Political Economy of Love: A Case Study of Male-Female Transgender Persons of Pakistan

Dissertation submitted for the partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

By
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2023

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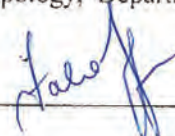Student/Author Signature:

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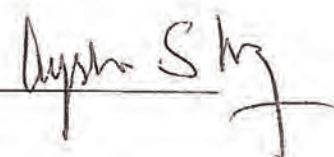
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Final Approval Letter

This is to certify that we have read dissertation submitted **Mr. Fahad Zulfiqar** entitled "**Political Economy of Love: A Case Study of Male- Female Transgender persons of Pakistan**" as partial fulfillment for the award of Doctorate of Philosophy in Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. We have evaluated the dissertation and found it up to the requirement in its scope and quality for the award of Ph.D. degree.

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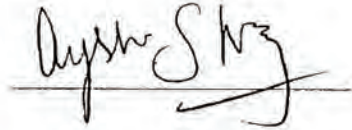## Defense of Thesis

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Dedicated to my Mother, Shamim Akhtar (also known as Shammi by her late husband and Api by everyone else)

Acknowledgement

This research is genuinely a labor of love. So much love has gone into it in both literal and metaphoric ways. And it is a collective effort that has eventually led to its finality. A collaborative effort of academicians, respondents, family, friends, and colleagues. I will thank everyone, one by one. But I can never think of starting to thank anyone before my respondents.

The data collection for the current research was challenging. It would have never materialized without the zeal and zest of male-female transgender persons (*khusras* and *zenanas*) of all the locales (Islamabad, Rawalpindi, Kot Radha Kishan and Mansehra City). Had it not been for them, I would have never been able to start and finish this research. Their willingness to participate, and share their lives, stories, and spaces during data collection was emotionally stimulating. By the end of the process, I have found ten lifelong friends. Through this note, I particularly want to thank Anjali, my key informant in Kot Radha Kishan. I knew Anjali before, and my friend helped me revisit many of the lives I explored a few years ago for my MPhil research. In addition, she introduced me to new *khusras* and *zenanas*. She not only let me live in her *dera* during my data collection phase in Kot Radha Kishan but also provided background contexts to many of the old and new respondents. She also helped me cross-check the data. She was the one who took initial classes of secret-coded language and made me learn the verbs, nouns, and adjectives of Farsi Chand. She and her *girya*, Pomi, traveled from Kot Radha Kishan to Islamabad to help me build rapport and introduced me to respondents from the sub-locales of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. I am highly indebted to their unconditional support and warmth throughout the process of data collection and even beyond. I am also thankful to Sahiba, a key informant from Mansehra City, whose constant support, keenly observant eye, and protective nature helped me a great deal while collecting data. The fieldwork for the current research was more challenging due to COVID-19. Despite living in closed, cramped-up, and stuffy *dera* spaces, we all managed to be sensitive towards each other and somehow managed to comply with COVID-19 Standard Operating Procedures (SPOs). This is another credit to the respondents of all the locales.

I often read students writing to their supervisors that 'the current research would not have been possible without the support of my supervisor.' I considered it an academic norm. I don't want anyone reading this acknowledgment to think the same for my supervisor; Dr. Ikram Badshah (Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology at Quaid-i-Azam University). I have never seen

a supervisor as compassionate, humane, considerate, and accommodating as Dr. Badshah. He was always very thorough and clear about what he wanted, and he responded to all my queries throughout, from the research proposal to finalizing the dissertation document. He helped me academically and provided details regarding submission deadlines, data presentation seminar, and research proposal seminar. He is a very kind and helpful person. He is a good human being, which eventually translates into his excellent work ethic and academic roundness. I also want to apologize to him for my late responses to his phone calls and text messages, and for never meeting the deadlines he gave me. As I said at the start of this paragraph, it would not have been possible without him. Thank you, Sir.

I also want to thank my teachers who taught me during my Ph.D. Coursework. Dr. Ikram Badshah for approaching development practice with a critical anthropological lens, Dr. Waheed Chaudhary for understanding the political economy and types of power therein, Dr. Rao Nadeem Alam for teaching a beautiful course on how visuals can help in constructing narratives, Dr. Inamullah Leghari for imparting his knowledge on classical and contemporary theories of anthropology which helped a great deal in my dissertation, as well, and Dr. Anwaar Mohyuddin for teaching ethnography, operationalization, conceptualization and articulation in Research Methods course. I am also highly indebted to Dr. Aneela Sultana for being a constant support during proposal and data seminar presentations. Her comments have improved the quality of research findings. I also highly appreciate the efforts of the administrative staff at the Department of Anthropology.

I am very thankful to my sister Sadia Zulfiqar, an artist, for drawing impressionistic paintings of the study's locales. I am equally grateful to Iqra Munawar for drawing impressionistic sketches of respondents. Their efforts were necessary especially when the respondents were skeptical about sharing their identities. The paintings and sketches they drew provided a much-needed balance between academic authenticity and artistic expression. The paintings and sketches are detailed in the chapter which describes locales.

I also want to take this opportunity to thank my friends who also happen to be my colleagues. Fizzah Khalid Butt, Mariam Mohsin and Saman Nazir for constantly reminding me to complete the writeup, meet the deadlines and complete my Ph.D. Their comments on drafts and keen eye to identify the writing loopholes have improved the thesis writeup. I want to thank all my PhD.

classmates for being there every step of the way. We all started this journey together and we will complete it soon, InshaAllah.

Lastly, I want to thank my family- the women are my mother and the two sisters. I want to thank them for extending a helping hand and sensibly dealing with my emotional breakdowns during data collection and my idiosyncrasies throughout the data collection and thesis write-up stages. The data collection process was lengthy and expensive. My mother wholeheartedly sponsored my trips to Mansehra City. I will never forget what she did for me in this research and my life. Thank you, Ami. My brother, Waseem Zulfiqar and his wife, Sadaf Zulfiqar have been my support system. Thank you.

Fahd Zulfiqar

Abstract

The existing body of literature on male-female transgender persons of Pakistan covers a range of themes, from socio-economic discrimination, ostracization, violence, and HIV/AIDS. The intent of conducting current research was to explore the lives of male-female transgender persons in a way that connects micro-narratives of their lives with the themes above. The goal was also to decipher and understand how they create agency for and among themselves despite being socio-economically marginalized. To explore this, the current study was conducted, theoretically grounded within the larger paradigm of political economy, and funneled down to transactional sexual relationships. Transactional relationships are essentially economic-based relationships in which one party instrumentalizes, sex, sexual intimacy and staged romantic love- all the factors which lead to securing cash, kind and services from a man who plays a provider role. In the context of the current research, this man is called a *girya* and the person who uses sex, sexual intimacy and staged romance as instruments of securing finance, goods and services is called a *khusra* or a *zenana*. The current study is about their relationship, socio-economic transactions, socio-sexual settings, an instrumentality of love in this relationship and propensity, and the actuality of HIV/AIDS related at-risk behaviors between them. Methodologically, the study used a case study research design in which case was the materiality and commodification of love. For the current research, ethnographic research methods of rapport building, participant observation, and unstructured interviews were used. Data were analyzed using thematic and structural analyses as the approaches and framework and conversational analyses (respectively) as the tools. The data, for the purpose of current research, was collected from Islamabad and Rawalpindi, Mansehra City, and Kot Radha Kishan. Among the study's units of data collection were *zenanas*, *khusras*, *giryas* and social situations and events. The data elicited from these units, highlight instrumentality of emotions, sex-for-money exchanges for basic needs and for raising social status, and financial security accrued from being in a steady or a long-time relationship with a *girya*. The study shows that instrumentality of emotion is typified by feigned romances, commodified expressions of love, and sexualized bodies, which works as an effective economic arrangement for *zenanas* and *khusras* but also creates a space for them to negotiate, challenge, and question existing structures. The study explains conceptualizations of love as articulated by *zenanas* and *khusras*, their forms of socio-economic organization, the socio-sexual settings they are part of (*dera*, dance functions and *saalgirah* functions), and plausibility of locating a man within these spaces, and using love in

tandem with sex for economic benefits. The research also highlights HIV/AIDS related at-risk behaviors between *zenanas*/*khusras* and their *giryas*. Findings also suggest that in some cases these relationships give power and agency to *zenanas* and *khusras* but this assertion does not hold for others. Such relationships if manufactured especially by *gurus* are extractive, violent, and toxic for the *zenanas* and *khusras*. The study ends by highlighting the areas in and along which future research can be conducted.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The contribution of anthropological knowledge in topics related to political economy focuses on power; power that is unequal in socio-cultural, economic, and politico-economic relations. Anthropological knowledge also explains the performative, act-laden, and subjective dimensions of power. Political economy, which essentially speaks of articulation of two constructs, i.e., politics and economy, does not confine to theorizing meta-narratives of production, reproduction, distribution, capitalism, State and government. It goes beyond these narratives and delves into eliciting the micro-narratives of articulating the impacts of the meta-narratives (as stated above) on individuals, their lives, choices, reciprocities, exchanges, and relations. Hence political economy is now contextualized in both social structures and normative values. And anthropological scholarship is inclined to study the microcosmic, contextual, and marginal as it explores the very basis and critiques fundamental questions of power and inequality. The current study attempts to understand the political economy of love, which is defined along the axis of transactional sex, socio-economic and sexual exchanges, power, and instrumentality of love-based relationships and the role of sexuality therein.

Globally, the study conducted on political economy of love has focused on female sex workers or women in informal socio-sexual settings. Particularly, the research led post-2000 in Africa and Latin America has centred on the informal peri-urban and town-based settlements. The focus of the research was to explore reasons for girls and young women to get into relational reciprocities with sugar daddies. Global scholarship has so far ignored studying political economy of love of male-female transgender persons. In Pakistan, the situation is no different as the research conducted so far has essentially ccentred on exploring the socio-economic organization of *khusra* (term widely used in public discourse as well as among the community for the third gender in Pakistan) community, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS, and violence against the community.

In the following text study's statement of the problem detailing research problem has been explained. The operationalization of research problem into research questions and objectives has also been articulated.

1.1.   Statement of the Problem

This research aims to explore the agentic and strategist dimensions of *zenana/khusra* lives. Despite their survival in the highly vulnerable atmospherics of disempowerment and minimum negotiating power, *zenana/khusra* can function as agents of self-construction and change. In order to understand this proposition, two fundamental concepts, i.e., love and money are critical for the current research. In this regard, the research domain and framework of transactional sexual relationships is the interest of focal point. This framework is relevant for conceptualizing and theorizing the political economy of love.

Very few ethnographic studies have explored such complexities of sexed economic relationships in male-female[1] transgender prostitution ranging from transgender prostitution as a survival strategy to reaffirmation to 'one's sense of self', from high-level stigmatization to discrimination which is a by-product of stigma against male (either transsexual[2], transgender[3], transvestite or cross-dresser[4]) sex workers, from performing love to eventually *commodifying* it and financially securing oneself from such relationships. The studies on a few Brazilian same-sex couples (Rebhan, 1999), feminized bar boys in Bangkok (Wilson, 2004), and sanky pankies of Dominican Republic (Padilla, 2007) have generally covered such research areas. But for South Asia in general and Pakistan in particular, there is a research lacuna for these areas are yet to be introspected. This lacuna is attributable partly to the inefficacy of state involvement in incorporating the issues of sexualities into the agenda of policy discourse and partly to the widespread societal stigmatization and ostracization of transgenders resulting in themselves living in undergrounds and resorting to prostitution as a survival strategy.

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[1] MTF (male to female)-a person born biologically male but identifies, inhabits, and lives as a female (Schulden et al. 2008).

[2] Transgendered biological males who undergo gender change or gender reassignment surgery and are in sexual contact with men only (Schulden et al. 2008).

[3] Transgendered biological males who do not necessarily undergo any sort of change in physical attributes but they primarily are in sexual link with males (Schulden et al. 2008).

[4] A person who dresses traditionally like the opposite sex although does not intend to live as the opposite sex (Schulden et al. 2008).

This research has explained the processes of discrimination and structures involved therein that make *zenana/khusra* romantically inclined to search for lovers in the socio-sexual settings where *zenanas/khusras* and their *giryas* function and socialize with one another. Against these relational settings, it is instrumental to signify that *zenanas/khusras* experience violent behaviors and perform sexual acts with their *giryas* in the name of love. The study explored the conceptual and epidemiological articulations between love and money in the context of *zenana/khusra* and *girya* relationship. In addition to the issues identified above, this research is also reflecting on Pakistan's political economy and how that intersects with the discourses of marginality, in general, and with that of sexual minorities in Pakistan, in particular. This study conceptualized why and how intangible emotions such as love can be commodified for the stigmatized, sexualized, and marginalized lives of *zenanas/khusras*.

1.2.   Research Problem

This research proposes to explore materiality of love against the backdrop of Pakistan's political economy in the contextual settings of *zenana/khusra* communities of Pakistan. In my MPhil dissertation I focused on researching the social and emotive dimensions of transactional sexual relationships and the locus of my research was Mansehra (main city), Rawalpindi, and Kot Radha Kishan. For my PhD research I want to expand the scope of my research on theoretical, analytical, and spatial fronts. On theoretical front, the focus is on: the more critical and Pakistan-specific literature; the construction of *zenana/khusra* identities and it's articulation with 'Other' and the process of 'Othering'; variant theoretical claims on commodification and commoditization, and it's intersectionality with the lives of *zenanas/khusras*; theories of political economy, and the articulation of it with the discourses of marginality and *zenana/khusra* political economy; anthropological theories of love with major emphasis on the political economy of love, and theories of power and it's relation with the discourses of marginality with a focus on Pakistan. On analytical front, I have focused on two types of analyses: thematic (for primary data which was collected from my Units of Data Collection as detailed in the next section), and conversational (for digging out power dimensions in *zenana/khusra* relational dynamics with their *gurus* as well as their *giryas*). On the spatial front, the current study was conducted in Islamabad and Rawalpindi from where the sub-locales of Mehrabadi and Bari Imam and Dhok

Chaudhrian, Bakra Mandi, Raja Sultan Market, Pir Wadhai Adda, Bani Chowk and Dhok Kala Khan were selected, respectively. Another locale was Kot Radha Kishan, from where data was collected from the sub-locales of Judge Mohalla, Handaal Chowk, Zenana Market and Gandiyaan Bazar. From Mansehra City, sub-locales were Cheriyaan Bazar, Babu Building, Tariq Khan Plaza, Dandi Mohallah and Kohistanabad Mohallah.

In the light of the research problem as stated above, I have operationalized my research problem into following research questions and objectives.

1.3. Research Questions and Objectives

1) How do *zenanas/khusras* as part of community, construct a worldview and social reality of love through their secret-coded language, Farsi?

   Based on this research question, the study aims to understand how *zenanas/khusras* as part of the community construct worldview and social reality through secret-coded language, Farsi.

   This research question and objective, in addition to explaining the importance of secret-coded language for a closed community like *zenanas/khusras* has decoded and deconstructed their certain worldview of love; How do they perceive love? Why is it important for them? Is love more important or is it money which is significant in their lives? How do they position themselves in love-based relationships? Is love sacred or desacralized? Who is a lover and what features should qualify him as one?

2) What is the positioning of the political economy of love in the broader political economy of *zenanas/khusras* of selected locales?

   Based on this research question, the objective of the current research is to articulate the positioning of the political economy of love in the broader political economy of *zenanas/khusras* of selected locales.

   This research question and objective were added to understand the socio-economic organization of *zenana/khusra* community. Particularly, their options of survivability, livability, workability, and functionality were researched. While doing so, this research

question explored the dimension of materiality of love in the *zenana/khusra* lives and explain its intersectionality with *zenana/khusra* political economy. Due to limited options of survival, how feigning romantic love functions as an emotion to be commodified. This research question explained the forms of work *zenana/khusra* perform such as economic, non-economic, embodied, symbolic and other forms of work, per se.

3) What is the structure and dynamic of instrumentality of love in the lives of *zenana/khusra* of selected locales?

Based on this research question, the current study aims to describe the structure and dynamics of instrumentality of love in the lives of *zenanas/khusras* of selected locales.

The research question and objective dug deep into explaining both the structure as well as dynamic of instrumentality of love. In this regard, love as an instrument of social security, of securing economic entitlements, and communal uplift were looked deeper into; whether, love is always feigned for economic benefits, whether long-term relationship(s) with single or multiple *giryas* always driven by financial interests, and whether *girya*(*s*) always play(s) a provider role.

4) What are the formal and informal *khusra/zenana* socio-sexual settings? Are these settings important to their lives and how do they socialize in these settings?

Based on this research question, the intent of the current research is to highlight and explain the formal and informal *khusra/zenana* socio-sexual settings and the importance of these settings to the *khusra/zenana* lives and what entails the process of their socialization into these spaces.

Responding to this question requires ethnographic accounts which were collected and detailed into a narrative. *Zenana/khusra* socio-sexual settings such as *dera* households, spaces of economic work, as well as spaces where activities of social organization are performed, were detailed. These settings also function as sexual spaces where sex-for-money exchanges happen. Hence, conceptualizing these spaces was critical as these may also function as spaces of finding a new potential *girya*.

5) What is the importance of money in the love relationships of *zenana/khusra* with *girya* (lover)?

Based on this research question, the current study also aims to understand and explain the relative importance of money in the love relationships of *zenanas/khusras* with their *giryas*.

After having understood political economy of love and socio-sexual spaces, the importance of money in short- and long-term relationships with *giryas* was explored. Existing literature on transactional relationships in Africa, Southeast Asia and Latin America shows that money in such relationships is not understood in its literal manifestation, rather it is more of a figurative illustration of cash, kind, utility bills, monthly expenditures, and consumer goods. Hence, this research question responded by building typological classification of the types of love, the levels to it, the importance of money (in cash or kind) and the emotive and economic longevity of the *zenana/khusra-girya* relationship.

6) Why and in what ways *khusras/zenanas* practice HIV/AIDS related risky behaviors and how does love fit in this dynamic?

Based on this research question, among the study's objectives was also to highlight the HIV/AIDS related sexual practices and behaviors, and how does love fit in this dynamic.

African and Latin American literature focuses on explaining alternative reasons for higher prevalence of high-risk sexual behaviors among which transactional relationships based on love-money relationships have been theorized. For Pakistan, exploring such relationships is yet to be theorized. Hence, this research question was added to the current study.

To respond to the aforementioned research questions and objectives, the study's methodological framework was set (explained in chapter 3 of the document). Before explaining the research methodology, in the following text have been explained a few theoretical concepts and constructs which are of critical importance for the current research. These concepts were thoroughly read,

understood in the light of the study's research questions and objectives, and finally broken down into operational themes based on which questions were framed in the interview guide.

First concept is **'Structures'** for which I have referred to the Structuration Thesis of Anthony Giddens (1987). Social and economic structures create and broaden hierarchies and inequalities among individuals of the societies. But individuals (economically and socially disadvantaged) are not static rather active agents who in order to meet basic amenities, manipulate these structures and influence to bring about change in their personal spaces. For Giddens, social structure does not exist externally. Society is structured not necessarily because of intruding social forces such as capitalism, patriarchy, misogyny or bureaucracy, into our personal spaces, domains and lives. Rather, the structuring of society is the result of endogenous factors existing within the society. These factors can be defined (though not limited to) as; human interactions, talks, practices, doings, articulations or language. Giddens further elaborates rules and resources as foundational constituents of structures which once implemented generate differential access to social, cultural and political resources. This research conceptualizes structures in different ways. When defined in terms of economics, then structures are the economic conditions obstructing *zenana/khusra* from necessities of life, society can also be conceived in this context as structure forcing *zenana/khusra* to live marginally. HIV/AIDS is also a structure because it further stigmatizes *zenana/khusra.* All these obstructing structures bring about changes in the behaviors of *zenana/khusra* and enable to act towards change strategically and manipulate them to hold material entitlements by staging love and commodifying relationships based on staged love. For the reasons as mentioned above I have used Giddens theorization of structures.

Next in discussion is the concept of **'Feminist and Queer Epistemologies'** in which I have explained the ways love has been conceptualized as per feminist and queer theorists. In literature there are variant theorizations of love. These definitions are covered in different schools of thought. Feminists' view on love is divided. To some, love is liberating, empowering and people who are romantically in love with each other share equal space in a relationship. Moreover, love has the courage to break away shackles of orthodox cultures and societies. But this interpretation is not unanimously embraced by all feminist and queer theorists. These theorists come up with discourses on love who view love as patriarchal, sexist, and heteronormative. Romantic love has

also been criticized for the liberty and freedom it entails. This sexual and physical freedom to emote and express romantic love is dangerous particularly to those societies where monogamous partners and traditional family setups are given prime importance. In addition to these interpretations, love is criticized, also, for the ways it traps women in patriarchal traditions of becoming dependent on the opposite sex, circumscribing under a marriage contract that legally allows men to sexually advance them, and ending up having and looking after children (Grossi 2012). Emotional subjectivities such as depression, dissatisfaction, low self-esteem, and unhappiness are some of the noticeable repercussions of love. With rising capitalism, division of labor mounted to the extent that women were increasingly conditioned to homes to look after the family and men rapidly confined to work for wages at factories, the result of which was the feminization of love: gendered expressions (verbal/non-verbal) viewing women economically dependent on and domestically subservienting their men (M. Cancian 1986). Queer theorists criticize romantic love because of its inability to include same-sex emotional bonds. To queer theorists, love scripts are socially constructed in which only heterosexual love is discussed. Since society views same-sex love as 'promiscuous' and 'sexually obsessive', hence the respectable scripts of heterosexual love including dimensions of marriage, and parenthood do not include gay or transgender love (Grossi 2012). Feminists' critique on love as a way for men to oppress women and critique by queer theorists on love as heteronormative does not mean that love cannot bring desired changes in peoples' lives. I have included both the feminist as well as queer perspectives on love as I want to explore the application of these concepts to my research.

Next is the concept of **'Exchanges (social and economic)'**. Blau (1964)'s conceptualization of love involves two types of exchange, social and economic. The relationships based on social exchange are intrinsically gratifying which usually transform into long-term exchange of mutual sharing, trust, and reciprocity. Whereas, the relationships based on economic exchange are purely contractual and extrinsically gratifying in which money matters the most with minimal emotionality of relationships involved (Blau 1964). However, with bloating economic challenges of meeting even the basic necessities of life an element of monetary (cash/kind) exchange is expected even within the relationships driven by mutual reciprocities. In order to explain the relational intricacies of Thai women with foreign men in tourism-oriented prostitution Cohen (1982) uses Blau's typology of relationships intertwining elements of both social and economic

exchange. First type in this typology is *mercenary* in which exchange is purely economic and payment in cash or kind is made for exchange of sex. But Thai girls may not necessarily emphasize on asking specified amounts rather, leave payments to the discretion of foreign clients (Cohen 1982). The second type is called *staged* in which girls, very manipulatively, feign romance with potential foreign clients to get financial benefits. The attempt in this relational typology is not to cement emotional relationships with clients. The attempt is to apply strategies that can make clients fall in love with women, trust them, and forget about their involvement in flesh trade so that when special money allowances are requested by girls, they get fulfilled (Cohen 1982). After clients having returned to their native places, the women may continue with the flesh trade or with applying similar strategies to other potential foreigners (Cohen 1982; Askew 1999). The next stage is called *mixed* in which a prostitute being part of a bipolar world explores genuine feelings of love for the client. In this complex and conflict-ridden stage emotional affiliation seems to take over economic interests but money still matters the most (Cohen 1982). The final type is *emotional* in which women are completely in love and money matters the least. The women may get married to their foreign clients, may live with them and fulfill their familial obligations with the highest sense of loyalty. This stage primarily depends upon the emotional attachment of women with their client "husbands" and to what extent women are ready to give up economic interests for love (Cohen 1982). For the current study I have focused on the concept of Exchanges as theorized by Blau (1964). I also intended to see if Cohen (1982)'s typology holds true for my respondents or not.

One important concept to emphasize upon here is the concept of **'Power'** for which I have referred to the works of Dahl, Bourdieu and Foucault. According to Dahl power is relative between those who hold it and those who hold it may be individuals, governments, offices, nation states or agencies. Base of power, scope of power, amount of power held and exercised, and the instruments to exercise power are the four important things which specify those who are held in this power relation. The factors along which power differentials can be compared between individuals can be outlined as differences in: (i) basis of their power, (ii) instruments used to exercise this power, (iii) scope of the power, (iv) number of people who are in power relations, and (v) change in probabilities. This concept is borrowed to ascertain that when *zenana/khsura* is in transactional relationship with a *girya*, then who owns the power more

between the two individuals, what instruments are applied to exercise their relative powers, and what is the range of this power exercise (the scope). Foucault's concept of power in terms of its transmission through society is of central importance in the current research. Exercising and maintaining power via government, State, and markets is vertically inclined. Foucault goes beyond and describes power as layered and embedded in socio-cultural processes, acts and practices, texts and visuals, and spaces and places. This research has not conceptualized power as a discursive practice but as horizontally inclined mediated through and between social groups. This conceptualization of power was useful in studying power dynamics in *guru/chela* and *khusra/girya* relationships.

Gidden's ideation of Structures operates on a grand scale as a macro-narrative. Pierre Bourdieu unearths the power dynamics within 'personal and bodily dispositions as expressed in daily life' (Elliot, 2010; 143). To understand the complexity of power existing among human interactions and relations, the concepts of **Field, Habitus, and Capital** of Bourdieu have been contextualized for the current research. To Bourdieu, field is a place of action and struggle where agents (individuals) and institutions (rule, codes, or principles defined along the axes of social, cultural, political, religious, and economic institutions) intersect with each other. These points of intersections are termed as interactions by Bourdieu which can take the form of discussions, contestations, negotiations, and conflicts. These fields are essentially social fields where such interactions take place. The agents in these social fields fill in different dominant and dominated positions, which also hints at the fact that what agents can do and cannot do. Hence these fields tend to become spaces of power where the positioning of agents in the power relations are differentiated based on the amount and the type of capital being possessed by them. The four forms of capital as theorized by Bourdieu include economic (revenue driven), cultural (in embodied, objectified, and institutionalized forms), social (reciprocity, nobility, and exchanges) and symbolic (respect, rank, prestige, and status). These capital types are mobilized by the agents to enter and function in a social field and exercise power to hold command over more forms of capital. Another factor that plays out significant in ascertaining a person's powerful position in a social field is Habitus. According to Bourdieu an agent's position in power relations also depends on his/her language, tastes, lifestyle, political orientation, and indispositions and all these are shaped by that person's Habitus. These manifestations of tastes, orientations and

indispositions of individuals are being structured by their past experiences, feelings, perceptions, actions and evaluations which Bourdieu calls Habitus. Field is defined as a 'structured space of positions' in which properties of positions depend on locations occupied in a specific space. Each field has its own coda; institutions, rules, and regulations, to follow. These concepts are critical to understand the power dynamics in relationships of *zenanas/khusras* with their *giryas* as well as *gurus*. For this reason, Bourdieu's concepts of Habitus, Field, and Capital were used.

1.4. Significance of Research

The attempt in this research is to articulate the relationship between the political economy of *zenana/khusra* and to situate therein the political economy of love. For this to happen, the indigenization of the framework of transactional sexual relationships is being done. The socio-economic organization of the community explains the need and urge to socialize in (and through) *dera* communes, soliciting areas, cruising zones, *saalgirah*, *melas*, and dance functions not just for survival but for finding a suitable/potential *girya* also. The positioning of love in love-money dynamic shows whether love can be feigned or staged for financial security or can it be genuine, real, and selfless free from materiality and instrumentality.

Pakistan is a country in need of research on gender and sexuality. Most of the materials produced along these domains have focused on health-related issues. That being relevant, the research needs to be contextualized and indigenized for topical range covering cultural norms, societal stratification, attitudinal and behavioral focus, and situational analyses. Male-female transgender persons constitute one of the marginalized sexual minority groups on whom more research is required to be conducted. In the following text are stated a few proposed ways through which this research may help in assisting sexuality research capacity in Pakistani context:

- This research focuses on vocal and non-vocal discourses, which can be instrumental in digging out situational and contextual discourses and variant meanings attached to these discourses. In this way, the study can be of use for academics interested in sound, text, and design.

- This research is an in-depth study of the male-female transgender community, their language, their expression, and manifestations of love and socio-economic organization. This study signifies areas for future research introspection in anthropology.

- This research may be useful in providing alternative explanations for the high prevalence of at-risk behaviors among male-female transgender persons. Therefore, the study may be of some relevance to governmental and non-governmental organizations working on HIV/AIDS testing, control, and interventions through programmatic interventions.

- The study's findings also highlight forms of violence and human rights violations in communal, institutional, and structural levels. These findings may be useful for the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan or for other organizations working on securing the rights of sexual minorities, including transgender community.

Hence on theoretical, pragmatic and methodological levels, the current research may find its useful readers.

1.5.   Thesis Structure

The thesis is organized into nine chapters. The details of the chapters are detailed in the text below.

- The first chapter (current one) introduces thesis title and research to the readers. It also articulates study's research questions and objectives, based on research problem and statement of the problem. The chapter also highlights the significance of the study.

- The second chapter provides a review of relevant literature as well as a detailed summary of key studies in tabular exposition.

- The third chapter explains the study's methodology in which details about research design, research strategy, Units of Data Collection (UDCs), research methods and instruments, approach and tools of analysis, research ethics, and epistemological and ontological orientations of the researcher, have been explained.

- The fourth chapter explains area profiles, cultural settings, representation of study's locales and sub-locales in the form of impressionistic sketches and paintings, understanding of *nirban* and *uqwi*, and importance of secret-coded language, Farsi Chand in *zenana/khusra* lives.

- The fifth chapter explains the findings related to the socio-economic organization of *khusra/zenana* community. The chapter brings forth data on the forms of social organization, economic organization, importance of *dera* to male-female transgender lives, and *guru/chela* relationship.

- The sixth chapter details the findings which respond to the research question on worldview of love. In this chapter various understandings of love in its pluri-vocal formats have been detailed, including normative, instrumental, textual, lyrical, musical, sacralizing and desacralizing.

- The seventh chapter details findings on the research question of structure and dynamics of love. The findings explain the romantic, instrumental, feigned, commoditized, and normative understandings of love. The chapter also explains the importance of love in a *khusra/zenana* life, the role of *giryas* (the men *khusras* and *zenanas* fall for), and the exploitative as well as agentic nature of such relationships.

- The eighth chapter responds to the research question on HIV/AIDS and the emotional proximities. The chapter discusses about the plausibility of safe sex in general, possibilities of safe sex with *giryas* and how sexual violence precedes unsafe sex with both strangers and *giryas*.

- The ninth chapter articulates the relationships between research findings and cited literature. While doing so, it also connects the findings with the concepts as stated in the study's conceptual framework (in chapter 3). In this chapter, the research questions have been revisited, researcher's positionality has also been revisited and self-reflexivity has been stated. A note on whether research findings respond to the questioned posed in this study is also detailed in this chapter. The chapter ends with a conclusion about research findings, future areas of research introspection and limitations of the study.

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The details of the chapters are tabulated in the following table:

Table 1: Thesis Structure in Tabulated Form

Sr. No	Chapter no. and Title	Topics Covered
1	Chapter no. 1: Introduction	- Explanation of research title and introduction of research - Statement of problem - Research problem - Articulation of research questions and objectives - Articulation of theoretical concepts and constructs - Significance of research
2	Chapter no. 2: Review of Literature	- Transactional exchanges in love-based relationships - Complex sexual exchanges, economic exchanges and relational reciprocities in the Third World - Third gender: Emotional and sexual subjectivities - Socio-sexual settings - HIV/AIDS related behaviors in socio-sexual settings - Summary of key studies cited in the literature review section
3	Chapter no. 3: Methodology	- Research strategy and design - Research methods and instruments - Sampling - Units of Data Collection (UDCs) - Tool and approach of analysis - Epistemological and ontological positions - Research ethics
4	Chapter no. 4: Area Profile	- Locales and cultural settings - Understanding of *Nirban* and *Uqwi* - Secret coded language- Farsi
5	Chapter no. 5: Socio-economic organization	- Social organization Economic organization
6	Chapter no. 6: World view of love: *Khusra/zenana* take in what love is?	- Social construction of love - Typology of love
7	Chapter no. 7: Structure and	- Girya - Instrumentality of love

	dynamics of love	- Yearning and longing for love - *Rootha* relationships - Multiple *girye* - Case studies
8	Chapter no. 8: Emotional proximity and HIV/AIDS at-risk behaviors	- Sexual practices: Risky? - Violence: A precursor
9	Chapter no. 9: Discussion and Conclusion	- Theorization - Research questions revisited - Limitations of research and areas of future research - Self-reflection

CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A literature review provides a comprehensive survey of existing literature (macro-, meso-, and micro-theories) and case studies. Bryman (2012) explains different types of literature review, the most common among those being narrative and systematic. For the current research, I have selected narrative style in which the focus is on including studies and citing theories that are relevant to the articulated research questions and objectives. Since the focus of the current research is on political economy of love, hence in the following text, theories relevant to the concept and studies which have contextualized these concepts, are reviewed in a narrative fashion. Inter-author dialogue is a critical feature of narrative reviews, hence conversational dialogue among authors is articulated in the following text. For understanding political economy of love, I have included qualitative research of **Mark Padilla**, **Sealing Cheng**, **Carlos F. Caceres**, **Mark Hunter**, **Heidi Hoefinger**, **Linda-Anne Rebhun**, **Mark Hunter**, and **Martin Zelder**. These researches are also significant for the fact that they have centered their central argument on sexual minorities with a few focusing entirely on male-female transgender persons. For in-depth understanding of political economy of *khusras/zenanas* I have included South Asia specific literature (also cited in the following text). The authors for this theme are **Shivananda Khan**, **Gayatri Reddy**, **Serena Nanda**, **de Kind van Wijngaarden**, **Peter Aggleton**, and **Scott Siraj al-Haqq Kugle**. Based on the reviewed literature, I have developed a conceptual framework focusing on concepts; transactional sexual relationships, structures, exchanges, habitus, agency and capital.

2.1. Transactional Exchanges in Love-based Relationships

The definition of transactional relationships (mostly sexual) is fluid than prostitution though both involve exchange of sex for money. But the former also includes the transactional exchanges customary to heterosexual marriages and between families of bride and bridegroom. Yet the most researched transactional exchanges are signified by the life experiences of marginalized communities especially women residing in informal settlements and heading households single-

handedly in Africa, karaoke bar hostesses in China (Zheng, 2008), Filipino entertainers in South Korea (Cheng, 2010), and bar girls in Bangkok (Cohen 1982; Askew 1999). There seems to be a gender bias in conceptualizing relationships characterized by transactional exchanges. But the concept of transactional sex itself is not gendered and applicable to a socially secluded and economically poor community/group for these communities/groups rely heavily on their sexualities as a survival strategy, on staging and performing love to meet emotional needs and on extracting resources through long-term love relationships.

Wojcicki (2002), in a study on sexual economies of Soweto and Hammanskraal (South Africa), explains differences between North American and European construct of prostitution and *ukuphanda* (sex for money exchanges) of South Africa. Most of the ethnographic studies have viewed sex for money exchanges in South Africa as informal or transactional, the domains and conceptions of which cannot be colonized within the frameworks of western formal sex or prostitution. In the context of Sub-Saharan Africa, sex for money exchanges take a variety of forms, in which sexual intimacy is traded for food, clothes, gifts, room/house rents, school fees, or non-specified amount of money. Relationships characterized with such exchanges last for few nights, and some develop into long term romantic and reciprocal relationships. Unlike formal sex, informal sex is less stigmatized, because women/feminized men involve in it play an instrumental role in meeting the needs of their respective families. Moreover, the nature of these sexual exchanges is not just money driven as women do provide domestic services to men in addition to sexual services. Informal sex work in Ethiopia, colonial Nairobi and Cameroon illustrates emotional linkups of women (residing in informal settlements) with their men being privileged by food and other domestic services. In most of the case studies, client men want sexual encounters to be more than money-based, as long-term emotional involvement brings happiness to them. Feminized men/women do not permanently rely on such exchanges, but in case of women, whenever economic conditions collapse, their lives become hugely dependent on multiple male partners, with their (women) families aware of their activities. Since late 1920s, women have been migrating to urban areas for employment with most of them being absorbed by the expanding informal sex avenues. As a result of this expansion, women have found themselves in relatively liberating levels and positioned themselves as headed households (East Africa), property holders and house owners (Nairobi), owners of bars, clubs, beauty parlors, and

restaurants (Cameroon). In contemporary sexual settings of South Africa, taverns have appeared to be the meeting places for most of sex for money exchanges. If a woman accepts to take a favor (taking a drink/beer or taking some money) form a man in a tavern, then as a response, she is expected to give in sexually (Wojcicki, 2002). Many instances of men claiming love at first sight to women at their first meet up at taverns are reported and women measuring this claim of love with the expected amount of money that they can cash through feigning romance. But in such informal sex avenues, there are reported cases of sexual and physical violence when women even after extracting money and other favors do not give in sexually to men or if men find their long-term girlfriends getting involved with other men (Wojcicki, 2002). Since in these relationships, men play provider roles, and women receive material benefits, power imbalances make women susceptible to high risk behaviors. Economic side of transactional relationships shows that economically poor subjects (men/women) have to sexualize their bodies for basic necessities of life, in doing so, if they have to risk lives (multiple partners, unprotected sexual contacts, and sexual contacts with unknown persons of unknown HIV/AIDS status), they will take risks.

A study on Nigerian young, feminized men shows that in addition to poverty, supplementing incomes is also a reason causing them to be in transactional relationships, most of which can develop into bonds of mutual reciprocities though the initial intention behind developing such relationships is to get material advantages. This aspect of transactional/informal nature of relationships marks the difference from prostitution. Secondly, for commercialized male sex workers cruising/soliciting cites for sexual encounters are specified but in transactional relationships context, both parties can meet on and operate through social networks, intermediaries, bars, clubs, parties, friend gatherings, and other locations. Of those who are less feminine looking are in sexual links with both men and women, with men they develop sexual relationships for money but with women for filling in the provider roles and for emotional ties. Hence, young men do not just form a closed sexual setup with men but integrate general population through sexual links with both men and women. The concept of transactional sex usually covers man-woman relationships but as mentioned earlier the framework is not gendered the result of which is the recent scholarship on relational typologies and dynamics between men. In this milieu Niang et al. (2003) depict the involvement of men in sexual relationships with men due to emotional proximities and economic exchange, a combination of which is increasing

the magnitude of unprotected anal intercourse among men in Senegal which is highly susceptible to HIV/AIDS. Another instance is the famous ethnography by Gaudio (2009) on feminized men among Hausa Muslims in Kano. These men provide sexual services to men in specified women's houses, which can be termed brothels. But the framework cannot be understood in the lines of western rubrics of prostitution because in several case studies depicted by Gaudio (2009) feminized men are involved towards relationship building through serving food and drinks, playing cards, and engaging potential rich masculine men in flirtatious conversations. Similarly, ethnography by Kleis and Abdullahi (1983) shows the importance of gift exchanging and money between feminine boys and their masculine patrons in Kano.

