence acceptable in present sample as sample size approximates 200. Normal Q-Q plot also showed that maximum cases converged on the straight line. Hence, normality test reveals that sample is normally distributed and symmetrical for attitude and myths related to *hijras*.

Test of normality was also run for the remaining measures as well ES, BSRI, GRAS, and Rel I-E/P (for ATS see Study IV, Chapter 6).

Table 14

Descriptives of ES, Age Universal Religious Orientation Scale (I/E-R), GRAS, BSRI-M, and BSRI-F (N = 186)

Variables	M	SD	Min	Max	Range	Median	95% CI		Skewness	Kurtosis
							LL	UL		
ES	140.8	19.3	96	194	98	141	138	143.6	.02	-.25
Con	55.9	8.9	31	78	47	57	54.6	57.2	-.28	-.21
Host	24.9	5.0	13	39	26	25	24.2	25.7	.06	-.09
Sub	25.5	4.4	15	35	20	25	25.0	26.2	-.11	-.58
Rig	25.4	4.4	14	35	21	26	24.8	26.0	-.25	-.39
Pow	9.0	2.8	3	15	12	9	8.7	9.4	.18	-.69
Int	31.5	3.5	22	40	18	32	31	32	-.15	.14
Ext-soc	7.7	3.4	3	15	12	7	7.1	8.1	.22	-1.1
Ext-per	14.2	1.3	7	15	8	15	14.0	14.4	-2.3	-6.6
GRAS	93.8	14.6	47	143	96	94	91.7	95.9	-.20	.79
BSRI-M	91.5	17.3	39	135	96	92	89.0	94.0	-.09	-.08
BSRI-F	103.1	10.7	70	133	63	104	101.6	104.7	-.03	.25

Note. CI = Confidence Interval for Mean; LL = Lower Limit; UL = Upper Limit; ES = Extremism Scale; Con = Conservatism; Hos = Hostility; Sub = Submission to Authority; Rig = Rigidity; Pow = Power; Int = Intrinsic Religious Orientation; Ext-soc = Extrinsic Social Religious Orientation; Ext-per = Extrinsic Personal Religious Orientation; GRAS = Gender Roles Attitude Scale; BSRI-M = Masculinity; BSRI-F = Femininity. S.E. for Skewness = .18; S.E. for Kurtosis = .40.

Results in Table 14 show that skewness and kurtosis are less than 1 and none of these are exceeding their respective S.E. except for Extrinsic Social and Extrinsic Personal domains of religious orientation, which is even higher than 2 for Extrinsic Personal. It does not posit a problem as analysis along religious orientation is along generating categories on the basis of high score in each domain by comparing against median. It is not going to be treated as continuous variable but categorical.

Normality as per Tukey's statistics is achieved for the remaining variables. As outliers are not evident in this statistics in Table 14, therefore, graphical plots were consulted, including Stem-and-Leaf Plots and Box-and-whisker plots- along with Histogram presentation, Normal Q-Q plot, and Detrended Normal Q-Q plot shows that the sample meets the assumption of normality, hence, inferential statistics based on parametric test can be used for the present sample. For all variables whiskers were longer than boxes (excluding Extrinsic Social and Personal domains of religious orientation). Outliers shown in histograms and boxplots were not very extreme as they were not very far from the whisker, hence acceptable in present sample as sample size approximates 200. Normal Q-Q plot also showed that maximum cases converged on the straight line. Hence, normality test reveals that sample is normally distributed and symmetrical for ES, BSRI-M, BSRI-F, Intrinsic religious orientation, and GRAS.

Reliability Estimates

For the internal consistency, Cronbach Alpha coefficients for AHS and MHS were calculated ($N = 186$) to determine internal consistency of scales. The Cronbach Alpha coefficients achieved for AHS as well as for subscales are lying in very satisfactory range. These are .87 for total AHS and .74, .84, and .78 for Rights and Status, Social Distance, and Sexual Issues, respectively. For MHS (.59) and subscale Asexuality (.63) Cronbach Alpha coefficients are in acceptable range, but for remaining subscales it is low i.e., .43 and .44 for Nature and Saintly, respectively.

Relationship among Variables

To determine relationship of attitudes towards *hijras* with other variables of the study including myths related to *hijras*, extremist tendencies, religiosity, gender role attitudes, and sex roles and also among all these variables, correlation coefficients were computed through Pearson Product Moment correlation. This is also indicative of the construct validity of the scales showing subscale to total correlations and between subscale correlations of AHS, MHS, and other scales. Beside this obtained relationship in the direction of assumption is indicative of convergent and discriminant validities of AHS and MHS.

To test the hypotheses, for sex roles, analyses was done on three versions that includes BSRI complete having 60 items including Masculine (BSRI-M) and Feminine (BSRI-F) items. It was also done on short version (30 items total), BSRI-M (short) and BSRI-F (short) as proposed by Bem (1987), as well as Pakistani version (24 items) proposed by Saleem (2006), BSRI-M (Pak) and BSRI-F (Pak).

To test hypotheses related to Religiosity three indicators were utilised. Firstly, how much *Salat* [prayers] one offers everyday i.e., none to 5 times a day. Secondly, how much one is regular in offering prayers from *regularly* (4), *frequently* (3), *occasionally* (2), and *rarely* (1). Pearson Product Moment Correlation was calculated. Earlier Fasting in the holy month of *Ramadhan* [9th Islamic month for fasting in Muslims] and paying *Zakat* [offering 2.5% of alms on property yearly to the poor] were also taken to be indicator of religiosity but for *Zakat* participants reported that instead of them, it were their parents who offer these being earning members. For Fasting, 60% reported that they offer regularly while 22% did not report on this item, therefore, it was not included as indicator of religiosity in the analysis.

Table 15

Correlation Matrix among AHS, MHS, BSRI, ES, GRAS, and Religiosity (N = 186)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1 AHS	-																						
2 RS	.60	-																					
3 SD	.89	.29	-																				
4 SI	.77	.16	.61	-																			
5 MHS	-.22	.10	-.33	-.21	-																		
6 Asexuality	-.11	.11	-.17	-.16	.74	-																	
7 Nature	-.42	.03	-.52	-.39	.69	.28	-																
8 Saintly	.10	.06	.05	.15	.54	.07	.11	-															
9 BSRI-M	-.16	.02	-.13	-.27	.04	-.01	.20	-.13	-														
10 BSRI-F	.03	.17	-.09	.04	.01	.09	-.04	-.05	.24	-													
11 ES	-.39	-.12	-.36	-.38	.38	.19	.37	.21	.24	.08	-												
12 Cons	-.33	-.14	-.30	-.29	.28	.15	.21	.20	.07	.12	.84	-											
13 Host	-.33	-.07	-.31	-.36	.28	.15	.30	.10	.23	-.01	.80	.53	-										
14 Sub	-.29	-.06	-.30	-.27	.38	.18	.39	.18	.20	.01	.76	.52	.54	-									
15 Rig	-.33	-.15	-.27	-.34	.28	.11	.32	.14	.30	.07	.72	.40	.54	.50	-								
16 Pow	-.08	.06	-.11	-.10	.24	.13	.23	.11	.24	.06	.50	.24	.39	.26	.41	-							
17 GRAS	.50	.32	.38	.45	-.19	-.08	-.31	.02	-.22	.14	-.58	-.52	-.46	-.49	-.37	-.16	-						
18 BSRI_Mpak	-.07	.07	-.07	-.16	.03	.03	.14	-.13	.89	.24	.20	.06	.18	.13	.28	.26	-.14	-					
19 BSRI_Fpak	.02	.16	-.08	.01	.01	.03	.01	-.04	.40	.76	.08	.07	.01	.04	.08	.18	.06	.40	-				
20 BSRI_Mshort	-.07	.06	-.07	-.15	.02	.01	.15	-.13	.91	.26	.21	.05	.20	.15	.28	.25	-.14	.98	.44	-			
21 BSRI_Fshort	.05	.18	-.04	.02	-.01	.02	-.00	-.05	.40	.78	.08	.07	.03	-.004	.10	.14	.10	.44	.94	.45	-		
22 Rel 1	-.21	-.21	-.13	-.18	.01	.03	-.00	-.01	.05	.00	.19	.24	.14	.21	.10	-.17	-.33	-.02	-.11	.02	-.10	-	
23 Rel 2	-.25	-.21	-.15	-.25	.01	-.01	.06	-.03	.12	-.09	.24	.23	.21	.24	.15	-.10	-.38	.02	-.10	.07	-.12	.87	-

Note. BSRI-M = Bem Sex Role Inventory– Masculinity; BSRI-F = Bem Sex Role Inventory – Femininity; ES = Extremism Scale; Con = Conservatism; Host = Hostility; Sub = Submission to authority; Rig = Rigidity; Pow = Power; GRAS = Gender Role Attitude Scale; BSRI-Mpak = Bem Sex Role Inventory– Masculinity (Pak); BSRI-Fpak = Bem Sex Role Inventory – Femininity (Pak); BSRI-Mshort = Bem Sex Role Inventory– Masculinity (short); BSRI-Fshort = Bem Sex Role Inventory – Femininity (short); Rel 1 = offering prayers daily; Rel 2 = regularity in offering prayers. Grey highlight refers to inter-subscale and subscale to total correlations as an indicator of construct validity of respective scale.

Correlations between .14 – .18 are significant on $p < .05$. Correlations between .19 – .24 are significant on $p < .01$. Correlations from .25 onwards are significant on $p < .000$.

Correlates of AHS. Table 15 shows that correlation between subscales and total AHS is highly significant strong positive correlation at $p < .000$ level which shows that the scale is a valid measure for measuring attitude towards *hijras* that represents construct validity. Between subscales significant correlations are found, showing that increase in positive attitude at one also increases the same on the others. Strongest correlation is evident between Social Distance and Sexual Issues ($r = .61$).

For overall MHS negative correlation is observed that shows that those who have strong belief on myths have less positive attitudes. Significant negative correlation is also observed with Social Distance and Sexual Issues subscales, hence, Hypothesis 1 is confirmed. For the subscales of MHS, strongest significant negative relationship is observed for Nature of *hijras* with AHS. Those who have strong belief in *hijras*' innate tendencies being vulgar, rigid, unable to do any other job, and being off springs of sinner parents have less positive attitude towards them. With the subscales of AHS, it has strongest relationship with Social Distance and also significant for Sexual Issues. For Sainly belief in *hijras*, positive significant relationship with Sexual Issues exists, while for AHS and remaining subscales relationship is positive but nonsignificant. If one believes in their saintly powers, it is less likely to perceive *hijras* as sexually deviants. This is the only positive relationship. Nonsignificant relationship of myths with Rights and Status of *hijras* has appeared throughout. This shows that attitudes toward *hijras*' civil rights have no relationship with myths related to *hijras*. Overall Hypothesis 1 is confirmed. This is also an indicator of discriminant validity of AHS.

As hypothesized correlation between AHS and extremism (Table 15) is observed to be negatively significant on overall score for AHS and ES and also with their subscales except between AHS and Power subscale of ES. For Rights and Status subscale of AHS, values of correlation coefficients are low but significantly negative for Conservatism and Rigidity subscales of ES. Significant negative correlations are evident for Social Distance and Sexual Issues related to *hijras* on total ES as well subscales except for Power subscale of ES. Generally, results reveal that with increase in extremist tendencies, attitudes towards

hijras become more negative, hence confirms Hypothesis 2 of the present study. This is also an indicator of discriminant validity of AHS.

For gender role attitudes as well results are in expected direction. Strong significant positive relationships exist between gender role attitudes and AHS and its subscales. In fact, among all variables strongest relationship of AHS is found for GRAS. This shows that with increase in modern gender role attitudes, attitude towards *hijras* also gets positive (Table 15). Hypothesis 2 is confirmed further, and is also indicative of convergent validity of AHS.

For both offering *salat* daily (Rel 1) and how regularly one offers prayers (Rel 2) the correlations achieved are significantly negative for AHS and subscales i.e., with increase in religiosity attitude towards *hijra* become more negative, hence confirming the Hypothesis 2, so is the indicator of discriminant validity of AHS.

For sex roles, although weak but significant negative correlation is achieved between BSRI-M and AHS, same is achieved for Sexual Issues related attitudes. For BSRI-F, nonsignificant relationship is present except for Rights and Status of *hijras*. With increase in femininity attitude related to *hijras*' rights and status also gets positive. Same is true for Short and Pakistani version of BSRI-F. For Pakistani and Short version of BSRI-M, negative relationship exists on Sexual Issues related to *hijras* only. On the basis of findings for complete version of BSRI, Hypothesis 2 is confirmed i.e., with increase in masculinity attitudes towards *hijras* also get more negative. Femininity is only related to attitudes towards *hijras*' rights but not overall attitudes. Negative relationship with masculinity is also indicative of discriminant validity of AHS.

Correlates of MHS. From Table 15, it is evident that correlations among all subscales with the total are strongly significant at $p < .000$ level. Correlation between Asexuality and Nature is also significantly positive. This shows that as belief in *hijras*' asexuality increases, belief in their natural tendencies also increases. Contrarily, nonsignificant correlation exists between Sainly subscales with other two subscales of MHS. Overall, results present the construct validity of the MHS.

The relationship between MHS and ES is significantly positive which shows that with increase in extremism the belief on myths related to *hijras* also gets stronger. This significant relationship is evident across all subscales of MHS and ES. Except Sainly subscale of MHS have nonsignificant relationship exist with Hostility and Power of ES and Asexuality having nonsignificant relationship with Rigidity. On the basis of overall finding, Hypothesis 3 is confirmed i.e., with increase in extremist tendencies, belief in myths related to *hijras* also gets strengthened.

On GRAS, significant negative relationship is observed revealing that with increase in modern gender role attitudes belief in myths become weak and with increase in traditional gender role attitudes these get strong. For subscales significant negative relationship is evident for Nature of *hijras* i.e., who have more modern gender role attitudes have weak belief in the myths related to their innate tendencies. Overall Hypothesis 3 is confirmed.

For BSRI-M and BSRI-F (also on Pakistani and Short versions) nonsignificant relationships are observed with MHS. However, for Nature of *hijras*, BSRI-M (complete, Pakistani, and short version) has more significant positive relationship. This shows that with increase in masculinity belief in myths related to *hijras*' nature also gets strengthened. For Religiosity, nonsignificant weak relationship is observed on both indicators of religiosity, hence, shows that no relationship exists between two variables.

Relationship between ES, Religiosity, GRAS, and BSRI. From Table 15, it is evident that significant positive correlations are present among subscales of ES and with the total ES, even positive significant correlations exist between subscales that ensures the construct validity of the ES. Two indicators for religiosity are also highly significantly correlated. Same is true for BSRI-M and BSRI-F including Pakistani and Short version of BSRI, correlating very strongly with the same trait i.e., masculinity with masculinity in all three versions than its counter part. Nevertheless, positive correlation is also evident among masculinity and femininity. This shows that all measures are valid tools for measuring what these are suppose to measure.

ES has significant negative correlation with GRAS i.e., with increase in extremist tendencies gender role attitudes gets less modern and more traditional. This proves Hypothesis 4 of the study. ES shows significant positive relationship with masculinity (BSRI-M), nonetheless nonsignificant relationship exist between Conservatism and Masculinity (same is also evident for Pakistani and Short version of BSRI). Overall results, confirm the Hypothesis 4 of the study. For BSRI-F nonsignificant differences appeared for total ES as well as for subscales. This shown weak relationship of extremism with femininity. ES and its subscales have significant positive correlation with religiosity (both indicators) showing that with increase in extremism, religious practices also increases, that proves the Hypothesis 4 of the study. Negative relationship is appearing for Power subscale of ES i.e., with increase in religiosity one may not believe in imposing power against anybody. Positive significant relationship is also appearing between beliefs in myths and extremist tendencies, hence, Hypothesis 11 is confirmed.

Gender role attitudes (GRAS) have significant negative correlation with Masculinity. With increase in masculinity attitudes towards gender roles becomes more traditional or less modern, hence confirms Hypothesis 5. Nonsignificant relationship of GRAS exists with BSRI-F. Religiosity (both indicators) has negative significant correlation with gender role attitudes (GRAS), which shows that with increase in religiosity gender role attitudes get less modern and more traditional. Therefore, Hypothesis 5 is confirmed. Further, Religiosity has nonsignificant relationship with Masculinity and Femininity.

Predictors of Attitudes toward *Hijras*

Linear regression analysis was carried out to ascertain significant predictability of the variables for attitudes towards *hijras*. Initially, each variable was entered independently as and effect sizes were determined through linear regression analysis. In case of scales having subscales like ES and MHS, only those subscales were entered in one block that had significant relationship with AHS and its subscales as given in Table 15. Predictors included gender role attitudes, extremism (subscales), religiosity (regularity in prayers), myths related to *hijras* (subscales), masculinity, and femininity (see Table 16).

Table 16

Simple Linear Regression Analysis and Hierrarchical Multiple Regression for Mediation Analysis Taking Extremism as Predictor for AHS (N = 186)

		Linear Regression						Hierrarchical Multiple Regression				
	Predictor	R^2	$F(1,184)$	B	$S.E.$	β	t	β Model 1	β Model 2	β Model 3	β Model 4	β Model 5
Block 1	ES	.15	32.5***	-.31	.06	-.39	5.7***	-.15	-.35***	-.31***	-.37***	-.11
	Cons	.11	21.8***	-.57	.12	-.32	4.7***					
	Host	.11	22.6***	-.10	.22	-.33	4.7***					
	Sub	.08	16.8***	-.10	.25	-.29	4.1***					
	Rig	.11	23.1***	-1.12	.24	-.33	4.8***					
	Pow											
Block 2	GRA	.25	60.91***	.53	.07	.50	7.8***	.41***				.30***
Block 3	Rel	.06	12.74***	-.28	.79	-.25	3.6***		-.17**			-.09
Block 4	MHS	.05	9.6**	-.66	.21	-.22	3.05**					
	Asex	.01	2.3	-.57	.38	-.11	1.5			.03		.005
	Nature	.18	40.1***	-2.6	.41	-.42	6.3***			-.34***		-.30***
	Saint	.01	2.03	.70	.49	.10	1.4			.20**		.15**
Block 5	BSRI-M	.03	4.9*	-.15	.07	-.16	2.2*				-.07	
	R^2							.26	.18	.28	.15	.36
	ΔR							.11	.03	.13	.005	.09
	ΔF							28.24***	6.19**	11.05***	1.07	8.5***

Note. Model 1 = Extremism, Gender Role Attuidues; Model 2 = Extremism , Religiosity; Model 3 = Extremism, Myths; Model 4 = Extremism, Masculinity; Model 5 = All excluding masculinity. ES = Extremism Scale; Cons = Conservatism; Host = Hostility; Sub = Submission to authority; Rig = Rigidity; Pow = Power and Tough; GRA = Gender Role Attitude ; Rel = regularity in offering prayers; MHS = Myths related to *Hijras* Scale; Asex = Asexuality; Saint = Saintly; BSRI-M = Bem Sex Role Inventory– Masculinity. Boldface in linear regression shows baseline prediction of extremism for AHS.

*** $p < .000$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Results in Table 16 reveal that all variables including extremism, gender role attitudes, religiosity (regularity in prayers), myths related to *hijras*, and masculinity significantly predicted attitudes toward *hijras*. Hence, Hypothesis 6 is confirmed. The role of extremism as predictor and remaining as mediators are explored through hierarchical regression analysis. Initially predictive role of extremism for all these variables were explored which is a necessary condition for carrying analysis for mediation analysis (see Baron & Kenny, 1986). Extremism significantly predicted gender role attitudes ($\beta = -.58, p < .000$), religiosity ($\beta = .24, p = .001$), myths related to *hijras* ($\beta = .38, p < .000$), and masculinity ($\beta = .22, p = .001$) using simple linear regression analysis.

In mediation analysis, for extremism overall score is considered rather than individual subscales. For variables in mediating role, extremism significantly predicted these variables. Through Enter method, taking overall score on AHS as dependent variable, for Model 1, in Block 1 overall extremism score is put and gender role attitudes score is entered in Block 2. Extremism loses its significance in predicting attitudes toward *hijras* when gender role attitude is added and it accounted for 11% change in variance. In Model 2, extremism and religiosity are tested that accounted for 3% of variance change. In Model 3, extremism and myths related to *hijras* (subscales) together accounted for 13% of variance. In both Model 2 and 3, extremism does not lose significance in combined effect. Interestingly, in simple linear regression, Sainthly does not predict attitudes towards *hijras* significantly, but when entered in Model 3 with other subscales of MHS and combined affect of extremism it gains significance.

In Model 4, masculinity does not maintain its significant prediction in combined effect with extremism, but extremism maintains. This shows that masculinity cannot be in role of mediator. In Model 5, all variables are entered excluding masculinity. Model 5 appear to be promising and significant *F*-change is observed. Extremism loses its significance so is the religiosity. Losing significance in combined effect shows that gender role attitudes, myths, and religiosity might be in mediating role for extremism in predicting attitudes toward *hijras*. For this Sobel test (see Baron & Kenny, 1986) is used to check significance of mediators (see Table 19) for extremism in predictive role for overall AHS and its subscales separately.

Table 17

Simple Linear Regression Analysis for Predictors of Subscales of AHS (N = 186)

Predictor	Rights and Status						Social Distance						Sexual Issues					
	R^2	$F(1,184)$	B	$S.E.$	β	t	R^2	$F(1,184)$	B	$S.E.$	β	t	R^2	$F(1,184)$	B	$S.E.$	β	t
ES							.13	27.7***	-.16	.03	-.36	5.3***	.15	31.4***	-.12	.02	-.38	5.6***
Cons	.02	3.8*	-.09	.05	-.14	1.9*	.09	17.6***	-.27	.07	-.30	4.2***	.09	17.3***	-.19	.05	-.29	4.2***
Host							.10	19.6***	-.54	.12	-.30	4.4***	.13	27.5***	-.43	.08	-.36	5.2***
Sub							.09	18.2***	-.59	.14	-.30	4.3***	.08	14.8***	-.36	.10	-.27	3.8***
Rig	.02	4.0*	-.19	.10	-.14	2.0*	.08	14.9***	-.53	.14	-.27	3.9***	.12	24.6***	-.45	.09	-.34	5.0***
Pow																		
GRA	.10	20.9***	.13	.03	.32	4.6***	.14	31.0***	.22	.04	.38	5.6***	.21	47.8***	.18	.03	.45	6.9***
Rel	.04	8.5**	-.88	.30	-.21	2.9**	.02	4.2*	-.92	.45	-.15	2.0*	.06	12.1***	-1.0	.30	-.25	3.5**
MHS							.11	22.2***	-.53	.11	-.33	4.7***	.04	8.6**	-.23	.08	-.21	2.9**
Asex							.03	5.3*	-.47	.21	-.17	2.3*	.02	4.6*	-.30	.14	-.16	2.1*
Nature							.27	69.1***	-1.8	.21	-.52	8.3***	.15	32.5***	-.89	.16	-.39	5.7***
Saint													.02	4.2*	.38	.18	.15	2.1*
BSRI-M													.07	12.9***	-.09	.02	-.26	3.6***
BSRI-F	.03	5.8*	.10	.04	.17	2.4*												

Note. ES = Extremism Scale; Cons = Conservatism; Host = Hostility; Sub = Submission to authority; Rig = Rigidity; Pow = Power and Tough; GRA = Gender Role Attitude ; Rel = regularity in offering prayers; MHS = Myths related to *Hijras* Scale; Asex = Asexuality; Saint = Sainthood; BSRI-M = Bem Sex Role Inventory– Masculinity; BSRI-F = Bem Sex Role Inventory – Femininity. Only significant predictors are reported.

*** $p < .000$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Findings in Table 17 reveal that gender role attitudes and religiosity are significant predictors for all the three subscales. For Rights and Status subscale of AHS, only conservatism and rigidity appear as significant predictors among ES subscales, while all other subscales significantly predict Social Distance and Sexual Issues excluding Power which is otherwise too have nonsignificant relationship. Beliefs in myths have no role in prediction for attitudes related to rights and status of *hijras* but have significant role for Social Distance and Sexual Issues related attitudes. Believe in their divine power (saintly characteristics) effect Sexual Issues related attitudes but not for Social Distance. Masculinity significantly negatively predicts Social Distance and Sexual Issues related attitudes but not Rights and Status subscale. Nevertheless, femininity predicts positively attitude related to Rights and Status of *hijras* but not other domains.

Later mediating role of variables in predictive role of extremism for attitudes toward *hijras* along each subscale is established. For Social Distance and Sexual Issues subscales, overall ES score is used, but for Rights and Status subscale Conservatism and Rigidity (subscales of ES) which appeared as significant predictors are used separately to establish their predictive role (see Table 18).

Table 18

Hierarchical Multiple Regression for Mediation Analysis Taking Extremism as Predictor for Subscales of AHS (N = 186)

		Rights and Status						Social Distance					Sexual Issues				
Predictor		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Block 1	ES							-.21**	-	-.22**	-	-.13	-.18*	-	-.32***	-	-.16*
	Cons	.03	-.09	.04					.35***		.35***			.34***		.34***	
	Host																
	Sub																
	Rig				-.03	-.12	-.03										
	Pow																
Block 2	GRA	.34***		.30**	.31***		.27**	.26**				.16*	.35***				.23**
Block 3	Rel		-.19**	-.10		-.19**	-.10		-.07			-.03		-.17*			-.10
Block 4	MHS																
	Asex									-.01		-.02			-.03		-.05
	Nature									-.45***		-.43***			-.29***		-
	Saint									.14*		.12			.25***		.26***
Block 5	BSRI-M										-.05					-.17**	.21**
	R ²	.10	.05	.11	.10	.06	.11	.18	.14	.33	.13	.34	.23	.17	.28	.17	.33
	ΔR	.08	.03	.009	.08	.04	.009	.04	.004	.20	.002	.17	.08	.03	.13	.03	.10
	ΔF	16.9***	5.1**	2.0	16.7***	7.0**	1.8	9.8**	.91	17.5***	.49	15.4***	19.4***	5.8*	10.9***	6.3**	8.7***

Note. β are given for variables in each model. Models are reported along each subscale of AHS. ES = Extremism Scale; Cons = Conservatism; Host = Hostility; Sub = Submission to authority; Rig = Rigidity; Pow = Power and Tough; GRA = Gender Role Attitude ; Rel = regularity in offering prayers; MHS = Myths related to *Hijras* Scale; Asex = Asexuality; Saint = Saintly; BSRI-M = Bem Sex Role Inventory– Masculinity.

*** $p < .000$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 18 shows AHS subscales wise analysis to study predictive role of extremism in relation to gender role attitudes, religiosity, myths related to *hijras*, and masculinity. For Rights and Status of *hijras* nonsignificant relationship and prediction exist for overall ES, while significant prediction is observed for Conservatism and Rigidity subscales (see Table 17). Therefore, these are entered separately as predictors in Block 1 and mediation role of variables significantly predicting Rights and Status related attitudes in Table 17 are studied by entering in next Blocks. For Conservatism as predictor, gender role attitudes and religiosity have significant prediction and predictor (Conservatism) loses its significance in prediction in combined effect. However, when in Model 3, Conservatism, gender role attitudes, and religiosity are put together along with Conservatism, religiosity also loses significant prediction, nevertheless Model 3 for Rights and Status with Conservatism as predictor does not have significant *F*-change. Overall results suggest that gender role attitude can be stronger mediator than religiosity (see Table 19 for Sobel statistics). Similar results are achieved for Rigidity in the role of predictor (Model 4, 5, 6) for Rights and Status.

For Social Distance, all subscales of ES except Toughness and Power show significant prediction (see Table 17), therefore, overall ES score is taken in predictive role (entered in Block 1) than its subscales. Mediation analysis for those variables, which had significant prediction for Social Distance in Table 17, is considered with extremism as predictor. Gender role attitudes (Model 1) and belief in myths pertaining to *hijras*' nature and saintly characteristics (Model 3) are found significant, excluding religiosity and masculinity (Model 2 & 4), in combined effect with extremism these have reduced effect of extremism on Social Distance. When all variables are entered in Model 5, extremism loses its significance in prediction but gender role attitudes and nature related myths maintain their significance, hence, suggesting being stronger mediator for extremism in predicting acceptance of *hijras* in close relationship. For significant mediator see Table 19 showing Sobel Statistics.

For Sexual Issues subscale of AHS, all subscales of ES except Power show significant prediction (see Table 17), therefore, overall ES score is taken as predictor than its subscales. Variables having significant prediction for Sexual Issues in Table 17 are

considered for mediation analysis with extremism as predictor. Gender role attitudes (Model 1), religiosity (Model 2), belief in myths pertaining to *hijras*' nature and saintly characteristics (Model 3), and masculinity (Model 4) are found in significant role, in combined effect with extremism with reducing effect of extremism on Sexual Issues most prominently for gender role attitudes than other variables, still extremism does not lose its significance. In Model 5 when all variables are entered excluding masculinity (when masculinity was put initially model lost its significance with nonsignificant *F*-change), gender role attitudes and nature and divinity (saintly) related myths maintain their significance, hence, suggesting to be stronger mediator for extremism in predicting attitudes related to *hijras*' sexuality, while religiosity loses its significance. See Table 19 for Sobel statistics for significance of mediator for extremism in predictive role for overall AHS and its subscales separately.

Table 19

Summary of Sobel Statistics for AHS and Subscales

Dependent Variable	Predictor	Mediators (Sobel Test)			
		Gender Role Attitudes	Religiosity	Nature	Saintly
AHS	Extremism	-4.66***	-2.10*	-3.59***	1.73*
Rights and Status	Conservatism	-8.27***	-2.3*	-	-
	Rigidity	-3.17***	-1.8*	-	-
Social Distance	Extremism	-2.84**	-	-4.33***	1.6*
Sexual Issues	Extremism	-4.12***	-2.07*	-3.28***	2.42**

Note. For Rights and Status subscale significant relationship and prediction did not appear for ES therefore subscales of ES for which significance was found are considered for analysis. Only significant results are reported.

****p* < .000. ***p* < .01. **p* < .05.

Table 19 shows that gender role attitudes, religiosity, nature and saintly related myths have significant mediating role for extremism in predicting attitudes toward *hijras*. For the subscale Rights and Status of AHS, gender role attitudes and religiosity are significant mediators for conservatism and rigidity in predicting attitudes related to rights and status of *hijras*. Gender role attitudes and nature and saintly related myths appear as significant mediators for extremism in predicting acceptance of *hijras* in close relationship, while for Sexual Issues like overall AHS gender role attitudes, religiosity, nature and saintly related

myths appear as significant mediators for extremism in predicting attitudes based on sexual issues of *hijras*. Overall hypotheses 7 is accepted for gender role attitudes, religiosity, and belief in myths related to *hijras* appearing as significant mediators for extremism in predicting attitudes toward *hijras*. Masculinity is not appearing as significant mediator for extremism in predicting attitudes towards *hijras*, therefore, this part of Hypothesis 7 has been rejected.

Role of Religious Orientation

For comparison along religious orientation, three scores Intrinsic, Extrinsic Social, and Extrinsic Personal were separately divided into two groups each on the basis of median split. For Intrinsic religious orientation, group scoring above median (32) was called Intrinsic ($n = 69$) and other Nonintrinsic ($n = 117$) scoring below median. For Extrinsic Social, group scoring high than median (7) was called High self-monitor ($n = 91$) and those scoring low were called Low self-monitors ($n = 95$). For Extrinsic Personal, those scoring high than median (15) were called Personalists ($n = 114$) and those scoring low were called Nonpersonalist ($n = 72$).

Differences in attitudes towards *hijras*. Independent sample *t*-test was used to compute the differences on AHS and its subscales. For Intrinsic and Extrinsic Personal nonsignificant differences were found, therefore, results are not reported here. For Extrinsic Social results are significant as given in Table 20.

Table 20

Differences between Groups along Extrinsic Social Religious Orientations on AHS (N = 186)

Scales	Low self-monitors (n = 95)	High self-monitors (n = 91)	<i>t</i> (184)	<i>p</i>	95% CI		Cohen's d
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)			LL	UL	
AHS	107(14.9)	101.7(16.1)	2.3	.02	.77	9.7	.34
Rights and Status	54(5.6)	52.4(6.0)	1.9	.05	-.04	3.3	.31
Social Distance	30(8.4)	28.2(8.8)	1.3	.19	-.85	4.1	.21
Sexual Issues	23(5.7)	21.1(5.9)	2.3	.02	.28	3.6	.34

Note. CI = Confidence interval; LL = Lower Limit; UL = Upper Limit.

Table 20 shows that high self-monitors (scoring high on Extrinsic Social Domain) have significantly more negative attitudes towards *hijras* than low self-monitors, however effect sizes are small. Nonsignificant difference is present for Social Distance subscale. Overall, this confirms Hypothesis 8 of the present study i.e., those with high extrinsic social orientation in religion have more negative attitudes toward *hijras*.

Differences in myths related to *hijras*. Independent sample *t*-test was used to compute the differences on MHS and subscales. For Extrinsic Social, nonsignificant differences are achieved, therefore, results are not reported here. For Intrinsic and Extrinsic Personal results are significant as given in Table 21.

Table 21

Differences between Groups along Religious Orientations on MHS (N = 186)

Scales	Group 1	Group 2	<i>t</i> (184)	<i>p</i>	95% CI		Cohen's <i>d</i>
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)			LL	UL	
Intrinsic							
MHS	39.6(5.1)	40.3(5.6)	.86	.40	-2.3	.93	-.13
Asexuality	16.9(2.9)	17.8(3.2)	1.9	.05	-1.8	.03	-.31
Nature	13.3(2.5)	13.5(2.6)	.53	.60	-.98	.57	-.07
Saintly	9.5(2.2)	9.1(2.6)	1.1	.28	-.34	1.1	.21
Extrinsic Personal							
MHS	38.9(4.9)	40.5(5.4)	-2.1	.04	-3.1	-.06	-.31
Asexuality	17.0(2.7)	17.4(3.2)	-.97	.34	-1.3	.45	-.13
Nature	12.8(2.4)	13.7(2.6)	-2.5	.01	-1.7	-.21	-.41
Saintly	9.2(2.1)	9.4(2.5)	-.62	.54	-.88	.46	-.08

Note. CI = Confidence interval; LL = Lower Limit; UL = Upper Limit. *n* for Intrinsic Group 1 (Nonintrinsic) = 117; Group 2 (Intrinsic) = 69. *n* for Extrinsic Personal Group 1 (Nonpersonalist) = 72; Group 2 (Personalist) = 114.

Table 21 shows that Intrinsic (scoring high on Intrinsic Domain) have significantly more strong belief in asexuality related myths than Nonintrinsic. On overall MHS, nonsignificant differences are evident, hence Hypothesis 9 is refuted. Those who have scored high on Extrinsic Personal domain (Personalist) have significantly more strong belief in myths and that too on Nature related myths than Nonpersonalists. Overall, this confirms part

of Hypothesis 9 of the present study is partially accepted as nonsignificant differences are found on Extrinsic Social.

Differences in extremism. Independent sample *t*-test was used to compute the differences on ES and its subscales.

Table 22

Differences between Groups along Religious Orientations on ES (N = 186)

Scales	Group 1	Group 2	<i>t</i> (184)	<i>p</i>	95% CI		Cohen's <i>d</i>
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)			LL	UL	
Intrinsic ^a							
ES	139.4(18.7)	143.2(20.2)	1.3	.20	-9.7	2.1	-.21
Conservatism	54.6(8.8)	58.0(8.8)	2.6	.01	-6.1	-.80	-.39
Hostility	24.5(4.8)	25.7(5.1)	1.7	.10	-2.8	.23	-.24
Submission	25.4(4.2)	25.8(4.6)	.60	.60	-1.8	.95	-.09
Rigidity	25.7(4.4)	24.8(4.3)	1.4	.17	-.40	2.2	.21
Power	9.2(2.8)	8.8(2.5)	1.0	.33	-.39	1.2	.15
Extrinsic ^b Social							
ES	134.0(17.5)	144.8(20.4)	2.8	.006	-13.3	-2.3	-.61
Conservatism	54.9(8.6)	56.9(9.2)	1.6	.12	-4.6	.51	-.22
Hostility	24.0(5.1)	26.0(4.6)	2.8	.006	-3.4	-.56	-.41
Submission	24.7(4.2)	26.4(4.5)	2.8	.006	-3.0	-.52	-.41
Rigidity	24.5(4.0)	26.3(4.6)	2.8	.007	-3.0	-.50	-.42
Power	8.9(2.6)	9.2(2.8)	.61	.54	-1.0	.54	-.11
Extrinsic ^c Personal							
ES	132.3(19.7)	146.2(17.1)	4.9	.000	-19.5	-8.3	-.81
Conservatism	52.2(9.4)	58.2(7.8)	4.5	.000	-8.6	-3.4	-.69
Hostility	23.6(5.2)	25.8(4.6)	3.0	.003	-3.7	-.76	-.45
Submission	24.4(4.1)	26.3(4.4)	3.0	.003	-3.2	-.66	-.45
Rigidity	23.7(4.5)	26.5(4.1)	4.2	.000	-4.0	-1.4	-.65
Power	8.4(2.5)	9.4(2.7)	2.5	.012	-1.8	-.22	-.38

Note. ^a*n* for Intrinsic Group 1 (Nonintrinsic) = 117; Group 2 (Intrinsic) = 69. ^b*n* for Extrinsic Social Group 1 (Low self-monitors) = 95; Group 2 (High self-monitors) = 91. ^c*n* for Extrinsic Personal Group 1 (Nonpersonalist) = 72; Group 2 (Personalist) = 114.

Results in Table 22 reveals that those with extrinsic religious orientation, including Social and Personal domains, have more extremist tendencies than those with intrinsic

orientation, hence confirms Hypothesis 10. Intrinsic (Group 2) have scored high on Conservatism only.

Differences in religiosity. For religiosity, nonsignificant differences appeared along three domains of religious orientation that is why analysis is not reported here. Otherwise, part of Hypothesis 10 is refuted as nonsignificant differences are found.

Differences in gender role attitudes. Significant differences appeared only on Extrinsic Social domain with $t(184) = 2.8, p = .006$ on 95%CI [1.7, 10.0]. Mean values show that High self-monitors who are scoring high in this domain ($M = 90.8, SD = 14.1$) have more traditional gender role attitudes than Low self-monitors, scoring low in social domain ($M = 96.7, SD = 14.5$). A tilt towards significance is also observed in Extrinsic Personal $t(184) = 1.7, p = .08$ on 95%CI [-.62, 8.2]. Mean values show that Personalists who are scoring high in this domain ($M = 92.4, SD = 14.0$) have more traditional gender role attitudes than Nonpersonalists, scoring low in this domain ($M = 96.2, SD = 15.4$). Nonsignificant differences are present for Intrinsic domain of religious orientation, hence, this part of Hypothesis 10 is confirmed i.e., those with extrinsic religious orientation have more traditional gender role attitudes.

Differences in masculinity. Significant differences appeared only on Extrinsic Social domain with $t(183) = 4.2, p = .000$ on 95%CI [-15.0, 5.4]. Mean values show that High self-monitors who are scoring high on this domain ($M = 96.8, SD = 16.6$) are more masculine in sex roles than Low self-monitors, scoring low in this domain ($M = 86.4, SD = 16.4$). Significance is also observed in Extrinsic Personal $t(150) = 2.4, p = .01$ on 95%CI [-11.3, -1.1]. Mean values show that Personalists who are scoring high in this domain ($M = 93.9, SD = 17.0$) are more masculine in sex roles than Nonpersonalists ($M = 87.7, SD = 17.1$). Nonsignificant differences are present for Intrinsic domain of religious orientation, hence, part of Hypothesis 10 is confirmed i.e., those with extrinsic religious orientation are more masculine in sex roles.

Differences in femininity. Comparing to masculinity, significance is only observed in Extrinsic Personal $t(145) = 2.2, p = .03$ on 95%CI [-6.7, -.26]. Mean values show that

Personalists, scoring high in this domain, ($M = 93.9$, $SD = 17.0$) are more feminine in sex roles than Nonpersonalists, scoring low in this domain, ($M = 87.7$, $SD = 17.1$). Nonsignificant differences are present for Intrinsic and Extrinsic Social domains of religious orientation.

Moderating role of religious orientation. To ascertain moderating role of religious orientation for religiosity, extremism, and gender role attitudes in effecting attitudes toward *hijras*, interaction terms of religious orientation with respective variables were made separately. Then these were put to multiple regression analysis through Enter Block method to check for significance of interactions among variables to affect attitudes toward *hijras*. As mentioned earlier 3 domains of religious orientation are taken as dichotomous categorical variables while for religiosity, extremism, and gender role attitudes being continuous variables centering through mean was done to control error variance (see Baron & Kenny, 1986).

Moderating role for religiosity. Results reveal nonsignificant prediction of interaction between religiosity and extrinsic social domain although both predicted significantly in their combined effect with $\beta = -.24$, $p = .001$ and $\beta = -.14$, $p = .04$, respectively, when put together in hierarchical regression analysis. Nonsignificant interaction effect shows no moderating role of extrinsic social orientation in religiosity predicting attitudes toward *hijras* (overall AHS). Results also reveal nonsignificant interaction effect between religiosity and extrinsic personal domain, even religiosity and extrinsic personal orientation does not hold any significance in combined effect. Interestingly, interaction ($\beta = -.42$, $p = .05$) between religiosity and intrinsic domain is found to be significant for overall AHS with $F(1,184) = 5.6$, $p < .001$ and significant F -change $R^2 = .09$, $\Delta R = .02$. This may be because interaction ($\beta = -.44$, $p = .04$) between religiosity and intrinsic domain is found to be significant for Sexual Issues subscale with $F(1,184) = 6.2$, $p < .000$ and has significant F -change $R^2 = .09$, $\Delta R = .02$. Later significance of moderator was computed through modgraph using option for Categorical Moderator which was found to be nonsignificant with $t(182) = -1.2$, $p = .23$.

Results for Sexual Issues also reveal nonsignificant prediction of interaction between religiosity and extrinsic social domain although both predicted significantly in their combined effect with $\beta = -.24, p = .001$ and $\beta = -.15, p = .04$, respectively, when put together in hierarchical regression analysis. Results also reveal nonsignificant interaction effect between religiosity and extrinsic personal domain, even religiosity and extrinsic personal orientation does not hold any significance in combined effect. Nonsignificant results are achieved for all three domains and their interaction with religiosity for Rights and Status and Social Distance subscales.

Moderating role for extremism. Scores on ES were centered on mean (140.79) to keep the variance same and interaction terms with three domains of religious orientations were formed. Then independent variable (extremism), moderator (intrinsic, extrinsic social, or extrinsic personal), and interaction term for respective religious orientation were added through Enter Block method in hierarchical regression analysis. For overall AHS, nonsignificant interaction effects between all three domains of religious orientation and extremism are found. For Rights and Status subscale, significant interaction effect emerged for all three domains, while main effect of extremism and moderator (religious orientations) remain nonsignificant in combined effect with interaction terms (see Table 23). For Social Distance subscale, significant interaction emerged for Extrinsic Social orientation with extremism only, while for rest of domains, it is nonsignificant. For Sexual Issues subscale significant interaction emerged for Intrinsic orientation with extremism ($\beta = -.41, p < .05$) only, while for rest of domains it is nonsignificant. Slope computation through Modgraph for significance of moderating effect of intrinsic orientation with extremism in predicting attitudes based on sexual issues of *hijras* is found to be nonsignificant, hence not reported.

Table 23 shows significant interaction effect for all domains of religious orientation and extremism in effecting attitudes towards rights and status of *hijras*. Slope computation through Modgraph reveal significant *t*-value at $p \leq .01$ of respective domains of religious orientation in interaction with extremism for predicting attitude on Rights and Status. On

Social Distance, only significant moderation appear for Extrinsic Social in interaction with extremism.

Table 23

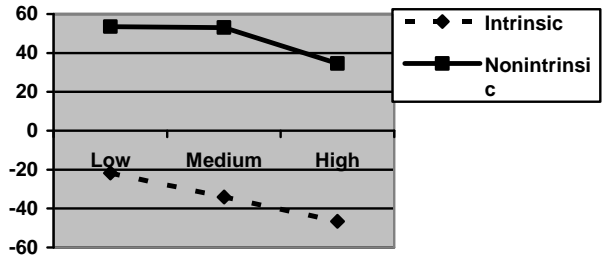
Moderating Role of Religious Orientation for Extremism in Predicting Attitudes based on Right and Status and Social Distance Subscales of AHS (N = 186)

Moderators	Intrinsic			Extrinsic Social			Extrinsic Personal		
Predictors	B	S.E.	β	B	S.E.	β	B	S.E.	β
Rights and Status									
Extremism	-.09	.02	-.06	-.02	.02	-.06	56.12	3.19	-.12
Moderator	.07	.88	.006	-1.3	.86	-.11	-.04	.02	.12
Ext. X	-.62	.21	-.22**	-.53	.21	-.19**	1.46	.92	-.19**
Moderator									
Constant	55.88	3.4		57.68	3.23		56.12	.19	
R ²	.06			.06			.06		
ΔR	.05			.03			.03		
F	3.92**			4.06**			3.90**		
Slope				-.55			-.52		
(t-value)	3.12**			2.68**			2.63**		
Social Distance									
Extremism				-.39	.10	-.87***			
Moderator				-.34	1.2	-.02			
Ext. X				.15	.06	.54*			
Moderator									
Constant				84.09	14.33				
R ²				.16					
ΔR				.03					
F				11.3*					
Slope				-.24					
(t-value)				5.37***					

Note. Only significant moderation is reported.

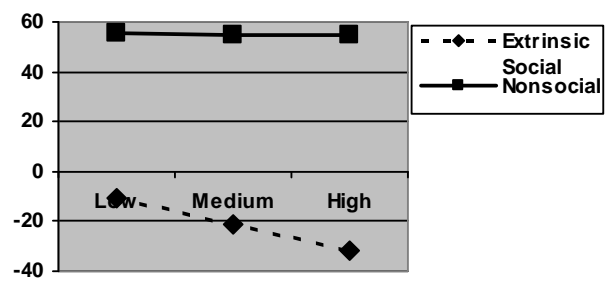
* $p < .05$. *** $p < .000$.

See Modgraph charts (Figure 5, 6, and 7) based on low, medium, and high values of extremism on Rights and Status and for Social Distance (see Figure 8) along two groups of each domain of religious orientation.



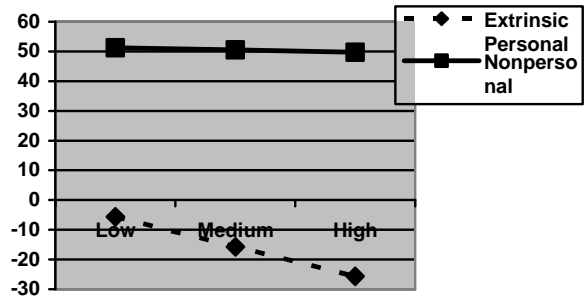
Extremism

Figure 5. Role of Intrinsic orientation for extremism in predicting attitudes on Rights and Status



Extremism

Figure 6. Role of Extrinsic Social for extremism in predicting attitudes on Rights and Status



Extremism

Figure 7. Role of Extrinsic Personal for extremism in predicting attitudes on Rights and Status

Figures 5, 6, and 7 show that those who have intrinsic, extrinsic social, and extrinsic personal religious orientations have more negative attitudes based on rights and status of *hijras* along low, medium, and high extremist tendencies than their counterparts. With

increase in extremism on respective domains of religious orientations attitudes get more negative which is more strongly evident for intrinsic religious orientation (see Figure 5) than other domains.

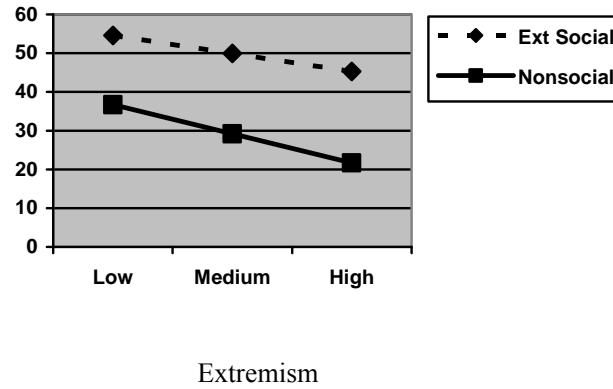


Figure 8. Role of Extrinsic Social for extremism in predicting attitudes on Social Distance

Figure 8 shows that with increase in extremism one perceives more social distance from *hijras* in both groups which is more prominent for non extrinsic social oriented group than its counterpart.

Moderating role for gender role attitudes. Religious orientation has nonsignificant moderating role for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes towards *hijras* on overall AHS and its subscales.

Role of Gender in Attitudes towards Hijras

Gender differences. Independent *t-test* was carried out to study the difference among male ($n = 83$) and female ($n = 103$) participants on AHS, MHS, ES, Religiosity, GRAS, and BSRI-M and -F.

In Table 24 significant difference between both groups is observed. Female students display significantly more positive attitude than male students on AHS and its subscales. Strongest effect size is observed for Sexual Issues followed by Social Distance and then Rights and Status. In Table 24, significant difference between both groups on Nature related myths of *hijras* is observed; male students display significantly more strong beliefs than

female students, while for rest of the subscales nonsignificant differences are observed. Hence, this part of Hypothesis 11 is refuted i.e., women have strong belief in myths than men.

Table 24

Gender Differences on AHS, MHS, ES, Religiosity, GRA, and BSRI (N = 186)

Scales	Men (n = 83)	Women (n = 103)	t(184)	p	95% CI		Cohen's d
	M(SD)	M(SD)			LL	UL	
Attitudes							
AHS	97.4(13.9)	110(14.8)	5.9	.000	-16.7	-8.3	-.87
Rights and Status	52.0(5.9)	54.2(5.7)	2.6	.01	-3.9	-.51	-.41
Social Distance	26.4(8.0)	31.2(8.5)	4.0	.000	-7.2	-2.4	-.61
Sexual Issues	19.0(5.2)	24.5(5.1)	7.2	.000	-7.0	-4.0	-1.1
Myths							
MHS	40.1(5.4)	39.7(5.2)	.62	.54	-1.1	2.0	.07
Asexuality	16.8(3.4)	17.5(2.7)	-1.6	.12	-1.6	.18	-.31
Nature	14.3(2.5)	12.6(2.4)	4.6	.00	.95	2.4	.71
Saintly	9.1(2.2)	9.5(2.4)	-1.3	.19	-1.1	.22	-.17
ES							
Extremism	145.8(18.9)	136.8(18.8)	3.2	.001	3.6	14.6	.51
Conservatism	56.7(9.0)	55.2(8.8)	1.2	.24	-1.1	4.1	.17
Hostility	26.1(4.5)	24.0(5.2)	3.0	.003	.74	3.5	.43
Submission	26.8(4.1)	24.5(4.4)	3.7	.00	1.1	3.5	.54
Rigidity	26.8(4.0)	24.2(4.4)	4.2	.00	1.4	3.8	.62
Power	9.3(2.6)	8.8(2.7)	1.2	.24	-3.1	1.2	.18
Religiosity							
Salat Daily	2.6(1.7)	2.2(2.1)	1.3	.19	-.20	.93	.21
Regularity	2.8(.70)	2.0(1.7)	3.8	.00	.40	1.2	.61
GRAS							
Gender role attitudes	85.7(12.8)	100.4(12.6)	7.8	.00	-18.3	-10.9	-1.2
BSRI							
BSRI-M	100.9(14.7)	84.0(15.4)	7.7	.00	12.6	21.4	1.1
BSRI-F	100.2(9.9)	105.5(10.8)	3.5	.001	-8.3	-2.3	-.51

Note. CI = Confidence Interval; LL = Lower Limit; UL = Upper Limit.

On the basis of results shown in Table 24, it is evident on ES, male students scored significantly much higher than female students for overall scale and on Hostility, Submission to Authority, and Rigidity. Significant gender differences are present on regularity in prayers. Men observe more regularity than women, while in offering prayers daily nonsignificant

differences exist. Gender differences appeared on GRAS, showing that female students have more modern gender role attitudes than male students.

For BSRI-M and BSRI-F, significant gender differences are observed in desired direction. Male students scored high than female students on Masculinity (BSRI-M) (same direction is observed on Pakistani and Short version, hence, results are not reported here) and female students on Femininity (BSRI-F) than male students (for Pakistani and Short versions nonsignificant gender differences are present on Femininity). Overall Hypothesis 11 is confirmed.

Moderating role of gender. Later moderating role of gender for extremism, religiosity, myths related to *hijras*, and gender role attitudes is determined in predicting attitudes towards *hijras*.

Moderating role for extremism. Results through hierarchical regression analysis show significant role of gender in extremism for effecting attitudes related to *hijras* on overall AHS ($\beta = -.43; p < .05$) with significant *F*-change (4.06 at $p < .05$) and $R^2 = .27$ and $\Delta R = .02$. Gender has buffering effect by reducing the association of extremism with attitudes toward *hijras* that it becomes nonsignificant in combined effect with gender and interaction term. When significance of moderation is tested through Modgraph in slope computation it has nonsignificant $t(182) = 1.83, p > .05$ with slope = .08. For subscales, gender has nonsignificant moderating role with extremism in effecting attitudes on respective subscales.

Moderating role for religiosity. Results show nonsignificant role of gender and its interaction with religiosity (regularity in prayers) in predicting attitudes toward *hijras* on overall AHS ($\beta = -.31, p > .05$) and its subscales as well.

Moderating role for gender role attitudes. To determine moderating role of gender for gender role attitudes in effecting attitudes on AHS and subscales, interaction terms between gender and gender role attitudes centered through mean was developed. In hierarchical regression analysis gender role attitudes, gender, and interaction between two were entered using Enter Block method as independent variables and AHS and its subscales as dependent variable, separately. Table 25 shows significant results only.

Table 25

Moderating Role of Gender for Gender Role Attitudes in Predicting Attitudes on AHS and Social Distance Subscale (N = 186)

Predictors	AHS			Social Distance		
	B	S.E.	β	B	S.E.	β
Gender Role Attitudes	-.11	.25	-.10	-.14	.15	-.24
Gender	6.74	2.3	.22**	2.4	1.3	.14
Gender role attitudes X Gender	.35	.15	.51*	.22	.09	.58*
Constant	102.78	22.39		38.04	13.3	
R ²	.30			.18		
ΔR	.02			.03		
F	25.73***			13.26***		
Slope (<i>t</i> -value)	.24 (2.1*)			.08 (1.26)		

*** $p < .000$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Significant interaction effect is observed for overall AHS and Social Distance that have also reduced the main effect of gender role attitudes on AHS and Social Distance in Table 25. Later slope computation through Modgraph is done to determine significance of gender in moderating role for gender role attitudes. It is found significant for AHS only but not for Social Distance, hence is presented in Figure 9. Figure shows that with female gender when gender role attitudes get modern, attitudes toward *hijras* also get positive, while with male gender attitudes do not become positive.

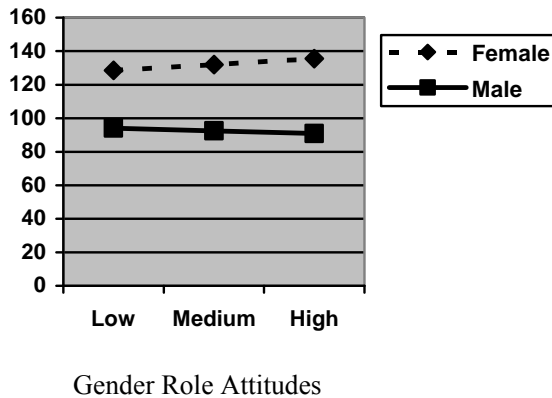


Figure 9. Role of gender for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes on AHS

Moderating role for belief in myths related to hijras. To determine moderating role of gender for belief myths related to *hijras* in effecting attitudes on AHS and subscales, interaction terms between gender and MHS and its subscales centered through respective mean were computed. In hierarchical regression analysis, MHS (or subscale scores), gender, and respective interaction between these were entered using Enter Block method as independent variables and AHS and its subscales as dependent variable, separately. Results show nonsignificant role of gender and its interaction with MHS (or subscales) in predicting attitudes toward *hijras* on overall AHS and its subscales as well. The only significant interaction effect appeared between Nature related myths and gender for Sexual Issues subscale of AHS ($\beta = -.46, p = .03$) with $F(182) = 25.86$ at $p < .000$ and $R^2 = .30, \Delta R = .02$. However, when slope was computed through Modgraph, it was nonsignificant Slope = $-.25$ with $t(182) = 1.12, p = .26$.

Moderating role for sex roles. Scores on BSRI-M and BSRI-F were centered on their respective means and interaction terms with gender were computed for masculinity and femininity. In hierarchical regression analysis scores on sex roles, gender, and respective interaction terms were entered through Enter Block method to check for moderating role of gender for sex roles (masculinity and femininity, separately) in predicting attitudes. For femininity, nonsignificant interaction effect is observed for AHS and its subscales, hence results are not reported here.

For masculinity, nonsignificant interaction effect is found for AHS and Rights and Status subscale. However, significant interaction effect is found for Social Distance and Sexual Issues. Significant interaction effect shows that gender has moderating role for masculinity in predicting perceiving distance from *hijras* and sexuality related issues of *hijras* (see Table 26).

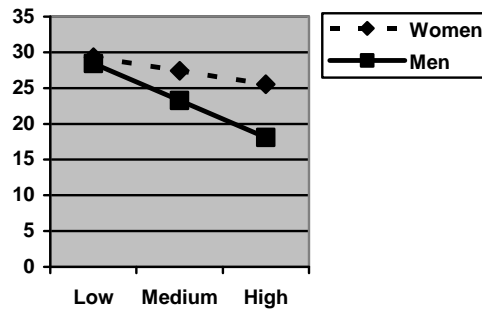
Table 26

Moderating Role of Gender for Masculinity in Predicting Attitudes on Social Distance and Sexual Issues Subscales (N = 186)

Predictors	Social Distance			Sexual Issues		
	B	S.E.	β	B	S.E.	β
Masculinity	-.30	.13	-.61*	-.18	.08	-.53*
Gender	-13.22	7.7	-.76	-4.65	4.86	-.40
Masculinity X Gender	.19	.08	.93*	.11	.05	.75*
Constant	50.72	13.34		31.08	8.40	
R ²	.11			.24		
ΔR	.03			.02		
F	7.14***			18.87***		
Slope (<i>t</i> -value)	-0.3 (2.23*)			-.18 (2.15*)		

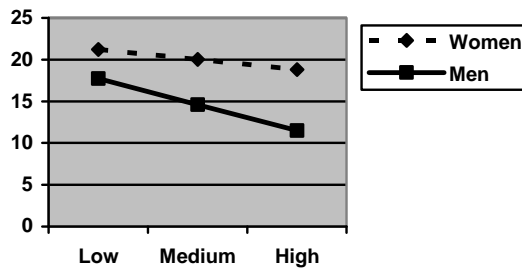
*** $p < .000$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Slope computation through Modgraph show significance of this moderating role for men. With increase in masculinity for men, attitudes get more negative in both domains. It is also negative for women but significant effect is observed for men (see Figure 10 and 11).



Masculinity

Figure 10. Role of gender for masculinity in predicting attitudes on Social Distance



Masculinity

Figure 11. Role of gender for masculinity in predicting attitudes on Sexual Issues

Gender differences on “concept of *hijra*”. Chi-square was computed to see the gender differences on concept of *Hijra* for the participants. Only one person reported that *hijras* are only MtF TGs, therefore, for gender differences this was not included in analysis. Five participants did not answer to the question, therefore, analysis is done on $N = 180$. To compare gender, part of Hypothesis 11 is molded that more female participants believe that they are hermaphrodite/intersexed than male participants who believe that they are both MtF TGs and Hermaphrodite/Intersexed individuals. Results on 2x2 chi-square reveal significant difference with $\chi^2 = 9.3$, $p = .002$, having female participants 70(65.4%) believing that they are hermaphrodite/intersexed, against 37(34.6%) of male participants, while male participants believe vice versa i.e., both MtF TGs and Hermaphrodite/Intersexed individual with 42(57.5%) against female participants 31(42.5%). This confirms Hypothesis 11.

To check for moderating effect of gender for concept of *hijras* in effecting attitudes 2 X 2 ANOVA was used (see Baron & Kenny, 1986) for determining interaction effect of gender and concept of *hijra* in effecting attitudes toward *hijras*. Nonsignificant differences are observed with $F(1, 179) = .04$ for AHS, $F(1, 179) = .40$ for Rights and Status, $F(1, 179) = .29$ for Social Distance, and $F(1, 179) = .56$ for Sexual Issues at $p > .05$.

Using 2 X 2 ANOVA for determining interaction effect of gender and concept of *hijra* in effecting beliefs in myths related to *hijras*, nonsignificant differences are observed with $F(1, 179) = .14$ for MHS, $F(1, 179) = .07$ for Asexuality, $F(1, 179) = .00$ for Nature, and $F(1, 179) = .25$ for Sainly at $p > .05$. This shows that gender does not play any role for ones concept of *hijras* in predicting attitudes and beliefs in myths related to *hijras*.

Gender differences on level of interaction. Chi-square was computed to see the gender differences on level of interaction with *hijras*. Level of interaction with *hijra* is categorized in three groups. Those who meet/see frequently ($n = 61$) on weekly to daily basis, Occasionally ($n = 57$) meeting/seeing *hijras* on monthly basis, and Rarely ($n = 68$) on yearly and less basis. For this 2x3 chi-square was done. Results reveal significant difference with $\chi^2 = 16.1$, $p = .000$, having female participants meeting/seeing *hijras* rarely 45(66.2%) comparing to male participants meeting/seeing *hijras* frequently 40(65.6%). It is vice versa in

the other direction, with female participants frequently meeting/seeing *hijras* 21(34.4%) and men rarely 23(33.8%). This confirms Hypothesis 11 that men meet more frequently with *hijras* than women.

To determine moderating role of gender in level of interaction with *hijras* for predicting attitudes toward *hijras*, level of interaction was centered on its mean. After computing interaction term between gender and level of interaction, Enter Block method in hierarchical regression analysis was used to determine main and interaction effects. Nonsignificant interaction effects are found for AHS and its subscales, hence shows no role of gender for interaction with *hijras* in predicting attitudes towards them.

Role of Belief in “Who are *Hijras*?” in Attitudes

Out of the total sample, five did not respond to the question. Those who believe that *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed are 107(59%), both hermaphrodite/intersexed and MtF TGs are 73(41%), and MtF TGs only is 1(.006%). Hence, Hypothesis 12 is accepted that most of the participants believe that *hijras* are those who are born with sexual deformities.

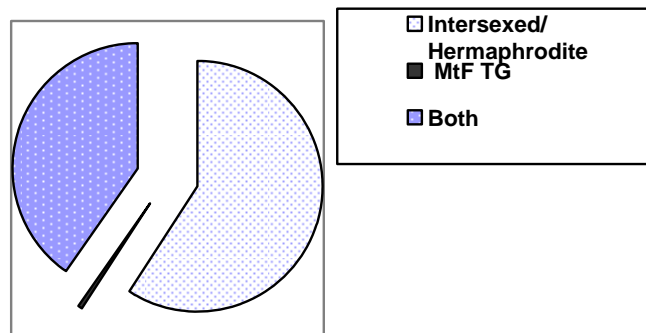


Figure 12. Concept of *Hijras* for the Participants of the Study ($N = 181$)

Actual objective of the present study was to differentiate between those who believe *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed and those who believe *hijras* are MtF TGs on attitudes. The responses achieved on these categories were highly diabolic (hermaphrodite/intersexed = 107; MtF TGs = 1), therefore, independent sample *t*-test could not be applied to differentiate among groups. Therefore, analysis was run to compare attitude of those who believe that *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed ($n = 107$) and both hermaphrodite/intersexed and MtF

TGs ($n = 73$) and independent sample t -test was administered. Out of the total sample five did not respond to the question and only one believed that they are only MtF TGs, hence, were not included in the analysis.

Table 27

Differences between Those Who Believe Hijras are Hermaphrodite and Both AHS (N = 180)

Scales	Intersexed	Both	$t(178)$	p	95% CI		Cohen's d
	($n = 107$)	($n = 73$)			LL	UL	
	$M(SD)$	$M(SD)$					
AHS	105.6(15.5)	102.8(15.5)	1.2	.24	-1.9	7.4	.18
Rights and Status	53.2(6.0)	53.4(5.4)	1.0	.84	-1.9	1.5	-.03
Social Distance	29.6(8.7)	28.2(8.4)	1.0	.31	-1.2	3.9	.16
Sexual Issues	22.8(5.8)	21.2(5.6)	1.8	.07	-.13	3.3	.30

Note. CI = Confidence Interval; LL = Lower Limit; UL = Upper Limit.

Table 27 shows that there is nonsignificant difference between both groups on AHS and its subscales. A tilt towards significance is evident in Sexual Issues with those who believe that *hijras* are hermaphrodites/intersexed have more positive attitudes than those who believe that they are both MtFs and hermaphrodites/intersexed individuals. Hypothesis 13 is neither refuted nor accepted as analysis is not between groups that was initially assumed i.e., hermaphrodites/intersexed comparing to only MtFs belief.

Nonsignificant difference between both groups on MHS and its subscales appeared that is why results are not reported here. Hypothesis 13 could not be tested otherwise.

Moderating role of concept of *hijras*. To determine moderating role of one's concept of *hijras* i.e., hermaphrodite/intersexed and both, for extremism, religiosity, myths, gender role attitudes, and sex roles. Interaction terms of all these variables centered through their respective means were computed. Later prediction was studied using Enter Block method for hierarchical regression analysis. For extremism and myths nonsignificant interaction effects with one's concept of *hijras* are found.

Moderating role for religiosity. Only significant interaction effect is observed for religiosity in predicting perceived social distance from *hijras* on Social Distance subscale.

Table 28

Moderating Role of Concept of Hijra for Religiosity in Predicting Attitudes on Social Distance (N = 180)

Predictors	Social Distance		
	B	S.E.	β
Religiosity	-3.8	1.34	-.62**
Concept of <i>hijra</i>	-1.31	1.28	-.07
Religiosity X Concept of <i>hijra</i>	2.12	.94	.49*
Constant	39.81	3.63	
R ²	.058		
ΔR	.027		
F	3.59*		
Slope (t-value)	-3.8 (3.1**)		

*** $p < .000$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 28 shows significant interaction effect between religiosity and concept of *hijra* for Social Distance subscale. Slope computation through Modgraph, shows significance of moderation of concept of *hijra* for religiosity in predicting perceived social distance from *hijras*.

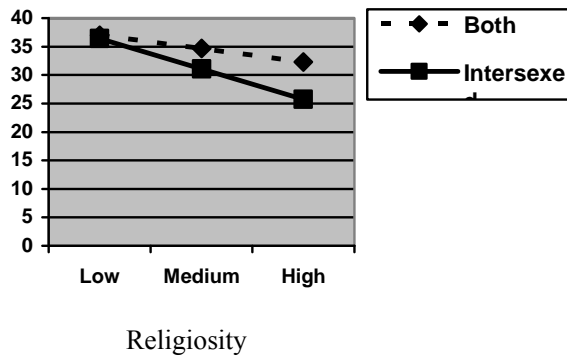


Figure 13. Role of concept of *hijra* for religiosity in predicting attitudes on Social Distance

Significance of slope shows (Figure 13) that with increased religiosity one perceives more social distance from *hijras* if believe that they are intersexed/hermaphrodite. Same trend in prediction also exist for those who believe that *hijras* are both intersexed/hermaphrodite and MtF TGs but this decline is less sharp than for intersexed/hermaphrodite only belief.

Moderating role for gender role attitudes. Significant interaction effect is observed for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes toward *hijras* on AHS and Rights and Status subscale. For remaining subscales interaction term are nonsignificant (see Table 29).

Table 29

Moderating Role of Concept of Hijra for Gender Role Attitudes in Predicting Attitudes on AHS and Rights and Status (N = 180)

Predictors	AHS			Rights and Status		
	B	S.E.	β	B	S.E.	β
Gender Role Attitudes	1.01	.21	.95***	.30	.09	.77***
Concept of <i>hijra</i>	-2.52	2.03	-.08	.23	.83	.02
Gender Role Attitudes X Concept of <i>hijra</i>	-.33	.14	-.49*	-.12	.06	-.48*
Constant	13.16	20.40		24.60	8.34	
R ²	.27			.12		
ΔR	.024			.024		
F	21.78***			7.86***		
Slope (t-value)	1.01 (7.16***)			0.18 (5.69***)		

*** $p < .000$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Slope computation through Modgraph, shows significance of moderation of concept of *hijra* for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes on overall AHS (see Figure 14) and on Rights and Status subscale (see Figure 15).

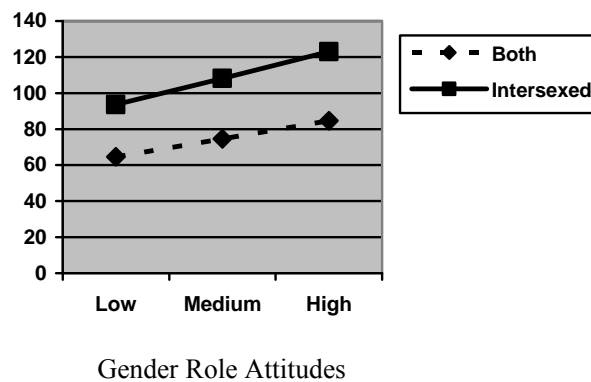


Figure 14. Role of concept of *hijra* for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes on AHS

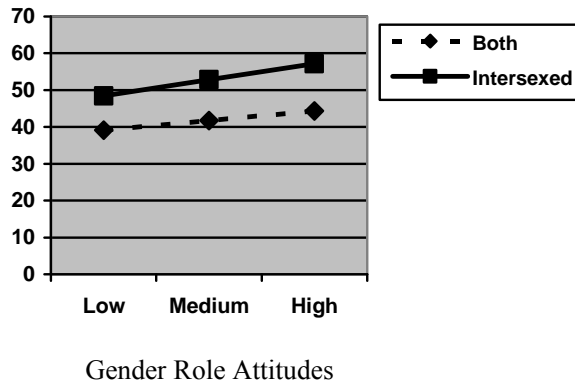


Figure 15. Role of concept of *hijra* for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes on Rights and Status subscale

Figures 14 and 15 show that with modern gender role attitudes the attitudes toward *hijras* and awarding them basic human rights get more positive for those who believe that *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed than those who believe that they are both hermaphrodite/intersexed and MtF TGs, although this also shows an increasing trend.

Moderating role for sex roles. Nonsignificant interaction effect between concept of *hijra* and sex roles including masculinity and femininity is observed for AHS and its subscales, hence, results are not reported here.

Role of Interaction with *Hijras* in Attitudes

To compare attitudes towards *hijras* along groups on level of interaction with *hijra*, three groups were categorized. Those who meet/see frequently ($n = 61$) on weekly to daily basis, Occasionally ($n = 57$) meeting/seeing *hijras* on monthly basis, and Rarely ($n = 68$) on yearly and less basis. One Way ANOVA was done to compute the differences on AHS and MHS. For overall AHS and its subscales nonsignificant differences are observed except for Sexual Issues for which significant results are found with $F(2, 183) = 4.71, p = .01$. Post Hoc analysis using Bonferroni correction was carried out to ascertain differences among groups on Sexual Issues. Significant differences are found among those who meet *hijras* frequently with $M = 20.31, SD = 5.60$ having more negative attitudes related to *hijras*' sexual issues than those meeting occasionally with $M = 23.47, SD = 5.57$ at $p = .01$ and 95%CI [-5.72, -.61]. Nonsignificant differences are present when compared with those who meet rarely with *hijras*

with $M = 22.46$, $SD = 6.0$. This shows that who meet/see *hijras* frequently have less positive attitudes than who meet/see *hijras* occasionally on Sexual Issues, hence Hypothesis 14 is not confirmed. Nonsignificant differences on MHS and subscales are observed. Hence, Hypothesis 14 is refuted i.e., those who interact frequently with *hijras* have less belief in myths than those who meet rarely.

Moderating role of interaction with *hijras*. To determine moderating role of interaction with *hijras* in extremism, religiosity, myths related to *hijras*, gender role attitudes, and sex roles for predicting attitudes, interaction terms were computed for each of the variable after centering on their respective mean. As interaction with *hijras* was also based on three categories (frequently, occasionally, and rarely), therefore, it was also centered on its mean before computing interaction terms (see Baron & Kenny, 1986). Nonsignificant interaction effects are found for extremism, religiosity, beliefs in myths, and sex roles

Moderating role for gender role attitudes. Level of interaction with *hijras* has significant interaction with gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes toward *hijras* on overall AHS and its subscales excluding Sexual Issues (see Table 30).

Table 30

Moderating Role of Interaction with Hijras for Gender Role Attitudes in Predicting Attitudes on AHS and Subscales (N = 186)

Predictors	AHS			Rights and Status			Social Distance		
	B	S.E.	β	B	S.E.	β	B	S.E.	β
GRA	.53	.07	.50** *	.13	.03	.33* **	.22	.04	.38** *
Interaction	.68	1.2	.04	-.27	.49	-.04	.24	.71	.02
GRA x Int	.19	.08	.15*	.07	.03	.14*	.11	.05	.15*
Constant	52.89	6.68		41.46	2.74		7.53	3.9	3
R ²	.27			.13			.17		
ΔR	.02			.02			.02		
F	22.52***			8.71***			12.12***		
Slope (t)	.69			.19			.31		
High	(6.9***)			(4.58***)			(5.36***)		
Slope (t)	.53			.13			.22		
Medium	(6.8***)			(4.10***)			(4.88***)		
Slope (t)	.37			.07 (1.7)			.13		
Low	(3.7***)						(2.21*)		

*** $p < .000$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Significant interaction effect is observed for AHS, Rights and Status, and Social Distance (Table 30). Significance of moderation is tested through continuous slope computation in Modgraph as both independent and moderator variable are continuous in nature. Significant slope is achieved for AHS, Rights and Status, and Social Distance for all the three levels of interaction showing that with increase in modern gender role attitudes and interaction with *hijras* attitudes also get more positive for all the three levels of interaction but this is highest for high level of interaction (see Figure 16, 17, and 18). Only nonsignificant slope is achieved for low interaction on Rights and Status.

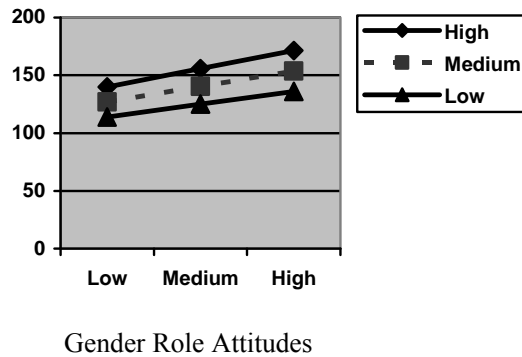


Figure 16. Role of interaction with *hijras* for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes on AHS

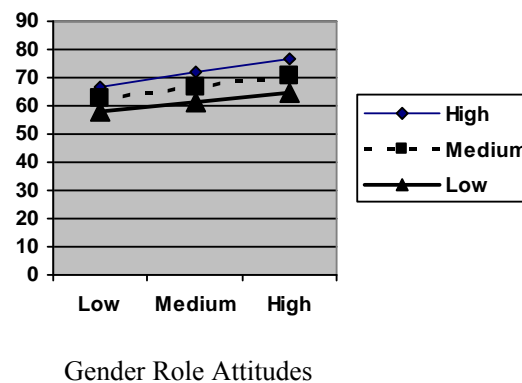


Figure 17. Role of interaction with *hijras* for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes on Rights and Status

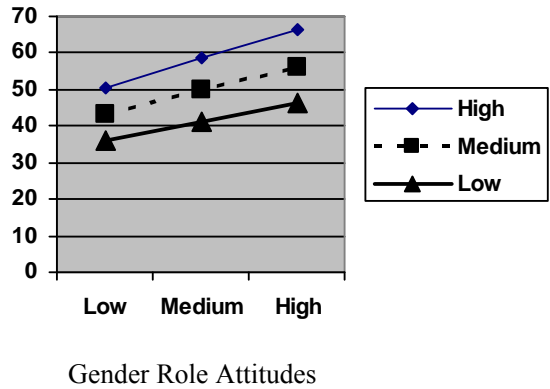


Figure 18. Role of interaction with *hijras* for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes on Social Distance

Discussion

The main purpose of Study III was to establish correlates of attitudes and validation of AHS and MHS. A functional approach to attitude and stereotypes related to social groups (see Ahmad & Kamal, 2000; Hill & Willoughby, 2005) was under taken. Discrimination of deviants has healing effect on collective conscience (Durkheim as cited in Sharma, 2007). It helps in defining and maintaining morality in a society (Higgins & Mackinem, 2008) based on values and ideologies in a culture (Maio et al., 2006; Maio & Olson, 1998).

In this part of research, data were collected from university students to control education (Ernst et al., 1998; Harris & Vanderhoof as cited in Harris, 1998; Hunsberger et al., 1999) and age factors (Beere, King, Beere, & King as cited in King & King, 1998; Leland as cited in Crooks & Baur, 2005; Snell, Finney & Godwin as cited in Snell et al., 1998) that are important in attitudinal studies related to sexual minorities (TGs and homosexuals). These demographic variables also play critical role in gender role attitudes (Anila, 1992a; Anila, 1992b; Anila et al., 1993; Masood, 2004; Nisar, 2004), attitude towards sexual minorities (Zuckerman, Tushup, & Finner as cited in Zuckerman, 1998), stereotypes (Anila, Khan et al., 1993), masculinity (Lippa, 2001), etc. Scales were administered in the form of booklet that was pretty time consuming taking 1 ½ hour for completion, therefore, in the end of data

collection in each department lucky draws of Rs. 500/- were carried out to maintain students' interest and as token of acknowledgement (see e.g., Hill & Willoughby, 2005). Students from both natural and social sciences were included as previous research evidences reveal that discipline of studies does create impact on attitudes towards sexuality related phenomenon and social groups (see Crooks & Baur, 2005; Hunsberger et al., 1999).

Psychometric Properties of AHS and MHS

First psychometric properties of AHS were determined on data. The reliabilities achieved for AHS and subscales were very good. Correlations among all subscales and with the total were also strongly significant at $p < .000$ level that showed strong construct validity of AHS representing that the scale is a valid measure for measuring attitude towards *hijras*. Contrarily, for MHS, Cronbach alpha coefficient was low but in acceptable range. That may be because of mixed response to these myths for the dissonance one might face while responding to the statements. Beliefs in myths are driven by type and level of interaction and knowledge about the social object (e.g., Harris & Vanderhoof as cited in Harris, 1998; Lovett & Mannie de Saxe, 2006; Tolley & Ranzijin, 2006). Many participants reported rare interaction with *hijras*, however, their education and rare interaction might have effected their responses to myths related items. That may also be because certain items were negative in connotation and some in positive, and no reverse scoring was done that might effect the consistency in responses. Correlation among subscales and the total MHS was strongly significant and positive showing that as belief in myths strengthens belief on *hijras'* asexuality, nature of *hijras*, and their divine power in blessings and curses also get strengthened. Hence, represents construct validity. Overall AHS and MHS appeared to be valid and reliable instruments.

Correlates of Attitude towards Hijras

According to Lather, "Feminist researchers are sensitized to examine the gaps between mythology and lived experiences" (as cited in Oswald & Culton, 2003, p. 72). Many researchers have utilised the concept of myth to study this link (see e.g., Ahmad & Kamal, 2000; Lottes, 1998b). Myths are functional in nature and maintain the power imbalance in

patriarchal society (Ahmad & Kamal, 2000), especially in case of sexual minorities. Attitudes do not necessarily form on the basis of prior investigation of relevant facts (Eiser, 1986) rather may be based on stereotypes held about social object. That was why findings showed significant negative relationship between myths and attitudes towards *hijras*. Out of total 12 items, 8 items in MHS had negative connotation. One's strong belief in these myths also related negatively with attitudes towards *hijras*. Much stronger relationships are present for nature of *hijras* on MHS with AHS. Previous research evidences reveal that people mostly believe that *hijras* are vulgar and use obscene language and gestures frequently (Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999), although, little evidences are available in Pakistani urban context (Riaz, 1996). Such a belief leads to negative attitude towards them. Belief in myths strongly relate to feeling social distance from *hijras* and perceiving promiscuous behaviours extended by *hijras*.

No relationship of belief in saintly powers of *hijras* and attitudes towards them has emerged. That may be because people might face confusion while responding to items taking these as positive characteristics of *hijras* or negative for feeling fearful of their strength (see Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000). Nonetheless, the only positive relationship is found between saintly characteristics and sexual aspects of *hijras*. Those who believe in their divine powers do not consider them as sexually promiscuous. In Pakistani context, to control one's sexual desires are considered an act of piety. Pious and noble people have control over their sexual desires and maintain these in lawful relation of marriage only. Allah shower His bounties on those who practice this. Therefore, those who believe that *hijras* have powers bestowed on them from divine do not consider *hijras* sexually promiscuous and pervert. Stereotypes underlie as rationalizations for our attitudes, but the relationship may not be very strong but reliable (see Stangor, 2009).

Many researchers studied relationship between Right Wing Authoritarianism, religious fundamentalism and prejudice in general and attitude towards LGBTs (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Crooks & Baur, 2005; Denney, 2008; Kirkpatrick, 1993; Larsen, 1998; Rowatt et al., 2006). As hypothesized on the basis of previous findings, correlation between

attitudes towards *hijras* and extremist tendencies was observed to be negatively significant and prediction of extremism for attitudes towards *hijras* has similar direction. For Rights and Status of *hijras* comparatively weak relationship exists with extremism. This means that increase in extremist tendencies do not create much influence in attitudes related to *hijras*' rights and status, may be regardless of extremist views, people believe in awarding basic human rights to them. Same is observed for Power and Toughness aspect of extremism. However, strongest relationship has emerged for Social Distance and Sexual Issues, being extremist lead towards avoiding contact with them that may be because of AIDS and homosexuality related stigma attached with *hijras*. The stigma of homosexuality discourages the efforts against HIV prevention and also in identifying such people who are at potential risk (Neilands et al., 2008).

Denney (2008) used Social Bogardus Scale in her research to measure prejudice towards homosexuals, Muslims, and African-American. She also found significant positive relationship between Right Wing Authoritarianism, religious fundamentalism, and Christian orthodoxy. Often using religion to justify their actions, these groups see sexuality and sexual rights—particularly women's control of their own sexuality and LGBT rights—as a tremendous threat to the status quo that they want to maintain (Ford Foundation, 2006). Lack of sex education from parents or harsh socialization for sexual behaviours in childhood and adolescence promote erotophobia (fear of sex). In the validation of The Sexual Opinion Survey, authoritarianism was strongly linked with erotophobia which has strong association with homophobia, more traditional gender roles, sex guilt, and orthodox approach (W. A. Fisher, 1998).

Researchers have used GRA for the validation of attitude towards TG related scales (see e.g., Hill & Willoughby, 2005). Significant relationship was observed between AHS and GRAS that confirmed the hypothesis that with increase in modern gender role attitudes, attitude towards *hijras* also get positive. Gender roles change with the passage of time and under the influence of modernisation (Anila, 1992b; Anila et al., 1993). Finlinson et al. (2003) found that most of the LGB participants considered heterosexism as main cause of anti-

homosexual attitudes, which underlies abusive behaviour of the family towards LGBTs. And many a times it is practiced by religious fraternities (Herek, 2009) and among all form of prejudices it is relatively socially more acceptable (Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006). Researches show that people who have more traditional gender role attitudes have more negative attitudes towards LGBTs than those who have more modern gender role attitudes (see Crooks & Baur, 2005; King & King, 1998; Louderback & Whitley, 1997). Gender role attitudes is the strongest predictor in predicting attitudes towards *hijras* underlying reason can be extremist approach in life, male gender role (masculinity) being influential for attitudes as well as gender role attitudes.

Masculinity and femininity have been found to be correlated with TG status and prejudice (see Lippa, 2001). For this purpose, BSRI was used (see e.g., Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Skrapec & MacKenzie, 1981), significant negative relationship was achieved for attitudes toward *hijras* and masculinity and also on attitudes based on sexual issues of *hijras*. For femininity, significant positive relationship is found for Rights and Status of *hijras*, Overall hypothesis was partially accepted, except for Rights and Status i.e., with increase in femininity the attitude towards *hijras*' rights and status also get positive. Feminine and androgynous individuals are found to be more nurturing, while androgynous show more positive attitude towards sexuality and are more tolerant towards sexual behaviour of others than strongly gendered type individuals (see Crooks & Baur, 2005; Pande, 2004). All form of androgyny is considered to be against masculinity (Ahmad & Kamal, 2000; Pande, 2004). Mosher's (1998b) Hypermasculinity Inventory measured the macho personality in men which is constellation of callous sexual attitudes towards women, violence as manly, and danger as exciting. This is because young boys are socialized and encultured to control fear and distress by using humiliation and contempt as strategies to socialise them. This leads them to endorse socially acceptable script of macho personality and feeling dominant over inferiors. Extreme gender role adherence in both men and women, significantly positively correlate with drug use, feeling of anger, acceptance of interpersonal violence, hostility towards women, legitimate form of aggression, dispositional impulsivity, and holding authoritarian beliefs

(Hamburger as cited in Hamburger et al., 1998). This may be because of high masculinity in men that is also found in present study.

For both offering *salat* daily and how regularly one offers prayers the correlations achieved were significantly negative ($p < .001$) i.e., with increase in religiosity attitude towards *hijras* become more negative, hence, confirming the hypothesis. Many researchers have quoted the role of religion in context of attitude towards LGBTs (see e.g., Crooks & Baur, 2005; Khan & Ayub, 2003; Lovett & Mannie de Saxe, 2006). Some have used church attendance as an indicator of religiosity and subjective importance of religion for validation of sexuality related scales (see for example, de Visser et al., 2007; Fisher & Hall, 1998; Fullard et al., 1998; Godin et al., 1998; Herek, 1998; Larsen, 1998; Lottes, 1998a; Mosher, 1998a; Oswald & Culton, 2003; Reiss, 1998; Zuckerman & Myers as cited in Zuckerman, 1998; Zuckerman, Tushup, & Finner as cited in Zuckerman, 1998)

Religious teachings play an important role in formulating sexual ideology of its followers and attitudes towards sexual related issues and minorities. Ideological discourse leads to the internalization of expected social roles, personalities, and identities (Batalha, 2006). Religious discourse leads to disruption in close relationships among sexual deviants and their families (Hillier et al., 2008). Many reasons the people of various religions give is that body should not be altered (Diamond & Beh, 2005). *Waria* of Indonesia (Boellstroff, 2004) and *Maknayahs* of Malaysia (Teh, 2001) consider their marginalization got pronounced because of intolerance in Islam and respective government actions, as in Muslims it is believed that transgender and transvestism is unacceptable in Islam. An account on Islamic perspective in introductory paragraphs of present research also gives an overview of Islamic teachings important in social interaction. Nevertheless, Beardsley (2005) criticizes people who mold religious teachings to justify their transphobia or homophobia.

Marsh (2007) considers that cross-cultural contexts can help in resolving phobic reaction to sexual minorities. Seeking out tools from other cultural traditions may help in exploring different pathways of “being and becoming”. Buddhism holds much accommodation for gender variance. While divine religions like Judaism, Christianity, Islam

harbor negative attitude towards sexual deviances. Crossing cultural boundaries help the TGs to resolve their existential issues. Presently, intrinsic orientation to religion is not found to be related to negative attitudes but extrinsic social orientation, where a person perform gender roles to conform to social standards rather than actual religious tenets.

Results showed differences on Extrinsic Social religious orientation with High self-monitors having negative attitudes and for no other domain such differences were found. Extrinsic subscale is positively correlated with survey measures of racial prejudice. Intrinsic subscale is typically negatively correlated with self-report measures of prejudice (Allen & Spilka, 1967, Allport & Ross, 1967, Johnson, 1977, Duck & Hunsberger, 1999) gives good explanation of present results. Religious orientation show the subjective importance of religion as mentioned earlier. Religion put much social control on sexual attitudes than any other and those religions that demand much social attendance affect attitudes the most (de Visser et al., 2007). Nonsignificant differences were found on Social Distance.

Significant gender differences were observed. Female students displayed more positive attitude than male students except for *hijras'* rights and status on which nonsignificant difference was observed. Early researches have used this variable for validation purpose and had similar findings (see e.g., Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Landen & Innala as cited in Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Larsen as cited in Larsen, 1998; Patton & Mannison, 1998; White & Franzini, 1999; Zuckerman & Myers as cited in Zuckerman, 1998). That may be because men stick to more traditional gender role attitudes than women (Patton & Mannison, 1998), are more extremist, masculine, and observe more regularity in prayers, as evident in present study as well, having more interaction in religious set ups like mosque that exert pressure on them to conform to the social pressures of sticking to society's prescribed gender roles.

Mulvey (as cited in Norton, 1997) found that in regard to representations of MtF transgender, while some female viewers may share constructed male perceptions of vice, perversion, and degradation, women as a class are less likely to be severely transphobic than men as women are still considered to be compassionate and nurturing beings. Significant

differences on femininity with women scoring high is also found in present study; being nurturing and caring are sex roles assigned by society for female role. Female participants' positive attitude towards *hijras* may be because of their empathy for acknowledging difficulty and danger of being female in patriarchal society. It may also be because the political and psychological stakes around gender and identity, vis-a-vis the MtF TG, are a lot higher for men than for women. Since, given the male-dominant structure of society, women are often able to relate more empathically to issues of gender oppression than men (Norton, 1997).

Antoszewski et al. (2007) in their research found that female university students were having better understanding of transsexuals than male university students. In a related vein, Paulhus and John (as cited in Lippa, 2001, foot note) described two kinds of response biases that affect self-reports: (1) "egoistic bias", the degree to which people over-attribute competence and agency to themselves; and (2) "moralistic bias", the degree to which people over-attribute agreeable and communal traits to themselves. Paulhus and John cite evidence that the first kind of bias occurs more in men and the second occurs more in women.

Nonsignificant differences are found along concept of *hijra* for the participants on AHS except on Sexual Issues, a tilt towards significance is observed. Those who believe *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed had significantly more positive attitude on sexuality related aspects of *hijras* than those who believed that they are both hermaphrodite and MtFs. Early researches have found that those who believe in genetic factors for TS showed much acceptability than those who believed it to be product of environment (Antoszewski et al., 2007). Findings in Study II and III revealed that more than half of the participants had very strong belief that *hijras* are hemaphrodites/intersexed or having some biological cause (see also for TS see Antoszewski et al., 2007; for *Waria* see Boellstorff, 2004; Khan & Ayub, 2003; Haider & Bano, 1996; Nanda, 1999; Riaz, 1996; Sharma, 2000; for *maknayah* see Teh, 2001; for *Kathoe*y see Totman, 2004; Winter, 2002). Although, media has given a lot of exposure to this phenomenon, still it is under strong grip of stereotypes (PUCL-K, Sep 2003).

Presently, nonsignificant results appeared on overall attitudes as two groups were not completely contrasted groups. The researcher had to compromise in inclusion of group

believing in both MtF TGs and hermaphrodite/intersexed than MtF TG only group for comparison. Had that been MtF TGs only group the results might have been significant. Other reason could be that may be because the sample is educated which is less under the influence of myths and nowadays media also plays a very important role in imparting information about such sexual diversities (Crooks & Baur, 2005).

Gender fundamentalism that operates by denying and stigmatizing gender nonconforming people shows lack of acceptability for those who transgress gender roles (Herek as cited in Lombardi et al., 2001). This lack of acceptability is much stronger for men as compare to women exhibiting deviant sexuality (Piedfort-Marin et al., 2007). Labelling deviance and inflicting punishment and discrimination to the violators who are not much committed to social norms and values lead to healing of the collective conscience, hence has a functional aspect of deviance (Durkheim as cited in Sharma, 2007) as it upholds morality in a society (Higgins & Mackinem, 2008). Historically, *hijras* performed a significant role but presently they are not performing that role, yet Sharma (2000) considers that their role is functional in nature, firstly, by taking away the stigma of asexuality from the family and then blessing the male child born and the weddings of the son. Their traditional role has deteriorated with the passage of time (Hossain, 2002). That may also be one of the reasons for nonsignificant findings on overall attitudes along belief about *hijras*.

Nonsignificant results appeared along interaction with *hijras* and attitude towards them. Only significant difference appeared on attitudes related to sexual issues and differences among those who meet/see them frequently and who meet/see occasionally. This shows that with decreased interaction with *hijras*, people are less likely to perceive *hijra*'s as sexually perverts. As interaction increases so is the knowledge about sexual minorities and those who meet/see *hijras* frequently come to know about their deviant activities and come to know about their MtF TG status than being original (hermaphrodite/intersexed), therefore have less acceptance of *hijras* based on their sexuality. Nonsignificant differences are present for those who meet *hijras* rarely may be for being driven by myths or lack of knowledge to confidently report their attitudes. Nonsignificant results appeared may be because many

researchers have found that with increase in knowledge through exposure and education, attitude becomes more positive and lack of knowledge leads to much heterosexism and heteronormativity and discrimination (see e.g., Lovett & Mannie de Saxe, 2006; Tolley & Ranzijin, 2006). Although, results are not in this direction, may be both factors cancelled out each other and nonsignificant result appeared.

Correlates of Myths related to *Hijras*

Significant relationship between extremism, gender role attitudes, and myths are found. Those who are more extremists and have traditional gender role attitudes have strong belief in myths. Fundamentalism and traditional gender role attitudes have more polarized view of social object, not giving room to individual differences. Myths being stereotypes about *hijras* also represent polarized view by socially categorizing them in these stereotypes. In a way, this study has helped in establishing validity of MHS. High self-monitors following extrinsic social religious orientation believe in *hijras*' natural characteristics based myths so are those who scored high in masculinity. This establishes the context of men having more belief in *hijras*' natural tendencies. Intrinsic have strong belief in their asexuality. Being more masculine and feminine decreases belief in their saintly qualities. Sexual Polarity Scale measures naturalist (left-wing; humanists) --- modern attitudes basing sexuality on nonsacred and natural/biological need of every person ----, and jehovanist (right-wing; normative) --- traditional sexual ideology believing sex is dirty, which leads to dissolution of self and social order (Mosher, 1998a). It was found that jehovanist men attend church more than naturalist men, they are more intolerant of ambiguity, have higher sex guilt, are more normative than humanist, and more accepting rape myths. This is indicative of relationship between extremism, religious orientation, and belief in myths related to *hijras*.

Nonsignificant gender differences appeared on MHS, hence rejecting the hypothesis that women have more strong belief in myths (Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Winter, 2002). While early researches on myths related to rape showed that men had more strong beliefs in myths (Ahmad & Kamal, 2000; Lief, 1998). That may be the reason for nonsignificant differences. Another reason could be that sample was well educated who have a more rational

approach about sexual minority. That is why even being extremist in the present study, positive consideration of awarding *hijras* rights and status is observed. While Nanda (1999, see also Sharma, 2000) posited that women are exploited more by the *hijras*, as women have fear of *hijras* and are under the grip of myths related to their blessings and curses. However, men have more strong belief in myths related to *hijras*' being vulgar, irritating, and no ability to change themselves.

Relationship between Extremism, Gender Role Attitudes, Sex Roles, Religiosity, and Religious Orientation

The inter-subscale correlations for each scale appeared to be significantly positive, this strengthens the construct validity of the scales (Cohen & Swerdlick, 2010) and supported the decision to use these indigenous measures used in present research. All were indigenously developed measures except for BSRI that too correlated significantly with short and Pakistani versions as assumed.

On GRAS, ES, and BSRI results appeared in assumed direction. Women were more modern in gender role attitudes and men more traditional and extremist in general tendencies (see Ahmed & Kamal, 2000; Anila et al., 1993; Beere, King, Beere, & King as cited in King & King, 1998; Patton & Mannison, 1998). Men scored high on masculinity and women on femininity. There are pressures to conform to these standards, however, these pressures are much stronger on men (Crooks & Baur, 2005; Talwar, 1999). Men might be feeling soft inwardly, but they do not expose such feelings because of lack of social approval for doing so (Ahmad & Kamal, 2000). Gender role attitudes are considered to be the most significant, so that if altered among heterosexual men, especially, can result in more positive attitude towards sexual deviances like homosexuality (Louderback & Whitley, 1997).

In present research, gender role attitudes have been found to be most strong predictor in attitudes towards *hijras* followed by extremism and myths related to *hijras*. Heterosexuals may feel pressure to adhere to traditional gender roles to avoid appearing sexually deviant and abuse others who violate gender roles (for review see White & Franzini, 1999). Problems faced by TS and hermaphrodites are because of this rigid view of gender (Donovan as cited in

Talwar, 1999; Hird, 2003). Expression of gender identity that is in conflict with the expected gender role (Green et al, Sep 1994) especially of masculinity, and violation of male gender norms are primary source of discrimination and violence against TGs (Maurer as cited in Crooks & Baur, 2005).

Further traditional gender roles are evident with increased extremism and among those who have extrinsic social religious orientation, which is an indicator of conformity to group norms for showing low acceptance for gender diversity as it violates the cultural standards for masculinity. Religious practices are also common in those having traditional gender role attitudes and extrinsic social in religious orientation. Among all variable, male gender is appearing to be a common factor. These can have moderating role in discrimination against gender variant people (see Crooks & Baur, 2005). Rigidity, confining to extreme gender roles, and considering any gender deviation as abnormal or perversion is also observed in modern societies (Pande, 2004).

Several studies have found that Right Wing Authoritarianism is highly correlated with Religious Fundamentalism, frequent church attendance, reading scripture more often, having little religious doubt, and being more forgiving of the use of torture (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Hunsberger, 1995, 1996; Wylie & Forest, 1992). Right Wing Authoritarianism is associated with sexism (Hunsberger et al., 1999) and negative attitudes towards sexual minorities (see Herek, 2009). Hunsberger (1996) studied religious fundamentalists within four religious groups namely Hindu, Muslims, Jewish, and Christians. The findings provided evidence that fundamentalists in many religions tend to be authoritarian and hostile toward sexual deviants, that religious fundamentalism may entail essentially the same attitudes in these four major religious groups. This shows that extremism is general ideology of life that affects attitudes and opinion regardless of one's religious affiliation.

Predictors of Attitudes toward *Hijras*

Present research validates AHS showing significant relationship with myths, gender role attitudes, extremism, religiosity, and masculinity. This also showed significant gender

differences with women having more positive attitudes and those with extrinsic religious orientation having more negative attitudes. Herek (1998) developed a brief measure Attitude towards Lesbians and Gay Men Scale to cater attitudes of heterosexuals towards homosexuals. In the validity studies that Herek conducted, she found that negative attitudes are positively correlated with religiosity, traditional sex role attitudes, belief in traditional family ideology, and high level of dogmatism, and AIDS related stigma (as cited in Herek, 1998). Larsen, and her colleagues while developing Heterosexual Attitudes Towards Homosexuality Scale (as cited in Larsen, 1998) validated the scale and found significant relationship of negative attitudes with religiosity, peer attitudes, and authoritarianism. It was also found that there was strong link between AIDS-related attitudes and attitudes towards homosexuality. Hence, present study validates AHS.

Mediators for extremism in predicting attitudes. All variables including extremism, gender role attitudes, religiosity, masculinity, and belief in myths related to *hijras* significantly predicted attitudes toward *hijras* with strongest positive prediction of gender role attitudes followed by extremism in negative direction. Literature showed significance of fundamentalism and conservatism in effecting prejudices, attitudes, opinion, and religious practices, therefore, extremist tendencies were assumed to be major variable that underlie all form of attitudes (gender role attitudes), values (religious), practices (religiosity), personality traits (masculinity and femininity), and stereotypes (myths) in predicting attitudes toward *hijras*. In the present research, extremism was found to be significant correlate of all variables in assumed direction. As hypothesized, it also correlated significantly with attitudes related to *hijras*, therefore, it was taken to be basic ideology or approach in life and role of other variables as mediators for extremism in predicting attitude towards *hijras* was studied. This is the significant contribution of present study. The widely used method on Baron and Kenny (1986) was followed. These were studied for overall AHS as well as subscales, separately. Since variables were put as per theoretical stance, therefore, heirrachical regression analysis was carried out.

For overall attitudes, gender role attitudes, religiosity, nature and saintly characteristics among myths were found to be significant mediators for extremism. However, among predictors masculinity did not emerge as significant mediator. Similar were the findings for attitudes related to sexual issues of *hijras*. Impact of extremism on attitudes reduced with increase in modern gender role attitudes that extremism lost its significance. It also reduced with religiosity and nature and saintly related myths, but extremism did not lose its significance. However, in combined effect extremism lost significance completely. Hence, shows that these variables share much of the variance with extremism in predicting attitudes toward *hijras* that too in the domain of sexual aspects of *hijras* than rights and status and social distance related attitudes.

For attitudes related to rights and status of *hijras*, two subscales of extremism namely Conservatism and Rigidity predicted significantly while gender role attitudes and religiosity mediated this prediction significantly. For perceiving social distance from *hijras*, religiosity did not appear to be a significant mediator but gender role attitudes and myths based on nature and divine characteristics did have a role. Overall, results showed that extremism is ideology based on conventionalism and liberalism that act as predisposition to respond in certain way. Nevertheless, cultural and religious beliefs, values, and practices including gender role attitudes, cultural stereotypes (myths related to *hijras*), and strength in religious practices have much role to play in influencing attitudes toward *hijras* along extremism. This shows that attitude towards *hijras* have more of cultural and religious context in the backdrop of personality predisposition of extremism and conservatism.

Moderators in predicting attitudes. For moderators, strategy proposed by Baron and Kenny (1986) was followed. Moderators might not have significant relationship with outcome variables but in combined effect with predictor variable significantly predict outcome variable. Religious orientation, gender, one's concept of "who are *hijras*", and level of interaction with *hijras* were taken as moderators to study their role in all predicting variables of attitudes towards *hijras* including extremism, religiosity, gender role attitudes, sex roles, and myths related to *hijras*.

Religious orientation. Intrinsic, extrinsic social, and extrinsic personal religious orientations had significant role of moderator for extremism in predicting attitudes based on rights and status of *hijras*. This shows that regardless of type of orientation, just having motivation to follow religion led to fewer acceptances of rights and status of *hijras* with increase in extremism. This also coincides with mediating role of religiosity for extremism in effecting attitudes based on rights and status of *hijras* in similar direction. Johnson, Rowatt, and LaBouf (2010) through their experiments on priming effect of religion on racial prejudice proposed that religion activates religious fundamentalism, hence, increase negative attitudes towards outgroups and have unfavorable impact on prejudices. Generally, intrinsic orientation is found to have strongest moderating role among all domains (see Case et al., 2006).

Only extrinsic social orientation had significant moderating role for extremism in perceiving social distance from *hijras*. Those who had extrinsic social orientation had more positive attitude than nonsocial group that may be to put a good front to people being high social monitors that they are not hesitant in accepting *hijras* in close relationship. Nevertheless, with increase in extremism ones acceptance of *hijras* in close relationship decreases for both groups. For religiosity and gender role attitudes, religious orientation did not have significant moderating role in effecting attitudes.

Gender. Gender played a significant moderating role for gender role attitudes on overall attitudes toward *hijras*. With increase in modern gender role attitudes in women, attitudes toward *hijras* become more positive, but for men it had nonsignificant role rather slope show a little decline in attitudes for men with increase in modern gender role attitudes. Across cultures, women are found to be more modern in gender role attitudes, hence, more accepting for gender variations, while men are more traditional for more sex-typed upbringing (Helgeson, 2005, hence, are less accepting for normative deviations. Egalitarian gender role attitudes are function of education and religiosity (see Frieze, Morinaga, Aono, Fukutomi, & Sreekumar, 2007). In the present study, sample is educated but religiosity is high in men than women that might have negative role for gender role attitudes in affecting attitudes.

Gender also played significant role for masculinity in predicting attitudes in accepting *hijras* in close relationship and considering them as sexual deviants. With increase in masculinity for both men and women, attitudes on both domains of attitudes get negative, however slope is more sharp for men than women. Research evidences show that having masculine personality traits lead to negative attitudes towards sexual deviants. Bem (1987) did not consider sex roles as bipolar construct but as personality traits that men and women can possess in varying degree. Dominance and aggression are indicators of masculinity that might lead to lack of acceptance for those who violate normative beliefs of gender and endorsing patriarchy. Masculinity regardless of gender promote high self-esteem (see Munaf, Ahmad, Khanam, & Siddiqui, 2003) that may lead towards derogatory view of those who do not comply with sexual and gender expectations in society. Masculinity in women represent androgyny which is evident through less steep slope representing more positive attitudes for women with masculinity than men. MtF TGs violate conventional norms for manhood, therefore, those who are masculine in sex roles shun such people as sexually pervert and less accepting in close relationship.

Gender did not play any moderating role in effecting attitudes for femininity, religiosity, extremism, myths related to *hijras*, concept of *hijras*, and level of interaction with *hijras*

Concept of *hijras*. With increase in religiosity, acceptance of *hijras* in close relationship reduced among those who believed that *hijras* are intersexed/hermaphrodite than both intersexed/hermaphrodite and MtF TGs. Although it was beyond expectations, but it might be because of stigma of asexuality attached with original *hijras* and their power to inflict harm to others if not obliged as per their demands that might lead people to avoid them in social relationship. It may also be because the role of true *hijras* had deteriorated over a period of time. One can expect sexual perversion from MtF TGs but not from those who are born *hijras*. Social categorization as “we and they” affect attitudes and promote prejudices through ingroup and outgroup perception with having more negative opinion for outgroup (Khalid, 1990; Khalid & Tarar, 2004).