Gift exchanging provides important thematic focus to most of the researchers for two important reasons. First, it enables to break the western hegemonic discourse on prostitution which is viewed as contractual and monetized. Second, it enables to highlight relational setups among man/woman, boy/girl, and feminized man/masculine man in relatable ways to signify highly contextualized issues of gender hierarchies, sexual violence, and HIV/AIDS prone high-risk behaviors (Kaufman and Stavrou, 2004). In some of the case studies, accepting gifts in love-driven relationships is an indicator of sexual initiation in a relationship. In others, if the sole intention is to fetch gifts and money repeatedly then because of it the receiving subjects find it morally compulsive to give in sexually. And some have also indicated the repercussions of gift receiving that on one hand creates a romantic environment to express love through sexuality and on the other, makes receiving parties more prone to be dependent on multiple lovers to fetch material resources and that in turn translates into an atmosphere of frustration, helplessness, and low-esteem psychologically and concurrent sexual partners without negotiating power for protected intercourse physically (Kaufman and Stavrou, 2004). Some have also reported violence and coercion internalized by gift receiving parties in power-imbalanced relationships. Receiving money instead of gifts is considered insulting to most of the receiving subjects as it is culturally viewed as prostitution in African and Asian societies, but if money is given for meeting specific needs such as on education, transport, or for family support then it is acceptable. According to this specific dimension, receiving subjects in order to benefit fully, keep on finding new rich partners (Kaufman and Stavrou, 2004). One for transportation, called 'Minister of Transportation', whose main duty would be to drive the subjects to the places they want to visit.

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Another, called 'Minister of Finance', whose main duty would be to give pocket money and additional money for bearing miscellaneous expenses, and finally 'Minister of Education' who would bear the fees and expenses on books. Another seasonal one is the 'Minister of Foreign Affairs' who would be taking subjects to exotic places. As a response of such favors if they have to have sexual intercourse with their expense bearers, it is not considered pejorative. But having sexual intercourse without any of these rewards is unacceptable, similarly, for expense bearers, funding without sexual intimacies is unacceptable. In addition to all these bearers is a special man who is termed 'Straight Minister', he is the one who is loved the most, to whom subjects are ready to give in sexually and that even without monetary compensations (Kaufman and Stavrou, 2004; Hunter, 2010).

Hunter (2010) gives rather a different taxonomy of men performing provider roles. Some of the men classified as 'main lovers' are the ones with whom relationships can develop more seriously because of their relational commitments and sincerity most particularly if men propose for marriages and able to pay *ilobolo* (bride wealth). In African societies, paying bride wealth is one of the highly regarded customary practices in marriages where women are obligatory to remain faithful to their potential grooms after *ilobolo* payment. Others are the men generally known as secondary lovers, with whom relationships are temporary. Women/feminized men in these relationships are not expected to remain piously faithful or obligatory, and the need to be in these relationships is more strategic than emotional. But there is quite plausibility that such relationships can be more reciprocal than contractual in spite of the factual data indicating that financial status determines a man's status as a lover. However, some of the cases have reported sacrificing money for love. Hunter (2010) argues that expressions of love are not always materialistic. He substantiates this finding by referring to the widely quoted phrase 'love conquers all' popular among his respondents. Digging deep into the ways love can be expressed, he highlights realistic and negotiating expressions of love. Some of these expressions are emotional (love through cooking food, washing clothes, and providing social security) and some slightly materialistic (love through bearing expenses of electricity units and grocery). On negotiating terms, women or feminized men in love-driven relationships are not always exploited or conditioned vulnerable (to unprotected intercourse). The dimension of power hierarchies is not negated by Hunter (2010), but he argues that the decision of condomless intercourse can be

made unanimously by both parties. Most of the HIV/AIDS campaigns cover casual relationships, the importance of integrating love-based relationships usually get sidelined. The integration of these relationships can provide a different HIV/AIDS related risky environment and the room for different HIV/AIDS interventions.

In his ethnographic research on male prostitution in Santo Domingo, Padilla (2007) notices emotional ambivalences among respondents regarding their relationships with regular clients. Most of the respondents preferred to fake romance and commitment with their foreign regular clients as it can guarantee longer term relationships with lucrative economic offers (trip to abroad and remittances). Padilla (2007) names these clients as 'western union daddies' because of their old age and huge remittances sent to their lovers. *Sanky pankies* and *bugarrones* usually prefer old men as their potential regular clients due to their greater tendencies towards falling in emotional bonds and filling in the role of money providers (Padilla 2007). Sex workers find it economically difficult to get a steady wage to fulfill basic needs, hence developing long term relationships can be an effective strategy because regular clients go beyond direct money exchanges to more personalized expressions of economic support such as bearing educational expenditures, providing helping hands in household construction and bearing costs of modern consumption items like motorcycles and cars (Padilla, 2007). With such effective expressions of care and support, *bugarrones* genuinely start developing feelings for their foreign regular clients but since *bugarrones* are biological males who enter prostitution for survival, hence their self identification as macho/masculine active males hinders their self acceptance of emotional inclinations towards regular clients. To other *bugarrones,* developing such relationships is economically inappropriate because the benefits outweigh the costs, particularly, faking emotions is difficult for *bugarrones* as it goes against their masculinities and time spent on nurturing and trust building is long enough (Padilla, 2007).

More recent studies have invested on expositing power dimensions of transactional relationships between young girls (boys) and old men (women). For poor girls (boys), the greater the economic vulnerabilities, the greater will be their dependence on sugar daddies and sugar mommies for school fees, and for accruing post-modern commodities (beer, cosmetics, branded clothes, fashionable hairstyles, jewelry, cell phones, and lunch at five star hotels) of modernizing

African societies (Gukurume, 2011). In addition, some case studies have also mentioned economically better-off girls to have liaisons with older men to look 'fashioned' among their peers or to showcase pride in having sexual links with one of the most influential men in the communities, and the fact that the girls do not have to be entirely dependent on their parents to get items of conspicuous consumption (Gukumre 2011; Zembe et al., 2013). In order to secure relationships for commodities, girls pretend to be in love with rich older men but a number of studies have mentioned that given a choice girls would not want to stay in relationships without material advantages. Hence, on one level, women are at economically advantaged positions, but as their economic dependence on their sugar daddies, mounts, the more they succumb to the risky sexual demands of their old partners because of which they can get pregnant or acquire STIs or HIV/AIDS. The girls can exercise agency in fooling their old and young boyfriends by staging romance and picturing crumbling economic conditions to get hold over their boyfriends' resources as girls view their sexuality as a high prized commodity which should not be given for free. But in doing so, they must compromise on safe sex because insistence on protected sex can reduce the chances of economic advantages and the possible relational break up (Hunter, 2002; Hunter, 2010; Gukumre, 2011; Zembe et al., 2013).

2.2. Complex Sexual Exchanges, Economic Exchanges, and Relational Reciprocities in the Third World

Khan (1999), while expounding the indigenous frameworks of gender and social contexts of *kothi* and *panthi* (third genders) of South Asia, criticizes the Western construct of sex-work. The term sex-work is usually used to destigmatize the involvement of people in flesh trade. Khan (1999) argues that this term oversimplifies the complex issue and dehumanizes with the difficult life experiences of *zenana/khuara/hijra* or women exchanging sex for money. Sex-work is like a job carrying a sense of choice and ownership. It also shows as if both parties (sex-worker and client) are equal (Kempadoo 1998; Khan 1999). But in the context of South Asian countries such sexual contacts are plagued with power hierarchies with minimalist negotiating power available to the sex-worker. This particular feature is captured in a number of case studies on *hijras* (and *kothis*) of India (Chakrapani et al., 2007), *khusras* of Pakistan (Abdullah et al., 2012; Collumbien et al., 2013; de Lind van Wijngaarden et al., 2013) and Bangladesh (Chan and Khan, 2007), and *metis* of Nepal (Wilson et al., 2011) where oral, physical, and sexual abuse by police, clients, and

road-side rowdies are part of sexual contacts in cruising sites. Khan (1999) finds poverty as the most significant factor for transgenders to endure violence but they still continue with sex for money exchanges because for most of his respondents, food, shelter, and clothing could be met only with such exchanges. But upon intriguing the thematic focus of his research areas factors such as "finding a real man" (*panthi* or *girya*) and sexual satisfaction were also found out to be reasons attributable to prostitution. In this framework the need for a real man is both sexual and emotional with money given least importance. Contrarily, in a study on French travesties, emotional relationships with clients are strictly forbidden as in French context these exchanges are purely economic and clients come to release compulsive sexual urges not to get emotionally involved. And, if a travesty gives in emotionally then it is 'special client' who gets benefitted from travesty both materially and sexually (Laurindo da Silva, 1999). However, this framework differs when contextualized for the French gigolo/client relationship. Payments are not directly made in the form of money. Particularly, for gigolos in emotional relationships with their clients, the forms of compensations include giving gifts, inviting to expensive hotels, clubs, and funded holidays. In comparison to travesties, gigolos get material rewards in gigolo/client relationships (Laurindo da Silva, 1999). In these settings, the definition of sex-work based on pure economic exchange devoid of social exchange of understanding, developing, and nurturing relationships gets blurred.

Male prostitution is not a recent phenomenon in Pakistan. Before British conquest, explorer Richard Burton explored a brothel of young male prostitutes in Karachi. This has turned into a business since then and currently there are a number of organized forms of sexual settings in the form of red-light districts in different cities of Pakistan (Mujtaba, 1997). Clients of boy prostitutes come from different socio-economic classes who pick boys from different cruising points such as video games and small restaurants. Mujtaba (1997) mentions various pickup points in Karachi where clients from poor setups look for inexpensive boys for price of a meal or a motorbike ride. The male clientele include people such as truck and bus drivers, night watchmen, low income government officials, army and policemen. After General Zia's anti-prostitution laws, soldiers who came to serve as duty officers to Karachi on marital laws were main clients of boy prostitutes.

Male-female transgender people are mostly involved in prostitution in almost every city and town of Pakistan. Their soliciting places include shopping centers, railway stations, cheap cinemas, public toilets, and school/hospital compounds. Most of the transgender prostitutes are sharp enough to select their potential clients, they prefer not to go to their residences, rather operate through rented hotel rooms the reason being possible occurrences of violence at residential places without any remedy (Mujtaba, 1997). Apart from full- or part-time transgender prostitution, many salesmen, schoolboys, and hotel and garage workers prostitute for food, clothes, gifts, or for favors of getting jobs or securing a role as a TV actor. They usually range from age 15 to 25 but some well shaped prostitutes are above thirties. They belong to different ethnic backgrounds, including Afghani and Iranian boys. The most deprived and helpless of these prostitutes are those belonging from low-income groups, who are said to be the wives of male clienteles who are impotent, poor and could not get married due to financial constraints, watchmen, drug addicts, and small-time criminals (Mujtaba 1997). About the distribution of amounts earned through flesh trade, he gives a rough distribution pattern usually followed. For half an hour of sexual service, on average Rs. 150 is charged, half of which is paid to the owner of hotel room as rent, the remaining half is shared between male pimp and local police. It is up to the discretion of male pimp to give some amount to the boy prostitute and in most of the cases he usually gets minimum share barely 20 to 30 rupees. On average Rs. 250 is earned by a boy if he takes ten or more customers in single day, whereas police having sexual intercourse without any remuneration. The pimps of boys are usually past prostitutes, drug addicts, or masseurs. The reported cases of sexual abuse in the past and present (sex-worker) lives of boys are reported high. The knowledge about and attitudes towards HIV/AIDS is abysmal, with limited numbers of protected sex reported. To most of the respondents, HIV/AIDS is a western disease which cannot be caught to them although most of the respondents practiced unprotected sex with multiple partners on daily basis. For others, sexual intercourse with clients is mechanical, depersonalized and emotionless that it does not cause any pain or any other feeling, so if there is no pain, then catching any disease is out of question (Mujtaba 1997).

Contrary to such love-less mechanical sexual exchanges, the sexual relationships between transgender sex workers of Mysore and their clients cannot be viewed as exchange of money merely. Rather, the anthropological term of 'gift exchange' better conceptualizes the sexual

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encounters in which gift giving and taking was observed and reported as essential parts of socio-sexual settings (Lorway et al., 2009). In order to secure their most cherished relationships with men with whom they were most in love with, many respondents reported of providing food and gifts to their husbands. But these expressions of love can be used as tactics to increase the possibility of future visits of their potential clients (Lorway et. al 2009). When conceptualized within the domains of moral (*izzat*) and intimate economies, prostitution no longer remains a depersonalized monetary transaction. When principles of moral economy are institutionalized into the sexual settings, the sexual encounters between transgenders and their permanent (or even temporary) clients turn out to be more personalized and less stigmatized. Money plays an important role in these sexual enterprises because of involvement of sex workers in prostitution as a survival strategy but considering the backdrop of lonely, stigmatized lives of transgenders many of them reported having sexual relationships with 'smart looking men' for free. Apart from poverty, conformity to gender non-conformism at an early age provides an explanation for entering into prostitution.

The flows of transactions are not necessarily from *girya* (lover/husband) to *hijra/zenana/khusra*. A study on *hijras* of Bangladesh confirms that blinded by love, they shared economic burdens of their *parik* (husbands) who continued pretending love to *hijra* wives and having unprotected sexual intercourse with them (Khan et al., 2009). In a heteronormative society like Bangladesh the *hijra/parik* relationship is socially, legally and religiously unacceptable. One of the most important reasons for marriage in Bangladesh is procreation but since *hijras* are considered neither men nor women their inability to reproduce obstructs their quest for respect which they desired through socially and religiously normative husband/wife relationship (Khan et al., 2009). Adding to this dilemma is the momentary nature of such love relationships which usually break up tragically and *hijras* are aware of such endings. But their quest for finding true love of a real man increases their emotional vulnerabilities and their unprotected sexual encounters with multiple partners (Khan et al., 2009). Unprotected sexual acts in same-sex emotional relationships characterize many factors including sexual intimacy, trust building, love, attachment and commitment (Hoff et al., 2012). Such emotional proximities typify the importance of lover in the lives of *hijra/khusra/zenana*, also demonstrating the high-risk sexual

and non-sexual practices posing threat of Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) including HIV/AIDS.

A study expositing complexity of emotional and social contexts of male sex work in southern and eastern Africa argues that prostitution is no longer a cold depersonalized occupation in which one party is a seller and the other a buyer with monetary transactions decided prior to sexual activity (Boyce and Isaacs, 2011). The emotional bonds that male sex workers develop with some of their clients blur the boundaries between sexual transactions and intimate reciprocities. But again, the importance of money cannot be ignored. Being socially deprived male sex workers (including male-female transgenders) must majorly depend on money earned through prostitution for food, clothes, and rents. And knowing that their life experiences are characterized by low savings, limited clients after certain age in commercial sexual networks, and social insecurity the more plausible way is to have a long-term relationship with a man for future security (Boyce and Isaacs, 2011). Such relationships guarantee both emotional and financial supports. However, sex workers must hide their occupation from their primary partners due to fear of disclosure to their partners and possible repercussions of disclosure such as violence. In these relational dynamics insistence on condom use by sex workers to their primary partners is considered a sign of distrust. Repeated unprotected sexual links with their primary partners and clients create a high-risk socio-sexual environment.

Tan (1999) gives in-depth relational arrangements between *bakla* (person having third gender roles in Philippine) and their 'real men'. For *bakla*, 'real men' are those who are masculine in their physical appearances and most importantly who play active sexual roles. The flow of transactions between two parties is not just limited to money, of those who are in long term relationships with real men exchange gifts from each other. Real men are heterosexuals, who adjust in these relationships due to social constraints which limit them to approach women sexually, also due to unavailability of inexpensive women to be in such transient relationships. In their relationships with *bakla*, they must perform certain gender roles that prove their masculinities to *bakla*. Performing provider role is the most important. Whether in cash or kind, it is one of the prime responsibilities to be fulfilled. Then, they are not allowed to do domestic chores as such responsibilities are fulfilled by their *bakla* wives. They must secure their *bakla*

wives from other men. There must also be an element of jealousy, an expression of anger/violence upon finding if their *bakla* are in relationship with other men. In Philippine, these relationships are less stigmatized due to their 'reciprocal' than 'contractual' nature (Tan, 1999).

S Chiffer and Aggleton (1999) unravel different facets of love in their brothel-based study on *Cacherismo* in Costa Rica. One of the aspects of this study highlights respondents feel love for those clients who treat them well, who provide them with shelter, food, or clothing. These feelings are developed instantaneously without considering whether some relationship will ever exist or nor, and if existed, whether it will be short or long term based. For most of the respondents it is the instant emotional connection that they feel towards their clients who may help them in coping their issues of existential burdens and violence-ridden nature of sex work.

A study featuring different dimensions of male sex work in Santo Domingo shows the search of young and passive sex workers for foreign clients for financial reasons (Antonio de Moya and Garcia, 1999). Some foreigners from Europe and North America may be successful in taking their young lovers to their countries. The lovers' interests are in migrating to foreign countries than solidifying emotional relationships with their foreign husbands. But due to age and socio-economic asymmetries and differences in lifestyles and cultures, most of the young lovers voluntarily left the relationships, some deported and others no-more in relationships but living as illegal migrants.

Another distinctive study, capturing varying emotional dynamics between young feminized male sex workers and their regular/casual clients, provides evidence of relationships with sugar daddies (Davis and Feldman, 1999). Money was the decisive factor for feminized men to stay with rich sugar daddies. Despite the age differences and possible chances of violent behaviors, most of the respondents preferred to stage romance with old casual clients for meeting their and their families' everyday needs. As a response to their staged romance, some respondents equated their sugar daddies' buying clothes for them as buying love. But most of these asymmetrical relationships were short-lived because of their momentary contractual nature. On the other hand, some relationships were age symmetrical and long-termed driven by love with regular clients. The study calls in the attention of incorporating perspectives of 'those in love' (who can risk

their lives and practice high-risk sexual/non-sexual behaviors for the sake of love) into the agenda of HIV/AIDS discourse.

Stoebenau et. al (2016) articulate that economic and socio-cultural processes of globalization and gender inequality are the structural forces shaping transactional relationships. Among the economic processes are included the impacts of structural adjustment programs on the vulnerably poor, such as feminization of poverty, forcing women towards 'sex for money'. With economic globalization, also comes the incessant desire to satiate ones needs of consumer goods because fulfilment of these goods reflect on a person's success and improved social status. 'Sex for improved social status' falls under this conceptualization of transactional sex. Whereas men fulfilling provider roles (either wed-locked or out of wedlock) comes under the conceptualization of 'sex and material expressions of love'.

The framework as developed by Stoebenau et. al. (2016) furthermore distinguishes as well as explains the intersectionality of these three dimensions of transactional sex: Sex for basic needs, Sex for improved social status and Sex and material expressions of love. The level of instrumentality (the extent to which sex is used as a drive to ladder-up social status by accruing material endowments and fulfilling needs by consuming consumer goods) goes up when sex is used for improved social status. Peer pressure, consumer culture and economic inequality are stated as the reasons for this high instrumentality under this dimension. Within, sex and material expressions of love, love is equated with the provider roles of men and the accompanying gift-exchange between the provider and the provided. Here, the level of instrumentality still exists, but with low intensity and extensity. Within Sex for basic needs dimension, absolute deprivation, gendered labor markets, parental pressure and household insecurity are stated as the reasons for opting in transaction sex. In this dimension, transactional sex is the survival strategy.

The complexity of the relationships developed as a result of transactional sex is signified by the *continua* of three intersecting paradigms of- Deprivation, Agency and Instrumentality, rather than viewed as 'discreet paradigms' (192; 2016). Deprivation as the reason for transactional sex, can be viewed along the continuum of deprivation wherein absolute deprivation (poverty) drives transactional relationships in which sexual exchanges take place for basic needs only, and relative deprivation (economic inequality) wherein inequality in the distribution and

consumption of consumer goods is the driving force behind such relationships. The continuum of power and agency defines the agency women exhibit in these relationships. Female agency to negotiate, make sexual decisions, control, and partner sharing varies over time and between relationships. The third continuum of instrumentality also varies with respect to emotionality in relationships. The more the emotionality is instrmentalized (feigned romance), the higher will be the instrumentality, whereas the lesser the emotionality is instrmentalized (male provider role equated with love), the lesser will be the instrumentality.

2.3.   Third Gender: Emotional and Sexual Subjectivities

Nanda (1998) defines hijra as an alternative gender category and provides linguistic evidence of the term. Hijra (of Urdu origin) translates into either eunuch or hermaphrodite (intersex). Both these terms have connotations of impotence and describes a physical defect impairing male sexual functions. Eunuch is an emasculated man and intersex a person whose genitals are ambiguously male-like at birth. At the time of birth since the male sexual organ is not fully developed so he is declared a man and later when the person passes the age of childhood, he is re-categorized as an intersex (*hijra*). Nanda (1998) also marks the difference between *born hijras* (hermaphrodites in English) and *made hijras* (eunuchs). Nanda (1998) further elaborates that impotence was declared as the necessary condition in the 19th century, for entry into the *hijra* community, with a probation period of one year. The impotence of the person was scrutinized and tested by making the person sleep four nights with a prostitute. Once his impotence is proven, his emasculation operation is undergone after which he becomes part of the community. In South India, the understanding becomes a little different; the terms used is *kojja* or *pottai* which are connotative of derogatory meanings such as 'cowardly or feminine male' (Nanda, 1998; 14). Hijras are involved in passive or receiver role in in the anal intercourse, which is indicative of their impotency as believed within the community. So, these persons self-identify themselves as *hijras* based on their impotency not because they get involved in anal intercourse. Ibbetson et al. (1911) in Nanda (1998) also describes *zenanas* (*zenana* as singular, meaning woman) as the effeminate males who are passive in homosexual sexual intercourse. If one becomes a *hijra*, the person removes himself from the category of a *zenana*. *Zenanas* self-identify themselves as biological males who have male attires, are usually heterosexually married and have children, but are feminine in their gait, talking, and worldview of gender, sex

and sexuality. Ranade (1983) in Nanda (1998) typifies that *zenanas*, sometimes, live with *hijra* communes known as *deras*. Sinha (1967) argues that *zenanas*, though feminine, are not real *hijras*, are fake and can best be referred to as men who impersonate *hijras*. Having said this, some *zenanas* formally enter hijra communes through undergoing the process of emasculation. Emasculation is the sufficient condition for becoming a hijra. It entails the process of getting their genitals cut off which they consider it as their *dharam* (Nanda translates it into religious obligation). Through undergoing this process, a person becomes a *hijra*.

Nanda (1998) further explains about the sexual subjectivities of a *hijras*. Through analysis of her in-depth interviews with the members of *hijra* community, she explains that *hijras* view themselves as not men, not just because of their under-developed or imperfect or absence of a penis but also because of their physiological and sexual proclivities, such as sexual preferences, feeling and identities. They act feminine, they wear female and feminine clothes, they talk, imitate, exaggerate, and imitate women but they also identify themselves as not women, a view deeply implicated within the community because they do not have female reproductive organ and they cannot give birth to a baby. Hence, *hijra* identity is identified as biological men who self-identify as 'not males' based on their physiological and sexual subjectivities and who undergo emasculation to become a *hijra*, in pursuit of becoming closer to a woman, yet not completely woman. Therefore, 'neither' man, 'nor' woman title of Nanda's book on hijras of India is explained.

Nanda (1998) also explains of emotional subjectivities between *hijras* and their lovers who they call as their husbands. These men with whom *hijras* are in close emotional relationship with, were once their regular clients. With regular visits, feelings of love developed between *hijras* and their male clients and in a few cases as explained by Nanda (1998), the relationships become long-term. These long-term relationships are like marriages in which provider role is played by the husband and the domesticated role is played by the *hijra*, although, in a few cases, in the similar marital arrangements, *hijra* provides for his husband playing both provider and domesticated roles. The men they are in long-term relationships are, are either heterosexually married or going-to-married. In a few arrangements, men reside with their *hijra* wives in the

latter's *dera*. *Hijras* are aware of the transient nature of these relationships. Further exploration of these relationships needs granular understanding through conducting ethnographic research.

In Indonesian culture, third gender identities can be linked to *Waria* who are believed to be sexually impotent with 'abnormally small or even shriveled genitals" (Boellstoff, 2004; 173). One significant way of earning livelihood for *Waria* is through prostitution. The types of sexual acts *Waria* perform are receptive oral and anal sex. *Waria's* inclination towards receptive partners in the sexual intercourse with 'Normal Men' (which Boellstoff, 2004 defines as masculine men). The socio-sexual settings are usually closed and dingy spaces wherein such sexual exchanges take place, but sexual intimacy between a *Waria* and a normal man is not tabooed in the open spaces, as well. The public display of affection between a *Waria* and a normal man as illustrated by Boellstoof (2004) by an example in the park located in the City of Singaraja in Bali, is socially acceptable as along as the *Waria* body is feminized (defined as gendered by the author). Speaking of emotional subjectivity developed by *Waria* towards their male partners, one of the participants shared those relational dynamics between *Waria* and their male partners is driven by the provider role of the male partner. In case if their partners don't fulfill that role then *Waria* let them go. The longevity of relationships doesn't just hinge upon instrumentality but also on acceptability and emotionality. If their male partners display their love in the open spaces, and if they don't feel ashamed of accompanying them along to restaurants and cinemas, then they get more emotionally invested in their relations. Hence taking care of Waria in both domestic and public spaces deepens the emotional subjectivities of *Waria* towards their partners.

Another research by Kulick (1998) on *travestis* of Salvador, explains that boyfriends (referred to as *maridos*- husbands) take up most of the time of travesties thought, time, talk and money. These men are gossiped among travesties, potential men are discussed among them, the qualities these men should have, which looks, and age groups are preferred, and which socio-cultural and sexual roles these men must inhabit, are also the subject of detailed discussions and analyses. Once found a man who is muscular, attractive, willing to stay with as their social and financial security, Kulick (1998) details that *travestis* lives start revolving around him; taking care of his financial and sexual needs, as well as showering their *maridos* with money, presents and drugs.

Travestis make a living out of prostitution hence soliciting areas of prostitution seem to be more readily socio-sexual settings for *travestis* to find a potential boyfriend. But they fear turning their clients into boyfriends for three main reasons. The men who paid for sex will be interested in free sex now and due to his socialization in the similar socio-sexual settings, he is possibly the part of the same group of boyfriends. Secondly, the fact that as a sex worker, a travesti accepted payment from him at first place, indicates that she may not find a man desirable enough. So, it may become a joke in her social settings that she got paid by her man. Thirdly, the travestis want partners who are active in sexual intercourse (penetrating partners) which is not always the case with men who come to them as clients. Kulick (1998) also makes a point that literature seems to put considerable focus on the exogenous lives of people who prostitute such as prostitution as a form of work, rights-based lens to sex worker's lives, economic organization of sex workers, and criminalization vs. decriminalization of sex work, that private lives of sex workers, their reciprocal exchanges, their aspirations and needs, remain unexplored.

Similarly, Lorway, Reza-Paul, Pasha and Khan (2015) give a detailed analysis of the emotional and economic dimensions of male sex workers in South India. For this study, feminized men who had origin from South India and residing in the same region, were interviewed. Speaking of sex-for-money exchanges, the respondents claimed that some of these exchanges between sex workers and their clients did not come under a formalized, de-personalized and business-oriented pattern of exchange. Therefore, the transactions taking place by the client towards a sex worker is difficult to be bifurcated between a 'social relation' or a 'transactional or compensated one'. A few respondents claimed that in return for sex, their clients have presented them with clothes and rings (which sparked a romantic interest between both parties). The budding relationship is further established by the reciprocal giving of gifts in cash and kind (gifts such as clothes) by the sex worker. These gifts are offered only to handsome looking men who can become their husbands, in future. The study also elaborates that socio-sexual settings wherein such exchanges take place, turn out to be 'significant components of their sexual transactions' (Lorway, Reza-Paul, Pasha and Khan, 2015; pp. 141). This is so because sex workers value emotions, affection, kindness, and pleasure.

Speaking of sexual subjectivities, Wijingaarden and Iqbal (2015), based on the in-depth interviews of young male sex workers of Lahore and Karachi, deduce that there is malleability of sexual attraction, desire and pleasure for the interviewed sex worker. Based on their narratives elicited from young sex workers, it was found out that they were both homosexually and heterosexually active, they enjoyed inserting and being inserted both, they did not want articulation of a singular sexual identity based on their sexual experiences, and most men also wanted to be part of mainstream society and aspire to be heterosexually married and becoming a head of the household. All these factors explain their sexual subjectivities, which are grounded in their sexual experiences. Mustafa et. al. (2022)'s research on transgendered bodies, in addition to expounding on the forms of discrimination and violence, also highlights the relational complexities between transgender women and their giryas in *pakki* (steady relationships). The respondents quoted responses which can be deciphered into layered meanings about need for promiscuous relationships for economic survival, toxic masculinity, need for sociability in socio-sexual settings for laddering up and greater acquisition of social and cultural capital, and male insecurities and jealousies.

Speaking of emotional subjectivities Rebhun (1999)'s ethnography in Northeast Brazil concretized the understanding of love by explaining love in the changing politico-economic system. The respondents in the study spoke at length about romantic love (the classical narratives of sacrifice, longing, pain and endurance), true love; parental love as model (inter-generational transference of understanding of love), companionate love (socially constructed love which ascribes gender roles to heterosexual and same-sex couples), love expressed through poetry and prose of suffering, and love which intertwines with economy of gift-exchange.

2.4. Socio-sexual Settings

Pakistan's socio-sexual settings are largely conceptualized by the ethnographic studies of Brown (2005) and Saeed (2001) on Lahore's Heera Mandi (translated as Diamond Market). There are commonalities which can be articulated between the socio-sexual settings Heera Mandi and the ones in which transgender women maneuver. However, there are differences between the two, as well. The differences will be articulated towards the end of this section.

As a result of cultural hybridization, the Hindu caste system exuded through and deeply entrenched into the social roots of Pakistan (Brown, 2005). Particularly with the expansion of Islam (that prescribes equality of all human beings) into South Asia, the caste system took varied forms. And in the context of Lahore′s Shahi Mohallah (red light area; one of the most significant socio-sexual setting for female sex workers and transgender sex worker), the ethnic-driven class stratification of residents into Kanjar and Mirasi groups is still prevalent (Saeed, 2001). Also, with the demolition of Hindu temples by the Muslim rulers, the long-standing Hindu Devdasi tradition (tradition termed as "religious prostitution" in which poor Hindu girls are disposed of to temples as wives of Gods where to add on to their incomes girls had to prostitute) collapsed, but even after converting to the religion propagated by Muslim rulers, these girls remained at the lowest ebbs of the social divisions (Saeed, 2001).

From Mughal era to Colonial India red light areas (*Chaklas*) have been historically providing entertainment services such as singing, dancing and sex (Brown, 2005). But the hierarchy of professional women within prostitution has irrevocably persisted. The *Kothas* of the most learned, sophisticated, and intelligent prostitutes constituted the highest rung of the hierarchy where even the sons of the gentry were sent for education (Brown, 2005). This class was highly respected and considered the epitome of class and literary stature. The other two classes were not respected for their low literary upholding and provision of sexual services as the only earning option. Enticing the hearts of their high-class clientele through delicate classical dancing was associated with the upper-class prostitutes whereas folk dances were used as tools by other two classes for enthralling the low-class audiences (Saeed, 2001). Such a stringent division continued. A-class prostitutes who top the social hierarchy of this division are the most educated, beautiful and well-paid. They have greater command over their earnings and of those who join showbiz enjoy greater freedom and income. Some continue to provide sexual services but only to the exclusive political personalities and wealthy foreigners (Saeed, 2001). B-class prostitutes are those who resort to traditional prostitution of *Kotha* system in which a female manager (*naika-* female pimp) takes the lead in making personal and professional decisions (Saeed, 2001). The last C-class is the most subjugated category of prostitutes. These include women who are economically poor and socially delineated. Like other two classes the entertainers from this class cannot sing or dance because they cannot afford to do so due to poverty. They usually live in

Tibbi Galli, which is one of the twelve *bazaars* of Shahi Mohalla, and service whoever comes to their small rooms for amounts varying from 25 to 200 Pakistani rupees (Saeed, 2001).

As a result of reaching a certain age (that usually is early thirties) the courtesans or prostitutes vacate from providing sexual services. Only the poverty-stricken destitute middle age continue selling their bodies (Brown, 2005). Most of them retire from mainstream pleasure provision that this profession demands but continue to work as managers of their daughters. Giving birth to a daughter is just like securing the future lives of these women as right from the nimbler age of fifteen to late twenties. The daughters carry on the tradition of their ancestors and provide monetary security to their families (Brown, 2005). This feature is in quite contradiction from the Pakistani society that links growing preference to having boys for future financial security and for carrying family names forward. It is not the only contradiction; the girls from the Mohallah manage to survive in an atmosphere that is in huge deviation that ordinary girls from Pakistani society live into. In these markets the sexuality of women is explicitly celebrated and highly priced (Brown, 2005). In these markets the young girls from their childhood internalize the fact that the outsider Pakistani society seems too gross to be even actualized- the fact that the clients of their mothers will be theirs once they reach the age suitable for profession. Also, they do not have any option other than resorting themselves to the demands of their ancestral profession, meeting the rising standards and competition of sex trade and eventually restoring the family's honor by getting high price for their sexuality. In their blooming career-peaks of prostitution they are strictly prohibited to fall in love and to commit themselves to a single person (Brown, 2005). Strictly committing to a single client rarely happens if the client is rich enough to cover the earnings earned through various clients (Brown, 2005). In her late 20s if she gets an opportunity of settling down with one rich man, she avails it otherwise she continues to work as dealer/manager of young girls.

Saeed (2001) articulates ways of recruitment of women into sex trade which include:

- Internal trafficking in which traffickers from within the country marry poor girls from Swat or tribal areas closer to Khyber Pahktunkhwa, pay the bride price facilitating the families of girls, bring the girls to cities, either sell them to the brothels or work as their

own independent managers. Similar recruitment strategies have been recorded in internal Sindh and Southern Punjab.

- Use of agents who work for brothel owners. These agents get into contact with managements of state-instituted shelter homes, and girl's/women's hostels and fetch the women whenever they get opportunity. This system banged in 1970s was re-emerged in the following years in its full glory by the political support from state apparatus.

- Use of emotional tactics in which young girls are fooled to believe about the emotional affiliation of recruiters with them. Once the girls are ensnared, they are involved in physical relationship by recruiters. Under the burden of guilt of losing virginity the recruiters encourage girls to leave their families, and in most of the cases recruiters become successful and recruit the victims to the brothels.

- From the areas hit hard by natural calamities, the agents snatch innocent girls and end up landing them in brothels.

Once recruited these women are circulated to various parts of Pakistan. The most common reason for this system of changing places is the security concerns. Since prostitution is illegal in Pakistan hence carrying out sex trade in a single place can be security-wise dangerous and can lead to protract information to the police to exercise raids. For this reason, the male pimps encourage rendering services to the top-class businessmen and political figures across the country rather than restricting to single place. Secondly, the pimps also want to ensure that women remain vulnerable to the changing customers and never get into contact to their families. Thirdly, the system works as a strategy of providing fresh flesh to satiate the sexual needs of customers from all over the country. Though in an informal arrangement, but the overall process right from employing tactical ways of recruiting victims and capitalizing from sex trade business, all take place in a highly organized system of information exchange. Strategies to find customers are again derivative of this intricate organizational structure (Saeed, 2001). The strategies vary from the low-class brothel based male pimps who roam around in public places to catch clients to the more modern brothels where portfolio of prostitutes is kept for customers to choose from. Such arrangements require police involvement (Saeed, 2001). Particularly in modern brothels of Lahore it is mandatory on the part of brothel-owners to pay bribe to the police for carrying on

with the business without disruptions. Sometimes heavy bribes are paid by the brothel-owners interested in making big in politics to those police officers who have strong political contacts. In Mohalla policemen are as much involved in informal business activities as the female prostitutes, their families and pimps are (Saeed, 2001). Other than collecting bribes and receiving unpaid sexual services from prostitutes, policemen are also involved in forcing passengers to pay informal fines. They usually catch such people for fines who are not residents and who can easily be pushed to pay fines through the use threat and intimidation (Brown, 2005). Policemen throw women from Mohalla into police stations usually when they (policemen) run short of money and keep on demanding inflating payments as releasing price of women (Brown, 2005). One of the reasons of conversion of *Mohalla* into the hub of criminal activities is that the police itself is either involved in conducting planned crimes or is too negligent to care for the security of the area.

The situation for transgender community is not different with respect to the concern of criminalization of prostitution, discrimination by the exogenous factors (society, police and institutions), and internal dynamics. One of the parallels which can be drawn is that of the need for multiple clienteles to secure more tangible and intangible entitlements. Having said this, the women from Heera Mandi are forbidden to fall in love wherein having a girya and extracting resources from him is a hallmark of success in the transgender community. For this reason, despite having a dearth of literature on the exactitude of socio-sexual settings in which transgenders function, studies allude their social mobility and professional operability in dance functions, soliciting areas, pick-up points, households (*deras*), small taverns, and *girya* residences. These are not merely physical spaces of mobility but also spaces of romancing, intimacy, sexuality, agency, erotica and possibilities of cash or kind security (this part will be detailed in the study's findings).

2.4.1. HIV/AIDS related behaviors in Socio-sexual settings

The term MSM is used as an umbrella term for different communities throughout the world. The categorization of MSM into groups is important because it is within these groups some are more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS than others with different causal factors. Western World defines MSM in a way quite different from Non-Western World. The former for the most part is biologically

framed and associates less with various social, familial, and institutional factors while defining MSM. Whereas in the latter these features become more pronounce because the rise in HIV/AIDS is being alleged intensely critical particularly to MSM in the Non-Western World.