Those who believed that *hijras* are intersexed/hermaphrodite had more positive change in overall attitudes and related to *hijras*' rights and status with increase in modern gender role attitudes. This also increased for those who believed that *hijras* are both intersexed/hermaphrodite and MtF TGs, but more significant in previous group. Modern gender role attitudes are also affected by nature and nurture controversy. Believing that *hijras* are born that way may bring more sympathetic attitude with acceptance emerging with modern gender role attitudes than believing that *hijras* are actually men who behave like *hijras*. That is why people with modern gender role attitudes are more in favour of giving rights to original *hijras* than MtF TGs.

For remaining variables concept of *hijras* had nonsignificant moderating role.

Interaction with *hijras*. Level of interaction with *hijras* had moderating role for gender role attitudes only for overall AHS and its subscales excluding Sexual Issues. Those who have high interaction with *hijras* had positive attitudes with increase in modern gender role attitudes. This is also significant for medium and low interacting group but much pronounced for those who have more interaction with *hijras*. Increased interaction lead to better knowledge about sexual deviants and becoming less stereotypic in attitudes, it may be the reason that with increase in modern gender role attitudes those who have more interaction with *hijras* have more positive attitudes than those having less interaction.

For remaining variables, interaction with *hijras* had nonsignificant moderating role.

Limitations and Suggestions

1. Sample size is small and based on convenience sampling; therefore, findings must be generalized with caution.
2. Sample is homogenous that does not allow to study individual differences in attitudes and beliefs related to *hijras* along demographic variables. In future, role of demographic variables can be studied with more heterogeneous sample.
3. As sample size was small (less than 200), structural model testing was not carried out which is highly suggested with so many variables operation together in effecting attitudes. This will help in making the findings more understandable and presentable.

4. More interaction with modern gender role attitudes leads to better attitudes toward *hijras*. It is not clear that more interaction is because of modern gender role attitudes or vice versa. Such predictions can be studied in future.
5. Mediation effects were studied without controlling variance caused by gender or other variables. In future, such effects should be held constant or controlled to have accurate results.
6. To control element of social desirability in attitudes towards sexual minority, measure for social desirability can be used in future studies along AHS.

Conclusion

In the given context, even though people do appreciate theatrical performance of gender diversity but society with its foundation in patriarchy, heterosexuality, and religion controls expressions that threaten norms in real life (Bhopal, 2003). And those who strongly abide by cultural and religious norms have negative attitudes towards sexual minorities and have strong belief in related myths. Study III establishes that AHS and MHS are the reliable and valid tools for measuring attitudes and myths related to *hijras*. Extremism, religiosity, gender role attitudes, myths related to *hijras*, and masculinity are found to predict attitudes toward *hijras* with gender role attitudes, extremism, and myths appeared as strongest predictors. Gender role attitudes, religiosity, and myths based on nature and divine characteristics of *hijras* are found to have mediating role for extremism in predicting attitudes toward *hijras*. Religious orientation for extremism have role of moderator for effecting right and status based attitudes toward *hijras*, while extrinsic religious orientation play positive role in perceiving social distance from *hijras*. Gender plays role of moderator for gender role attitudes and masculinity. One's concept of *hijras* has moderating role for religiosity and gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes. Last but not least, level of interaction with *hijras* has moderating role for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes towards *hijras*.

**ATTITUDE TOWARDS MALE-TO-FEMALE TRANSGENDER: A
CULTURAL CONTEXT
(STUDY IV)**

Gender is multifaceted having social context (Helgeson, 2005). Gradually there is move to study sexuality and gender in cultural context (Rahman, 2010). Gender deviance (Crooks & Baur, 2005; Sharma, 2000) and transphobia (Norton, 1997) are deeply rooted in cultural values, beliefs, and ideologies that must be studied to determine their role in attitude towards transgenders (TGs; Hill & Willoughby, 2005). Cross-cultural attitudinal researches widely focus at comparing eastern and western cultures. Eastern culture is being collectivist focuses at group harmony, interdependence, and collective good as compare to western being individualistic focusing at individual achievements. Such variations across cultures signify role of environment in developing attitudes (see Maio et al., 2006).

Some towns are less tolerant than others (Oswald & Culton, 2003). In West, very negative attitude prevail about the individuals who show gender variations (deviations) from gender stereotype and taken to criminal prosecution (Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Wood as cited in Totman, 2003). While certain researchers have found that TGs enjoy better status in western countries (Alison et al., 2006; Docter & Fleming, 2001). In many cultures this is considered as sinful and immoral (Crooks & Baur, 2005) such as Asian countries including India, Pakistan, Malaysia, and Singapore (Talwar, 1999).

Unlike West, North America (Kessler & McKenna, 1978), Asian subcontinent (Pande, 2004), and Far East countries like Thailand (Totman, 2003) are often credited for their acceptance of and freedom for alternative gender possibilities (in the form of *Bardache*, *Hijras*, and *Kathoeay*) (see Nanda, 1999). According to Foucault (as cited in Marsh, 2007, p. 104), “eastern thought can make the western thought to find the new way”. Nevertheless, the rights TG and homosexuals are exacting in western culture posit much brighter picture to

those who are carrying out research in eastern cultures (Talwar, 1999). Marsh (2007) suggests that queers can meet in cross-cultural spaces. Attitude is changing gradually (Cohen-Kettenis & van Goozen, 1997; Costa-Santos & Mediera as cited in Talwar, 1999,) with acculturation (Crooks & Baur, 2005). For example, according to Roen (2001), in New Zealand, the western medicalised concept of transgenderism is serving young *fa'afafine* to attain legal rights assigned to a female. Contrarily, in Canada, unlike UK, transsexuals are distinct category/group other than gender dichotomy (Cowan, 2005).

In the given context, aim of present study is to establish the relationship between attitude towards *hijras* and attitude towards transwomen (MtF TGs) as an indicator of construct validity of AHS. Attitude towards Transwomen Scale (Winter, 2007) was translated and validated specifically measuring attitude towards MtF TGs⁵. No such measure is available in Pakistan. This scale has been used in 7 countries and translated in Thai and Chinese languages as well. Cross-cultural differences in attitudes show that most positive attitude prevailed in UK, followed by Philipines, Thailand, China, and Singapore in sequence, and lastly Malaysia and USA (see Winter et al., 2009). Winter et al. gave the reason that the data were collected from the area where religion was strongly practiced. Malaysia is an Islamic country and reliable results on the scale supports present translation. This study will help to explore cross-cultural differences in attitude towards TGs which is considered much of a western concept (Sharma, 2000). Attitude towards TGs is studied in cultural and psychosocial context (Cass, 2005, 2006).

A few empirical research evidences are available on *hijras* in Pakistan who belong to *hijra* community in *guru-chela* [mentor-disciple] dyad (Haider & Bano, 2006; Khattak, 2004; Malik, 2008; Parvez, 2004; Riaz, 1996; Tasmeeera, 2002). However, only one on the role of socializing agents in gender development of TGs (Bibi, 2009) who are leading their lives in homes and pursuing their careers or employed somewhere, is available. With changing time and exposure to media (see Surkan, 2002) transgender characters are displayed with aura and glamour (Qahar, 2008), but society's reaction and consequences for theatrical gender

⁵ *Hijras* are mostly MtFs but living in the form of community.

performance is different than for gender deviance in actual life (Surkan, 2002). Therefore, objective is to study attitudes towards TGs in cultural context.

Method

Objectives

Main objective of Study IV is to determine relationship of attitude towards *hijra* with attitude towards male to female transgender (MtF TG) as construct validity of AHS and to ascertain differences in attitudes towards these two different concepts in psychosocial context.

Objectives are to:

1. Translate and adapt Attitude towards Transwoman Scale.
2. Establish psychometric properties of the scale.
3. Explore relationship between attitude towards *hijra* and attitude towards MtF TG.
4. Study correlates of attitudes towards MtF TG including myths related to *hijras*, extremism, religiosity, gender role attitudes, and sex roles (masculinity and femininity).
5. Explore differences in attitudes towards transgender along religious orientation, gender, interaction with *hijras*, and concept of *hijra* for general public (hermaphrodite, MtFs, and both).
6. Carry cross-cultural comparison on attitudes towards MtF TGs.

Hypotheses

On the basis of literature review hypotheses related to attitude towards MtF TGs and its relationships with other variables of the study were generated that would facilitate in understanding the underlying reasons for holding attitudes and comparing these with correlates of attitude towards *hijras* as found in Study III (Chapter 5).

1. Attitude towards MtF TGs is positively correlated with attitude towards *hijras*.
2. Attitude towards MtF TGs has negative relationship with myths related to *hijras*.
3. With increase in extremist tendencies attitudes toward MtF TGs gets more negative.
4. There is negative relationship between religiosity and attitude towards MtF TGs.

5. Attitudes towards MtF TGs get positive with modern gender role attitudes.
6. Masculine tendencies have negative relationship with attitudes towards MtF TGs while femininity has positive relationship.
7. Those with extrinsic religious orientation have negative attitudes towards MtF TGs.
8. Women have more positive attitude towards MtF TGs than men do.

Translation and Adaptation of Attitude towards Transwomen Scale (ATS)

Prior permission for the translation of the scale was taken from the author (see Appendix D1). Originally developed by Winter (2007), Attitude towards Transwomen Scale (ATS) is a 30-item scale developed to examine university students' attitudes and beliefs concerning transwomen (MtF TG). The instrument covers beliefs about the nature of transgenderism (for example, as a mental illness, a sexual deviance, as unnatural), attitudes towards transwomen (for example, as classmates, acquaintances and family members), and beliefs about how society should respond to transwomen (for example treating them as male or female). It is a five point rating scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). Items 1, 4, 7, 8, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 28, 29, and 30 are reverse scoring items. High scores indicate trans-acceptance; low scores indicate trans-prejudice. Participants are informed that the questionnaire is an attempt to find out what they think about male-to-female transgendered people ('people who are born male but live, or want to live, their lives as female'). The preamble to the questionnaire stresses that there were no right or wrong answers, and that their task is simply to indicate whether (and how strongly) they agree or disagree with each statement (see Appendix D2).

Scale is comprised of five inter-correlated factors: 1) Belief that transwomen suffer from a mental sickness designated as "Mental Illness" (item no. 1, 4, 7, 8, 12, 15, 17, and 21). 2) Belief that transwomen are not women, should not be treated as such, and should not be afforded their rights designated as "Denial-Women" (2, 3, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, and 19). 3) Rejection of contact with transwomen in a variety of social situations, including among family members, and teachers designated as "Social Rejection" (25, 28, 29, and 30). 4) Rejection of contact with transwomen within one's peer group designated as "Peer-Rejection"

(5, 18, 20, 22, 26, and 27). 5) Belief that transwomen engage in sexually deviant behaviour designated as “Sexual Deviance” (16, 23, and 24). Cronbach alpha coefficients are .86, .81, .78, .65, and .54, respectively. Internal consistency for the scale as a whole is very high (Cronbach alpha coefficient .94). Interscale correlations are found to be significant at $p < .01$ with correlation values ranging from .13-.64 (Winter et al., 2009). Following steps were undertaken for translation:

- **Phase I** involved translation of ATS into Urdu and then selecting the most appropriate translation by consulting Subject Matter Experts.
- **Phase II** involved back translation into English and then comparing the translation with original ATS to check the compatibility in items.
- **Phase III** involved consulting the original author for his comments for finalizing the items.
- **Phase IV** was cross-language validation of Urdu translated version of ATS.

Phase I --- Translation of ATS into Urdu. ATS was given to 5 bilingual experts having M.Phil. degree in Psychology for translation into Urdu. They were instructed to translate the items into simple Urdu that could be understandable to any Pakistani who could read, write, and speak Urdu. Since concept of ‘transgender/transwomen’ was quite unique for translators, therefore, clear definition as per the original authors of the scale was provided.

All the five translation achieved for each item were written down on the same place under each item and were evaluated in a committee comprising of three Subject Matter Experts in the field of Psychological Testing, faculty of National Institute of Psychology having command on both languages. During this process, the dictionary meaning of the words creating difficulty in decision making were also consulted. Much compatibility existed in translation of all items except Item no. 16 “(transwomen) live like they do so that they can find men more easily” and Item no. 24 “(transwomen) would be sexually pervert” that showed slight differences in the respective translations. Therefore, 2 translated statements were approved for each item and decision to select any one was kept pending till back

translation of Urdu version. Item no. 2 “(transwomen) are really women with the wrong body” although translated accordingly, but it was decided in the committee that in Pakistani context flawed body may not be understandable by any ordinary Pakistani, therefore, to make it more explicit it was changed to “women with male body”. Translation of instructions was also finalized (see Appendix D3). Back translation of finally selected Urdu translations was carried out.

Phase II --- Back translation into English. Urdu translated scale was given to 5 bilingual experts, other than those who translated original scale into Urdu. Three were psychologists and were having Master degree in English too; one was psychologist in NGO sector and had an extensive editorial experience in transcribing the information from Urdu to English; and one was having degree in International Relation and had an international experience of writing in English newspapers and magazines. They were instructed to translate the items to the best of their knowledge keeping in view the actual content of the item. On receiving the translations these were written in the same place under respective item to be evaluated by Subject Matter Experts.

Three psychologists, faculty of National Institute of Psychology (one was PhD and other two were having M.Phil. degree) proficient in both languages evaluated the translations. No ambiguity was evident in the translations and the best English translations of the items were sent to Dr. Sam Winter (original author) for the final decision (see Appendix D4).

Phase III --- Author’s comments. Changes were made in the final translation of the scale in the light of author’s comment (see Appendix D5) in another committee with the same subject matter experts. Although author’s definition was given in the instructions for the understanding of the concept, still it was decided to maintain the term ‘Male to Female Transgender’ along with the translated term ‘*Zannanay*’ to maintain the real essence of the concept and to introduce the term to Pakistani population that is used at international level (see Appendix D6). After finalising Urdu version of ATS, remaining objectives were achieved on a sample of University Students.

Phase IV --- Cross-language validation. To ascertain cross-language validation of ATS-U, both original and Urdu versions were administered over a span of 15 days on the same sample.

Sample. It consisted of 45 university students from a public university in Islamabad studying in M.Sc. (4th Semester) and M.Phil. (1st Semester) of Psychology with age range 21-25 years. Out of total sample, 4 were male students.

Procedure. Scale was administered in classroom setting. For a group of 20 students (13 of Developmental Psychopathology as Major subject and 7 of M.Phil) who received English – Urdu version, in first administration, original English version was administered. In another class having 25 students with Industrial/Organizational and Educational Psychology as Major course, first Urdu translated version was administered. After 15 days time gap, second administration was carried out with cross-versions administered in respective classes. All of the students were available on second administration as well and volunteered to participate. For the administration of the scale, reason of cross-language validation was not mentioned to the students; however, after second administration they were debriefed. Analyses was done through SPSS 16.

Results. Pearson Product Moment correlations were computed to determine indices for cross-language validation of ATS-U (see Table 31).

Table 31 shows satisfactory correlation between original English and Urdu version for both groups. The indices of correlation are highly significant for group 1 ($n = 25$) in which Urdu version was administered first then English version was administered, but these are comparatively weak when English version was administered first ($n = 20$). Only nonsignificant correlation is present for Sexual Deviance in second group ($N = 20$). Significantly high correlation in first group ($N = 25$) may reflect better comprehension in Urdu language that effected responses in English version later or concept of “zannanay” was readily comprehended as MtF TGs in English. Overall, we can declare safely that ATS-U is a valid scale to study attitudes towards MtF TGs with language compatibility with similar meaning in cultural context.

Table 31

Correlation between ATS and ATS-U (N = 45)

	ATS	Mental Illness	Denial Women	Social Rejection	Peers Rejection	Sexual Deviance
Urdu – English (n = 25)						
ATS-U	.84***	.62***	.51**	.57**	.64***	.39*
Mental Illness	.54**	.51**	.27	.39	.55**	-.01
Denial Women	.72***	.51**	.66***	.24	.43*	.24
Social Rejection	.55**	.49**	.12	.71***	.43*	.34
Peer Rejection	.67***	.41**	.26	.66***	.63***	.45*
Sexual Deviance	.48*	.28	.25	.29	.29	.64***
English – Urdu (n = 20)						
ATS-U	.79***	.58**	.46*	.48*	.61**	.22
Mental Illness	.54*	.49*	.26	.34	.58**	-.20
Denial Women	.72***	.45*	.57**	.16	.52*	.32
Social Rejection	.43	.44	.01	.65**	.29	.16
Peer Rejection	.64***	.39	.29	.61**	.50*	.26
Sexual Deviance	.38	.27	.35	.15	.00	.29

Note. Grey highlights show correlations of same subscales on two versions.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Method

Sample

Sample is same as of Study III focusing at establishing the correlates of attitude towards *hijras* in (see Chapter 5 for details)

Instruments

Along demographic sheet, a booklet of seven measurement tools including Attitude towards Hijras Scale (AHS), Myths related to Hijras Scale (MHS), Extremism scale (ES), Gender Role Attitude Scale (GRAS), Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), Age Universal Religious Orientation Scale Revised, and Urdu translated version of ATS (ATS-U) is given (For details see Instruments in Study III Chapter 5). For Attitude toward Transwomen Scale – Urdu (ATS-U) see Appendix D6.

Procedure

Procedure is same as Study III (see Chapter 5). Participants did not face any significant problem while responding to items except for ATS-U. Initially, they faced difficulty in understanding concept of MtF TG in ATS-U. It took some time to clarify who MtF TG is by quoting some of the live examples appearing in media time to time (e.g., Begum Nawazish Ali [Ali Saleem]; some fashion designers of fashion industry of Pakistan, etc.). It was clarified that aim of the scale was to measure attitude towards MtF TG who might be living in their families and pursuing some careers, not towards *hijras* who belong to *hijra* community.

Results

Data were analyzed through SPSS 16. Initially reliabilities and inter-subscale correlations were computed as indicators of psychometric properties of ATS. Relationships among variables were established through Pearson Product Moment correlation and linear regression analysis for direction of relationship. For discriminating among groups holding some special characteristics (e.g., religiosity, religious orientation, gender, sex roles, and concept of *hijra* for the participant) independent sample *t*-test was done. One Way ANOVA was done across level of interaction with *hijras*. Cross-cultural comparison using mean and SD on ATS was done with Winter et al.'s (2009) findings from seven nations. Analyses are reported as under:

Missing Values

Data were initially checked for the missing values. As missing values for some of the items of ATS along other measures under consideration were less than 3, so it was decided to impute the values by replacing the missing values through “mean of nearby points”. After this, test of normality was run.

Test of Normality

Before running inferential statistics, test of normality was run to determine either the sample distribution approximates normal distribution and symmetry for accurate measure of standard deviations and standard errors. Skewness and kurtosis were compared against

standard error. If it is twice greater than standard error of normal distribution, as suggested, then distribution is not normally distributed and neither it is symmetrical (see Miles & Shevlin, 2001).

Table 32

Descriptive Statistics of ATS-U (N = 186)

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min	Max	Range	Median	LL	UL	Skewness	Kurtosis
ATS-U	69.69	12.34	39	105	66	69	67.9	71.47	.005	.24
Mental Illness	18.7	4.7	8	33	25	18	18.0	19.3	.05	-.11
Denial	21.3	5.8	9	36	12	22	20.5	22.1	-.11	-.50
Women										
Social Rejection	5.06	1.5	4	9	14	5	4.8	5.3	1.17	.05
Peer Rejection	15.8	3.0	6	27	21	16	15.3	16.2	.07	1.1
Sexual Deviance	8.6	2.5	3	14	11	9	8.2	8.9	-.12	-.14

Note. For Social Rejection 8 outliers were removed in further analyses to control skewness and kurtosis. S.E. for Skewness = .18; S.E. for Kurtosis = .36.

Results in Table 32 shows that skewness and kurtosis for ATS-U and its subscales are less than 1 and none of these are exceed their respective S.E. except for Social Rejection and Peer Rejection which is exceeding 1, but less than 2. Therefore, normality as per Tukey’s statistics is acceptable on total ATS-U and three subscales. For outliers graphical plots were consulted. These show that the sample meets the assumption of normality, hence, inferential statistics based on parametric test can be used for the present sample, except for Social Rejection. The issue of normality was handled by removing 8 outliers from the data for this subscale in further analyses. For all variables, whiskers were longer than boxes. Outliers shown in histograms and boxplots were not very extreme as they were not very far from the whisker, hence acceptable in present sample as sample size approximates 200. Normal Q-Q plot also showed that maximum cases converged on the straight line. Hence, normality test reveals that sample is normally distributed and symmetrical for attitude towards transwomen.

Psychometric Properties

Item-to-total correlations, inter-subscale correlations, and alpha coefficients (*N* = 186) were calculated as a measure of construct validity and reliability indices.

Table 33

Item-total Correlations for ATS-U (N = 186)

No. of items	<i>r</i>	No. of items	<i>r</i>
1	.51**	16	.33**
2	.32**	17	.46**
3	.39**	18	.01
4	.54**	19	.30**
5	.26**	20	.27**
6	.31**	21	.55**
7	.45**	22	.38**
8	.35**	23	.27**
9	.43**	24	.36**
10	.56**	25	.39**
11	.58**	26	.46**
12	.36**	27	.43**
13	.41**	28	.44**
14	.55**	29	.46**
15	.26**	30	.41**

***p* < .001. **p* < .05.

Table 33 shows that all items have significant positive correlations at *p* < .001 level except item no. 18 has nonsignificant correlation, therefore, deleted from further analysis.

Table 34

Cronbach Alpha coefficients and Inter-correlations between Subscales and Total ATS-U (N = 186)

ATGS-U	No. of items	α	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. ATS-U	29	.82	-					
2. Mental Illness	8	.68	.78***	-				
3. Denial Women	9	.73	.79***	.42***	-			
4. Social Rejection	4	.70	.58***	.32***	.34***	-		
5. Peer Rejection	5	.44	.64***	.32***	.42***	.37***	-	
6. Sexual Deviance	3	.58	.41***	.37***	.05	.15*	.08	-

****p* < .001. ***p* < .01. **p* < .05.

Table 34 shows satisfactory internal consistency of the scale except for Peer Rejection. All subscales have significant positive correlations with total scores level showing construct validity of ATS-U. Inter-subscales correlations show significant relationships except nonsignificant correlations of Sexual Deviance with Denial Women and Peer Rejection.

Correlates of Attitude towards MtF TG

Pearson Product Moment Correlation was computed for relationship of ATS-U with attitudes and myths related to *hijras*, extremist tendencies, religiosity, gender role attitudes, and sex roles

Table 35

Correlation of ATS-U with MHS, ES, GRAS, and BSRI (N = 186)

Scales	ATS-U	Mental Illness	Denial Women	Social Rejection	Peers Rejection	Sexual Deviance
AHS						
AHS	.20**	.14	.06	.22***	.13	.22**
Rights and Status	-.04	-.18*	-.03	.06	.15*	-.02
Social Distance	.29***	.26***	.13	.25***	.12	.24***
Sexual Issues	.15*	.19**	-.02	.15*	.03	.26***
MHS						
MHS	-.22**	-.33***	.06	-.15*	-.02	-.28***
Asexuality	-.20**	-.27***	.01	-.12	-.09	-.28***
Nature	-.24***	-.32***	.01	-.15*	-.08	-.42***
Saintly	.04	-.05	.08	-.03	.13	.02
ES						
ES	-.14	-.11	-.00	-.17*	-.02	-.25***
Conservatism	-.10	-.08	-.02	-.16*	.05	-.12
Hostility	-.19**	-.16*	-.06	-.20**	-.06	-.24**
Submission	-.17*	-.10	-.06	-.11	-.06	-.23**
Rigidity	-.03	-.01	.11	-.06	.05	-.27**
Power	-.02	-.04	.07	-.03	.07	-.19**
Religiosity						
<i>Salat</i> (Daily)	-.06	.07	-.05	-.10	-.11	-.08
Regularity	-.14	-.02	-.06	-.15*	-.16*	-.16*
GRAS						
Gender Role Attitudes	.09	.06	-.02	.11	.02	.23**
BSRI						
BSRI-M	-.15*	-.14	-.02	-.12	-.06	-.26***
BSRI-F	-.14	-.09	-.16*	-.12	-.02	.04

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Relationship with attitudes toward *hijras*. AHS has significant positive relationship with overall ATS-U (Table 35). Nonsignificant correlation of ATS-U is observed with Rights and Status except on Mental Illness and Peer Rejection subscale. Among subscales strongest

relationships are observed for Social Distance in AHS through out except for Denial Women and Peer Rejection subscale of ATS-U. Relationship among Sexual Deviance of ATS-U and Sexual Issues and Social Distance of AHS are also observed to be significantly positive. Overall the Hypothesis 1 is confirmed that there is significant positive relationship between attitude towards *hijras* and MtF TGs.

Relationship with belief in myths related to *hijras*. Results in Table 35 show that there is significant negative relationship between MHS and ATS-U, with strong belief in myths related to *hijras*, attitudes towards MtF TG gets negative considering them mentally ill and sexual deviants. Weak negative but significant correlation is also observed for Social Rejection. For Sainly characteristics related myths nonsignificant relationships are present. Hypothesis 2 is confirmed.

Relationship with extremism. For extremism, Table 35 reveals nonsignificant relationships on overall ATS-U and its subscales except for Social Rejection and Sexual Deviance significant negative relationship is achieved for total ES and most of its subscales. This shows that with increase in extremist tendencies one considers transwomen to be sexually deviant. Significant negative relationship of Hostility and Submission with overall ATS-U are present i.e., with increase in hostility and submission to authority attitude towards MtF TGs become more negative. Overall Hypothesis 3 is refuted.

Relationship with religiosity. Nonsignificant relationship of ATS-U has emerged for both indicators of religiosity, again significant negative relationship is present with Social and Peer Rejection and Sexual Deviance subscale of ATS-U and regularity in prayers. Those who observe regularity in prayers have negative attitudes related to sexual aspects of MtF TG and one does not want to have friendship and social relationship with the MtF TG with increased religiosity. Overall Hypothesis 4 is refuted based on Table 35.

Relationship with gender role attitudes. Nonsignificant relationship emerged between GRAS and ATGS-U except for Sexual Deviance subscale for which significant positive relationship is present. Overall Hypothesis 5 is rejected.

Relationship with masculinity. Table 35 shows that with increase in masculinity attitude towards MtF TG gets more negative for all the versions of BSRI-M. More strong negative relationship is evident for Sexual Deviance subscale again. Overall Hypothesis 6 is accepted that with increase in masculinity attitude towards transgender become more negative. Interestingly significant negative relationship is also appearing with femininity for for Women Denial subscale i.e., with increase in femininity attitude related to women related aspect of MtF TG also gets negative.

Predictors of Attitudes toward MtF TGs

To check direction of relationship, linear regression analysis was carried out to ascertain predictability of the variables, having significant relationship, for attitudes towards MtF TGs. All variables that have significant correlation with ATS-U and its subscales in Table 35, also had significant prediction in linear regression analysis for ATS-U and its subscales. Since we are not following any theory, therefore, each variable was entered independently as independent variable and effect sizes were determined through linear regression analysis. Myths related to *hijras* with $F(1,184) = 9.0, p = .003$, masculinity $F(1,184) = 8.0, p = .005$, and femininity $F(1,184) = 4.6, p = .03$ were found to be significant predictor for attitude towards transwomen. F -values for sum of squared differences from the total sum of squared differences were found to be significant.

Afterwards hierarchical regression analysis, by using Enter Block method was carried out for ATS-U and its subscales by assuming least collinearity among the variables. Progressively predictor variables were entered from myths in first block followed by extremism, gender role attitudes, religiosity and masculinity in next block provided they had significant relationship with ATS-U or its subscales in Table 35. Models with significant F -change are reported in Table 36.

Table 36

Hierarchical Multiple Regression for ATS-U and Subscales (N = 186)

		ATS-U	Mental Illness	Denial Women	Social Rejection		Peer Rejection	Sexual Deviance				
Predictor		Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Block 1	MHS											
	Asex	-.14*	-.19**					-.18**	-.18**	-.19**	-.19**	-.19**
	Nature	-.20*	-.28***			-.14		-.38***	-.36***	-.33***	-.32***	-.31***
	Saint											
Block 2	ES											
	Cons				-.07							
	Host				-.16*							-.01
	Sub											.06
	Rig											-.09
	Pow											-.04
Block 3	GRAS											.02
Block 4	Rel					-.15*	-.17*		-.15*		-.13*	-.13
Block 5	BSRI-M									-.19**	-.18**	-.15*
	BSRI-F			-.16*								
	R^2	.08	.14	.03	.04	.04	.03	.21	.23	.24	.26	.27
	ΔR	.08	.14	.03	.04	.02	.03	.21	.02	.04	.03	.02
	ΔF	7.8***	14.48***	5.1*	4.1*	4.0*	5.3*	23.8***	5.0*	8.5**	7.3**	4.7*

Note. β for each variable is reported in models. Asex = Asexuality; Saint = Saintly; ES = Extremism Scale; Con = Conservatism; Host = Hostility; Sub = Submission to authority; Rig = Rigidity; Pow = Power; GRAS = Gender Role Attitude Scale; Rel = regularity in offering prayers; BSRI-M = Bem Sex Role Inventory– Masculinity; BSRI-F = Bem Sex Role Inventory – Femininity.

*** $p < .000$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Only significant Model for ATS-U (see Table 36), show beliefs in myths related to *hijras* as most significant predictors even when extremism (Hostility and Submission to authority) and masculinity were entered in next blocks. In combined effect, extremism ($\Delta F = 1.2, p > .05$) and then with masculinity ($\Delta F = 1.7, p > .05$) lose significance in prediction that was earlier evident in linear regression analysis. Hence, shows belief in myths that too asexuality of *hijras* and their vulgar and unnatural nature lead towards negative attitude towards MtF TGs.

For Mental Illness, only significant model is based on role of belief in myths related to *hijras* in predicting attitudes toward MtF TGs. When subscale Hostility scores of ES are entered on next block the model loses its significance ($\Delta F = .47, p > .05$), hence, shows myths based on asexuality and nature of *hijras* are significant predictors. Only significant predictor for Denial Women is femininity. Increase in femininity lead denying MtF TGs as real and beautiful women. Only significant predictor for Peer Rejection is religiosity. Increase in religiosity lead to peer rejection for MtF TGs.

In extremism, Hostility has significant prediction in combined effect with Conservatism for Social Rejection. With increase in hostile tendencies acceptance of MtF TG in social relationship reduces. In combined effect with myths related to *hijras* extremism loses its significance even model does not appear to be significant. The only significant Model 2 is combined effect of myths based on nature of *hijras* and religiosity. Myths based on nature of *hijras* loses its significance that appeared in linear regression analysis, but not retained its significance in Model 2, however, religiosity maintains its significance in combined effect. Increase in religiosity lead to lack of acceptance of MtF TGs in social interaction.

For Sexual Deviance, belief in myths related to *hijras* based on their asexuality and nature being vulgar has maintained their significance in all the four models predicting attitudes considering MtF TGs as sexually perverts. Religiosity (Model 2) and masculinity (Model 3) also have negative prediction in combined effect along myths related to *hijras* for Sexual Deviance. Increase in religiosity and masculinity leads to increased belief in MtF TG being sexually perverts. These have also maintained their significance in combined effect in

Model 4. Scores on subscales of extremism and gender role attitudes when entered with myths related to *hijras* independently lost their significance in prediction which was earlier evident in linear regression analysis. Model 5 has also shown significant *F*-change, where extremism and gender role attitudes do not have any significance in prediction, but myths related to *hijras*, religiosity, and masculinity have maintained their significance.

Difference along Religious Orientation, Concept of *Hijra*, Level of Interaction, and Gender on ATS-U

To compute differences among groups along variables (religious orientation, gender, and one's concept of *hijra*) Independent sample *t*-test was carried out. One Way ANOVA was done to study role of level of Interaction with *hijras* in attitude towards MtF TGs.

Religious orientation. For comparison along religious orientation, three scores Intrinsic, Extrinsic Social, and Extrinsic Personal were separately divided into two groups each on the basis of median split, as distribution was skewed in nature for religious orientation (see Study III, Chapter 5). For Intrinsic religious orientation, group scoring above median (32) was called Intrinsic ($n = 69$) and other Nonintrinsic ($n = 117$) scoring below median. For Extrinsic Social, group scoring high than median (7) was called High Self-monitor ($n = 91$) and those scoring low were called Low Self-monitors ($n = 95$). For Extrinsic Personal, those scoring high than median (15) were called Personalists ($n = 114$) and those scoring low were called Nonpersonalist ($n = 72$). Independent sample *t*-test was used to compute the differences.

For Intrinsic, Extrinsic Social, and Extrinsic Personal nonsignificant differences are found for ATS-U and its subscales. However, significant differences appeared for Extrinsic Personal on Sexual Deviance subscale $t(184) = 2.2, p = .03$, on 95%CI [.08, 1.5] with Personalists scoring low ($M = 8.2, SD = 2.5$) on the subscale than Nonpersonalists ($M = 9.1, SD = 2.4$). This shows that those who score high on extrinsic personal domain have more negative attitude towards sexual aspects of MtF TGs than those who have scored less. Overall, Hypothesis 7 is rejected i.e., those with extrinsic religious orientation has more negative attitude towards TG.

Gender differences. Independent sample *t-test* was carried out to study the difference among male ($n = 83$) and female ($n = 103$) participants on ATS-U and its subscales.

Table 37

Differences between Male and Female Students on ATS-U and Subscales (N = 186)

Scales	Male participants	Female participants	$t(184)$	p	95% CI	
	($n = 83$)	($n = 103$)			LL	UL
	$M(SD)$	$M(SD)$				
ATS-U	67.2(12.2)	66.3(12.6)	.44	.66	-2.8	4.4
Mental Illness	18.7(4.9)	18.7(4.5)	.00	1.0	-1.4	1.4
Denial Women	22.2(5.6)	20.5(5.7)	2.1	.04	.08	3.4
Social Rejection	5.1(1.7)	5.0(1.3)	.61	.54	-.31	.58
Peer Rejection	12.9(3.2)	12.7(2.7)	.48	.63	-.64	1.0
Sexual Deviance	7.9(2.6)	9.1(2.2)	-3.3	.00	-1.9	-.48

In Table 37 significant difference is observed on Denial Women with satisfactory effect size (Cohen's $d = -.30$) and Sexual Deviance with good effect size (Cohen's $d = -.49$). Female students has displayed significantly more positive attitude on Sexual Deviance, but vice versa is observed on Denial Women subscale. Overall Hypothesis 8 is rejected.

Level of interaction. To compare attitude towards MtF TGs along groups on level of interaction with *hijra*, three groups were categorized. Those who meet/see *hijras* frequently ($n = 61$) i.e., on weekly to daily basis, Occasionally ($n = 57$) i.e., meeting/seeing *hijras* on monthly basis, and Rarely ($n = 68$) on yearly and less basis. One Way ANOVA was done. Nonsignificant differences appeared on ATS-U and subscales except on Sexual Deviance subscale with $F(2, 183) = 3.0, p = .05$. Therefore, Post Hoc analysis using Bonferroni correction was carried out to determine differences among groups. Significant differences are observed in groups who meet *hijras* frequently ($M = 8.1, SD = 2.6$) and rarely ($M = 9.1, SD = 2.6$) at $p = .05$ with 95% CI [-2.1, .00]. Nonsignificant differences exist with those who meet *hijras* occasionally ($M = 8.5, SD = 2.3$). Findings show that those who meet *hijras* rarely have

more positive attitude based on sexuality towards MtF TGs than those who meet/see them frequently.

Concept of Hijra. Actual aim was to differentiate between those who believe *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed and those who believe *hijras* are MtF TGs. But the responses achieved on these categories were highly diabolic (Hermaphrodite/intersexed = 107; MtF TGs = 1), therefore, independent sample *t-test* could not be applied to differentiate among groups. Therefore, analysis was run to compare attitude of those who believe that *hijras* are ‘Hermaphrodite/intersexed’ ($n = 107$) and ‘both Hermaphrodite/intersexed and MtF TGs ($n = 73$) and independent sample *t-test* was administered. Out of the total sample, 5 did not respond to the question and only one believed that they are only MtFs, hence not included in the analysis. Nonsignificant difference between both groups on ATS-U and its subscales appeared. This shows that belief in concept of *hijra* does not have any role in attitude towards MtF TGs.

Cross-Cultural Comparison

As ATS has been used in a seven nation study by Winter et al. (2009) on University students, therefore, it provides a common ground to compare attitude towards MtF TG cross-culturally. The information is borrowed from Winter et al. for comparison purpose (see Permission in Appendix D7). The means and *SD* along both genders on each subscales is given in Table 38 across eight nations namely China, Malaysia, Philipines, Singapore, Thailand, UK, US, pooled data of seven-nations, and Pakistan (statistics based on present study) for comparison.

Table 38

Gender wise Cross-Cultural Comparison

Scales	China <i>M(SD)</i>	Malaysia <i>M(SD)</i>	Philippines <i>M(SD)</i>	Singapore <i>M(SD)</i>	Thailand <i>M(SD)</i>	UK <i>M(SD)</i>	US <i>M(SD)</i>	Pooled Data <i>M(SD)</i>	Pakistan <i>M(SD)</i>
Men									
ATS-U	89.5(12.5)	77.0(13.7)	94.0(18.4)	86.6(18.3)	92.6(11.5)	<u>101.9(17.2)</u>	72.4(19.7)	88.0(18.7)	69.69(12.34)
Mental Illness	23.6(4.8)	19.7(6.2)	25.5(6.3)	23.9(6.2)	23.6(4.8)	<u>29.8(6.3)</u>	19.5(6.4)	23.6(6.6)	18.7(4.9)
Denial Women	24.3(4.5)	21.4(7.0)	25.5(6.0)	24.2(6.6)	25.3(6.2)	<u>26.3(5.1)</u>	18.6(6.4)	23.7(6.6)	22.2(5.6)
Social Rejection	12.2(3.8)	8.9(4.2)	11.0(4.4)	8.6(3.2)	11.9(2.8)	<u>12.9(4.1)</u>	8.6(3.7)	10.6(4.0)	5.1(1.7)
Peer Rejection	19.3(2.6)	17.6(3.7)	21.6(3.4)	19.2(4.2)	19.8(3.0)	<u>21.2(3.5)</u>	16.1(4.7)	19.4(4.1)	15.8(3.0)
Sexual Deviance	10.3(1.7)	10.3(2.2)	10.4(1.6)	10.8(1.3)	<u>11.9(2.3)</u>	11.8(1.8)	9.6(1.9)	10.8(2.1)	7.9(2.6)
Women									
ATS-U	90.9(11.0)	83.2(12.3)	104.1(14.5)	93.7(16.4)	96.2(9.8)	<u>105.6(20.5)</u>	87.7(18.4)	94.3(15.8)	66.3(12.6)
Mental Illness	24.1(3.8)	20.3(4.6)	29.4(5.6)	26.3(5.6)	24.5(4.0)	<u>29.9(6.8)</u>	23.8(5.6)	25.1(5.8)	18.7(4.5)
Denial Women	26.6(4.6)	25.3(5.4)	27.8(5.6)	27.0(6.0)	26.8(4.5)	<u>29.3(6.6)</u>	23.0(6.3)	26.5(5.6)	20.5(5.7)
Social Rejection	10.8(3.1)	10.0(4.2)	12.1(3.6)	9.3(3.4)	11.9(3.0)	<u>13.4(4.1)</u>	11.4(3.9)	11.2(3.7)	5.0(1.3)
Peer Rejection	19.3(3.1)	17.6(3.2)	23.2(2.5)	20.4(3.1)	20.6(2.6)	<u>20.8(3.9)</u>	19.1(4.0)	20.2(3.5)	12.7(2.7)
Sexual Deviance	10.1(1.3)	9.9(2.0)	11.5(1.5)	10.8(1.6)	12.4(1.8)	<u>12.3(2.0)</u>	10.8(2.0)	11.2(2.0)	9.1(2.2)

Note. Present figures are based on total 30 items as proposed in original version of ATS. Figures other than Pakistan's are borrowed from Seven Nation study of Winter et al. (2009). Boldface is showing which country has scored less than remaining and underlined show highest mean score for each subscale.

Results in Table 38 shows that Pakistani sample has the most negative attitudes towards MtF TGs for both men and women (bold face is showing less score among all), while US is scoring least for Denial Women, considering MtF TGs as less attractive than women in actual. Participants of UK have shown strongest acceptance of MtF TGs in all domains except Thailand's in Sexual Deviance.

Table 39

Cross-Cultural Comparison on Subscales of ATS-U

	Mental Illness	Denial Women	Social Rejection	Peer Rejection	Sexual Deviance	
Pakistan						China
Mental	-	.58**	.31**	.53**	.09	Mental
Women	.42***	-	.20	.56**	-.19	Women
Social	.32***	.34***	-	.36**	-.22	Social
Peers	.32***	.42***	.37***	-	-.08	Peers
Sexual	.37***	.05	.15*	.08	-	Sexual
Malaysia						US
Mental	-	.75**	.70**	.78**	.55**	Mental
Women	.31**	-	.63**	.68**	.38**	Women
Social	.22*	.31**	-	.81**	.46**	Social
Peers	.39**	.41**	.22*	-	.55**	Peers
Sexual	.06	-.41**	-.15	.06	-	Sexual
Thailand						UK
Mental	-	.72**	.66**	.72**	.50**	Mental
Women	.12	-	.65**	.64**	.33**	Women
Social	.26**	.12	-	.71**	.38**	Social
Peers	.18*	.47**	.16*	-	.37**	Peers
Sexual	.42**	-.15*	.12	.18**	-	Sexual
Singapore						Philippines
Mental	-	.56**	.60**	.64**	.64**	Mental
Women	.70**	-	.62**	.53**	.32**	Women
Social	.58**	.68**	-	.62**	.48**	Social
Peers	.77**	.63**	.59**	-	.51**	Peers
Sexual	.46**	.18	.12	.45**	-	Sexual

Note. Figures other than Pakistan's are borrowed from Seven Nation study of Winter et al. (2009). Boldface is showing nonsignificant correlation.

** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Results in Table 39 reveal that significant positive relationship exist among all subscales for US, UK, and Philippines. In Pakistan, for Sexual Deviance subscales nonsignificant correlations are appearing. Weak correlation of Sexual Deviance is present with Denial Women and Peer Rejection. Comparing to Malaysia, nonsignificant relationship

of Sexual Deviance is appearing with Mental Illness but not for Denial Women. For Social Rejection negative but nonsignificant relationship is evident. In Singapore, significant relationship between Sexual Deviance and Peer Rejection is present, but not in Pakistan. Comparing to China, none of the relationship in Sexual Deviance is significant. For Denial Women, Peer and Social Rejection, relationship is negative but nonsignificant. General trend in relationship is not much different from other countries. Hence, validates ATS-U.

Discussion

The apparent absence of a transgendered voice within social work literature and education leaves practitioners to form their own attitudes around what it means to be transgendered. These are influenced by dominant attitudes and medical/psychiatric discourses, which have the potential to pathologise, stigmatize, and oppress, if not offered with alternatives (Miller, 2005). The types of TGs vary with different cultural and geographical locations and social privileges (Eyre et al., 2004) so are concept of patriarchy in religion and cultural context (Bhopal, 2003). *Hijra* is a transgendered community existing in Pakistan since centuries (see Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Singh, 2001). They are men who wear female clothes and behave like women (Khan & Ayub, 2003; Sinha as cited in Sharma) like transwomen in Winter et al. (2009). As per definition, it is evident that much similarity of *hijras* exists with concept of TG or MtF TG (Broad, 2002; Diamond, 2004a; Ekins & King, 1997; Gilbert, 2009; Green et al., Sep, 1994; Hughes & Eliason, 2002; Norton, 1997). Therefore, ATS (Winter, 2007) was translated and validated in the present study to explore attitudes towards MtF TGs (not belonging to *hijra* community) specifically in Pakistani cultural context with the aim to establish convergent validity of AHS as well.

ATS was translated from English to Urdu to make the measure conceptually equivalent in targeted language. The focus was on cross-cultural and conceptual equivalence rather than on linguistic/literal equivalence only. A well established method to achieve this goal is to use forward translation and back translation (Brislin, 1976; Hambleton, 1994). Translation of ATS was carried out by using the standard procedure of translation and back translation method. According to Hambleton (1994), the quality of test translation and

adaptation depends upon the quality of translators. Criteria considered in selecting translator was to have proficiency in both languages, familiarity with both cultures, proficiency in subject matter tested, and item writing expertise. For the selection of items from the translated versions, Subject Matter Experts in a committee evaluated the translations (see Albarracin, Johnson, Zanna, & Kumkale, 2005). After finalising translations, these were sent to the original author for the approval and then translations were finalised. Hence, an empirical approach in translation and adaptation was followed.

Cross-language validation on sample of 45 Psychology students showed that ATS-U was a valid test for measuring attitudes towards transwomen in Pakistani context and it is a culturally valid version of ATS. Although the intervening time span between two administrations was 15 days, still stability in attitudes were observed across two versions. Nevertheless, results were more significant for Urdu to English administration than English to Urdu. This may be because of practice effect (Cohen & Swerdlick, 2010), and students were able to retain replies of Urdu statements in first administration over 15 days period than English statements. Weakest correlation was observed for Sexual Deviant, may be because English terms “pervert” and “promiscuous” were difficult for the sample to relate with equivalent Urdu words.

Further, psychometric properties of ATS-U were established on sample of 186 university students and item-total correlations, inter-subscale correlations, and alpha coefficients were calculated. All items were significantly correlated with the total score except item no. 18. This item was based on attitude towards university MtF TG student using washroom especially designed for them. This very concept is alien in Pakistani society as MtF TG students are not visible in university setting; therefore, no such situations in university are comprehended by the participants of the study. Therefore, this item was deleted for further analysis, hence, making final scale of 29 items than 30. Item 18 is part of Peer Rejection subscale in original scale, the alpha coefficient of this subscale improved from .31 to .44 after removing this item, which is still low. Alpha coefficients for remaining subscales and total ATS-U were in satisfactory range.

Low reliability of Peer Rejection subscale might be because students were unable to relate with the concept of having MtF TG as class fellow or friend. That was why participants faced problem in responding to ATS out of the whole booklet of questionnaires as mentioned in Procedure of the study. Reportedly, they did not ever witness such people in their vicinity and even never heard of any such case in university. However, they did have concept of ‘Mummy Daddy’ boy which is bit mild than concept of MtF TG. Comparatively, low reliability of Peer Rejection and Sexual Deviance is also observed in Winter et al. (2009). Invisibility of TGs in university settings may be because mostly sissy boys keep concealing and passing as real boys (Marsh, 2007). They do not disclose out of anticipated severe consequences including isolating, derogatory comments, calling bad names, etc. (for labeling see Becker, 1987; Higgins & Mackinem, 2008; Kaplan & Tolle, 2006; Lemert, 1987; Little, 2001; Liska, 1987; Pratt & Buzwell, 2006; Thio, 1988). These are experienced by transgendered students more than employees (see Rankin, 2007). For Mental Illness, significant positive relationship appeared with all subscales might be because gender variance is considered as pathology, hence, underlie transprejudice to justify prejudice and social exclusion (Winter et al., 2009). Similarly, significant correlations for Mental Illness were also evident across 8 nations data in Table 39. All subscales were significantly positively correlated with the total. This established the construct validity of ATS in Pakistan (Cohen & Swerdlick, 2007).

As an indicator of convergent validity of AHS and ATS-U, correlation between two scales was computed. That was significantly positive but correlation coefficient was low. Among subscales of ATS-U, Mental Illness, Social Rejection, and Sexual Deviance had significant correlations with AHS and its subscale, while Denial Women and Peer Rejection had shown weak correlations. In AHS, Rights and Status had weak correlations with ATS-U and subscales. This may be because Social Distance and Sexual Issues subscales of AHS correlated well with the Social Rejection and Sexual Deviance subscales of ATS-U for much similarity existing in their nature of content. Contrarily, acknowledging *hijras* and MtF TGs as women is quite a serious matter in a way violating social status of women in society and so

is accepting them in educational setups. Attitudes have ego defensive and social adjustment function (Herek, 2009) and tend to reject those who threaten their identity and self-esteem. This seems to be culturally irrelevant or unbelievable as *hijras* have attained the role of third gender in Pakistan.

People in Pakistan mostly witness MtF TGs as *hijras* and do not even know that they are MtF TG but believe that they are hermaphrodite/intersexed (see Boellstroff, 2004; Teh, 2001). In the present research as well for both Study I, II, and Study III, the most of the participants believed that *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed not MtF TGs. Haider and Bano (2006) also reported that people in Pakistan do not understand diversity in *hijra* community and concept of TG is different from concept of *hijra*. TGs are not evident in the subcontinent like *hijras* (Talwar, 1999). According to Roen (2001), transexualism/transgenderism, in West, is a medicalised view of seeing gender, while in East it foregrounds cultural identity rather than gender identity. People in the South Asia mostly consider transexualism as a western concept taking it to be the negative outcome of weak and immoral society. Contrary to this, they view *hijras* as normal. TS are not visible in South Asia as a distinct or separate class, may be present in some affluent class, but their number may be very few. On the other hand, the number of *hijras* is increasing day by day (Talwar, 1999).

The significant relationships of ATS-U were observed with MHS that validated both scales. With increase in beliefs on myths related to *hijras*, attitude toward MtF TG also become more negative. It was also evident in attitude towards *hijras* in Study III. This validates ATS-U and findings showed belief in myths emerging as the strongest predictor of attitude towards MtF TGs. Masculinity and religiosity also predicted significantly, just like attitude towards *hijras*. While unlike attitudes toward *hijras*, extremism and gender role attitudes lost their strength as predictors when combined with other variables. That may be because people do not have concept of or prior interaction with MtF TGs, therefore, they rely on myths/stereotypes to generate their attitudes at the spur of the moment.

Lack of exposure may strengthen negative attitudes because people have to build opinion on low level of information they already have. Nevertheless, sometimes increased

information also accentuate negative attitudes as it intensifies feeling of being different (see Levy & Hughes, 2009). We often interact others in the line of stereotypes we hold that affect our evaluation (see Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006). This helps in simplifying and managing information about MtF TGs at a given time. This leads toward categorizing all gender variant people in one homogenous category (see Haider & Bano, 2006).

Most of the participants responded aspiring to their gender roles. Interestingly, femininity has emerged as negative correlate and predictor of attitude towards MtF TGs for Denial Women. Similar is evident in gender differences where women disagree that MtF TGs are as attractive as biological women and they significantly differed from men on Denial Women subscale of ATS-U. Research evidence also reveals that men having masculine and women having feminine sex roles reject gender diversity and are more rigid in reacting to these (see Hamburger et al., 1998; Pryor, 1998). Implicit gender bias was associated with implicit gender identity and implicit self-esteem—both independently and interactively (Aidman & Carroll, 2003). Contrarily, for attitude towards *hijras*, femininity did not appear to be a predictor but masculinity did. Maybe femininity endorses nurturance and care of socially deprived. On Sexual Deviance, masculinity was predictor, so were men differed significantly from women on this subscale.

It can be concluded that while responding to gender variance for which people do not have any previous experience, attitudes are generated on the basis of already held stereotypes about such type of group and based on their own sex roles. People's everyday conceptions of masculinity and femininity are more consistent with the bipolar approach than with the two-dimensional approach (see Lippa, 2001). This suggests that the individual level of same-sex favouritism may depend on how strongly the person identifies with their gender group (Aidman & Carroll, 2003) that in return affect the biases and prejudice towards other groups and sexual minorities.

For Social and Peer Rejection as well as Sexual Deviance on ATS-U, religiosity was also in predictive role. With increase in religious practices, negative attitudes towards MtF TGs are generated, because of less acceptability of sexual deviants in Islamic religion (see

Yip, 2007). From evolutionary perspective, attitudes have survival value. People have damaging attitudes toward those who are felt as potential threat to one's values and hindrance in future progress of their generation (Levy & Hughes, 2009; Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006). Unlike attitudes toward *hijras*, extremism and gender role attitudes did not appear as predictors for attitude towards MtF TGs, although strongly suggested in research literature (see e.g., Herek, 2009). That may be because people are aware of *hijras* as third gender category, and somewhat clear in their opinion about *hijras*, contrarily MtF TGs is an alien concept, therefore, face ambivalence while responding to this concept. However, in ATS-U, considering MtF TGs as sexually deviant had appeared to be the most valid subscale as much of the significant relationships and differences along groups were evident on this subscale. This may be because of relating effeminacy with homosexuality that generates negative feelings and may be because religion candidly guides what is sexual deviance and relevant prescribed and proscribed behaviours (Bouhdiba, 1975/1998). Similar was the finding in AHS, attitudes related to sexual aspects of *hijras* held the maximum variance in attitudes towards *hijras* that might be one of the reason for feeling social distance from the sexual deviants.

Surprisingly, nonsignificant gender differences also appeared in attitudes toward MtF TGs (see for supportive evidences e.g., Zuckerman and Meyers as cited in Zuckerman, 1998) that otherwise appeared in case of attitudes toward *hijras*. For the subscales men found to be considering MtF TGs as sexual deviants, while women did not consider MtF TGs as equivalent to women in physical characteristics and beauty. An MtF TG (Peters, 2006) also reported that although she was appreciated in employment setting, but female employees never appreciated her female outlook. That may be because women feel threatened when anybody wants to shake their status or try to trespass them in beauty and femininity which they consider to be women's soul right (see also Qahar, 2008). Overall nonsignificant gender differences emerged for ATS-U. Contrary to this, for AHS men had more negative attitudes than women. The reason could be cultural differences (Cass, 2005) as concept of *hijra* is highly indigenous and people can very well relate with this concept rather than MtF TGs.

During data collection, as reported in Procedure section of this study, sample took time to understand concept of MtF TG as they did not have any exposure to such gender diversities in normal life settings, however could easily relate to *hijras* of *hijra* community only. Concept of TG is alien to South Asia (Talwar, 1999).

For extrinsic religious orientation, significant differences appeared between those who have extrinsic personal orientation and not having this orientation on Sexual Deviance. Those who had extrinsic personal orientation for religion considered MtF TGs as sexual deviants than their counter parts. According to Talwar (1999), people of South Asia take phenomenon of TG as pervert and promiscuous and it may be observed in affluent classes only. In *Quran*, “O you who believe! Make not unlawful the good things which Allah has made lawful for you, but commit no transgression” (5:87). Heterosexual relationship in legitimate way is the bounty of Allah for human beings and Allah does not like those who deny this. Islam does not allow promiscuity and perverse practices. Transgender theory maintains the gender boundaries as ontological realities and expression of gender variations offend our dogmatic social system (Hausman, 2001). That may be because those who have personal desire to follow religion show negative attitudes based on sexuality of MtF TGs for social reasons. This genderising gives rise to injustice, hate, and abuse which leads to social sanctions for controlling sexual expression controlled by male dominant religious society (Pande, 2004).

Cross-cultural comparison revealed that Pakistan had more negative attitudes towards MtF TGs than rest of the countries for both genders, while US had negative attitude for Denial Women, i.e., less acceptance of MtF TGs equivalent to biological woman. Even Malaysians had less acceptance of MtF TGs on the same subscale than Pakistan. In Pakistan, more positive attitude may be because recent exposure of MtF TGs like Begum Nawazish Ali on media appearing as a glamorous drag queen for her beautiful and revealing outfits/looks. Outwardly, he is sexually appealing like any woman. Begum Nawazish Ali was quoted as an example to the participants when they were unable to understand the concept of MtF TGs that

does not explicitly exist in Pakistani culture except as part of *hijra* community. This helped the participants to generate their judgement at the spur of moment.

The most negative attitudes on remaining subscales can be because of correlates of attitudes that are evident in Chapter 5 (Study III) for attitudes toward *hijras* as well as in the present study. Believing in myths about *hijras*, masculinity, and religiosity led to more negative attitude. While for *hijras* extremism and traditional gender role attitudes were also found as strong predictors of negative attitudes. Despite this male gender, less interaction with *hijras*, one's concept of *hijra* being MtF TG, and extrinsic religious orientation also played role in prevailing negative attitudes. Concerns that are more central to these negative attitudes are related to sexual deviance of *hijras* and MtF TGs both. Both are condemned on grounds of immorality and effecting social fabric of society (Yip, 2004a, 2004b, 2007). Yip (2004a) also posited that Muslims consider sexual deviances like homosexuality as mental illness and product of western nonreligious approach and individualistic culture. Sexual practices in Muslims may have effect of culture in which they are residing (see Yip, 2007) and are strongly affected by patriarchy that varies geographically (Bhopal, 2003). Being traditional in gender role attitudes may be underlying reason for negative attitude. Although, Malaysia is also an Islamic country but it is more modern and apparently less extremist than Pakistan.

Inter-subscale correlations were not much difference across countries that validate ATS-U. Significant positive relationships are appearing for western countries --- US and UK. It may be because they are more aware of MtF TGs concept than Pakistan. Another reason may be related legislation in UK and US that might have lead to much consistency in attitudes and understanding than Asian countries. Countries like Pakistan, China, Malaysia, and Thailand are still budding for such change and a long way yet to go in case of Pakistan in which prevailing negative attitudes are one of the hindrance in legal rights of *hijras*/MTF TGs. Contradictions exist in law and practice in Singapore. Legal aspects related to gender and sexuality may not be much promising, but otherwise LGBT report more tolerance for them in general public and they can pursue their errands privately without government interference. Nevertheless, among all sexual minorities transgenders face the most

discrimination in employment setting and discriminatory treatment in Singapore's Army (Weiss, 2007).

Comparison along countries reveal that although Pakistanis are more prone to transprejudice than rest of the countries, still US men are also more transprejudiced even more than Malaysian. Highest transprejudice in USA, among all countries, is observed for not considering TGs to be equal to women. Such a level of prejudice is also evident in a modern and developed country like USA, as sexual deviance like homosexuality are still taken negatively (Herek, 2009). It may be because Badgett and Frank (2007) and Mule (2007) reported that US still lack legislation on sexuality and sexual orientation than many western countries including Canada, UK, Netherland, Belgium, and Spain. Such legislation is present in few of US states like Texas. Lack of recognition of sexual minorities in USA also exists in health services, civil rights, and social policies. Ambiguity in defining sexual minorities and their link with epidemic HIV/AIDS also adds to negativity (Mule, 2007). Much research done on sexuality and TGs is evident in modern developed US, still rigid trend in attitudes are observed. In cross-cultural comparison, Winter et al. (2009) found that most prejudiced group against MtF TGs belonged to US and Malaysia. Both are highly developed and modern countries. Still negative attitudes towards transwomen was evident may be because of lack of acceptance based upon social values and beliefs built upon religion and cultural expectations that do not endorse sexual deviances. Winter et al. found least rejection in UK, Philipine, and Singapore, may be because of Budhism a much tolerant religion practiced in Philipine and Singapore. Because of culturally diverse groups living in UK, tolerance and acceptance might have emerged. Nevertheless, comparison across countries is difficult as each country has different institutional, cultural, religious, and legal context that incur diversity in interpretation and experiences of sexual minorities.

Limitations and Suggestions

1. A few limitations of Study IV are that validation of ATS-U does not include CFA as sample size was too small for determining factor structure in the present sample. For

future studies, CFA is recommended that might lead towards more valid and reliable research findings.

2. Cross-language validation was not done item-wise. Considering this as indicator of item validation could have increased validity. Besides, cross-language validation with reduced time span between two administrations can improve correlation coefficients.
3. Presently cross-cultural findings are interpreted on the basis of mean and SD scores only, more sophisticated inferential statistics can be carried out to ascertain the differences across countries.
4. Mediator and moderator analyses are also suggested as done for attitudes toward *hijras* in Chapter 5. Sample size of Study III and IV was very small and it was also very homogenous (university students), therefore, in future, study on much larger and heterogeneous sample is recommended.

Conclusion

Overall, out of 8 hypotheses only 2 were confirmed including positive relationship between attitudes toward *hijras* and MtF TGs and one related to masculinity and femininity was partially accepted. Hypotheses related to extremism, religiosity, gender role attitudes, gender differences, and differences along extrinsic religious orientation were refuted or reflected in subscales, but not on overall attitudes. The same assumptions related to attitudes toward *hijras* were confirmed in Study III (Chapter 5). This shows cultural differences in relating to two phenomenon of gender deviances. Among eight countries, Pakistan has the most negative attitudes towards MtF TG than other countries that shows lack of tolerance for sexual deviance based on patriarchy and religion.

**ATTITUDE AND MYTHS RELATED TO *HIJRAS*: A
DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS
(STUDY V)**

Individual differences moderate in displaying attitudes and stereotypic beliefs (Devine & Sharp, 2009). People often display discrimination and prejudice for those who are negatively stereotyped (Herek, 2009; Major & Sawyer, 2009). The accuracy of the beliefs, stereotypes, and strength of attitudes can be ascertained by comparing groups along gender and other demographic variables (see Jussim et al., 2009). In Study V, main objective is to measure attitude towards *hijras* of *hijra* community on a larger heterogeneous sample. Sample of Study III (Chapter 5) was homogenous on grounds of education, geographical location, marital status, and age while in the present study it is more heterogeneous for the sake of determining role of these demographic variables in attitudes.

According to Lippa (2001), in research on masculinity and femininity interests, instrumentality, and expressiveness, it is appropriate to analyze data for men and women, separately as results may differ. Often, gender socialization is thought to be stronger for boys than for girls and men sometimes show greater variance than women. This may be because masculinity and femininity are mostly based on cultural stereotypes rather than reflecting actual differences between men and women (see Helgeson, 2005). Empirically, higher class and educational levels were associated with less extreme masculinity in men and femininity in women; and becoming less extreme (in opinion and attitudes) with age. Thus, show significance of demographic factors more than personality variables (Constantinople as cited in Lippa, 2001). Therefore, aim in present study is to establish the contextual information for attitudes towards *hijras* in demographic variables of the sample and to ascertain role of gender for demographic variables in effecting attitude towards *hijra*.

Objectives

The objectives of this study are to:

1. Establish psychometric properties of AHS and MHS on larger data.
2. Explore relationship between peoples' attitude and myths related to *hijras* and explore myths as predictors of attitudes towards *hijras*.
3. Investigate differences in attitude towards *hijra* community along gender, concept of *hijras* to the participants, level of interaction, age, education, marital status, monthly income, and geographical location.
4. Explore differences in beliefs on myths related to *hijras* along gender, concept of *hijras* to the participants, level of interaction, age, education, marital status, monthly income, and geographical location.
5. Explore the combined effect of the gender and other demographic variables on attitudes and myths related to *hijras*.
6. Establish the predictors of attitudes toward *hijras*.
7. Establish the predictors of myths related to *hijras*.

Hypotheses

Following hypotheses are generated on the basis of literature review and research findings in previous studies of present research:

1. Stronger the belief in asexuality and nature related myths of *hijras* more negative is attitude towards them. Stronger the belief in saintly myths of *hijras* more positive are attitudes towards them.
2. Women have more positive attitudes towards *hijras* and strong belief in myths based on saintly characteristics of *hijras* than men.
3. More people believe that *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed than MtF TGs.
4. Those who believe *hijras* are hermaphrodites/intersexed have more positive attitudes than those who believe that *hijras* are MtF TGs.
5. Those who believe *hijras* are hermaphrodites/intersexed have more belief in saintly myths than those who believe that *hijras* are MtF TGs.

6. More women believe that *hijras* are hemaphroditic/intersexed than men.
7. Those who have more interaction with *hijras* have less strong belief in myths related to *hijras*.
8. Those who have more interaction with *hijras* are more in the favour of *hijras*' rights and status but have more negative attitudes on their sexual issues.
9. Women have less interaction with *hijras* than men.
10. Young have more positive attitudes towards *hijras* than older group and older participants have more strong belief in myths than younger participants.
11. Educated ones have more positive attitude towards *hijras* than less educated ones and educated ones have less strong belief in myths related to *hijras* than less educated ones.
12. People from Balochistan have more positive attitude than from other regions⁶.

Method

Sample

Since one of the objectives of the study was to explore attitude and myths related to *hijras* on a larger sample, therefore, a countrywide data were collected by utilizing quota sampling to define sampling frame. Data was collected from the four provinces (then four at the time of data collection now five including Gilgit Baltistan since Sep 2009) namely Punjab, Sindh, North West Frontier Province (then NWFP now Khyber Pukhtoonkhwah), and Federal Capital area Islamabad. Total sample consisted of 1034 participants with age range 18-65 years including both men 531(51.4%) and women 503(48.6%). Inclusion criteria were minimum education matric (10th grade) and minimum age of 18 years. The criteria were set as target was to study attitudes of adults and that participants should be able to understand language of the scales without any assistance. Beside this, one participant from a family was

⁶ In focus group discussion of Study 1 (Chapter 3), it was observed that those belonging to Balochistan region had more accommodative view point about *hijras*. They related that in Balochistan *hijras* (born with sexual deformity) do not live in *hijra* community as such, but live so as member in their families, studying and pursuing careers like others. Therefore, this hypothesis is based on observation in research.

included in the study. Otherwise, convenience sampling technique was utilized for sample selection. See Table 40 for sample description.

Table 40

Frequencies, Percentages, and Chi-square along Demographic Variables (N = 1034)

Demographics	<i>f</i> (%)	Male <i>f</i> (%) (n = 531)	Female <i>f</i> (%) (n = 503)	χ^2 (gender differences)
Age (in years)				27.5***
18-25	502(48.5)	217(40.9)	285(56.7)	
25-35	265(25.6)	153(28.8)	112(22.3)	
36-45	144(13.9)	87(16.4)	57(11.3)	
46-55	86(8.3)	50(9.4)	36(7.2)	
56-65	33(3.2)	23(4.1)	11(2.2)	
Missing	3(.3)	1(.2)	2(.4)	
Education				25.8***
Matric	141(13.9)	91(17.1)	53(10.5)	
Intermediate	179(17.3)	103(19.4)	76(15.1)	
Graduate	481(46.6)	247(46.5)	234(46.5)	
Postgraduate	226(21.9)	87(16.4)	139(27.6)	
Missing	4(0.4)	3(.6)	1(.2)	
Monthly income				25.4***
2000-7000	98(9.5)	50(9.4)	48(9.5)	
7000-1200	173(16.7)	109(20.5)	64(12.7)	
12000-20000	153(14.8)	101(19.0)	52(10.3)	
20000-40000	159(15.4)	71(13.4)	88(17.5)	
40000- above	131(12.7)	58(10.5)	73(14.5)	
Missing	320(30.9)	142(26.7)	178(35.4)	
Marital status				9.3**
Married	457(44.2)	259(48.8)	198(39.4)	
Unmarried	577(55.8)	272(51.2)	305(60.6)	
Geographical location				16.4**
Federal	426(41.2)	207(39)	219(43.5)	
Punjab	213(20.6)	116(21.8)	97(19.3)	
Sindh	183(17.7)	111(20.9)	72(14.3)	
NWFP	124(12)	65(12.2)	59(11.7)	
Balochistan	88(8.5)	32(6)	56(11.1)	
Meeting/seeing <i>hijras</i>				75.0***
Everyday	133(12.9)	103(19.4)	30(6.0)	
Weekly	196(19.0)	127(23.9)	69(13.7)	
Monthly	283(27.4)	132(24.9)	151(30)	
Yearly	391(37.8)	156(29.4)	235(46.7)	
Never met	30(2.9)	12(2.3)	18(3.6)	
Missing	1(0.1)	1(.2)	-	

****p* < .001. ***p* < .01.

Women have high percentage in youngest group and postgraduate education than men while in remaining categories for age and education men have more share in participation. In the total sample, maximum missing values 30.9% is present for SES as people were much reluctant to report their family's monthly income. Largest group as per age is between 18-25 years, that too women lie more in this category, and least number of participants are between age range 55-65 years, for all the remaining groups men outnumbered women. As per interaction, largest group meet/see *hijras* yearly basis, women outnumbered men even in monthly basis, and less meet/see *hijras* daily where men outnumbered women even on weekly basis. For the marital status, more women are unmarried than men and its vice versa for married group.

Maximum number of people belonged to Federal region (39.6%) including Rawalpindi, one of the large cities of Punjab, but often combined with Islamabad (Federal Capital) and called twin cities. Among provinces, Punjab held maximum share (other than Rawalpindi) and minimum for Balochistan as per criteria of inclusion to select people from different geographical location according to Census estimates of Pakistan (Statistics Division of Pakistan Census Organization, 2011). Since Punjab is the largest province and much heterogeneity prevails in it, therefore, data were collected from 5 cities of Punjab including Lahore, Faisalabad, Multan, Sargodha, and Gujranwala (other than Rawalpindi), for Sindh, it was collected from Karachi and Haiderabad, for NWFP from Abbottabad and Peshawar, and for Balochistan it was from Quetta only. Federal region included Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Rawalpindi/Islamabad is defined as one group since it is assumed that participants belonging to these areas are likely to have similar attitudes, otherwise Rawalpindi is part of Punjab. Geographically, in the Federal and Balochistan region women outnumbered men while in remaining men have greater share in participation.

From the sample description, it is evident that more of the women belong to youngest age group, most educated group, unmarried group, Federal region, and Balochistan region, therefore, interpretation of respective results is to be done by taking these into account.

Instruments

Demographic sheet. Information relating to gender, age, monthly income of family, marital status, geographical location, education, participant's belief in "Who are *hijras*?" and level of interaction were obtained through demographic sheet.

Attitude towards *Hijra* Scale (AHS). For detail see Instrument section in Study III, Chapter 5 (see Appendix A7).

Myths related to *Hijra* Scale (MHS). For detail see Instrument section in Study III, Chapter 5 (see Appendix B4).

Procedure

Research assistants (with minimum education of graduation) were hired to collect data from cities outside Federal region of Pakistan. Research assistants were instructed to include men and women in equal proportion and those who were not having any personal relationship with any of the *hijra*. No problem was faced during phase of data collection except in Balochistan, where earlier all questionnaires (50) were returned back from the research assistant because of people's reluctance to fill questionnaires with the apprehension that it might effect their family. Later, no problem was faced when another research assistant was appointed for data collection in Balochistan. In total, 1250 questionnaires were distributed out of which 1084 were returned. High return rate was because research assistants personally handed over questionnaires and before that, willing participation was sought.

Participants were requested to report their attitudes related to *hijras* of *hijra* community living as its active member, rather than MtF TGs or hermaphrodite/intersexed who might be living in their homes. Participants took keen interest as being part of any research that too on *hijras* was a unique experience for them. Complete anonymity and confidentiality was assured that information would be used for research purpose only. Total 1084 data were collected; 50 questionnaires were discarded for missing more than 10 items in AHS. After data collection data were analyzed through SPSS 16.

Results

Pearson Product Moment correlation, independent sample *t*-test, One way ANOVA, Univariate ANOVA, and linear regression analysis were carried out to test the hypotheses and meet objectives of research.

Missing Values

Data was initially checked for the missing values. As missing values for some of the items of AHS and MHS were less than 3, so it was decided to impute the values by replacing the missing values through “mean of nearby points”. After this, test of normality was run.

Test of Normality

Before running inferential statistics, test of normality was run for all the variables of the study to determine either the sample distribution approximates normal distribution and symmetry or not for accurate measure of standard deviations and standard errors. For this skewness and kurtosis were compared against standard error.

Table 41

Descriptives of AHS Scale and MHS (N = 1034)

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min	Max	Range	Median	LL	UL	Skewness	Kurtosis
AHS	105.0	14.4	65	145	80	104	104.2	106.0	.08	-.24
RS	52.6	6.4	24	65	41	53	52.2	53.0	-.33	.43
SD	30.2	7.9	11	53	42	30	29.7	30.7	.05	-.46
SI	22.2	5.4	8	39	31	22	21.9	22.5	.02	-.15
MHS	40.0	5.2	24	57	33	40	39.8	40.4	.23	.37
Asex	17.2	3.0	5	25	20	17	17.2	17.5	-.13	.32
Nature	13.3	2.6	5	20	15	13	13.1	13.4	-.09	-.12
Saint	9.4	2.4	3	15	12	9	9.3	9.6	-.03	-.02

Note. RS = Rights and Status; SD = Social Distance; SI = Sexual Issues; Asex = Asexuality; Nature = Natural Characteristics; Saint = Saintly.
S.E. for Skewness = .08; S.E. for Kurtosis = .15.

Results in Table 41 show that skewness and kurtosis for AHS and MHS along their subscales are less than 1 and none of kurtosis are exceeding double their respective S.E.

except for Rights and Status and MHS. And for Kurtosis it is exceeding double the standard error for Rights and Status, Social Distance, MHS, & Asexuality but its still less than 1, hence, is acceptable. Therefore, normality as per Tukey's statistics is achieved. It is twice greater than standard error of normal distribution, thus checked for outliers (see Miles & Shevlin, 2001). As outliers are not evident in this statistics, therefore, graphical plots were consulted, including Stem-and-Leaf Plots and Box-and-whisker plots- along with Histogram presentation, Normal Q-Q plot, and Detrended Normal Q-Q plot. These show that the sample meets the assumption of normality, hence, inferential statistics based on parametric test can be used for the present sample. For all variables whiskers were longer than boxes.

However, to fix skewness and kurtosis for the sample, earlier skewness and kurtosis was studied in groups along demographic variables. For all these Rights and Status and MHS were showing problem in skewness and kurtosis for some of the groups but not higher than .5. Remaining outliers along groups were not very extreme as they were not very far from the whisker, hence acceptable in present sample as sample size was quite large. Normal Q-Q plot also showed that maximum cases converged on the straight line. Hence, normality test reveals that sample is normally distributed and symmetrical for attitude and myths related to *hijras*. Every time before carrying out inferential statistics outliers were considered on $SD = 3$ (Field, 2005).

Relationship between Attitudes and Myths related to *Hijras* and Psychometric Properties

For reliability and validity of AHS and MHS, Cronbach Alpha coefficient and Pearson Product Moment Correlation between subscales and total score for each scale were carried out on sample of 1034 participants.

Table 42 shows internal consistency of AHS and MHS. AHS has satisfactory level of internal consistency along its subscales. MHS has reliability in acceptable range, but reliability of Nature and Saintly characteristics are quite low. Overall AHS appears to be a reliable measure and MHS an acceptable measure with low internal consistency.

Table 42

Alpha Coefficients and Correlation Coefficients of AHS, MHS, and Subscales (N = 1034)

Subscales	No. of items	α	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. AHS	32	.84	-							
2. RS	13	.79	.64**	-						
3. SD	11	.81	.83**	.24**	-					
4. SI	8	.72	.70**	.15**	.46**	-				
5. MHS	12	.54	-.14**	.13**	-.22**	-.22**	-			
6. Asex	5	.54	-.07**	.14**	-.12**	-.20**	.73**	-		
7. Nature	4	.37	-.37**	-.05	-.35**	-.37**	.68**	.22**	-	
8. Saint	3	.43	.15**	.16**	.05	.13**	.58**	.12**	.12**	-

Note. RS = Rights and Status; SD = Social Distance; SI = Sexual Issues; Asex = Asexuality; Nature = Nature Characteristics; Saint = Saintly.

** $p < .001$.

Table 42 also represents construct validity of AHS and MHS. Significant positive relationship is observed among all subscales of AHS and also with total AHS showing that all are measuring same construct i.e., attitude towards *hijras* of *hijra* community. Same is true for MHS that ensures construct validity of both scales. Like findings in the previous studies, negative relationship is found between attitudes and myths related to *hijras* except for Rights and Status of *hijras*. Those who believe in myths are also in the favour of giving them rights and due status in the society except for belief in *hijras*' nature for being vulgar and stubborn where nonsignificant negative relationship is found. On the whole, with increase in belief on myths attitude significantly gets more negative. For saintly characteristics, it has significant positive correlation with attitude. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 is confirmed. To see the relationship in detail Pearson Product Moment correlation is computed along gender in Table 43.

Construct validity of the scale is equally good in both genders (Table 43). Relationship between attitudes and myths are much stronger for women as compare to men. Stronger relationship is present on Asexuality and Saintly related myths for men than women. Those who believe in *hiras*' asexuality have negative attitude towards them, while belief in

divine characteristics leads to positive attitudes. For women weak correlation exists between belief in saintly characteristics and attitudes except for Rights and Status related attitude for which it is positive. For Rights and Status subscale of AHS, those who believe in myths are likely to endorse giving them rights and appropriate status in the society.

Table 43

Correlation Coefficients of AHS and MHS along Gender

Men ^a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Women ^b
1. AHS	-	.64***	.82***	.69***	-.17***	-.04	-.38***	.08	AHS
2. RS	.63***	-	.23**	.19***	.14**	.18***	-.04	.14**	RS
3. SD	.84***	.24***	-	.43***	-.24***	-.10*	-.37***	.003	SD
4. SI	.70***	.09*	.47***	-	-.27***	-.18***	-.40***	.06	SI
5. MHS	-.14**	.11*	-.20***	-.21***	-	.70***	.68***	.60***	MHS
6. Asex	-.11*	.12*	-.14**	-.20***	.75***	-	.23***	.11*	Asex
7. Nature	-.33***	-.05	-.32***	-.33***	.68***	.27***	-	.13**	Nature
8. Saint	.17***	.16***	.07	.15***	.56***	.11***	.12**	-	Saint

Note. Grey highlights reflect construct validity of AHS and MHS across gender. ^an = 531; ^bn = 503. RS = Rights and Status; SD = Social Distance; SI = Sexual Issues; Asex = Asexuality; Saint = Saintly. ***p < .001. **p < .01. *p < .05.

Myths predicting attitude towards hijras.

To check for prediction of AHS and its subscales, multiple regression analysis was carried out by Enter method. Subscales of MHS were entered as predictor variables for each of the subscale of AHS considering as outcome variable (see Table 44).

Table 44

Multiple Regression Analysis Showing Prediction of MHS Subscales for Subscales of AHS

Predictors	Rights and Status	Social Distance	Sexual Issues
	β [95% CI]	β [95% CI]	β [95% CI]
Asexuality	.15* [.19, .46]	-.05 [-.28, .03]	-.11* [-.30, -.10]
Nature	-.10* [-.42, -.12]	-.35* [-1.3, -.90]	-.37* [-.90, -.66]
Saintly	.15* [.24, .56]	.09* [.12, .49]	.19* [.30, .56]
Constant	46.7	43.8	32.0
R ²	.05	.13	.18
F(3, 1030)	18.44*	52.1*	77.4*

*p < .001.

Results in Table 44 reveal that all the subscales of MHS are the significant predictors of subscales of AHS at $p < .001$. Asexuality positively predict the attitudes about rights and status of *hijras*. Contrary to this, it is negatively predicting attitudes based on Sexual Issues considering them as sexually deviants. For Social Distance prediction is not significant but negative. Belief in *hijras*' nature is negatively predicting the attitudes related to *hijras*' rights and status, acceptance in close relationship, and sexuality related issues, whereas belief in saintly qualities of *hijras* leads to positive attitudes on all aspects of attitudes. Maximum variance (18%) of these myths is accounted for Sexual Issues and least for Rights and Status (5%). For Sexual Issues, strongest predictor is belief in nature related myths which also hold strong negative significance for Social Distance among all subscales of AHS. Based on subscales Hypothesis 1 is confirmed that myths predict attitudes toward *hijras*.

Gender Differences

For gender differences on AHS and MH (see Table 45), Independent sample *t*-test was carried out among men ($n = 531$) and women ($n = 503$).

Table 45

Gender Differences on AHS and MHS (N = 1034)

Scales	Men	Women	<i>t</i> (1032)	<i>p</i>	95% CI		Cohen's <i>d</i>
	(<i>n</i> = 531)	(<i>n</i> = 503)			LL	UL	
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)					
AHS	102.4(14.5)	107.8(13.7)	6.0	.000	-7.0	-3.6	-.38
Rights and Status	51.9(6.6)	53.3(6.0)	3.2	.001	-2.0	-.50	-.22
Social Distance	29.6(8.0)	30.8(7.7)	2.6	.01	-2.2	-.30	-.15
Sexual Issues	20.9(5.4)	23.7(5.1)	8.5	.000	-3.4	-2.1	-.53
MHS	39.7(5.3)	40.2(5.2)	1.38	.17	-1.1	.19	-.09
Asexuality	17.1(3.1)	17.4(2.8)	1.33	.18	-.60	.11	-.10
Nature	13.4(2.5)	13.1(2.6)	2.3	.02	.06	.68	.11
Saintly	9.1(2.3)	9.7(2.4)	3.9	.000	-.87	-.28	-.31

Note. CI = Confidence Interval; LL = Lower Limit; UL = Upper Limit.

Significant gender differences in Table 45 are found on AHS and its subscales. Women have more positive attitude than men. On myths overall nonsignificant differences have appeared. Women have strong belief in saintly characteristics of *hijra*, hence Hypothesis

2 is confirmed. Contrary to this, men have strong belief in nature including *hijras*' vulgarity, their inability to change themselves, being product of parents sins, etc. To decipher gender difference along demographic variables on attitude towards *hijras* and to ascertain their combined effect on attitude towards *hijras*, Two-Way Analysis of Variance was conducted by taking demographic variables one by one along gender later in the present study.

Differences on Attitudes and Myths on One's Concept of *Hijra*

Those who believe *hijras* are hermaphrodites/ intersexed are 560(54%), MtF TGs are 47(5%), and Both are 420(41%). Out of the total sample, 7 did not answer to the question. Even in the present study, still more people believe that they are hermaphrodite/intersexed people, hence Hypothesis 3 is confirmed (see Figure 19).

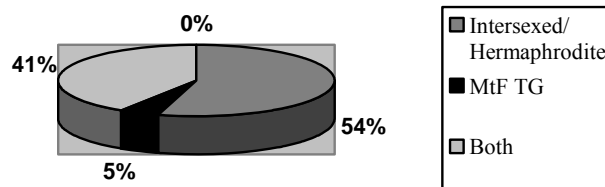


Figure 19. Belief in who are *hijras*?

Although, sample distribution with respect to concept of *hijra* is diabolic, but ANOVA is based on comparison along means and standard deviations, therefore, One Way ANOVA was carried out for comparison to test the Hypotheses 4 and 5.

Significant differences along AHS and its subscales are found with $F(2, 1025) = 15.4$, $p < .000$ for AHS; $F(2, 1025) = 8.4$, $p < .000$ for Rights and Status; $F(2, 1025) = 4.9$, $p = .007$ for Social Distance; and $F(2, 1025) = 18.8$, $p < .000$ for Sexual Issues. For MHS with $F(2, 1025) = .9$ and its Asexuality subscale with $F(2, 1025) = 1.3$ nonsignificant differences are present except for Nature with $F(2, 1025) = 4.7$, $p = .009$ where significant differences in belief among groups exist and a tilt towards significance exists in Sainly qualities of *hijras*

with $F(2, 1025) = 2.7, p = .07$. Therefore, Post Hoc analyses using Bonferroni correction was carried out to ascertain differences among groups on AHS, its subscales, and Nature related myths (see Table 46).

Table 46

Post Hoc Analysis for Comparison among Groups along Concept of Hijra

	Original (<i>n</i> = 560)	MtF (<i>n</i> = 47)	Both (<i>n</i> = 420)			95%		CI
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>i</i> > <i>j</i>	<i>D</i> = <i>i</i> - <i>j</i>	S.E.	LL	UL
AHS	107.0(14.0)	97.0(13.7)	103.5(14.2)	1 > 2 1 > 3 3 > 2	10.0*** 3.5*** 6.4**	2.1 .91 2.1	4.8 1.3 1.2	15.1 5.7 11.6
RS	53.2(6.3)	49.5(6.1)	52.3(6.5)	1 > 2 3 > 2	3.6*** 2.7**	.96 .97	1.3 .40	5.9 5.1
SD	30.6(7.9)	27.0(7.3)	30.0(7.9)	1 > 2 3 > 2	3.7** 3.0*	1.2 1.2	.79 .10	6.5 5.9
SI	23.2(5.4)	20.5(5.4)	21.2(5.1)	1 > 2 1 > 3	2.6** 1.9**	.81 .34	.71 1.1	4.7 2.7
Nature	13.1(2.6)	14.2(2.5)	13.4(2.5)	2 > 1	1.1*	.38	-2.0	-.46

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

In Table 46, significant differences are observed. Those who believe *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed have more positive attitude than those who believe that they are MtF TGs or both hermaphrodite/intersexed and MtF TGs. Those who believe that they are both types, they also have more positive attitude than those believing in MtF TGs only excluding sexual issues based attitudes. Hence, Hypothesis 4 is confirmed that those who believe *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed have more positive attitudes than others.

For MHS, overall nonsignificant differences are observed except for Nature related myths. Those who believe that they are MtF TGs have much stronger belief in *hijras*' vulgar gestures, inability to change, being product of their parents' sins, etc. than those who believe that they are hermaphrodite/intersexed. Hypothesis 5 that those who believe that *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed have more belief in saintly myths than counterparts is rejected.

Gender differences in perceiving who are *hijras*? Chi-square was computed to see the gender differences on concept of *hijra* for the participants to test the hypothesis that

women have much strong belief that they are hermaphrodite/intersexed than MtF TGs.. Seven participants did not answer to the question, therefore, analysis is done on $N = 1027$. For this, 2x3 chi-square was done.

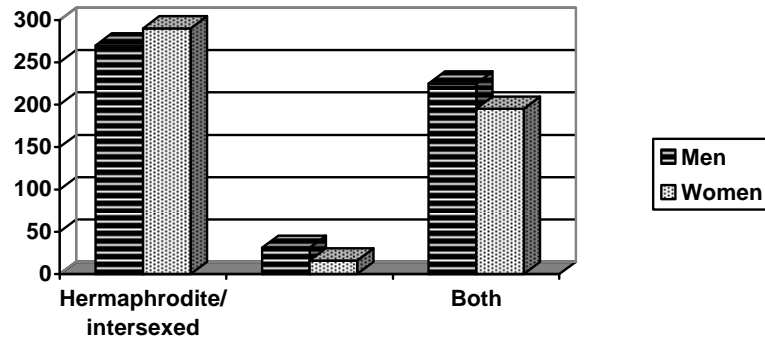


Figure 20. Gender differences on belief in who are *hijras*?

Results in Figure 20 show significant difference with $\chi^2 = 7.0$, $p = .03$, with female participants 290(57.9%) believing that they are hermaphrodite/intersexed, against 270(51.3%) of male participants, while male participants 31(5.9%) believe vice versa for MtF TGs against female participants 16(3.2%) in respective gender. Among the total concept of *hijra*, within each category, men (66%) believe that they are MtF TG comparing to women (34%). While its opposite for women (51.8%) against men (48.2%) in case of believing that they are hermaphrodite/intersexed. In ‘Both’ category men (51.2%) have more belief than women (48.8%). Significant value of chi-square shows that women have significantly outnumber men in their belief that *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed than MtF TG. This confirms Hypothesis 6.

Gender differences in attitude towards *hijras* on concept of *hijra*. To study the gender differences (2 levels) on concept of *hijra* (3 levels) in attitudes, 2 x 3 ANOVA was used and analysis was done through Univariate Analysis of Variance. Out of total sample 7 are missing in the analysis. Results revealed significant main effects on AHS for gender, $F(1, 1026) = 14.1$, $p < .00$ and for concept of *hijras*, $F(1, 1025) = 12.0$, $p < .00$, but interaction effect was nonsignificant, $F(2, 1025) = .11$, $p = .90$. Main effects of gender for Rights and

Status $F(1, 1026) = 5.9, p < .01$ and concept of *hijra* $F(1, 1025) = 6.0, p < .00$; main effect of gender for Social Distance, $F(1, 1025) = 3.7, p < .05$ and for concept of *hijras*, $F(1, 1025) = 13.5, p < .03$; and main effects of gender for Sexual Issues $F(1, 1026) = 17.9, p < .00$ and for concept of *hijras*, $F(1, 1025) = 16.5, p < .00$, are significant. However, interaction effects are nonsignificant except for Rights and Status for which significant interaction effect of gender and concept of *hijra* is observed, $F(2, 1026) = 6.03, p = .002$ (see Table 47).

Table 47

Gender Differences in Attitude about Rights and Status on Concept of Hijra

Concept of Hijra	Men			Women		
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Original	270	53.2	6.5	290	53.1	6.1
MtF	31	48.6	5.7	16	51.2	6.8
Both	225	51.0	6.6	195	53.7	6.0

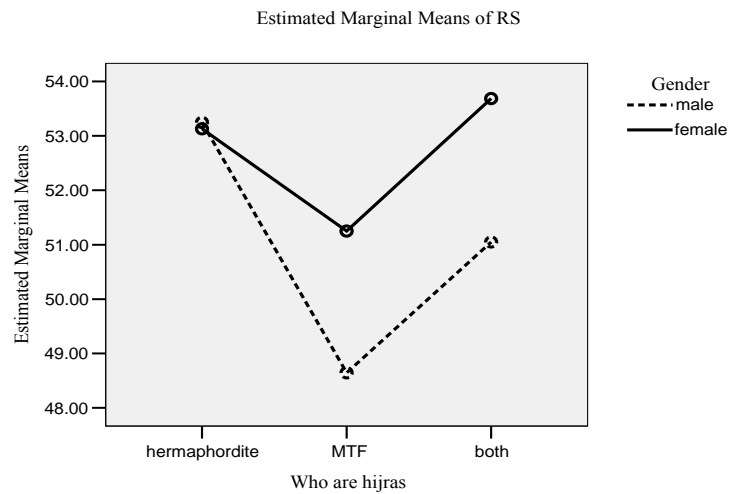


Figure 21. Comparing means of gender on Rights and Status along different concept of *hijras*

Figure 21 shows that women have more acceptance for rights and status of *hijras* as compare to men. Nonsignificant difference exists in acceptance among both gender who believe that *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed. Negative attitudes are present for both gender who consider *hijras* MtF TGs, but that too men have least acceptance of MtF TGs rights and status than women. For women no difference in acceptance is evident for those who believe they are hermaphrodite/intersexed and both, but women differ significantly from their male counterparts in Both category.

Differences on AHS and MHS along Level of Interaction with *Hijras*

To study impact of interaction with *hijras* on attitudes and beliefs related to *hijras*, One Way ANOVA was computed. Attitudes and belief on myths were compared among four groups i.e., meeting/seeing *hijras* frequently on “daily” basis with *hijras* ($n = 131$), meeting/seeing on “weekly” basis ($n = 196$), “monthly” basis ($n = 283$), and “yearly” may be once in a year or more ($n = 421$). Out of total sample ($N = 1034$), one did not report level of interaction.

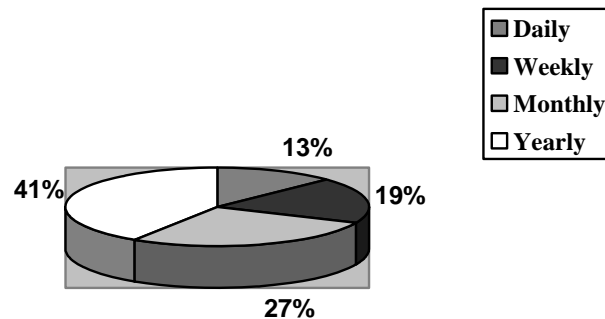


Figure 22. Level of interaction with *hijras*

Figure 22 shows that out of the total sample most of the people (41%) reported having rare interaction with *hijras* and only 13% interact on daily basis. Nonsignificant differences are observed on overall attitudes $F(1, 1032) = .34, p > .05$ and Social Distance subscale $F(1, 1032) = .94, p > .05$. Significant differences are observed for Rights and Status

$F(1, 1032) = 8.8, p < .00$ and Sexual Issues $F(1, 1032) = 6.8, p < .00$ (see Table 48 for mean differences). For MHS and its subscales nonsignificant differences are present, hence Hypothesis 7 is refuted. For subscales Rights and Status and Sexual Issues of AHS, Post Hoc analysis using Bonferroni correction was carried out to ascertain differences among groups.

Table 48

Post Hoc Analysis for Comparison among Groups along Level of Interaction

Scale	Daily (<i>n</i> = 131)	Weekly (<i>n</i> = 196)	Monthly (<i>n</i> = 283)	Yearly (<i>n</i> = 421)	<i>i</i> > <i>j</i>	<i>D</i> = <i>i</i> - <i>j</i>	S.E.	95% CI	
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)				LL	UL
RS	53.8(7.3)	54.2(6.4)	52.1(5.7)	51.8(6.4)	1 > 4	2.0**	.63	.32	3.6
					2 > 3	2.1**	.59	.56	3.7
					2 > 4	2.5***	.55	1.0	3.9
SI	20.8(5.5)	21.5(5.0)	22.6(5.5)	22.8(5.4)	3 > 1	1.8**	.56	.36	3.3
					4 > 1	2.0**	.53	.64	3.5
					4 > 2	1.4*	.46	.13	2.6

Note. RS = Rights and Status; SI = Sexual Issues
 * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 48 shows that for Rights and Status those who interact frequently on daily and weekly basis are much in the favour of *hijras* than those who meet rarely i.e., on monthly and yearly basis. Contrary to this those who interact with *hijras* rarely (monthly and yearly) have more positive perception of related to *hijras*' sexual issues than those who meet frequently. That too those who interact on yearly basis significantly differ for both subscales from the rest of the groups but difference is in opposite direction. This confirms hypothesis 8 i.e., those who have more interaction with *hijras* are more in favour of their rights and status but have negative attitudes related to their sexual issues.

Gender differences in level of interaction. Chi-square was computed to see the gender differences on level of interaction with *Hijra*. Level of interaction with *hijra* is categorized in four groups. Those who meet/see daily (*n* = 131), weekly (*n* = 196), monthly basis (*n* = 283), and yearly (*n* = 421) basis. For this 2x4 chi-square was done.

Results reveal significant difference with $\chi^2 = 75.0, p = .000$, having female participants meeting/seeing *hijras* rarely 253(50.3%) within gender and 60.1% in level of

interaction comparing to male participants 168(31.7%) with in gender and 39.9% with in level of interaction. On daily basis, men meet more frequently 103(19.4%) with in gender and 77.4% within level of interaction comparing to women 30(6%) within gender and 22.6% within level of interaction. On weekly basis also men have more frequency 132(24.9%) within gender and 64.8% within level of interaction than women 69(13.7%, 35.2%). On monthly basis women 151(30%, 53.4%) responded more frequently than men 132(24.9%, 46.6%). This confirms Hypothesis 9 that men meet more frequently with *hijras* than women (see Figure 23).

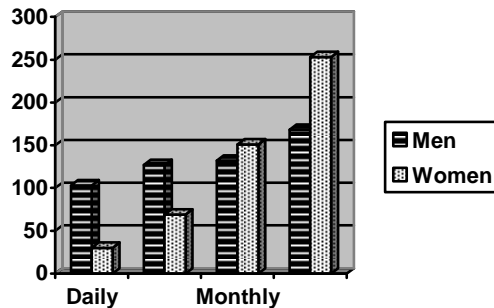


Figure 23. Gender differences in level of interaction with *hijras*

Gender differences in attitude towards *hijras* on level of interaction. To study the gender differences (2 levels) on level of interaction (4 levels) in attitudes towards *hijras*, 2 x 4 ANOVA was used and analysis was done through Univariate Analysis of Variance. Out of total sample 1 is missing in the analysis. Results revealed significant main effect for gender on AHS and its subscales (for details of differences along gender see Table 45), but for level of interaction it is nonsignificant for AHS and Social Distance, but significant for Rights and Status and Sexual Issues (see Table 48). Interaction effects of gender and level of interaction are found to be nonsignificant for AHS and its subscales, which shows that combined effect of both variables in attitudes is not meaningful.

Age Differences on AHS and MHS

For studying differences along age, concept of extreme groups was utilized. For analysis purpose, young with age range 18-25 years ($n = 502$) and older group with age range 45 and above ($n = 120$) were compared to test the hypotheses 10 (see Table 49).

Table 49

Age Differences on AHS and MHS (N = 622)

Scales	Young	Older	<i>t</i> (620)	<i>p</i>	95% CI		Cohen's d
	(<i>n</i> = 502)	(<i>n</i> = 120)			LL	UL	
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)					
AHS	105.0(14.8)	104.3(13.9)	.47	.66	-2.3	3.6	.05
Rights an Status	52.7(6.2)	51.2(6.3)	2.4	.02	.25	2.7	.23
Social Distance	29.9(8.0)	30.0(7.6)	.13	.90	-1.7	1.5	-.01
Sexual Issues	22.3(5.5)	23.1(5.4)	1.3	.19	-1.8	.36	-.15
MHS	40.3(5.0)	38.8(5.5)	2.8	.005	.43	2.5	.31
Asexuality	17.3(2.9)	16.9 (3.2)	1.5	.12	-.12	1.0	.13
Nature	13.4(2.5)	12.8(2.4)	2.1	.03	.03	1.0	.24
Saintly	9.6(2.4)	9.1(2.5)	1.9	.05	-.02	.95	.20

Results in Table 49 shows that on overall AHS and its subscales nonsignificant differences exist except for Rights and Status of *hijras* for which younger group is significantly more accommodating. For MHS significant differences are found with younger group having more strong belief in myths than older group. Significant findings are also evident on subscales of Nature and Saintly Characteristics of *hijras*. Therefore, Hypothesis 10 is rejected assuming young group to have more positive attitudes and less strong belief in myths than older group.

Gender differences in attitude towards *hijras* along age. To study the gender differences (2 levels) on age (4 levels), 2 x 4 ANOVA was used and analysis was done through Univariate Analysis of Variance. Out of total sample, 3 is missing in the analysis. Results revealed significant main effect for gender on AHS, $F(1, 1030) = 13.8, p = .00$, Rights and Status, $F(1, 1030) = 7.05, p < .01$, and Sexual Issues $F(1, 1030) = 33.6, p = .00$, but nonsignificant for Social Distance. Nonsignificant main effect of age is present for AHS and its subscales. However, interaction effect of gender and age is significant for AHS $F(1, 1030) = 2.8, p = .04$; Social Distance, $F(1, 1030) = 3.2, p < .02$; and Sexual Issues, $F(1, 1030)$

= 3.05, $p < .03$ (see Table 50; Figures 24, 25, and 26), but nonsignificant for Rights and Status.

Table 50

Gender Differences in AHS, Social Distance, and Sexual Issues along Age

Age in years	Men			Women		
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
AHS						
18-25	217	100.8	14.3	285	108.2	14.3
25-35	153	103.0	15.1	112	108.6	13.2
36-45	87	104.9	14.0	57	105.8	12.2
46-65	73	103.8	14.0	47	105.3	13.9
Social Distance						
18-25	217	28.5	8.1	285	31.0	7.9
25-35	153	30.1	8.2	112	31.6	7.9
36-45	87	30.4	7.8	57	30.1	6.8
46-65	73	30.8	7.6	47	28.8	7.6
Sexual Issues						
18-25	217	20.2	5.3	285	24.0	5.1
25-35	153	20.6	5.4	112	23.1	5.1
36-45	87	21.8	4.9	57	23.0	5.2
46-65	73	22.5	5.6	47	23.9	4.9

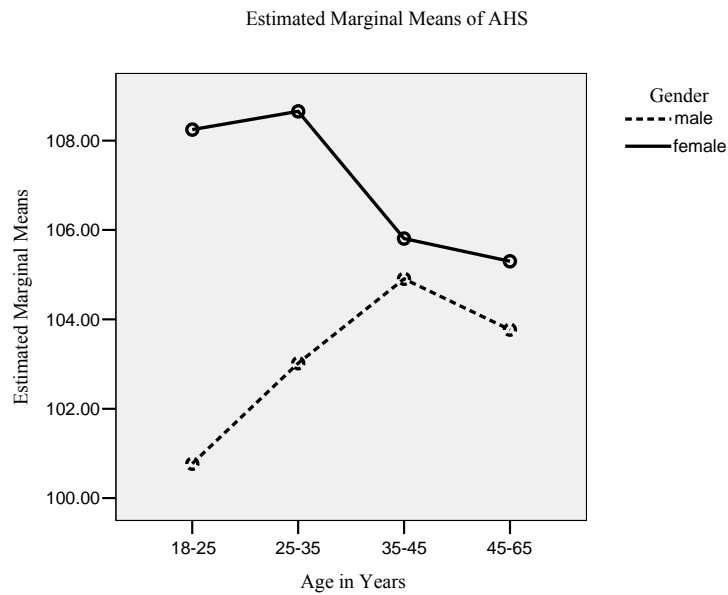


Figure 24. Comparing means of gender on AHS along age

Overall women have more positive attitude in all ages than men, however, there is decline in positive attitude in women with age. For men there is increase in positive attitude but among men with 45-65 years attitudes are negative, but still more positive than youngest group (see Figure 24, Table 50).

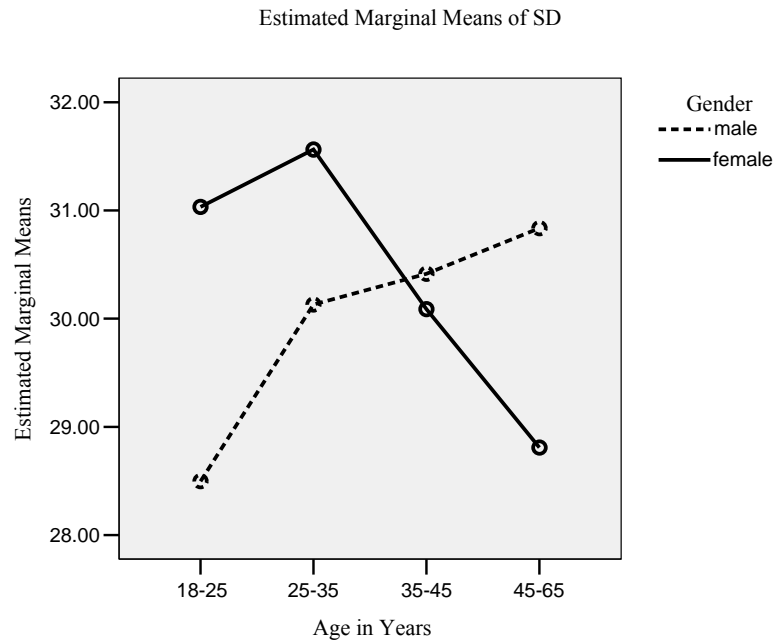


Figure 25. Comparing means of gender on Social Distance along different age groups

For Social Distance subscale, women have more negative attitude with age, even less than men for 35-45 and 45-65 years. Women in these age groups are least accepting of *hijras* in social relationships, while younger women have more acceptance. For men with age acceptance in close relationship is increasing and much change is evident in younger groups than older groups. Attitude of younger group in men is even less than younger groups of women (see Figure 25, Table 50).

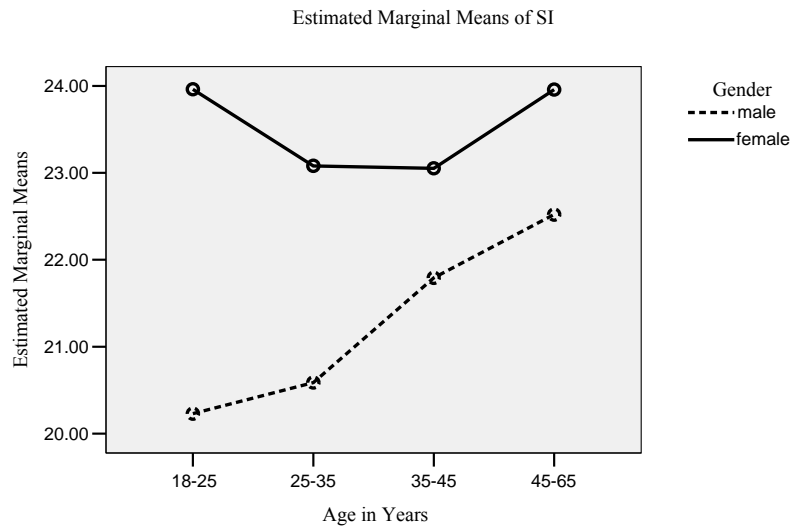


Figure 26. Comparing means of gender on Sexual Issues along age

Women of all age groups are less likely to consider *hijras* more sexually deviant than men. Unlike total AHS and Social Distance trend is opposite. For women, decline in attitude is observed from youngest to age group 25-35 years then it levels off for 35-45 years, but it gets positive for the oldest group (45-65 years). For men, a linear trend is observed as previous. Younger group consider *hijras* to be more sexually deviant than oldest group (see Figure 26, Table 50).

Educational Differences on AHS and MHS

To study impact of education on attitudes and beliefs related to *hijras*, One Way ANOVA was computed. Attitudes and myths were compared among four groups with education level Matric ($n = 144$), Intermediate ($n = 179$), Graduate ($n = 481$), and Postgraduate ($n = 226$). Out of total sample ($N = 1034$), 4 did not report their level of education.

Significant differences along education is observed for total AHS with $F(2, 1027) = 14.1, p < .000$; Rights and Status with $F(2, 1027) = 11.2, p < .000$; Social Distance with $F(2, 1027) = 5.1, p = .002$; and Sexual Issues with $F(2, 1027) = 9.3, p < .000$. Significant differences are also observed for MHS $F(2, 1027) = 5.9, p = .001$; and Nature subscale $F(2,$

1027) = 12.7, $p < .000$. For Asexuality and Saintly characteristics, nonsignificant differences are observed. Therefore, post hoc analysis using Bronferroni correction to study differences in detail for significant differences only.