Similar groups may exist with different names elsewhere in both Western and Non-Western countries. There has always been a lot of controversy in defining MSM because it is not simply the bodily mannerisms and physical attributes that out rightly define MSM. For Chinese men living as MSM is to decide between their own sexual identities and their familial and social obligations (getting married and producing children) (Zhou 2006). Social scientists in Non-Western World view Western take on MSM in particular and homosexuality in general, technocratic and limited in its scope due to lack of societal norms and traditional values embedded in it (Zhou 2006). Perhaps that is the reason that whenever MSM are defined from an 'Asian' perspective, the 'local' meaning is given prime importance (Zhou 2006). In Asia the definition of masculinity is not just associated with sexual behavior that defines sexual identity rather it goes beyond to encapsulate as diverse factors as race, color, religion, and society. In Vietnam a male may not be defined MSM if he fulfills the socially constructed gender roles although he has sexual links with other men (Bengtsson et al. 2013). Similarly, in Afghanistan old men having insertive sexual intercourse with adolescent boys are considered as real men (Naz Foundation International 2008). In Vietnam the men having sexual links with other men differ on their self-assertiveness of sexual identities ('*bonglo*' and '*bongkin*' both in sexual links with other men, both performing anal and insertive sexual roles interchangeably, but the former prefers to be more feminine in bodily mannerisms whereas the latter may be married with children but tries to hide his male sexual preferences (Ngo et al. 2009).

This paper has defined MSM as a behavioural term but the attempt is not to homogenize the population or to ignore the local contexts, sensibilities and realities that shape sexualities. Local vernaculars of '*hijras*' in Pakistan and Bangladesh (Chan and Khan 2007; Rajabali et al. 2008), '*alis*' in India (F.Go et al. 2004) or '*chungton*' in China (Zhou 2006) may not completely fit in to the Western construct of transsexuals, similarly *zenana* in Pakistan (Rajabali et al. 2008), '*kothi*' in Bangladesh (Chan and Khan 2007) and India (F.Go et al. 2004), '*ponaya*' in Sri Lanka (Aggleton 1999) or '*shuanxinglian*' in China (Zhou 2006) may not fit in to the construct of

transgenderists. Khan in Aggleton (1999) defines '*kothi*' and '*panthi*' of Dhaka (Bangladesh) both as homosexually active people but the former as feminine practicing anal intercourse with '*panthi*' and later as masculine practicing insertive intercourse with '*kothi*'. Involvement of '*kothi*' in sex-work is driven by their poor socio-economic status but sexuality also plays an important role in becoming sex-workers. In Thai gay bar culture, the complexity of multiple sexualities of whether "self-identified as gay or not" is documented in literature. Of those who self-identify as gays are feminine than those who either do not identify or identify with certain resistance of their bi- or homosexuality. In Morocco, on the other hand, gigolos despite having same-sex preferences are not explicit in their self-identification as gays because of the taboo and homophobia linked to homosexuality. Among those are also included masculine gigolos who do not have to compromise on their masculinity as most of the clients (male/female) are passive (Aggleton 1999). Contrary to gigolos are 'prostitutes homosexuals' who are feminine and who after running from their hostile social surroundings and families became sex-workers as a survival strategy.

A. Is Love a correlate of low condom use?

Condom use among marginalized communities of MSM and FSWs can lead to have a substantial fall in HIV/AIDS. But current literature in developing countries poses a very relevant question that whether low condom use a sufficient condition for high HIV prevalence? Referring to Sub-Saharan African countries the HIV/AIDS transmission continues to persist despite high rates of condom use (Hearst and Chen 2004). The transmission rates could have gone even higher without the use of condoms but strictly resorting high HIV prevalence to low condom use seems spurious and there may be other influential factors to explain huge HIV prevalence despite high condom use in developing countries. The question that whether condom is used consistently or not is very effectively posed by the current literature. The impact of inconsistent condom use on HIV prevalence is causing rise in epidemic than no condom use. Interestingly, among MSM the low condom use is considered to be the sign of commitment and love especially among those who are in emotional relationships with other people (Hearst and Chen 2004). The 'tongzhi' study by Zhou (2006) reveals that among cohabitating MSM the need for using condom by one partner is often regarded as a sign of distrust and less affection by the other partner. Similarly, the elements of 'faithfulness and love' were recorded in a qualitative study conducted on

Vietnamese MSM (Bengtsson et al. 2013). The study confirms that condom use becomes more implausible in love-based relationships with 'steady partners' than with 'casual partners'. With research expositing that it is not always the stigma against these groups that limit their access to HIV/AIDS control programs or seek information for reducing risky sexual behaviors, rather it could be the personal choice among these groups to indulge in risky sexual behaviors through minimum condom use. In the light of these important findings, it becomes important to assess whether condom use is always high (low) with casual partners or low (high) with steady partners and whether transmission is speedy through low condom use among casual partners or steady partners? A study on Chinese student MSM indicates that despite the provision of free HIV/AIDS related information, accessibility to condoms, and acquisition of HIV/AIDS knowledge MSM students practiced unprotected receptive intercourse with their 'regular' (steady or non-casual) partners (Xu et al. 2011).

The project funded by HIV Prevention Trials Network (HPTN) and conducted by the University of North Carolina (2012) analyzed the risky sexual behaviors among straight and gay African, Asian, North and South American couples over six years. In each of the couple, one partner was infected and the other was not infected. The research study, other than providing HIV testing, counseling, and analyzing the sexual behaviors, also provided condoms, regular medical check-ups with proper confidentiality so that information does not leak out, and provided with expensive HAART. Even after providing such coping mechanisms to control cross-exchange of HIV/AIDS, 28 cases of cross-exchange were reported. The reason was attributed to unprotected intercourse due to which the other partners got infected. Among the causes of the HIV/AIDS discussed previously, the lesser use of condom among intimate partners or regular customers (for the reasons varying from love and commitment) may not always strongly relate to stigma. As the study conducted by HPTN indicates that despite the provision of every possible treatment and information, the cross-exchange took place not due to stigma that constricted the infected people to get medical assistance, but due to unchanged risky sexual behaviors.

The study calls for the attention of two very important aspects. First, the importance of conducting time series rather than survey-based studies especially when behavioral changes are to be introspected for better healthcare related programmatic strategies in Asia and MENA.

Secondly, due to lack of data on cohabitating MSM partners of Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bangladesh, and MENA such cross-HIV exchange research could never be conducted in the past, also to what extent love and personal choice have accounted for risky sexual behaviors among cohabitating MSM could never be researched upon.

B. Injecting and non-injecting drug use

In a study on Thai MSM (Griensven et al. 2005), the use of illicit injecting drugs was not reported by a majority of MSM; the quick result that can be drawn from this finding is that sexual causes are the main reasons for rising HIV/AIDS among Thai MSM. But the authors seem tentative as low drug use may be the result of underreporting that result from the government ban of illicit drug use and trafficking.

In comparison to Thailand the number of MSM contracting HIV/AIDS due to injecting drug use in Indonesia is very high. In the early 1990s the prevalence of disease was due to the use of contaminated syringes for drug injection that caused to increase the burden of HIV/AIDS among MSM and FSWs in Indonesia. But the Indonesian National AIDS Commission (2007) predicts that from within next decade the number of HIV/AIDS infected people will increase due to sexual activities from MSWs in Indonesia. A study on six Indonesian cities reflects better information of MSM respondents regarding HIV/AIDS transmission mechanism (Morineau et al. 2011). The HIV prevalence in Jakarta was the highest (8%) with the lowest recorded in Bandung (2%) among MSM respondents. Conversely, the STDs prevalence was the highest in Bandung and the lowest in Jakarta; this finding puts the situation even grimmer for future HIV/AIDS prevalence because of strong correlation between HIV/AIDS and STDs prevalence.

In addition to sexual causes, the use of non-injecting drugs such as methamphetamine that majority of the MSM respondents responded using. The drug is most commonly used by MSM in Indonesia for raising the sexual pleasure and minimizing the sexual pain. Use of such psycho stimulant drugs along with less condom use and excessive alcohol consumption is perceived to be the catalyst for HIV prevalence (Morineau et al. 2011). Current research shows high association between non-injecting drug use and HIV/AIDS risky behaviors in commercial sex-work of developing countries. The overuse of cocaine, methamphetamine, marijuana, and alcohol consumption is a serious threat for UAI in MENA (Mumtaz et al. 2011). But research is

still required to be clearly undertaken whether HIV prevalence among MSM is because of sexual links with IDUs or due to needle-sharing from IDUs for injecting drugs because not only in Pakistan (Bokhari et al. 2007) but also in other South Asian and Southeast Asian (Wei et al. 2012) countries MSM inject drugs from IDUs and are in sexual links with them as well.

In a study comprising of 664 Lahore-based male drug addicts, 23.3% were involved in intravenous drugs (Emmanuel et al. 2004). Similar to Southeast Asian countries (We et al. 2012), in Pakistan the easy access to illicit drugs are from commercial sex areas. Hence, the respondents were not only involved in injecting drugs directly or indirectly through either group injections or transferring infected equipment individually but they were also involved in hetero- and homosexual intercourses. The most effective way of disinfecting the contaminated syringe/needle is through using a disinfectant such as bleach but that was reported by only 5 % of the respondents (Emmanuel et al. 2004). The study foresees that passing such infected syringes to other addicts can lead to raise the burden of HIV/AIDS from IDUs to the general population in Pakistan and that is confirmed by recent studies as well.

Despite deep-rooted traditional values, the sexual causes have been mostly associated to HIV/AIDS prevalence in China (Li et al. 2013). Among adolescents of Shanghai and Beijing the illicit substance use (injecting drug use, oral drug use, alcohol and cigarette consumption) have been recorded as determinants of unsafe sex (Li et al. 2013). It is argued that use of injecting or non-injecting drugs among adolescents can increase the likelihood of higher-risk sexual behaviours to manifolds due to their (drugs) adverse impact on decision of safer intercourse (Xu et al. 2011; Li et al. 2013). In comparison to female respondents, the male respondents had more risky sexual behaviours (low condom use and multiple partners), had more homosexual and bisexual intercourses, and had more substance use in all the four aforementioned categories (Li et al. 2013). Similarly, a study on Hijra Sex Workers (HSWs) of Larkana recorded greater number of respondents consuming alcohol before or during UAI (Altaf et al. 2012). Substance use made the respondents ignorant drug users who when exercised anal intercourse did not care for condom use.

The use of physical or verbal violence or both can lead to sexual violence by violent drug users on their partners and that in turn intensify the probability of higher-risk sexual behaviors (Li et

al. 2012) as the existing literature supports the relationship between Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), HIV prevalence and drug use (psychostimulants and poppers).

Due to societal and institutional resistance and high unemployment rates crack cocaine users habitually slot in unprotected paid sexual intercourse with multiple partners to meet their drug needs (L. Szwarcwald et al. 1998; Ferreira et al. 2006). Unprotected sexual intercourse turns out to be even more risky when partners are IDUs because they constitute a population segment which often shows high HIV and other STD infection rates. Mostly, the cross sharing of needles or syringes happens between MSM IDUs and their male/female sexual partners. So an important research area is to know whether HIV prevalence among MSM IDUs is due to sexual links with their clienteles or due to bodily injection of drugs with them.

Pakistan is among one of the South Asian countries where IDUs prostitute for drugs or money (Khan and Khan 2010). Khan and Khan (2010) refer to a study conducted on spouses of IDUs in India where 3% were involved in sexual enterprises and 21% injected drugs from informal medical sector which when injected to other members of the community, raises the transmission of HIV/AIDS to the general population.

Khan and Khan (2010) refer to 2003 when the importance of research on HIV/AIDS transmission in Pakistan gained relevance when outburst among incarcerated IDUs in Larkana happened. Among IDUs street youth in large groups are involved in needle/syringe sharing for drug injection and who are also in sexual links with sex workers and regular partners. They also use informal health sectors where non-sterilized therapeutic injections are injected making them more susceptible to contract HIV/AIDS. The higher frequency of drug (particularly heroine) injection on daily basis, coupled with active sexual contacts with FSWs and MSWs with low condom use make IDUs increasingly vulnerable to contract the disease. Akhtar et al. 2001 found homosexual links along with the use of intravenous drugs among Sindh-based prisoners.

C. Stigmatization

Of all the Chinese men who were interviewed by Zhou et. al. (2006) consensually defined themselves as '*tongzhi*'-who are the men having sexual preference for men but they keep such preference as confidential from their families and society. These people prefer to carry on their

affairs outside their homes. For most of them, the institution of marriage is a hindrance in their way of getting personal and societal acceptance of their sexual identities. The conflict between their sexual identities and traditional roles to which they all have to respond made most of the Chinese '*tongzhi*' depressed and guilty (Zhou, 2006). Due to apprehension of disclosure of their sexual orientation many of the '*tongzhi*' indulge in sex with concurrent and often unknown partners of unknown HIV/AIDS status. Such a strategy can be effective in maintaining their secret sexual identities; it however increases their vulnerabilities to STDs including HIV/AIDS by many folds.

In China the plans of young gays of getting married to girls and then carrying on secretive affairs with other men are hindered by their HIV/AIDS diagnosis (Zhou 2006). Out of eleven interviewed MSM ('*tongzhi')*, three got divorced when spouses knew about their HIV/AIDS infection because of homosexual relationship (Zhou 2006). The same study shows that for HIV/AIDS infected MSM, informing their families, about their homosexuality was more difficult than the death they could foresee due to HIV/AIDS. Like '*tongzhi*' study in China, MSM in Thailand do not disclose their HIV positive status due to the fear of stigma and continue exercising UAI majorly with other men (Griensven et al. 2005). And others who get their HIV testing done never return back to collect their HIV/AIDS results. These two causes of widespread dissemination of HIV/AIDS are striking but hugely reported among Southeast Asian countries.

Among Black Men who have Sex with Men (BMSM) both risky sexual and non-sexual HIV/AIDS related behaviors were reported the direct outcomes of social/structural correlates such as low socio-economic status of BMSM, dearth of social and family support, and institutional resistance identified by paucity of HIV/AIDS information coverage to BMSM than other ethnic groups residing in USA (E. Buttram et al. 2012).

According to Pakistan Penal Code male homosexual activities are punishable, moreover strict social norms and religious statute further prohibit homosexuality in Pakistan (Khan and Khan 2010). With severe retributions to those men and women indulged or caught in non-marital sexual activities and prosecution against adultery and infidelity, the more accessible choice for unburdening the compulsive sexual urges for men is to get into sexual links with other men. Like

China and Thailand, the bisexuality of MSM is mostly hidden in Pakistan where men despite in socially and culturally acceptable heterosexual wedlock are in sexual links with other men. Lower percentages of HIV/AIDS related information among MSWs than FSWs and IDUs coupled with risky sexual behaviors and 'burying themselves in undergrounds' due to societal rejection provide explanations of high HIV/AIDS prevalence among Lebanese MSWs (Mahfud et al. 2010).

A study on Kathmandu migrated '*metis*' (transgenderists) bridges a link between stigma and violence against '*metis*' that results in severe health repercussion for the victims (Wilson et al. 2011). Similar to Pakistan's social dogmatism, Nepali society is conservative especially in accepting the alternative sexualities and sexual orientations (Wilson et al. 2011). Drawing some commonalities from the Chinese '*tongzhi*' and Indian '*kothi*' cultures, there exists division of gender roles between men and women in Nepal and the most important role for men is to get married and to procreate. Any man who contravenes to accept such socially constructed roles are subject to social exclusion. The familial pressures on 'metis' to get married and the fear of casting a slur on their families' names forced 'metis' to migrate from their native areas to Kathmandu where as a result of experiencing direct discrimination in various informal job sectors recourse them to join sex work (Wilson et al. 2011).

A study on rising HIV/AIDS among Sub-Saharan African MSM indicates only 14 (out of 118) studies reporting HIV/AIDS behavioral risks and STDs (Sexually Transmitted Diseases), and out of these 14, only 10 studies identify men reporting having MSM behavior (Smith et al. 2009). Same study asserts that in spite of anthropological studies sensitizing the local and federal governments with rising HIV/AIDS infected MSM in Sub-Saharan Africa, still nothing significant is done to control the disease. Rather imprisonment of 9 activists who were involved in providing HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment to MSM in Senegal shows high level stigma to deal in conducting HIV/AIDS control and awareness programs among MSM (Smith et al. 2009). Similarly those who show some concerns towards HIV/AIDS infected MSM are also accused of promoting 'homosexuality' in Jamaica (C.White and Carr 2005).

One may think of why the extent of fear in disclosing sexual identities among HIV/AIDS infected MSM is so high. One of the sound explanations are the institutional factors, among

these factors are included the judiciary, stigma, and anti-gay attitude of government (C.White and Carr 2005). These factors on one hand limit access of HIV/AIDS infected MSM to the hospitals and on the other hand hinder the research on non-sexual reasons of HIV/AIDS among MSM both in Jamaica and other Sub-Saharan African countries (C.White and Carr 2005; Smith et al. 2009). Even in the Southeast European countries where governments were kind enough to introduce the anti-discriminatory laws for sexually deviant people, the change in attitudes of public towards MSM has not taken place (Longfield et al. 2007).

In all the above-mentioned studies MSM tend to be highly vulnerable to HIV/AIDS due to their risky sexual behaviors. Such behaviors are primarily the result of stigmatization that collectively increase the probability of being frustrated and careless drug addict, and indulge in unprotected sexual intercourse and prostitution (C. F.Caceres et al. 2008). Generally, MSM find disclosing their 'deviant', 'off the track', or 'sinfully unconventional' sexual behaviors difficult to others. In turn their sexual behaviors are largely dependent on the level of their apprehension from rigid social exclusion and stigmatization that may arise from their self-declaration of 'deviant' sexual identities (C. F.Caceres et al. 2008). Most of the '*tongzhi*' interviewed by Mr. Zhou and other AIDS professionals (2006) were guilty of remaining silent over their clandestine affairs with men. Similarly a study by F.Go et al. (2004) indicate men in Chennai slums having 'secretive' sexual relationships with other men.

D. Poverty and sexual violence in South Asia

With rising number of MSWs and FSWs and minimum rates charged for paid sexual intercourse, poverty is determined as a major reason for HIV prevalence. The most unfortunate outcome of poverty is the unprotected intercourse between sex-workers and their clients because MSWs are at compromising positions when it comes to negotiate on use of condoms. The insistence of condom use by sex-workers against resistance to condom use by clienteles may lead to reduce the number of potential customers of sex workers and minimize the chances of earnings through prostitution.

In a study on ten young, feminized men in two mega cities of Pakistan, the average age at which the first-time sexual encounter reported by respondents was 11.2 years (Wijngaarden et al. 2013).

And all the respondents were physically abused or raped repeatedly. Out of 10 case studies, 6 indicated experiences of rape as first-time sexual encounters of victims. Forced/coerced sexual intercourse at nimbler ages when reproductive organs are not fully developed, and the victims are physically dormant shows maximum likelihood of anal rupture and excessive bleeding that without medical help and repeated abuse can develop into STDs in later parts of the lives. Moreover, all the respondents reported involved in UAI. As a result of exposure of their feminized sexual identities to their families most of the respondents were physically and sexually abused by their own male members of the families. They were drifted out of their houses, and under such conditions they had no option other than joining informal entertainment groups called 'Hijra Deras' which provide social security to them. The feminized men, working as MSWs under the management of 'gurus' of 'Hijra Deras', are better equipped with HIV/AIDS information in comparison to MSWs working as street prostitutes or through mobile contacts (Wijngaarden et al. 2013). Another study on Male Transgender Sex Workers (MTSWs) and FSWs of other two cities of Pakistan (Hawkes et al. 2013) supports that '*dairas*' are active in providing necessary information regarding condom use to MTSWs (including '*khusras*' and '*kothis*'). Other similarities include 'khusras' reporting sexually abused or active at younger ages and raped by policemen. Violence from police, customers and family members is a common factor reported by both MSWs and FSWs. In comparison to previously conducted studies in Pakistan, this study is important for these two highly stigmatized groups because it emphasizes on drawing strong links between sexual violence and higher-risk sexual behaviors.

The study on HSWs of Larkana shows that in comparison bigger cities of Lahore and Faisalabad (Punjab province), Peshawar (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Hyderabad and Karachi (Sindh province) the HIV/AIDS prevalence is higher among HSWs of a small town Larkana due to their sexual debut at nimbler age and their longer sex-working years, strong informal networks of male prostitution located at Station Road where they provide sexual services to other men in '*musafirkhanas*' (small motels), poverty and unemployment that led many young boys to resort to decentralized modes of prostitution, low HIV/AIDS related information among HSWs and coverage issues of HIV/AIDS programs (Altaf et al. 2012). Despite some efforts, inefficaciousness of HIV/AIDS prevention centers to disseminate information to HSWs of small towns of Pakistan persists. That on one hand makes HSWs more vulnerable to risky behaviors

because just like FSWs of Hyderabad the HSWs in Larkana are not able to negotiate on condom use with their clienteles. And on the other hand, the deeply entrenched stigma makes HSWs more exposed to sex-work rather to other modes of earning.

The study on Bangladeshi *'kothis'*, *'hijras'* and *'panthi'* attributes to features such as poverty and widespread inequality that constricts MSM to undergrounds exposing them to HIV/AIDS risky behaviours (Chan and Khan 2007). Like the situation in Pakistan and Afghanistan the transmission mechanism of HIV/AIDS initiated from the IDUs first, from IDUs to CSWs (both male and female due to sexual and non-sexual contacts (bodily injection of drugs)) and finally to the general population (Chan and Khan 2007).

Experiences of sexual violence were reported by Kathmandu-based *'metis'* (Wilson et al. 2011). Despite the fact that same-sex relationships are not criminalized in Nepal but still there exists widespread prevalence of physical and sexual violence by policemen against *'metis'*. The study refers to the ways the *'metis'* are maltreated by the policemen, sometimes arrested under false accusations of having sexual intercourse with multiple partners in public places and releasing only when they (*'metis'*) provide free sexual services or pay certain amounts (Wilson et al. 2011). Also, the unfortunate incidents of rape or forced sexual abuse were reported by a number of respondents. Inside police stations *'metis'* are forced to coerced intercourse. Under such conditions the use of condoms as a harm reduction strategy to HIV/AIDS is not only non-negotiable but also out of question. Moreover, carrying condoms by *'metis'* in public places is also risky as it can increase the likelihood of police harassment because upon finding condoms the police can arrest them under the charge of illicit sexual links with other men. Hence, the fear of police increases the risky behaviors among *'metis'* in Nepal.

Despite decriminalization of same-sex relationships in India, structural violence is practiced against MSM (Chakrapani et al. 2007). A qualitative study on Chennai-based 'kothi' (transgenderists) shares varied experiences of familial oppression, police sexual and physical assault, and ignorance of health care providers. The *'kothi'* faces extortion, informal taxation, arrests under falsified charges, and excessive beatings from policemen without strong reasons (Chakrapani et al. 2007). The incidents of unprotected forced intercourse by policemen are also reported and in most of the cases the request from *'kothi'* for condom use were punished with

physical beatings. In doing so, both involved in unprotected intercourse are in danger of contracting and transmitting HIV/AIDS. The strong alliances between policemen and road-side rowdies further worsen the situation as both parties are actively involved in practicing sexual and physical abuse against '*kothi'*. And in majority of the cases the incidents of brutality go unnoticed by law (Chakrapani et al. 2007). At the medical level, many '*kothis'* are hesitant of sharing their sexual issues (especially of STDs) with the doctors due to their rude behaviours and in many cases the health care providers did not sensitize those '*kothi'* who were sexually active with the importance of protected sexual intercourse (Chakrapani et al. 2007).

In Afghanistan the historical tradition of '*bacchabazee'* (playing with the boy) has led many male adolescents to sexual exploitation by rich old Afghani men. This traditional practice requires adolescents (12 to 16 years) to get trained in music and dancing to entertain the wealthy Afghani warlords or influential political personalities through dance and sexual services (NAZ Foundation International 2008). The practice is illegal in Afghanistan and according to the constitutional, customary and 'Sharia' laws any person involved in this practice or in sodomy is subjected to severe penalty. But despite legitimate punishments to the perpetrators, no arrests under the charge of '*bacchabazee'* have been actualized. The HIV/AIDS prevalence in Afghanistan is showing swelling trends among IDUs and since most of the IDUs are in sexual links with MSWs and FSWs so in future the chances of dissemination to other marginalized groups and eventually to the general population is prognosticated. Furthermore, with the internalization of '*bacchabazee'* as a socially acceptable traditional norm, along with religious dogmatism, pervasive cultural practices, stigma against those men who are 'penetrated' and widespread poverty and security concerns the plausibility of sexual exploitation of young males will bloat the vulnerability of HIV/AIDS risky environment in Afghanistan.

Summary of the Relevant Cited Literature and its Relevance to the Current Research

Authors	Titles	Key Themes	Relevance to the Current Research
Wojcicki (2002)	She drank his money: Survival sex and the problem of violence in taverns in Gauteng province, South Africa	Transactional Sex. Intersection of violence with sex. Normalization of violence in transactional relationships.	The current study provides contextual reasons for women to be in transactional relationships. The parameters along which male-female transgender persons may opt in for such relationships or do they opt in, may be different, but the current study explains of reasons which are of help for the current study, such as relative and absolute deprivation,

			consumerist needs, and instrumentality of emotions. The study also speaks of sexual violence and normalization of the same- the factors important for understanding the context for the current study's objective on HIV/AIDS related behaviors.
Niang et al. (2003)	"It's raining stones": Stigma, violence, and HIV vulnerability among men who have sex with men in Dakar, Senegal	Stigma against MSM. Sexual violence against feminized men. HIV/AIDS related sexual behaviors.	The study brings in complexities of inter-personal relationships between MSM, MSM's integration with heterosexual populace, stigma attached to MSM because of their sexual identity, and HIV/AIDS-related risky sexual behaviors. These factors play out as important reasons for understanding, research objectives on HIV/AIDS, sexual violence perpetrated against feminized men by masculinized men (both within MSM and out-of-MSM groups), socio-sexual settings and instrumental relationships.
Gaudio (2009)	Allah Made Us: Sexual Outlaws in an Islamic African City	Stigma and ostracization against feminized men. Intersection of religious ethos and sexual minorities.	The study helps in understanding the articulation of religious ethos with the non-conformist sexual identities such as feminized men. The social construction of religion is the reason for the economic, socio-cultural and legal marginalization of these men. This study also helps in granular understanding of socio-cultural landscape in which these men exist and what it takes to exist as 'sexual outlaws'.
Kleis and Abdullahi (1983)	Masculine power and gender ambiguity in urban Hausa Society	Problematization of masculinity. Masculinization of power. Social power and masculinity.	The study provides a nuanced understanding of social power, intersection of social power with masculinity and how masculinity becomes problematized due to sexual and gender non-conformist behaviors (being feminized, gay, or bi-sexual). Since in the current research's conceptual framework, power is a critical concept, hence this study was useful.
Kaufman and Stavrou (2004)	'Bus fare please': the economics of sex and gifts among young people in urban South Africa	Relational reciprocity. Sex for gifts. Transactional relationships. Political economy of sex. Transactional sex/prostitution dichotomy.	The study helped in understanding a layered understanding of women being in long-terms sexual relationships with men, primarily due to gifts. Since, transactional sex is one of the critical concepts for the current research's conceptual framework, hence this study was added in the literature review. Along the continuum of sex-for-money, sex-for-consumerist needs, and sex-for-love, this study focusses on the second factor, and hence has been reviewed.
Hunter (2010)	Love in the time of AIDS- Inequality, Gender, and Rights in South Africa	Heteronormative description of love. Homosexuality and love. Sexual and non-sexual HIV/AIDS related behaviors and	Love as a normative and socially constructed concept has been challenged in the current book and henceforth provides an explanatory account of how scholarship produced on love is based on androcentric and heteronormative assumptions. Set against the backdrop of HIV/AIDS, discourses of human rights and socio-economic inequality, the

		emotional proximities.	book re-conceptualizes love as socially constructed, emotionally proximal, and disruptive force among sexual and gender non-conformists.
Padilla (2007)	Caribbean Pleasure Industry, Tourism, Sexuality and AIDS in the Dominican Republic	Transactional relationships. Transactional sex/prostitution dichotomy. Sex for gifts. Sex as survival strategy. Feigned romances for material endowments.	The study alludes to marking the differences between formal sex work and transactional sex, with the former outlined in terms of de-personalized, mechanical and sex-for-cash profession and the latter as personalized, emotive and sex-for-gifts, relational associations. The sense of longing, belonging, and gentility of emotions developed with the male partners, romance feigned for accruing consumerist goods, and continuum along which the love is either feigned, or performed, or sexualized, friend-zoned or genuine are the recurrent themes of the books and hence included in the current study.
Gukurume (2011)	Transactional sex and the politics of the belly at tertiary educational institutions in the era of HIV and AIDS, a case study of great Zimbabave university and Masvingo polytechnical college	Transactional sex. Sex for ladder-up and social status. Normalization of gift exchange in transactional relationships.	Transactional sexual relationships are driven not only by amenities but also by social status; set against the backdrop of unequal lives and socio-economic depravity. In this socio-economic context, the relational dynamics between men and women will be also be unequal, prone to violence, and based on instrumentality. For these reasons and to explore the reasons for male-female transgender persons to be in such relationships, this article was added in the literature review.
Zembe et al., (2013)	"Money talks, bullshit Walks": Interrogating notions of consumption and survival sex among young women engaging in transactional sex in post-apartheid South Africa: a qualitative enquiry	Transient nature of transactional relationship. Cash, kind and gift exchanges in transactional relationships. Sex for basic goods. Absolute deprivation and sex-for-money exchanges.	The current article examines the types of exchanges, the relational dynamic that shape up as a result of the exchanges and the overarching theme of transient nature of relationships. The article also examines how as a response to western intervention in the name of modernization, acquisition of consumptive goods has become necessary among young women. This article has been added because of its relevance to my study's research objectives and questions but also due to its in-depth qualitative insights, which was of help for setting my study's methodological framework, as well.
Khan (1999)	Through a window darkly: Men who sell sex to men in India and Bangladesh	MSM as hidden identity in South Asia, in general, and in India and Bangladesh, in particular. Male Prostitution: feminized men as sex workers. Stigma, isolation and discrimination against sex workers.	Considering paucity of literature on MSM prostitution in South Asia, the current chapter from a book helped in understanding the soliciting areas, price negotiations, sexual decision making, sexual violence and HIV/AIDS related risky sexual behaviors between feminized men and their masculinized clients. Due to reasons as stated in the preceding text, this chapter has been added in my literature review.

Kempadoo (1998)	Globalizing sex workers' rights.	Criminalization vs. Decriminalization of sex work. Sex worker's agency at the face of adversity, relative and absolute poverty and deprivation.	The current article speaks of sexual autonomy, agency, and social empowerment of female sex workers. It also delves deep into explaining criminalization, decriminalization, legalization and regulation of prostitution. Since one of my research questions and objectives is on socio-sexual settings, hence this article has been added. Moreover, the article conceptualizes sex workers as full-bodied agentic individuals, not as passive subjects- the themes which are of relevance for my research, as well.
Chakrapani et al. (2007)	Structural Violence against Kothi-Identified men who have sex with men in Chennai, India: A Qualitative Investigation	Feminized men in Chennai (Kothi) as sex workers. Physical and sexual violence against Kothis. Institutional apathy towards Kothis. Normalization of sexual violence. Susceptibility towards HIV/AIDS related risky sexual behaviors.	The article is added because of the way structuration thesis has been contextualized for Kothi men in India. It also highlights of violence perpetrated against Kothi men by existing institutions such as formal and informal social institutions of control. It also elucidates types and spaces of violence against them and the contextual details of the same provided to the researchers by the Kothi men. The articulation of sexual violence and susceptibility towards HIV/AIDS is also detailed in this qualitative study. For these reasons, this article was added in my review of literature.
Abdullah et al. (2012)	Is social exclusion pushing the Pakistani *Hijras* (Transgenders) towards Commercial Sex Work? A qualitative study	Socio-economic organization of *Hijra* community in Pakistan. Hijra as the third gender in Pakistan. Ostracization and social exclusion as correlates for limited forms of economic livelihood.	This study provides the details of socio-economic organization in relation to structural marginalization of *hijra* community in Pakistan. Although viewed with a generic lens of marginality and social exclusion, the study is relevant in terms of outlining the structural contours of their social exclusion: coming out, becoming a *Hijra*, social apathy, economic marginalization, integration with the wider population and accessibility concerns.
Collumbien et al. (2013)	HIV and other sexually transmitted infections among men, transgenders and women selling sex in twin cities in Pakistan: a cross-sectional prevalence survey	Susceptibility of sexual minorities towards HIV and STDs. Sex as survival strategy. Transgenders as transmitters of STDs and HIV into wider population.	This article in particular highlights the social context in which transmission channel of HIV/AIDS between and among the 3 vulnerable groups takes place. The survey provides a macro-view of prevalence of HIV and other STDs among the three groups, their reasons for practicing unsafe sex, violence-prone settings, and lack of HIV testing.
de Lind van Wijngaarden et al. (2013)	Sexual abuse, social stigma, and HIV vulnerability among	Sexual and physical violence against feminized men in	This article details a few case studies of Lahore and Karachi based feminized men and explains their experiences of first encounters of sexual abuse,

	young feminized men in Lahore and Karachi, Pakistan	Lahore and Karachi. Synergy among various forms of violence (sexual, physical and emotional). Normalization of violence. Socio-sexual settings as forms of socio-economic organization.	stigma attached to their identities and how do these factors become definitive in increasing their socio-economic and HIV vulnerabilities. This article is a relatively recent one and has employed a qualitative research strategy, hence it is added to my literature review.
Chan and Khan (2007)	Risk factors for HIV infection in Males who have sex with Males (MSM) in Bangladesh	Risky sexual behaviors (unsafe anal and oral sex). Risky non-sexual behaviors (intravenous drug injections, drug consumption, etc.)	The study, because of its relevance to the research question and objective on HIV/AIDS, types of sexual and non-sexual HIV behaviors, and locale, has been added to my literature review
Wilson et al. (2011)	Stigma and HIV risk among Metis in Nepal	Typology of risks (structural, economic, sexual and health) Metis as feminized men in Nepal. Prostitution as survival strategy. Risky sexual behaviors.	The types of stigma, the socio-cultural construction of feminized men in Nepal, recurrent form of prostitution in Nepal, and risky HIV behaviors are the reasons for which this study is added in the current review of literature.
Laurindo da Silva (1999)	Travesties and Gigolos: Male Sex Work and HIV Prevention in France.	Focused HIV/AIDS related interventions for transgender and transvestites based on their sexual history, sexual partners and sexual behaviors and sex acts.	The study provides a detailed analysis of risky sexual behaviors and acts, and the timing and recurrence of the same. For this reason, this chapter from a book was added in the literature review. The detailed take on relational dynamics of travesties with their regular male clients is another reason for selection of this academic piece in the review section of this study.
Mujtaba (1997)	The other side of midnight Pakistani male prostitutes.	Male-male sex in secretive settings. Typology of male sex work with respect to sexual preference, sexual behaviors and acts. Blackmailing and complicity of police.	The current chapter is a detailed case analysis of sexual encounters between feminized male sex workers and their regular clients in the 1990s Pakistan. The economic needs, commercialization of prostitution and the secrecy of the relations between male clients and feminize men are other key themes for which this chapter has been reviewed and added to the current review of literature.
Lorway et al. (2009)	On becoming a male sex worker in Mysore: Sexual subjectivity,	Self-identification as male sex workers. Sexual subjectivity	Sex for need, sex for survival strategy, sexual subjectivities of male sex workers, lack of knowledge about HIV and STDs are the key themes of this

		defined along the axis of sexual identity, sexual behavior, and acts.	article and hence has been added in the current review of literature.
Khan et al. (2009)	Living on the extreme margin: Social Exclusion of the Transgender Population (*Hijra*) in Bangladesh	Social exclusion of *hijras*. Limited forms of economic organization.	Providing a macro-view of constrained livability and survivability, this article is added because of its locational proximity (Bangladesh), thematic relevance and relevance to my research objectives and questions.
Hoff et al. (2012)	Relationship characteristics associated with sexual risk behavior among MSM in committed relationships	Normalization of physical and sexual violence among MSM who are committed in relationships. Unsafe sexual behaviors. Promiscuity and HV/AIDS related susceptibilities.	This article speaks of sexual behaviors of MSM who are committed in either heterosexual or homosexual relationships. The ones interest of my research are the same-sex committed relationships, their relational reciprocities and longevities, sexual behaviors, promiscuities and risky HIV sexual behaviors.
Boyce and Isaacs (2011)	An exploratory study of the social contexts, practices and risks of men who sell sex in southern and eastern Africa	Socio-sexual settings. Soliciting areas/zones. Risky sexual and non-sexual behaviors among MSM in Africa.	In the African context, most studies on prostitution and transactional sex are women-centric. The current article was added because its Unit of data collection are the MSM in Africa and the risky sexual practices (unsafe sex, STDs etc.) they practice and the social settings in which these sexual exchanges take place.
Tan (1999)	Walking the tight rope: Sexual risk and male sex work in the Philippines	Feminized men, sex work and HIV/AIDS related sexual behaviors.	Prostitution as survival strategy, intersection of sex work with HIV risky sexual behaviors and contrived lives of Philippine's MSM are the key findings. Since these themes add to my understanding of research objectives, hence this article was added to the current study.
S Chiffer and Aggleton (1999)	Cacherismo in a San Jose Brothel- Aspects of Male sex work in Costa Rica	Formal male sex work. Emotional proximities and sex work.	The longevity of relationships developed between male sex workers (feminized) and their masculinized male clients (machismo), the sexual and economic exchanges between them and lack of emotional and economic security are the reasons due to which the current academic piece has been added in the review section.
Antonio de Moya and Garcia (1999)	Three Decades of Male Sex Work in Santo Domingo.	Sexual freedom Sexual decision making Socio-emotive acceptability towards male-male sex.	This chapter from a book explores the sexual history of male sex work in Santo Domingo by researching on and re-conceptualizing male sex work as sexually liberating, and as an economic form of work. Also, relevant are the themes of sexual freedom and choices, and normalization of sex work as a form of work.
Davis and	Selling sex in Cardiff	Age and gender	This article was relevant to the sex, and age-

Feldman (1999)	and London.	segregated male sex work.	segregated data of the feminized men who provide sexual services, the spaces wherein such services are provided and the violence-prone nature of this occupation.
Stoebenau et. al (2016)	Revisiting the understanding of "transactional sex" in sub-Saharan Africa: A review and synthesis of the literature	Nature, structure and dynamic of Transactional sex.	This article is one of the key pieces for the current study as its details about the macro, meso and micro dynamics of transactional sex. The details of these dynamics have been explained in the literature review section which are further elaborated in the conceptual framework.
Reddy (2005)	With respect to sex: Negotiating *hijra* identity in South India	Problematizing identity of *hijra* in India. Sex-gender dichotomy and fluidity of *hijra* identity in India.	One of the base studies for understanding *Hijra* community in south Asia is this research in which the researcher gives a detailed account of *hijra* identity, fluidity of their gender roles, and socio-cultural practices. Due to these reasons, the current research is added in the review section.
Nanda (1999)	Neither man nor woman: The *hijras* of India	Socio-economic organization. Emasculation and sexual identity among *hijras*.	Ethnographic research by Nanda who provides a detailed analysis of *hijras* in India, their socio-economic organization, guru-chela relationship, sense of community, and communal dos and don'ts. For these reasons, the study was added in the current research's review section.
Boellstoof (2004)	Playing back the nation: Waria, Indonesian Transvestites	Waria identity. Socio-sexual settings. Prostitution as a survival strategy. Subjectivities in the ways Waria identify themselves as feminized men and their emotional relationships with the 'normal men'.	The relevance of including this study is due to three reasons. First, emotional subjectivities between waria and their permanent clients (called normal men). Second, economic exchanges based on their emotional and sexual relationships. Third World experiences of third gender.
Wijngaarden and Iqbal (2015)	Male sex work in urban Pakistan: Experiences from Lahore and Karachi	Sexual subjectivities of young who have sex workers. Experiential realities of sex work based on poverty, early sexual initiation, sexual abuse and consequent entry in sex work. Sexual health and social support needs.	One of the recent studies on male sex work: locus; Lahore and Karachi. The study is relevant for its contextual details of survival sex, risky sexual practices, sexual exploitation, sexual violence and sexual subjectivities. The study also calls for HIV/AIDS interventions that are discreet and integrated sexual health approaches.
Lorway, Reza-Paul, Pasha and Khan (2015)	Sexual life histories of male sex workers in South Asia: Emotional, erotic and	Homosexual encounters in South India. Same-sex sexualities	The study is added in the review because of its clear articulation of differences in sex work and transactional sex, as well as the fuzzy boundaries between the two.

		economic dimensions	in India. Community vs. individualized identities. Sexual initiation, exploration and subjectivities. Social networking and gift exchanges.	The socio-sexual settings provide multiple avenues for finding a suitable 'man' and building networking and economic gains. The transactional nature of the relationships, make not just economic exchanges fluid between the two parties but also keep sexual and gender identities fluid.
Kulick (1998)	Travestic: Sex, gender, and culture among Brazilian transgendered prostitutes	Travesti identity. What takes to become a travesti? Need for a man in a travesti's life. Prostitution as a macrocosm between public and private lives of transgendered prostitutes in Salvador.	Detailed ethnographic research is added to the literature because of its methodological nuance and relevance. Travesti experience of transformations in body and attire to become transgendered persons is of significance for my research. The relational dynamics with their husbands provide context and granularity for my research questions on love/money relationship.
Rebhun (1999)	The heart is an unknown country: Love in the changing economy of Northeast Brazil	Understanding love in Caruaru Love and modernization Romance and capitalism Language of love understood through community and popular culture in Northeast Brazil.	A long-term ethnography conducted in the Northeast Brazil explains the changing language of love in the changing economic structure and political order due to west-induced modernization and capitalism. The book has been added to the review section because of its relevance to the research question and objective of political economy of love and structure and dynamic of love in *girya/khusra* relationship.
Mustafa et. Al (2022)	From mandarin to mendicant: Violence and transgender bodies in urban Pakistan	Conceptualization of transgender bodies in the body polity of Pakistan with respect to time and space. Reconceptualization of transgender bodies from occluded and stigmatized to agentic and mainstreamed in public discourse.	A granular qualitative study conducted as part of a larger research project on urban violence in Pakistan. The study depicts various forms of discrimination against transgender persons in Pakistan and the types of violence their bodies are subjected to, such as physical, sexual, existential, and emotional. The study also highlights transgender bodies not just as a physical embodiment but also of emotive and sexual manifestations, especially in reference to *girya*/*khusra* relationship. For this reason, this study was added in the study's literature review.
Saeed (2001)	Taboo! The Hidden Culture of a Red Light Area	Historical and cultural context of brothels in South Asia. Cultural analysis of prostitution in Pakistan.	The book provides a detailed cultural analysis of prostitution in Pakistan. One of its key features is the focus on female agency, matriarchy and command over economic resources. The ethnography has been added in the literature to explain socio-sexual settings of sexual minorities residing in Pakistan, class analysis of prostitution in

		Kotha culture of Shahi Mohalla Intersection of class, gender and sexuality in Lahore, in particular, and Punjab, in general.	the country, and intersectionality of issues women face despite being in, or not being in, the flesh trade. For the diversity of themes as explored in the book and relevance of each theme towards explaining socio-sexual settings of Pakistan, this book has been added in the review chapter.
Brown (2005)	The Dancing Girls of Lahore	Narrative analysis of lives of female sex workers of Heera Mandi. Agency and exploitation of women of Heera Mandi. Socio-economic organization, avenues and types of prostitution, and social mobility of female sex workers.	A long-term ethnography explaining lives of a female-headed household located in Heera Mandi. Historical configuration of Heera Mandi, changing modes of social survival and economic organization in contemporary Heera Mandi, relational dynamics of women with their long-term clients, emotional feelings driven by longing and belonging, and exploitation of women outlined by sex trafficking, bodily modifications, child labor and complicity of State in exercising violence against Heera Mandi's dwellers are some of the key themes explored in the book. The book has been reviewed and included in the review section for its relevance due to aforesaid themes.
Zhou (2006)	Homosexuality, Seropositivity, and Family Obligations: Perspectives of HIV-Infected Men Who Have Sex With Men in China.	Condom use among cohabitating 'tongzhi' MSM	Data from face-to-face audio-taped in-depth interviews, field notes and transcribed notes were analyzed by labeling various categories and textual-structural synthesis. Under one of the themes, love as correlate of risky sexual behaviours was discussed.
Bengtsson et al. 2013	Sexual relationships among men who have sex with men in Hanoi, Vietnam: a qualitative interview study.	Condom use in love-based relationships with steady partners	Content analyses on audio-taped and transcribed data (elicited through interviews) defines "emotionally closed relationships" as an explanation of unprotected sex between regular or steady partners.
Ngo et al. 2009	Male homosexual identities, relationships, and practices among young men who have sex with men in Vietnam: Implications for HIV prevention	Vietnamese sexual identities of male-female transgender persons.	The ones playing oral and insertive sexual roles being more feminine than the ones playing non-insertive sexual roles.
Chan and Khan 2007	HIV risk in Karachi and Lahore, Pakistan: An emerging epidemic in injecting and commercial sex networks.	Needle sharing for drugs	Data elicited from MSWs, Hijra and IDUs on overlapping sexual and non-sexual behaviours like unprotected sexual encounters and syringe/needle sharing between MSWs/Hijra and IDUs, cleaning of syringes before passing to others, no of times injections are injected.

Rajabali et al. 2008	HIV and homosexuality in Pakistan	Definitional issues in defining who MSM are.	This paper has defined MSM as a behavioral term but the attempt is not to homogenize the population or to ignore the local contexts, sensibilities and realities that shape sexualities.
F.Go et al. 2004	Higher HIV Prevalence in Men Who Have Sex With Men in Chennai, India	Westernization of sexual non-conformist identities.	The paper explains the issues in drawing the commonalities between westernized terms of trans-sexual and transgender persons with that of South Asian terms such as *hijra*, *khusra*, *panthi*, etc.
Griensven et al. 2005	Evidence of a previously undocumented epidemic of HIV infection among men who have sex with men in Bangkok, Thailand	Sexual and non-sexual causes of HIV/AIDS among Thai MSM.	A qualitative study explaining the prevalence of drug use among Thai MSM. The study also explores stigma attached to MSM in Thailand, the relationship between young MSM and the older men and the relational inequalities based on power between them.
Morineau et al. 2011	Sexual Risk Taking, STI and HIV prevalence Among Men who Have Sex with Men in Six Indonesian Cities	Causes of HIV/AIDS prevalent behaviors among MSM of Indonesia	A qualitative study explaining both sexual (low condom use) and alcohol consumption as reasons for high prevalence of HIV/AIDS related behaviors in Indonesia.
Mumtaz at al. 2011	Are HIV Epidemics among Men who have Sex with Men Emerging in the Middle East and North Africa?: A Systematic Review and Data Synthesis	Drug usage and alcohol consumption among MSM in North Africa and Middle East.	The study, in addition to identifying the prevalence of drug usage and alcohol consumption, also calls for finding relationship between the aforesaid factors and unprotected and violent sex among MSM.
Bokhari et al. 2007	HIV risk in Karachi and Lahore, Pakistan: An Emerging Epidemic in Injecting and Commercial Sex Networks.	Drug injection among MSM in Pakistan	Intravenous drug injection and sexual contacts with such drug users increases the susceptibility of acquiring HIV/AIDS.
Wei et al. 2012	Patterns and levels of illicit drug use among Men who have Sex with Men in Asia	Drug injection among Southeast Asian MSM	The same argument as stated in the cell above. Drug use and unsafe sex both are identified as causes for higher at-risk behaviors. But unsafe sex with intravenous drug use causes increased susceptibility.
Emmanuel et al. 2004	HIV risk behavior and practices among heroin addicts in Lahore, Pakistan	Drug use among Lahore-based MSM	Low knowledge about needle sharing and drug injection as the cause for higher prevalence of HIV/AIDS behavior among Lahore-based MSM.
Xu et al. 2011	A cross-sectional study of HIV and	Unsafe sex with steady partners and	A study conducted on the young Chinese MSM detailing the unsafe sexual practices of young MSM

	syphilis infectious among male students who have sex with men (MSM) in north east China: implications for implementing HIV screening and intervention programs	communal usage of drug injection.	with the steady partners. The study also highlights the lack of negotiating power between both regarding unsafe sex and higher possibility of unsafe sex due to drug use.
Altaf et al. 2012	Comparing risk factors of HIV among hijra sex workers in Larkana and other cities of Pakistan: an analytical cross sectional study	Decentralization of prostitution in Pakistan. Unsafe sexual practices among Hijras of Larkana in Pakistan.	Excessive use of alcohol before unprotected anal sex with male clientele is one of the key findings articulating the link between the sexual and non-sexual causes of at-risk behaviors.
Khan and Khan 2010	The HIV Epidemic in Pakistan	Unprotected sex, high drug use, and needle sharing in Pakistan.	The study, in addition to explaining the higher oral and intravenous drug use also signifies the medicalization of MSM issues in Pakistan.
E. Buttram et al. (2013)	Substance use and sexual risk mediated by social support among Black men.	Causes of high prevalence of HIV/AIDS incidence and at-risk behaviors among Black MSM.	The study highlights the higher occurrence of HIV/AIDS among Black MSM and gives the reasons of structural, epidemiological and social factors for higher incidence of both sexual and non-sexual causes of HIV/AIDS and at-risk behaviors.
White and Carr (2005)	Homosexuality and HIV/AIDS stigma in Jamaica	Structural analysis of higher HIV/AIDS prevalence among Jamaican MSM.	The study highlights legal abomination, institutional violence, and social discrimination against the MSM of Jamaica due to which they don't opt for medical checkups and HIV/AIDS testing.
Wijngaarden et al. (2013)	Sexual abuse, social stigma, and HIV vulnerability among young, feminized men in Lahore and Karachi	Structural violence among feminized men of Lahore and Karachi. Causes of sexual abuse. Exposure to incessant sexual violence.	The study narrates ten case studies of feminized men who underwent experiences of sexual violence, repeated sexual abuse at young age, earlier introduction to prostitution as survival strategy and lack of health-care and psychological interventions for you g feminized men of Karachi and Lahore.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

The current chapter details the research methodology, research design, Units of Data Collection (UDCs), research methods and instruments, sampling, approach and tool of analysis and the process of data analysis.

3.1. Research Methodology

The methodology is the systematic fashion in which research is conducted to answer research questions that are posed to be answered (Chawla and Sondhi, 2018). Phanse (2016) describes research as a systematic and purposeful process of 'seeking facts, explanations and clarifications' (pp. 1). There are different types of research such as theoretical, descriptive, diagnostic, evaluation, action research, experimental and survey based. For the current study, the type of research which is followed is Case Study and Field Studies. Case study is a comprehensive and in-depth explanation and analysis of an individual, or a group, a process, phenomenon, a community, a program, an episode, or an institution. The intent for using case study research is to comprehensively understand the complete life cycle of any of the things listed above, to identify the correlates and/or factors at play and explain the cause-effect relationship. Paltridge and Phakiti (2015) elaborate that the most critical feature in a case study is to identify a case which can be an individual, a social unit, a program, or a process or an institution. To understand and analyze a case, an in-depth fieldwork is conducted, in which a detailed study of real-life social structures, events and social situations is carried out (Phanse, 2016). Social scientific inquiry is carried out to articulate the relationship between sociological and anthropological variables. For the current research the case is male-female transgender persons and feminized men (including both *khusras* and *zenanas*). Ethnographic methodological framework is adopted to conduct an in-depth fieldwork to respond to research objectives and questions posed in this research. The nature of the study is such that data related to themes such as sexual subjectivity, socio-economic exchanges, intimacy, structures, power, and love/money dichotomy cannot be reliably elicited without being part of the community. Initial studies carried out during MPhil research helped in building rapport with the community. In these initial research, observational studies were conducted, census data was collected to specify the socio-demographic

characteristics of *zenanas* and *khusras* residing in the selected sub-locales of the main locales, ethnographic mapping was done which identified and located the areas where these people reside, the spaces (physical, social, sexual, and socio-sexual) they usually are mobile in or they own, and their relationship with the physical environment. I used rapport building to ease my access to *zenanas* and *khusras* and into the settings where they reside. Also, my prior experience of conducting research with the community members eased my access in reaching out to more respondents. For the purpose of the current research, I have followed procedures as mentioned by Casanave (2015), which outlined into:

(i) *choosing a case* (*zenanas* and *khusras* in my research),

(ii) *collecting and analyzing data* (interviewing and observational methods for data collection and thematic and conversational as the tools of data analysis, as detailed in the subsequent text in this chapter),

(iii) *writing a case* (for this research all instrumental and normative cases have been added in the thesis write-up); and

(iv) *making sure of a researcher's positionality* (articulated in the ethical concerns and all along the thesis write-up).

3.2. Units of Data Collection (UDCs)

UDCs are the sources which yield social researchers, data (Bryman, 2012). UDCs can be individuals, documents, processes, phenomena, symbols, signs and images (still and moving). The initial research enabled me to construct sampling frames for my Units of Data Collection (UDCs). For the current research, UDCs are explained in the forthcoming text.

Among the Units of Data Collection (UDCs) were: (i) UDC 1: *zenanas* and *khusras* (both *nirban/nirvan*[5] and *uqwi*[6]), (ii) UDC 2: *gurus*[7] and *chelas*[8] both, (iii) UDC 3: *giryas*[9] and (iv)

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[5] Castrated *khusra*.

[6] Uncastrated *zenana*.

[7] Heads of the *zenana/khusra* households.

UDC 4: social situations. The reason for including these UDCs is to have a pluri-vocal view of the subject matter. The nature of data extracted from UDC 1, UDC 2, and UDC 3 was conversational, attitudinal, behavioral, and gestural. The nature of data extracted from UDC 4 was visual, discursive, and descriptive. To analyze these variant forms of qualitative data I used different tools of data analysis. For vocal data I used conversational analysis to extract the apparent and hidden power dynamics in *zenana* and *khusra* conversations which may implicate about their hierarchical relationships between them and with their *gurus* and *giryas*. The data collected through observation such as social situations was jotted down into narratives and have been included throughout the thesis write-up in the subsequent sections of the chapter. Owing to COVID-19 and the uncertainty it entailed, I also conducted telephonic interviews and online interviews, which were recorded and later, transcribed and translated into English. All the conversational recorded data was transcribed, translated into English, and then coded, thematically charted and structured under different themes and subsequent sub-themes. For the analysis of conversational data, thematic analysis as the approach and framework analysis as the tool was carried out.

3.3. Research Methods and Instruments

Phanse (2016), while specifying the difference between research methodology and research method, defines research methods as the technique of executing research, and pertains to 'procedural specifications, technical nuances, practicality and application' (pp. 11). Bryman (2012) crystalizes this point by saying that research methods are the tools used for data collection and analysis. Current study is a multi-method research. The methods used for data collection were interviews and observation, as detailed in the following text.

3.3.1. Conversational Tools for Data Collection

Individual and group interviews were conducted with the first three UDCs, as the conversational tool for data collection. The details of the types of interviews are explained in the following text.

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[8] Disciples to *gurus*.

[9] Lovers to *zenanas/khusras* who perform provider roles.

- **Unstructured Interviews**

Unstructured interviews were conducted with UDC 1, UDC 2 and UDC 3. The types of interviews conducted were both individual and group. The type of unstructured interviews carried out with UDC 1 and UDC 2 were narrative. Narrative guides entailing all the relevant thematic areas as well as open-ended questions were included. These guides included main areas of research interests. Using such a guide instead of structured questionnaire was helpful as it facilitated in easier conversational flows. During interviews both content mapping and content mining questions were asked. Content mapping questions open various dimensions of research and perspectives of respondents. Here the attempt is not necessarily to strictly follow the areas mentioned in the interview protocol/topic guide but to include and recognize areas or dimensions relevant to the respondents. Content mining questions explore those areas or dimensions using probes or follow-up questions. Use of probes in mining questions continue until complete and clear understanding of the respondent's perspective is achieved. For the current study, I used gestural, descriptive and clarificatory probes (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). The interviews were audio-recorded with the help of a voice recorder and later transcribed in verbatim, followed by word-by-word translation, which helped in retaining the Farsi (secret-coded language spoken within the community) words and phrases. The reason for using narrative interviews (Jovchelovitch and W. Bauer, 2000) is not to strictly follow the topic guide or an interview protocol and question-answer schema; also, the attempt is to go beyond interviewer-interviewee monotony. Hence narrative interviewing style was adopted to minimize the influence of the interviewer and to verbalize the perspectives of the interviewee through storytelling and listening to the interviewee.

For conducting narrative interviews, Jovchelovitch and W. Bauer (2000) explain four procedural phases; I used all four while conducting these interviews outlined as: (i) *initiation* (in which I explained in-detail the themes, the reasons for conducting interviews, the timing, uninterrupted narrations, and then question/answer phase), (ii) *narration* (in which the narrator starts narrating stories. In this phase, the interviewer cannot vocally interject but express paralinguistically (*oh!. Acha!, hmm!, ah!, head nodding, etc*.), (iii) *questioning phase* (in which questions which complete missing pieces of information are asked so that a narrative structure gets complete),

and (iv) concluding talk (in which recorder is stopped and more emotive and provoking questions regarding narrated data are asked). These interviews lasted for on-average 2 hours and in a few cases, a few respondents were interviewed more than once because of their willingness to take part in the research sparked by their interest, and due to richness of experiences shared by them. 79 narrative interviews were conducted with UDC 1 and UDC 2. Unstructured interviews as interviewing method and interview protocol as research instruments were used with UDC 3. 5 such interviews were conducted with UDC 3, in which the intent was to ask probes, content mapping and mining questions.

- **Focus Group Discussions**

6 focus group discussions were also conducted with UDC 1 and UDC 2. There are different reasons cited in the literature to use this research method. For the current research following three reasons are detailed:

(i) To cover subjective, complex and abstract ideas, such as sexual and emotional subjectivities, sense of self, and love-money articulation.

(ii) To depersonalize conversation for data-rich but reticent respondents, such as a few participants narrated their own stories in focus groups as someone else's.

(iii) To obtain more generalized patterns on certain set of questions, related to *dera* communes, emasculation process, and HIV/AIDS behaviors.

More importantly, in focus groups respondents become vocal, ask questions and respond to the same, and comment on the viewpoints of others, the result of which are refined arguments and comprehensive responses. Focus groups were systematically organized keeping into consideration the practicalities such as timings. The diversity in focus group dynamics was also ensured so that respondents from different age-groups, ethnicities, and status within *dera* communes bring in different views on the subject matter. Heated arguments especially when diverse groups are present, are inevitable, during developmental stages of focus group discussions. Tuckman (1965) describes four such stages, starting with ***forming*** (in which confusion, excitement and anxiety between and among participants exists as not all of them know each other or due to the fact that how the conversation will play out), followed by

storming (in which debate, heated discussions and arguments between participants or between participants and group leaders emerges), which is then followed by *norming* (in which group identity seems to develop, points of agreements and disagreements are discussed, reflected and brought over to a logical conclusion) and finally *mourning* (in which recorded is off, and semi-private conversations between participants occur). I did not categorically encounter all these phases but storming and norming phases were mostly experienced. My role as a researcher was that of a moderator or facilitator in these Focus Group Discussions. I tried to verbalize my respondents and minimize serious conflicts among the respondents. Each discussion session ran for more than two. The detailed timings are tabulated in the table below.

Table 2: Number of FGDs and themes covered therein

Number of FGDs	Timing	Number of Participants	Heterogeneity	Overarching Themes
FGD 1 (Dhok Kala Khan-Rawalpindi)	70 minutes	5	Maintained along the axis of *nirvan/nirban* and *uqwi* status, age, seniority (*guru* and *chela* status and number of year living as *zenana* or a *khusra*), and ethnicity (wherever it could be ensured)	Socio-economic organization, khusra culture, Farsi as coded language, importance of 'men' (*girya*, *dost*, and *yaar*) in *khusra* and *zenana* lives, classification of love, love-money relationship, conceptualization of love, HIV/AIDS behaviors in romantic relationships, sexed relationships, and transactional sex.
FGD 2 (Mehrabadi-Islamabad)	90 minutes	5		
FGD 3 (Babu Building-Mansehra)	120 minutes	8		
FGD 4 (Zenana Market- Kot Radha Kishan)	65 minutes	5		
FGD 5 (Bari Imam-Islamabad)	140 minutes	8		
FGD 6 (Pir Wadhai Bus Ada-Rawalpindi)	90 minutes	6		

Hence, to summarize the tools for data elicitation included unstructured interviews such as narrative and focus group discussions for which instruments were narrative (topic/interview) guide and focus group guide in which themes of discussion for FGD were specified. I have also included case studies in my research. The types of cases I focused on are normative (out-of-box cases) and instrumental (generic cases).

3.3.2. Observational Tool: Participant Observation

The current study relied on field data. Field studies are considered the least structured form of observational studies which take place in natural settings and employ unstructured participant observation (Bailey, 1994). Bailey (1994) elaborates that the attempt of the researcher is to pose as a participant observing and memorizing what occurs the whole day and recording the impressions at night (Bailey, 1994). The intent, here, is not essentially to prove or disprove research hypothesis, rather to describe in detail any culture or subculture including religious, ritual, ceremonial, and legal practices which in turn requires the researcher to be part of the community or culture being studied. For this reason, in this study, the researcher interacted with (and as part of) the community. Field notes helped in noting down day-to-day ethnographic accounts relevant to research. In literature, there are different ways mentioned to record field notes, this research made use of abbreviated notes through paper slips and index cards to record verbatim accounts, locational details, conversation timings, and physical appearances of the respondents. These records were jotted down and sketched into full accounts (Berg, 2001). Field diary was also maintained for personalized reflections of the experiential accounts and on social events. A very critical method of data collection as used in ethnographic research is participant observation. Participant observation (Starfield, 2015) requires long-term and extensive engagement of a social researcher in the fieldwork. Observation enables researchers to observe day-to-day activities of people, interactions between them, what people do, talk and how do they associate meanings with the world around them. Keeping research multi-method (interviews and observational techniques) helps in cross-checking the data. For the purpose of current research, I used non-controlled unstructured participant observation. I observed events and situations and human behaviors in natural settings, and observations in these settings are mostly unstructured (Young, 2003). Observational methods helped a great deal in observing naturally occurring data.

The degree of participation depends upon several factors such as engagement needed, rapport building, trust between researcher and respondents, among others. I have prior experience of conducting research with *khusras* and *zenanas*. And, being a gender non-conformist myself, I had already established rapport with most of my respondents, and it was easy for me to be conversant with new respondents who were snowballed to me by my old respondents (a few of them are my close friends). They call me their *shoormi* (sister), *saday ver gi* (just like us), and *vergi kalama kutdi* (talks just like us), which are indicative of the close relational dynamics with my respondents.

I have known members of the transgender community since 2012, when I started my MPhil research. Before conducting research, I conducted observational studies for 3 months in each of the locales. While conducting these studies, I approached, conversed, and learnt the cultural context of the transgender community. Understanding cultural context meant gaining the community's trust, understanding their code of conduct, learning Farsi (the language they speak), identifying their areas of socio-economic organization, increasing my visibility in their socio-sexual settings (cruising sites, soliciting areas, sex-for-money exchange spots, *saalgirah* and dance functions), developing friendships and engaging in socio-economic exchanges. These studies helped a great deal in identifying and selecting key informants for my MPhil research. During my Ph.D. research two of the key informants were the same who introduced me to new respondents in Kot Radha Kishan and Rawalpindi, and Islamabad. For Mansehra, I found the key informant almost 3 years ago. I met her in one of the transgender protests against the killing of transgender persons. The protest was organized in Islamabad. All of the key informants helped in identifying the sub-locales thickly populated by the transgender population. My key informants helped in building my rapport within the community. I was introduced as a *kothi* man (feminine man), which broke the ice between me and my respondents. My voice, bodily mannerisms, gait, and expressions are feminine, due to which they identified me as their *shoormi* (sister). Their perception of me as their sister was not only emotionally stimulating but evoked feelings of longing, loneliness, pain of sexual abuse, and coming to terms with the reality due to shared experiences between me and my respondents. For the emotional connection we developed on the personal front, it was organic for me as a researcher to get engaged in their daily routine activities, which eventually translated me into becoming an insider from an outsider. My online

presence in their highly personalized and guarded WhatsApp groups is a testament to trustworthy, immersive and reciprocal relationships I have developed and strengthened with my respondents through this research.

3.4. Sampling

In qualitative sampling the chances of selection of each element are unknown but characteristics of the population to be investigated are known which are used as selection criteria (Berg, 2001). For this research I used purposive sampling (a type of qualitative sampling technique which is criterion based, used for individuals who inhabit peculiar characteristics or behaviors, and embody knowledge or status relevant to them only) for UDC 3. According to Bryman (2012), the reason social researchers use purposive sampling (a type of non-probability sampling) is not to seek or select sampling units on a random basis. The aim is to sample those cases or individuals who are relevant to the stated research questions and objectives. The intent is also not to generalize findings elicited from these sampled individuals or cases to a larger population. The type of purposive sampling I used for UDC 3 is theoretical sampling in which data is elicited and more sampling units are added till the point of theoretical saturation is reached. Collecting data beyond this point, adds no new information to the constructs, categories or variables being researched upon. For UDC 1 and UDC 2, I used probability sampling (quantitative sampling). The type of probability sampling used was stratified random sampling in which heterogeneous populations of *zenanas* and *khusras* were stratified into homogeneous groups. The strata were made along the axis of *nirban/nirvan* and *uqwi* for UDC 1 and *guru/chela* for UDC 2. The sampling frames for UDC 1 and UDC 2 were constructed using snowball sampling and ethnographic mapping. Moreover, the samples drawn ensured diversity and pluri-vocality as within *nirban/nirvan* and *uqwi* and *guru/chela* classifications, I included respondents from different age groups, skills, educational attainment, and social status (communal status). After dividing these respondents into different overarching strata and then within each stratum, into sub-strata defined along the axis of age, skills, education, and communal status, I kept on interviewing respondents, in both physical and virtual settings, till point of saturation was reached in each of the sub-stratum. Hence, within each sub-stratum, theoretical sampling was used.

This research also used phased approach, as explained by Gaskell (2000) in which during first phase (initial research) data was collected using interviews and focus groups as research methods. After gathering and analyzing data from the first phase, the second phase focused on respondents and their narratives relevant to the study's research questions and objectives. In ethnographic research samples are usually small in size. There are reasons attributed to it. First, saturation point beyond which including more sampling units will not lead to new evidence (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Second, if in-depth analysis is the aim, then within each sampling unit there will be many pieces of information. In order to analytically grasp, explain and articulate, sample size is kept smaller (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Finally, availability of resources is crucial in furthering with fieldwork. For this research, sample size was kept smaller for the reasons mentioned above. The sample size for UDC 1, UDC 2, and UDC 3 is detailed in the table below.

Table 3: Sample Size of Respondents

Sr. No.	Locale	Sample size
1	Islamabad	6 *Nirban/Uqwi Gurus* 7 *Nirban/Uqwi Chelas* 1 *Girya* **Total** = 14
2	Rawalpindi	10 *Nirban/Uqwi Gurus* 14 *Nirban/Uqwi Chelas* 1 *Girya* **Total** = 25
3	Kot Radha Kishan	10 *Nirban/Uqwi Gurus* 18 *Nirban/Uqwi Chelas* 2 *Girya* **Total** = 30
4	Mansehra City	5 *Nirban/Uqwi Gurus* 4 *Nirban/Uqwi Chelas* 1 *Girya* **Total** = 10
Total		31 *Nirban/Uqwi Gurus* 43 *Nirban/Uqwi Chelas* 5 *Giryas* **Total = 79**

The variability in the sample size is subject to the point of saturation, differences in the number of sub-locales in the main locales, and the relative importance of UDCs to the research questions and objectives. For UDC 3, the sample size of 5 is essentially due to the hesitance of masculine straight or bi-sexual men to accept that they are in romantic and sexual relationships with zenanas and khusras. In this regard, the *zenanas* and *khusras* were very supportive in convincing their *giryas* to be interviewed for the current research.

3.5. Approach and Tools of Analysis

Two types of analysis, thematic, and conversational, were used for analyzing data. Thematic analysis was used to analyze data extracted from UDC1, UDC2 and UDC3. Data analysis entails following certain analytical procedural steps. Using thematic analysis as the approach of data analysis, framework analysis as the tool will be employed. Initially, the data was recorded and later transcribed, which was later on translated and themed under different categories (Bold, 2011). The socio-cultural activities and the dialogues taking place between individuals were analyzed using conversational analysis. This tool helped in digging out power dynamics between *guru-chela* and *zenana/khusra-girya* relationships. The expressional and symbolic data were analyzed using semiotic analysis. For carrying out conversational analysis, I have borrowed transcription conventions as explained by Psathas (1994). Following transcription conventions have been followed for the purpose of this research.

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i.   . . . means that the transcriber missed a word because he couldn't hear or when the voice of respondent tailed off
ii. . . . . means that the transcriber couldn't hear more than a single word
iii. --. means that the narrative has been interrupted by external factors (another person, knock at the door, opening of the window, or any unforeseen occurrence)
iv. -- means a false start when the study subjects wanted to say something else but started with a confused set of words
v.   Underlined texts means emphasis or stress
vi. CAPITALS means loudness of voice
vii. /
     / means overlapping conversation
viii. = = means that the conversation continued without hearing a pause
ix. ((*text*))   italic texts between double round brackets means bodily expressions and emotional overtones (laughing, crying, gazing, sniffing, head nodding and shaking, gasping)
x.   <text> texts between angle brackets means that the words spoken were faster than the rest

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of the conversation

xi. [text] texts between square brackets include additional explanations, side comments and italicized foreign words/phrases/sentences (Urdu, Punjabi, and Farsi)
xii. Exclamation marks denote animated tone
xiii. °text° degree sign shows softness of talk in relation to the surrounding talk.
xiv. → this arrow in left-hand margin of transcript shows reader's attention to particular parts of the transcript.
xv. .hh means inhaled breaths in natural conversations
xvi. hh means exhaled breaths in natural conversations

Commas, colons, semicolons, periods, and question marks were used according to the sentence construction to convey meanings and interpretations as close to the narratives/perspectives of the respondents as possible.

For analysis of conversational data, framework analysis was carried out for which procedures as mentioned by Ritchie and Lewis (2003) were followed. These procedural steps are presented in the following text:

- o Verbatim transcription (conversion of conversational data into textual data)
- o Insertion of transcription conventions or stylistic notes (as stated in the table above)
- o Word by word translation
- o Generation of coding framework (I used both deductive and inductive methods of generation of codes)
- o Tagging transcribed and translated data with codes
- o Thematic charting
- o Generation of categories and sub-categories
- o Conceptualizing themes under which categories and sub-categories are structured
- o Theming and sub-theming data based on generated categories and sub-categories
- o Structuring respondent's quotes under themes and sub-themes
- o Explaining descriptive and explanatory accounts and articulating between these accounts and respondent's quotes
- o Theorizing (connecting themes with cited literature, drawing commonalities and signifying the differences between literature and findings)

3.5.1. Stages of Data Analysis

Data analysis was carried out by following steps as detailed in the text below.

Stage 1: Verbatim description (without translation and stylistic notes)

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Handay: Me cash chalati hu, bahir road me bhe jati hu, functions bhe karti hu, Ek dost rakha hy manheny ka sath hazar wo bhe deta hy, Do hazar hur roz ke hisab se. Ek Gujranwala ka rakha hy wo mujhay pachees deta hy, ek Narowal ka woh bhe maheenay ka pundra bhej deta hy.

Stage 2: Applying stylistic notes

Handay: Me cash chalati hu! Bahir road me bhe jati hu! Functions bhe karti hu! Ek dost rakha hy. Manheny ka sath hazar wo bhe deta hy. DO HAZAR HUR ROZ KE HISAB SE. Ek Gujranwala ka rakha hy, wo mujhay pachees deta hy, ek Narowal ka woh bhe maheenay ka pundra bhej deta hy ((*palm beating*)).

Stage 3: Word by word translation (with stylistic notes and punctuation marks)

Handay: Me cash run is. Outside road in also go is! Function also go to! One friend keep is. Monthly of sixty thousand he also give is. TWO THOUSAND EACH DAY IS RELATED IS. One Gujranwala of keep is, he me twenty gives is, one Narowal is he also monthly fifteen send is ((*palm beating*)).

Stage 4: Making sense of the translation

Handay: I run business [*paisha*], I do *paisha* myself, I also perform in functions, I have a [*girya*] friend too. He gives me sixty thousand per month. TWO THOUSAND PER MONTH. Another is from Gujranwala; he gives me twenty-five thousand for one month. One more is from Narowal, he gives me fifteen thousand per month ((*palm beating*)).

Stage 5: Indexing/coding

a) *Constructing a coding frame*

The first step towards conducting thematic analysis is the construction of coding frame. Codes are the tags through which data is transcribed and translated data is tagged. I generated codes using both inductive (from field data) and deductive (from narrative guides, interview guide and protocols) methods. Most of the codes, though, were generated from field data. After having generated codes, categories were generated by text reduction. Long units of texts were reduced to

summary sentences and sentences into short descriptions or keywords, as detailed in the text below. For the illustration as stated in the stage 4, I used following codes.

1. Economic Organization

    1.1. *Panpaisha* (prostitution)

    1.2. *Tola bazar* (beggary)

    1.3. Dance Functions

    1.4. Girya lover

2. Relational Dynamics with Girya

    2.1. Girya as *Bheela*

    2.2. Girya as *Chamka*

    2.3. Girya as *Dost*

    2.4. Girya as *Serela*

b) Tagging data with codes

After generation of codes and subsequent sub-codes, data was tagged with codes, as illustrated below.

Handay: I run business [*paisha*] **(1.1)**, I do *paisha* myself **(1.1)**, I also perform in functions **(1.3)**, I have a [*girya*] friend too **(1.4)**. He gives me sixty thousand per month **(1.4)**. TWO THOUSAND PER MONTH **(1.4)**. Another is from Gujranwala; he gives me twenty-five thousand for one month **(1.4 and 2.4)**. One more is from Narowal, he gives me fifteen thousand per month ((*palm beating*)) **(1.4 and 2.2)**.

Stage 6: Thematic Charts

For each research area a separate thematic chart was developed. There was a total of 40 codes for which 40 charts were generated. For each sub-code, categories were generated using text-

reduction technique. These categories were the summary points extracted from each sub-code. From these categories, sub-themes were generated for each code and from these sub-themes, main themes were generated. In the following are stated some of the themes and subthemes generated through following this process.

Theme 1: Socio-economic organization

Subthemes:
- **Social organization**
  - *Guru-chela*
  - *Chatai*
  - *Saalgirah*
  - *Rootha Function*
- **Economic organization**
  - *Dhinga (Tola Bazar)*
  - *Bidhaee*
  - *Dance Function*
  - *Punpaisha*
  - Intersectionality of social & economic organizations

Theme 2: Socio-sexual settings

Subthemes:
- ***Dera***: Place of living & a closed space for *Panpaisha*
- ***Saalgirah***: Provides an avenue for potential *cheesa chaamka*
- **Soliciting areas (open spaces)**
  - Unfrequented street corners
  - Dingy taverns
  - Dilapidated buildings
  - Truck-stops & bus-stops
  - Crowded markets in the closer proximities where sexual exchanges occur
- ***Tamashbeeni*** in socio-sexual settings
- ***Mashooqi*** in socio-sexual settings

Theme 3: Love: Varied meanings & related emotions

Subthemes:
- Social construction of love
- Language of love in vocal & non-vocal formats
- Typology of love
  - Instrumental
  - Musical
  - Sacralizing
  - De-sacralizing
  - Agentic

3.6. Epistemological and Ontological Positions

For the current research I have taken epistemological position of an Interpretivist and ontological position of a Social Constructivist (Bernard, 2006). The reasons for taking up the epistemological position of an Interpretivist are summarized in the following text in the light of the arguments described by Bernard (2006):

- The researcher and social world impact each other.

- Research findings are influenced by researcher's understanding, perspectives, and values. Therefore, a claim that an objective and value-free research has been conducted, is not true.

- The research methods and instruments as used in natural sciences are not applicable in social research because the social world around us is understood through meaning and human agency, in which both respondents and social researchers play an important role.