Table 51

Post Hoc Analysis for Comparison among Groups along Level of Education

	Matric (<i>n</i> = 131)	Inter (<i>n</i> = 196)	Graduate (<i>n</i> = 283)	Post-G (<i>n</i> = 421)	<i>i</i> > <i>j</i>	<i>D</i> = <i>i</i> - <i>j</i>	S.E.	95% CI	
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)				LL	UL
AHS	99.6(13.1)	104.3(14.5)	105.1(14.3)	109.3(14.1)	2 > 1	4.7**	1.6	.51	8.9
					3 > 1	5.6***	1.3	2.0	9.1
					4 > 1	9.7***	1.5	5.7	13.7
					4 > 2	5.0**	1.4	1.3	8.7
					4 > 3	4.1**	1.1	1.1	7.1
RS	50.2(6.6)	52.1(6.3)	53.0(6.2)	53.9(6.3)	2 > 1	1.9*	.71	.08	3.8
					3 > 1	2.8***	.60	1.2	4.4
					4 > 1	3.7***	.67	1.9	5.5
					4 > 2	1.8*	.63	.10	3.4
SD	28.8(7.6)	30.3(7.8)	29.9(8.1)	31.9(7.6)	4 > 1	3.0**	.84	.81	5.2
					4 > 3	2.0**	.63	.33	3.7
SI	20.6(5.1)	21.9(5.3)	22.3(5.4)	23.5(5.4)	3 > 1	1.7**	.51	.37	3.0
					4 > 1	2.9***	.57	1.4	4.5
					4 > 2	1.6**	.53	.22	3.0
					4 > 3	1.2*	.43	.10	2.4
MHS	41.0(5.3)	40.9(5.4)	39.6(5.3)	39.3(5.0)	1 > 3	1.4*	.50	.09	2.7
					1 > 4	1.7**	.56	.23	3.2
					2 > 3	1.3*	.46	.11	2.5
					2 > 4	1.6**	.52	.24	3.0
Nature	14.0(2.6)	13.7(2.6)	13.2(2.5)	12.6(2.4)	1 > 3	.87**	.24	.24	1.5
					1 > 4	1.5***	.27	.78	2.2
					2 > 4	1.2***	.25	.50	1.8
					3 > 4	.62**	.20	.08	1.2

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Results (Table 51) reveal that those who have highest level of education have scored high on overall AHS and its subscales. Even those from graduate and intermediate level of education have more positive attitude than those having matric level education on AHS. The difference observed is significant in opposite direction for MHS; those who have less education (matric and intermediate) has more strong belief in myths than those who have high

level of education. Those who have postgraduate level of education significantly differ from the rest of the group for MHS and nature of *hijras*, they have less belief in myths than rest of the groups. Therefore, Hypothesis 11 is confirmed i.e., more educated participants have more positive attitudes and less belief in myths.

Gender differences in attitude towards *hijras* on education. To study the gender differences (2 levels) on attitude along education (4 levels), 2 x 4 ANOVA was used and analysis was done through Univariate Analysis of Variance. Out of total sample 4 are missing in the analysis. Results reveal significant main effect of gender, $F(2, 1027) = 12.0, p < .001$, and education, $F(2, 1027) = 11.1, p < .000$. Interaction effect among these is also significant at $F(2, 1027) = 3.2, p = .02$ with 7.2% of variance. Means of gender on education for AHS is plotted to see trend in change (Figure 27).

Interaction between gender and education is also studied along subscales of AHS. Significant main effects of gender on Rights and Status, $F(3, 1030) = 5.42, p = .02$; Sexual Issues, $F(3, 1030) = 32.6, p = .00$; except for Social Distance are found. For Education on Rights and Status, $F(3, 1030) = 8.3, p = .00$; Social Distance, $F(3, 1030) = 4.5, p = .004$, Sexual Issues; $F(3, 1030) = 6.52, p = .00$; significant main effects are observed. However, interaction effect of gender and education for Rights and Status, $F(3, 1030) = 1.35, p = .26$, is nonsignificant; for Social Distance, $F(3, 1030) = 3.51, p = .01$, and Sexual Issues, $F(3, 1030) = 3.2, p = .02$ it is significant. See the mean plots of Social Distance (Figure 28) and Sexual Issues (Figure 29) for significant interaction effect. See Table 52 for mean and standard deviations.

Table 52

Gender Differences in AHS, Social Distance, and Sexual Issues along Education (N = 1030)

Education	Men			Women		
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
AHS						
Matric	91	98.6	13.8	53	101.2	11.8
Intermediate	103	104.6	14.8	76	103.8	13.8
Graduate	247	101.9	13.8	234	108.5	14.1
Post-graduate	87	106.1	15.6	139	111.2	12.7
Social Distance						
Matric	91	29.4	7.9	53	27.9	6.8
Intermediate	103	30.8	7.7	76	29.5	7.9
Graduate	247	28.8	8.2	234	31.0	7.9
Post-graduate	87	30.8	8.1	139	32.5	7.3
Sexual Issues						
Matric	91	20.0	5.4	53	21.6	4.6
Intermediate	103	21.5	5.4	76	22.4	5.1
Graduate	247	20.6	5.3	234	24.1	4.9
Post-graduate	87	22.2	5.3	139	24.4	5.3

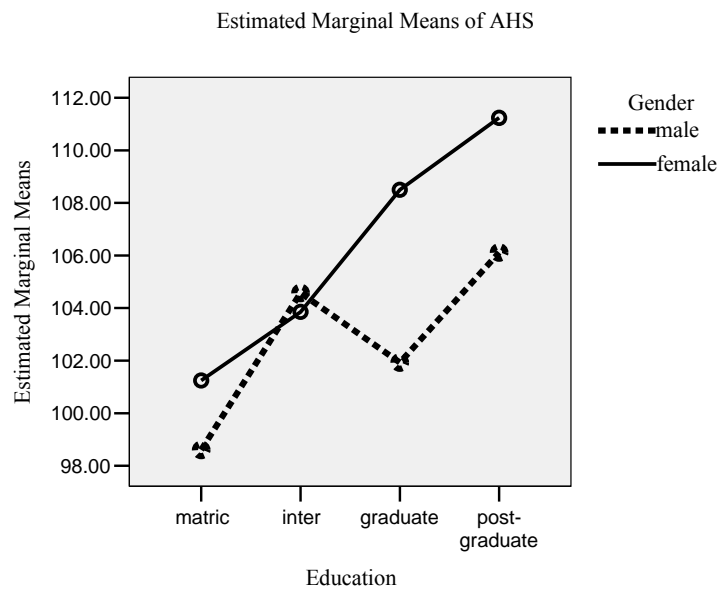


Figure 27. Comparing means of gender on AHS along different levels of education

Results in Figure 27 (Table 52) shows a linear trend in change of means on AHS along increased level of education for women, with increase in education attitude of women towards *hijras* is also getting positive. But for men, attitude is negative for those who have done graduation but again it is increasing for the postgraduate level. Generally, women are having more positive attitude than men.

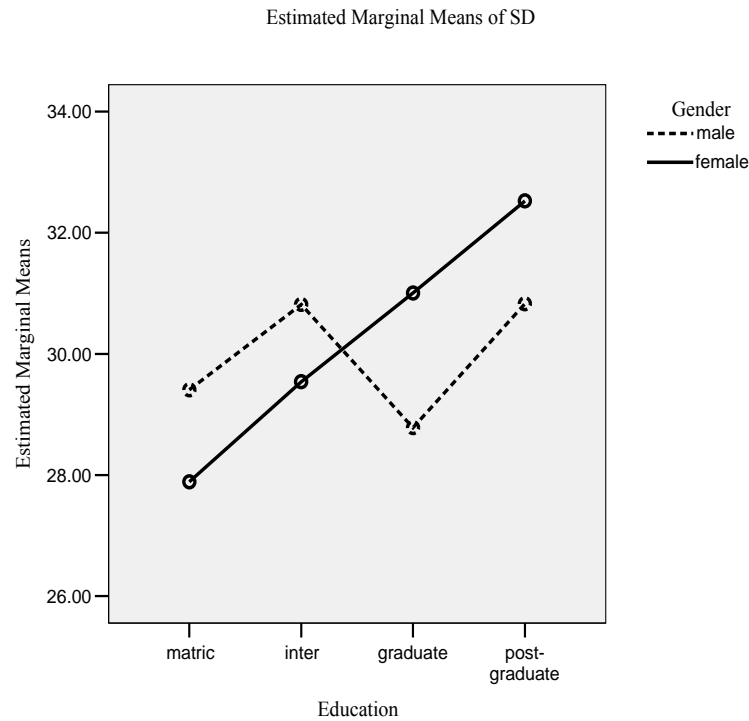


Figure 28. Comparing means of gender on Social Distance along different levels of education

For Social Distance again, a linear trend in mean differences of gender along age in observed for women, with increase in education there is much acceptance of *hijras* in close relationships. But for men, trend is same as of total AHS. Least acceptance is among those who have graduate level of education but for postgraduate and intermediate level men have same mean. Women with matric and intermediate level of education have fewer acceptances of *hijras* in close relationship than men in these levels of education (see Figure 28, Table 52).

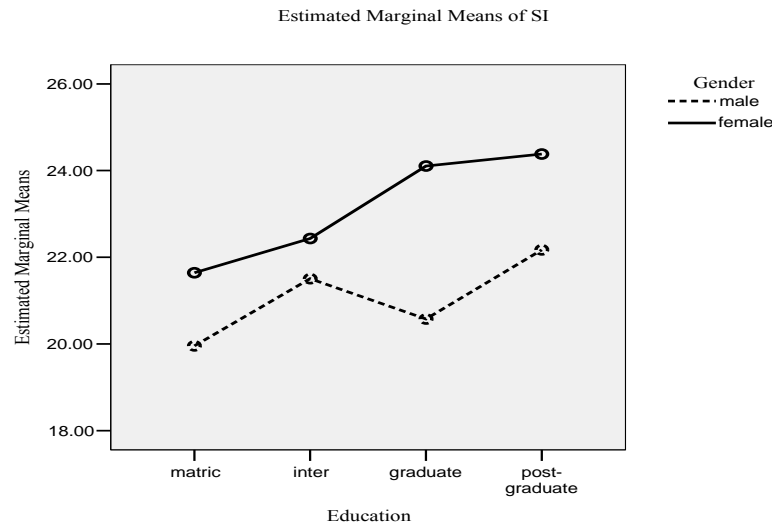


Figure 29. Comparing means of gender on Sexual Issues along different levels of education

Overall women do not consider *hijras* to be sexually deviants as compare to men on all educational levels. Men have more negative attitude on Sexual Issues and trend is same, however, those who are at postgraduate level of education have more positive attitudes than other levels. Much difference in means of matric and graduate level men is not observable (see Figure 29, Table 52).

Differences along Marital Status on AHS and MHS

For comparison among married ($n = 457$) and unmarried group ($n = 577$) independent sample t -test was carried out. Nonsignificant results emerged on AHS and MHS except for Sainly characteristics of *hijras*, with significant results $t(1032) = 2.73, p < .01$ with 95% CI [-.70, -.11]. Married participants ($M = 9.2, SD = 2.5$) have less strong belief than unmarried ($M = 9.6, SD = 2.3$).

Gender differences in attitude towards *hijras* along marital status. To study the gender differences (2 levels) on marital status (2 levels), 2 x 2 ANOVA was used and analysis was done through Univariate Analysis of Variance. None of the case is missing in the analysis. Results revealed significant main effect for gender on AHS, $F(1, 1033) = 32.2, p = .00$, Rights and Status, $F(1, 1033) = 10.2, p = .001$, Social Distance, $F(1, 1033) = 5.2, p =$

.02, and Sexual Issues $F(1, 1033) = 64.8, p = .00$. Nonsignificant main effect of marital status is found for AHS and its subscales. However, interaction effect of gender and marital status is significant for AHS $F(1, 1033) = 6.1, p = .014$; Social Distance, $F(1, 1033) = 7.2, p < .01$; and Sexual Issues, $F(1, 1033) = 9.1, p = .003$. See Table 53 for means and standard deviations.

Table 53

Gender Differences in AHS, Social Distance, and Sexual Issues along Marital Status (N = 1034)

Education	Men			Women		
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
AHS						
Married	259	103.6	14.6	198	106.5	12.8
Unmarried	272	101.3	14.4	305	108.6	14.3
Social Distance						
Married	259	30.4	8.0	198	30.2	7.4
Unmarried	272	28.8	8.1	305	31.3	7.9
Sexual Issues						
Married	259	21.3	5.4	198	23.0	4.9
Unmarried	272	20.5	5.3	305	24.1	5.1

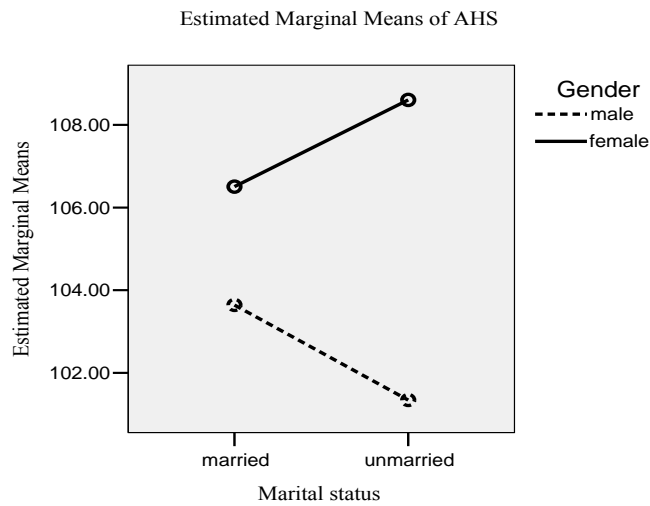


Figure 30. Comparing means of gender on AHS along marital status

Results show (Table 53, Figure 30) that as compare to men overall women have more positive attitudes toward *hijras*, among them unmarried have more positive attitudes, while for men its' vice versa. Unmarried have negative attitudes than married.

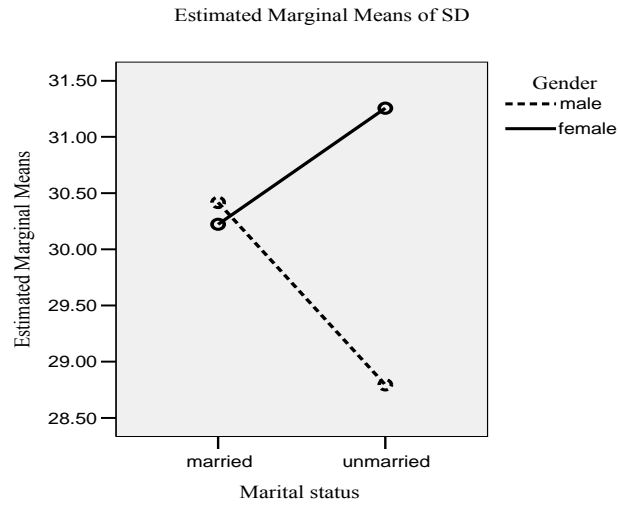


Figure 31. Comparing means of gender on Social Distance along marital status

Results for feeling social distance from the *hijras* is same, but the slope is much steep. Unmarried men again have negative views of accepting *hijras* in relationships than unmarried women, but difference among married men and women does not exist. However, perfect moderation exist where two slopes intersect each other and married men’s attitudes become more positive than married women in accepting *hijras* in close relationship (Table 53, Figure 31).

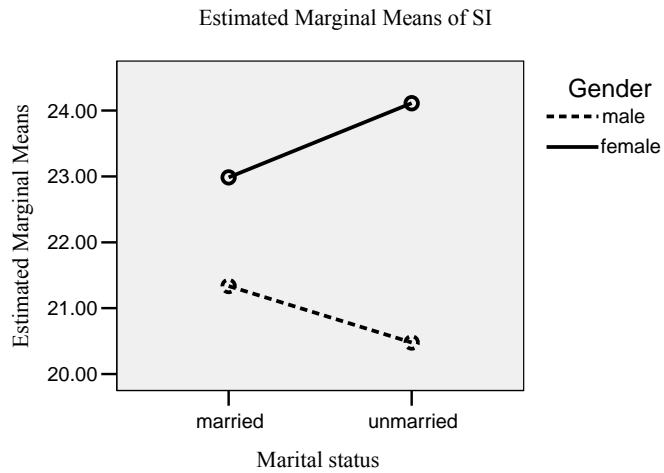


Figure 32. Comparing means of gender on Sexual Issues along marital status

On Sexual Issues, for women attitudes are positive and that too for unmarried women. Unmarried men consider *hijras* to be more sexually deviant than rest of the groups (Table 53, Figure 32).

Differences along Monthly Income

For comparing attitudes based on economic status, the concept of extreme group was utilised. On the basis of SES comparison was carried out among those who have family's monthly income between Rs. 2000-12,000 declared as Low Income group ($n = 271$) and High Income group with family's monthly income above 20,000 rupees ($n = 290$). As reported earlier in sample section 30.9% of participants did not report their family's monthly income, hence, they were excluded from analysis. While those having income between Rs. 12,000/- to 20,000/- ($n = 153$) are also excluded for analysis purpose. For comparison, independent sample *t*-test was carried out.

Table 54

Differences along SES on AHS and MHS (N = 561)

Scales	Low Income	High Income	<i>t</i> (559)	<i>p</i>	95% CI		Cohen's <i>d</i>
	(<i>n</i> = 271)	(<i>n</i> = 290)			LL	UL	
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)					
AHS	103.0(14.6)	107.5(14.1)	3.7	.00	-6.8	-2.1	-.31
Rights an Status	51.3(6.5)	53.8(6.4)	4.5	.00	-3.5	-1.4	-.41
Social Distance	29.9(8.1)	30.9(8.2)	1.4	.17	-2.3	.40	-.12
Sexual Issues	21.7(5.9)	22.8(5.0)	2.4	.02	-1.9	-.19	-.20
MHS	40.6(5.2)	38.9(5.2)	3.8	.00	.84	2.6	.33
Asexuality	17.5(2.9)	16.9 (2.8)	2.2	.03	.06	1.0	.21
Nature	13.6(2.6)	12.7(2.5)	4.1	.00	.46	1.3	.35
Saintly	9.5(2.4)	9.2(2.4)	1.5	.14	-.09	.70	.12

Significant differences are observed in two groups on AHS and its subscales (Table 54). High Income group is found to have more positive attitude towards *hijras* than Low

Income group except for Social Distance subscale. On MHS, Low Income group has more strong belief on myths but nonsignificant difference is observed for saintly qualities of *hijras*.

Gender differences in attitude towards *hijras* along socioeconomic status. To study the gender differences (2 levels) on SES (3 levels), 2 x 3 ANOVA was used and analysis was done through Univariate Analysis of Variance. Out of total sample 320 is missing in the analysis. Results revealed significant main effect for gender on AHS, $F(1, 713) = 13.4, p = .00$, Rights and Status, $F(1, 713) = 7.4, p < .01$, and Sexual Issues $F(1, 713) = 28.6, p = .00$, but nonsignificant for Social Distance. Significant main effect of SES is present for AHS, $F(2, 712) = 5.5, p = .004$, and Rights and Status $F(2, 712) = 9.4, p = .00$. However, interaction effect of gender and SES is significant for AHS $F(2, 712) = 3.6, p = .028$; Rights and Status, $F(2, 712) = 3.8, p < .02$; but nonsignificant for Social Distance and Sexual Issues. See Table 55 for mean and standard deviations.

Table 55

Gender Differences in AHS and Rights and Status along Monthly Income (N = 561)

Income in rupees	Men			Women		
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
AHS						
Below 12,000/-	159	100.5	14.0	112	106.5	14.8
12,000 – 20,000/-	101	103.3	14.2	52	109.8	14.9
Above 20,000/-	129	107.3	14.5	161	107.6	13.9
Rights and Status						
Below 12,000/-	159	50.6	6.3	112	52.4	6.7
12,000 – 20,000/-	101	52.2	7.7	52	55.1	6.4
Above 20,000/-	129	54.1	6.8	161	53.6	6.1

A linear trend in mean gender differences on AHS is present for men. With increase in income attitude is also getting more positive. For women attitude is more positive than men but change is not linear. Women with low and high income have less positive attitude than middle income group. However, mean difference in high income group for both genders is not

evident (see Figure 33, Table 55). This might become point of intersection showing perfect moderation if monthly income is increased.

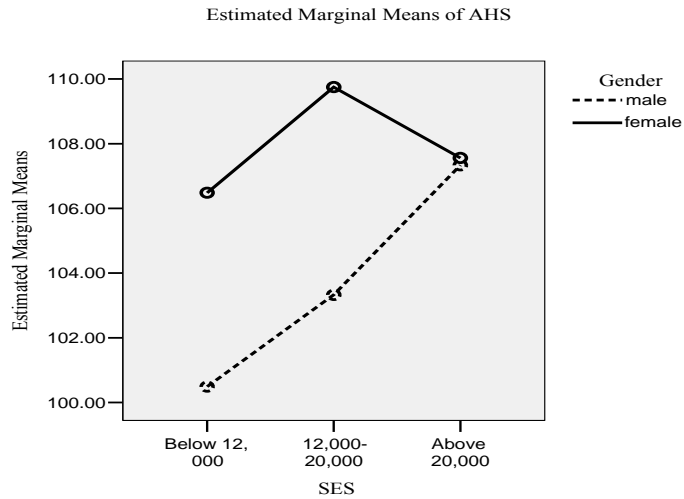


Figure 33. Comparing means of gender on AHS along SES

Almost same trend in mean differences are observed as in AHS for Rights and Status, but women in high income group has less acceptance of rights and status of *hijras* than men. Linear change in mean is present for men (see Figure 34, Table 55).

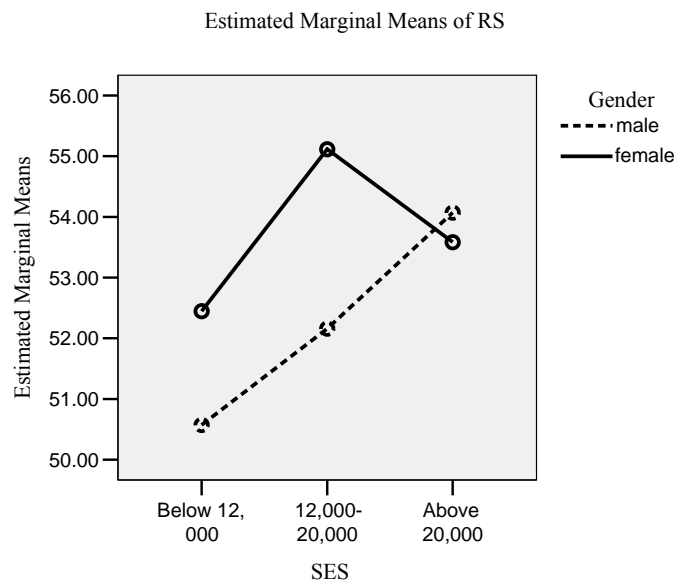


Figure 34. Comparing means of gender on Rights and Status along SES

Differences along Geographical Locations

Data were collected from five main regions of Pakistan including Federal ($n = 426$) based on data from Rawalpindi and Islamabad, Punjab ($n = 213$), Sindh ($n = 183$), NWFP ($n = 124$), and Balochistan ($n = 88$). One Way Analysis of Variance was used for comparison of means. Significant difference along geographical locations on AHS with $F(4,1029) = 7.3$, $p < .000$, and subscales including Rights and Status $F(4,1029) = 3.8$, $p = .004$; Social Distance $F(4,1029) = 6.0$, $p < .000$; Sexual Issues $F(4,1029) = 12.5$, $p < .000$ are observed. Same is found for MHS $F(4,1029) = 5.0$, $p = .001$ including subscales Asexuality $F(4,1029) = 6.3$, $p < .000$ and Nature $F(4,1029) = 6.9$, $p < .000$. Nonsignificant difference is observed for Sainly subscale of MHS. Therefore, post hoc analysis using Bronferroni correction to study differences in detail for significant findings only (see Table 56).

General trend in difference shows that Balochistan region has most positive attitude towards *hijras* than rest of the regions followed by NWFP, hence Hypothesis 12 has been confirmed. Punjab has negative attitudes among all. For myths related to *hijras*, Punjab has strongest belief in myths than rest of the groups (see Table 56).

Table 56
Post Hoc Analysis for Comparison among Groups along Geographical Locations

Scales	Federal (n = 426)	Punjab (n = 213)	Sindh (n = 183)	NWFP (n = 124)	Balochistan (n = 88)	i > j	D = i-j	S.E.	95% CI	
	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)				LL	UL
AHS	105.2(14.8)	102.2(14.5)	103.6(13.6)	107.3(13.0)	111.0(13.6)	5 > 1	5.8**	1.7	1.1	10.4
						5 > 2	8.8***	1.8	3.7	13.9
						5 > 3	7.4***	1.8	2.2	12.
						4 > 2	5.2**	1.6	.67	9.7
Rights and Status	52.7(6.2)	51.4(6.5)	53.8(7.6)	52.3(5.6)	52.7(5.4)	3 > 2	2.5**	.64	.66	4.3
Social Distance	30.2(8.1)	29.5(7.8)	28.7(7.9)	31.8(7.4)	32.9(7.2)	5 > 1	2.8*	.92	.1693	5.3
						5 > 2	3.4**	.99	.58	6.2
						5 > 3	4.3***	1.0	1.4	7.1
						4 > 3	3.1**	.91	.56	5.6
Sexual Issues	22.3(5.3)	21.2(5.6)	21.1(5.0)	23.2(5.0)	25.3(5.2)	5 > 1	3.0***	.62	1.3	4.8
						5 > 2	4.1***	.67	2.2	6.0
						5 > 3	4.2***	.69	2.3	6.1
						5 > 4	2.1*	.74	.02	4.2
						4 > 2	2.0**	.60	.29	3.6
						4 > 3	2.1**	.62	.39	3.8
MHS	39.5(5.0)	41.3(5.8)	39.5(5.2)	39.8(4.8)	39.8(5.6)	2 > 1	1.8***	.44	.62	3.1
						2 > 3	1.8**	.53	.37	3.3
Asexuality	17.0(2.9)	18.1(3.0)	16.8(2.7)	17.4(3.2)	17.3(2.7)	2 > 1	1.1***	.24	.42	1.8
						2 > 3	1.2***	.29	.42	2.1
Nature	13.0(2.6)	14.0(2.6)	13.4(2.6)	12.8(2.0)	12.7(2.4)	2 > 1	.91***	.21	.32	1.5
						2 > 4	1.1***	.28	.33	1.9
						2 > 5	1.2***	.32	.32	2.1

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Gender differences in attitude towards hijras along geographical location. To study the gender differences (2 levels) on geographical location (5 levels), 2 x 5 ANOVA was used and analysis was done through Univariate Analysis of Variance. None of the case was missing. Results revealed significant main effect for gender on AHS, $F(1, 1033) = 16.8, p = .00$, Rights and Status, $F(1, 1033) = 6.2, p < .01$, and Sexual Issues $F(1, 1033) = 38.6, p = .00$, but nonsignificant for Social Distance. Significant main effect of geographical location is present for AHS, $F(4, 1030) = 6.9, p = .00$, Rights and Status $F(4, 1030) = 3.3, p = .01$, Social Distnace, $F(4, 1030) = 5.3, p = .00$, and Sexual Issues $F(4, 1030) = 10.3, p = .00$. However, interaction effect of gender and geographical location is significant for AHS $F(4, 1030) = 2.6, p = .03$, but nonsignificant for Rights and Status, Social Distance, and Sexual Issues. This shows that difference along gender as per geographical location exist for overall attitudes but not in separate domains.

Table 57

Gender Differences in AHS along Geographical Location (N = 1034)

Region	Men			Women		
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Federal	207	101.3	14.0	219	108.9	14.6
Punjab	116	100.1	15.0	97	104.7	13.7
NWFP	65	105.9	14.4	59	108.9	11.2
Balochistan	32	107.2	14.8	56	113.1	12.5
Sindh	111	103.7	14.6	72	103.5	12.1

Results reveal negative attitudes are present for Sindh without any gender differences. On the other hand, women have more positive attitudes than men on rest of the geographical locations. For both genders, Balochistan has positive attitudes among all and men in Punjab have the most negative attitudes. In women, NWFP and Federal region has similar attitudes (see Table 57, Figure 35).

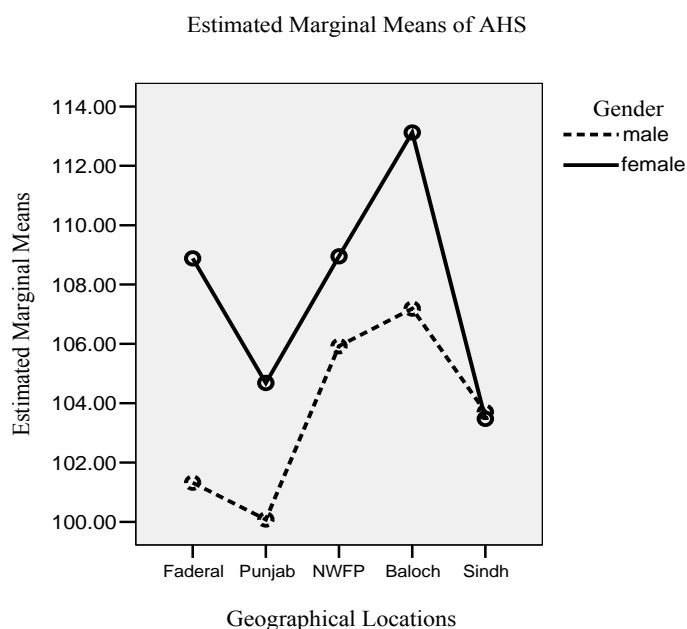


Figure 35. Comparing means of gender on AHS along geographical location

Predictors of Attitude towards *Hijras*

Since sample of Study III (Chapter 5), was very homogenous in which education, age, marital status, and geographical locations were controlled. In the present study, sample is heterogeneous and demographic variables were finally considered to study their role in attitude towards *hijras*. For establishing the prediction, Block Enter method (hierarchical multiple regression analysis) was used in which variables in the blocks were entered one by one starting from strongest to weakest as appeared in analyses done previously in ANOVA and Univariate ANOVA. Demographic variables were entered as continuous variables starting from gender, education, level of interaction with *hijras*, socioeconomic status, age, and geographical location. Gender and geographical locations were dummy coded. For gender men were taken as reference group and coded as '0', while women were taken as comparable group coded as '1'. Geographical locations being categorical variables were dummy coded for entering into multiple linear regression coding comparable group as 1 and baseline groups as 0. Since Balochistan region showed most positive attitudes towards *hijras*, that was why it was taken as reference group coded as 0 each time. Same analysis was also carried out by

considering Punjab as reference group (coded as 0 each time) for having least acceptance of *hijras* to check direction of prediction. Prediction of these variables was studied for all subscales of AHS. Out of the total sample, where socioeconomic status is one of the predictor, 324 cases were missing hence analysis was run for $n = 710$. $SD = 3$ was fixed for excluding outliers from the analysis (see Table 58).

No outliers were found in the data and assumptions for multi-collinearity were met. Gender do not appear to be a significant predictor for Rights and Status. Results reveal education and interaction with *hijras* as strongest predictors, but direction of prediction is vice versa. With education attitudes toward *hijras* regarding their rights and status get positive (3.3% of variance alone), while with meeting *hijras* less leads to more negative attitudes which shows a consistent picture in all the three models. Maximum variance (8.3%) is accounted for Model 4 as education, interactions, SES, and age being predictors which shows a total change of 5% from Model 1. All the four models are significant with F -change, significant at $p < .01$ for Model 3 and 4. Best model appears to be Model 4 with four predictors for Rights and Status. None of the geographical region holds any significant variance in predicting acceptance of *hijras*' rights and status (see Table 58).

For Social Distance and Sexual Issue, since age and SES did not appear to be significant predictors at any time, hence, these were removed from the multiple regression analysis and models were again tested for education, level of interaction, and geographical locations only. After removing SES from analysis only 7 missing data was left, rest were included in the analysis ($N = 1027$). For Social Distance, again education appears to be significant predictor that accounts for 1% of variance in attitudes. When level of interaction is entered in Model 2, variance does not increase neither level of interaction is found to be significant predictor. However, on entering geographical locations, keeping Balochistan a reference group for comparison for having most positive attitudes among all, level of interaction significantly negatively predict attitudes based on perceiving nature of social relationship with *hijras*. This shows that with increase in less interaction with *hijras*, their acceptance in close relationship also decreases (see Table 58).

Table 58

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for AHS

Predictors	RS ^a					SD ^b			SI ^b			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Gender (D1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.26***	.24***	.22***	.22***
Education	.18***	.19***	.16***	.15***	.14***	.10**	.10**	.08**		.12***	.12***	.09**
Interaction		-.17***	-.17***	-.17***	-.16***		-.04	-.12**			.07**	.06
SES			.10**	.11**	.10**			-				-
Age				-.10**	-.10**			-				-
Federal (D2)				-	-.07			-.20**				-.23***
Punjab (D3)					-.11			-.18**				-.24***
NWFP (D4)					-.08			-.07*				-.10*
Sindh (D5)					-.04			-.27***				-.23***
Constant	49.4	52.5	51.2	52.5	53.9	27.9	28.8	34.3	18.1	16.5	15.8	19.5
R ²	.033	.063	.073	.083	.088	.01	.011	.039	.065	.08	.084	.108
Δ R		.03	.01	.01	.005		.002	.028		.015	.005	.024
F	23.9***	23.8***	18.5***	15.9***	8.6***	9.8**	5.8**	6.9***	71.5***	44.5***	31.5***	17.7***
ΔF		22.8***	7.6**	7.0**	1.2		1.8	7.3***		16.5***	5.1*	6.7***

Note. Balochistan region is taken as reference group in generating dummy codes for comparison in geographical locations. ^an = 710; ^bn = 1027. β is reported for each variable in respective models.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Significant negative prediction is found along geographical locations as compare to Balochistan. Those who are residents Sindh, Federal, Punjab, and NWFP have fewer acceptances of *hijras* in close relationships as per strength of β -value. Together the Model 3 account for 2.9% changes in variance when comparing with Model 1. Gender through out is not found to be a significant predictor for Social Distance (see Table 58).

Gender did not appear to be a significant predictor of Rights and Status subscale and Social Distance subscale of AHS, however, it is found to be a significant predictor in case of Sexual Issues. Gender was dummy coded with men taken to be a baseline group and women the comparable group. In Model 1, it accounted for 6.5% of variance. On entering education, change in variance accounts for 1.5% of variance in attitudes. When level of interaction is entered in Model 3 variance increased only by .5% with level of interaction is found to be significant negative predictor. However, on entering geographical locations, keeping Balochistan a reference group for comparison for having most positive attitudes among all, significant negative prediction is also found along geographical locations comparing to Balochistan as reference group. Those who are residents of these regions including Punjab, Sindh, Federal, and NWFP have fewer acceptances of *hijras* considering them to be sexually deviants as per strength of B -value. Together the Model 4 account for 2.4% change in variance when comparing with Model 3, while level of interaction with *hijras* lost its significance in prediction in Model 4. Overall Model 4 accounted for 10.8% of variance (see Table 58).

Therefore, from the analysis it is concluded that awarding rights and status of *hijras* have four predictors education, level of interaction, SES, and age, while geographical location does not predict significantly. Contrary to this, geographical locations is significantly predicting perceiving social distance from *hijras* and in considering them sexually deviant as compare to Balochistan, but SES and age are not the significant predictors in these two constructs. Gender is found to be significant predictor, with women status leads to more positive attitude in not considering them as sexually deviant, while being in men status leads

to vice versa. Among all education is the consistent predictor in defining attitudes towards *hijras* (see Table 58).

Predictors for Myths related to *Hijras*

Multiple regression analysis by using Enter method was also carried out for subscales of MHS but no logical model appeared to be significant. However, simple linear regression analysis showed prediction of the demographic variables when considered independently. Therefore, simple linear regression analysis was done to study predictors of belief in myths. Predictors assumed were gender, education, age, SES, and geographical locations. Gender and geographical locations were dummy coded as mentioned before. For geographical locations, multiple regression analysis was done in which all dummy coded variables were entered in one block. Enter method was used to determine prediction (see Table 59).

Table 59

Linear Regression Analysis for Subscales of MHS

	<i>N</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> ²	<i>F</i>	<i>B</i>	S.E.	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>
Asexuality								
SES	714	.08	.007	4.8*	-.18	.08	-.08	2.1*
Punjab (D3)	1034	.16	.024	6.3***	.79	.37	.11	2.1*
Nature								
Gender (D1)	1034	.07	.005	5.4*	-.37	.16	-.07	2.3*
Education	1030	.19	.035	37.4***	-.51	.08	-.19	6.1***
SES	714	.14	.02	14.6***	-.28	.07	-.14	3.8***
Punjab (D3)	1034	.16	.026	6.9***	1.2	.32	.19	3.8***
Sindh (D5)					.69	.33	.10	2.1*
Saintly								
Gender (D1)	1034	.12	.015	15.5***	.59	.15	.12	3.9***
SES	714	.07	.005	3.9*	-.13	.07	-.07	2.0*
Age	1030	.08	.007	6.9**	-.18	.07	-.08	2.6**
MHS								
Age	1031	.09	.008	8.2**	-.42	.15	-.09	2.8**
Education	1033	.12	.015	15.3***	-.67	.17	-.12	3.9***
SES	714	.15	.02	15.4***	-.59	.15	-.15	3.9***
Punjab (D3)	1034	.14	.02	5.0**	1.6	.66	.12	2.4**

Note. For gender (dummy variable) men are reference point coded as 0 and women being comparable group coded as 1. Balochistan region is taken as reference group in generating dummy codes for comparison in geographical locations.

p* < .05. *p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

From the results (Table 59), it is apparent that SES is the most consistent predictor for all subscales of MHS; with increase in SES belief in myths decreases. Being residents of Punjab region also leads to strong belief in myths, but for saintly characteristics geographical locations does not create any impact. For geographical location multiple regression is done by putting all dummy variables in one block, out of which being Punjabi is a significant predictor. Being Sindhi predicts, followed by being Punjabi, only belief in Nature of *hijras* being vulgar, stubborn, product of parental sins and inability to change. Gender holds significance in prediction for *hijra*'s nature and saintly characteristics, but direction of prediction is opposite. Being men leads to strong belief in nature of *hijras* and being women leads to strong belief in saintly characteristics of *hijras* having strengths in blessings and curses, not liking any one to fiddle with them, and shunning them bring heavenly wrath. Gender does not hold any significance in predicting asexuality related myths.

Education predicts belief in *hijras*' nature in negative direction which is also evident in overall MHS. With increase in education belief in myths reduces. Age holds significance in saintly characteristics only and is also evident in overall MHS. With increase in age belief in their saintly qualities and overall myths reduces. It is concluded that education, age, SES, and being resident of Punjab are the significant predictors. Gender is significant but direction is opposite for two types of myths which cancel out each others effect, hence, does not appear as significant predictor for overall MHS.

Discussion

Psychometric Properties of AHS and MHS

Psychometric properties appeared to be sound for AHS, which shows that it is a valid and reliable tool to measure attitudes towards *hijras* for Pakistani population including both gender. While for MHS construct validity appeared to be sound where all subscales were significantly positively correlated with each other as well as with total, but reliability was low for the subscales Nature and Saintly, may be because of heterogeneous sample. In Study III (Chapter 5) as well reliabilities were low that may also be because no reverse scoring is done and positive and negative items may affect consistency in scores.

Relationship between AHS and MHS

As assumed, negative relationship between myths and attitudes towards *hijras* is found on overall scales. Same was finding in Study III (Chapter 5), hence strengthens the assumption. For giving due rights and status to *hijras* in society positive relationship is found with myths except with Nature of *hijras* which has nonsignificant relationship. Strong belief in myths puts a desire to award them basic human rights and better status may be because of sympathetic perception of them being asexual and having effects in their blessings and curses as a quality that God has bestowed on them as a compensation to their asexual status. That is why it is commonly believed that if anyone do not comply to their demands and treats them harshly, he is met with heavenly wrath. This is also evident through Sainly characteristics of *hijras* having positive significant relationship with AHS and its subscales reflected more prominently in men than women. Those men who believe in saintly qualities of *hijras* do not consider them as sexually promiscuous while in women nonsignificant relationship is apparent.

Overall, negative relationship of attitudes toward *hijras* is with Asexuality and Nature. These myths have negative connotation like *hijras* being asexual takes away such a child away from biological family, and sometimes parents also give away such children who totally gets cut off from family being in *hijras* community that brings negative attitudes towards them (see Sharma, 2000). *Hijras* are taken to be vulgar, stubborn, unable to change themselves, and product of parental sins (Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000). People might be in favour of giving *hijras* their rights, but because of their asexuality and nature feel social distance from them and have belief that they are sexually promiscuous and precursor for promoting homosexuality among men. Overall nature of *hijras* was found to be a strongest predictor in harbouring negative attitudes towards *hijras*. Asexual status of *hijras* also had negative impact, while saintly characteristics had positive effect on attitudes.

Previous research evidences also reveal that asexuality brings negativity (Khan & Ayub, 2003; Sharma, 2000) and fear of inducing the same in family. *Hijras*' role is functional for the family by taking away child born asexual, and so help family getting rid of stigma of

asexuality (Sharma, 2000). That may be the reason that in preliminary stage of data collection in present research, participants in Balochistan region refused to fill questionnaires for the fear that it might affect their families negatively. This shows society under strong grip of myths. Social norms that are proscriptive in nature influence attitudes (Stangor, 2009). This is in the very nature of human beings to avoid state of uncertainty and unpredictability in their interactions with others. When the stimulus is unfamiliar and ambiguous, it hampers the behaviour the most (Raees et al., 1997). *Hijras* instigate negative attitudes as people are not clear about their gender and strongly believe that they are vulgar, asexual, and stubborn and if anybody denies giving them *wadhai* [alms] *hijras* threaten to show their genitals (see Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999). People generally believe that *hijras* do not want to do any job because of easy money they are getting through singing, dancing, and asking *wadhai*.

Gender Differences on Attitudes and Belief in Myths

As assumed significant gender differences were found with women having more positive attitudes than men. Same was the finding in Study III (Chapter 5). This may be because of nurturing nature of women. They are more sympathetic towards culturally deviant people. Women have more modern gender role attitudes, less extremists (Malik, 2004), more feminine in sex roles that also effect attitudes in positive direction, as evident in Study III of present research also. Besides this, in the present sample women are more educated that might also affect the results in present direction. Men have more interaction with *hijras* that may be the reason for having much idea about *hijras*' sexual activities. Being masculine, they do not accept gender deviance violating men's empowered status than women's which is much down played in Pakistani culture. Tom boy girls are much acceptable than sissy boys (Bibi, 2009) and men have more harsh and negative view of such men who display feminine tendencies and have more transphobia and gender bashing (see Hill & Willoughby, 2005). Women are found to be more liberal in their views about sexuality (see Patton & Mannison, 1998) and homosexuality (see Hill & Willoughby, 2005; White & Franzini, 1999). Since gender is found

to be significant demographic variable in effecting attitudes, therefore, gender differences in attitudes on all demographic variables were explored.

For myths, overall nonsignificant differences were found. However, for saintly characteristics women had more strong belief as assumed. This may be one of the reason for more positive attitudes towards *hijras* as saintly characteristics have positive relationship with attitudes as mentioned earlier. Previous research evidences also show that women are more in grip of myths believing that *hijras*' hold strength in their blessings and curses and if someone tries to get away from *hijras* without offering anything in alms it brings heavenly wrath (Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000; Winter, 2002). Owing to influence of Hinduism in our culture and being part of South Asia, some of the myths of Indian mythology are reflected in our culture. In Buddhism and Hinduism, the existence of *hijras* is related to the condition of *karma* (Winter, 2002). Historically, being part of India, it is believed that their curse and blessings hold special affects (Ruth, 1996; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 2002). *Hijras* use this tool more frequently to exploit others to earn money; especially, women and children are the two populations where they can use this exploitation more successfully.

Women are more exploited by *hijras*, who meet them only when *hijras* go to homes for asking alms. It is very rare that they threaten women to show their private part as women have more respectable place in the society (see Riaz, 1996). None of the women in focus group discussion reported witnessing any *hijra* performing this act in their vicinity. That might be possible in rural setting, whereas in urban setting, it's not much evident. In the present study, men had more strong belief in their nature, which also affect their attitude towards *hijras* negatively. Again, it might be function of their increased level of interaction with *hijras*. Both groups i.e., men and women, equally consider *hijras* being asexual. On overall MHS, gender differences did not appear as on one subscale women scored high, while on other men, hence, nonsignificant differences appeared on overall MHS. Since gender holds great significance in attitudes towards sexual minorities, therefore, its moderating role was ascertained for other variables of the study in effecting attitudes towards *hijras*.

Differences in Attitudes and Belief in Myths on Concept of *Hijra*

As assumed, those who believed *hijras* are born with sexual deformities (hermaphrodite/intersexed) had more positive attitudes than those who believed that they are MtF TGs and both. Previous researches show that those who believe in role of genetic factors for sexual deviants have more acceptance for gender deviants than those who believe in other factors, like environment (Antoszewski et al., 2007; Landen, 1999). Biological reasons are considered to be beyond the control of any individual for exhibiting anti-normative behaviours, therefore he/she should not be held responsible for these acts. In Study III (Chapter 5), it was not possible to study the differences in attitudes for those who believe that they are MtF TGs because at that time only one participant responded in the respective category, whereas in the present study 47 endorsed this category. Still in the present study, 54% of the total sample believed that they are born with sexual deformities as assumed; 41% believed that they are both MtF TGs and hermaphrodite/intersexed. Haider and Bano (2006) have also found that generally Pakistanis do not comprehend gender variance that *hijras* display. In Asia, many researchers in their studies on sexual minorities have found that most of the people believed that they were original, born with sexual deformities (see also for TS see Antoszewski et al., 2007; for *Waria* see Boellstorff, 2004; Haider & Bano, 1996; Khan & Ayub, 2003; Nanda, 1999; Riaz, 1996; Sharma, 2000; for *Maknayah* see Teh, 2001; for *Kathoey* see Totman, 2004; Winter, 2002).

Along gender, as assumed in the present study, more women believed that they are born *hijras* than men that could be the reason for their positive attitudes towards *hijras*. Differences on beliefs in myths appeared for *hijra*'s nature only. People who believed that *hijras* are MtF TGs had strong belief in these myths. This seems to be very interesting, may be reflecting more of negative attitude towards MtF TGs than belief in myths or may be suggesting that people believed that negativity in *hijras* community is because of these MtF TGs, while hermaphrodite/intersexed are much saintly in qualities. Interestingly, no gender differences existed in attitudes of those who considered *hijras* as hermaphrodite/intersexed, though men who believed that they are MtF TGs displayed negative attitudes. Men who

believed that *hijras* are both hermaphrodite/intersexed and MtF TGs had comparatively positive attitudes, still women had more positive attitudes, again the reasons could be very nature of female gender as discussed earlier.

Differences in Attitudes and Belief in Myths along Level of Interaction

As assumed, most of the participants (41%) reported less interaction with *hijras* i.e., on yearly basis with *hijras* and only 19% reported meeting them on daily basis in which men out-numbered women, whereas in less interaction women out-numbered men as assumed. *Hijras* mostly perform in men's gathering, while women have interaction with them when they come home for asking alms, otherwise, *hijras* are not allowed to performs in women's gatherings or women are not recommended to watch their dancing performances. In rural settings, men often visit *mela* [fair] in our culture where *hijras* perform, while women do not visit such places quite often. Therefore, men's attitudes are affected by their level of interaction with *hijras* as experience with the object is central in defining attitudes. Experience with others may reduce negative view of others. Nevertheless, research also reveals that increased knowledge may intensify feeling of being different that strengthens negative attitude (see Levy & Hughes, 2009).

Differences in attitudes revealed that those who meet/see *hijras* in daily basis were in favour of giving them their due rights and status in the society. They desire for better opportunity for *hijras* than begging or dancing in functions, *melas*, or in wedding ceremonies which is a too limited role. Research evidences show that negative view of homosexuals held by many heterosexuals is often maintained because it is not challenged by experience. Individuals who believe that they do not know anyone who is gay are especially likely to be homophobic (Herek as cited in White & Franzini, 1999). Greater exposure leads to less heterosexism and low heteronormativity and low lack of knowledge (Tolley & Ranzijin, 2006). Ignorance and lack of knowledge leads to discrimination (Lovett & Mannie de Saxe, 2006).

Contrary to above, those who meet/see *hijras* rarely were less likely to consider *hijras* as sexually promiscuous, a precursor of initiating homosexuality in men, and a risk group for

spread of AIDS/STDs. In the heteronormative society, it is awkward for the people to talk about homosexuality no matter how positive ones personal views may be (Semp, 2008). That may be the reason that people who meet/see *hijras* frequently feel pressures to comply to social norms. The sexual ambiguity of *hijras* also instigate fear and anxiety (Nanda, 1999) that may be another reason that people who meet/see them frequently feel uncomfortable and have negative attitudes on sex related issues. Such ambiguity in understanding and defining sexual deviants in health sector also exist in developed countries like Canada, UK, and USA which make difficult for health service provider to understand their needs (Mule, 2007). Those who meet/see frequently are more likely to consider *hijras* as sexually deviants. That may be a reason for endorsing *hijras* rights and status believing that it might reduce their sexual errands. Interaction effect of gender and level of interaction did not reveal significant differences for any of the group in attitudes. Having knowledge about any sexual minority or social group depends upon level and nature of interaction.

Age Differences on Attitudes and Belief in Myths

Age did not play a significant role in attitude towards *hijras* except consideration of their rights and status. Young people are much in the favour of giving them due rights and status than older group (see Weiss, 2007). That may be because of education or much awareness of basic human rights in younger group. With the passage of time young people are much aware and considerate of the rights and status of socially isolated and penalised group. Previous researchers also found that younger respondents are more egalitarian than older (Beere, King, Beere, & King as cited in King & King, 1998; Slevin & Wingrove; Stafford as cited in Anila et al., 1993). Young adults (18 to 29 years) are found to be more accepting of gender variance and protective laws than individuals more than 30 and they are more tolerant than those who are more than 50 years of age (Leland as cited in Crooks & Baur, 2005). Young participants in the present study also had much stronger belief in in nature and saintly myths. Weiss (2007) reviewed literature and found contradiction in reported attitudes and actual behaviour. Singaporean youth who reported more conservative attitude, extended tolerant behaviour and were acceptance oriented. That shows change through globalization.

Interaction effect of gender and age on attitudes was significant which was nonsignificant for Rights and Status related attitudes. This shows that combined effect of these variables on attitudes was carrying great weight. Women had more positive attitudes in younger group but in the older group attitudes became more negative, yet better than older men. While in men attitude was consistently getting positive with age. Much difference in attitude existed in younger groups of both gender, may be because of factor of education in women and more interaction among men in present sample. Younger male group had more negative attitude may be for having more interaction with *hijras* and having strong belief in myths as evident in the present research.

In the present sample, young women were more educated than men and might be less aware of sexual activities of *hijras* as in all groups regardless of their age, therefore, did not consider *hijras* to be sexually deviant than men. Regarding Sexual Issues, no difference in attitudes were present for younger and older group women. However, older women perceived much social distance from *hijras*, even more than their male counterparts. It might be because women are superstitious and fear that *hijras* might prove to be bad omen for their family if accepted in close relationship. In Pakistan, most of the women above 35 years of age are married and they are more concerned with their family's and children's welfare. Married women may not appreciate asexuality and in marital relationship gets affected by the attitudes of their spouses as well.

Contrary to this, men had consistently more positive attitudes with age. Younger boys had least positive attitude may be because of their exposure to gender deviance through internet, media, and actual life. Young people are more extremists, gender-typed because of internalization of social expectations related to gender roles, and they face pressure to conform to these standards. In Study III (Chapter 5), where sample was young adults, men were more extremists than female counterparts. The concept of being sissy and 'mummy daddy' is much listened to and abhorred among young group in educational set ups, while older group are not much aware of these terms. Extremist tendencies reduce with age (Constantinople as cited in

Lippa, 2001). Hypothesis that younger group has much positive attitudes and less belief in myths was rejected, as findings were contrary to this (see Lottes & Weinberg, 1998a).

Educational Differences on Attitudes and Belief in Myths

Educated people, as assumed, had more positive attitudes and less belief in myths, may be because education promotes modern gender role attitudes (Anila, 1992a; Anila, 1992b; Anila et al., 1993) and less extremist tendencies (Altaf, 2002; Khan, 2008; Malik, 2004). Increased knowledge leads to more permissive attitudes toward LGBTs (Zuckerman, Tushup, & Finner as cited in Zuckerman, 1998). More liberal attitudes about sexualities are found to be associated with rejecting conservative social values and sexual knowledge associated with rejecting sexual myths (see Lief, 1998).