As explained by Bernard (2006), ontology responds to some of the key questions whether social reality is mutually exclusive of human behaviors and most importantly, interpretations; whether there is a universal and an ultimate social reality or the one which is context-specific; and what laws, rules and regulations govern social behaviors and whether those can be seen as generalizable or not. Since, I believe, for the current research, that social world and making sense of it is not mutually exclusive of each other, realities are socially constructed and hence are context-specific and so are the institutions, laws and rules governing these realities, therefore my ontological position is Social Constructivist. Social actors and researchers associate meanings to social world, social processes and social phenomena and interpret and revise those interpretations. Hence, social realities are contingent on time and space, and can never be universalized and generalized. For the current research, the meanings *khusras* and *zenanas* attribute to key concepts of this research (money, love, transactions, deprivation, power, social organization, etc.) are constructed by their perspectives and experiences. Similarly, Bryman (2012) explains that 'researchers' own accounts of the social world are constructions' (pp. 33), which implies that the knowledge he/she produces explains one version of a reality, not a

definitive and a determinate one. For the reasons as explained in the preceding text, I have selected constructivist as the ontological and interpretivist as the epistemological positions.

The study's methodological framework is summarized in the following table.

Table 4: Study's Methodological Framework

Units of Data Collection	Sampling Technique	Research Methods & Instruments	Tool of Analysis
UDC 1: *Zenanas/khusras* **UDC 1.1.**: *Nirban* **UDC 1.2:** *Uqwi*	Stratified Random Sampling (Bryman, 2015). *Sampling frame*: Snowball, peer-driven and ethnographic mapping. Purposive sampling for those respondents who were interviewed telephonically and/or online.	Narrative Interviews and Focus Group Discussions were conducted (Jovchelovitch and W. Bauer, 2000). Narrative Guides for Narrative Interviews. Focus Group Guides for Focus Group Discussions.	Thematic as an approach Framework Analysis as the tool of analysis was used for analyzing conversational data. Using Structural as an approach and Conversational Analysis as the tool was used for the analysis of vocal and gestural types of data, respectively.
UDC 2: **UDC 2.1:** *Gurus* **UDC 2.2:** *Chelas*	Stratified Random Sampling (Bryman, 2015) *Sampling frame*: Snowball, peer-driven and ethnographic mapping. Purposive sampling for those respondents who were interviews telephonically and/or online.	Unstructured Interviews and Focus Group Discussions were conducted (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Interview/Topic Guides for unstructured interviews and Focus Group Discussions.	Thematic as an approach and Framework Analysis as the tool of analysis were used for analyzing conversational data.
UDC 3: *Giryas*	Purposive Sampling (Bryman, 2015)	Unstructured Interviews were conducted (Sarantakos, 2014). Interview/Topic Guides for unstructured interviews	Thematic as an approach and Framework Analysis as the tool of analysis was used for analyzing conversational data.
UDC 4: Social Situations (Naturally Occurring Data): Observational Methods (Bailey, 1994; Pelto and Pelto, 1978; Berg, 2001)			
Rapport Building, Field Notes and Diaries, and Key Informants (Berg, 2001) were also used.			

3.7. Ethical Concerns

The interest in conducting research on this community sparked when I first attended an international conference the theme of which was emotive forces in sex-for-money exchanges. Several international scholars presented their papers based on competing arguments of sexuality embedded in socio-historical, ethnographic, post-colonial, and deconstructionist arguments. One ethnographic research which fascinated me the most was by a scholar who lived as one of the respondents, as an insider and observed daily routines, prostitution avenues, relational dynamics in sex-for-money exchanges and violence perpetuated against respondents as being part of the community. That research also sparked interest in conducting long-term ethnographic research, building reciprocal relations with the respondents, living with the community as one of members, becoming an insider, maintaining field diaries, collecting data till saturation point reaches, deciphering meanings, and going back to the respondents to confirm if that is what they meant. Ethnographic researchers have long been romanticized and acknowledged for their social constructivist, eclectic, and interpretationist stance towards their research topics and more so towards their respondents. The multi-method and multi-analytical frameworks, they adopt, are helpful for data synthesis, triangulation, and granularity. There is, however, a catch which needs to be addressed especially when research on taboo topics and more so on close communities such as marginalized and minority groups is conducted. The issue is that of ethics. This research details my evolving understanding about ethics while conducting research on transgender community, the importance of observance of ethics, how I maintained ethical code of conduct, how did I incorporate the same in my writing and intersectionality of respondent's identities with my identity as a researcher.

As a researcher I could not rely on de-personalized mechanical one-time conversational method. Hence, observing naturally occurring data was critical and for that to achieve participant observation was essential. For this reason, the degree was participation had to be pronounced and it was a critical methodological choice taken by me as a social researcher. The decision, however, was equally contingent on the communities who might not be willing with my methodological choice. Therefore, I conducted pilot studies in the selected sub-locales before conducting final research. The primary objective of these studies was to look out for possibilities

of residing with the communities. Later, the objectives were to conduct observational studies, frame topic/interview guide, set social contexts, and find out whether framework on the *khusra* communities of these sub-locales be indigenized, collect socio-demographic data after properly recruiting respondents, setting sampling techniques, visiting *deras* and cruising sites with the help of key informants and guides.

One of the ethical concerns was to make sure that discussion during focus groups do not cause literal and figurative harm to any of the participants. Disapprovals, arguments, sarcastic comments, and verbal fights were experienced during most of the focus group discussions. As a moderator I had to intervene to bring in another dimension to the point of argument or to completely change the issue under consideration by bringing in another theme. After achieving normal flow of conversation, the similar issue was again brought into the discussion which in most situations led to more consented and less disputed views. Quick field notes were written to record those conversations that happened after the group discussion when the recorder was switched off.

My role in the focus groups was to facilitate the discussion. But since the participants knew each other beforehand (being part of the closely tied community), they took the charge and performed an active role in letting me know about their lives. And, that was the most significant part of the data collection process. I heard them saying many a times during my research, "*Ay tey saadi shoormi hay*!" (She is our sister!) or '*Ay saadi wur gi hay*." (She is just like us.), which tremendously worked as an effective strategy for keeping my positionality as social researcher flexible, during fieldwork. I was perceived as a feminine man by most of the respondents and that was not intentional or performative on my end, it was rather organic and natural with the ways I softly talk and emote, show care, and express concerns. Me as their *shoormi* (sister) helped a great deal in breaking the ice and increasing respondent's trust in me. And, it did not prove out to be an ethical dilemma for me as a social researcher because their understanding of me was not wrong and I as a researcher as well as a human being was not playing or acting out or was not being performative on any level.

Original names of the respondents were not used. Their names were changed into pseudonyms. Purpose and objectives of the research were mentioned to the interviewees (participants) before

conducting in-depth interviews and focus groups. And only after their willingness to take part in interviews and focus groups, they were interviewed or grouped in discussions. The attempt in this research was to present reliable data (perspectives, perceptions, views, choices, and preferences of *zenanas/khusra*s) not to demean their characters or sensationalize their lives. I, as an independent researcher, approached communities with an open mind and neutral stance and the data I elicited using both naturally occurring and generated data sources was a true reflection of the communities' perspectives free from my own views or biases. Profanity was avoided in a few transcriptions. However, certain bodily mannerisms and facial expressions, and local vernaculars conveying specific meanings were retained.

CHAPTER 4

AREA PROFILE

The current chapter details area profiles of the locales and sub-locales research was conducted in. the chapter also explains the reasons for keeping current research multi-locale, cultural settings, their secret-coded language and *nirban*/*uqwi* divide. The chapter also presents impressionistic sketches of four locales and sixteen sub-locales located therein.

4.1. Locales and Cultural Settings

Ruane explains that the critical features of a field research entails two processes: doing research in a certain place or setting (the natural setting in which processes or phenomena take place) and a way of knowing (understanding of that certain process or a phenomenon that comes when a researcher in a social world of another community or group). The social settings, processes and phenomena being studied are part of the locale selected for conducting research. For the purpose of current research, I selected Kot Radha Kishan, Rawalpindi, Islamabad and Mansehra City as the locales from where multiple sub-locales were selected. The reasons for keeping the current research multi-locale are detailed in the following points:

- *Territorial diversification*: Diversity in the selection of locales for research intersects with other markers along which diversity can be marked. For instance, diversity with respect to class, ethnicity, gender breakdown, modernity, and rural/urban divide. For the current study, geographic diversity implied diversity in opinions and experiential realities of love, socio-economic organization, economic livelihood, violence, and related themes in the lives of *khusras* and *zenanas*. Kot Radha Kishan is in Punjab province of Pakistan, Mansehra City is in KP and Islamabad/Rawalpindi in the Federal region. Islamabad/Rawalpindi being in the Federal Territory, is more politically inclined and aware of the political rights because of legislative and constitutional supremacy of the Islamabad and due to occasional occurrence of transgender rights marches. It was aimed before conducting research that the factors as explained in the text above, may provide a different narrative of agency, voice, choice, instrumentality of love and awareness as opposed to the existing narratives of violence, subjugation, and discrimination. For the

similar reasons, a locale from KP (Mansehra) was selected for the current research. Considering that the death-toll and number of reported murders of transgender persons is the highest in KP, Mansehra was selected as a locale for the current research. It was anticipated that the inclusion of respondents from KP will bring out a different take on the themes as stated above and a few more different ones. Kot Radha Kishan, being home to some of the oldest and most experienced *khusras* and *zenanas*, was selected to observe how does a town which stands at the crossroads between traditionality, and modernity responds to the themes explored in the current study.

- *Pluri-vocality*: Pluri-locality implies pluri-vocality. The more the number of locales, the more there is a plausibility of plural views because of differences in opinions outlined by geographic, political, socio-cultural, and economic variances. The selection of different sub-locales (detailed in this section below) brings out different experiences especially of social and economic organization, for instance, variances in the earnings of transgender persons when a few reside in sub-locales in the closer geographic proximity to soliciting areas for prostitution. There are linguistic variances of similar socio-cultural practices such as *rootha* (marriage ceremony between a *khusra* and *girya*) in Punjab and *pakki* (marriage ceremony between a khusra and girya) in KP. The social realities of political landscape, conflict, marginality and/or social integration (among many other factors), also marked differences in respondents' worldview of generic themes such as love, money, etc. and more situated and personalized realities of their own lives.

- *Closed communities*: The current study is a PhD dissertation and given my previous academic and professional engagements with the community members, I can assert that keeping one locale or not expanding the number of sub-locales within each locale, may have reduced the sample size. To be sure that there remains pluri-vocality of views, there is a sufficient number of respondents included in the current study, and that the data collection process continued till the point of saturation reached, I continued collecting data. A total of 79 interviews were conducted with UDC 1, UDC 2 and UDC 3. Caceres et. al. (2008) explain that there is a fear of not developing a well-rounded and comprehensive understanding of subject matter because of difficulty in not having larger

access to the sampling units. This is particularly true for closed communities or the classes of deviances such as ethnic, religious, linguistic, sectarian, and sexual minorities. This aspect was well-anticipated due to which all the key informants were contacted and requested to extend support in snowballing while conducting field research. During COVID-19, access to a larger number of potential respondents through online interviews and voice and textual messages as well as video calls also expanded the range of respondents from the selected locales and the number of respondents, as well.

In addition to reasons as mentioned above, the reason for selecting only these locales and sub-locales is based on easier access, communication, rapport building and identification of supportive key informants. In Kot Radha Kishan, there were three key informants (each from a different sub-locale), in Islamabad and Rawalpindi there were three key informants (one for each city) and one key informant from Mansehra City. These informants not only helped in easing my access to other community members but also in providing contextual details of locales, transgender lives, emotions of longing, belonging, love and loss, and locales' social and physical infrastructure. I have developed friendships with all the key informants which in turn helped in conversing informally about their own and transgender lives, other than formal individual and group interviews. Of these locales, Rawalpindi is the city which has gone through the swiftest urbanization, industrialization, commercialization, and economic development. This development has not trickled down to the peripheral areas and the wealth has largely remained centered to benefit the elite class (politicians, manufacture, industry, and military). The visibility of economic downturns for the disadvantaged, the deprived and the poor is vivid throughout, in informal settlements, in slums, in beggars at traffic signals and in *khusras* and *zenanas* out in the nights for *tola* and majorly for *paisha*. The survival strategy of these individuals at the backdrop of modernized and urbanized Rawalpindi seemed to be interesting choice for locale selection and more so for Islamabad which is the country capital. The sub-locales of Bari Imam (in the outskirts of Islamabad city) and Mehrabadi (in the closer geographic proximity of highly commercialized and elitist F11 and E11 sectors of Islamabad) were considered interesting sub-locales to investigate how economic inequality plays out between the commercialized and elite sectors and the spaces where the respondents resided, is there any intersection between the two, how do the social integration takes place between the residents of the two and how different the

social and physical infrastructure between the two is. Since the current study is about political economy of love, hence economic modernization, foreign and monetary influx into the residential, real estate, and construction sector is rampant. With these capitalist ventures also comes, commodities necessary to be consumed to be 'modernized'. This incessant need to posses and consume these commodities hinges upon the core of a modernized society which is consumptive in nature. With this, also concurrent is the inclination towards getting hold of latest commodities that symbolize status, latest cellphones, latest camera, social media visibility, etc. As a response to these factors, the society is becoming more and more monetized. Rawalpindi and Islamabad are also selected to study how these rapid economic ventures are impacting the study's respondents, how compulsive is the need to opt for sex-for-money exchanges, how love is conceived in these contexts, is love feigned for economic entitlements, so on and so forth.

Kot Radha Kishan was selected purposively because of the locale's embeddedness in the historicity and cultural references to transgender community. In comparison to Rawalpindi and Islamabad, Kot Radha Kishan is a town. It has a relatively socially homogenous society in terms of language (Punjabi), religiosity (Muslim-dominated) and ethnicity (Punjabi-dominated). The social hierarchy comprising feudal lords and the land subordinates functioning under them, also adds to the homogeneity of society. The social interactions are also intimate, based on the principles of reciprocity and exchange. The social control is regulated by the social institutions such as Union Councils (political institution), police (institution of formal social control), and *panchayat* (in part cultural, in part institution of social control). The locale, though immersed in large agricultural lands and *kachay makan*, is modernizing. Some of the sub-locales such as Zenana Market, Handaal Chowk and Gandiyaan Bazar are interesting cites where in the surrounding areas, huge shops of cellphones, gift shops, modern gadgets and boutiques represent markets of modern commodities. These are also the locales where *zenanas* and *khusras* reside in large numbers. Mansehra city is the part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region of Pakistan. The focus of this research was on Mansehra city which is the administrative capital of Mansehra District. The city has undergone a rapid socio-economic progress through the influx of indigenous gemstones, flourishing tourism industry, and several primary and secondary schools/colleges and Hazara University. Tourism and cultural miscellany had also contributed to city's economic uplift. Mansehra city was also selected to inculcate a different corpus of perspectives of *khusra*

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and *zenana* communities from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. The selected locales and sub-locales also fulfilled the requirements of pluri-vocality and territorial diversification.

The sub-locales from selected locales are tabulated in the following table.

Table 5: No. and names of sub-locales

Main Locale	Sub-locales
Mansehra City	**5** (Babu Building, Kohistanabad Mohallah, Cheriyan Bazar, Tariq Khan Plaza and Danndi Mohallah)
Islamabad and Rawalpindi	**7** (Bari Imam, Meherabadi, Dhoke Kala Khan, Dhoke Chaudriyan, Pir Wadahe Bus Ada, Raja Sultan Market, and Banni Chowk)
Kot Radha Kishan	**4** (Judge Mohallah, Zenana Market, Handal Chowk, and Gandiyan Bazar)
3	**16**

Impressionistic Painting of Islamabad and Sub-locales
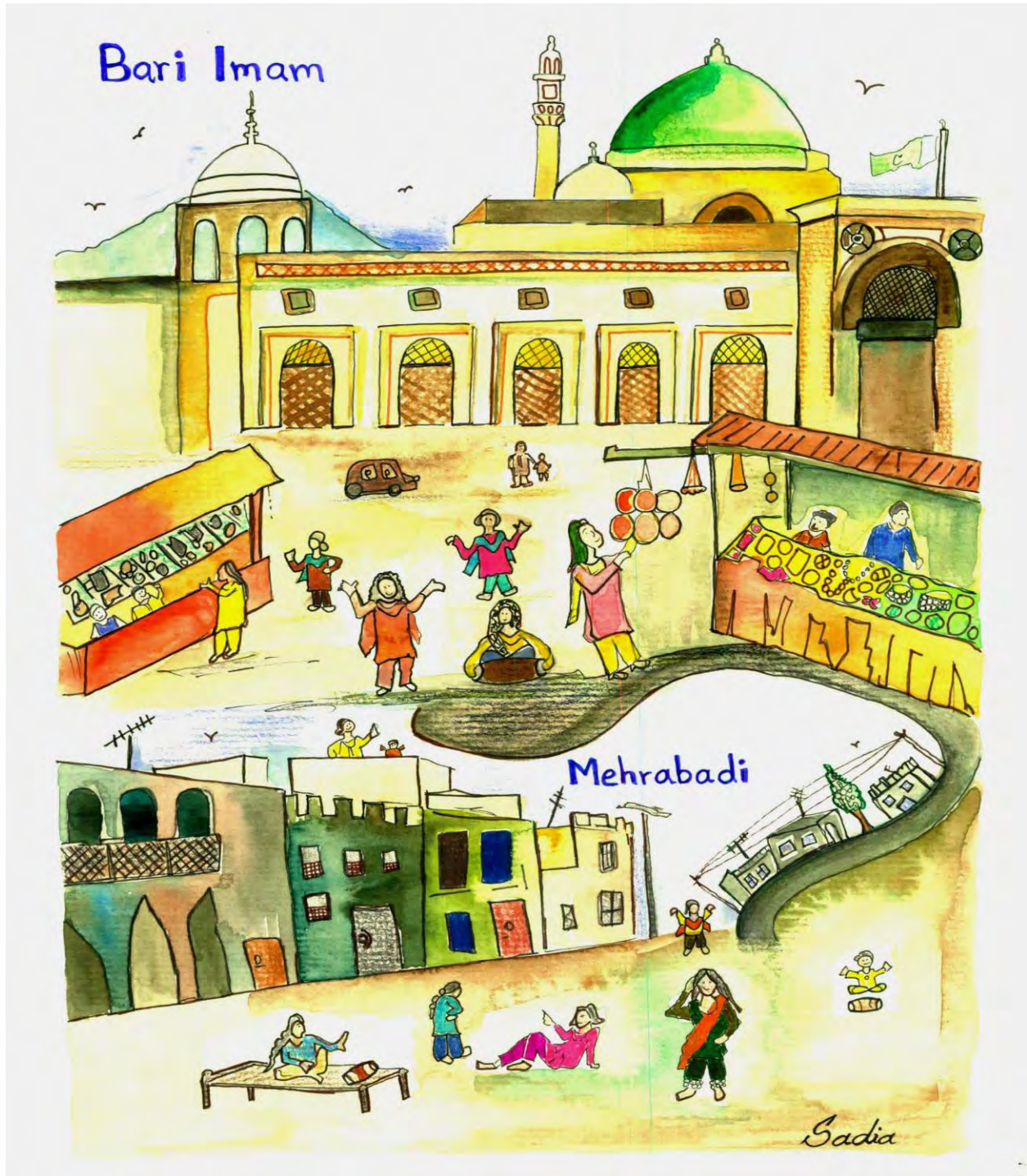
Impressionistic Painting of Mansehra and Sub-locales
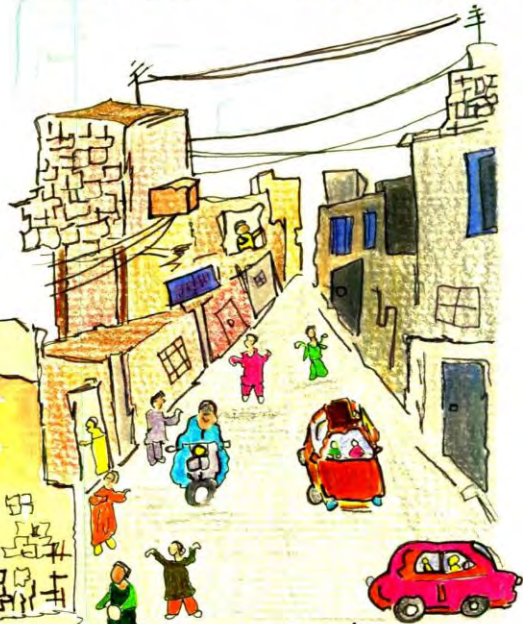
Impressionistic Painting of Kot Radha Kishan and Sub-locales

Kot Radha Kishan

Judge Mohalla

Handaal Chowk

Gandiyaan Bazar

Zenana Market

Crockery

Sadia

4.2. Nirban and Uqwi

This study explores male-female transgender lives residing in 3 locales of Pakistan. I have focused on the *khusras* and *zenanas* residing in these locales. Khusras are defined as the castrated men, famous as *nirban/nirvana* in the community. Castration is the process of cutting off male genitalia and testicles so that a *zenana* becomes a woman. Zenanas, also known as *uqwi*, in the community are defined as feminized men who do not undergo the process of castration or bring about any permanent change in the body such as breast implant surgery or permanent facial and bodily hair removals. Zenanas may be more feminine in attire, behaviors, and social conduct than *khusras* but an *uqwi* is always valued more in the community because of her womanly status and communal respect. The process of castration is painful and recuperating process is slow and costly. One of the *nirbans* from Islamabad explained to me:

[VERBATIM]

Tina: *Jo mere Saheli the usko meny pachas katkay dye the. Meny us se kaha mujhay desi ghee la do, ye cheezzain la do. Mera khayal karo. Me ny dus hazar usko dia tha, chalees hazar meny kha lia tha.* <u>*Qeema, kaleji, juice, kaali mirchay, desi ghee taqat wali cheezain.*</u> *Piodine lagaty do teen bar, phir mil jatay hain apas me.*

[TRANSLATED]

Tina: I gave my *saheli* fifty thousand rupees. I asked her to bring me *desi ghee*, a few other essentials too. I requested her to stay with me and look after me. I gave her ten thousand rupees for her services. I spent forty thousand rupees on my recuperation. <u>Minced beef, chicken liver, fresh juice, black pepper, *desi ghee* all nourishing items</u>. She used to apply piodine two-three times a day, the operated area gets healed.

Tina who is a *nirban* has undergone operation fifteen years ago. Her response explains the healing process which requires high protein diet and care provided by *saheli khusras* and *zenanas*. These details are the post-operative care. The following excerpt from a narrative interview conducted with Nucchi, an *uqwi* from Kot Radha Kishan, details her reasons of not undergoing any bodily modifications. She also comments on the *uqwi/nirban* divide in the following words.

[VERBATIM]

Nucchi*: Me sochni an mamay lugwa lewan, lun katwa denwan, baal rukh lewan, kurhi bun jawan* (hh). *Phir me sochni aan <u>nahin</u>, me ghar kesay jawan ge, mere ghaar dia majboorian ni, mere penrha ay, parawan ay, keh ni. Mere ki izzat reh jaway gi. Dunia da ni dar, ghaar walan da hy. Ma, bap, behen kia sochay gy. <u>Bhaiyu ko farq ni parhta, milay na milay</u>.*

[TRANSLATED]

Nucchi: I often think of getting breast implant surgery, of undergoing castration, of growing hair long, of transitioning into a woman (hh). Later I think that I just <u>cannot</u> do it. How will I visit my home, there are things back home I will be questioned for, I have sisters, brother at home. No one will show me any respect. I don't fear society, I fear my home. How will my mother, father, sister face society? <u>I am not much concerned of my brothers though; I don't care if they disown me</u>.

The following excerpt from a narrative interview conducted with Aashi explains reasons of castration, breast implant surgeries and hormonal injections. Health complications are also detailed below. Aashi who is an *uqwi* was also asked about how castration is performed and who performs it. Her responses are detailed below.

[VERBATIM]

Aashi*: Dekhain ye kuch hospitals hain, ab jab hospital nahin the to hath se karty the. Nae pakar ky hath se katta tha. Ab hospitals hain wahan se jaky karty hain. Koe isi kam ka maahir surgeon to hain ni, tou bas penis kat ky, testicles kat ky, agay se tankay laga detay hain.*

Me*: Aur ye operation kitny pesu me hota hy?*

Aashi*: Chalees pachas hazar=*

Me: =*Usky bad?*

Aashi*: Chalees din, dou maheeny lgty hain. Uski complications bhe barhi hote hain. Peshab bhe bandh hojata hay. Phir unhi doctors ke pas bhagteen hain. Bahut takleef deh hay ye kaam.*

Me*: Phir bhe [transgenders] karwaty hain?*

Aashi*: Phir bhe islye karwaty hain keh unko tasali hojati hay keh hum aurty hain. Ek aurat ki feeling bhe to ae na. Aurat bhe to ban'na chahti hain na woh.*

Me*: Iske sath breast surgery bhe karwate hain?*

Aashi*: Baz surgery krwati hain, baz hormones lety hain. Male blockers lete hain koe bhe. Kisi company ke male hormones blockers lete hain. Female hormones estrogen kisi bhe company ke*

le lete hain. Wo le lye aur wo khae. Penis bhe katwa dete hain, phir errection bhe khatam hojati hay. Neechay se ye aur upar se breast namaya hony lgty hain estrogen se.

Me: Ye donu surgeries ikhati bhe hoskty hain?

Aashi: Nahin, nahin. Ek sath nahin krwae ja skty. Silicon jo operation hoty hain breast implants ke wo bahut takleef deh operation hota hy. Usme skin ko upar tak khench ky ander silicon dalty hain. Uski barhi pain hoty hain. Wo operations bhe sath nahin hotay, elehda eledha hotay hain.

Me: Aurat ban jana theek magar kia market me bhe naam hota hay?

Aashi: Bilkul! market me demand ziada hoty hay. Matlab ke pesay, jo grahuk mujhay pehly paanch sou de raha tha ab sab krnay ke bad paanch hazar de ga. Dance pe bhe me jari hun to wah wah pesay phainkny hain us ne. Guru bhe. Jo ziada kama ke larhi hay, ziada payari hay, jiske nain naqsh ziada pyary hain. Jo tawaif ziada pyari hay wohi hit hay. Ek Aishwarya ho, ek Anushka Sharma ho, agar Aishwarya ka rate Anushka se ziada ho tou kiyun ziada hoga. Hain? Bass yehe hamary taraf bhe hy.

[TRANSLATED]

Aashi: Listen there are a few hospitals, there was a time when there weren't any hospitals, and these operations were conducted by barbers. Due to availability of hospitals, doctors are consulted. There isn't any specialized surgeon for this work, so they cut penises and testicles off, and stitch from the front.

Me: And, how much does this operation cost?

Aashi: Forty, fifty thousand=

Me: =After that?

Aashi: Healing time is forty days [to] two months. There are many complications after that. Urination gets blocked, after which they [*moortay*] run back to the doctors. This whole thing is excruciating.

Me: Still, they go for it?

Aashi: Still, they go for it because they want this satisfaction of becoming a woman. This feeling of becoming a woman [in important] *na*. They all want to become an *aurat na*.

Me: Along with this, do they also undergo breast surgery?

Aashi: Some of them do undergo surgery, some of them inject hormones. They also inject their bodies with male blockers. They get their castration operation done due to which erection doesn't happen. This happens below and their breasts also bloat due to estrogen intake.

Me: Do these surgeries take place simultaneously?

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Aashi: No, no, [these surgeries] cannot be operated simultaneously. The breast implant surgeries are very painful. In breast implant surgery, skin is stretched apart to induce silicon inside. *That* pain is excruciating, [Even] those operations aren't held simultaneously, they are operated one after the other.

Me: Becoming a woman is fine, but does market value also increase?

Aashi: Of course! Market demand also increases. As in, the clients [if I undergo surgery], will offer me five thousand [rupees] instead of old rate of five hundred. If I perform at a dance function, then I will be showered with money. Guru too. The one who brings more money, is more pretty, the one who has beautiful features, [will be most loved]. The sex worker who is the most pretty will be the most hit. If on one side there is Aishwarya, and on another side, there is Anushka Sharma, If Aishwarya's rate is higher than Anushka's then what is this so. Tell me? It is similar among us.

Aashi explains that the reasons of bodily modifications are not only grounded on 'becoming a woman'. There is an economic reason behind it. There is also a reason of communal status which increases because a *nirban* is valued more by a *guru* than an *uqwi* because of former's higher demand in various forms of socio-economic organization (*panpaisha*, *saalgirah* and dance functions).

Figure 1: An impressionistic sketch of a *nirban*

Figure 2: Impressionistic Sketch of an Uqwi

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4.3. Secret Coded Language- Farsi

The secret coded language as spoken within the community is famously known as Farsi. The language has remained a secret language as the Hijra community finds extremely protective speaking in this language. According to Munawar et al. (2004), Farsi is a mixture of Persian, Urdu, and Punjabi. In addition to providing a linguistic, syntactical and syntax details of Farsi as a secret-coded language in the *hijra* community, Awan and Sheeraz (2011) also explain the social features of the language. The authors describe through data collected from *hijras* of Rahim Yar Khan and Rawalpindi that Farsi gives a sense of possession and an effective strategy to keep their private matters to themselves only. But the language is not merely spoken in the public spaces as a secret strategy. It is also commonly communicated within *dera*, implying that Farsi is not merely a code. There are multiple reasons for this. The *gurus* make the new recruits learn Farsi. It also develops a sense of identity and solidarity among *hijra* members. Gurus also aim to preserve Farsi for succeeding generations of *hijras*. The ownership of language by the *hijra* community implies an existentialist need as a weapon against their marginalized and stigmatized status. While describing the linguistic features of Farsi, Awan and Sheeraz (2011) explain commonly articulated Farsi nouns, footwear and garments, and Farsi verbs and adjectives and draw parallels with Punjabi, Siraiki and Urdu languages. In addition, the syntax formations have also been detailed. Some of the verbs, nouns, and adjectives as represented by Awan and Sheeraz (2011), are detailed in the following table.

Table 6: Farsi Nouns, Adjectives and Verbs (extracted from Awan and Sheeraz (2011))

Farsi Verbs	
Farsi	**English**
Vogna	To walk
Chamna	To understand
Lugirna	To die
Farsi Adjectives	
Chisa	Beautiful Man
Chisi	Beautiful Woman
Sudha	Old Man
Sudhi	Old Woman
Farsi Nouns	
Khombar	Face
Nakra	Nose

Chamrri	Eye
Dhhambra	Male Tummy
Dambri	Female Tummy
Choochkey	Moustache
Reskey	Public Hair
Nejma	Tooth
Chamki	Skin
Chhalka	Breast
Chapti	Vaginal Hole (which appears after operation of castration)
Leekar	Penis
Vatal	Hips
Seepo	Female Vagina

Research conducted by Urooj and Khan (n.d.) also provides linguistic features of Farsi language, as detailed in the table below.

Table 7: Farsi Words (compiled from Urooj and Khan (n.d.))

Farsi Words	
Farsi	**English**
Firka	Clothes
Chatayi	Conflict
Torhe	Dancing
Chaharm	Tip of money
Kansra	Old man
Watal	Hips
Gagan	Vagina
Leski	Hairs
Ete	Eye
Rootha	Love
Teen Taan	Food
Toolan	Young Boy
Kansri	Old woman
Lekam	Penis
Chalke	Breast
Chucki	Moustache
Komrah	Face

Table 8: Farsi Words (based on data collected for the current research)

Farsi Verb	
Farsi	**English**
Karay kara	Asking someone to keep mouth shut
Mashooqi	Performing love
Nato	Asking someone to not do anything
Farsi Adjectives	
Farsi	English
Cheesa	Beautiful looking, handsome looking man
Cheesi	Beautiful looking, feminine khusra or a zenana
Baseet	Ugly (mostly used for men)
Mashooq	Beautiful, masculine-looking man
Bheela	A rowdy (used for extractive, violent and exploitative man)
Bheelay	Plural of a *bheela*
Ghanghor	Difficult (used for a person)
Farsi Nouns	
Farsi	English
Nirban	A castrated feminine man
Uqwi	An uncastrated feminine man
Katka	One thousand rupees
Katkay	Plural of *katka*
Pan	Sexual intercourse
Panpaisha	Prostitution (sex-for-money exchanges)
Koonda	Food
Rarha	Male penis (contextual meanings imply toxicity and violent fights)
Kalam	Talk
Kalama	Plural of *kalam*
Thapar	Rupees
Khawar	State of being in love
Londaybaz/Lotarbaz	A pedophile
Tamashbeen	A male spectator of a khusra or zenana dance
Chamka	A male spectator of a khusra or zenana dance (difference between him and *tamashbeen* detailed in the chapter on the worldview of love)
Chamkay	Plural of *chamka*
Shoormi	Sister (within community)
Shoorma	Brother (within community)
Girya	A provider man with whom intimate relationships may or may not develop
Chatai	A ritual performed when a recruit joins a *dera* commune
Dhinga	Beggary
Tola	A group
Tola Bazar	Communal Beggary
Moorat	A *khusra*
Firqa	Female getup
Kacchi	Argument
Pakki	Marriage

The existing scholarship focuses more on the lexicographical understanding of Farsi language. To understand the historical and sematic knowledge about Farsi, I asked questions to the respondents. Most of the respondents came up with the syntax and linguistic features of Farsi. I also requested them to translate important verbs, adjectives, and nouns into Farsi. In addition, I also asked to translate sentences in Urdu into Farsi so that I can understand about how to make sense of it. Very rarely responses to questions related to historical routes were comprehensively responded. Gauhar provided an interesting insight about historical and cultural settings Farsi emerged in.

[VERBATIM]

Gauhar*: Ye Mughal era jab tha, usky bad jab colonial law aya tou usky bad unhu ne code wording banae. Takeh unhy pata na chalain, kiyunkeh tab to unhy pakar rahy the na. article 377 lagaya hwa tha, underground hogae. Tab unhu ne ye zuban banae. Jis me hindi zuban.-, kiyukeh mughal dor tha to hindi zuban bhe pae jati hy. urdu, hindi, farsi sab se word le le ky code wording me ek zuban bana li. Usko farsi kehty hain,< jesay khany ko koonda, sex ko pan, rarha jesay penis, kalama jesay batay, bheelay buray, karay kara chup hojao, Thapar jesay paisay, beela badmash, mashooq jesay khoobsurat, baseet jesay badsoorat, cheesa jesay khoobsurat, khawari jesay rape hogaya, khawar jesay ishq hogaya>*

[TRANSLATED]

Gauhar: Transgender persons developed [language in] code words when colonial law was implemented after the fall of Mughal era. So that they remain hidden and never get caught which was a common practice [in colonial era] as Article 377 was institutionalized. They [transgenders] had to go underground. As a response to which they developed this language. In which Hindi language. -, since it was right after the Mughal era this language emerged, so one can find lexicons from Hindi: also the words from Urdu and very few from Farsi. And, a few more… all were amalgamated into one language. This is what Farsi language is known to be, <for instance *koonda* is food, *pan* is sex, *rarha* is penis, *kalama* is like talk, *bheelay* are bad men, *karay kara* is keep quiet, *thapar* is rupees, *beela* is a rowdy, *mashooq* is like beautiful, *baseet* means ugly, *cheesa* is a good-looking man, *khawari* implies the incident of rape, [and] *khawar* means someone is suffering being in love>

Speaking of contemporary usage of Farsi in the transgender community, Mina shares her opinion as follows.

[VERBATIM]

Mina*: Aj kal wo farsi nahin itni chalti. Yeh am hogae hy na, islye hum apas me bethty hain na to hum ziada urdu me bat karty hain ya Punjabi me bat krty hain.*

Mina: Farsi isn't common anymore. It has become quite known now, that's why we mostly speak in Urdu or Punjabi whenever we meet each other.

4.4. Description of Respondents: Attire, Physique and Physicality

As detailed in the preceding text, *zenana* is an uncastrated feminized men and *khusra* is a castrated individuals who in their penchant to become a woman develop breast, and remove facial and bodily hair, permanently. During my fieldwork, I did not find a single hermaphrodite. Many respondents shared that no one is born as a *khawajasira*, and it is essentially a person's soul and its incongruency with one's body the person is born with, that compels one to opt for bodily modifications. Irrespective of their *nirban* and/or *uqwi* status, the respondents who took part in the current study, were mostly lean and tall. They wore female *shalwar kameez*, especially the *nirban* in their daily routine lives. The *zenanas* who visited *deras* regularly and used this space as a part-time *panpaisha* for economic organization, mostly wore male *shalwar kameez* but their dresses were fitted from the chest and hipbone areas. Nirban applied makeup especially in occasions of *saalgirah* and dance functions they were invited to. Uqwi, applied makeup in celebratory occasions, only, but applying *kajal* and tying up hair with a hair tie was very common for both *nirban* and *uqwi* during their daily routines. Their usual process of makeup application started with pulling facial and foot hair out (even after thorough clean shave) with the help of tweezers. The hair on legs, arms and underarms are removed through waxing. This practice is followed up with applying makeup base (both powdered and liquid) on face, neck, arms, and feet. After finishing this process, blush on is applied, which is then followed up by eye makeup (eye shadows, mascara and curling of eye lashes). In the last, lip shades of brighter colors (in shades of red and pink) are applied to finish the look. Application of hair and bodily jewelry is also mandatory to complete the look. They grow their hair long, one of the *khusras* in Kot Radha Kishan has knee-length long hair. They regularly apply olive and mustard oils to keep growth faster. One thing I noticed was the synergy of colors in makeup and dress. The femininity is pronounced not only by makeup but also in the way they talk, walk, and perform. Their social interactions are marked by female performativity; heavy makeups, tight fitted clothes, untie long hair, *dupattas* either on shoulder-side, in necks and in some cases on

head, while being out in the open for *tola bazar* and *bidhae*. Their gait accentuates the movements of hips which is helped by wearing long heels. In *deras*, they perform household duties which are socially constructed for and hence performed by women; for instance, cleaning, washing, and cooking. The emotional support through caring and sharing is also provided by them to *gurus* and *giryas*. They also earn and financially support their families back in their homes, in addition to contributing their shares of income to *deras* they belong to and *gurus* they function under. Dance is also a very critical feature of their selves and of their socio-economic organization. They usually perform dances in feminine dance forms; Bollywood, Punjabi *mujra*, and semi-classical dance. No one I interviewed was formally trained in any of these or other dance forms but have learned from their *gurus* and *chelay saheliyan* and through watching CDs/DVDs of local Punjabi stage shows, old Noor Jahan Punjabi songs and latest Bollywood songs. Their dance movements are titillating to the *tamashbeen* and *chaamkay*. Some of their signature dance moves include twerking, pressing breasts (the silicone ones or the ones temporarily developed by filling the bras with cotton or water-filled balloons), looking into a particular *tamashbeen's* eyes and slowly coming close and swiftly moving away. Summing up the physique, physicality, and attire of *zenanas* and *khusras* and what their pursuit, in relation to becoming closer to a woman is, Gori responded to my question in the following words.

[VERBATIM]

Me*: Ap khud ko kesay dekhteen hain?*

Gori*: Me apny ap ko full girl samajhti hu. Ladies kapty pehnu. Achy khasay bal hun. Esay style karu. ((eye winking))*

[TRANSLATED]

Me: How do you define yourself?

Gori: I consider myself a full girl. I wish to wear ladies' clothes, to have long hair, and have feminine styling. *((eye winking))*

Contrary to Gori, Katrina provides a performative explanation for her desire to become a woman. More than looking like a woman, the work usually girls do such as sewing doll clothes, setting up doll house and playing with the same, enticed her to become a woman. Her socialization into *dera* life and with other feminized men, sparked her interest in exploring forms of *khusra* socio-

economic organization and upon becoming part of one, she was battered by her brother, as described below.

[VERBATIM]

Katrina: *Mujhay start me tailoring ka shoq tha. Aur jo larkiyun me beth kay jo ap samajhteen hi hain. Bus larkiyu me beth kay kapray banany, guriya banani, usko pehnani, khelna... Phir achanak se iss field me ziada ghus jana. Jab me pehla function kar ke ae the to me ny apna hath turhwaya tha.*

Me: *Ghar walu ne?*

Katrina: *Han, bhai ne torha tha.*

Me: *Phir?*

Katrina: *Phir me ny ghar chorh dia. 87 me chorh dia tha. Me Lahore se hu aur yahan pe ae mera terwa saal hay.*

[TRANSLATED]

Katrina: I was very fond of tailoring clothes in the starting days. And I loved female company, as you can figure out. All I was fond of was female company, being among them, stitching doll clothes, decorating the dolls, playing with them… Then I formally entered in this field. I remember when I came back to home after attending my first dance function, my wrist was broken.

Me: By family?

Katrina: Yes, my brother broke it.

Me: Then?

Katrina: Then I left my home. It was back in 1987. I am originally from Lahore. It's my thirteenth year here [Mansehra].

Madhu, in the excerpt below, explains three classifications of feminized men: *khusri*, *khusra* and *zenana*. Moreso, she details the difference between a *zenana* and a *khusra*. The intersection between the two is due to *rooh* (soul) that is of a female. She also marks the difference between the two based on marriage and forms of socio-economic organization.

[VERBATIM]

Madhu: *Iska matlab yehe hota hay mere bat suno na, khusra na mard na aurat. Ye jo hamari jese field hay na is me na aurat na mard. Suno na, dunia se hamara koe connection nahin hota. Hum ne apni dunia alehda hi basai hoti hay. Yeh teen qismu ke hotay hain. Ek khusri hoti hay, ek khusra hota hay, ek zenana hota hay.*

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Me: *Is me farq bata sakti hain?*

Madhu: *Is me farq bhaut ziada hota hay. Ek melu me nachnay walay hotay hain, ek gharu me vadhaiyan mangnay walay hotay hain, ek khusri hoti hay jisme se bacha nahin hoskta aur sab kuch ho sakta hay. Woh ghar bhe basa sakti hay. Khusri ma kay pait se hoti hay. Jo melu pe nachty hain woh hotay hain zenanay. Wo shadi bhe kar skty hain aurat ke sath. Mard nal wi. Zenanu ke andar rooh aurtu jesi hoti hay. Par hota mard hay.*

[TRANSLATED]

Madhu: Listen to me, what does it mean is that a *khusra* is neither a man nor a woman. In this field, neither of us is a man, nor a woman. Listen *na*, we don't have any connection with the outer world. We live our own lives, completely disconnected from the world around us. Among us, [you will find] three types. One is *khusri*, one is a *khusra*, one is a *zenana*.

Me: Can you spell out the difference?

Madhu: There is a lot of difference to highlight. One belongs to those who dance in the melas, then there are those who go out in the homes for *bidhaeyan*. One category is a *khusri*, the ones belonging to this category cannot procreate a child, but she is otherwise a woman. As in, she can marry with a man. Khusri is born of a mother's womb. The ones who dance at *melas* are *zenanay*. They can marry woman [in addition to a man]. Also, with a man. *Zenanay* embody a soul of a woman, but he is a man [biologically].

Samo in the excerpt below provides a social commentary in making of a *zenana* or a *khusra* identity. She brings in elements of social discrimination and pedophilic inclinations of men as the factors for feminized men to reinforce their *zenana* or a *khusra* gender identity, join *dera* communes and formally become part of forms of *khusra* socio-economic organizations.

[VERBATIM]

Samo: *Dusa banda ich tusi jenany nu kharha karo, dusa mardan ich, marda di khawaish howay ge me parhan, koe pilot banrha, koe doctor banrha. O jerha janana howay ga na odhi yehe khawaish howay ge keh me sari dunia nu chad ke enha de kol a jawan. Me aurtaan wangu turha, aurtaan wangu rawa. So bandan ich wi khalaro gay na, pata lag jaway ga keh ay kalumkalha janana hy ga. Janana ay cheez onda ay. Te jerha khusra ay na, o gunda o janda ay. Me saal lafzaan ich gul karni aan. Koe londaybaz wekhay ga ay ye na aurat ay na mard ay, onu kae side te lay ky, ugy peechay goliyan nashay khawa ke wi, oday nal bura bhala kar dewe ga. Odi jism ich harkat pe jaway ge. Jerha koe samajhdar howay ga te apny ap nu close kar dewe ga. Na howe ga tey muashre ich gunda o jaway ga. O fir nachy ga meleyan te, am idr udr, tamashbeeniyan, bahut bahut gundi buri galan. Janana o ya khusra, usa nu zamana na bigharay te usi ni bigharthy. Gul ay an jad usi ma de pait nu peda honrhi an na, punj sal, sut sal, dus sal, tey saadi harkat khuda walu ei ay. Keh sadan dil karna ay, painrha nal khedna ay, bandiyan kulu usi ankh churani ay. Te jud bara tera sal umar ich anrha ay te, te log ungliyan uthanniyan ay, ay ki ay? ay te janana hy. do teen nu pata lgna ay, punj dus nu te beech ich unha jae bandy wi horhy an. O pyar nal ko bithawan gy, khawan piyawan gy, hath lag gae te theek, warna*

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goliyan nasha khawa ke jiazti. Jiazti te bad jism majboor o jaway ga. O fir bahur niklay ga,
baqiyan nu wekhay ga, ay ki kardy aan, o wi isi line te ho jaway ga.

[TRANSLATED]

Samo: If you make a *zenana* stand among ten men, then the men will wish to become a pilot or a doctor. The *zenana*, on the other hand, will want to leave the row and run towards us. He will wish to be a woman, to live a woman's life. You can identify him as a *zenana* even if you make him stand among hundreds of men. The *khusra* is the one who is trapped into this world. I will tell you very honestly. A *londaybaz* [pedophile] will identify a *khusra* as neither man nor woman. He will isolate a *khusra*, take her to a deserted area, drug her and sexually abuse her. Her body will get used to a male touch. A wiser *khusra* will distance herself from this experience. Otherwise, she will ruin her life. She will get used to this life, dancing at *melas*, looking out for *tamashbeen*, indulging in dirty conversations. Be it a *zenana* or a *khusra*, we don't get spoiled if society doesn't spoil us. See, we are feminine since our birth, from the time in mother's womb till we reach the age of five, seven or ten years. We always want to play with our sisters, we feel shy from men. Till we reach the age of twelve, society starts criticizing us by saying, 'Who this person is? he is a *zenana*.' The news spreads and among those is the pedophilic men. They treat us gently, feed us, once trapped then fine, if not then they intoxicate us through drugs and rape us. After such incidents, our bodies get used to this touch, craving for this, observing around, and socializing among us, finally joining this line.

The current chapter has detailed about study's locales along with description of respondents' attires, language, social contexts, professional rivalries, and ideation of beauty.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

Socio-economic Organization

The current chapter explains the social organization of khusra/zenana community in which importance of *dera*, guru-chela relationships, forms of socio-economic organization, and communal practices within each form of socio-economic organization are detailed.

5.1. Social Organization

Social organization describes the forms of social interactions and associations developed within the nexus between social relations and obligations. The ways people are socially related and obligated to one another is through a social context; this context is contingent on a specific culture. This cultural context defines not only the social relations and obligations but also social reciprocities, institutions, and identities. In this chapter, various forms of social organization of *khusra* and *zenana* communities have been detailed. In addition, the chapter also explains the forms of economic organization such as sources of economic livelihood as prevalent in the *khusras* and *zenana* communities. Among the forms of social organization discussed in this chapter are *guru-chela*, *saalgirah*, *chatai* and *rootha*. And, among the forms of economic organization are included *dhinga/tola bazar*, *panpaisha*, and *bidhae*. Since for *zenanas* and *khusras*, the forms of economic organization are dependent on social organization, therefore developing, maintaining, and actively participating in various forms of social organization is crucial for *zenana/khusra* survival.

5.1.1. Guru-Chela

The *khusra* households are organized around small communes called *deras*. The *khusras* join *dera* communes after running from their homes at younger ages. Some of the respondents I interviewed continued keeping relations with their blood relations and most of them have lost all their contacts. A few from all the three locales who were married to women reside in their homes

and visit *dera* communes for earning purposes. *Dera* provided various opportunities for the respondents. Zulfiqar and Badshah (2021) while explaining the economic organization of *zenana*/*khusra* communities in residing in Pakistan, also comment on their social organization by explaining the importance of *dera* for their survival. *Dera* is a socializing unit wherein respondents socialize without being circumscribed to the conditionalities of gender conformist roles and behaviors. It is an avenue for them to socialize with *saheliyan* (*khusra* friends) and *bailay sajan yar* (*chamkay* and *tamashbeen*). *Dera* also provides a break from the monotony of their daily lives, social discrimination, and constant struggle for survival. In addition to these normative functions, *deras* also functions as a unit of economic organization as one respondent quoted *dera* as a 'business center'. Invitations for dance functions, occasional visitation by *chamkay*, and soliciting areas for *panpaisha* are some of the key earning avenues for the *zenanas* and *khusras*. Dera addresses are also advertised on the cards which are printed and distributed among the potential *tamashbeen* for different occasions such as marriages, birthday parties, engagement ceremonies and bachelor parties. The respondents keep these cards with them and distribute among seemingly interested men. Detailing about the role of *dera* one *zenana* from Rawalpindi explained in the following text.

[VERBATIM]

Shami: *Dera hogaya kotha. Naiqa guru, khusre tawaifay, do teen dalal. Ye raha dera, usky upar tamashbeen arhy hain rarhy ke lye.*

Me: *Farq ye hay keh isi jagah pe wo reh bhe raheen hain?*

Shami: Hmm?

Me: *Deray ke andar?*

Shami: *Hmh. Matlab keh chobees ghanty dukan khuli hay na. Kisi transgender ne inkar thori koe karna hy. Grahak rat ko ae ya subha. Guru ne kehna hy jao milo.*

Me: *Koe part time bhe aty hain?*

Shami: *Part time sab ne khareedy hwe hain. Khareed kay apne chelu ko deru pe rakha hwa hay. Ek dusre ke deru me bhe atu jate hain. Matlab keh ek banda aya usny kaha falan deray pe ek moorat hay mujhay us se milna hy. wo kahay ge phone ke ky adhy pesay tmhary adhy meray. Phir istrah se bhej de gi woh.*

Shami: *Dera* is like a brothel. Female pimp's role is played by a guru, *khusre* are sex workers, and two or three male pimps. This is what *dera* is, in which *tamashbeen* visit for prostitution.

Me: Perhaps the difference is that a *dera* is also their place of living. Right?

Shami: Hmm?

Me: Inside a *dera*?

Shami: *Hmh*. Its like a shop which stays open for 24 hours. Its not that any of the transgenders will say no to a client. No matter if he comes at night or in the morning. Guru will order her to go meet.

Me: Are there a few who do *panpaisha*, parttime?

Shami: All gurus have parttime *chelas* residing under a guru's control in the *deras*. They visit each other's *deras* as well. If a client visits a dera, he asks for a particular *moorat* who belongs to another *dera*. The guru will call second *dera's* guru and finalize the deal of sharing half money. The second guru will agree and send her chela to the first guru's *dera*.

(Extract from a narrative interview: Shami, 37, Rawalpindi)

Marking the difference between *dera* and a flat, Nargis not only describes the commerciality of a *dera*, but also the public-private dichotomy associated with living spaces of the respondents. Flat is considered a private space which is unknown from all *chamkay* and *tamashbeen*. *Dera*, on the other hand, is primarily a business center where male clientele for *pan*, *panpaisha* and booking for dance functions visit.

[VERBATIM]

Nargis: Flat aur deray me farq hota hy. Mera flat hy. dera nahin hy. Dere pe yeh hota hy keh har qism ka banda bhe ata hy, function ke lye log bhe atay hain, dusre kam ke lye log bhe atay hain. Lekin yahan pe koe nahin ata. Dere pe har qism ke bandy khud bakhud a jatay hain. Dera mashoor hota hy. Flat is tarah se nahin hota.

[TRANSLATED]

Nargis: There is a difference between a flat and a *dera*. Mine is a flat, not a *dera*. All men visit *dera*, the ones interested in booking for functions, the ones looking out for sex workers. But no one comes here. Since *dera* is famous hence men of different types visit. Flat is not like this.

Madhu, in the interview excerpt below, details about the importance of *dera*. In addition to being a point of socialization, an expression of freedom and a way to reclaim their own spaces of operability, *dera* is critical for their professional progression and clientele engagement.

(Interview extract: Nargis, 30, Mansehra)

[VERBATIM]

Madhu*: Dera bahut zaruri hay.*

Me*: Kiyun?*

Madhu*: Ye islye zaruri hay keh hum ghar me nahin reh saktay. Kiyunkeh hum apny ghar se ladies kapre pehn ke nahin nikal saktay. Jo larkay humay function denay atay hain hum unko apany darwazu pe nahin bula sakty. Hamari sister jawan hote hain, hamaray rishtedar hotay hain, hum unko nahin bula saktay na. Islye dera zaruri hay.*

[TRANSLATED]

Madhu: *Dera* is very important.

Me: Why is that?

Madhu: [A *dera*] is important because we cannot live in our homes. This is also because we cannot leave our homes all dolled up in female attires. We cannot give our residential addresses to the men who invite us for dance functions. At homes, out young sisters and relatives reside, we cannot give [men] our residential addresses. For this reason, *dera* is important.

(Interview extract: Madhu, 30, Islamabad)

Emphasizing upon the importance of *dera* communes for a khusra and associating the importance with sense of belonging, Shazia speaks:

[VERBATIM]

Shazia*: Ye hamary chelay hain, bhai hain, behnay bhe hain. Ye hamara na khandan apna banaya hota hay. Ye bhe mere pas hota hay, mere hathu me jawan hwa hay. Ye mere bahut izzat karta hay. Ye mujhay programmu pe le jata hay. Is tarah mere rozi roti chal jati hay. Iski wajah se me ata hu.*

[TRANSLATED]

Shazia: These are our *chelay*, our brothers, our sisters. We have made our own families. She is also my *chela*. She resides with me; I have brought her up. She respects me a lot, she also takes me to functions, with her. This way, I earn also, it's because of her that I visit live in a *dera*.

(Interview extract: Shazia, 40, Kot Radha Kishan)
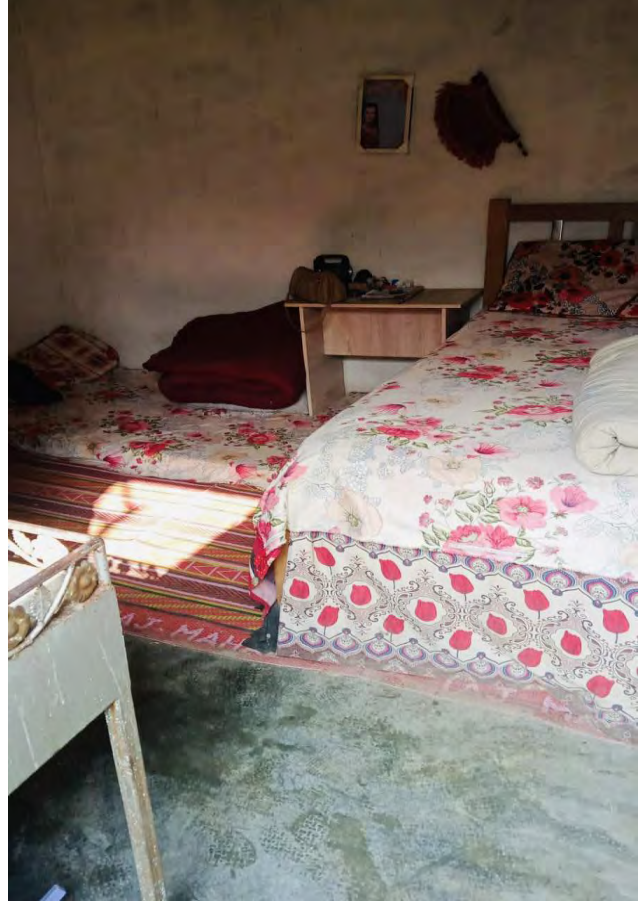
Figure on left shows an extrance to a dera and on right shows a *baithak* (floor sitting) and bed
(**Source**: Fieldwork)

Dera communes are organized around hierarchy of social relations between *guru* and *chela*. Nanda (1999) calls this hierarchy as the key principle of social organization and control in a *hijra* community. In this hierarchy *guru* (teacher) holds a controlling status on a *chela* (student or disciple). The following extract from an interview details this relational dynamic.

[VERBATIM]

Roop*: Guru chelay ka taluq hota hy bap betay jesa. Achy se agar chela chalta rahay to guru kuch nahin kehta. Aur woh tang karay ya bat na manay, usky dostu ky agay besti karay, to usay acha to nahin na lagay ga na. kiyunkeh guru to guru hi hota hay na paway o barha ho ya chota ho, ganda ho ya kala ho, jesa bhe hy. Ab jisko guru keh dia, bana lia tou woh to guru hi hay. To agar uski besti karay gay, badtameezi karay gy to woh to bura many ga. <u>Guru chelay donu kadi kadi ziyazti kar detay hain</u>. Guru us waqt galat bat karty hain jab woh bhookay maray. Jab unky paas pesay na ho. Tab woh chelu ko tang krty hain, keh hamay barhapan do… uska haq bhe banta hy. Chahy chota hy! barha hy! jisay guru keh dia woh barha hogaya! To agar ap itni*

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kamae karty, apny upar kharch karty ho, apny bachu kay upar kharch karty ho, ya dostu kay upar to uska nahin haq banta keh guru kay upar bhe kharch kia jae! Ziada nahin to sou, do sou ke hisaab se sahi.

Me*: Kitna?*

Roop*: Wo to apki chahat. Dus, bees, sou, hazar, dou hazar, wo to apki jaib ke hisab se. Agar guru bhooka mar raha hy to usny to kehna hay ja dhanda kar, jo kuch marzi kar. Jo uski marzi hy karwa skta hy phir. Agar na mana to woh baich dega. Bees me kisi se khareeda tha to woh chalees hazar me baich skta hy. Usay to koe masla nahin hy. Aik chela nahin hay to doosra ajae ga, doosra nahin to teesra, woh nahin tou koe aur ajae ga. Pehlay maskay lagaty hain chelu ko. Jesay pehlay, "*<u>Hae! Tu tay mere Lakshmi hay, tu tay mere Rekha hay, ty tay mere Bubli hay.</u>" ((palm beating)). Jab.. Hojae tou, "<u>Haan bacha, tu suna, ki gul hy, ki kalam hy, kithay, falan teeng o. Ay we mundiya ainj, tu way anrha ni fir.</u>" ((palm beating)). Phir besti karty hain. Unsay miltay raho, letay detay raho tou theek rahay gain.*

Me*: Izzat kin batu pe hoti hay?*

Roop*: Unse milo, kamae detay raho, time detay raho, uski khushiyu me shareeq ho, malumat uski rakho, function wagera pe saath leky jao. Agar guru na ho to ko ussay mehfil me bethnay bhe nahin dega. Ye to ghareeb hain, inka koe guru nahin hy, inke saath jhagra ho to hum kis se baat karay gain, inke saath koe chela hojae ga tou hum kinse puchay gain. Matlab keh inka to koe guru hi hay, koe naam hi nahin hay, koe sarparast hi nahin hy. Yeh to londay, gandu hain, gand farosh hain. <u>BASS</u>.*

[TRANSLATED]

Roop: The relationship between *guru* and *chela* is just like that of a father-son. If a *chela* remains well-behaved, then guru doesn't complaint. But if she [*chela*] annoys or doesn't listen to her [*guru*], insults [*guru*] in front of her friends, then [the *guru*] will not forget *na*. guru is guru, no matter if [she is] tall or short, ill-willed or black-hearted, no matter what kind of a person she is. If you have consented a person to be your *guru*, then she will stay your *guru*. So, if [a *chela*] doesn't behave well, is ill-mannered, then it will not go down well with the guru. Guru *chelay* both act unreasonable [with each other]. Guru retaliates when they are left to die in hunger. When they don't have a penny. [Only then] they retaliate by forcing *chelas* to be respectful of their needs…they have this right too, No matter small or big! The one who is accepted as a *guru* deserves respect! So, when you earn well, spend on yourself, spend on your family, spend on your friends, then the guru deserves to be spent on, too! If not a lot, then hundred, two hundred may suffice, too.

Me: How much?

Roop: That depends on your love. Ten, twenty, hundred, thousand, two thousand, that depends on your pocket, how much do you earn. If a guru is dying of hunger, then of course he will ask chela to earn through prostitution [*dhandha*]. It is up to her discretion on how guru decides to earn through *chelas*. If chela doesn't comply, then a guru will sell him of. If she purches chela at

a rate of twenty thousand, then he can sell her in forty thousand rupees. She doesn't care. *Chelas* are indispensable, second will come if first one is gone, third will come if second one is gone. Initially they trap chelas through tactics, "*Hae*! You are my Lakhsmi, you are my Rekha, you are my Bubli." ((palm beating)). Once they are through, their tone changes to, "Yes child, whats up, where have you been, no talk, where etc. Ay *mundiya*, you don't listen to me now." ((palm beating)). They insult. If you keep visiting them, if you develop transactional relationships with them, they stay fine."

Me: When does a *guru* respect a *chela*?

Roop: Keep visiting them, give your earnings, spend time, participate in their occasions, take care of them, take them to the functions. Without a guru, a khusra is not allowed to even be part of our gatherings. People say about such a *khusra* that she is poor, she has no guru, if someone picks a fight with her then who will play an intermediary role, if she becomes a guru to someone then who will be there to talk to if she is at a fault. As in, she doesn't have a *guru*!, she has no identity, no respect, no seniority. Such a person is merely a *londa*, *gandy*, she sells through *paisha*. *BASS*.

(Excerpt from a Narrative Interview: Roop, 24, Kot Radha Kishan)

This excerpt provides a detailed account of what relational dynamic *guru* and *chela* share with each other. This relationship is certainly based on respect towards a guru because of her seniority and the sponsorship she provides. A guru also functions as a fatherly figure of the household. The responsibilities of a father such as social security, watchfulness, social mobility, and safety from *bheelay* and *khawaar* (police) are some of the masculine qualities associated with a guru. There also exists a *guru ma* (*guru* mother) who is not always from the same *dera* commune which a guru owns. A guru ma performs more motherly roles such as providing emotional support, looking after domesticated needs, providing food, and gifting *firkey* (clothes), *khalki* (shoes) and *mehndi* (henna) over religious ceremonies such as Eid. The excerpt also depicts the issues which a chela can face because of showing disobedience towards a guru. The guru has the power of controlling and forcing a chela to forcefully earn through *paisha*. She can also sell her to another guru. In case of severe disobedience, she can call upon meeting of senior gurus who can then decide to declare a *chela*, an outcast if she doesn't comply. Performing domestic duties (cooking and cleaning) and fulfilling economic responsibilities (earning, contributing to the *dera's* income, and giving a certain portion of income to guru) are some of the key responsibilities of a *chela*. In the following is depicted a conversation between a guru (Handay) and two *khusras* (Rimi and

Shabo) in a *dera* located in Rawalpindi. Shabo is Handay's *chela* and resides in her *dera*. Rimi resides in the same locality and her guru is Handay's shoormi (sister). Handay is asking Rimi to do a dera chore, which she is reluctant in doing. Shabo on the other hand is referring to Zubi (referring her derogatorily as a *choorha*) to complete the task. Zubi is a Christian. *Choorha* is a term condescendingly referred to a Christian person because of his/her janitorial duties. The conversation, in addition to providing a granular understanding of responsibilities and *guru* as a controlling figure, also gives a classist understanding within a community. The domestic division of labor is such as the least beautiful, the one who is a *choorha* or the one who earn through *dhinga/tola bazar* (beggary), or the one who is dark-skinned or brings home the least earnings has to face the disproportionate burden of domestic obligations. The second excerpt from Kot Radha Kishan details a lived-in quality of a relationship between Sherry and her *guru* (Manjli). The friction in their conversation is due to *nirban* status of Sherry and *uqwi* status of Manjli. Sherry being a *nirban* looks down upon Manjli because she thinks that being a *nirban* brings her closer to becoming a woman and hence brings her more reverence within the community. To this assertion, Manjli retaliates by challenging her to drop her shalwar to prove to us that she is a 'real woman'.

December 2021
Rawalpindi
Handay's Dera
Morning

Handay: *Mere paas itny pesay hain keh me idhar beth ky kha sakti hu. Upar se me apny shagird rakhu ge. Unko me chalao gi, aur unki kamae khao gi.*

Handay: I have enough savings to survive on my own while staying inside my *dera*. I will also keep my *chelas* with me. I will earn through them and eat off their earnings too.

Handay: *Ay cha pe ky saray bartan dho lain.*

Handay: After taking tea, go and wash utensils.

Rimi: *Guru menu changa phasaya ei. Ainu ki khilaya ay. Me burton ei dhoway ja ri aan.*

Rimi: Guru you always orders me. Why is it always me who is trapped? Ask her too. I was about to go and wash utensils anyway.

Handay: *Beta tu wekhi, Burtun nahin dhoway gi tey fir wekhi teri jacket kithey sutni aan tey tere topi kithey sootni aan.*

Handay: Beta you just wait and watch. If you won't comply, I will throw your jacket and cap away.

Rimi: *Tu dhi toon dhawa na.*

Rimi: Why don't you ask your daughter?

[Laughs]

Handay: *Kiyun! Tu chela wadh wadh ay.*

Handay: Why! You are a famous chela.

Rimi: *Tu bhanday dho, bete choorhi ay, bokran mardi ay.*

Rimi: You go and wash utensils, *bete* is a *choorhi*, she will sweep floor.

Handay: *O bechari puchun beghair bokran mardi ay.*

Handay: She is very obedient. She sweeps floor even before I ask her to do the needful.

Shabo: *Ay choorha ay, choorhiyan waly kum kardi ay* [*pointing at Zubi who is sitting on the floor and gulping down the remaining tea*].

Shabo: She is a *choorha*. She does things which only a *choorha* does.

Handay: *Beta khawo te panday dho ky rukh dewo.*

Handay: Beta after you finish eating, wash utensils.

Rimi: *Wekh lay guru!*

Rimi: Are you sure, *guru*!

Handay: *Tere guru ki bolay gi. Guru teri kiway bol lay. Lay! Guru kiway ich bolay gi. Chelay bun ky kum nahin karday, jadh anday ay tey.*

Handay: What will your guru tell. How can your guru speak in this? *Lay*! Why should she speak on this matter? Even after becoming *chelas*, they don't want to do domestic work.

January 2022
Kot Radha Kishan
Manjli (Sherry's Guru)'s *Dera*
Afternoon

Sherry: *Me apny ap ko larki samjhti hun. Me hun hi larki, me inko kuch nahin samajhti. ((pointing towards her guru))*

Sherry: I consider myself a girl. I am a girl. I don't consider them [pointing towards zenanas and

khusras] anything in front of me.

Sherry's Guru: *Ye waqae apny apko larki smjhti hy.*

Sherry's Guru: She actually thinks of herself as a girl.

Sherry: *Han, seepo wali. Hanu panu bhe kara chuki hun.*

Sherry: Yes, the one with a hole. I have been castrated, as well.

<div align="center">((laughs))</div>

Me: *Kia matlab?*

Me: What does that mean?

Sherry: *Matlab wo cheez bahut chota kara chuki hun.*

Sherry: As in, she has been operated.

Sherry's guru: *Abhe shalwar utar ke dekh lo.*

Sherry's guru: Ask her to drop her pants and then you see.

Sherry: *Me kiyun utaru, tu utar we, fittay mu teray.*

Sherry: Why should I drop, you do it, fittay mu teray.

Sherry's guru: *Tu te khud kaya hy keh tu khusra nahin ((palm beating))*

Sherry's guru: You said yourself that you are not a khusra.

Sherry: *Me te khusra nahin, tu hay. Me tey larki an.*

Sherry: I am not a khusra, but you are. I am a real girl.

Sherry's guru: *Utar na fir.*

Sherry's guru: Then take it off.

Sherry: *Hae kiyun utaru. Seepo lagi hwe hay. Ye jealous hogae hy na mujhay dekh ky.*

Sherry: Why should I? I have a hole. She is jealous of me after knowing that I am a girl.

Sherry's guru: *Allah na karay, jealous!*

Sherry's Guru: God forbid. Why should I be jealous!

5.1.2. Chatai

Initiation into a *dera* commune is assured by following a ritual called *Chatai* as detailed in the following narrative interview conducted with Noori.

Noori: *Chatai yeh hoti keh, ek chela hay usny mjy dhai so rupya pakraya hy usny mera chela hojana hy. Matlab meray sath bound hojana hy. Mere matahat uthna bethna, khana peena, sans lena bhe mere marzi se. Guru phir kisi aur guru ko bhe chela bechta hy to qeemat ada krni hoti hy. Agr paach lakh lagy hain guru ke mujh pe to menay who paanch lakh deny hain guru ko. Agr ek guru ne dusry guru ko dena hy chela to paanch lakh ki adaegi nae guru ko deny hogi. Who [pehlay] guru pe hy jitney bhe mangy… paanch, dus, mafia hy! mafia hy pura; trafficking ka, drug ka… Lekin me chatai nahin lete. Guru ka kirdar mentor ka hota hy. Chatai leny ka nahin. Me ek aur shakal pesh kr rahi hu. Us culture me guru aik chely se pachas, saath hazar rupay kama rha hy, function kra ky, paisha kra ky. Guru jo iss system se ek din ka aik lakh kama rha hy woh iss system ko bandh kiyun honay dega?*

Noori: [I explain] *Chatai*. If there is a new *chela*, he will hand over me two fifty rupees and I will become his *guru*. In other words, he will be bound with me. He will do everything according to me. [I will] monitor her whereabouts, she cannot even maneuver, eat or breathe without my permission. That *guru* can sell his *chela* to another *guru* at a price [to be paid by a new *guru*]. For instance, if a *guru* had bought me [from another *guru*] for five lac rupees, then I must pay him this amount if I want to free myself from her. If a new *guru* wants to have me [in her *dera*], she will have to pay this price…even more! It is up to an old guru how much she asks…five, ten, it's a mafia! All of it is; of trafficking, of drug…But I don't receive *chatai* [from my *chelas*], nor do I pay any. *Guru's* role is that of a mentor, not that of a person who receives *chatai*. I am presenting an alternative [to this existing system]. In that culture a *guru* is earning fifty, sixty thousand rupees a month by forcing *chelas* into functions, into prostitution. Why would a guru let this lucrative system stop?

(Excerpt from a Narrative Interview: Noori, 39, Islamabad)

Noori articulates *chatai* as a malpractice to entrap *chelas* under the controlling rule of a guru. Noori also describes the plausibility of an alternative system which she claims she is operationalizing in which *chelas* reside in her *dera* and she doesn't take any *Chatai* from them. Nanda (1990), though not conceptualizing the practice as exploitative, has also detailed in her ethnographic research about initiation of a chela into a *dera* commune by performing a practice called *Jalsa*, in which upon the entry of a recruit the senior gurus are invited to a dera by the hijra who has agreed to be the guru to a recruit. The seniors ask hijra if she agrees to become a chela to a guru. Upon her affirmation, the public declaration of a guru-chela relationship is established. She is given a female name by the seniors, and she agrees to all the roles and responsibilities to this new life and to her guru. *Jalsa* not only establishes a guru-chela relationship but also ensures formal initiation as a formal member of the community. Money is

also involved in *Jalsa*; *guru* pays an amount at a point when the recruit consents her to be a guru and the chela also pays a *dund* (fine) which functions as a fee and works as a right for her to work in the name of a *guru*.

5.1.3. Saalgirah

Saalgirah in the context of *khusra/zenana* community doesn't translate into a birthday function. It is an event celebrated by the community members as an effective way for gift exchange, reciprocity and circulation of money within the community. It is also a function seeking out for potential lover among all the *chamkay* and *tamashbeen* who are among the invitees. Rekha in the following extract from an interview elaborates about *saalgirah*.

[VERBATIM]

Rekha: *Ek show hy jis pe guru jo hy wo tamsabeen ko bulata hy. Ek tamashbeen hy to woh apnay sath das aur dost le ky ae ga. Keh chal yar zenanay ae gy, khusray ae gy, khoobsurat labas pehen ky, khoobsurat make up kar ky, acha acha tyar hoky… [E]k transgender jiski saalgirah hoty hy baqi transgender aky usko pesay dete hain. Koe paanch likhwati, kisi ne das diye, kisi ny bees diye, theek hay. Phir jo agly saalgirah kry gi, jis ne usko dia hoga, jin jin ki saalgirahu pe jaky jin jin ko dia hoga, woh sari trans uski saalgirah pe aky wapas kry gi. Wesay woh bhe tyar hoky ae gi. Udhar hi ja ky mashooqi set hoti hy, udhar hi date set hoti hy. Wahi pe jesay mandi lgti hy na sab transgender saj sawar ky aty hain. Wahi mard jitney bhe tamashbeen ae hoty hain woh wohi se select krty hain usko jo sab se ziada khoobsurat ho. Saalgirah ek mandi hy jo guru lugwata hy. Takeh wahan tamashbeen aik hi dafa me chanti kr lain. Woh chanti kar ky select kr leta hy. Asal me salgirah ye hoti hy.*

[TRANSLATED]

Rekha: *Saalgirah* is a show wherein a guru calls all the *tamashbeen* [male spectators]. One *tamashbeen* will bring 10 friends with him. That, come with me, there will be fully dolled-up *zenanay* and *khusray*, fully-clad in beautiful clothes… [T]he one whose *saalgirah's* function is celebrated invites other transgenders who in-turn offer her money. Someone gives five [thousand], another twenty [thousand], someone else offers twenty [thousand], okay! All the transgenders will return the same or more amount when someone among invitees organizes her *saalgirah* next to this one. Similarly, she will be dolled-up. The event will be huge. Among these *tamashbeen* are the men who select the most beautiful *zenana* or a *khusra* [for *rootha*]. *Saalgirah* is like a market setup by a *guru* so that *tamashbeen* pick and choose among [*zenanay* and *khusray*]. This is what *saalgirah* entails.

(Excerpt from a Focus Group Discussion conducted in Kot Radha Kishan)

The following box further details about the saalgirah and substantiates the extravagance of spending in these functions as described by Rekha in the above excerpt. This conversational excerpt which I penned down at night and jotted into a narrative structure was part of an informal conversation taking place among three *khusras* in Sharmeeli's *dera* in Kot Radha Kishan. The conversation starts of by figuring out the commuting plan for the *saalgirah* function for that evening to which the three *khusras* were invited to and followed up to the debate on diifuclt choices for khusras for their economic organization and what role can saalgirah as a social organization play out for economic survivability, hence explaining the intersectionality of social and economic organization.

August 2021
Kot Radha Kishan
Sharmeeli's Dera
Evening Teatime

Sharmeeli: *Ziada log aty hain isky pas gand marwany ke lye. Me ny bola tum ye kam chorh do. Mar jao gi, iski halat dekho ye nahin mar jae gi saal ke andar andar. Me kehti hu chorh do, jaky gao me parchun ki dukan dal lo. Izzat ki roti.*

Sharmeeli: Many clients come to her to get inserted. I have asked her many times to leave this work. She will die, just look at her condition. Don't you think that she will die in a year. I forbade her many times; I have also asked her to go to her village and open a drug shop. Respectful earning.

Neelo: *Yes, bund maran wasty anday aan*!

Neelo: Yes most of the men come to her to get inserted!

Rani: *Pesay do me chali jati hu. Pesay dy!*

Rani: Give me money, I will go. Give me money!

Neelo: *Isko lakh rupay dye the. Ye gandu!*

Neelo: I gave her one lac rupees. To this *gandu*!

Sharmeeli: *Cycle le, sabzi cycle pe bech lia kary. Mehnatan mazdooriyan hondiyan nahin.*

Sharmeeli: She can be a vegetable vendor. She can sell vegetables on a bicycle. There are many who hesitate from doing hard work.

Neelo: *Iski hum ne choti si salgirah ki. Is khusre ki! iskay pas lakh rupya jama hogaya. Ye naya*

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kam nahin kar sakta tha!

Neelo: We celebrated her *salgirah* [function]. Of this *khusra*!, she collected one lac rupees from that function. [Ask her], couldn't she start a new business through that!

Rani: *Me qistaan derhiyan si nae jaga di.*

Rani: I had to pay back loan.

Neelo: *Ay sirf bund maraan de chaske hy te maran de.*

Neelo: All she is interested in is to get inserted and insert into others [the men].

Rani: *Punj marle jaga si, aday wi pesay derhaiy si.*

Rani: I had booked a five marlas land. [I had] to pay its amount.

Sharmeeli: *Edi kachi! Hae hae! Edi kachi!*

Sharmeeli: What a lie! *Hae hae*! What a lie!

Neelo: *Aj mujy chor ke kisi guru ke pas jae gin na tou me iska lakh rupya uthao gi. Iski salgirah pe meny isko sath hazar ka frock banak ke dia.*

Neelo: I will demand one lac rupees from her next guru when she decided to leave me. I purchased a frock worth sixty thousand rupees on her birthday.

Rani: *Aaan! Lotran di moorat.*

Rani: My God! What a liar, this *moorat* is!

Neelo: *Lotran di... Wo fashion ni hy-- fashion designer, Babu. Wo jo nargis wagera ke kapray banata hy. us se frock banwa ke dia tha sath hazar me. Madhuri jesa us ne nahin kia kahay cherh cherh mohay.*

Neelo: You are a liar… That fashion—the fashion designer, [his name is] Babu. The one who designs clothes for Nargis etc, I designed her frock from him worth sixty thousand rupees. Just like the one which Madhuri worn in a song, *kahay cherh cherh mohay*! [why do you touch me!]