The interaction effect of education and gender on attitudes was also significant. Much linear relationship was observed in women i.e., with education attitudes get positive. However, for men nonlinear change was observed. For men, attitudes got positive from least educated to intermediate level (12th grade) educated group but it again decreased in positivity for those having graduate level of education and again increased for postgraduate level. Decrease in positivity at graduate level may be because of much desire of men to remain grounded to social norms and stick to normative beliefs and attitudes to meet social expectations and have high need to associate with their social group and maintain positive self-identity. Social identity process creates strong influence in attitudes (Smith & Hogg, 2008). However, further education starts making a difference in attitudes and acceptance of gender deviant. Conversely, gender plays a strong role; women in all statuses had more positive attitudes than male counterparts except at intermediate where nonsignificant difference in attitudes exists with counterparts.

As found earlier, with age women had less acceptance of *hijras* in close relationship than men, in the same way less educated women perceived much social distance even less than men. This may be because older women in Pakistan are likely to be less educated than women in younger group. Less educated and older women may be more in grip of myths (as evident in present study that less educated participants had more strong belief in myths) that

creates negative impact on acceptance of *hijras* in close relationship. For Social Distance, same pattern in attitudes are present with graduate men perceiving more distance. While, nonsignificant difference in intermediate and postgraduate level educated men were found, that may also be because of men with intermediate level education put a good front or gave socially desirable response portraying acceptance. The discrepancy in reported and actual behaviour might exist. For Sexual Issues, a linear pattern was observed for women again i.e., less likely to consider *hijras* to be sexually deviant than men counterparts along education. Same pattern was observed for men comparing around medians, men were scoring less than median as compare to women. Overall, as assumed, education played significant role for women and with education attitudes got positive.

Differences on Attitudes and Belief in Myths along Marital Status

Nonsignificant differences among married and unmarried people were found on attitudes and belief in myths, while on Sainly characteristics unmarried had more strong belief than married group. Being unmarried is more likely that person is having young age and so is more egalitarian and accepting of gender variance (Beere, King, Beere, & King as cited in King & King, 1998; Leland as cited in Crooks & Baur, 2005; Slevin & Wingrove; Stafford as cited in Anila et al., 1993). Interaction effect of gender and marital status was significant. Direction of effect was different for men and women. Women, especially unmarried, had more positive attitudes than men; unmarried men had least positive attitudes. For women that may be because of role of education, being unmarried is related to less age and more education which might have resulted in more positive attitudes in unmarried women. Negative attitude in unmarried men might be function of being young, extremist, having strong belief in vulgar and stubborn nature of *hijras* that effect attitudes in negative direction.

Married women comparatively had less positive attitudes than unmarried while married men had positive attitude than unmarried counterparts. Much difference in unmarried groups existed, but for married difference was not very large. It might be because of information sharing among spouses and each others' point of views affects both.

Nonsignificant difference in both married groups is evident for accepting *hijras* in close relationship, slope was much sharper with least acceptance in unmarried men than female counterparts. This shows the role of gender i.e. women have more acceptance than men. For Sexual Issues, much homogeneity in married and unmarried groups within their respective gender were evident, however, women along these groups also consider *hijras* to be less sexually deviant.

Differences along Monthly Income on Attitudes and Belief in Myths

Significant difference along monthly income was observed with those earning more had more positive attitudes than those earning less. Present finding is contrary to previous research (Sharma, 2000) that upper socioeconomic (SES) had indifferent attitude towards role performed by *hijras*, while those from middle and lower SES had more sympathetic and accepting attitude towards their role considering them as victim of nature and handicapped. Totman (2003) found that attitude towards *Kathoey* in Thailand is the mixture of respect and disdain. Disdained attitude is mostly from middle socioeconomic class. Presently, those with low income showed negative attitude while with more income (middle SES as per monthly income) had positive attitude. Negative attitudes and beliefs in myths were also evident in LSEC suggesting that gender variance is less acceptable in rural and LSEC, that is why many *hijras* are recruited from these two settings (see Sharma, 2000). Nanda (1999) posited that such gender variant behaviours are not understood in LSEC.

This finding might be a function of education, those earning less are more likely to be less educated and more in the grip of myths which is reflected in their negative attitudes. In our culture, people have cathartic approach of downward comparison whenever they face financial problems. Offering charity on daily basis to poor is a common practice. That may be the reason for those in better financial position to be more sympathetic for *hijras* for having no apparent financial sources. Contrary to this, people from low SES might hold disdain towards *hijras* for earning money through easy nonconventional sources, while they face social constraints to exact necessities of life according to conventional systems and rules. Many *hijras* agree that they are in *hijra* community to earn and become rich in no time (see

Sharma, 2000). For myths, significant differences were found with people from low SES having more strong belief in myths related to asexuality and nature of *hijras* that might affect their attitudes towards *hijras* in negative direction.

Interaction of gender and monthly income showed nonsignificant gender difference for high income groups. In the middle group, women displayed the most positive attitudes than rest of the groups. In men, linear effect is evident but for women it's nonlinear. Women in middle group had shown more positive attitudes may be because of living in such areas where they had more interaction and gave more alms to *hijras* considering themselves on giving end and having sympathetic view of *hijras*. Generally, women had more positive attitudes again. Same trend is observable for Rights and Status but nonsignificant for Social Distance and Sexual Issues. With increase in SES men displayed more positive attitudes.

Differences along Geographical Locations on Attitudes and Belief in Myths

Significant differences emerged as assumed with Balochistan and NWFP having more positive attitudes and least positive in Punjab and Sindh. Hypothesis was based on findings of focus group discussions (FGDs) in Study 1 (Chapter 3). Participants of FGDs who were permanent residents of Balochistan displayed much positive view of *hijras*. Most of them claimed that in their region, *hijras* are not evident in the form of communities, rather such people (they believed that *hijras* are born with sexual deformities) lead normal life in their homes and pursue their education and career like normal people. *Hijras* of *hijra* community present in Balochistan had either migrated from Punjab or Sindh, but are not natives. This belief that *hijras* are hermaphrodite/intersexed than MtF TGs may be the reason for more positive attitudes displayed by participants of Balochistan followed by NWFP.

In NWFP, *Bachhabazi* [having young lads as sexual partners among affluent class] is a prevalent practice (see Iqbal, 2001). It is an acceptable norm for men having homosexual relations with young boys that might lead acceptance of *hijras* in their culture. On subscale Sexual Issues, participants from Balochsitan and NWFP less likely considered *hijras* sexually deviant than participants from Punjab and Sindh. Similarly, attuned findings were that people

from Punjab than other regions held much strong belief in nature related myths that might have effected their attitude towards *hijras* in negative direction.

Geographical locations effect social practice and preferences (Gottlieb as cited in McLelland, 2002). Patriarchy that varies in spatial and geographical context maintains power imbalance, where male gender role is more powerful than female (Bhopal, 2003). Sexual deviants can sustain financially and socially if the attitudes and their consequences vary across regions within a country (Badgett & Frank, 2007). Historically, *hijras* are well established in Punjab since Mughal Raj than in Balochistan and NWFP that might be a reason for their existence and prevailing mythological justification in this region. Punjabis frequently interact with *hijras* than rest of the regions. In *melas*, *hijras* offer sexual services that may be the reason for harbouring negative attitudes in Punjab (see e.g., Hirsch & Rollins, 2007). Gender difference in attitudes along different geographical locations showed that women in Balochistsn displayed most positive attitudes, while most negative attitudes were evident in Punjabi men. For Punjabi men and men from Federal region much difference in attitudes was not observed, while for women this difference was sharp and women in Federal region had positive attitude equivalent to NWFP. Gender differences are not present in Sindh, otherwise, women had more positive attitudes than their respective counterparts.

Transphobia vary with geographical locations and is likely to be high in the areas already high in degree of violence (Bettcher, 2007). When data for the present study was collected then Balochistan was the most peaceful region of Pakistan. The results might differ in the present days' scenario for Balochistan and NWFP for facing most violent and difficult times in war against terrorism. Balochistan is the least populated area of Pakistan based on more rural settings than urban. Rural LGBTs lead secretive and private lives to avoid hostility (see Oswald & Culton, 2003). Those who are unable to have strong private support suffer from isolation and loneliness (Haag & Chang as cited in Oswald & Culton, 2003). *Hijras* in rural setting then look forward to community in urban settings to achieve solace and peace from intolerance of family and a small rural community. This in turn contributes to the formation of the *hijra* community as a largely urban phenomenon (PUCL-K, Sep 2003) as

evident in Punjab and Sindh. Returning to rural setting again is stressful (Oswald, 2002). That may be the reason for invisibility of local *hijras* in Balochistan, either migrated to Punjab or Sindh for their survival and having a lot more opportunities that exist in cities or populated areas and to avoid sanctions and social pressures on LGBT in rural setting, as rural set up is more cohesive in familial, cultural, and religious values (see Oswald & Culton, 2003).

Predictors of Attitude towards *Hijras*

Education and SES appeared to be significant positive predictors of endorsing rights and status of *hijras*. Level of interaction was negative predictor i.e., with less interaction one is less in the favour of awarding due rights and appropriate status to *hijras*, so is the age with increase in age favouring their rights and status become less likely. Education appeared to be the most significant predictor that might be playing the central role in all. Those who have less age are more likely to be more educated and more knowledgeable by virtue of having more interaction with *hijras*, hence, having positive view of *hijras*' right for inheritance, getting education, living the way they feel like, casting vote, running for elections, etc.

Education plays an important role in effecting the attitudes towards gender variant individuals. Moral conservatism is less in educated people (Ernst et al., 1998), so they are least prejudiced about homosexuality (Harris & Vanderhoof as cited in Harris, 1998). Attitudes are also affected by type of school one has studied in. Those who have studied in mixed gender schools are more liberal and accepting (Hunsberger et al., 1999) so are younger people than older (Beere, King, Beere, & King as cited in King & King, 1998). Education and media promote more modern and egalitarian gender role attitudes (Anila, 1992a; Anila, 1992b; Anila et al., 1993; Masood, 2004; Nisar, 2004). Presently young people are more exposed to internet and media that might be creating effect in their views about sexual minorities and making them sexually more knowledgeable leading towards more permissive attitudes (see Zuckerman, Tushup, & Finner as cited in Zuckerman, 1998). Constantinople (as cited in Lippa, 2001) empirically noted that higher class and educational levels were associated with less extreme masculinity in men and femininity in women, hence, such people are less prejudiced as evident in Study III (Chapter 5).

For Rights and Status and Social Distance, gender did not have any effect, while education and level of interaction were predicting acceptance in social relationship in positive and negative direction, respectively. SES and age did not significantly predict perception of social distance. Interestingly, geographical location appeared to be a significant predictor. Comparing to Balochistan, resident of other regions negatively predicted attitudes. Geographical locations effect social practice and preferences (Eyre et al., 2004; Gottlieb as cited in McLelland, 2002). Geographical location was a significant predictor for Sexual Issues as well. Interestingly, gender here significantly positively predicted with being women led to less considering *hijras* to be sexually deviant followed by education and interaction, but again SES and age did not have significant combined effect.

Predictors of Myths related to *Hijras*

From the results, it is apparent that SES was the most consistent predictor for all subscales of MHS; with increase in SES, belief in myths decreased. Being residents of Punjab region also led to strong belief in myths, but for saintly characteristics geographical locations did not create any impact may be because all commonly held these beliefs. Being Punjabi was a significant negative predictor of attitudes towards *hijras* also depicted through strong negative relationship between myths and attitudes towards *hijras* in Punjab. Being Sindhi also negatively predicted belief in nature of *hijras* being vulgar, stubborn, product of parental sins, and their inability to change. The underlying reason might be that *hijras* are widely observed in these regions reflected in level of interaction with *hijras*, those who had less interaction were less likely to consider *hijras* as sexually deviants. That may be function of their geographical locations, more interaction led to strong belief in their natural tendencies.

Gender held significance in prediction for natural and saintly characteristics, but direction of prediction was opposite. Being men led to strong belief in natural tendencies of *hijras* and being women led to strong belief in saintly characteristics. Gender did not hold any significance in predicting asexuality related myths. Nonsignificant main effect of geographical location for saintly characteristics got significant in interaction with gender which suggests moderating role of gender in effecting belief in myths based on saintly

characteristics of *hijras*. Education predicted belief in natural characteristics in negative direction which was also evident in overall myths. Age held significance in saintly characteristics only and was also evident in overall MHS. With increase in age, belief in saintly qualities and overall myths reduced. That may be because of becoming less extreme in views with age (see Lippa, 2001).

Limitations and Suggestions

1. For sample selection convenience sampling was used which effects external validity of findings. Random sampling is recommended. Sample was quite heterogeneous. In future, study on more homogenous large sample should be conducted to increase generalizability.
2. Equal distribution along demographic variables in sample selection is recommended for better comparison among groups.
3. Present study does not reflect attitudes and beliefs of those who refused to participate (as in Balochistan) in the study, it reflects opinion of only willing participants.
4. Presently only moderation effect of gender for rest of the demographic variables in effecting attitudes was explored. In future, moderating role of other variables like education for level of interaction, age, etc. is recommended. Present was an exploratory research, advanced analyses like mediation for studying role of multiple variables at the same time can also be explored.
5. Unfortunately, in the present study nature of interaction could not be considered that could help us to hypothesize direction in attitudes on the basis of level of interaction.
6. Social desirability measure should be used when using Attitudes toward Hijras Scale to control this element in participants' responses.

Conclusion

Study revealed significant negative prediction of belief in myths attitudes in related to *hijras*. Gender had strong influence in attitudes, women had more positive attitudes than men. Education positively predicted attitudes and negatively belief in myths. Interaction, SES, age, and geographical locations differentially predicted attitudes. Interacting more brought in

positive view about rights and better status of *hijras* while vice versa for considering them as sexually deviant. Those who met less did not consider *hijras* as sexually deviant. With increase in SES, attitudes became positive and belief in myths reduced. Younger group had stronger belief in natural characteristics of *hijras* and had negative attitudes towards them. Older people and women believed in their saintly characteristics, hence, had positive attitudes. Women did not consider *hijras* as sexually deviant and were much in the favour of their rights and status than men. Those belonging to Punjab and Sindh had strong belief in myths and had negative attitudes, while belonging to Balochistan and NWFP incurred positive attitudes. Gender played a role of significant moderator for various demographic variables in predicting attitudes.

***HIJRAS'* PERCEPTION OF PEOPLE'S
ATTITUDES**

PART 2

HIJRAS' PERCEPTION OF PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES

(STUDY VI)

Expression of the attitudes makes the perception and understanding of these attitudes possible by others (Eiser, 1986). Sexual deviants modify their behaviour in realm of acceptable normative behaviour including passing or separating oneself from majority to avoid victimization (Herek, 2009) or become rebel out of reaction against all these forces (Marsh, 2007). Negative sanctions of the society are strong as needs and goals of sexual deviants are in contradiction to stable societal structures based on sexism, ethnism, heteronormativity, etc. These attitudes cause minority stress that lead to mental health problems in sexual deviants. As a coping strategy, many permanently abandon their families and join deviant communities for their gender expression, acceptance, and approval (Meyer, 1995, 2003). They become overly vigilant and even a small event evoke strong feelings of rejection and discrimination (Allport, 1954).

It is basically the *hijras'* perception of the attitude and anticipation of situation as threatening which lead them to leave their homes (Sharma, 2000). Therefore, the difference in actual and perceived stigma/attitudes may exist (Meyer, 1995). Islam's rejection of effeminate men is a deriving force behind their rejection by family (see Boellstroff, 2004; Jami, 2005; Teh, 2001). In the search of ones identity, transgenders (TGs) experiment in sexual relationships with same and opposite sex that ultimately ends up in homosexuality that TGs consider heterosexual (Lade, 2003/2006). They have been repeatedly told that they are evil, sinner, and will go to hell. Consequently, they start accepting people's negative opinion about them which leads to mental health issues (Boellstroff, 2004; Hillier et al., 2008, Yip, 2007). Experiencing stigma is significantly related with indulging in HIV risk behaviour more than perceived stigma (Neilands et al., 2008) that adds to stigma for sexual minorities (Herek,

2009). Aim of present study is to explore *hijra*'s perception of people's attitudes along various demographic variables and comparing these with people's actual attitudes as explored in Part 1.

Objectives

Following are objectives of present study:

1. Develop scale for measuring perception of people's attitudes by *hijras*.
2. Develop scale to measure *hijra*'s perception of people's beliefs in myths related to them.
3. Study *hijras*' perceptions of the people's attitudes and myths related to them.
4. Compare attitudes of people and their reciprocal perceptions by *hijras*.
5. Investigate gender diversity in *hijra* community.
6. Study differential perception of attitudes along demographic variables of *hijras* of *hijra* community e.g., gender diversity (being *khusra* and *zannana*), age, sexual orientation, personal view of gender identity, acceptances or rejection by original family, having experienced sexual abuse, having depression, label of *hijra* given in childhood, etc.

Hypotheses

Based on literature review following hypotheses are formulated:

1. In *hijra* community more *hijras* will be TGs (including castrated and noncastrated and transvestites) than hermaphrodite/intersexed.
2. Perception of attitudes by *hijras* is more negative than attitudes of people.
3. *Zannanas* have more negative perceptions of attitudes than *khusras*.
4. Younger *hijras* have more positive perception of attitudes than older ones.
5. Those who do not want to be *hijra* forever have more negative perception of attitudes than those who want to remain forever.
6. Those who feel depressed being *hijra* have more negative perception of attitudes than nondepressed.

7. Those who visit home in male clothes have negative perception of attitudes than who visit home in female clothes.
8. Given a label of *hijra* in childhood has negative impact in perception of attitudes than not receiving any label.
9. Those with homosexual tendencies perceive the attitudes as more negatively.

Research Design

Participants of this part of the study are *hijras* of *hijra* community having a role of *guru* [mentor] or *chela* [disciple] and asking *wadhai* [alms] in wedding ceremonies or birth of the male child or having dancing and singing role in functions, *mela* [fair], circus, theatre, sex business, etc. This includes *khusras* as well as *zannanas*, castrated, and noncastrated *hijras*. Mixed method approach is used in data collection as target population is sensitive in a way giving more room to their voice and perceptions. The study is carried out in two phases.

- **Phase I.** *Hijras'* Perception of Attitude Scale (HPAS) and *Hijras'* Perception of Myths related to *Hijras* Scale (HPMHS) are developed and validated after rephrasing Attitude towards *Hijras* Scale (AHS) and Myths related to *Hijras* Scale (MHS) already developed in Part I of present research.
- **Phase II.** Data are collected from *hijras* of *hijra* community utilizing biographical interview schedule, HPAS, and HPMHS to determine perception of attitudes and myths. Individual differences along age, type of *hijra*, sexual orientation, gender identity, mental health problems, etc. are explored on perception of attitudes. Content analysis of biographical interviews was done to study actual perception of discrimination and attitudes extended by family and significant others towards participants of research. Descriptive statistics including frequencies and percentages are reported. For HPAS and HPMHS, inferential statistics is conducted.

HPAS, HPMHS, and Biographical Interview Schedule are used with equal emphasis on both in data collection (QUANT + QUAL; see Hanson et al., 2005).

Method

Phase 1 --- Development of *Hijras'* Perception of Attitude Scale and *Hijras'* Perception of Myths related to *Hijras* Scale

In Phase I, for AHS and MHS were rephrased (for the development of AHS and MHS see Chapter 3 and 4). The development took place in two stages.

Stage I --- Rephrasing of AHS and MHS. A committee based on three experts in Psychology (one PhD, 2 M.Phil. degree holders) was involved in rephrasing of AHS and MHS (see Appendix A7 and B4) with the premise to use the scales for *hijras* of *hijra* community. All the members agreed that the statements of the scales were quite understandable and to measure perceptions, phrases “*Log Samajhtey hain....* [People believe....]” or “*Muashara[Society ...]*” were inserted in each statement.

Stage II --- Pretesting of Initial Form of HPAS and HPMHS. The objective of pretesting was to ascertain the understanding of the statements by the participants and to make desirable changes in the scales in the light of their responses.

Sample. Snowball and convenience sampling was used for the purpose of data collection from 30 *hijras*. This included *khusras*⁷ as well as *zannanas*⁸, castrated and noncastrated *hijras*. The inclusion criteria was that *hijra* should be an active member of *hijra* community in role of either *guru* or *chela* or both. By profession, they might be asking *wadhai* in wedding ceremonies or birth of the male child or having dancing and singing role

⁷ Male to Female transsexuals belong to *Khusra* community within *Hijra* community. They earn through *wadhai* and asking alms in their respective marked territory. They have a respectable among general people of their residential area (Jami, 2005; Riaz, 1996). They claim to be *asli* [original] and actual descendants of *hijra* community and portray being hermaphrodite/intersexed.

⁸ Male to Female Transgenders (MtF TGs) who have not undergone castration and are cross-dresser belonging to *Zannana* community within *hijra* community. They mainly perform in functions, theatre, *mela*, and are involved in sex business (Jami, 2005; Khan & Ayub, 2001; Riaz, 1996).

in functions, *mela*, circus, theatre, etc. Locale of study was Rawlapindi, Attock, Hasanabdal, and Pir Mahal. They were paid 150-300 rupees in the end of filling questionnaires (see e.g., Dolezal & Carballo-Diequez, 2002; Finlinson, 2003; Hill & Willoughby; 2005; Kalichman et al., 2001; Nemoto et al., 1999; Stanely et al, 2004; Weinberg et al., 1999).

Instruments. Two scales were used in pretesting these were (see Appendix F1 & F2) including:

Hijras' Perception of Attitude Scale (HPAS). It was initial form of HPAS consisting of 32 items all measuring attitudes of people as perceived by *hijras*. It consisted of three subscales Rights and Status (RS; 13 items; 7, 8, 9, 10, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32), its content referred to the perception of people's attitude towards providing basic human rights to *hijras* including right for identity, mental and physical health facilities, educational and occupational opportunities, and right to be loved. Social Distance (SD; 11 items; 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26) referred to perception of how much closeness general people can accept in having any relationship with *hijras* e.g., as a neighbour, colleague, class fellow, relative, interacting or talking to or about them, etc. Subscale Sexual Issues (SI; 8 items; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12) catered perception of people's attitudes towards different sexual issues/stigma attached with *hijras* e.g., related to AIDS/ STDs, sex business, homosexuality, promiscuity etc. Out of 32 items 15 were reverse scoring items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, and 26. It was a five point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5), high score meant positive perception of attitudes. Highest score achieved on the scale was 160 and lowest 32.

Hijras' Perception of Myths related to Hijras Scale (HPMHS). It consisted of 12 distributed in three subscales. *Asexuality* had 5 items (7, 8, 9, 10, and 11) referred to the myths related to asexual status of *hijras* like birth of asexual child brings in *hijras'* notice, their claim for custody of such a child, parents' willful handing over of such a child to *hijras*, adding new *hijras* to *hijra* community to strengthen themselves, and finally their getting cutoff from original families because of stigma of asexuality. *Nature* had 4 items (2, 4, 6, and 12) referred to *hijras'* natural characteristic of getting alms aggressively, they being product

of their parent's sins, having vulgar tendencies, and their inability to change their natural behaviour. *Saintly* had 3 items (1, 3, and 5) referred to *hijras* having divine power in their blessings and curses, bringing worries to whosoever shuns them, and their not liking other to fiddle with them. It was a five point rating scale with response categories from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). Participants were required to report how much they believed in those particular cultural beliefs held by people in general about *hijras*. High score meant strong belief in myths.

Procedure. Snowball sampling was not found to be effective in Phase I. *Hijras* were very reluctant to give reference of other *hijras* for the fear of disclosure of their own identity by the researcher that might bring repercussions from the community. Communicating with general people, other than for professional errands, is not recommended in *hijra* community as reported by most of the participants of the research. Therefore, where participants agreed snowball sampling was utilized, otherwise purposive convenience sampling was employed.

Participants were instructed to tell either the content of the questionnaires was understandable to them or if they faced any confusion and ambiguity in this regard. As content was based on perception of people's attitudes, therefore, it appeared to be nonthreatening to the participants. No inhibition was observed at the part of participants during the data collection. Participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality and that the data would be used for research purpose only. Scales were administered in the form of structured interview format except for the two participants who filled the questionnaires as self-report inventory. These two participants were having education more than matric (10th grade), but others even if had education more than matric opted to answer the statements in structured interview format rather than in written format. It took 10 minutes to fill the questionnaires.

Outcome. Earlier many participants responded to the statement keeping in view their *tamashbeen* [spectators/clients]. For using "*log*"[people] they felt for being asked about *tamashbeen's* opinion of them. Therefore, it deemed important to clarify to the participants of the research that scales were not catering the attitude of *tamashbeen* but of general

people/society. On the basis of participants' feedback, word *log* was replaced by *duniyadar* *duniyadar* [a worldly and socially active man] in Urdu language (Merriam Webster Dictionary, 2013) and *muashra* [society] as these were the words which they could easily relate with general people/society them. Besides, both scales did not pose any difficulty in understanding. Hence, final versions of HPAS and HPMHS were finalized (see Appendix E2 & E3). Through Phase I, it was evident that purposive convenience sampling was more effective strategy for sample selection than snowball sampling (see e.g., Meyer, 1995). Therefore, future strategy for sample selection was refined after Phase 1.

Phase II --- Hijras' Perception of People's Attitudes and Belief in Myths related to Them

Phase II was the main study aimed at achieving objectives of present research.

Sample. Snowball and convenience sampling was used for sample selection. It consisted of 150 *hijras*. Sampling criteria was same as sample of pretesting in Phase I. Out of total sample, 6 participants refused to complete and one was not included because of fake responses during interview that made the total sample of 143 *hijras* with age range 16-62 ($M = 38.75$; $SD = 8.47$). Data were collected from Rawalpindi 22(15.4%), Sargodha 38(26.6%), Faisalabad 66(46.2%), and 17(11.9%) from other areas. In sample, 14(9.8%) were *gurus*, 99(69.2%) were *chelas*, and 29(20.3%) had both status, one did not report. As per education, 51(35.7%) were uneducated, 41(28.7%) had primary education, 29(20.3%) middle, 16(11.2%) matric, 4(2.8%) intermediate, and 1(0.7%) graduate. All were Muslims except 6 who belonged to other religions. As per sect, 117(81.8%) were *Sunnis* and 16(11.8%) were *AhleTashee* based on their original families.

Monthly income was varied but information controlling was observed in this respect. Out of the total sample, 37(26%) were operating in specific areas while 106(74%) did not have specified territory for work. Participants had different way of earnings (percentages show that any *hijra* can have more than one way of earning), 66(46.2%) through *wadhais*, 50(35%) through begging, 119(83.2%) performing in functions, 28(19.6%) performing in theatre, 102(71.3%) performing in *melas*, 94(65.7%) having sex business, only 10(7%) were in some other jobs too, and 2(1.4%) were also running side business. As per registration,

69(48.3%) had ID cards with male sex, 4(2.8%) female sex, and 67(46.9%) did not have cards, 3(2.1%) reported that they had cards with *khawjasara*⁹ written on that.

Instruments. HPAS, HPMHS, and Biographical Interview Schedule were used for data collection. For details of HPAS and HPMHS see Instrument description of Phase I.

Biographical Interview Schedule. On the basis of literature review, semi-structured biographical interview schedule was developed to get the complete biographical record of participants of the study, so that the explored information could be utilised for data analysis. It consisted of close ended and open ended questions pertaining to biographical information; reasons for cross-dressing; nature of relationship with family members; family's, friends', and neighbours' attitude towards their sexual deviance; age for experiencing gender identity problem or cross-dressing; reason for joining *hijra* community; sexual experiences, and desires; mental health problems; relationship within *hijra* community; etc. In total, there were 81 questions to facilitate the interviewer in recording the information (see Appendix E4).

Procedure. Purposive convenience and snowball sampling was used for selection of sample. Issues regarding sample selection strategy were the same as that of pretesting. It was difficult to have snowball sampling as inhibitions at the part of in participants' responses were evident as mentioned in procedure of Phase 1. Therefore, where participants agreed snowball sampling was utilized, otherwise purposive convenience sampling was employed. *Zannanas* were more candid in reporting their life events. Unlike *Khusras*, they showed less inhibition in referring to other *hijras* that could be part of present research with the promise that researcher would not disclose their identity. *Khusras* were reluctant and it took much time to build rapport with them. Otherwise too, in *hijra* community *zannanas* make much larger part than *khusras* (see Figure 1, Chapter 1) are more in number. These are a few reasons that

⁹ It could not be verified as at the time of interview a few were having ID cards. While no provision of writing *Khawajasara* in National ID cards was present at the time of data collection. Decision for writing *Mukhannas*, in front of male category, in case person claims he/she is *khawajasara*, was implemented in 1st Feb 2011 (NADRA, Dec 16, 2010).

zannanas made much larger part of present sample. Two hired research assistants (One was male having B.E. degree and other was female having M.Sc. degree in Psychology) other than researcher also assisted in data collection. These research assistants underwent extensive training of interviewing and administering scales before data collection.

It took 1 ½ to 2 hours on each interview including administration of the two scales. For the two scales, each time order of administration was changed to control order effect. Participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality and that the data would be used for research purpose only. After taking their consent (see Appendix E1 for consent form) scales were administered in the form of structured interview format except for a few participants who filled the questionnaires as self-report inventory, such participants were having education more than Matric (10th grade), but others even if having education more than Matric opted for interview format than reporting in written format.

In the instruction, participants were instructed that questionnaires were based on people's attitudes towards them and they were asked to report how strongly they perceived these attitudes prevailing in the society. Overall, this activity appeared to be nonthreatening to the participants and they responded without any inhibitions. In the instructions, it was clarified that statements were not catering the attitude of *tamashbeens* or clients but of general people/society. In the end, participants were paid 300/- rupees each for participating in the research. Later data was compiled and analysis was done through SPSS 16.

Results

In the results section, the sample size might vary for different analyses. Reason being in certain cases *hijras* did not report on that category and in some because of low size for any specific group the data of that group were not included in the analysis.

Psychometric Properties of HPAS and HPMHS

Initially, item-to-total correlations were computed for both HPAS and HPMHS through Pearson Product Moment Correlation. Item-to-total correlation was computed with the total sum of the each scale and sum of subscales independently as well. Further, inter-

correlations among HPAS, HPMH, and their subscales were computed through Pearson Product Moment Correlation. For reliability Cronbach alpha coefficients were computed.

Table 60

Item-to- total Correlations of HPAS with Total Sum of Scale and Sum of Respective Subscales (N = 143)

No. of Items	HPAS	Rights and Status	Social Distance	Sexual IssuesI
1	.30***			.47***
2	.35***			.55***
3	.34***			.51***
4	.39***			.59***
5	.17*			.51***
6	.42***			.69***
7	.51***	.35***		
8	.42***	.55***		
9	.49***	.65***		
10	.10	.23**		
11	.50***			.63***
12	.33***			.66***
13	.25**		.30***	
14	.54***		.58***	
15	.50***		.63***	
16	.42***		.47***	
17	.62***		.66***	
18	.65***		.71***	
19	.42***		.49***	
20	.43***		.53***	
21	.45***		.54***	
22	.53***	.56***		
23	.41***		.59***	
24	.39***	.50***		
25	.39***	.26**		
26	.45***		.52***	
27	.46***	.66***		
28	.50***	.56***		
29	.50***	.66***		
30	.36***	.46***		
31	.42***	.53***		
32	.38***	.50***		

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 60 shows nonsignificant correlation with total sum of the scale for Item 10. However, the same item when correlated with the subscale total of Rights and Status, it is significant at $p < .01$. Similarly, relatively low item-to-total correlation with total sum of the scale is evident for items 5 ($p < .05$) and 13 ($p < .01$) comparing to the rest of the items. Nonetheless, these have strong significant positive correlations $p < .001$ with their respective

sum of subscales i.e., Sexual Issues and Social Distance, respectively. Hence, all of these items are retained for further analysis.

Table 61

Item-to- total Correlations of HPMHS (N = 143)

No. of items	HPMHS	Asexuality	Nature	Saintly
1	.11			.80**
2	.46**		.43**	
3	.25*			.42**
4	.52**		.81**	
5	.42**			.56**
6	.52**		.80**	
7	.51**	.63**		
8	.60**	.73**		
9	.62**	.76**		
10	.56**	.67**		
11	.47**	.48**		
12	.34**		.43**	

* $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

Table 61 shows nonsignificant correlation with total sum of the scale for Item 1. However, the same item when correlated with the subscale total of Saintly characteristics, it is highly significant at $p < .001$. Relatively low item-to-total correlation with total sum of the scale is evident for Item 3 ($p < .01$) comparing to the rest of the items. Nonetheless, this has strong significantly positive correlation $p < .001$ with its respective sum of subscales i.e., Saintly characteristics. Hence, all of these items are retained for further analysis.

Table 62 shows significant positive correlations among subscales of HPAS ranging from .24 - .53 at $p < .000-.01$ level of significance. With the sum of the total scale, it ranges from .61 - .86 at $p < .000$. This shows the construct validity of the scale i.e., scale is a valid for measuring *hijras*' perception of people's attitudes. Good internal consistency of HPAS and satisfactory of its subscales are observed on the present sample that shows that HPAS is also a reliable measure.

For HPMHS, significant positive correlations of subscales with total score ranging from .34 - .84 at $p < .000$ are observed. Perception of people's beliefs based on *hijras*' nature and asexuality are found to be positively significant at $p < .000$, but zero correlation of these exists with Saintly characteristics. For overall, HPMHS internal consistency is acceptable and also for subscales Asexuality and Nature, while its too low for Saintly characteristics.

Table 62

Alpha Coefficients and Inter-scale Correlations among HPAS, HPMHS, and Their Subscales (N = 143)

Scales	Items	α	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. HPAS	32	.85	-							
2. RS	13	.75	.84***	-						
3. SD	11	.77	.86***	.53***	-					
4. SI	8	.71	.61***	.24**	.47***	-				
5. HPMHS	12	.61	-.29***	-.08	-.31***	-.40***	-			
6. Asex	5	.67	-.34***	-.13	-.39***	-.34***	.84***	-		
7. Nature	4	.52	-.28**	-.11	-.26**	-.40***	.70***	.36***	-	
8. Saintly	3	.20	.20**	.18*	.21*	.03	.34***	.00	.01	-

Note. Grey highlights reflect construct validity of AHS and MHS.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Relationship (Table 62) between perception of myths and attitudes show significant negative relationship except for Saintly characteristics, for which significant positive relationship is present. For perception of Rights and Status, nonsignificant correlation exist with perception of myths except for Saintly characteristics. Perception of myths based on divine qualities has consistently shown positive relationship except for Sexual Issues. This shows *hijras* who perceive people's attitudes positive also perceive people's belief in their divine qualities of holding effects in blessings and curses. Otherwise strong perception of myths related to asexuality and nature of *hijras* make them to perceive people's attitudes as negative.

Test of Normality

Before running inferential statistics, test of normality was run for all the variables of the study to determine either the sample distribution approximates normal distribution and symmetry or not for accurate measure of standard deviations and standard errors. For this skewness and kurtosis were compared against standard error.

Table 63

Descriptives of HPAS, HPMHS, and Their Subscales (N = 143)

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min	Max	Range	Median	LL	UL	Skewness	Kurtosis
HPAS	81.4	20.6	37	145	108	84	78.0	84.8	.04	-.28
RS	37.9	11.1	13	61	48	39	36.0	39.7	-.12	-.56
SD	30.2	9.2	11	55	44	31	28.6	31.7	.16	-.32
SI	13.4	5.7	8	32	24	12	12.4	14.3	1.3	1.2
HPMHS	49.8	7.4	24	60	36	52	48.6	51.0	-.73	.18
Asex	20.4	5.0	9	25	16	21	19.6	21.3	-.86	-.46
Nature	17.0	3.3	3	15	12	18	16.5	17.6	-.78	-.60
Saintly	12.3	2.5	3	15	12	11	11.9	12.8	-.71	.65

Note. RS = Rights and Status; SD = Social Distance; SI = Sexual Issues; Asex = Asexuality. S.E. for Skewness = .20; S.E. for Kurtosis = .40.

Results in Table 63 shows that skewness and kurtosis for HPAS and HPMHS along their subscales are less than 1 and none of these are exceeding double their respective S.E. except for Sexual Issues subscale of HPMHS. Still its less than 2, hence, is acceptable as one of the criteria of normality (see Miles & Shevlin, 2001). However, before running inferential statistics outliers were considered. Normality as per Tukey's statistics is achieved soundly for HPAS and its subscales excluding Sexual Issues. As outliers are not evident in this statistics, therefore, graphical plots were consulted, including Stem-and-Leaf Plots and Box-and-whisker plots- along with Histogram presentation, Normal Q-Q plot, and Detrended Normal Q-Q plot. These show that the sample meets the assumption of normality for HPAS, hence, inferential statistics based on parametric test can be used for the present sample. For all variables, whiskers are longer than boxes. Normal Q-Q plot also showed that maximum cases

converged on the straight line. No outliers are shown in histograms and boxplots, except for Sexual Issues which are not very extreme. Nonetheless, skewness and outliers is observed slightly in the case of HPMHS, for which nonparametric inferential statistics for further analyses is suitable. Hence, normality test reveals that sample is normally distributed and symmetrical for perception of attitude.

Diversity in Hijra Community

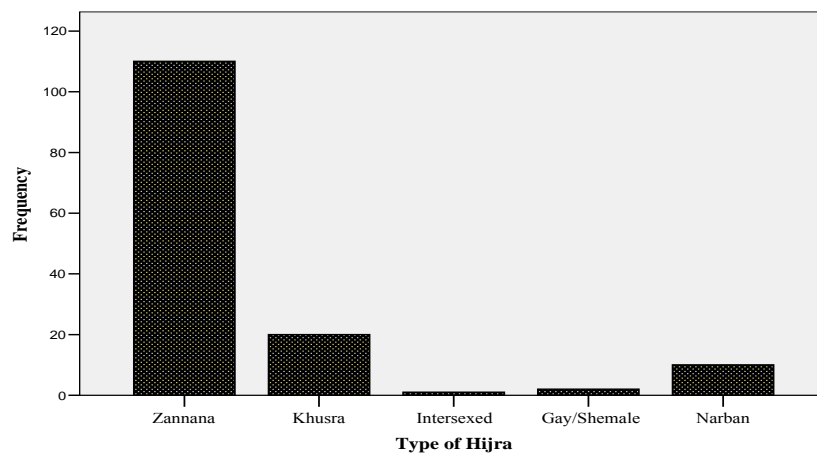


Figure 36. Diversity in Hijra Community

In the sample (see Figure 36), 110(76.9%) declared them as *zannana*; 20(14%) declared them as *khusra*; only 1(0.7%) was original *hijras* i.e., intersexed, born with sexual deformity (was not into dance performances and sex business but was performing duty as servant to a *Zannana* in Faisalabad). Two (1.4%) claimed to be Gay/Shemales who were fetishistic transvestites involved in homosexuality were part of *Zannana* community for security reasons. They were *chelas* of a *guru* who was *Zannana* but did not want to be called *Khusra* or *Zannana* either. Ten (7%) were *narban* [castrated] who were transsexuals, but were part of *Zannana* community and yet to join *Khusra* community by virtue of being castrated/transsexual. Most of the participants are MtF TGs or transsexuals, only one is born with sexual deformities. This confirms Hypothesis 1 that much gender diversity prevails in *hijra* and *asli* [original] *hijras* born intersexed/hermaphrodite are very rare.

Difference in People's Attitude toward *Hijras* and *Hijras*' Reciprocal Perception

The main objective of present study was to determine the difference in people's attitude towards *hijras* and *hijras*' reciprocal perceptions. For this *hijras*' ($n = 143$) scores on HPAS were compared with people's attitudes on AHS. Separate analyses were done for sample of the people in Study III ($n = 186$) and Study V ($n = 1034$) of Part 1. Sample in Study III was quite homogeneous than Study V. Independent sample *t*-test was carried out separately to compare the means of *hijras*' ($n = 143$) with two different groups of people.

Table 64

Difference in People's Attitude towards Hijras and Hijras Reciprocal Perception

Scales	<i>Hijras</i> ($n = 143$)	People ($n = 186$)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI		Cohen's d
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)			LL	UL	
AHS/HPAS	81.4(20.6)	104.4(15.6)	11.1	.000	-27.1	-18.9	-1.26
Rights and Status	37.9(11.1)	53.2(5.8)	15.0	.000	-17.3	-13.3	-1.73
Social Distance	30.2(9.2)	29.1(8.6)	1.1	.28	-8.6	3.01	.12
Sexual Issues	13.4(5.7)	22.1(5.9)	13.5	.000	-9.9	-7.4	-1.5
	<i>Hijras</i> ($n = 143$)	People ($n = 1034$)					
AHS/HPAS	81.4(20.6)	105.0(14.4)	13.2	.000	20.1	27.2	-1.33
Rights and Status	37.9(11.1)	52.6(6.4)	15.5	.000	12.8	16.6	-1.62
Social Distance	30.2(9.2)	30.2(7.9)	.03	.97	-1.6	1.6	0
Sexual Issues	13.4(5.7)	22.2(5.4)	17.5	.000	7.9	9.9	-1.59

Note. CI = Confidence Interval; LL = Lower Limit; UL = Upper Limit.

Analysis shows (Table 64) significant difference in people's attitudes and perceptions of attitudes by *hijras*. Overall *hijras*' perception is more negative than people's attitudes except for Social Distance, where nonsignificant difference is found for both analyses. Overall Hypothesis 2 is confirmed i.e., *hijras*' perception of attitudes are more negative than attitudes of people.

Further, gender differences were explored among men ($n = 531$), women ($n = 503$), and *hijras* ($n = 143$), on attitudes and perception of these attitudes by *hijras* on more heterogeneous sample ($N = 1034$) of Study V of Part 1 of present research (see Chapter 6). Aim was to further confirm the Hypothesis 2 after studying differences across gender. One Way ANOVA was computed for the analysis. Significant $F(2, 1174) = 169.9, p < .000$ for AHS/HPAS; $F(2, 1174) = 272.5, p < .000$ for subscale Rights and Status; $F(2, 1174) = 3.2, p < .05$ for Social Distance; and $F(2, 1174) = 212.8, p < .000$ for Sexual Issues were observed. Therefore, Post Hoc analysis using Bonferroni correction was carried out to ascertain differences among groups on attitudes and reciprocal perceptions on overall scale and subscales (see Table 65).

Table 65

Post Hoc Analysis for Differences along Gender on Attitudes and Their Perception by Hijras

	Men ($n = 531$)	Women ($n = 503$)	<i>Hijras</i> ($n = 143$)					
	$M(SD)$	$M(SD)$	$M(SD)$	$i < j$	$D = i - j$	S.E.	95% CI	
							LL	UL
Attitudes/Perceptions				3 < 1	21.0***	1.4	17.6	24.4
				3 < 2	26.5***	1.4	22.9	29.8
				1 < 2	5.3***	.93	3.06	7.6
Rights and Status				3 < 1	14.0***	.67	12.4	15.7
				3 < 2	15.4***	.67	13.8	17.0
				1 < 2	1.3*	.44	.22	2.34
Social Distance	29.6(8.0)	30.8(7.7)	30.2(9.2)	1 < 2	1.3*	.50	.06	2.5
Sexual Issues				3 < 1	7.5***	.50	6.3	8.7
				3 < 2	10.3***	.50	9.1	11.7
				1 < 2	2.8***	.33	2.0	3.7

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Among three gender divisions (Table 65), *hijras* have most negative perception of the attitudes than attitudes of men and women on overall scale and subscales excluding Social Distance, where *hijras*' perception do not vary significantly from the rest of the groups except

men have least acceptance of *hijras* in close relationship than women. Overall Hypothesis 2 is further confirmed i.e., *hijras* have strongest negative perception of people's attitudes comparing to people's attitudes in actual and much variability is also evident in perception of attitudes. Overall *hijras* are perceiving attitudes less positively, while women have the most positive attitudes towards *hijras*.

Difference in People's Belief in Myths related to *Hijras* and *Hijras*' Reciprocal Perception of These Beliefs

To determine the difference in people's belief in myths related to *hijras* and *hijras*' reciprocal perceptions, *hijras*' ($n = 143$) perception on HPMHS was compared with people's belief on MHS. Here the sample of the people is based on sample of Study III ($n = 186$) and Study V ($n = 1034$) of Part 1. Both samples of Study III and Study V varied on level of homogeneity. Nonparametric statistics was employed since test of normality for HPMHS has shown that distribution of scores in case of *Hijras*' sample was skewed. Mann-Whitney U Test was employed to explore the differences among two groups.

Table 66

<i>Difference in People's Belief in Myths and Hijras' Perception of These Beliefs</i>						
Scales	<i>Hijras</i>	People	<i>Mann-Whitney</i>	<i>Wilcoxon W</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>
	($n = 143$)	($n = 186$)				
	Mean Rank	Mean Rank				
MHS/HPMHS	231	114.3	3861.5	21252.5	11.048	.000
Asexuality	206.9	132.8	7313.5	24704.5	7.038	.000
Nature	220.8	122.1	5324.5	22715.5	9.386	.000
Saintly	225.2	118.7	4689.0	22080.0	10.213	.000
	<i>Hijras</i>	People				
	($n = 143$)	($n = 1034$)				
MHS/HPMHS	959.12	537.81	21004	556099	-13.9	.000
Asexuality	820.38	557.00	40843.5	575938.5	-8.7	.000
Nature	902.31	545.67	29127	564222	-11.8	.000
Saintly	907.01	545.02	28456	563551	-12.0	.000

Note. Monte Carlo *p* is based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 2000000.
df = 2.

Results in Table 66 show that *hijras* have significantly higher mean rank than people in general on overall scale and subscales for both analyses. It shows that *hijras* have strong

perception of people's belief in myths than people themselves while interacting with *hijras*. Mean and *SD* of both groups also reveal that *hijras* have high mean rank than general people on each of the variable.

Further, gender differences were explored among men ($n = 531$), women ($n = 503$), and *hijras* ($n = 143$), on belief in myths and perception of these beliefs by *hijras* on more heterogeneous sample ($N = 1034$) of Study V of Part 1 of present research. Kruskal-Wallis test for comparing mean ranks of more than 2 samples was computed. This is a nonparametric test since distribution was skewed for *hijras*.

Table 67

Gender Difference in People's Belief in Myths and Hijras' Reciprocal Perception of These Beliefs

Scales	Men	Women	<i>Hijras</i>	Chi-Square	<i>p</i>
	($n = 531$)	($n = 503$)	($n = 143$)		
	Mean Rank	Mean Rank	Mean Rank		
MHS/HPMHS	523.3	553.2	959.1	195.6	.000
Asexuality	543.1	571.6	820.4	77.9	.000
Nature	564.7	525.6	902.3	143.5	.000
Saintly	506.6	585.6	907.0	158.8	.000

Note. Monte Carlo *p* is based on Based on 10000 sampled tables with starting seed 624387341. $df = 2$.

Kruskal-Wallis Test reveals that *hijras* have much stronger perception of people's belief in myths than actual belief of men and women in Table 67.

Differences in Perception of People's Attitudes and Belief in Myths among *Khusras* and *Zannanas*

For the analysis, to compare *zannanas*' and *khusras*' perception of people's attitudes, *zannanas* and Gays/Shemales ($n = 112$) were combined as one category under *zannanas*. *Khusras*, intersexed, and *narban* ($n = 31$) were combined together being transsexual or original *hijra* and finally become member of *Khusra* community within *hijra* community. Independent Sample *t*-test was computed to test the Hypothesis 3. Results support Hypothesis 3 that *khusras* have significantly more positive perception of attitudes than *zannanas* for the overall scale and remaining subscales but nonsignificant for Rights and Status Table 68.

Table 68

Difference in Khusras' and Zannanas' Perception of People's Attitudes (N = 143)

Scales	Khusras	Zannanas	<i>t</i> (141)	<i>p</i>	95% CI		Cohen's d
	(<i>n</i> = 31)	(<i>n</i> = 112)			LL	UL	
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)					
HPAS	89.6(21.0)	79.1(20.0)	2.6	.01	2.4	18.6	.51
Rights and Status	40.2(10.3)	37.3(11.3)	1.3	.20	1.5	7.3	.27
Social Distance	33.0(9.8)	29.4(8.9)	2.0	.05	.04	7.2	.38
Sexual Issues	16.5(6.8)	12.5(5.1)	3.6	.00	1.8	6.2	.67

Note. CI = Confidence Interval; LL = Lower Limit; UL = Upper Limit.

For perception of myths hold by general people about *hijras*, nonsignificant differences are found with $t(141) = 1.5, p > .05$ for overall HPMHS through Independent Sample *t*-test on the total scale and its subscales perception of Asexuality $t(141) = .67, p > .05$; Nature $t(141) = 1.8, p > .05$, and Sainly $t(141) = .63, p > .05$. This shows that perception of people's belief in myths do not vary among two major categories of *hijras*.

As mentioned earlier *khusras* mostly operate in specific territories as compare to *zannanas*. Sometimes *zannanas* who are in the process of transition from joining *zannana* to *khusra* community intentionally work in specific areas. Having a specific territory to work ($n = 37$) or not having a specific assigned territory ($n = 106$) is taken to be another indicator of *hijras'* interaction with same people or different people that might effect perception of the attitude was considered.

Table 69

Difference in Perception of People's Attitudes among Those Having Specific Territory to Work and Not Having any Territory (N = 143)

Scales	Specific	No Specific	<i>t</i> (141)	<i>p</i>	95% CI		Cohen's d
	Territory	Territory			LL	UL	
	(<i>n</i> = 37)	(<i>n</i> = 106)					
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)					
HPAS	89.9(16.4)	78.4(21.2)	3.4	.001	3.9	19.0	.61
Rights and Status	40.0(9.1)	37.2(11.7)	1.4	.16	-1.5	6.8	.27
Social Distance	33.4(7.8)	29.0(9.4)	2.7	.008	.92	7.7	.51
Sexual Issues	16.7(6.5)	12.1(4.9)	3.8	.000	2.4	6.5	.80

Note. CI = Confidence Interval; LL = Lower Limit; UL = Upper Limit.

Those who operate in specific territories have more positive perception of attitudes except in rights and status than those who do not operate in specific territories (Table 69).

Age Differences in Perception of Attitudes among *Hijras*

For determining differences along age levels in perception of attitudes, total sample was divided in two groups i.e., age Below 25 years ($n = 60$) and Above 25 years ($n = 83$), and independent sample t -test was computed. Extreme groups could not be used because of much heterogeneity was present in the sample beyond 30 years of age.

Table 70

Age Differences on HPAS among Hijras (N = 143)

Scales	Below 25 ($n = 60$)	Above 25 ($n = 83$)	$t(141)$	p	95% CI		Cohen's d
	$M(SD)$	$M(SD)$			LL	UL	
HPAS	86.3(19.6)	77.9(20.7)	2.45	.01	1.6	15.2	.40
Rights and Status	40.1(10.11)	36.3(11.6)	2.01	.04	.08	7.4	.35
Social Distance	32.0(9.2)	28.2(9.0)	21.0	.04	.19	6.3	.42
Sexual Issues	14.2(5.9)	12.7(5.5)	1.5	.13	-.45	3.4	.26

Note. CI = Confidence Interval; LL = Lower Limit; UL = Upper Limit.

Table 70 shows that those who belong to younger group perceive the attitudes much positively than older group on overall HPAS and subscales except on Sexual Issues where nonsignificant differences are found. Further, to study age differences in detail on perception of attitudes, three groups were categorised --- Below 20 ($n = 18$), 21-30 ($n = 80$), and Above 30 ($n = 45$) for the analysis. One Way ANOVA for the three groups were compared. Significant differences were found for overall HPAS with $F(2, 140) = 3.5, p < .05$; and for Social Distance $F(2, 140) = 6.1, p < .01$, however, for Rights and Status $F(2, 140) = 1.9$ and Sexual Issues $F(2, 140) = .84$ results were nonsignificant. Post hoc analysis using bonferroni correction was used to see the direction in difference for significant F -values only.

Table 71 shows that youngest group is perceiving attitudes more positively and oldest less positively on HPAS. Younger group perceive that people are more accepting of them in close relationship than rest of two groups. Nonsignificant differences exist among remaining

two groups. This shows that comparison along two groups below 25 years and above 25 years is meaningful. Hence, this confirms Hypothesis 4.