Rani: *Jaway*!

Rani: Go away!

Neelo: *Abhi mere ma ki saalgirah hwe hy na. Mere ma ny kitny ka dress pehna hy. satara lakh ka. Paintees tolay gold lgwaya us ne. Khali makeup ka usny pachas hazar dia. Uski salgirah kitny ki hwe hay. Ek crore ki. Me ny udhar sath hazar ka gana kia, isny ek lakh ka. Usky dost ne usay sath tolay gold pehnaya hy. Na uska mama hy, na usny operation krwaya hy. Itny usky bal hain. Naseeb bhe hota hy insan ka.*

Neelo: Just recently my [*guru*] *ma* celebrated her birthday. You know what was the worth of the dress she wore? Seventeen lac rupees. She embedded gold of worth thirty-five carats in it. She

paid fifty thousand rupees for makeup. You know how much was spent on her birthday. One crore. She performed a dance worth of sixty thousand rupees there. She, one lac rupees. Her [guru ma]'s dost bought her sixty carats gold jewelry set. She isn't breast-implanted, nor is she operated. She has a short haircut. [Still she is in demand], its her luck, her good fortune.

Figure 3: Impressionistic Sketch of a *zenana* performance in a *saalgirah*

Figure 4: Impressionistic sketch of a khusra (*nirban*) performing on a dance number in Kot Radha Kishan

Figure 5: Impressionistic sketch of a khusra (*nirban*) at a *saalgirah* function in Mansehra

Shazia speaks of sharing of money between gurus and *chelas*. In the text below, she speaks of money which a *khusra* or a *zenana* earns of dance performances in either *saalgirah* functions or private gathering (marriages, etc.).

[VERBATIM]

Shazia*: Maslun dou hazar rupiya hogaya. Jo isme ladies kapre pehen ky kam karta hy usko barabar ka hisa mil jata hay. Jo inke per ke pass se zameen pe pese uthaty hain na, unko jo inka dil karay de dain. Ye hota hy.*

Me*: Aur yahan akay kesay bant'tay hain?*

Shazia*: Esay hi. Jo hamare sath gaya hota hy usko dena hota hay. Jab guru ko sath leky jao to unko hisa detay hain aur agar guru ko na leky jao, tou unko hisa nahin detay. Kuch guru tang ziada kartay hain tou unhain dena bhe parhta hay.*

[TRANSLATED]

Shazia: For instance, if I earn two thousand rupees, then I will pay one thousand to a khusra who has taken me along. I pay the ones who collect money from the floor as per my wish. This is how we distribute.

Me: And, do you distribute among yourselves after coming back to dera?

Shazia: The same way. The ones who tag us along have to be paid. If we take guru along then we give her some part of our earnings, otherwise we don't. But there are those gurus who complaint if we don't give them money, so we must comply.

(Interview extract: Shazia, 30, Mansehra)

5.1.4. Rootha

Rootha translates into a *pakki* function, which means a marriage function in Faarsi Chand language. When *khusra* finds the most suitable match for herself, she with the necessary consent of her *guru* ties a knot with a man called her *girya* (lover). The ceremony is not necessarily a grand one and imitates the *nikah* ceremony (ceremony in a marriage in which marriage contract is signed between a man and woman in the presence of family's elders). There is no religious clergy present in this imitation, nor a contract is signed. A narrative description of one *rootha* function I attended in Islamabad is detailed in the box below.

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:10px;">

Closed *dera* setting
Islamabad
Evening

[*Girya* and *khusra* sitting on a sofa which is surrounded by *khusra's guru* and her other *chelay*]

Shoormi [addressing attendants]: *Assalam o alaikum, suno suno maiyo* (Greetings, please listen, dear friends). *Ye dono giryay moorat hain* (We have a girya and a moorat with us). *Ye girya hay* (He is a girya). *Yeh moorat hay* (She is a moorat). *Ye dono pyar karty hain* (They both are in love with each other). *Agay ye btae gi* (She will further from hereon) [pointing towards khusra's guru].

Guru [addressing *guru*]: *Baat suno beta, ye aulad nahin de paegi tumhy* (Listen to me son, she will not give you a child). *Baqi dunia ke saary mazay de gi* (She will satisfy all other needs). *Bass ek aulad ka maza nahin de paegi tumhy* (Excepting a child). *Ab tum btao beta, kia tumhy qabool hay?* (Now its up to you, do you accept this marriage?) *Teen dafa punchu gi beta*. "*Chikni mati ghara, nikkah hwa tumhara. Chikni mati ghara, nikkah hwa tumhara. Chikni mati ghara, beta nikkah hwa tumhara.*"

Girya*: Qabool hy*. (I do)

Guru: *Bata beti!* (Say daughter!)

Khusra: *Qabool hy*. (I do)

Guru: *Allah jorhi salamat rakhay ameen*. (May Allah stay this couple blessed)

[Attendees celebrating, giggling and chirping at the backdrop]

</div>

5.2. Economic organization

Economic organization refers to the various forms of economic activities khusras and zenanas are involved in for their economic survival. In the following text have been explained dhinga/tola bazar (beggary), *bidhae*, and *panpaisha* as the forms of economic organization as options of economic survival for the community members.

5.2.1. Dhinga/Tola Bazar

Beggary is one of the oldest ways of earning for the community. *Khusras* and *zenanas* are grouped in *tolas* (groups) on daily basis. They ask for money in the designated areas which are pre-decided among the gurus and communicated among their *chelas* at the beginning of each

month. If a total of six areas are designated to the community members residing in Pir Wadhae and Dhoke Chaudrian in Rawalpindi then the *khusras* and *zenanas* from Dhoke Kala Khan cannot earn through *dhinga/tola bazar* in these designated areas for that particular time period (one month). In this way a whole city and its key areas (bus stops, metro stations, city centers and markaz, parking areas, a few residential areas and traffic signals) are divided on monthly basis. Muni, a *khusra* form Mansehra, details about specification of *dhinga* as a form of not just economic but also social survival and the locational settings in which it takes place, in the following extract from an interview.

[VERBATIM]

Muni: *Pesay mangny, bheek mangny ko dhinga [ya] tola bazar kehty hain. Guru ne dhinga ki jaghay baanti hwe hain. Jo guru hota hy na who jahan reh raha hota hy wo apni boundary bana leta hy keh itna area, itna shehar mera hy jisky andr koe aur moorat nahin ae gi. Yani ke wahan ke sary customers, clients mere hogy. Istarah guru ne ilaqay banty hwe hoty hain. ABC*[10] *ke pass hy, Pindi ki akhri had se leky, Murree ki hadh tak. ABC ko bhata deti hain dhinga krny waliyan paanch maheny ka. Usne agy chely rakhy hwe hain, woh chelay saray din ki kamae ikhati kr ky ABC ko phnchatay hain. Har ilaqay me usny ek chela bithaya hwa hy jo halky ki kamae ikhati kr ke us tak phnchata hy. Ab is bhaty ke wajah se woh un moortu ko bachati hy; jesay kaheen police a jati hy, raid parh jati hy, kaheen bheek mangty hwe masla ho to ABC aky bachati hy. Is cheez ka bhata lete hy. Police walu se ABC ki bat hwe hoty hy monthly pesay jatay hain udhar. Agr kabhi der sawer hojae ya phir saalgirah me raid parh jae ya tola ke waqt police pakar ky le jae tou ABC pesay de dila ke jaan churwati hy magar isky ivaz din ka paanch-cheh leti hy har moorat ki kamae se.*

[*TRANSLATED*]

Muni: *Dhinga* [or] *tola bazar* entails the process in which [we] in groups wander through places begging for money. The *gurus* have already divided areas among them for *dhinga*. A guru marks her territory [and communicates] among others that so and so area is hers and no *moorat* from any area will be allowed to *dhinga* in her outlined area. She makes clear that all customers and clients from that area will only be hers. In this way each *guru* has her respective areas. Pindi till Murree is under ABC. Those earning through *dhinga* pays her Bhatta [extortion money] of five thousand rupees. ABC has designated *chelay* to collect *bhatta* from them who by the end of the day collect all the amount and deliver at her place. As a response, ABC saves them from police raids, during *saalgirah* functions or while doing *dhinga*. She is always in talks with the police beforehand. But she always takes five-six thousand rupees as *bhatta*.

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[10] The respondent took name of a known khusra, here. For the purpose of confidentiality, her name is not mentioned in this excerpt and ABC is inserted, in place of it.

Dhinga or *tola bazar* is a communal form of social organization in which collectivity of *khusras* in an open space asking for alms is a norm. There were, however, a few instances wherein respondents shared reasons as varied as communal ostracism, lack of femininity or performativity due to which they were not allowed to go with other community members. One respondent shared of her experience of misbehavior with her *guru* that led her towards ostracism for a month as a punishment. Another respondent shared that its her dark complexion and masculine facial features due to which other *moortay* refrained going with her for *dhinga*. Gori in the following text is speaking of her short hair which doesn't cut a mark for other khusras for communal engagement in public spaces.

[VERBATIM]

Me: *Toli pe jab jati hain to akeli jati hain ya sab ke sath jati hain?*

Gori: *Koe le kay hi nahin jata. Kehtay hain bal rakho. Itny Itny mamay banao, ye karo who karo.*

Me: *Ye zaruri hota hay?*

Gori: *Han na. To me to esay jati hu akeli. Inke sath nahin jati.*

[TRANSLATED]

Me: Do you go alone or in group for *toli*?

Gori: No one takes me along. They ask me to grow long hair, do this, do that.

Me: is it necessary?

Gori: Yes *na*. That's why I go alone. Not with them.

(Interview excerpt: Gori, 25, Rawalpindi)

5.2.2. Bidhae

Another significant form of economic organization is *bidhae* which translates into an expression of congratulatory note on the occasions of celebration. Nanda (1999) describes bidhae as the congratulatory expressions and the resultant possibility of earning for the hijra members from the homes where a marriage ceremony has taken place or where a baby is born. Bijli, a zenana, from Rawalpindi explains bidhae in the following extract.

[VERBATIM]

Bijli: *Haan, hum jatay hain na aur bidhae kartay hain, "Bismillah baji apke ghar beta hua hai, Allah ne apko beta dia hai tou humay bidhaee tou do." Esa kartay hain. Hum esa karty hain aur iski tarha zenanu ko fiqr nahin, isky bachay hain na. Pareshani hamary liyay hai; humay ghar ghar jana parhta hy, "Bismillah baji Allah khush rakhay", kehna parhta hy ghar ghar.*

[TRANSLATED]

Bijli: Yes, we visit that family and collect our *bidhae* from them, "*Bismillah* sister a baby boy is born to your house Allah has bestowed you with a boy so give us our *bidhaee.* This is what we do and *zenanay* like her [Anjali] don't have to bother much because they have children *na.* We have to worry; we are the ones who have to go houses, "*Bismillah sister Allah will keep you happy*" we have to say at multiple doors.

(Excerpt from an interview: Bijli, 40, *zenana*, Rawalpindi)

5.2.3. Panpaisha

Paisha translates into occupation and *pan* means sexual intercourse. In Farsi Chand, *panpaisha's* contextual meaning is earning through prostitution. Many respondents shared that there are different forms of prostitution the community members are involved in. There is a conventional way in which *khusras* and *zenanas* visit soliciting areas and designated pick up points from where they get picked by their regular or new clientele. There is also an online system in which dates and times of potential clientele are shared via WhatsApp messages or simple text messages. The numbers are either distributed by the gurus or the *chelas* themselves among the interested men through social networking. The *dera* address of *zenanas* and *khusras* are also commonly shared among the male clients who snowball among their potential male clienteles. When asked about *panpaisha* as a dominant form of economic organization and the reasons for the same, following themes emerged from the data.

Rubi explains that it is easy money due to which many *khusras* and *zenanas* prefer *panpaisha* over other forms of economic organization, as the excerpt below details.

[VERBATIM]

Rubi: *Ethay moortaan esiyan hegiyan ni o thanda krdiyan ay. Kuch moortan thanda krdiyan, nachdiyan ni. Sardi wich kam [kar] ky layarhan punj sou te ghaar be ky dou wi chaamky la liyey tey hajaar kama lainrha ay. Theek ay. O taan thanda kardiyan ay. Dardiyan ay, jandiyan ni, khawariyan tu. Tay kaiyaan nu adat hondi ay. Mere cheli kaindi mere ghaar wich kacchi ay, firqa ni kari da.*

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Rubi: You will find such *moortan* here who are into prostitution. There are a few who don't opt for dance functions, they are into prostitution, instead. Instead of earning five hundred in winters by stepping out, they prefer earning one thousand from two male clients [*chaamky*]. That's why they prefer *thanda*. They are afraid of hard work. Then there are also those who are habitual like my *chela*. Also, she cannot makeover [*firqa*] as a *moorat*, her family doesn't allow her].

(Excerpt from an interview: Rubi, 20, *zenana*, Mansehra)

Billo and Nimo details a reflective take in the face of adversity due to COVID-19, societal apathy, and the sheer lack of other economic opportunities.

[VERBATIM]

Billo: *Sur-e-aam nahin hota. Agr humay esa lagy keh hamary pass pesay ni hay. Aur koe bolta hy keh do char sou rupay deta hu. Hamay agr dil ko bhe bhae, to hum kehti hain chalo theek hy/*

Nimo: */Esa hota hy na jab hamary pas khrcha ni hota, pesa ni hota, phir hum kisi na kisi se marwa leti hain pesay le ly. Sahi baat bata ri hun. Phir jab hamary paas kharcha a jata hy to hum kharcha krti hain, khaati peeti hain, enjoy karteen hain.*

Billo: *Tailoring se mere kamae ni hoti. Paanch bhai do behen hain, ma theek ni hy. Jo pesa ata hy halal kamae se unko de deti hun, apna kharcha iss kam se chalati hu.*

[TRANSLATED]

Billo: [*Painpaisha*] doesn't happen in open. If we are broke, and someone offers us two or four hundred rupees and if we like him too, then we go for it/

Nimo: /Very often we give in sexually when we run short of cash. I am being honest. And, once we earn, we spend on food and enjoy.

Billo: I don't earn much from tailoring, whatever little I earn goes to my five brothers, and two sisters. My mother is also ill. I survive on this, only.

(Extract from a Focus Group Discussion held in Kot Radha Kishan)

Muskan, a *khusra* from Mansehra, further elaborates by explaining that survival is not always the reason rather the decision to opt for *panpaisha* can be grounded in the need to fulfil one's conspicuous consumption.

[VERBATIM]

Muskan: *Asaan da dil karda ay acha tu acha khaeye, acha tu acha pehenye, ay sada rung gora o, loki sanu wekahy tey kaeye ay kedi koe sonrhi ay. Asi baal rakhdiyan ay, saday hathan ich angoothiyan o, bndy wekhun te kahay, 'Hae! Kedhi koe sonrhi lagdi pae ay.' Saday kol peye na hu, usi zananay beemar o janday aan. Saady kol char punj sou peye horhy chae dy daily. Usi enjoy kr lijye, koe sangat kar lijye.*

[TRANSLATED]

Muskan: We wish to eat lavishly, dress lavishly, wish to be fair, men fancy us and say, "How beautiful is she!" Out hair long, rings in fingers…We get sick if we don't have cash. We need forum five hundred rupees on daily basis so that we enjoy and have a get-together.

(Extract from an online interview, September 2021)

Aggleton and Parker (2015) details that sex work defined as sex for money exchanges is a disguised feature of every society which has developed a monetary economy. Sex work also depicts the inequality in the distribution of wealth and beauty and gets manifested to the socio-economic conditions of the society it exists in. The way sex work is defined is also complicated due to variety of a range of sex for money exchanges that take place in different sites such as streets, brothels, private homes, playgrounds and saunas (Aggleton and Parker, 2015). The term sex work implies over-simplification of sex for money exchanges for two reasons. First, the term cannot be used as a synonym for prostitution especially in those countries where sex work is recognized and institutionalized as a form of economic work. Secondly, the term sex work also implies over-simplification of the institutional and structural violence against those who provide sexual services in those countries where it is not recognized as a form of work. Defined along this prostitution-sex work conundrum, *panpaisha* seems to be inclined more towards what prostitution entails signified by sex for money, struggle for survival, and structural violence.

Unlike West where prostitution is being recognized as one of the professions for men and women, and the people in this profession termed as Commercial Sex Workers (CSWs), the conditions in South Asia seem quite bleak. In the West, NGOs have helped male and female prostitutes in building strong groups to forcing their governments to recognize their rights. Their stance seems appropriate because their profession contributes to their countries′ Gross National Product (GNP). The NGO support and collective action of male and female sex workers have proved out to be effective as in most of the developed nations prostitution has been legalized. On

contrary, the NGO intervention is missing particularly in Pakistan. There are several reasons for this. First, addressing issues related to prostitution in general, and alleviating woes of people involved in prostitution seem to be non-issues for NGOs of Pakistan. Second, the stigma linked to this profession hinders the field research and technical introspection without which issues cannot be highlighted and programmatic strategies cannot be implemented. Third, lack of communal support from people involved in prostitution cannot compel them to voice their choices to governmental officials. And most importantly the constant rift whether women should be allowed to continue with prostitution without state disruption or whether state disruption is justified particularly in Islamic country like Pakistan? But local NGOs have been actively involved in creating HIV/AIDS awareness about harm reduction strategies among male and female prostitutes in Pakistan.

The political and academic discourses pertaining to the issues of prostitution are addressed in the feminist scholarship. But even within feminist epistemologies there are some factions. One, that completely denounces prostitution on the grounds of its sexual exploitation of women and men (including male-female transgender persons), that emphasizes on recognizing women and men in prostitution not as 'prostitutes' but as 'sex workers' so that their work can get recognition as a form of labor (Shah, 2003). Pakistani feminists provide a less dismantled picture in this regard. The reasons for which they do not support prostitution are that it objectifies and exploits women, it treats women as sex-objects and creates intense physical and psychological upheavals if women are incarcerated in sex-trafficking. Posing criticisms on the Western feminist epistemologies, South Asian feminists cannot view prostitution as *just another work* because the profession has an abusive side to it as well. Simply posing that prostitutes are taxed by governments and governments add to their savings through mounting revenues from earnings of prostitutes is not a reason enough to decriminalize or legalize prostitution in Pakistan (Saeed, 2001). At the very same time Pakistani feminists want governments to stop harassing the prostitutes through police. Moreover, their stance on recognizing the rights of maintaining the dignity and security of prostitutes is very clear. Their major criticism on the state level is the dualism that most of the influential people cloak - supporting prostitution by being clients of the prostitutes and yet advocating the abolitionist interventions against prostitution (Brown, 2005).

Saeed (2006) describes three different factions prevailing in Pakistan. The first one 'Government and Society' that believes in rooting out prostitution completely, the second 'Activists' that intends to bring forth the legal and social issues of prostitutes aiming at prescribing suitable interventionist programs for their social uplift, and the third 'Liberalists' that considers prostitution as one of the ways of living and just like other individuals in the society they have right to earn in whatever possible ways they can, prostitutes should be treated the same way. She alludes to some of the specified areas in Pakistan where prostitution is licensed by local governments in Pakistan and special privileges are granted to residents of those areas due to strong political backing. To Saeed (2006) such privileges tend to widen the existing inequality gap between the A-, B-, and C-class prostitutes. She argues that if prostitution is to be legally licensed in Pakistan, then it should happen indiscriminately.

In literature the three standpoints on prostitution are conflicting but provide deep insights about the legal discourse in the world (D' Cunha, 1992). The moralist views prostitution as immoral and condemns it on the grounds of norms of morality that should be repudiated through country's law. The institutionalist, though differing marginally from the moralist, believes in state regulating the institution of prostitution because he/she is not ignorant of the fact that prostitution is a social evil that had prevailed in the past, still prevails and will continue to exist in the future as well. So, rather than setting unattainable targets of banishing prostitution completely, the institutionalist believes in setting realistic target of state-regulated prostitution (D' Cunha, 1992). The more concurrent standpoint is that of a feminist which supports that legal sanctioning and moral denunciation will add to the socio-economic woes and marginalization of the already delimited women in prostitution. Rather than exposing the victims to the further forms of exploitation it is therapeutic to be assertive about the sufferings of the people involved in sex trade (particularly in forced prostitution).

There are also three prostitution-related legal systems in the world. The prohibitionist (advocating complete eradication of prostitution and criminalization of brothel-owners, male and female dealers and prostitutes), the tolerationist (accepting the inevitability of complete eradication of prostitution and recognizing government as the important actor to regulate it to save prostitutes and the general population from contracting HIV/AIDS, and criminalizing forced

prostitution through codifying laws against internal and international sex-trafficking) and finally the system of legalized prostitution (D' Cunha, 1992). The proponents of legalized prostitution assert that prostitution is bad because it objectifies women and makes women vulnerable to male sexual and physical domination. Some countries have resorted to the state-regulated system propagated by the tolerationist but at the end the laws tangled to punish the prostitutes with their clienteles set free form any legal prosecution. But the forerunners of legalized prostitution, other than regulation for safeguarding the rights of prostitutes, have also advocated the decriminalization of prostitution that on one hand brings forth the exploitative side of the profession and on the other hand encourages the unionization, collective action, and solidarity against rude behaviors of medical doctors, exploitations of brothel owners, clienteles, and policemen (D' Cunha, 1992).

The legal discourse followed in Pakistan is that of the prohibitionist. Not only on the grounds of morality but also on religiosity that prostitution is criminalized in Pakistan. There are numerous laws directly or indirectly criminalizing prostitution in Pakistan. Whether it is The Punjab Suppression of Prostitution Ordinance, 1961 or the West Pakistan Suppression of Prostitution Ordinance, 1961 both have attributed retributions to the keepers, owners, dealers, and prostitutes. The Constitution of Pakistan, 1973 guarantees fundamental rights from article 8 to 28 to all citizens without discrimination. But in case if the sovereignty of the country is put into jeopardy or if public morality is not maintained then the constitution has the right to inhibit the freedoms guaranteed. Since prostitutes are labeled as immoral, hence it becomes convenient for the state to penalize them. Similarly, prostitutes can be penalized under article 37 of the constitution that deals with the eradication of social evils. The criminalization of prostitution does not mean that it does not exist in Pakistan. Speaking specifically of Pakistan, male-female transgender prostitution is prevalent which takes the forms of street, online, and *dera* driven prostitution. The reasons as explored in the study's findings are grounded on poverty, marginality, social intolerance, legal criminalization and discrimination which leaves khusras and zenanas to earn through *panpaisha*. Those respondents who provided reason of easy money didn't deny to the fact that their lives are at-risk while earning through *panpaisha*. When asked about the issues confronted, Chanda and Zoobi commented as follows.

[VERBATIM]

Me: *Log kesay hotay hain?*

Chanda: *Achay bhe buray bhe.*

Me: *Buray kesay?*

Chanda: *Buray, jerhay sharabaan pee ky rangbazi karun aandy aan. Agu unha nu me wi galan kadni aan, wutay wi marni aan, chundy wi marni aan. Unha nu khani wi aan. Sara kuch karni aan. Police waly sanu ina koe tang karny aan. Who kehty hain pehly hum se chudwao, phir kehty hain humay chodo. Hum kis tarah choday unko=*

Zoobi: *=Aur humay kehty hain banday pakarwao. Hum bandu se pesay lutein.*

Chanda*: Burae hum me sahi magar police looti hain humay. Unkay pesay account me, looti humay hain, gareebu ko. Hamaray pas siraf aik ya do so. Police, dus me se panch hazar, bees me se dush azar. Ainj kardi ay, aan!*

[TRANSLATED]

Me: What type of people visit?

Chanda: Good, bad, all.

Me: Bad?

Chanda: Bad, means the ones who after getting drunk want sex. I retaliate by calling them with names, I also throw stones at them, slap them too. I eat them too [*extract money*]. I do all of it. Police intrudes the most. They demand us to get fucked by them and then fuck them too. How can we fuck them?=

Zoobi: =They ask us to blackmail men to extract money from them.

Chanda: The police extracts so much money, all the fault lies with us, but police is the one which extracts. Their salaries go straight to their bank accounts, and they loot us, the poor ones. We get only hundred or two hundred rupees. The police are the one which extort five out of ten thousand, ten out of twenty thousand. This is what their modus operandi is.

(Extract from Focus Group Discussion: Rawalpindi)

The current chapter has detailed the forms of economic and social organization and has also stipulated the issues being confronted by the *zenanas* and *khusras* while dealing within the community members and outside the community members.

CHAPTER 6

World View of Love: Khusra/Zenana Take on What Love is?

The current chapter details the findings which have been extracted by conducting thematic and conversational analyses of data collected through observational and conversational methods. The themes as emerged through thematic analysis, have been detailed in this chapter. Within each theme, verbatim and translated quotes have been cited as evidential data to support the theme. An attempt to connect each theme with the study's research questions has also been made.

6.1. Social construction of love

While speaking of love, various respondents expressed love in different tones, tonalities, expressions, bodily mannerisms, and gesticulations. These animated articulations had one commonality, that is signified that the notions of love as shared by the respondents, were socially constructed. Speaking of social construction of love, language plays a critical role in its expressions and articulation. Belli and Iniguez-Rueda (2010) conceptualizes love as a performance which depends on the verbal articulations and non-verbal gestures. These articulations and gestures, are not fixed, defined or static, rather keep on changing as an iteration process. In this process, some emotional lexicons become irrelevant and hence get lost and a few new come to the fore, as time goes by. In addition to language, the performativity of love is also contingent upon society; how does society expect of people to act in certain ways. This certainty of acts is in turn determined by a person's class, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, so on and so forth. One missing link, in this debate is the person's need. A narrative interview conducted with Reema beatifies the context of a *khusra's* life, from where the context of love-money dichotomy can be understood.

[VERBATIM]

Reema: "KARAY KARA NI SHOORMI! <u>Chichra gosht nahin, khusra dost nahin!</u> Trans kehty hain jo apny ma bap ki sagi nahin hain, who kisi aur ki sagi kesay ho sukty hain! <Trans ne kabhi mohabbat dekhi hi nahin hy who kry gi kesay> Jisko mohabbat ka hi nahin pata, jis ne bachpun se mar khae hy, bachpun se hur kisi ki nafrat dekhi hy, bachpun me koe uska dost nahin bana, logu ne usko door rakha hy, ghar me bhe tanhae kati hy, usko mohabbat ka matlab hi*

nahin pata. Na ma bap ki! na behen bahiyun ki! na dostu ki! ((palm beating)). Sari zindagi
tanhae me guzari hy, usko muhabbat ka matlab nahin pata. Woh hur cheez ko karobar ki nazar
se, lain dain ki nazar se hi dekhay ga. → Me yehe kahu gi [keh] isky badly me mujhay kia dogy?
Isi nazar se me mohabbat ko dekhti hu. Mohabbat ka matlab nahin hy hamary pas!"

[TRANSLATED]

Reema: "*KARAY KARA NI SHOORMI*! [KEEP YOUR MOUTH SHUT, SISTER!] A *khusra* cannot be a friend, just like sinew cannot be meat! It is very common [among us-trans] that we are not even sincere to our parents, then how can we be sincere to anyone else! <*Trans has never experienced love, how can she love anyone*> Love is unknown to her, she is brutalized since [*her*] childhood, has experienced hatred since her early days, has never been befriended, has always been ostracized, been isolated at home, she [*will*] never understand what love is. Neither from parents! Nor from siblings! Never from friends! *((palm beating))* [*She has*] spent [*her*] whole life as a recluse, she doesn't know about what love is. She seeks business in everything, she seeks exchanges in everything. → [In this scenario] I will ask only one thing; 'What will I get out of it?' I approach love this way, [*only*]. Love has no meaning to us!"

(Extract from a narrative interview: Reema, 35, Islamabad)

When she was probed as to why she used a plural (us) to make her point, she claimed that she has been long enough in the profession, to understand who khusra is, what her life is, how her life transitions, what her body goes through and what tolls her body takes for economic survival. Therefore, when she was asked about how she sees love. She replied with a generic response about a khusra life but weaved in how redundant an emotion love turns out to be and only money (business, *naarkay*- the words she often spoke of in her interview) is the final goal. Her response also put responses of many other respondents in the context; the one in which khusras and *zenanas* feign love, perform love, and use this emotion as an instrument for accruing economic benefits. With economic downturn, social discrimination, and limited survival opportunities, feigned romances turn out to be a safe bet.

A focus group discussion conducted in Kot Radha Kishan, provided another experimental and lived-in narrative of what love is, how love is confined by the heteronormative society, the unrequitedness of love of a *khusra* with a man, and the reflective take of group participants on why their feelings of love remain questioned and unrequited due to religiosity, societal conformism of men, and social unacceptance of integrating *khusras* and *zenanas* into a larger society. One such except which speaks of the themes as explained in the preceding text is provided as evidence, in the following text.

Ruby: Kisi se mohabbat krny se behtar hy khud se karo! Me to yehi behtar janti hu/

Sam:
/Hamesha mohabbat adhuri rehti hy.

Ruby: Koe iska result nahin hy, keh hy?

Me: Kis cheez ka?

Ruby: Hamary pyar ka?

Me: Hmmm!

Ruby: Kisi hadees me nahin hy, kisi tareekh me nahin hy. To sab jhoot hy, Jhoot kab tak-- koe mohbabat krta hi nahin hy, koe ehsas krta hy. Ehsas ko mohabbat nahin keh sakty. Jo hamdardi krta hy usko mohabbat nahin keh sakty. Mohabbat to mohabbat hoti hy! Koe mere sath hamdard ho aur me usko mohabbat ka naam de du keh, "Hae! mujh se mohabbat krta hy." Khud ko hi dhokha dena hy. Pata ani who mujy dekh ky, mera adhoorapun dekh ky mere sath ehsas krta ho. Lekin me smjh jao keh ye mera shohar ban gaya hy. Nahin! Ye bhe galat hy. Koe kehta hy, "Hae! ap kitni khoobsurat hy, apki adae bahut achi hain." Mere mangetar apki bueaty ki the. To us jhansay me na ajae. Kuch hoti hain jo a jati hain.

[TRANSLATED]

Ruby: Instead of loving [a man], love yourself! This is what I totally believe in/

Sam: /[Our]
love is always unrequited.

Ruby: [Our] love will never be responded; will it ever be?

Me: With what?

Ruby: With love?

Me: *Hmmm*!

Ruby: Our love has never been documented in religion or in history. It's all farce. Farce--no one loves us, if [a man] shows concern for me, then I cannot claim that he loves me. The one who extends support cannot be named a lover, nor his emotion of support as love. Love is love! If someone is kind to me and I say, *"Hae! He loves me."* I will be delusional [in this situation]. His realization may stem from the way I am, I look or my incompleteness. [And], I start believing him as my husband. It is all wrong. There are a few who claim, *"Hae! How beautiful you look, you throw tantrums and your beauty is just like my fiancé's."* Please don't fall for this trap. There are a few who get trapped.

(Excerpt from a focus group discussion: Kot Radha Kishan)

6.2. Typology of Love

One recurrent theme which emerged from data was the typological classification of love. For some of the respondents, love was an instrument to achieve an end, for others normative construction of love was critical, to some love is sacred if its platonic and to a few desacralized if sex plays out as an instrumental correlate for love, and to most of the respondents, love is expressed through music (detailed in the following text).

6.2.1. Instrumental Conception of Love

The instrumentality of love is one of the ways respondents spoke of love, especially when they referred to their *girya* boyfriends. There are three verbatims from unstructured interviews conducted in all three locales and each one brings in how love is performed for some benefit-cash or kind. The last except alludes to *panpaisha* (prostitution) which is the dominant form of economic organization for the community. Therein, as well, money is the definitive factor.

[VERBATIM]
"Hello, hi! Meri bat suno. Mujhay kal pachas hazar bhej do, mera pachas hazar ka bill hy na! Dekhy na! mera ghar hy na. Mera kamra hy ye….."
[TELEPHONIC CONVERSATION]

[TRANSLATED]

"Hello, hi! Listen to me. Send me fifty thousand rupees tomorrow, I have a bill of fifty thousand to pay! Please understand *na*! I have a rent to pay *na*. I have a room….."

(Extract from a narrative interview: Bano, 28, Mansehra)

In this extract a *zenana* is speaking to one of her *giryas*. She is asking him to pay fifty thousand rupees as her *dera* rent. The tone is romantic and flirtatious. By the end of her almost an hour-long conversation, he agreed to send her the rent. This girya pays for her *dera* rent. The other one pays for her monthly household expense and the last one for gas, water and electricity bills. In addition to this, she earns through dance functions and *panpaisha*. She occasionally goes out for tola bazaar with her Saheli and *shoormi zenanas* and *khusras*.

[VERBATIM]

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"Bheelay kalam nato, cheesa! Bheelay kalam nato, cheesa! Dus karak katkay, please jaan.
[VOICE MESSAGE ON WHATSAPP CONVERSATION]

[TRANSLATED]

"Don't beat about the bush, beautiful man! Don't beat about the bush, beautiful man! [Please send me] ten thousand [rupees], *jaan*.

(Extract from an episodic interview: Nimi, 24, Rawalpindi)

In the above extract, a *khusra's* voice note impinges upon ten thousand rupees which she is assertively demanding from his girya. She is asking her girya to '*bheelay kalam nato*', which indicates a sense of command one has over another person. Since she knows she has command over her girya and the *girya* also knows that once infuriated she will contact another *chaamka*, so he complies. He complied this time, too. There is also a performance in her use of words (such as *jaan*) and in her tonality to seduce girya to release more money. She also referred to her girya as *sonu* (another word for *jaan*), *sweetu* (a sweet person), and *cutu* (a cute boy), whenever she demanded cash or kind or cash for kind from him.

[VERBATIM]
"Cheesi shoormi, ghanghor nahin hy mere jaan! Bus samajh ly, Jithay wekha tawa parat, uthay guzaari rat."

[TRANSLATED]

"[My] beautiful sister, it's not that difficult to understand, my friend! Just keep in mind, [I] give in sexually when price offered to me is high."

(Extract from an interview: Jimi, 20, Kot Radha Kishan)

In this extract, a *khusra* while referring me as a *cheesi* (beautiful) *shoormi* (sister), after having discussed at length about her reasons for earning through *panpaisha*, her unfulfilled sexual needs and emotional lacunae due to absence of a man in her life, said whenever she finds a well-paying client, she gives in. She also said that while being at *saalgirah* functions or dance functions, she eyes for a man who is financially sound. Looks, masculinity and handsomeness in a man (valued more than money as per a few respondents) are secondary to her, if a man will financially secure her. She gives in sexually very quickly in such situations, as well.

6.2.2. Normative Conception of Love

The normative construction of love doesn't factor in how handsome a man is, how financially sound he is, to what extent he will help her increase her clientele, how much monthly amounts he sends her and what items of basic and conspicuous consumption he sends her. It's a relationship based on friendship. There is love and attraction but once developed the khusras and zenanas try to not be sexual with men with whom they are in such relationships with.

[VERBATIM]

Ho hae! Woh yeh taluq nahin hy. Woh ek normal tareeqa hy. Woh ek attachment hy. Koe us me shadi wala scene nahin hy na. <u>DOSTI HAY NA. DOST KON HOTA. YEHE TO HOTA HY</u>. Mere, na uski, koe expectations nahin theen. Dost se ab kia expectations ho! Dost ka yehi matlab hy keh mere har achay buray waqt me mere sath khara hoga. Mujhay zaroorat hogi to ae ga. Mere zaroorat hogi to me ao gi. Lekin esa b nahin hy keh har waqt ek dusre ki zaroorat parhi rahy. Ek asra hi hota hy. °Agr me pareshasn hoti hu, usay phone kr lete hu, share krti hu tou usny koe hul to nahin kr dena, na. Woh tassali hi dega, acha chalo mat kro, acha chalo strong hojao. Theek hojao, kuch ni hota. Ho jae ga° Yehe support hoty hy aur kia hoty hy.

[TRANSLATED]

Ho hae! My relationship is not like that [*girya*]. Mine is a normal relationship. Mine is an attachment. It doesn't involve marriage [with him], *na*. <u>THERE IS A FRIENDSHIP. WHO IS A FRIEND. [WHAT I HAVE] IS A FRIENDSHIP</u>. Neither I, nor he has any expectations [with each other]. What to expect from a friend! Friendship means that he stands beside me in thick and thin. He will be there when I need him. I will be there when he needs me. But that doesn't mean that we keep bothering each other all the time. He is just a hope for me. °I call on his cell number when I feel down, I share. It doesn't mean that he will come-up with solution or whatever. He solaces me, asks me to not stress out, asks me to stay string, be fine, don't worry, everything will be fine° This is the support I need, nothing else.

(A narrative interview: Nazo, 28, Rawalpindi)

Nazo responds this to a question if her relationship with her *girya dost* secure her financially. Since she knows many stories of her current and previous gurus and her contemporaries about girya as a financial and social security and many *khusras* and *zenanas* are in such relationships due to socio-economic necessity, so to sustain these relationships, sex is a driving factor, so is feigned romance. Through her interview, she was very clear that she doesn't perform this much

as performance is for *tamashbeen*, not for that person with whom a khusra or zenana falls in true love with. For Nazo, that man is a true friend, a support system, a relationship based on reciprocity, respect, and equality. Nazo is a strong independent individual who speaks proudly of living on her own terms without any support from any her giryas or community members. she doesn't believe in promiscuity, *panpaisha* and multiple giryas for material security. That is why, in her response, she talks about the process of a relationship (sharing, caring, supporting, and uplifting) than any conclusive outcome (*pakki*, marriage, *dera* rent, cash/kind entitlements, etc.).

6.2.3. Sacralized (*dosti*) and De-sacralized (*mashooqi*) Conception of Love

[VERBATIM]

Jahan sex ho wahan dost nahin, girya ajata hy. Agar meny ek dafa, do dafa, char dafa zaroorat puri krwa leen-- meny ek sal puri krwa leen, me to phir uk gae, thak gae, mujy to ab naya chehra chaeye, naya jism chaeye. Usko bhe naya roop, jism, chehra chaye. Woh bhe thak gaya hy kar kar ke mery sath. Theek hy na. girya wo hy. Do, chaar, cheh…phir jan churae. Phir naya khoobsurat larka, chera dekha to peechay parh gae. Dosti to-- pure dosti ka taluq hota hy. <Jis bndy se woh paishay se satisfied hojae usi ko apna girya bana lety hy. Agr wo mutmaeen na hwe to woh banda badal lete hy> Baaz girye ko dete hain. Baaz girye se lete hain. Agr mere girye ke pas pesa hy woh ameer hy, to woh mujhay kabhi kabar pesay de de ga. Agr mere girye ke pas pesay ni hain, gareeb hai, kam sham nahin krta to me usko dete hu.