Table 71

Post Hoc Analysis for Comparison among Groups on HPAS and Social Distance (N = 143)

	Below 20	21-30 years	Above 30					
	(n = 18)	(n = 80)	(n = 45)				95% CI	
	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>	i > j	D = i-j	S.E.	LL	UL
HPAS	93.2(17.0)	79.9(20.4)	79.3(21.4)	1 > 2	13.2*	5.3	.38	26.0
				1 > 3	13.8*	5.6	.14	27.6
Social Distance	36.7(7.6)	28.6(8.7)	30.3(9.3)	1 > 2	8.1**	2.3	2.5	13.7
				1 > 3	6.4**	2.4	.45	12.4

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Differences on Perception of Attitude along Participants' Feelings for Their Hijra Status

For comparing perception of attitudes among *hijras* liking their *hijra* status or not, independent sample *t*-test was computed between those who want to be *hijra* forever ($n = 42$) and those who do not want to be *hijra* forever ($n = 87$). Fourteen cases were missing for not giving any opinion.

Table 72

Differences among Hijras on HPAS along Liking Hijra Community or Not (N = 129)

Scales	Not Liking	Liking			95% CI		Cohen's
	(n = 42)	(n = 87)	<i>t</i> (127)	<i>p</i>	LL	UL	<i>d</i>
HPAS	73.2(16.6)	84.2(21.9)	2.8	.005	3.3	18.5	-.61
Rights and Status	34.3(10.5)	39.4(11.4)	2.4	.015	1.0	9.3	-.46
Social Distance	27.7(8.1)	31.2(9.7)	2.0	.046	.06	6.9	-.41
Sexual Issues	11.4(3.0)	13.6(5.9)	2.3	.022	.32	4.2	-.47

Note. CI = Confidence Interval; LL = Lower Limit; UL = Upper Limit.

Results in Table 72 reveal that those who do not want to be *hijra* forever have significantly less positive perception of attitudes than those who want to be *hijra* for ever. This confirms Hypothesis 5.

Differences between Depressed and Nondepressed *Hijras* on Perception of Attitudes

Out of the total sample, 56 *hijras* reported frequently experiencing extreme sadness and weeping spells for their *hijra* status, while 69 did not report feelings of sadness and gloom. Eighteen reported experiencing depression sometimes, therefore they were not included in analysis.

Results in Table 73 show that those who feel depressed frequently being *hijra* have more negative perception of attitudes than those who do not feel depressed except that nonsignificant difference exist in sexual issues. This confirms Hypothesis 6.

Table 73

Differences among Hijras on HPAS along Experiencing Depression (N = 125)

Scales	Nondepressed (n = 69)	Depressed (n = 56)	t(123)	p	95% CI		Cohen's d
	M(SD)	M(SD)			LL	UL	
HPAS	86.1(18.1)	77.3(22.1)	2.4	.017	1.6	15.8	.44
Rights and Status	39.9(10.0)	35.8(11.2)	2.1	.035	.29	7.8	.39
Social Distance	32.2(8.4)	28.7(9.9)	2.2	.032	.31	6.8	.38
Sexual Issues	13.9(6.4)	12.8(5.2)	1.0	.30	-.99	3.2	.22

Note. CI = Confidence Interval; LL = Lower Limit; UL = Upper Limit.

Differences on Perception of Attitudes along Carrying Oneself in Familial Home

Hijras once join *hijra* community avoid going to their familial homes frequently. If they visit home, it is in *khotki* [male clothes in *hijras*' language] with the desire not to become source of embarrassment for their family members. They start visiting home in *firqa* [female clothes in *hijras*' language] when acceptance in family emerge. Therefore, taking this as an indicator of familial acceptance of *hijras*, comparison of those who visit home in *khotki* (n = 110) or in *firqa* (n = 28) was carried out. This also represents that most of *hijras* experience less acceptance of their feminine interests in their families, therefore, they visit home in male clothes with hair tuck under the caps. Many do not grow hairs and for dance performances they use wigs. Very few visit homes in female clothes, hence, one who is visiting home in *firqa* might have developed acceptance within family or have accepted their female gender

identity. Independent sample *t*-test was computed for comparing perception of attitudes. Out of the total sample, 5 did not report in this category.

Table 74

Differences on HPAS between Those who Visit Home in Khotki [Male Clothing] and Those who Visit Home in Firqa [Female Clothing] (N = 138)

Scales	<i>Firqa</i>	<i>Khotki</i>	<i>t</i> (136)	<i>p</i>	95% CI		Cohen's <i>d</i>
	(<i>n</i> = 28) <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	(<i>n</i> = 110) <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)			LL	UL	
HPAS	89.8(18.1)	79.0(20.9)	2.5	.013	2.3	19.3	.55
Rights and Status	41.6(9.5)	36.9(11.4)	2.0	.046	.08	9.3	.45
Social Distance	33.5(8.5)	29.2(9.2)	2.3	.024	.57	8.2	.49
Sexual Issues	14.7(5.8)	12.9(5.7)	1.4	.16	-.69	4.1	.31

Note. CI = Confidence Interval; LL = Lower Limit; UL = Upper Limit.

Significant differences are found (Table 74). Those who visit home in male clothes (*khotki*) perceive the attitudes much negatively than those who visit home in female clothes (*firqa*). Those who visit in female clothes also perceive attitudes positively along their rights and acceptability in social interaction and proximity from others as compare to those who visit in male clothes. Nonsignificant differences appeared on Sexual Issues. This confirms Hypothesis 7.

Differences in Perception of Attitudes after Having Label of *Hijra*

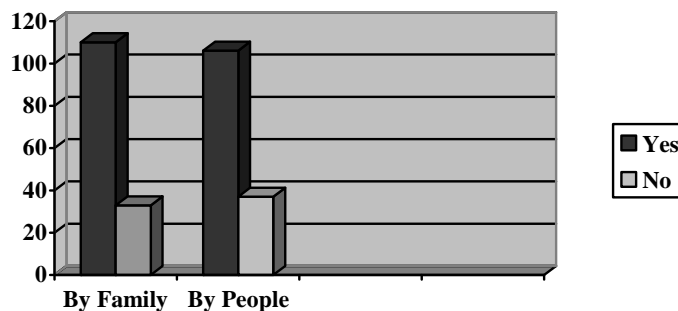


Figure 37. Label of *hijra* given to the person in 12-18 years of age

Labeling plays an important role in social interaction. Label of “*hijra*” assigned to one in 12 – 18 years of age by the people was taken as an indicator that might play a role in perception of attitudes. Those who reported that in the childhood people used to call them “*hijra, khusra, or zannana*” for their feminine characteristics ($n = 110$) were compared against those who did not get this label ($n = 33$). Similarly, label given by the family ($n = 106$) and not given by the family ($n = 37$) in 12 – 18 years of age was also taken to be another indicator. Generally, sample distribution shows that majority had received label from the people and family in lieu of their feminine interests, activities, or characteristics. For comparison, Independent t -test was computed.

Table 75

Difference in Perception of Attitudes along Given a Label of Hijra by the People and Family

Scales	No	Yes	$t(141)$	p	95% CI		Cohen's d
	$M(SD)$	$M(SD)$			LL	UL	
By People ^a							
HPAS	89.1(17.3)	79.1(21.1)	2.7	.014	2.1	17.9	.52
Rights and Status	42.8(8.2)	36.4(11.4)	2.0	.004	2.1	10.6	.64
Social Distance	32.3(8.7)	29.5(9.2)	1.5	.13	-.81	6.3	.31
Sexual Issues	14.1(6.1)	13.1(5.6)	.81	.42	-1.3	3.2	.17
By Family ^b							
HPAS	86.2(16.4)	79.8(21.6)	1.6	.10	-1.3	14.4	.33
Rights and Status	41.9(9.0)	36.5(11.5)	2.6	.011	1.3	9.4	.52
Social Distance	30.5(8.0)	20.0(9.6)	.28	.78	-3.0	4.0	.19
Sexual Issues	13.8(5.5)	13.2(5.8)	.49	.62	-1.6	2.7	.11

Note. ^a n for Yes = 110 and No = 33; ^b n for Yes = 106 and No = 37.

Table 75 shows that those who have been given label of *hijra* by the family and the people in the childhood perceive significantly more negative attitudes that too related to their rights and status than those who have not received these labels. This shows role of label in perceiving people's attitudes. This confirms Hypothesis 8.

Differences on Perception of Attitudes among *Hijras* Involved in Sex Business

Since one of the very significant components of people's attitudes was their belief in *hijras* being sexually deviant, promiscuous, involved in sex business and precursor for AIDs and STDs. Out of the total sample 48 denied being part of sex business, while 94 agreed for having sex business as source of income and sexual pleasure. Two were taken as missing for not responding to the question.

Table 76

Differences in Perception of Attitudes among Those who are Involved in Sex Business and Those who are Not Involved

Scales	No Sex Business	Sex Business	<i>t</i> (140)	<i>p</i>	95% CI		Cohen's <i>d</i>
	(<i>n</i> = 48)	(<i>n</i> = 94)			LL	UL	
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)					
HPAS	87.1(21.1)	78.2(19.8)	2.5	.014	-1.9	11.7	.43
Rights and Status	39.5(11.1)	36.9(11.0)	1.3	.19	-3.5	3.9	.24
Social Distance	32.2(9.1)	29.0(9.0)	2.0	.05	-3.0	5.7	.35
Sexual Issues	15.4(6.2)	12.3(5.1)	3.2	.002	.14	3.9	.57

Results in Table 76 reveal that those who are involved in sex business have more negative perception of people's attitudes that too strongest difference exist for attitudes related to sexual issues, they perceive significantly more strongly that people consider them sexually deviant. Contrary to this, nonsignificant difference exists for Rights and Status subscale. Those who are involved in sex business also perceive much social distance extended from society towards them.

Differences in Perception of Attitudes along Sexual Orientation towards Men

For studying role of sexual orientation in perception of the attitudes (see Figure, 38), various indicators were used i.e., sexual interest in men or not (*n* = 77 and 66 respectively); liking men's interest in oneself or not (*n* = 91 and 51, respectively; one is missing); sexual desire in 12-18 years of age for men (*n* = 28 and 114 respectively; one is missing); and penile ejaculation during sex with men and not (*n* = 82 and 35, respectively; remaining 26 did not report hence not included in the analysis).

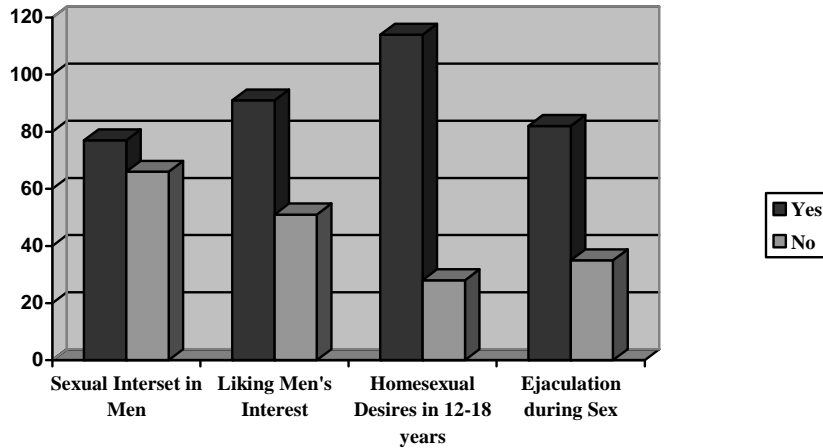


Figure 38. Indicators of homosexual interests

These all were taken as indicator of men as their object of sexual orientation. Sample distribution shows that most of them have sexual interest in men and they like men's interest in them and desiring for men has its roots since childhood. Many ejaculate during sexual interactions with men. Independent sample *t*-test was used to check the role of sexual orientation in perception of attitudes.

For *hijras*' sexual interest in men nonsignificant results appeared on overall scale and subscales except for subscale Sexual Issues (see Table 77). Those who have sexual interest in men have less positive perception of peoples' attitudes related to sexual issues i.e., believing that people consider *hijras* to be sexually promiscuous and reason for spread of STDs and homosexuality. For another indicator i.e., liking men's sexual interest in them significant difference also appeared, along Sexual Issues and Social Distance. Those who like men's showing sexual interest in them perceive much social distance prevailing between them and society and people's less acceptance of *hijras* in close relationship. On overall scale a tilt towards significance $p = .06$ is present. Having sexual desire for men between 12-18 years of age is the good indicator and significance is emerging on overall scale including subscales Social Distance and Sexual Issues. Again those who had interest in men in this period of life perceive society's attitudes less positively than those who did not have interest. Ejaculation during sex with men is another indicator that not only strongly endorses their homosexual

behaviour but also validates their sexual interest. Those who ejaculate during sex significantly perceive people's attitudes negatively including violation of basic human rights and fewer acceptances in close relationship. Overall Hypothesis 9 is confirmed (Table 77).

Table 77

Differences on HPAS along Sexual Orientation towards Men

Scales	Yes	No	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI		Cohen's <i>d</i>
	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>			LL	UL	
Sexual Interest in Men ^a							
HPAS	79.2(19.8)	84.1(21.5)	1.4	.157	1.8	15.9	-.24
Rights and Status	37.8(10.6)	38.0(11.6)	.10	.923	-1.3	6.4	-.02
Social Distance	28.9(9.0)	31.6(9.3)	1.8	.078	-.01	6.3	-.31
Sexual Issues	12.4(5.0)	14.4(6.3)	2.1	.035	1.2	5.1	-.35
Liking Men's Interest in Them ^b							
HPAS	78.9(20.2)	85.7(21.0)	1.9	.06	-.31	13.9	-.33
Rights and Status	37.7(10.8)	38.1(11.8)	.19	.85	-3.5	4.2	-.04
Social Distance	28.7(9.0)	32.7(9.1)	2.6	.011	.94	7.2	-.44
Sexual Issues	12.5(5.1)	14.9(6.4)	2.4	.018	.40	4.3	-.41
Sexual Desire for Men in 12-18 years ^c							
HPAS	79.2(19.1)	89.8(24.6)	2.5	.015	2.1	19.1	-.48
Rights and Status	37.6(10.7)	39.2(12.8)	.69	.49	-3.0	6.3	-.31
Social Distance	28.9(8.5)	35.1(10.4)	3.3	.001	2.4	9.8	-.65
Sexual Issues	12.7(5.2)	15.6(6.6)	2.4	.016	.53	5.2	-.49
Ejaculation during Sex ^d							
HPAS	75.8(18.9)	88.2(18.9)	3.3	.002	4.8	20.0	-.65
Rights and Status	35.7(10.7)	41.8(10.3)	2.9	.005	1.9	10.4	-.58
Social Distance	27.9(8.6)	33.1(8.6)	3.0	.003	1.8	8.7	-.60
Sexual Issues	12.2(4.6)	13.2(5.9)	.99	.32	-1.0	3.0	-.21

Note. ^a *n* for Yes = 77 and No = 66; ^b *n* for Yes = 91 and No = 51; ^c *n* for Yes = 114 and No = 28; ^d *n* for Yes = 82 and No = 35.

^a *df* = 141; ^b *df* = 140; ^c *df* = 140; ^d *df* = 115.

For establishing the role of sexual orientation further, independent sample *t*-test was further conducted to see difference in perception of attitudes along perception of ones' own gender in sexual activity i.e., male (*n* = 8); female (*n* = 80); and *hijra* (*n* = 21). Out of the total sample, 3 were bisexual and 32 did not respond to the question. For analysis female and *hijra* category was considered, rest were excluded from the analysis.

Table 78

Difference in Perception of Attitudes along Perception of One's Gender during Sexual Activity

Scales	Female (n = 80)	Hijra (n = 21)	t(99)	p	95% CI		Cohen's d
	M(SD)	M(SD)			LL	UL	
HPAS	80.9(19.7)	71.2(17.9)	2.0	.045	.23	19.0	.52
Rights and Status	39.1(10.4)	30.7(9.8)	3.3	.001	3.4	13.4	.83
Social Distance	29.3(8.7)	27.7(9.6)	.71	.48	-2.7	5.9	.17
Sexual Issues	12.4(5.3)	12.8(4.5)	.28	.78	-2.9	2.1	-.08

Table 78 shows that those who perceive them as female in sexual activity, perceive people's attitudes significantly more positively and that too in giving them rights and status than those who consider them as *hijra* in sexual activity.

Differences on Perception of Attitudes along Personal View of Ones Gender Identity

Offering prayers is ones personal affair which is mostly performed in home setting by *hijras*. Wearing *firqa* or *khotki*, while offering *salat* [prayers] was taken as an indicator of one's personal concept of gender identity. Participants revealed that most ($n = 106$) of *hijras* offer prayers in male clothes than female clothes ($n = 26$), hence show that majority of them perceive them as of male gender than female. Out of the total sample, 9 did not report in this category.

Table 79

Difference in Perception of Attitudes along Personal View of Ones Gender Identity While Offering Prayers

Scales	Prayers in <i>Firqa</i> (n = 26)	Prayers in <i>Khotki</i> (n = 106)	t(130)	p	95% CI		Cohen's d
	M(SD)	M(SD)			LL	UL	
HPAS	89.2(20.7)	78.8(20.2)	2.3	.022	1.5	19.1	.51
Rights and Status	41.0(10.4)	36.7(11.0)	1.8	.07	-.42	9.0	.40
Social Distance	32.3(9.2)	29.4(9.2)	1.4	.14	-1.1	6.9	.32
Sexual Issues	15.8(6.3)	12.7(5.6)	2.5	.015	.61	5.6	.52

Results in Table 79 shows that those who offer prayers in male clothing (*khotki*) have significantly more negative perception of attitude than those who wear female clothes (*firqa*). For subscales significant differences have emerged in the same direction except for Social Distance where nonsignificant difference is observed.

Differences on Perception of Attitudes along Experiencing Sexually Abuse

Abuse in any form is an indicator of human right violation; therefore, sexual abuse was taken as an indicator of severe victimization extended from society towards *hijras*. One of the question asked in the interview was about participant’s reporting of experiencing sexual abuse being *hijra* or not. This experience of sexual abuse was as perceived by the participant. Out of the total sample, 13 did not respond to the question, while 24 reported no history of sexual abuse, while 112 reported sexually abused being *hijra*.

Table 80

Differences among Hijras on HPAS along Experiencing Sexual Abuse or Not (N = 136)

Scales	No Sexual Abuse (n = 24)	Sexual Abuse (n = 112)	t(134)	p	95% CI		Cohen’s d
	M(SD)	M(SD)			LL	UL	
HPAS	90.3(20.9)	79.4(20.1)	2.4	.018	1.9	19.9	.53
Rights and Status	40.3(11.1)	37.3(11.2)	1.2	.237	-2.0	7.9	.27
Social Distance	34.4(9.1)	29.4(9.0)	2.4	.016	.94	9.0	.55
Sexual Issues	15.5(7.2)	12.6(4.9)	2.4	.017	.54	5.3	.47

Note. CI = Confidence Interval; LL = Lower Limit; UL = Upper Limit.

Results in Table 80 reveal that those who have been sexually abused have more significant negative perception of attitudes on overall HPAS and subscales than those who have not been sexually abused except on perception of rights and status extended towards *hijras* by the society on which nonsignificant differences are found.

Perception of Familial Attitudes

On the basis of biographical interviews, *hijras*’ reporting of their perception of familial attitudes were explored and reported in frequencies and percentages after content analysis. In the Table 81, missing values show nonreporting and where percentages are exceeding 143 it shows that *hijras* have reported more than once on respective variables.

Table 81

Frequencies and Percentages of Perception of Familial Attitudes

Content	<i>f</i>	%
Living with family		
No	123	86.0
Yes	18	12.6
Missing	2	1.4
Reason for labeling as <i>hijra</i>		
Feminine behaviour	68	47.6
Interest in Dancing	8	5.6
Feminine behaviour and dancing	22	15.4
Sexually impotent/incomplete	7	4.9
Missing	38	26.6
Disclosure of <i>hijra</i> status to family		
Yes	133	93
No	7	4.9
They have idea	2	1.4
Missing	1	.7
Age of disclosure to Family		
7-12 years	28	19.6
13-18 years	69	48.2
19-25 years	25	17.5
25-33 years	4	2.8
Missing	17	11.9
Family's reaction on disclosure		
Anger/taunt/ashamed	38	26.6
Beating	52	36.4
Severe beating/isolate	17	11.9
Stopped meeting	1	.7
Distress	1	.7
Indifferent	3	2.1
Supported/ understood	18	12.6
Missing	13	9.1
Age for first thought to leave home		
6-12 years	35	24.5
13-18 years	56	39.2
19-25 years	6	4.2
25-33 years	4	2.8
Missing	42	29.4
Age for leaving home permanently		
6-12 years	31	21.7
13-18 years	61	42.7
19-25 years	26	18.2
25-33 years	4	2.8
Missing	21	14.7

Cont...

Content	<i>f</i>	%
Reasons for leaving home and joining hijra community		
Left on <i>hijras'</i> request/ <i>hijra</i> friend	52	36.4
On family's request	37	25.9
For boy friend	16	11.2
For saving life	14	9.8
For avoiding abuse	3	2.1
For personal identity	21	14.7
For love and affection	15	10.5
For money	42	29.4
Due to poverty	29	20.3
For sexual pursuits	40	28.0
For interest in dancing/ singing	26	18.2
Label of <i>hijra</i>	7	4.9
Financially supporting family		
No	27	18.9
Yes	106	74.1
Need based	9	6.3
I cant afford	2	1.4
Give only to mother and sisters	31	21.7
Missing	1	.7
Parental acceptance of financial support		
They think Iam doing job	3	2.1
They are helpless	61	42.7
They are greedy	6	4.2
They demand	1	.7
Parental nonacceptance of financial support		
They dont need	6	4.2
They dont like	12	8.4
Missing	21	14.7
Emotional attachment with family members		
Mother	68	47.6
Father	2	1.4
Sister	21	14.7
Brothers	2	1.4
With all	10	7.0
Mother and sisters	27	18.9
Both parents	2	1.4
Any female relative	6	4.2
Any male relative	2	1.4
No one	1	.7
Missing	2	1.4

Table 81 shows that most of the *hijras* (86%) are not living with their families. Many experienced labeling by family because of feminine characteristics, only 4.9% reported incomplete sexual organs or small penis is the reason for label. Out of the total sample, 93%

have disclosed their *hijra* status to family and most of them disclosed between 13-18 years of age. Disclosure led to negative consequences including beating, anger, and isolation. Age between 13-18 years is most crucial to think of leaving home or leaving permanently, a few have also left after 25 years of age. Most of the *hijras*, have left their homes on *hijras*' request, for sexual pursuits, and money. Out of the total sample, 25.9% left on family's request. Few have also left to save their lives and avoid abuse. Personal identity and need for belongingness and acceptance are also among reasons to leave home for *hijra* community.

Out of the total sample, presently around 74% are financially supporting their families; and family also accept financial assistance in most of the cases; 21.7% report that they give money to mothers and sisters only since fathers do not accept their support. Most of the *hijras* have emotional attachment with female relations within family including mothers and sisters. Very few have reported attachment with male relation including brothers and fathers. Many experienced physical abuse by fathers and brothers (frequencies and percentages are not reported here to reduce space) that might be the reason for lack of emotional attachment with them.

Perception of Significant Others' Attitudes and related Experiences

Lastly, attitudes extended by friends, relatives, and neighbours were explored on the basis of biographical interviews of participants of the study. Beside this, reasons for leaving school and changing religious discourse was also explored. Present desire for gender and reasons for becoming *hijra* was also explored along with the desire to get married. Results are reported in frequencies and percentages in Table 82. In the Table 82, missing values show frequency of non-reporting on respective variable by *hijras*. Where percentages are exceeding 143, it shows that *hijras* have reported more than once on respective variables.

Table 82

<i>Frequencies and Percentages of Attitudes Experienced (N = 143)</i>		
Demographics	<i>f</i>	%
Does religion allow gender deviance?		
No	118	82.5
Yes	12	8.4
Don't know	7	4.9
This is from God	2	1.4
Missing	4	2.8
Change in religious faith		
Attend <i>Majlis</i> [ritualistic gatherings of <i>AhleTashee</i>]	138	96.5
Do not attend <i>Majlis</i>	5	3.5
Reasons for leaving studies		
Experienced taunts from others	29	20.3
Lost personal interest	62	43.4
Peer rejection	25	17.5
Teachers/boys harassed and annoyed	28	19.6
Not permitted to interact with girls	4	2.8
Due to poverty	30	21.0
Peers' reaction on disclosure		
Supported/ understood	20	14.0
Indifferent	19	13.3
Anger/taunt	63	44.1
Beating	1	.7
Stopped meeting	8	5.6
Tried to stop me	2	1.4
Missing	30	21
Relatives' reaction on disclosure		
Supported/ understood	5	3.5
Indifferent	20	14.0
Anger/taunt	68	47.6
Beating	7	4.9
Stopped meeting	19	13.3
Tried to stop	1	.7
Missing	23	16.1
Neighbours' reaction on disclosure		
Supported/ understood	12	8.4
Indifferent	26	18.2
Anger/taunt	62	43.4
Beating	1	.7
Stopped meeting	5	3.5
Encouraged	5	3.5
Tried to stop me	2	1.4
Missing	30	21.0
Happy being <i>hijra</i>		
No	30	21
Yes	103	72
Don't know	9	6.3
Missing	1	.7
Personal desire for gender		
Male	25	17.5
Female	61	42.7
<i>Hijra</i>	52	36.4
Missing	5	3.5

Table 82 shows that most of the participants (82.5%) of the study believe that religion does not allow sexual/gender deviances. Only 2 participants reported that their *hijra* status is from God. As mentioned in Sample description, 117(81.8%) were *Sunnis* and 16(11.8%) were *AhleTashee* based on their original families. Still Table 82 shows that 96.5% have changed their religious sect and attend ritualistic ceremonies of *AhleTashee* and visit shrines frequently since they have joined *hijra* community. Most of the participants reported leaving school for loss of interest in studies (43.4%) followed by poverty (21%). However, leaving studies because of experiencing taunts from others, peer rejection, harassment extended by teachers and boys are other prominent reasons. Most of them experienced anger and taunts from peers, relatives, and neighbours on disclosure of their *hijra* like behaviours and tendencies. Only 14% reported being supported by friends.

Discussion

Although, marginalized minority can have negative attitudes and prejudices against majority, but mostly minority is stigmatized since it is a matter of who is more powerful (Herek, 2002). Many studies have focused at the attitudes towards sexual minorities (see e.g., Antoszewski et al., 2007; Hill & Willoughby, 2005; King et al., 2009) and few have focused at the attitudes of sexual minorities towards majority (see e.g., Hudson & Ricketts, 1980; White & Franzini, 1999). The aim of present study was to determine *hijras*' perception of the people's attitudes toward them and comparing these with the attitudes of the people. No quantitative research evidences are found in this regard except qualitative researches that reveal the perception and experiences of negative attitudes by TGs world-over (see e.g., Boellstroff, 2004; Green et al., Sep 1994; Lombardi et al., 2001; Nanda, 1999; Riaz, 1996; Roen, 2001; Sharma, 2000; Totman, 2003).

Present study lies on the assertion that marginalization of *hijras* is not only function of society's attitude towards them but also their reciprocal perception of these attitudes. The anticipation of discrimination and violence without verifying the actual attitudes of the common people leads sexual minorities to conceal their identity (Bucher & Raess, 2007;

Piedfort-Marin et al., 2007). Even people of stigmatised group may not perceive the attitudes at the same level. They do not perceive these negatively till these match with the archetype they are holding related to their affective states, status, expectations, and group identification. Similarly, strong group identification among minority groups leads to more negative perception of attitudes and strong perception of discrimination experienced from majority group as it is considered to be self-relevant (Major & Sawyer, 2009). It is revealed in the present study that despite experiencing discrimination and anger from family and significant others, most of the *hijras* (70%) were contented of their *hijra* status may be because of strong group identification. As per minority stress theory, sense of connectedness with community hold significance in coping against stress generated out of minority status in sexual deviants (see Dentato, 2012; Meyer, 1995, 2003)

Actual experience of discrimination do not lead to invisibility neither invisibility guarantee that one will not face discrimination and violence (Piedfort-Marin et al., 2007) as evident in the present study that many disclosed their joining of *hijra* community in their teens. On disclosure, most of them faced anger, hostility, and taunts from significant others. Since they had been victim of discrimination in their past, presently while responding to the statement of the questionnaires, participants might have anticipated discrimination, hence, showed more negative perception of attitudes than reported by people. It may be because of high level of vigilance in anticipating discrimination and violence exercised, while interacting with dominant group of society (Allport, 1954).

Expectations of more discrimination have more negative outcomes than actually experiencing it (Bucher & Raess, 2007). This maintains ingroup-outgroup divide, which strengthens each other's status and point of views. Incongruence of sexual deviants' cultures and needs with dominant societal structures lead to stress and association with community has buffering affect to undo status (Meyer, 1995, 2003). Positive attitudes displayed by people might be because of element of social desirability (see Ajzen & Cote, 2008). Presently, most of the *hijras* (47.6%) reported to receive label of *hijra* from the family for their feminine behaviour. Stigma attached with TGs accelerates the collective and shared sense of identity

that leads to collective actions (like leaving their families and joining *hijra* community), establishing ingroup/outgroup boundaries, and developing “we” feeling (Broad, 2002). Knowledge of being member of any group (even if it is marginalised) helps in attaining distinct status and generates positive self-evaluation (Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003) that reinforces self-esteem and identity (Bucher & Raess, 2007). That is why perception of discrimination in chronically oppressed people may not affect their self-esteem rather such people may have high self-esteem attributing discrimination to social identity than to themselves (see Major & Sawyer, 2009) and desire to remain *hijra* forever. It is also reflected by the findings as assumed in hypothesis 5 that those who had accepted their *hijra* status and liked their community had less negative perception of attitudes than counterparts. Such perceptions are also evident among those who had accepted their identity as *hijra*/female while offering prayers or visiting their homes in female clothes.

Development of HPAS and HPMHS

AHS and MHS developed to study people’s attitudes and belief in myths related to *hijras* were rephrased to study *hijras*’ perception of these attitudes (HPAS) and perception of people’s beliefs in myths (HPMHS). As studying homophobia is important for essentially the same reason, is to study heterophobia (see White & Franzini, 1999), so are to compare *hijras* perceptions with people’s attitudes. Both conditions can harm individuals holding the attitude and those who are the targets of negative attitudes. Pretesting of HPAS and HPMHS revealed the significance of terminology and variation of language in interpretation i.e., *hijras* perceived *log* [people] as their spectators or clients (*tamashbeen*). For people of society, they referred to the term *duniyadar* [a worldly and socially active man] in Urdu language (Merriam Webster Dictionary, 2013). Marginalised and stigmatised communities generate their own set of symbols to facilitate communication among them that have survival value and maintain their secrecy (see Rubington & Weinberg, 1987; Thio, 1988).

The scales were given new titles and were considered as new measures as these were meant for totally new target population and could not be used for general people (see e.g., White & Franzini, 1999). Psychometric properties showed good internal consistency for

HPAS and acceptable for HPMHS. Nonetheless, for Sainly characteristics, it was very low. That may be because the sample was heterogeneous including *khusras* and *zannanas*. The percentage of *khusras* was quite low in the sample and it is mostly *khusras* who propagate these saintly based myths (Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000) who claim to be *asli* having effects in their blessings and curses. While *zannanas* are MtF TGs, some are in *hijra* community for earning money (29.4%) or because of poverty (20.3%) as evident in the present study (see Riaz, 1996). *Zannanas* might not consider the saintly characteristics in a similar fashion than myths related to Asexuality and Nature of *hijras* as compare to *khusras* who perceived the myths more readily and strongly than *zannanas* as evident in present research. However, construct validity based on subscale to total correlation and inter-subscale correlations for both HPAS and HPMHS was sound (Cohen & Swerdlick, 2007).

Diversity in Hijra Community

Multiple sampling techniques were used as much gender diversity existed in *hijra* community and *hijras* were reluctant to be part of any research study for maintaining confidentiality and controlling information related to them (see Jami, 2005; Mabey, 2007; Nanda, 1999; Yip, 2007). It was to increase variability in participation. Multiple sampling techniques are often used with sexual minorities to help them in maintaining confidentiality (see Meyer, 1995, 2003; Rankin, 2007; Yip, 2007). As hypothesized most of *hijras* in the present study were MtF TGs or TS. Only one intersexed/hermaphrodite was found who was not in dancing and singing role but performing the duties of a servant in a *hijra's* household in Faisalabad. This shows that the claim of *hijra* being *asli* is not true (see also Boellstroff, 2004; Riaz, 1996; Teh, 2001; Totman, 2004), it's just a matter of portraying identity to the society for maintaining their historical role of *khawajasara* (Khan & Ayub, 2003). Hence, their survival is based on falsehood and myths (Jami, 2005). This belief that they are intersexed/hermaphrodite has proved to be a myth.

In the present sample, *narban* (7%) were taken to be *zannanas* who had undergone castration, but had not yet joined *khusra* community. They were in the process of looking for any *khusra* household for their permanent settlement as *Khusra* and had received many offers

for that. Some had yet not disclosed their castration except to a few close friends as they wanted to prolong their stay in *zannana* community before *Khusras* came to know about their changed status to TS from TG. In that case, these *narban zannanas* would start facing pressure to join *Khusra* community as soon as possible as per *hijras* policy i.e., those *hijras* who have undergone operations have to join *khura* subculture to maintain their lineage after embracing asexuality through castration.

Present study revealed that declared gays (1.4%; also called them shemales) had also joined *hijra* community as *zannanas*, although these were few in number. They affirmed their lack of association with the community, rather one posited “we hate female like *hijras*”. Main reason for their affiliation with *hijra* community was to have some *guru* to derive social security if they had run into any problem with clients and police. Having a *guru* within *hijra* community gave them a cover for their activities and a guarantee of their safety. Inclusion criteria for sample selection in the present study was *hijra* having role of *guru* or *chela* and they fulfilled this criteria. Otherwise, as reported by these participants, they and many like them were living in their homes or in independent set ups; studying in universities or pursuing their jobs/business; visited *hijras* on special occasions only like birthday parties; preferred to stay in circle of men ; and many performed the duties just like call girls and escorts for affluent men. Sharma (2000) also found that some *hijras* performed role of *hijra* just to protect them from police before joining *hijra* community.

Comparison of Peoples’ Attitudes and *Hijras*’ Reciprocal Perception

Analyses revealed significant differences between people’s attitudes and perception of these attitudes by *hijras*. *Hijras*’ perception was more negative than people’s attitudes as assumed (see Nanda, 1999) except nonsignificant difference appeared on attitudes related to acceptance in social relationships and reciprocal perceptions. In the present study, many *hijras* reported experiencing discrimination and violence. Violation of basic need of identity led them to perceive negative attitudes from the society at large. According to Becker, it is not the act which is deviant, but the consequences of others perception and definition of that act (as cited in Sharma, 2000) and social definition affects self-definition through process of

internalization. The same is evident in the present study, where the people and their families assigned label of *hijra* to most of the participants and gradually *hijras* started accepting that.

Facing familial rejections and humiliation (PUCL-K, Sep 2003; Riaz, 1996) and lack of acceptance at large (see Crooks & Baur, 2005) may be because of homosexuality (Tolentino, 2000). Such people are forced to leave their homes and join *hijra* community and face further discrimination (Leonard, 2005). They experience violence because of social environment that put severe sanctions for violating social norms (Lombardi et al., 2001). Findings in the present sample have also revealed that many experienced punishments, taunts, anger, and hostility from family, especially, from male members of the family, relatives, neighbourhood, and peers. Family asked them to leave the home because of their feminine inclinations or interest in dancing and singing which is in clear contradiction of dominant society's structures (see Meyer, 1995). Because of stigmatization and economic discrimination, many joined *hijra* community for earning money. Such incidences are enough to perceive others' attitudes negatively.

Nonsignificant difference on Social Distance may be based on Kurt Lewin's "marginal man" concept (as cited in White & Franzini, 1999) that suggests that the marginal status of sexual deviants cause them to develop a rational rather than a traditional view of life, resulting in lower scores than those of heterosexuals. Messages received during the socialization process, apply unequally to the members of majority and minority groups. And minority group members face barriers to full social and cultural participation. Therefore, critically examine their social situation and rely on their ability to reason out means of overcoming the barriers that they face. Affiliation with the community helps to overcome stress out of minority status and have a feeling of connectedness (Meyer, 1995, 2003)

If we assume *hijras* as third gender role (see Nanda, 1999), in the present study, comparison was carried out among three genders. In gender differences, *hijras* were perceiving attitudes more negatively than men's and women's actual attitudes; women had the most positive attitudes. *Hijras'* perception may or may not be based on actual experiences of discrimination and violence against them but based on expectations, nevertheless, unfair

jokes and negative remarks are experienced more than anticipated (see Bucher & Raess, 2007) in daily life or more intensely anticipated than in actual (Allport, 1954). And in daily errands *hijras* interact with men more than women that affect men's attitudes.

Men's negative attitude can be attributed to traditional gender role attitudes, masculinity, extremist tendencies, that make them intolerant towards gender diversities (see Chapter 5), while women are more egalitarian and modern in gender role attitudes and nurturing in their approach. Present findings revealed that *hijras* were involved in sex business and homosexual activities (see also Baqi et al., 1999; Bokhari et al., 2007; Hyder & Khan, 1998; Khan & Khilji, 2002; Khan et al., 2008; National AIDS Control Programme, Ministry of Health, 2008; Pakistan National AIDS Control Programme, 2002; Rajabali et al., 2008; Rehan, 2006; Shafi & Ali, 2006). This might also be reason for them in perceiving people's attitudes more negatively in the line of their own sexual deviance.

Differential Perception of Attitudes by *Khusras* and *Zannanas*

Comparing the perception of attitudes among *khusras* and *zannanas*, *khusras* had positive perception of attitudes than *zannanas*. However, on myths nonsignificant difference existed. Previous research shows that TG experience discrimination not only in society but also within LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender) community (see Martin, 2008). LG consider TGs as disordered as *khusras* consider the *zannanas* because of their sexual activities (see PUCL-K, Sep 2003). In present research, *khusras* highlight *zannanas*' anti-normative activities. Many *zannanas* also accepted their affiliation with sex business (see Pande, 2004; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999) which is a prominent profession of *zannanas* (see *Kothis* in PUCL-K, Sep 2003) than *khusras*. Multiple stigmatizations from society and within *hijra* community act as double sword for *zannans* (see Dentato, 2012). Workplace discrimination forced them to join prostitution, entertainment sector, or other hidden errands (Martin, 2008).

Youth who disclose their transgendered status are met with discrimination and hostility, scorn, attacked, and locked into or thrown out of their homes (Lombardi et al.,

2001). For the fear of anticipated discrimination and violence, many sexual deviants prefer to remain invisible to avoid negative consequences of disclosure fearing that conservative population will not accept them (see Boellstroff, 2004; Little, 2001; Meyer, 1995; Pratt & Buzwell, 2006; Weiss, 2007). In the present study as well, 17.5% disclosed their *hijra* tendencies in adulthood and left home (18.2%) permanently at this stage. They kept concealing in young age for the fear of negative consequences. Regardless of age, disclosure brought ruthless beating or isolation mostly extended by male members of the family. Many a times disclosure was accidental, when any family member caught them while they were performing in functions or after recovering make up kits and female dresses from their wardrobes. Such incidents often brought in as sign of relief and helped in overtly expressing one's cross-gendered desires and feelings and acted as turning points in their life for joining *hijra* community. Discovery and arrest is found to have relieving effect for deviants that help them to harmonise their personal and social identity (see Rubington & Weinberg, 1987).

Interviews with the participants revealed that *khusras* mostly worked in specific territories that they had inherited from their *gurus* or *dadguru* [grand mentor in *hijras*' language] as *werath* [inheritance in *hijras*' language]. They work in these territories only and nobody is allowed to go in others' as per rules of *Khusra* community. *Zannanas* do not have any specific territory, however, few *zannanas* had also reported for having specific territories in which they worked in. Hence, interacted with specific people residing in those areas. Contrary to this, those who did not have specific assigned territories met many people on daily basis and might face discrimination, harassment, taunts, etc. frequently.

As assumed, those who did not operate in specific areas perceived attitudes more negatively. Besides this, *khusras*' is more respectable subculture (see deviant subcultures in Rubington & Weinberg, 1987; Thio, 1988) in *hijra* community (Riaz, 1996) and they hold good repute in their residential areas. This respectable repute they have earned through their good deeds in those areas over a period of time (Jami, 2005). Previous research evidences show that only powerful and well placed sexual deviants are openly visible (see Bucher & Raess, 2007; Mule, 2007; White & Gerke, 2007) and high SES in sexual deviants is a

significant moderating variable against minority stress in positive direction (see Meyer, 1995). In present research, *khusras* were financially sound and interacting more frequently at personal level in an acceptable way with people in their residential settings as compare to *zannanas*. *Zannanas* are not allowed to enter in residential boundaries, till they prove their asexuality by hiding their sexual organs. To be acceptable as true *hijra* among people is a deriving force for *zannanas* to opt for castration and become *narban*.

Age Differences in Perception of Attitudes

Those *hijras* who belonged to younger group perceived the attitudes much positively than older group. This might be because when they are young they find much appreciation for their beauty and have contentment in their sexual relationships. They have the energies and enjoy being active member of *hijra* community. Initially, they don't have the idea of consequences of being *hijra* which becomes evident gradually. As in the present study, 36.4% of *hijras* with the passage of time had realized that they could not become women but *hijra* only against 46.7% who still wanted to be women. Negative impact of being *hijra* appears with age (see Winter & Doussantousse, 2006). Drummond (2006) found that age and youthful looks count a lot; age over 40 seems no more attractive being in gay community. It is good in 17-18 or 25-32 years, but after this, it is hard. Young sexual deviants don't have understanding of HIV, as they have not yet undergone through this. Younger group have high Andoallure and Pleasure, but not for MtF transsexuals (Docter & Fleming, 2001). Therefore, this age difference in attitudes might be function of type of *hijra*.

In the present research, age below and above 25 years had significance in perceiving attitudes. This shows that after 25 years many *hijras* start experiencing the negative consequences of disclosure and being *hijra* affect their perception of attitudes, hence, regrets may emerge. Similarly, presently *hijras* who did not want to remain *hijra* forever had more negative perception of attitudes than those who wanted to be *hijra* forever. Desire to remain *hijra* or not is the function of age that needs to be explored further. For gay men, midlife is in their thirties and involve renegotiation of their self-identity as they no longer feel valued at home or in commercial, party-oriented youth culture (Leonard, 2005, p. 96). Age 20-30 years

is youthful and peak period for *kathoey* of Thailand to earn money by virtue of their beauty and youth (Totman, 2003). Since present research evidences showed that most of the *hijras* have sexual interest in men and are involved in sex business, therefore, research evidences related to homosexuals seem logical justifications.

Opting for castration in case of *hijras* emerge with age. Old queers foresee loneliness and despair, for accepting few aspects of ones identity (Hughes, 2006). Those *khusras* who get older and do not possess assets act as either support group for the young *hijras* or they live a life of misery (Singh, 2001) and many believe that there is no need to expose oneself among heterosexual group (Lovett & Mannie de Saxe, 2006). That may be the reason for none of the member of *Khusra* community has come forward in ongoing movement for their right of gender identity in Pakistan, as they do not want to disclose actual gender identity of being TS than intersexed to the society. Presently Almas Boby (one of the participant of present research), a MtF TS, is heading this movement and she by desire heads *zannanas/shemales* community not *khusra* community.

In West, there is growing trend to carry out research on ageing LGBTI (Harrison, 2006). Still, there is dearth of research on older TGs. Older queers not only meet with discrimination from mainstream heterosexual community but within their community too (Lo, 2006). This multiple stigmatization leads to minority stress which cause mental health problems (Meyer, 1995; 2003). Therefore, there is dire need to carry research on ageing *hijras*. Mostly it is believed that sexual minorities become sexually inactive while growing older as compare to heterosexual males (Lovett & Mannie de Saxe, 2006). That may be the reason that young *hijras* had positive perception despite of the discrimination they experienced on disclosing their tendencies to others. In young age, many conceal their cross-gendered interests from the families or others; in the present study too, most *hijras* visited their homes in male clothes than female. Age factor is important in *hijra* community, and younger *hijras* are inducted readily than older ones (Sharma, 2000) as their socialisation is much easier (Riaz, 1996). On entrance, they are showered with gifts, appreciation, and affection by *guru* and spectators (Nanda, 1999; Sharma, 2000) which is sufficient condition to

make their perceptions much in positive direction as social support plays an important role in TGs' mental health and coping distress (Meyer, 1995, 2003; Smith, 2002).

Comparison along Sexuality

Out of the total sample, 66% agreed for their indulgence in sex business (see Pande, 2004; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999). This strengthens people's attitudes and belief in sexual promiscuity/deviance of *hijras*. Those who were involved in sex business perceived the attitudes negatively with more pronounced difference on the subscale Sexual Issues. Their anti-normative activities made them sensitive in perceiving society's attitudes towards their sexual practices and perceived much social distance extended by society by virtue of being sexually deviant. Pakistan is at risk for increased incidences of HIV/AIDS because of lack of awareness and unprotected sexual practices and among all groups *hijras* are considered to be main proponent for offering sexual services to men at very low cost (see PUCL-K, Sep 2003; Rajabali et al., 2008). Men prefer them over female prostitutes for no fear of pregnancy, and because their families cannot think of their sexual relations with *hijras* (see Boellstroff, 2004). Although, segregated from mainstream, like prostitution, it can be considered as necessary evil as women's place is highly protected in eastern world.

A few items in the AHS revealed people's belief in *hijras'* role in propagating homosexuality. Therefore, analysis for perception of attitudes along their sexual orientation was also carried out. More than half of the *hijras* (54%) declared their sexual interest in men, 64% liked men's sexual interest in them, and 57% endorsed that they did have ejaculation during sex with men. As the MtF TGs mature, their liking for men is obvious phenomenon (Chaudhry, 1994; Smith, 2002). Sexuality plays an important role in their gender identity or else they try to conform to the normative standards (Graham, 2005). Of the total sample, 80% revealed that they had sexual interest in men in their adolescence around 12-18 years which various researchers have found to be noteworthy. Early sexual experiences might lead to interpersonal and sexual problems, depression, and low self-esteem (Hazzard, 1998), hence, generate identity crisis. Cohen-Kettenis and Pfafflin (2003) found that boys as young as 5 can have sexual interest in other boys that they exhibit before school age. Sometimes unwanted

sexual experience in children later develop into homosexual tendencies (Caballo-Diequez & Dolezal, 1995; Eskin et al., 2005; Finlinson et al., 2003; Hughes & Eliason, 2002; Kalichman et al., 2001; Stanley et al., 2004). Later in adulthood, some consider these early sexual experiences as childhood sexual abuse and some do not (Dolezal & Carballo-Diequez, 2002; Stanely et al., 2004). Transvestites' high score on pleasure shows importance of sexual pleasure in cross-dressing that lessens with the course of life. Sexual orientation has been found to be an important variable in both TS and transvestites (Leonard, 2005, p. 96).

The indicators used in the present study, clearly divulge *hijras*' homosexual interests and tendencies. Hence, support people's belief of their role in promoting homosexuality. However, in the study, 57% considered them as female in sexual advances and might consider their relationship as heterosexual (see for *warias* of Indonesia in Boellstroff, 2004) in nature rather than homosexual. Only 5.5% considered them as male in sexual interactions. Interestingly, 14.6% considered them neither male nor female but *hijra*, a third gender role (see Winter & Doussantousse, 2006). This feeling of being *hijra* also emerged in later age as evident in interviews. In young age, most of *hijras* considered them as girl in sexual relationship with men. The realization that one cannot become women in true sense no matter how much efforts one put in emerged with age, hence, started considering them as *hijra* not woman. The mixed feelings about ones gender may reflect upon MtF TGs desire to become woman, still they don't own many feminine characteristics and aspire for the traits which are less stereotypically female (see Winter & Udomsak, 2002).

Analysis along sexual orientation showed that having men as object of sexual attraction lead to negatively perceiving people's attitudes, but no difference existed in perception of rights and status awarded by the society. Contrary to this, relating with ejaculation during sexual intercourse, significant difference existed on this aspect, but nonsignificant on sexual aspects. Those who considered them as female in sexual interactions had positive perception of attitudes than those who considered them *hijras*. That may because who perceived them as female, their sexual partners also considered them as female in sexual advances and might awarded them due status of female (see Weinberg et al., 1999) that

strengthened their femininity and self-esteem as partner considered them real woman (Boellstroff, 2004; Eyre et al., 2004; Wiessing et al., 1999). In exacting their femaleness, sometimes they maintain relationship with boyfriends for longer period of time and adopt children, which is acceptable in neighbourhood (Boellstroff, 2004). In the present study as well, one of the participants reported to have adopted male child of boyfriend and was rearing it like mother since his birth.

Same-sex desire and sexual behavior lead men to infer that they are somewhat feminine and women to infer that they are somewhat masculine. After labeling themselves as masculine or feminine, individuals may then try to act in accordance with these identities. If an individual reaches the point of self-identifying as gay or lesbian, labeling theory predicts that the individual will then behave in ways consistent with the new label. Label is facilitative in nature (Gelman et al., 1986; Rees, 1996). According to labeling and sex-role identity theory, sexual orientation comes first, perhaps as a result of biological predispositions. Sexual orientation then strongly influences the individual's self-perceptions of his or her degree of masculinity and femininity. Thus, sex-role identities and labels are proposed as mediating variables that link sexual orientation to other stereotypically masculine and feminine behaviors (Lippa, 2002).

Role of Labeling

Label of *hijra* given by the society and the family in childhood effects future interaction and self-concept. Interaction is reciprocal in nature. *Hijras* internalize the label/stigma as internal working models. In the present study, those who had received the label in childhood perceived violation of their rights and status by the people in society. Majority (80%) revealed receiving such a label from people and family (74%). Feminine interest and behaviours brought in this label in childhood. Haider and Bano (2006) posited that term *hijra* is often used as an adjective for the person who is whimsical and feminine in behavior (see also Sharma, 2000; Ekins & King, 2006). Such labels act as self-fulfilling prophecies and effect future behaviour. These lead towards exploring opportunity as member of *hijra* community where one can overtly exhibit feminine tendencies without any fear.

Labels/stigma cause stress which is reflected in mental health problems of sexual deviants (see Meyer, 1995, 2003) as in the present sample many reported to be depressed, sad, and experiencing weeping spells being *hijra*.

People often list physical appearance, traits other than instrumentality and expressiveness (soft and fragile, macho and tough), biological characteristics (bears children and has certain hormone levels), sexuality (not gay, virile, and seductive), and social roles to define masculinity and femininity. One noteworthy finding from studies on common judgments of masculinity and femininity is that women are judged based on their physical attractiveness more than men are (see for review Lippa, 2001). *Hijras* receive label because of their looks and gait as indicators of femininity, hence, rejected in their male role. Men with feminine characteristics are often perceived as homosexuals (Semp, 2008). This lack of acceptance at the part of society makes them to perceive discrimination on the basis of basic human right to live the way one wants.

Role of Familial and Personal Acceptance of One's Gender Identity

Significant differences appeared in perceiving the attitudes between those who visited home in male than female clothes with former having more negative perceptions. Most of *hijras* (77%) visit their original families in male than female clothes which shows less acceptance in family of their transgenderd status. This can also be because of concealing their cross-gendered interests from the family (see Smith, 2002) or family's desire to hide from the neighbourhood, therefore, might demand from the *hijra* to visit home in male clothes. Display of cross-gendered identity is an issue for the family (Reiner, 1996). Children are often pressurized to conform to the gender stereotypes (Maccoby, 2000), especially, boys feel more pressured to conform than girls that effects psychosocial adjustment (Abbas, 2002).

Feminist psychology emphasizes the social construction of gender through social construction of sex (Hird, 2002d). Like other social groupings, sexual minorities are also socially constructed (Herek, 2009). Lack of acceptance of cross-gendered behaviour in family and society might lead towards gender dysphoria (Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003; Ekins & King, 2006; Hughes & Eliason, 2002), hence, result in negative perception of attitudes.

Therefore, in order to avoid conflict with family or other embarrassing situation, *hijras* prefer to go in male clothes or it is demanded by family. Obviously, family undergoes a lot of tension if any of their male child converts into *hijra*. They feel embarrassment and experience humiliation (see Beh & Diamond, 2006; Diamond, 2006a; Diamond & Beh, 2005; Pande, 2004; Sharma, 2000). Research evidences reveal that TGs are either thrown out of their families or they are not allowed to visit home frequently.

Acceptance emerged with time when *hijras* start financially supporting their families. Providing financial assistance to the family may be to gain acceptance in family (Boellstroff, 2004; PUCL-K, Sep 2003; Riaz, 1996) or because of poverty (Sharma, 2000). Where parents accepted financial support, gradually they also started accepting their son's *hijra* status. Indulgence in sex work makes the acceptance more difficult (PUCL-K, Sep, 2003). That is why participants of the present research reported that they did not share their earnings of sex business with the family as it is *haram* [prohibited in Islam], but shared those which they earned through asking alms. Reportedly, they perform *Hajj* or send their parents for *Hajj* out of their earnings based on *wadhai* or alms than money earned through sex business. Various researchers have devised models of emerging acceptance in the family that pass through various stages of gender development in TGs and homosexuals (see Cass, 1979; Ekins & King, 2006; Rosefeld as cited in Lesser, 1999). In the present research, there were two extremes; some families accepted the castration, while others always demanded *hijra*, to visit home only in male attire.

Permanent cross-dressing is function of acceptance in the family. Personal acceptance of one's status as either female or *hijra* (may get castration) and achieving congruence in personal and social identity might result in taking daring step to visit home in female clothes. That might be the reason for perceiving attitudes positively along their rights and status and proximity in social interaction among those who visited home in female attire than in male clothes. Those who visited in male clothes might do so because many do not want to remain *hijra* forever and might think of leaving *hijra* community anytime in future,

therefore, they maintained their male status for return back to society (see transformation in deviant subcultures in Rubington & Weinberg, 1987).

Reportedly, most of the *hijras* wore male clothes while offering prayers as per their original sex bestowed from Allah. *Hijras* who performed *hajj* also did so while performing *Hajj*. Very few *khusras* reported offering prayers in female clothes who were permanent cross-dressers and had accepted their *hijra* status. The way one offers prayers is personal affair. Wearing female or male clothes at the time of offering prayers was taken to be *hijra*'s concept of gender identity. Findings revealed, those who wore male clothes in offering prayers had more negative perception of attitudes than those who offered prayers in female clothes. This might be because those who had accepted their female status or had affirmed their desired gender as “being” than “doing” only (Ekins & King, 2006, p. 35) were fully contented and did not consider their male sex in religious practices. They started analysing the interactions with society in positive direction. Contrary to this, who wore male clothes experienced discrepancy in their actual sex and their desired gender roles. They were confused about their gender or might be in the process of un-gendering or in oscillating phase in which they keep fluctuating from one gender role to other. This may take form of sufferings or considering oneself “being different” (Ekins & King, 2006).

Many *hijras* (82.5%) endorsed that religion do not allow gender transgression, while only 1.4% considered this transgression God given. To undo negative aspects related to their status in religion, some sexual deviants settled into their own spirituality, tried to reframe negative religious discourse, and came up with new discourse that led to much positive view about themselves (see Boellstroff, 2004; Hillier et al., 2008, Yip, 2007). Mostly such new discourse is the one not endorsed by religion. Leaving religion (then) has the survival value (Hillier et al., 2008). In the present research 96.5% of *hijras* embraced the rituals of *Ahle Tashee* (*Shias*) regardless of their own (from biological family) sectarian affiliation (81.8% were *Sunnis*) once they joined *hijra* community. That may be because singing and dancing in shrines is acceptable in *Shias* than in *Sunnis*. *Hijras* preferred to visit shrines and indulged in related religious practices which are much endorsed in *Ahle Tashee* than other sects.

This discrepancy might effect their interaction with society and perception of attitudes in negative direction. Bucher and Raess (2007) found in their study that homosexuals fear more discrimination in church than any other setting for religion not accepting their sexual orientation. Hence, religion underlie sexual discrimination (see also Mabey, 2007) and effects perception of attitudes. To reduce stress and fear of stigmatization many sexual deviants counter-reject those institutions that do not accept their sexuality and join support groups as safe place for expressing their sexuality (Yip, 2007) and to satisfy their need of spirituality to reduce distress while facing religion based discrimination (Mabey, 2007).

Having feeling of being sinners and lack of social support they struggle with religious beliefs. Participants of the present study reported that they send their parents for *Hajj* not from the money they earn out of sex business, but through asking alms. Similar is evident in case of *Warias* in Indonesia. *Warias* also send their parents to offer pilgrimage in Makkah as a way to wipe away their sins they have caused to their families (same is reported by *hijras* in the present study), though many believe that being *waria* has been their *takdir* [decree upon by divine]. By sins, they mean their promiscuity but not of being *waria* which is taken to be God's wish Who has put female soul in them (Boellstroff, 2004).

Role of Mental Health in Perception of Attitudes

Many *hijras* undergo mental health issues because of marginalised and stigmatised status in society (see Meyer, 1995, 2003). Therefore, their mental health status was explored and it was found that those who frequently experienced depression and weeping spells had more negative perception of attitudes than those who did not experience depression. Their acceptance of personal gender identity is also very important. Mood effect perception of attitudes (Major & Sawyer, 2009), therefore depression may or may not be resultant of prejudice and discrimination they are facing but having depression can also effect perception in negative way. Nevertheless, participants of the research did report that they feel depressed because of stigmatized status of being *hijra*. However, interpretation of findings must be done consciously. Depression is moderated by strong group identification. Those who identify

strongly with their group might feel depressed on perceiving negative attitudes and discrimination (Major & Sawyer, 2009). There have been evidences in which transvestites later experience gender dysphoric feelings and ask for sex reassignment surgeries (see Docter & Fleming, 2001; Dooren et al., 1994) as evident in case of *zannanas*. Reportedly, *zannanas*' is transitional phase for many gender dysphoric *hijras* who later join *Khusra* subculture after castration. Although, the difference in transvestites and TGs/TS does prevail (Blanchard, 1998b; Docter & Fleming, 1992; Docter & Fleming, 2001) still overlap between these two groups is present.

Homophobia experienced by LGBTs (Hillier et al., 2008) result in alienating them as they have been repeatedly told that they are evil or homosexuality is a sin (Yip, 2007), and they will go to hell. Beliefs and attitudes about homosexuals are internalized and integrated into ones self-image and identity as gay (Wagner, 1998). Gradually, sexual deviants accept the negative position in discourse as truth about themselves that creates strong impact on mental health which leads to guilt, shame, depression, paranoid tendencies, helplessness, self-hate, feelings of worthlessness, demoralization, low self-esteem, depleted self-image, general psychological distress and avoidant coping (see also Eskin et al., 2005, Little, 2001; Meyer, 2003; Novick, 1997; Semp, 2008; Yip, 2007; White & Franzini, 1999) and distancing from ones community that too religious community to survive (Mabey, 2007; Yip, 2007). This is also evident through bodily mutilation and suicidal attempts because of religion and family (see for Muslim homosexuals Yip, 2007). This internalized homophobia lessens psychological adjustment, create difficulties in dealing with heterosexuals, (see for review Little, 2001; White & Franzini, 1999), and associated factors such as increased substance abuse (Hughes & Eliason, 2002; Little, 2001). Substance use and other mental health issues were also observed in present sample. Since it is beyond scope of present research, therefore, us not reported here.

Role of Sexual Abuse

As an indicator of severity of human rights violation that may be extended towards *hijras*, sexual abuse was taken. Results showed that those who have been abused being *hijra*

(78.3%) had more negative perception of attitudes than those who had never been abused. This difference in perception pertained to acceptance in close relationship and related to the sexual issues. *Hijras* often experience sexual harassment (Talwar, 1999) and sexual abuse is one of the stressor (Hughes & Eliason, 2002) which is predictor of suicidal attempts and ideation (Eskin et al., 2005).

Perception of Familial Attitude

Findings showed that most of the *hijras* were not living with their families and had permanently left their homes. Many had acquaintance within *hijra* community before joining and they left homes on *hijras*' suggestion. Some reported to leave home for sexual pursuits and their boy friends so that they could gratify their sexual needs which were otherwise not possible with intact family relations. As family and relatives are strong mediators in stopping one from sexual deviance, therefore, one has to distant from nondeviants or conventional people to be acceptable in deviant subculture (see Rubington & Weinberg, 1987). Earning money is another prominent reason. Out of the total sample, 25.9% left on family's request as presence of *hijra*/sexual deviant in family was bringing bad name for the family. In a collectivistic culture, social relationships are given far more importance than personal pursuits. Therefore, anyone who does not follow conventional system are shunned and isolated from the family (see Gencoz & Yuksel, 2006). *Hijras* have also reported to left their home to save their lives and avoid abuse which they faced for violating gender essentialism.

Personal identity and need for belongingness and acceptance was another motive to join *hijra* community, which could not be attained by remaining in rejecting family. Labeling also played some role and out of reaction, some left their homes and join *hijra* community. On disclosure of their *hijra* status to family, most of the *hijras* faced serious repercussion and isolation. Very few reported acceptance by family. Age between 13-18 years is very crucial to make decision for joining *hijra* community and disclosing to family as in adolescence exploration for identity is at its peak and many TGs want to achieve gender identity as per their desire (see Smith, 2002). Such a desire is so intense that few *hijras* joined community after 25 years of age, before that they kept hiding their desires and interests might be because

of anticipating negative consequences or kept trying to remain part of conventional society. Findings revealed that most of the *hijras* disclosed to their family in teens. Winter and Doussantousse (2006) for *kathoeys* found that average age of disclosure to family was 10 years.

As mentioned earlier, gradually acceptance emerges in the family that passes through many stages. Out of the total sample, presently around 74% are financially supporting their families; and family also accept financial assistance in most of the cases. That may be because some of *hijras* had joined community because of poverty and money, consequently financially supporting their families to meet the necessities of life. Many *hijras* reported that they shared money to mothers and sisters only given that fathers did not accept their support. Most of the *hijras* had maintained emotional ties with female relations within family including mothers and sisters. Very few had reported attachment with male relation including brothers and fathers. Many experienced physical abuse by fathers and brothers that might be the reason for lack of emotional attachment with them. This is because femininity in men is unacceptable in patriarchal culture in Pakistan. At the same time men feel more responsibility to keep moral and cultural values intact in family fabric. Therefore, anyone who violates social, religious, and familial values are subject to punishment to revert back to conventional system. Hyper-masculinity is anti-femininity and such people are more sexually harassing towards women and sexual deviants (Pryor, 1998), exercise hostility, authoritarian in beliefs, aggressive, impulsive, etc. (see Hamburger et al., 1998).

Gender differences in parental attitude towards their child, who show cross-gendered behaviour, is also evident in literature. Mothers have more acceptance of cross-gendered behaviour in male children than fathers (Chaudhry, 1994; Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003; Greenson as cited in Diamond, 2004b; Diamond, 1995, 1997, 2004c, 2004b; Smith, 2002; Totman, 2003). Fathers encourage sex-typing and gender differentiation in their children more than mothers do and that parental sanctions against gender nonconformity are stronger for boys than for girls (see Lippa, 2001; Maccoby, 2000). Perceived distance from fathers may be due to paternal intolerance for atypical gender identity or behavior in children (Eskin

et al., 2005). Therefore, such boys feel more close to mothers (Chaudhry, 1994; Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003; Smith, 2002; Totman, 2003) and communicate sexual experiences more to their mothers than fathers (see Dane, 2005; T. D. Fisher, 1998).

Perception of Significant Others' Attitudes and related Experiences

Other than familial attitudes, attitudes of peers, relatives, and neighbourhood extended towards participants of the study showed that anger, hostility, and taunts were most commonly exhibited attitudes. That is because gender transgression and sexual deviance are not socially acceptable. Relatives and neighbours fear the negative impact on their children because of presence of *hijra* in close vicinity. Pande (2004) posited that sexuality is acceptable in folklores and myths but not in actual life for the fear of generating “crisis of morality” (Talwar, 1999). Mostly, LGBTs do not get acceptance in neighbourhood. As in Singapore public housing schemes discriminate against single parent and unmarried in the name of family values (see Weiss, 2007) then discriminatory attitudes towards LGBT seems justified. Other than loss of personal interest in studies and poverty, experiencing taunts, peer rejection, and harassment (including sexual harassment) extended by teachers and boys in educational settings were leading cause for *hijras* to leave their studies. TGs often experience harassment and discrimination in college and school settings (see Qahar, 2008; Winter et al., 2009)

As present research is purely exploratory in nature, therefore, mostly comparison along demographics and specific characteristics of the groups were carried out. Advanced analyses are left for future prospects. Overall findings revealed many aspects along which perception of attitudes can be analysed, however, at present a few were extracted on the basis of literature to study the differences among various groups within *hijra* community. Since standard deviation observed in the responding to the scales is very large, this shows much variation in the responses. Gradually, transgender issues are becoming focal point for scholarly and popular thinking about gender, the way woman issues used to be. Call for depathologising and access to sex reassignment has always been demand of TGs and they take help of historical move for removing homosexuality from DSM in 1973 (Crooks & Baur,

2005; Hausman, 2001). Hausman (2001) is of the view that we do not choose much in our life like sex and race. But racial passing/crossing is not considered as deviant, therefore, gender variance should also be considered as a choice.

Limitations and Suggestions

1. Participation of *Khusras* and *zannanas* was not evenly distributed that must be taken into account for future studied for more authentic findings.
2. Present study reflects perceptions of only willingly participants. In future, multiple sampling procedures must be used for sample selection.
3. Moderation and mediation analysis are recommended e.g., role of SES, having having experienced actual violence, feeling of connectedness with community, etc. can be ascertained in perception of attitudes along other variables of the study.
4. Intersectional approach in analysis can be taken up to study role of multiple stigmatization that strengthens minority status and stress.
5. For mainstreaming of *hijras*, feeling of power and agency needs to be inculcated in them. *Hijras*' affirmation programs need to address negative attitudes and perceptions before their implementations.

Conclusion

Findings revealed that no intersexed/hermaphrodite *hijra* existed in dancing and singing role; all were either MtF TG or TS. *Hijras* had more negative perception of people's attitudes than general people's actual attitudes that might maintain ingroup-outgroup division. Two clear subcultures --- *khusras* and *zannanas* --- existed which was also evident through different perception of attitudes. *Hijras* were involved in sex business and felt sexual attraction towards men that might strengthen people's opinion about their sexual deviance and effect their differential perceptions of attitudes. *Hijras* who experienced depression perceived attitudes negatively. As extreme form of human rights violation, *hijras* experienced sexual abuse that created impact on perception of attitudes. Preference in dressing while visiting home and offering prayers also showed differential perception in attitudes which is a matter of their own acceptance of gender identity or acceptance by family and others.

GENERAL DISCUSSION: AN OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH

Using a psychosocial approach, the aim in the present research was to explore people's attitudes toward *hijras* (Part I) and *hijras'* reciprocal perceptions of these attitudes (Part II).

In Study 1 of Part I of present research, an indigenous Attitudes toward *Hijras* Scale (AHS) was developed using empirical approach. Rights and Status, Social Distance, and Sexual Issues appeared to be three factors exclusively measuring attitudes towards *hijras*. Items pertaining to men behaving like women did not emerge on any of the factor not even as separate component. This shows that *hijra* is a cultural based category perceived as third gender role not as deviation from male to female gender roles like male to female transgenders (MtF TGs). That is why TGs in West are taking cue from cross-cultural evidences of gender fluidity in *hijras* to make their voices heard (see Christina Beardsley, 2005).

Sexuality is very important in our culture as there are clear prescribed and proscribed norms in this respect. Religion is baseline for this (see Yip, 2007) and no law can be made in Islamic Republic of Pakistan which is in contradiction with Islamic jurisprudence. At the same time, religious teachings are part and parcel of daily life and curriculum since the child preschool level. Such significance assigned to religion and by participants focus groups discussions might have resulted emergence of Sexual Issues as subscale. Besides, HIV/AIDS and homosexuality are issues which people consider to be outcomes of promiscuity and perversion evident in *hijra* community, although exist in country behind the closets.

Myths related to *Hijras* Scale (MHS; 11 items) based on beliefs related to three factors namely Asexuality, Nature, and Sainly qualities of *hijras* was developed and validated empirically. This helped in studying relationship between people's belief in myths and attitudes towards *hijras*. No previous research evidences showed availability of any such

measure in Pakistan. These myths provide shared mythological justifications for those who do not fulfill standards of male and female sex roles, hence, are functional in nature to maintain acceptance in society and justify one's membership in deviant subcultures.

Infertility, asexuality, and cursing somebody have strong negative implications in the society rooted in superstitions and people tend to fear and feel distant from such people who are source of threat in this regard. For example, concept of *Kali Zuban* [literal meaning "black tongue"] is commonly used for the person who holds effects in their curses and it is believed that whatever he says get materialized. Similarly, it is believed that people who are powerless and victims of any hardships and disabilities (like asexuality in *hijras*) have effects in their blessings and curses. Therefore, *hijras* are believed to have divine powers in blessings and curses (as evident in Chapter 4, Study II) and *hijras* use people's this belief in their characteristic to hoard money in an exploitative manner. *Hijras* strongly portray identity of intersexed/hermaphrodite (asexual), although most of them are MtF TGs as reflected in Part II (Study VI based on perception of attitudes by 143 *hijras*) of present research. Still most of the participants of Part I of the research believed that *hijras* are mostly intersexed/hermaphrodite than MtF TGs.

This shows that existence and sustenance of *hijra* community in society is because of people's belief in biological reasons for their physical condition, which are beyond the control of human being. This generates sympathetic and positive attitudes and *hijras'* acceptance in present role and belief in *hijras* divine characteristics. Women had strong belief in divine characteristics of *hijras* as compared to men that may be the reason for women more readily giving alms to *hijras* and fearing heavenly wrath if they did not oblige to *hijras'* demands. These are also maintained as women interacted less frequently with *hijras* (other than giving alms), hence, beliefs in myths do not get challenged by interaction as in case of men in this study. This can also be attributed to impact of Hindu mythology (see Nanda, 1999; Winter, 2002) in our culture that has been transmitted through cultural transmission process.

In Study 3, correlates and predictors of attitudes toward *hijras* on sample of 186 postgraduate university students were explored. This study was also indicative of construct,

convergent, and discriminant validity of AHS and MHS. As assumed, myths related to *hijras*, extremist tendencies, gender role attitudes, religiosity, and masculinity predicted attitudes toward *hijras*. Extremism along gender role attitudes and belief in nature and saintly characteristics of *hijras* appeared as strongest predictors among all. For the subscales of extremism, negative predictors were Rigidity and Conservatism and religiosity for acknowledging rights and status of *hijras*, contrarily gender role attitudes (modern) was predicting positively. However, perceiving social distance from *hijras* and attitudes pertaining to sexual issues of *hijras* were negatively predicted by all subscales of extremist tendencies (excluding Power), religiosity, and belief in asexuality and nature based myths of *hijras*, while gender role attitudes (modern) was positive predictor. For Sexual Issues, masculinity also appeared as negative predictor and belief in Saintly characteristics based myths as positive predictors. This shows that overall people are more accommodative of *hijras*' rights and status and less effected by belief in myths, masculine tendencies, and extremist tendencies except for the people who are more conservative and rigid in their approach. While accepting *hijras* in close relationship and considering them as sexual deviants is sensitive to effect of these variables as well.

Justification for aforementioned findings is also evident in same Study III (Chapter 5). As assumed based on previous researches, extremist tendencies had significant positive relationship with beliefs in myths related to *hijras*, religiosity, and masculinity and negative relationship with (modern) gender role attitudes. This suggested extremism as personality predispositions in the role of predictor and remaining variables were assumed as mediators (see Baron & Kenny, 1986). Gender role attitudes had negative relationship with nature related myths of *hijras*, religiosity, and masculinity, but positive with femininity as assumed on the basis of previous researches that also underlie the relationship of study variables with attitudes toward *hijras*. People often backlash those who do not conform to gender roles (Swim & Hyer, 2009). People's such attitude is based on religion and sex-typed upbringing.

Previous researches revealed fundamentalism (religious), an indicator of extremist approach, in the role of mediator (see for review Herek, 2009), but in the present research

extremism is assumed in role of predictor and others as mediators in the predictive role of extremism, because extremism in the present research is a personality disposition that gets stable with age (Gilani & Altaf, 2005). Extremism (conservative vs. liberal) is approach in life, which might be affected in socialization process, otherwise as personality traits underlie all the other relevant cognitions (belief in myths), behaviours (sex roles and religiosity), and attitudes (gender role attitudes) which is function of gender, age, education, family background, upbringing, importance of religion, etc. These get sharpened till an individual reaches adulthood. Mediation analysis showed gender role attitudes as strong mediator for extremist tendencies for all domains of attitudes. Religiosity appeared for all except Social Distance. Myths based on nature and saintly characteristics appeared for all except Rights and Status of *hijras*.

Role of religious orientation in attitudes toward *hijras* was also studied in Study 3. Only significant difference appeared for Extrinsic Social Domain, those high in this domain had more negative attitudes than counterparts. Underlying reason can be positioned in the same study as such participants having Extrinsic Social religious orientation also scored high in extremist tendencies, traditional gender role attitudes, and more masculine in sex roles. Previous researches have revealed people scoring high in this domain are more prejudiced (see Denney, 2008; Herek, 2009). It may be because they have to create good impression socially for not endorsing deviance from social norms. When moderating role of religious orientation was studied for religiosity, extremism, and gender role attitudes; nonsignificant moderating role of all domains religious orientation was observed for religiosity and gender role attitudes; but for extremism all domains had significant moderating role for Rights and Status subscale of AHS. Those scoring high in each domain were less in the favour of rights and status of *hijras* than their counterparts with increase in extremist tendencies.

More fundamentalist the person has strong belief in stereotypes (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005) that affects attitudes. Link between religion and intergroup attitudes is utilitarian in nature associated with ones social status, hence, ensures conformity to acceptable social trends (Allport & Ross, 1967). That may be the reason that those with intrinsic

orientation had negative attitudes towards *hijras* in present research in moderating role with the desire for sexual deviants to conform to the religious position on sexuality. For other form of prejudice (Rights and Status and Social Distance) including racial, they may hide their actual attitudes (see Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005). Those with intrinsic orientation are highly vigilant for value violation and reject those who deviate from values (Batson et al., 1999; Batson, Eidelman, Higley, & Russell, 2002). Extrinsic social domain played role in perceiving social distance from *hijras*, that may be again because of affirming the social norms as people high in this domain do not want to be doubted for their social credibility if get associated with any sexual deviant.

As assumed women and those who believed that *hijras* are intersexed/hermaphrodite had more strong belief in myths that too in saintly characteristics of *hijras*. Women had more positive attitudes and less interaction with *hijras* than men in Study 3 and men had strong belief that *hijras* are vulgar, stubborn while asking alms, product of parental sins, etc. Underlying reason could be that men have extreme sex-role stereotyping, are more masculine, extremist, (see Skrapec & MacKenzie, 1981; Green et al., Sep 1994), and religious also evident in present study. Women were more modern in gender role attitudes and true egalitarianism lead to more accommodation for display of opposite gendered characteristics (see King & King, 1998).

Gender played role of moderator for gender role attitudes and masculinity. With modern gender role attitudes women were more accommodative of *hijras* in close relationship and overall attitudes, while men still maintained negative attitudes. With increase in masculinity, acceptance of *hijras* in close relationship decreased and people considered them as sexually promiscuous and perverts, but this decline was more sharp for men than women. Women who are masculine and have feminine traits as well are androgynous in nature, therefore, might be more gender flexible (Crooks & Baur, 2005) than men. Masculinity is linked with less acceptance of deviance from sexual norms, which is evident in case of women as well i.e., tilt of attitudes towards *hijras* was in negative direction with increase in masculinity (see Pryor, 1998).

Significant difference in attitudes was observed in Study 2 but not in Study 3 along those who believed that *hijras* are both intersexed/hermaphrodite and MtF TGs than those who believed that they are intersexed/hermaphrodite only. This difference in findings can be attributed to demographic characteristics of two samples. In Study 2, sample was more heterogeneous on grounds of age, education, marital status, etc. but in Study 3 sample was postgraduate university students, young adults (less than 25 years), and all unmarried. Education affects attitudes in positive direction that may be the reason for nonsignificant difference appearing in Study 3. Difference in attitudes in Study 2 may be linked with early researches that have found that those who believe in genetic factors for transsexuals (TS) showed much acceptability than those who believed (TS) to be product of environment (see Antoszewski et al., 2007).

However, moderating role of concept of *hijras* was observed for religiosity and gender role attitudes in Study 3. With increase in religiosity those who believed that *hijras* are intersexed/hermaphrodite only had less acceptance of *hijras* in close relationship than those who believed that they are both intersexed/hermaphrodite and MtF TGs. That may be because of lack of knowledge lead to more extreme opinions and sometimes people screen out information and accept only that which is consistent with previous information (see Bohner & Wanke, 2002; Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). Because of stigma of asexuality or belief that *hijras* cast curses if denied alms might lead more religion practicing individuals to have more negative view of *hijras*. In moderating role for gender role attitudes, with increase in modern gender role attitudes participants were more accommodative on overall attitudes and rights and status of intersexed/hermaphrodite only than other group, although in both cases attitudes were getting positive but more sharply for the former than later group.

Lastly, in Study 3, frequency of interaction with *hijras* was found to be associated with more positive attitudes that played a moderating role for gender role attitudes in predicting attitudes towards *hijras* related to their rights and status, and accepting them in close relationship. Those who had high interaction with *hijras* i.e., meet on daily and weekly basis with them, had more acceptance than those who meet monthly or yearly basis. That may

be because contact challenges the stereotypes about any group and first hand experience helps in increasing knowledge. Attitudes based on indirect experiences are more polarized than direct experiences as these strengthen stereotypes, seeing things in black and white, and considering less individual differences in group (see Maio et al. 2006). Increased interaction affects knowledgebase regarding sexuality, which change gender role attitudes in modern direction that leads towards acceptances of sexual deviants.

In Study 4 (Chapter VI), attitude toward MtF TGs were studied in 186 university students to establish the cultural context related to concept of TG. For the purpose Attitude towards Transwoman Scale (ATS-U; Winter, 2009) was adapted and translated using back to back translation method. Unlike attitudes towards *hijras* (same sample), attitudes towards MtF TGs has led to surprising findings. Extremism, religiosity, and gender role attitudes did not show relationships with attitudes towards MtF TGs as assumed based on previous researches, but these assumptions were confirmed in case of attitudes towards *hijras* in Study 3 (Chapter V). Similarly, gender differences and differences along religious orientation did not emerge in case of attitudes towards MtF TGs, but were evident in case of *hijras*. Although no gender differences were observed on attitude towards homosexuality by Zuckerman and Myers (as cited in Zuckerman, 1998), but another reason could be that sample could easily relate to the concept of *hijras* based on their first hand experience, but concept of MtF TG was alien to them. That was why during data collection participants needed some live example to understand the concept. All the measures used in Study 3 were indigenously developed in Pakistani context that may also be a reason that these found to be more relevant with indigenous concept of *hijra* than MtF TG. Confirmatory factor analysis was not done for ATS-U, otherwise, results might have shown different picture.

Nevertheless, significant relationship with all aforementioned variables emerged for Sexual Deviant subscale of ATS-U. Only significant positive weak relationship appeared with attitude towards *hijras* as an indicator for convergent validity of both measures (Cohen & Swerdlick, 2007). Significant negative relationship emerged for myths related to *hijras* and masculinity. Again, deviation from masculinity is not acceptable in men and is often

associated with homosexuality that was why negative relationship was found as assumed. For myths, negative relationship emerged for asexuality and nature based myths, but not for saintly, may be because people believe saintly characteristics to be aspect of original *hijras* only but not of MtF TGs.

Comparing mean scores on ATS-U and its subscales for data of university students from Winter et al. (2009), out of eight countries, Pakistani sample had most negative attitudes towards MtF TG than other countries that showed lack of tolerance for sexual deviance in our culture based on patriarchy (see Bhopal, 2003) and religious values. Atheist religions strongly condemn homosexuality (see Yip, 2007) and have conservative views about sexuality and gender roles (Crooks & Baur, 2005). Although, Pakistan is the first country in Asia to register *hijras* as third gender category in National ID cards, which seems to be an affirmative action (see Dentato, April 2013) effort of few individual, but not nation's at large. Still people did not show any concern on that may be because they consider many other issues to be more important than this in present scenario after 9/11.

In Study 5 (Chapter VII), individual differences in attitudes related to *hijras* were explored on data of 1034 participants from four provinces of Pakistan (then four when data were collected) and Capital region using quota sampling. Sample was heterogeneous and large enough along various demographic variables than remaining studies of present research. Again, large number of participants believed that *hijras* are intersexed/hermaphrodite and myths predicted attitudes; asexuality related beliefs predicted attitudes positively for their rights and status, but negatively for accepting *hijras* in social relationship and on sexual aspects. Nature related myths appeared as negative predictor for all subscales, while saintly predicted vice versa. This shows beliefs in myths are independent of each other; for each domain, attitudes are affected in different direction. Nature related myths had negative connotation, while saintly related had positive in the favour of *hijras*. Belief in asexuality being innate or inborn characteristic of *hijras* showed acceptance for *hijras'* rights and status being powerless, but in other aspects strong belief led towards less acceptability because of fear of casting asexuality as *hijras* are considered *Ottar nkhatar* [childless] (see Riaz, 1996)

and they are not allowed to meet bride for this fear (see Nanda, 1999). Still people don't like asexual *hijras* if they indulge in promiscuity and perversion as this contradict their saintly position.

In Study 5 (like Study 2), those who believed that *hijras* are intersexed/hermaphrodite only had more positive attitudes for all subscales than those who believed that they are MtF TG or both. First time in this analysis, believing in MtF TGs only group was also added that gave a clear picture in attitudes. Reasons have already been discussed in early paragraphs. In Study 5 as well, gender strongly influenced attitudes, women were more accepting than men. Gender differences along concept of *hijras* on attitudes were explored. Nonsignificant difference in attitudes on rights and status appeared in both gender for believe in *hijras* being intersexed/hermaphrodite only, while significant difference appeared for Social Distance and Sexual Issues with men having more negative attitudes that may be attributed to frequency of interaction with *hijras* as discussed earlier.

With age, attitudes were negative for rights and status only and young group was found to have more belief in myths may be because these stereotypes propagated through generations are yet not challenged through actual direct experience and young people are more in grip of stereotypes than older group that affect attitude toward *hijras*' rights. Gender differences in attitudes with increase in age showed that for men attitudes got positive, but for women it got negative. With age, women were less accepting of *hijras* in close relationship, but men were more accommodating. For Sexual Issues, women had positive attitudes along age groups, but men's attitudes were consistently getting positive with age as linear trend is observed. Most negative attitudes prevailed in young male group may be because of strong belief in myths as evident in the study, more internalization of expectations to abide social norms, sex-typed upbringing, and extremist tendencies. While previous researches showed contradictory findings that with age older group get more conservative (Lottes & Weinberg, 1998a) and less egalitarian than younger respondents (Beere, King, Beere, & King as cited in King & King, 1998). Presently, it is evident in case of attitudes of women than men. That may

be because women fear *hijras*' stigma of asexuality and are more concerned for the welfare of their families and children, hence, showed least acceptance of *hijras* in close relationship.

Participants that are more educated had more positive attitudes than less educated (see Herek, 2009). Education makes one more tolerant and less conservative (see Ernst et al., 1998). It is vice versa for belief in myths as education makes individual less stereotypic and polarized in opinion as mentioned earlier. Overall gender differences in attitudes along education revealed more linear positive change in attitudes for women than men. Men with graduate level education had most negative attitudes than others. Again, it may be because of more internalization of social expectations related to gender norms because of strong cultural influence which are yet not challenged by education. Marital status also played important role. Gender completely moderated in marital status for attitudes towards *hijras*. Unmarried women had most accepting attitudes among all, while vice versa for unmarried boys. Reason can be unmarried women are likely to be educated, egalitarian, modern in gender role attitudes, while boys because of more sex-typed upbringing are bound to show negative attitudes for sexual deviants to avoid label of being sexual deviant from society.

Monthly income showed consistent positive linear effect on attitudes for men, but not for women. It may be because men who are able to financially exact their necessities of life are more accommodating of others' rights and social needs as they are no more concerned about basic needs. Women as house maker might believe in less sharing with others than men and concentrate on their family's welfare only. Those belonging to Balochistan region had more accepting attitudes than rest. Those belonging to Punjab and Sindh had strong belief in myths and had negative attitudes as well. This shows, geographically, belief in myths and level of interaction plays significant role in attitudes. In Balochistan, *hijra* community is not widely witnessed as a subculture. People born with sexual deformity live normal life in their families like other men and women, hence, Balochistan is less in grip of negative stereotypes related to *hijras*, which is otherwise evident in case of Punjab and Sindh where *hijras* live in the form of stigmatized and marginalized subculture since years.

Theoretical explanation of findings in Part 1 suggests that people might hold similar attitudes but underlying reason and psychological process may differ. These attitudes are learnt through the process of social learning from parents and peers as evident in young people's strong belief in myths related to *hijras* that are propagated through generations. Socio-cultural theory suggests that stereotypes are main reason underlying attitudes, which are internalized to show conformity to ones group. These myths are cultural stereotypes related to outgroup. Cognitively these stereotypes act as schemas to accommodate information about that group to facilitate in social interaction (see Whitley Jr. & Kite, 2006).

Social categorization i.e., self-categorization as men and women (masculine and feminine) and categorizing *hijras* as outgroups affect attitudes (Stangor, 2009). Such categorization limits one's ability to appreciate individual differences, but categorizing all belonging to homogenous category based on certain common characteristics. That is why people in Pakistan are unable to appreciate existing gender variations in *hijra* community (see Haider & Bano, 2006). From evolutionary perspective, we tend to accept those who are like us and stigmatize others. This stigmatization intensifies group identification process through self-categorization as in *hijras* with *hijra* community that acts as buffer against societal rejection (Stangor, 2009) and comparing oneself with similar disadvantaged people help to maintain self-esteem.

Pressure for conformity to ones social group (social role theory) is strong for men as masculinity is socially constructed through sex-typed upbringing and social learning. In the present research, masculinity in men led to more negative attitudes towards *hijras* as well as MtF TGs. Men have to conform to social norms related to gender and shun the respective gender deviance basing on their social role. One cannot change these gender stereotypes as propagated by dominant on societal structure and society condemns their change. These stereotypic and normative ways are internalized to promote group conformity even in non-availability of other members. From the social developmental perspective, people are strongly integrated in their social systems i.e., being egalitarian and religious along with demographic variables, influence interaction with outgroups.

Increasing interaction with sexual deviants might lead towards more positive attitudes (mere exposure effect) which is also evident in present research that those who had more interaction with *hijras* were in favour of their basic human rights. Nevertheless, negatively perceiving *hijras* as sexual deviants is also a function of interaction with *hijras* as sexual deviants for men than women. Lack of exposure maintains fear of stranger and less acceptance in close relationship as evident in older women, while interaction promotes acceptance of equality for outgroup (see Levy & Hughes, 2009) that is being in the favour of their rights and status.

Those who lack understanding of multiculturalism often show negative attitudes that are evident in Pakistan being least tolerant of MtF TGs among eight countries. UK was more tolerant, may be because in UK people of many cultures are living together in peace and harmony and they have more understanding and accommodation of each others point of view, while in Pakistan 98% are Muslim and multiculturalism is evident in ethnicity, but not otherwise. Besides, transgenderism is considered western phenomenon than indigenous gendered category like *hijras* existing here since centuries. Therefore, present research highlights the importance of social values and norms as contextual variable for determining attitudes and perception of attitudes (see Schwarz, 2008; Smith & Hogg, 2008) and an integrative approach in attitudes helped us to understand underlying psychological processes involved in display of attitudes.

In Part 2 of present research, data were collected from 143 *hijras*. Findings revealed variation in *hijra* community, no intersexed/hermaphrodite *hijra* existed in sample with dancing and singing role; all other were either MtF TG or TS. *Hijras* had more negative perception of people's attitudes than general people's actual attitudes. Two subcultures --- *khusras* and *zannanas* --- existed in *hijra* community which was also evident through different perception of attitudes with *khusras* having more positive perceptions than *zannanas*. That may be because *zannanas* experience multiple stigmas within *hijra* community. This double stigma might lead in minority stress (see Meyer, 1995, 2003) effecting their perception of attitudes. Beside this, they are more into sex business (see PUCL-K, Sep 2003) which is not

an acceptable profession in Pakistan and homosexuality is highly condemned in religion as well. This incongruence in *hijras*' personal desires and goals with dominant societal structures based on religion, sexism, heteronormativity, etc. (see Meyer, 1995, 2003) remains in the back of *hijras*' mind while perceiving the attitudes.

Part 2 of the study showed that *hijras* were involved in sex business and felt sexual attraction towards men. Those involved in sex business and homosexuality had negative perception of attitudes than counterparts. This also validated the emergence of Sexual Issues subscales of AHS. Previous studies have also revealed sexual issues of *hijras* in Pakistan (see Baqi et al., 1999; Bokhari et al., 2007; Hyder & Khan, 1998; Khan & Khilji, 2002; Khan et al., 2008; National AIDS Control Programme, Ministry of Health, 2008; Pakistan National AIDS Control Programme, 2002; Rajabali et al., 2008; Rehan, 2006; Shafi & Ali, 2006). That is why AIDS test was made mandatory for *hijras*. Stigmatization, social, and health issues that *hijras* experience lead to depression because that affected perception of attitudes negatively in the present study. Experiencing sexual abuse being *hijra* had also created negative impact on perception of attitudes. Mental health of *hijras* gets compromised because of experiencing negative attitudes, stigma, discrimination, and violence (see Dentato, April 2012; Meyer, 1995, 2003).

Preference in dressing while visiting home and offering prayers as a matter of their own acceptance of gender identity or acceptance by family and others also showed differential perception in attitudes. Previous researches also showed that *hijras* visit their home by tucking their hair in cap or in men's clothes (see Nanda, 1999), as female clothing for a son is not acceptable for the family. Familial attitudes, especially, least accommodating of male members makes *hijras* to leave their home in teenage. *Hijras* are more emotionally attached to female family members (see Chaudhry, 1994; Greenson as cited in Diamond, 2004b; Diamond, 1995, 1997, 2004a, 2004b; Smith, 2002; Totman, 2003). Men feel more responsibility to keep moral and cultural values intact in family fabric. Therefore, anyone who violates social, religious, and familial values are subject to punishment to revert back to

conventional system. World over, men behaving like women are less accepted than vice versa (see Lipka, 2001; Maccoby, 2000). Children with cross-gendered feelings, especially boys, often experience teasing, bullying, and later isolation by peers (Cohen-Kettenis & Pfafflin, 2003) as also evident in present research.

Person who deviates from social standards of gender and sexuality ultimately join *hijra* community for more acceptance and approval of their behaviour. Their need for nurturance and succorance gets satisfied in the community (see Khan & Ayub, 2003). *Hijras'* personal interests and society's attitudes lead towards identity crisis. To find solace and peace and resolve identity crisis (to have congruence in personal and social identity) (see Ekins & King, 2006), they runaway from their families (Sharma, 2000) and join community where they develop "we feeling" (see Board, 2002) and sense of connectedness (see Meyer, 1995, 2003). In a way blurring the boundaries first and come together, as two gay/shemale participants joined *hijra* community to secure personal safety in the present study. Later, after getting into *hijra* community, they locate their interests, gradually pass through various stages, end up as active member of *khusra* and *zannana* subcultures, and whole-heartedly accept their status and activities within their subculture. This is in a way constructing boundaries within *hijra* community to differentiate among them who is more *hijra* (see Rubington & Weinberg, 1987). It's just like, same two gay/shemales in the present study did not want to be called *zannana* as they considered this negative and shameful in connotation, although they were members of *zannana* subculture.

These subcultures further define their interaction with outgroup (society) and differentially perceive attitudes as *khusras* operate in specific territories and *zannanas* do not limit themselves to specific areas for their professional errands. Reportedly, *khusras* earn better repute by virtue of their good deeds, lack of indulgence in sex business, keeping an intact household in specific area, interacting with people of society in those areas only, therefore, had positive experiences and consequently perceived attitudes positively than *zannanas*. On verifying *khusras'* stance in present research, women of *mohallah* [residential area] also endorsed it, that women did not hesitate to visit to *khusras* homes and share

eatables with them. They also sent their children to read Quran or to get tuitions after school from *khusras*. While *zannanas*, always felt inhibited and hesitant. Even when researcher visited them, they felt embarrassed that their homes are not a good place for a woman to visit. Some *khusras* also held established side-businesses and were facilitating many general people in their *mohallah* that helped to establish good repute and respective positive perceptions.

Economically, when *hijras* face crisis and community is a solution to it where all live and earn in a household. Many *hijras* had left their studies because of scolding and taunts in the hands of family, friends, and relatives. Lack of education and no vocational training led them to indulge in dancing, singing, asking alms, or sex business, taken to be source of easy money by society. After getting financially sound, many supported their original families, which was acceptable for families because of poverty. Previous researches also revealed that gradually acceptance of *hijras* emerge in the family for providing financial sustenance which is a matter of pride for *hijras* (see Boellstroff, 2004; PUCL-K, Sep 2003).

For exhibiting attitudes and reciprocal perceptions, social identity plays an important role, as *hijras* perceive attitudes and discrimination as member of social group. Community's social and emotional support, help them to sustain even in the presence of hostile and violent circumstances. That is why, they prefer to live in their social circle by reducing the importance of conventional society and its norms to them. Their life and death gets associated with their group members not with society. That was why many reported that relatives and neighbourhood of their original families do not matter a lot to them. However, to avoid attitudes of family, gradually they stopped visiting family too frequently. Reportedly, this whole process of social identity starts with label of *hijra* given by family for their deviance from prescribed sex roles. This label brings in change towards seeking the reason for that label, leaving home, and joining *hijra* community for their safety and security. Therefore, label has enabling and disabling effect for the individual. In the present study, only 2 *hijras* had social and personal identity of gay within *hijra* community. Their membership in *hijra* community was for the sake of protection from police and others and deriving safety and security from *guru*.

Shared label bring them together because of experiencing social strain for inability to gratify their desires (cross-gendered and sexual) in conventional society. Being part of *hijra* community, through dancing/singing and sex business, helps them in identity development and survival achieving through unconventional means. Those who do not get opportunity, they remain in their shells and keep passing as per conventional gender roles to be acceptable in the society. Therefore, *hijras* prefer to be part of *hijra* community as its is a rewarding experience. Social rejection affect their perceptions and they become hyper-vigilant for society's attitudes (see Allport, 1954). Only solution is to get alienated from society and become permanent member of *hijra* community.

Conclusion

An attitude scale developed to measure attitudes towards *hijras* showed that it specifically focused on *hijras* as none of the item pertaining to MtF TG appeared in the scale after factor analysis. Gender and sexuality were found equally significant in attitudes. Scale for measuring belief in myths was also a fruitful effort that showed significant role of these beliefs determining attitudes. Interestingly, regardless of background and social context, most of the people still believe that *hijras* are intersexed individuals born with sexual deformities. Peoples' attitudes towards *hijras* were found to be function of their religious values and practices, cultural belief system like myths related to *hijras*, extremist tendencies, masculinity, gender roles attitudes, level of interaction with *hijras*, and one's belief in "who are *hijras*?" Individual differences prevailed in these attitudes based on gender, education, age, socioeconomic status, marital status, and geographical locations. Unexpectedly, hypotheses that were confirmed in case of attitudes towards *hijras* were refuted in attitudes towards MtF TGs. This highlights cultural context, as participants of the study were able to relate with *hijras* more than MtF TG which is an alien concept so far in the country. In cross-cultural comparison, among eight countries Pakistan had the most negative attitudes than rest of the countries.

Present study not only explored people's attitudes towards *hijras*, but also their reciprocal perceptions. *Hijras* internalize people's attitudes, which affect *hijras*' personal

view about themselves, their social interactions, and exert pressure to leave their homes and join *hijra* community to find solace and peace in their life. Experiences of discrimination and violence affected their perception of attitudes. Perception of attitudes was function of their *hijra* status, sexual orientation, labeling, mental health problems, membership in *khusra* or *zannana* subcultures, personal view of gender identity, and acceptance in family. Attitudes and reciprocal perceptions maintain ingroup-outgroup divide within society.

Limitations and Suggestions

Following are a few limitations of the present research with respective suggestions for future studies. These are discussed from Part I to Part II of present research.

- For the development of AHS, data were 5 times greater than total number of items for exploratory factor analysis (EFA). Had that been 10 times greater results would have been more sound and reliable. Beside this, in later studies as well confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was not carried out to confirm the factor structure for other sample. Although AHS has proven to have sound reliability and validity still, for future research CFA is recommended.
- Reliability of MHS is consistently found to be low that did not improve even on large data. Although EFA and other validations show that it is a valid scale, still its reliability needs to be ascertained in future studies.
- Data for studying correlates and predictors of attitudes ($N = 186$) is quite low to carry out structural equation modelling (SEM) which is much superior method to study psychosocial context of attitudes. For future researches, SEM is recommended for analysis to study interplay of variables in explaining underlying psychological process in attitudes towards *hijras*. Otherwise, sample size was small and was not the representative of the population; therefore, external validity is not promising.
- As a demographic variable level of interaction rather than nature of interaction with *hijras* was taken into account to study its effect on attitudes toward *hijras*. Results

would have been more meaningful if nature of interaction would have been taken into consideration.

- Controlling effect of variables, other than variables under consideration during analyses, was not exercised. This might have added error variance of those variables in the findings. Therefore, it is suggested to control required variables while doing analyses to improve internal validity of the studies or to do analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) to study combined effect of these variables.
- While studying attitudes towards MtF TGs, ATS-U was translated and adapted, but CFA was not carried out to ascertain factor structure on present sample as data was less. Therefore, in future CFA of Urdu version is recommended.
- Comparison of attitudes towards MtF TGs across 8 countries was merely based on mean scores as only these were borrowed from the original author (Winter et al., 2009). Complete data were not available. Inferential statistics is recommended for comparison to draw inferences.
- To study effect of demographic variables in attitudes towards *hijras*, data ($N = 1034$) were collected from four provinces and federal area of Pakistan in Study V. Rough criteria for sample selection was used including minimum age 18 years, education 10th grade, and only one person from a family. No sampling frame was developed, except a rough estimate of quota was considered. Sampling technique was convenience. This is the biggest limitation of the study, which might have affected external validity of the study. For studying attitudes towards *hijras* convenience sampling was used that might have effected findings. For future researches, random sampling is suggested and a sampling frame must be developed to improve generalizability of findings. Findings must be interpreted and referred to with caution as sample was not equally distributed on demographic variables like gender. Being broadly distributed in population and for complexity in defining who comes under defined criteria pose difficulty (see Hirsch & Rollins, 2007).

- A sophisticated criterion of socioeconomic status was not used in the present study, which is an important variable that might have affected the findings.
- Target sample was adult with minimum age for sample was 18 years. Less than that could not be included in the present research. Future research can include much wider range for sample to improve generalizability.
- For the Part 2 of the study, AHS and MHS were rephrased for *hijras* to ascertain their perceptions, but EFA and CFA were not carried out to check factor structure. In future, these are recommended to improve the construct validity of the scales.
- For studying religiosity and religious orientation much sophisticated measures in cultural and religious context are needed.
- Data collection from *hijras* posed a lot of problem as exact number of *hijras* is not available, therefore, convenience and snow ball sampling techniques were used. In future, detail of *hijras*' residential set ups and their number can be prepared before sample selection to improve criteria for selection criteria. It is suggested that data from National AIDS program can also be utilised for the said process.
- A lot of reluctance was observed at the part of *hijras* while disclosing their personal information. For data collection, one male and one female research assistants were also hired. It reflected upon us that participants were more comfortable with male participant while relating their biographical details and incidences. This may be because firstly, they could relate more with male researchers. Secondly, respect of women is highly appraised in our culture that was also in the back of their mind while disclosing sexuality based information. Even few were also concerned about female researchers' presence in their residential set ups pointing that these were not right place for a respectful woman. Thirdly, *hijras* are more sexually oriented towards men, therefore, during interview they showed such gestures (holding hand of male researchers or asking for a kiss) which could explain this aspect of their sexuality without any words. Hence, it is recommended to use male researchers for data

collection for much candid disclosure from *hijras*. Present research suggests further line of action in data collection.

- Presently perception of attitudes is studied. The findings would have been more reliable and valid of explaining *hijras*' perception if frequency of experiencing actual discrimination has been addressed (see Major & Sawyer, 2009) e.g., how many times a person faced rejection in getting employment, etc.
- Retrospective and self-report measures pose many methodological problems including confounding variables' controllability. Longitudinal studies should be carried out if one wants to ascertain prolonged impact of attitudes and reciprocal perceptions. Future research should focus on studying behaviour that leads to violence and discrimination of sexual minority rather than focusing on cognitions and feelings only.
- Much research done with sexual minorities is ethnographic/ethnomethodological (see for example Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Nanda, 1999; Riaz, 1996; Sharma, 2000) in nature but in present circumstances that was not feasible for researcher to have this approach because of cultural inhibition and reluctance in interaction present in both ends (society and *hijra* community). In conducting research on sexual minorities, age, gender, sexuality etc. are the important demographics of the researcher that can effect initial phases of research process. Drummond (2006b) posits that gradually with skill development and reflexivity any researcher can control these factors from effecting research process. Some more time is required to prepare the grounds for carrying out ethnomethodological researches in Pakistani context. The researcher needs to remain within the parameter of research yet giving the participants the feeling of being valued by listening to their life histories, that has a cathartic value and later assist in participants in their lives. Hence, being female researcher biographical interview schedule and likert-type scale were used for exploring perceptions of attitudes by *hijras* and its role in development of *hijra* identity.

- One of the problem in research on LGBT is that research boards that have to approve the research in ethical grounds sometimes do not have subject matter experts and suggest correction in the research design that is beyond the domain of the research like taking informed consent from LGBT adolescents before data collection as this might effect respondents responses and limit them being part of research (see Mustanski, 2011). As in case of *hijras*, parents are inaccessible or participants did not want researcher to approach them for various personal reasons. To ensure integrity of the participants and reduce any element of harm consent was sought in few cases from *guru* but in those cases reporting at the part of participant was very inhibited for the fear of *guru*. Hence, they were lying or controlling information through various tactics, this can compromise validity of the findings. Therefore, it is recommended to devise ethical issues for sensitive populations in Pakistani context.

Implications of the Study

The issue of transgender people and the law has been deliberated judicially in other countries. Through consistent activism, transgender people have been successful in winning recognition of their rights. It is useful to study these developments for the reasons, first, these developments convey the global nature of concern which is forming around the rights of those discriminated against on the basis of gender identity and sexuality. Second, these developments highlight the way the rights of transgender people are being conceptualized globally. Third, the decisions in various jurisdictions highlight the forms that discrimination against transgender people has taken and how that discrimination is being questioned. Fourth, these developments provide some material on the basis of which debate can be initiated in the other context. Finally, one hopes that these developments through a process of debate and dialogue would be incorporated in the judicial decisions of the courts as well as any legislation which might be proposed by the parliament (PUCL-K, Sep 2003). Following are a few implications of present research.

- There is a lot of need to have information about *hijras* for future policy decisions as they have been officially declared as third gendered category in 2011 in Pakistan.

Present research is a good piece of work to act as substratum for initial understanding of who are *hijras* and what type of attitudes people hold about them.

- This research would facilitate in public awareness that *hijras* are not solely responsible for their isolation, marginalization, and stigmatization but society is main proponent of that.
- Present researcher was part of the committee of NADRA for the approval of *hijras* as third gendered category, this shows implication of present research for uplift of basic human rights of *hijras*.
- The research can be used in legal prosecutions against *hijras* to facilitate in making decisions and for developing legal policies in this regard, as previous scholarly paper on *hijras* by the researcher (Jami, 2005) have been used in UK and Australia for Pakistani TGs living there. This research paper is much detailed for legal authorities, as there is dearth of relevant literature on Pakistani *hijras*.
- Attitude change program can be developed to improve attitudes towards *hijras* by considering the variables of the study and impact of demographic variables. Categorization into social groups exist naturally among people, therefore this tendency of categorizing, though harmful, may take years to shrink. Enhancing positivity in interaction among groups, making people believe that their beliefs about any group is not normative, legal interventions, and concept of shared identities may create change in beliefs and then attitudes (see Stangor, 2009).
- This research suggests the role of attitudes, stigmatization, marginalisation, and related perceptions in third gender construction among *hijras*. Though *hijras* have been successful in attaining legal status in Pakistan, yet this is third gender status is because of their sexual and gender deviance. Awareness regarding psychological conditions prevailing behind *hijras*' gender deviance can be imparted to them so that they could take better decision about their future to opt for psychological help/counselling or not. Psycho-education is very much needed in this regard.

- This research is one of its own kind and will definitely help researchers in shunning their inhibitions in working on such topics related to sexual minorities.
- This research has open new vistas for the present researcher to start research on reasons and process of becoming *hijras* and development of *hijra* identity.
- Adam et al. (2008) found that most of health policy documents, position statements, and research papers were formulated without consulting or having any input from the communities for which these were developed. Therefore, present research has focused on people's attitudes and perception of the attitudes by *hijras* that maintain ingroup-outgroup divide, hence facilitative in understanding both stances.

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