[TRANSLATED]

When there is sex involved, there is no *dost*, only a *girya*. If he fulfills my sexual needs once, twice, four times…I will eventually be fed-up– even for a year, I will be tired of him, I will be looking for a new face, new body. He will be looking for new beauty, body, face. He will be eventually fed up of doing me. Got it, *na*! this is who a *girya* is. Two times, four times, six times…then running away. If found a new handsome man, [she] will be after him. Friendship is– pure relationship is friendship. *<The one she gets sexually satiated with, he becomes her girya, if not satisfied, she substitutes with another man>* A few receives money from a *girya*. A few gives money to a *girya*. If I have a rich *girya* he will occasionally give me money. If he is poor, doesn't earn, then I will give him money.

(Excerpt from a Focus Group Discussion: Zubi, 30, Mansehra)

The defining feature which marks the difference between sacralized, and desacralized love is sexual intimacy. As Zubi explains in the excerpt above that once sex is involved love becomes desacralized. Without sex, love stays sacred. As shared by respondents, that in most of the

situations, its sex with *giryas* in long-term relationships which secures *khusras* and *zenanas* from absolute or relative poverty. So, building sexual intimacy with giryas is not always driven by sexual needs but as a survival necessity. In either of the cases (sexuality of survivability), love becomes desacralized if sex in involved.

6.2.4. Musical

Another typological classification of love is musical. Many a times when respondents, irrespective of their *nirban/uqwi* status or geographic differences were asked about how they define love, their usual and first responses were, "*Hae*!" or "*Uff*", which were then followed up by Lollywood Punjabi and Bollywood songs. In the following table are mentioned some of the songs which the respondents sung. There were observed variations in the songs depicting how do the respondents think of what love is. Based on these songs, three song types are categorized in the first column and in the second column are the lyrics of the parts of the songs sung by the respondents. Three categories of song types are longing, titillating and romantic, which depicted either a respondent's state of mind and heart being in love relationship, or a general world view of love based on her experiences. In some instances, the respondents sang just to duck a tricky question, but I used song type sung by the respondents to probe more about their understanding of love.

Song Type	Lyrics of the Parts Sung by the Respondents
Longing **(Falls within the Normative Conceptualization)**	- *"Zindagi tamasha banrhi, dunia da haasa banrhi, kidhy wi ni pyar milya, hae."* ((singing)) The song is an elucidation of a *khusra's* or a *zenana's* life becoming a circus for all wherein a person becomes an object of social mockery. The respondent who sang this song shared that despite their social capital among men, they don't find a true love and a sustained long-term relationship which they always seek for. - *"Miliyan tu sajna ve, meriyan saawan a gaiya, aja hunrh a wi ja, na kar bekarar."* ((singing)) The respondent who sang this song had a recent breakup with a man with whom she had been in a relationship for 8 years. This song sparked conversation about how she is holding up after the breakup, what led to the breakup, and the transient nature of these relationships. - *"Tujhay yaad na mere ae, kisi se ab kia kehna."*

	((singing)) The respondent had 5-year relationship with a man whom she has approved to get married with a woman. When asked about the instable and short-lived nature of these relationships, the respondent replied, 'Ki karye!' ('What can be done!'). The emotion of inevitability of occurrence of these relationships and the subsequent heartbreaks are the recurrent responses collected from field data.
Titillating **(Falls within the Instrumental and Desacralized Conceptualization)**	- *"Saari raat laween we tu nasha we, tu we laween me we lawan maza we, fir notaan da wekhi tu kamal sajna, kutti churi naal howaan geen halal sajna." ((singing))* The song is famous on one of the social media platforms where a few transgender persons perform and upload their videos. The respondent when asked as to how this song depicts love, replied, '*Bass! Esa hi to hota he. Aur kia he pyar?*' ('What else! Love is like this, what else?') - *"Ik wari kari yah azar wari, menu lorh payar di yaar barhi."* *((singing))* The respondent here, brings in sexual intimacy while articulating what love is and holds the view that without sexual intimacy, there is no love. - *"Menu nag isshuq da larhya, eda zeher tu choos le arhya."* *((singing))* Again, when probed about how this song explains love, she replied that love is intoxicating and poisonous just like a snake. She also claims that once men fall for a *khusra*, she lures them through her sexuality and beauty.
Romantic **(Falls within the Sacralized Conceptualization)**	- *"Tera naam hatheli par likh ke issay choomti rehti hoon."* *((singing))* The application of *henna* (*mehndi*) on hands is common among *khusras* and *zenanas*. Writing names in hidden ways in elaborated mehndi designs is also very common. This particular song refers to the above-mentioned common practice. - *"Ae hy ye rat nasheeli, iski hur ek baat nasheli, tu bhe haan kar lay nashaa. Mere jaan, mere jaan mere jaan."* *((singing))* The song, though sounding titillating lyrically, is grouped under romantic because of the respondent who sang this. The respondent's girya lover is in UAE (till date) and often they share romantic songs; the current one (as mentioned above) being the absolute favorite. - *"Jaway kacheya garheya tera kiway kara aitbar. Tu ishq samandar ki tarna, tu do challa di maar."* *((singing))* The current song, while referring to one of the famous folklores, signifies

	the transient nature of any romance-based love relationships and more significantly, of a *zenana/khusra* relationship with a *girya*.

Marsden (2007) while problematizing the age at marriage, consent, and romantic dispositions in Chitral, also makes interesting observations about the role of Ghazals and Bollywood in expressing old and new forms of romantic love. The author explains that one way through which people framed their experiences of love, in the past, was by expressing it through romantic love poetry (ghazal), which is played across houses in cassettes in a peculiar type of gathering called mehfil. The lyrical and musical compositions speak of longing, pain, lovesickness, separation, and class-, religious-, and sectarian-divides, in romantic relationships. Contrarily, in current times, the expression of love as framed by recent DVD and cassette culture is more sex-forward. This sex-romance nexus is credited to the infiltration of Bollywood songs which convey commercialized, sexual, and economic interpretations of romantic love. The songs as presented in the table above are variant manifestations of love; some romantic, some sexual, some vulgarized and some normative. The connective thread is of music which provides an indirect indication of what love is for *zenanas* and *khusras*.

6.2.5. Levels to Love: The Men and the Emotional Attachment

One last typology of love exists with respect to men and emotional attachment they develop with them, as detailed in the following box.

With respect to men
The men in *khusra/zenana* life are characterized according to their financial status and beauty. A beautiful man is a masculine one who is tall, has fair or wheatish complexion, has broad chest and moustache. If a man who has these looks is also rich, then he is called *Wadeela*. A *Wadeela* is the most demanded and highly valued in the community. On the other end of the extreme is a *Phukar* who neither has good looks, nor has any money. A *Phakur* is the least in demand. In between these two extremes lies a *Chamka*, *Bheela* and a *Cheesa*. During fieldwork, I observed many *Chamkay* (plural of a *Chamka*) and *Bheelay* (plural of *Bheela*). *Chamkay* are part of dance and *salgirah* functions, whereas Bheelay are the good-looking rowdy boyfriends. The clientele men who seek sexual services from *zenanas/khusras* are also included in the *tamashbeen* category. Tamashbeen are also the men who visit dance and salgirah functions as spectators. Zenanas and khusras keep a sharp eye on *tamashbeen* to find a potential *cheesa* or a *wadeela*

girya. *Bheelay* are usually despised among zenanas and khusras as these have access to weapons and drugs. These are the men who forcefully extract money from zenanas and khusras, force them into providing *panpaisha* services to other *bheelay* or *tamashbeen*, are possessive and obsessive about their zenanas and khusras, trap them, attack them and in many cases kill them, especially if they find about promiscuity of their love-interests.

- ***Phukar*** (empty pockets): least in demand, these men live on the earnings of zenanas/khusras.
- ***Chamka*** (*tamashbeen* and loaded): the spectators in dance and salgirah functions or the ones who visit zenana/khusra deras. These are important men as it is among these a potential Cheesa or a Wadeela is selected.
- ***Bheela*** (good looking men who may be loaded): These are good looking boyfriends who are ill-willed, rowdies or are part of criminal gangs. Some of them also function as pimps to zenanas/khusras. Due to their established social capital and access to rich clientele, gurus befriend them. Therefore, I observed that most of the *bheelay* are embedded in the community, have access to internal information, know the Farsi Chand language well and a few spoke it very fluently.
- ***Cheesa*** (handsome and loaded): These are the rich handsome looking men who pay for the transportation, household expenditures, conspicuous consumption and *salgirah* functions of *zenanas/khusras*.
- ***Wadeela/Sareela*** (masculine, handsome and loaded): These are the epitome in terms of beauty, masculinity and economic standards. These are the men who, in addition to meeting the needs as met by a *Cheesa* man (stated above), also takes a zenana or a khusra to shopping malls, increase her visibility among his friend circles, take her to local and international trips and in rare cases introduces her to his family.

With respect to emotional attachment

The levels to love are not only dependent on the looks of a man but also on the level of love a *zenana* or a *khusra* is emotionally attached to a *girya* lover. The need to be loved by a man and the need to be in a love-based relationship with a man is driven by multiple factors. Hence, the reasons are contextual ranging from emotive, sexual, existential to economic and instrumental reasons. Some of the levels to love as collected from zenanas and khusras while conducting interviews are narrated in the following text:

- ***Dilagi****:* relationship marked by physical attraction, sexual availability, and promiscuity
- ***Mashooqi****:* relationship marked by sexual availability, short-term commitments, and economic exchanges
- ***Chahat****:* relationship marked by long-term commitment, sexual availability, and economic exchanges
- ***Dosti****:* long-term relationship marked by emotional availability and economic exchange-gifts

Many respondents crave to be in love-based relationships based on *dosti* (friendship) but as explained earlier in this chapter that in such relationships there isn't any financial obligation on

either of the parties, so zenanas and khusras despite believing in this relational arrangement are more into *Chahat* and *Mashooqi* in which there are all three factors involved; the sex, the money and the emotional proximity (which in many cases is more staged and feigned for instrumental reasons- money, cash, bills, rents, transportation, etc.)

Anthropological literature on love has earlier on focused on theorizing romantic and passionate love. The Eurocentric and heteronormative literature has largely associated romance, passion, and compassion to be characteristically associated with the Western societies. More recent scholarship suggests that love in its varied emotional ideations such as passion, intimacy, compassion and emotional and sexual proximity are universal phenomena. In this regard, Karandashev (2015) highlights a study by Jankowiak and Fischer (1992) who identified romantic love in 166 cultures. The authors identified different indicators of love such as tales of love, young couples talking about passionate love, singing love songs, articulating feelings of infatuation, longing, belonging and anguish. 88.5 percent of the cultures identified being in love which signified presence of romantic love in cultures. The study also signified that romantic expression of love is culturally regulated and socially confined; these factors have an impact on how people fall in love, how they express love to each other, and how they behave in culturalized romantic settings. Buss (1994) signifies that dependable character, emotional stability, maturity, and pleasant character are the key features people find in lovers. Wallen (1989) highlights physical features, looks, economic prospects and higher social status as the key factors one considers while selecting partners. The selection criteria for male partners in zenanas and khusras are not very different from the findings of above-cited anthropological studies. The criteria to fall for a man are driven by instrumental factors such as financial soundness of a *girya* lover, physical attraction, along with social status and cultural capital he owns. The idea of romantic love, however, is only corroborated by those *zenanas* and *khusras* who were in *dosti* relationships. In these relationships the economic exchanges are gift-based, without any compulsive and compulsory socio-economic exchanges which, on the other extreme, is a definitive feature of relationships based on *Mashooqi* and *Chahat*. Without necessary arrangements related to finance and monthly expenditures, *Mashooqi* and *Chahat* relationships do not sustain for a longer period. Sexual intimacy also plays a key role in the longevity of these relationships. Therefore, these relationships are more passionate (*chahat*) in nature than romantic (*ashqi*).

CHAPTER 7

STRUCTURE AND DYNAMICS OF LOVE

The current chapter responds to the research question on the structure and dynamics of love. The structure of love is explained by the social actors involved in a love-based relationship- the *zenana*/*khusra* and a *girya*, in this context. The dynamics explore the relational dynamics of romantic predilection, instrumentality of emotions, feigned emotions, as well as feelings of genuine, selfless, and unconditional love. The chapter also explores that why is it important to have a *girya* in a *khusra* or *zenana* life, what is the longevity of such relationships, are such relationships sustainable, how does love play out in sustaining such relationships, and what is the role of *gurus* in such relationships. The data elicited on these themes is presented in textual formats. For signifying individualized narratives, case studies have been woven within relevant themes.

7.1. Girya

Girya is a man with whom a *khusra* or a *zenana* develops an emotionally proximal relationship with or are forced to be with for professional and monetary reasons. Sometimes, he is referred to as a husband, as a boyfriend or as a pimp who helps in expanding the *chamkay* or *tamashbeen*. In the following text (under heading 6.1.1.), Nuchi (a *khusra* from Mansehra) explains who a *girya* is and his positioning in a *zenana* or *khusra* life. The text below explains who *girya* is, *guru-girya* exploitative relationship, the role of *girya* as a provider, and the dynamic of love defined along the axis of instrumentality and agency of *zenanas* and *khusras* while being in love with a *girya*.

7.1.1. Girya: A Lover?

Nanda (1999) does not term a man with whom Hijras develop long term relationship as a *girya*, but the author explains the romantic inclinations of a Hijra for a man in her life for whom she not only develops a long-term relationship with but also starts living as her wife in her *dera*. One such case study explained in Nanda (1999)'s ethnography explains this relational dynamic wherein a Hijra resided with a man as his wife doing domestic chores including cooking,

cleaning, and washing clothes for him. The man, in return, fulfills his responsibilities of providing financial and social security to her. This normative arrangement based on mutual economic sharing, emotional affiliation and sexual availability is not always the situation. Reddy (2006) in her ethnographic research on transgenders of Hyderabad, India, narrates stories of idealization of marriage, yearning for love and acceptance, and a quest to find men (*pantis*) as their husbands. Reddy (2006) does not necessarily explain how do *hijras* find *pantis* and what are the socio-sexual spaces they develop relationships in, with each other, but she details about the importance of a *panti* in a *hijra* life. Their yearning to be in a *jodi* with a *panti* is also reflective of an ideal man who doesn't drink alcohol, who is kind, and who is not violent- all the qualities are majorly lacking among men with whom they are in a relationship with. Their idea of an ideal marriage with a man is also driven by a yearning for companionship- with a man who stays with them, who has a regular job, who brings them gifts and returns their love. The domestic division of labor is also gendered between a *panti* and a *hijra*. Reddy (2006) details about a *hijra* who serves, cooks, and cleans whenever her *panti* comes to see her. Domestic responsibilities of cooking, cleaning, washing, and sewing are a wife's duties and a *hijra*, in addition to performing these wifely duties, is also required to avoid promiscuity in public. The senior *hijras* disapprove of these relationships as such relationships slur the ideal asexual identity (ascetic) of *hijras*.

When Nuchi was asked about who the *girya* is, she came up with the following response.

[VERBATIM]

Nuchi: *GIRYAY! PYAR! JAWE PAINRHA! Girya hota hy gira hwa insan, gira hwa mard. Dalal sift mard. Giryay agar pyar krtay hain, pesay detay hain tou phir wohi giryay qatal bhe krty hain. Jitney bhe qatal hwe hain who giryu ne kye hain. Har jaga, sirf Peshawar nahin, har jagah har shehar me qatal hwe hain, Faisalabad me bhe hwe hain… Sahiwal me… jahan bhe ap jaen. Giryay hi moortu ko qatal krty hain. Woh jo puray hall ka kharcha uthata hy na, phir isi bat pe usko qatal bhe kr deta hy. Keh tuny kisi or ka phone kiyun uthaya hay. Tuny kisi or se bat kiyun ki hy. Theek hy na. Aur, aur woh jo khrcha uthata hy, wapas wasool bhe kr leta hy saalgirah khatam hony ky bad. Jo pesay itny girty, wahan urae jaty hain, woh wasool bhe ho jatay hain. Nam bhe girya ka, credit bhe girya ka, jo khusra hoti hy woh wahan phas jati hy. Qaid ho jaty hy.*

Nuchi: *GIRYAY*! LOVE! GOAWAY, SISTER! A *girya* is a lowlife person, a lowlife man. A pimp-natured man. The same *girya* who loves and spends, also kills. All the murders in the community are committed by *giryay*. Everywhere, not even in Peshawar, in every place, in every city, in Faisalabad… in Sahiwal… wherever you go. It is always *giryay* who murder *moortay*. The one who bears the expenditure of booking a hall [for *saalgirah*], also murders for the same reason, that, "why have you picked so and so's call? why have you talked to anyone else" Understood *na*. And one more thing, the one who spends also receives [*sometimes more than he spends*] after *saalgirah* function finishes. The money which is showered [*during dance performances*], he is the one who receives all of it. A *girya* is accredited [*for this grandeur*] due to which a *khusra* gets entrapped.

(Extract from an interview: Nuchi, 38, Kot Radha Kishan)

Nuchi explains that a *girya* is an exploitative man who agrees to be in a financial arrangement with a *khusra* only when she is willing to meet his demands. His demands are based on his entitlement over her mundane daily activities of receiving phone calls, socializing with other men to financing her dance and *salgirah* functions, and owning all the money he spends in such functions. She also shared that many *moortay* are murdered by their *giryas*. When probed why is this so, the responses varied; jealousy of having more than one *girya*, of earning more than their *giryas*, financial independence of *zenanas* and *khusras*, and unfaithfulness and promiscuity of *khusras* and *zenanas*. Anjali, in the following excerpt, has also highlighted the controlling nature of *zenanas* and *khusras*, but has not described the extremes as highlighted by Nuchi in her interview. Anjali describes the relationship with her *girya* as a regular one in which occasional arguments, followed by making amends. Her response, in addition to typifying his insecurity due to her perceived promiscuity, is also highlighting his demands to not socialize her *zenana* and *khusra* friends. Her socialization is basically the reason which disturbs him the most, and hence the reason of arguments between them.

[VERBATIM]

Anjali: *Rakha hwa hy banda dus saal se. Mera acha taluq hy usky sath, kabhi kabar jhagra hojata hy uske sath. Lekin sula bhe hojati hy. Jhagra hota hy jesay kiyun aya tha, kis se baat kar ri the, meray elawa kisay phone kia hy, inn dostu se nahin milna, tumhy mana kia tha, cigarette nahin peeni…*

[TRANSLATED]

Anjali: I have been in a relationship with a man. It's been ten years. I am in good terms with him. There are occasional arguments but eventually he makes amends. He fights over for instance, why has he [some other man] visited you, whom you were talking to, who else were you talking over the phone call, don't meet your friends, I forbade you, don't smoke cigarettes…

(Interview excerpt: Anjali, 30, Kot Radha Kishan)

Katrina situates her opinions about maintaining a stable relationship with a man (she calls him a *dost*). She also explains that the relationship with a *dost* is not instrumental for extraction and appropriation. It is rather a reciprocal relationship. When I probed her about the sufficiency of love in such relationships, she provided with an alternate explanation. An excerpt from her interview is detailed in the following text.

[VERBATIM]

Katrina: *Dost hay keh achay waqt me saath detay hain. Aur keh lo keh acha bura waqt sath hay hamaray. Mere pe agar koe tension hay to woh meri mushkil hal karta hay. Agar us pe koe tension hay to hum log bhe karty hain. Yeh nahin keh woh khudi ek hi banda hay, usi pe sara bojh dal dia hay keh wohi kari jae, wohi karo jae. Jo pakay hain woh ek dusre ka ehsas kar letay hain. Aur jo professionally kar rahain hain na woh kehtay hain keh bus ana chaeye, jana nahin chaeye. Ye mere dost hain, yeh sab janti hain. Mere ghumi, Khushi me isny mere sath rehna hay. Agar ispe koe masla hay to me ny karna hay.*

Me: *Iss dost se kesi zarurat puri hoteen hain?*

Katrina: *Roohani, mali, jismani, sab. Bahut kam log esay hain jo ek dusre ka ehsas karty hain. Warna ziada sirf pesa dekhtay hain.*

Me: *Kia iss taluq me pyar sab kuch hay?*

Katrina: *Khali taluq se pait nahin bharha ja sakta, iss line me. Theek hay na! Taluq bhe hay. Pyar bhe hay. Har cheez karni parhty hai. Aj kal ke dor me konsi cheez pesu se beghair milti hai. Han, pyar hay. Hum log kartay hain. Jitna ho sakay. Lekin pesa bhe zaruri hay, iske lye.*

[TRANSLATED]

Katrina: My *dost* is always there for me in bad and good times. He pulls me out of difficult situations, I pull him out of difficult situations, as well. We are always available for each other in difficult times. It's not that he alone takes care of me all the time. I don't put all the burden on him all the time. Those who are in consistent and stable relationships, genuinely care for each other. Those who have turned these relationships into a profession, they only believe that money should come in, not go out. All these are my friends, they know it all. They know that in my happy and sad times, he will always be there for me. And, in his difficult times, I will be a provider.

Me: Which needs does he fulfil?

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Katrina: Spiritual, financial, sexual, all. There are very few left who care for each other. Otherwise, most are interest in money, only.

Me: Is money all that matters in such relationships?

Katrina: In this profession, mere relationship doesn't feed an empty stomach. Do you get me? Love is important. But other things are important too. Nothing can be secured without money. Yes, love is there. We love [our men], as much as we can. But for this love to sustain, money is also critical.

(Extract from narrative interview: Katrina, 41, Mansehra)

7.1.2. Guru-Girya: An Exploitative Complex

Some of the responses, elaborated in the following two excerpts, brings in *guru* in the *zenana*/*khusra* and *girya* relational dynamic. I asked all the respondents I interviewed about how they got to know about a special man in her life, where did she meet him first, was there anyone who helped in setting-up, etc. These questions sparked pluri-vocal opinions. A few met them while being on *panpaisha*, others in dance and *salgirah* functions, a few through common friends and many through a *guru*. When I asked Lado, what role does *guru* play out in this, she replied:

[VERBATIM]

Lado: Asal me jo dalal fitrat ke bndy hoty hain na guru unko bhanp leta hy. Wohi phir girye bnty hain. Am mard to phir kothay ke upar ni aky rehty na. Usko pata hy keh uska partner sex work krta hy, dance bhe krta hy, me function krny gae hu mjy hazar bnda cherh raha hy aur mera boyfriend mera intezar kr rha hy!!! Esay tou ni hota na, esa ho to woh to chorh de ga. Woh kahay ga tum to achi ni ho, tum to itny logu ke pas jati ho, me tum pe kesay trust kru. Giryay jesay dalal fitrat ke mard aty hain sex ke lye, unme se guru bhanp leti hy keh inme se ye ye dalal fitrat ky hain. Unhu ny iss cheez ko qabool kr lena hy. Wohi girya phir function pakr ke la rha hota hy, wohi girya function pe bhe leky jarha hota hy. Theek hy na! woh phir numaish laga rha hota hy. Ye ek sara culture hy elehda say. Zahiri bat hy jahan naiqa hy, tawaif hy to ek dalal bhe to chaeye na!

[TRANSLATED]

Lado: *Guru* keeps an eye on finding pimp-natured men. That's how those men become *girye*. Regular men don't start living in the *kotha*. He knows that his partner is into sex work, dances [at functions], if I am at a function then I am being touched [inappropriately] by many men, and [in all of it] my man is waiting outside for me!!! A [*non-girya*] guy will leave me for good if he gets to know about me. He would say that you are corrupt, you are promiscuous, how can I trust you. *Giryay* are our pimp-natured clients and it's the *guru* who selects among them based on their acceptance of our lifestyles. Then the same *girya* secures [dance functions] for us, the same escorts us to functions. Understanding *na*! He is the one who exhibits us [to *tamashbeen*]. This is

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an entirely [exploitative] culture. <u>It's obvious that when there is a female chief, a prostitute then a male pimp will also be needed *na*!</u>

<div align="right">(Extract from a narrative interview: Lado, 32, Kot Radha Kishan)</div>

Lado equates *girya* with a pimp who raises the clientele of *khusras* and *zenanas* for prostitution. The *girya* functions on the directions of a *guru*. A *girya* brings more *chamkay* and *tamashbeen* to a *kotha* (*dera*), hence increasing the clientele. A *girya* is also comfortable with the arrangement of her *khusra* prostituting in a *dera* where he also resides. Lado explains that a regular lover man will not tolerate this behavior, but a *girya* does. And, in this case, he is the one who feigns romance with a *zenana/khusra,* and they believe in this. The *guru-girya* association is a controlling complex which bounds *khusra/zenana*, financially and socially.

Tabu, also substantiates, *guru-girya* as an exploitative complex. She further explains that a *khusra* signs up for this because she cannot have a man in her life in any other way. She takes refuge in a *dera* and must succumb to the conditions of *dera* lifestyle. Tabu also calls this complex as a mafia and this practice, slavery. She also highlights that this exploitation is ingrained and rooted in the indigenous settings of a *khusra* life, which is not often talked about in the public discourse.

<div align="center">

[VERBATIM]

</div>

***Tabu**: Guru ye sara plan, islye krta hy keh woh bhag na jae idhar se. Ye bound rhy. Agr ye bhagny ki koshish kry to me nahin to iska girya ise mar dalay. Kiyun ke am zindagi me to woh girya ni na rakh skti. Us giryay ko to who mohol chaeye. Who mohol na mily guru ka to who kesay ghar me to ni rakh skti. Me apny ma bap ke samny bta skti hu keh mera khasam hy, mera boyfriend hy? Guru kahay ga tmhara khasam aya hy, ay tera banda hy, ay tera khasam ayah ay, ay tera girya aya hy. Tou ye is culture ke andar ye sab kuch hy. Ye culture ek mafia ka culture hy. Wahan trafficking bhi hori hy, bechana khareedna bhe horha hy. Baz auqat girya khareed ky le jata hy. Slavery hy na bilkul. <u>YE EK ESA MUJRIMANA JAHALANA CRIMINAL FACE HY SOCIETY KA, ISKO CHUPAYA JATA HY, MANZAR-E-AAM PE NAHIN LAYA JATA.</u>*

<div align="center">

[TRANSLATED]

</div>

Tabu: *Guru* executes this plan so that [a *khusra*] doesn't run away [from this system]. [So that] she remains bound. If not me, then her girya will kill her if she tries to run away. Because she is also very much aware of the fact that she cannot have a *girya* with her in her usual life. Can I introduce him to my parents that so and so is my husband, so and so is my boyfriend? *Guru* is acceptable to [this arrangement], guru will say, "your husband is here, *ay* your man is here, *ay* your girya has come to see you" This is what this culture entails. [I call] this a mafia culture.

Here, trafficking is taking place, buying, and selling is also common. Sometimes, *girya* also pays a price [to *guru*] to get us. It's like slavery *na*! <u>THIS IS THE CRIMINAL IGNORANT FACE OF [our] SOCIETY WHICH IS PURPOSEFULLY HIDDEN FROM THE PUBLIC EYE</u>.

<div align="right">(Interview extract: Tabu, 30, Islamabad)</div>

7.1.3. Girya: A Provider?

One of the key themes of transactional sex, a critical concept of political economy of love, is the provider role performed by lover boyfriends. The concept not only details the poverty and deprivation as the reasons for sexual minorities to opt for such relationships, but also highlights the agency that those men and women develop by being in relationships with their boyfriends. Based on this assertion, I asked questions related on does a *girya* play a provider role, is *girya* always exploitative, is he always controlling, insecure and violent, do my respondents use their bodies and sexualities to lure their *giryas* and keep extracting cash and kind from their *giryas* and many other probing questions based on their responses and willingness to respond. Some of the overarching responses are detailed in the text below.

<div align="center">[VERBATIM]</div>

Saba: *Pehly umar ghat si. Te o zada log invite kardy si. Acha samjhday si. Kehndy si ay bacha koola jaya, aenu pharho, Te ay cheezan chest wagera, agy nikal andy hondy si, te o pasand kardy si. Mere wal e stelish hondy si. Wig iss tarha di lae hondi si keh genuine lady si, te gundya jism si, te acha lagda. Saray loki peseya di cha kar dendy si. Mera ik dost si, nasir oda naa si. O England gaya hoya si. Kafi onhu menu pesa wi dita si; zewrat pesa, hur cheez, enjoy wagera. Unha de gao wich mela lgda ay na. te uthay dance karan gae si, tey unhannu pasand agaya. Unha ne wekhya, pesay wi ditay, number wi le laya. Te bad which o milay te pyar o gaya. Mere lye tey sab kuch pesa hi tha. Usky rehny ke bawajud bhe meny bahut kuch kia. Pesa kamaya bahir se, melu pe, udy tu wi pesay lenrhy, te baru b pesay kamae.*

<div align="center">[TRANSLATED]</div>

Saba: When I was younger more people used to invite me. They were all my fans. They used to say get this cute kid. I used to swell up my chest which [I] loved. My hair was very stylish too. I used to wear a wig such that my hair looked real. My body was bulky which [men] also liked. I used to get showered with money. I had one close friend [*girya*] whose name was Nasir. He was from England. He used to shower money on me including jewelry, everything…we had spent many joyful moments together. We first met at a mela in his village. He saw me, liked me, gave me his number and money. Later, we met and clicked with each other. We fell in love. For me everything was money, I have done it all [earned from *mela*, dance, etc.] despite him in my life. I used to get money from him, and from outside, too.

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Saba, despite residing in a *dera* under her *guru* in Kot Radha Kishan, has chosen her own *girya* with whom she had managed a 10-year long relationship. Not only she convinced *guru*, but she also managed to earn through prostitution and dance functions (both forms of socio-economic organization where many possibilities of socialization and getting into relationships with men come up). One reason she has been able to do this, is that her *girya* was not a pimp residing in the *dera*, so she was able to compartmentalize her personal and professional lives. Money was an important factor in keeping this relationship going for Saba as she herself asserts, 'for me, everything was money'. Hence, her *girya* provided for her; both in cash and kind, which she added up with earnings from dancing at *mela* functions and prostitution.

[VERBATIM]

Khurmi*: Paka ni rakhya me kadi. Zindagi wich e. Ae te jae, ah! Away, satay mar, ghutham guthi, te fir pa, salamalaikum. Muhabbat kar li jae, wah wah sonrha barha, jenrha dil nu sorha lgy onhu rakh lae da, aath din ah! Bass. Fir, dafa! Fir, nawa chehra. Khaya piya kari da. <u>Bass</u>!*

[TRANSLATED]

Khurmi: I have never been in a relationship with a single man. Come and go, *ah*! Come, pay me, have sex, then brother, bye. Love can be a thing when there is someone whom my heart likes but not more than eight days, Then, leave! The, a new face. All [I want] is enjoyment and money. <u>That's it</u>!

(Interview extract: Khurmi, 27, Mansehra)

Khurmi provides an insight into the transient nature of the relationships she develops with men she finds handsome and masculine. She is satisfied with two things; money that she secures from men and the sexual pleasure she derives from sexual intimacy. For her, sex-for-money exchanges with no emotional association, is a viable and practical arrangement. In this view, when she quotes 'eight days', she implied a man playing a provider role in exchange of sexual intimacy provided by her.

Commenting on the provider role, Shabo explains that her *girya* who was out of country at the time of interview, loves her, provides for her, and wishes to see her happy. Her previous *girya* was orally and physically abusive and many of their violent fights were due to her choice of

lifestyle (mingling with other *khusra* and *zenana* friends at *dera* and socializing with other men). She talked about how crucial is for her to have multiple men in her life due to economic depravity and COVID-19. Relying solely on one man is out of question.

[VERBATIM]

Shabo: *Baji, me ik hor naya banda rakhya ae, nawa. O bahr gaya ay, dainda lainda ay. Sara kuch mereya zaroortan puriyan karda ay. Me hasdi kheldi rawa. Jiwe me rawan, kehnda ay theek hy sonu reh. Har gal baat sahi hy udhay naal mere.*

[TRANSLATED]

Shabo: Sister, I am with a new man, these days. She is out of country these days. He provides for me, cares for me, looks after all my needs. He wishes for my happiness, wherever I go and live, he says, "I am fine with it, *sonu*." We are very compatible with each other.

(Interview extract: Shabo, 30, Rawalpindi)

Kiran in the excerpt below describes that her *girya* continued providing for her, but once he came to know about promiscuity of the respondent and the ways her *guru* (Kajal) created differences between her and *girya*, he left both. Kiran claims to have received six-seven lacs from her *girya*, in exchange she offered sex, but her relationship developed into a closer emotional one till Kajal badmouthed about Kiran to her *girya*. This professional rivalry and personal jealousy are palpable in other narratives as well wherein respondents spoke at length of aches and heartbreaks caused by *pakki shoormiyan*, *saheliyan* and *guru* when they snatched *giryas* from them or created misunderstanding between them.

[VERBATIM]

Kiran: *Uske sheher me circus laga tha Swat me. Wahan mulaqat hwe the. Wo mere peechay parha. Phir me uske peechay. Pehly meny use loota hy na, kharcha warcha. Pese. Zarurat puri ki. Jab mujhay us se muhabbat hwe who mujhay chorh gaya. Kajal ne usky samny ki esi batay, wo kehti the, 'hae wo do number hy, wo teen so me man jati hy, do so me man jati hy'. Lekin mujh us se tab muhabbat hwe jab me ny usay chorha. Pehly mujhay sirf pese se pyar tha. Usne mujhay che sath lakh rupya khila dia. Ye dekh ky jealous hogae Kajal. Me ghar gae, peechay se us ny mere bandy ko akhrot aur badam ke torhy dye. Bolti ye esi hy, wesi hy. Wo usko bhe chorh gaya, mujhay bhe. Usky bad se me timepass moorat hu. Koe agaya to theek hy warna so gae aram se.*

Kiran: A circus was organized in Swat. I met him there. He was after me from that day. Then I fell for him, too. I extracted a lot from him *na*. Expense, etc. Money… [He] met my needs. He left me once I fell for him. Kajal brainwashed him against me, she said that I was unfaithful, that I sell sex for two hundred rupees, for three hundred rupees. But I fell I love with him after he left me, for good. Before that all I was interested in was his money. He spent six, seven lacs on me which made Kajal jealous of us. I had to visit my village when she chanced upon him by offering him bundles of walnuts and almond. She said filthy things about my character. He left her, and me too. Since that time, I have become a timepass *moorat*. I prostitute if someone offers a good price, otherwise I am fine being all by myself.

(Interview extract: Kiran, 40, Rawalpindi)

7.2. Instrumentality of Love

In the text below, a few interview excerpts have been detailed about how *khusras* and *zenanas* understood of love, its relationship with money, the relative importance of each other, and if love is used as an instrument, then what is/are the reason/s behind it.

7.2.1. Agency at the Face of Adversity

Najo while explaining the importance of love and money and the relative importance of each other, detailed the hardships *khusras* go through. She clearly stated '*khali muhabbat*' which implies money-less money. She finds organic coalescence between the two where the man who loves must also meet economic needs, in cash, in utility bills, in trips, or in kind. She also narrates the adversities of a *khusra* life; '*bist bhe hona hy*', '*laitna*' and '*dikhana*' implies humiliation and prostitution as survival strategy. She explains that even at the face of this adversity and having faced such difficulties, if a person doesn't get anything out of it, then what is the point. She also classifies describes a group of men called *phaku*, who as she claimed is least demanded in the community due to his poverty. She also identifies *tamashbeen* (here she refers them to the regular clients) as the potential men she can fall for given he is loaded and willing to spend on her.

[VERBATIM]

***Najo**: Muhabbat kia iss time rakhti hy maeny. Muhabbat bhe ho to pesa bhe to ho. Khali muhabbat pait to ni bhar skti na mere jan. Khali muhabbat ko kia karay. Ab tum se bist bhe hona hy, dusry admi ke sath laitna, apna ap dikhana, me ye hu, kuch haasil bhe na ho tou kia faida. Pesa bhaut zaroori hy. Khali muhabbat kro to pait me kuch bhe na ho tou esi muhabbat to ni na*

chalti. Hur zaroorat puri honi chaeye. Agr nahin tum kr skrty to ye izhar mat kro keh me tumhara shohar hu, ya me tumhara dost hu, ya me tumhara girya hu. Am lokan di trha a te ja, fir.

Me: *Tamashbeen?*

Najo: *Wo to pesay wala hota hy na! Ise kehty hain phaku. Yani keh khali jaib. To phir wo ni na chalta. Wo humay acha ni lgta. Koe demand bhe puri na karay. Usko hum ne kia krna hy? Phir wo muhabbat nahin rehti. Phir wo ek taluq rehta hy am logu ki tarha.*

[TRANSLATED]

Najo: What is the importance of love in this time and age. Without money, love has no value. If there is love, then there must be money, as well. Solely love cannot fill an empty stomach, my *jaan*! What to do with love, only? We are insulted [by men], we get intimate, show ourselves [bodies], "See! I am this." and, [we] gain nothing out of it, what's the use of it! Money is critically important. Only love with an empty stomach isn't viable for us. Every need should be met. If [a man] cannot, then please don't express that, "I am your husband, I am your friend, I am your girya." In that case, visit us like normal visitors.

Me: *Tamashbeen*?

Najo: They have money. The ones I am referring to are phaku. Means, the empty pockets. We cannot keep going with them *na*. We don't like them, if they don't meet any of our demands. What's for us to get involved [with a *phaku*]? Then, there isn't any love. In that case, it's just a relationship with usual people.

(Interview: Najo, 32, Islamabad)

Tulsi is more candid while explaining what love is and what qualities and physical attributes the lover must have. Tulsi is a *nirban* hence her demands from a man are also very high. She spoke at length about how tall, broad-chested, and well-toned he should be to match her beauty and femininity. She also drew an analogy of cold drinks while explaining *girya*. She opines that *giryay* are dispensable, so are the relationships with them. She also detailed about the heartbreak when she found out about her *girya's* unfaithfulness, after which she believes that she cannot trust another man. She feels vulnerable but she doesn't let her vulnerability to take over practicality of her profession and unfaithful nature of the men in her life.

[VERBATIM]

Tulsi: *Pesay wala ho, sab se pehly. Haseen ho, khoobsurat ho, jo meray sath betha hwa khoobsurat lagay. Mard zat…ap insan ho, roz pepsi peetay ho to dil bhar jae ga, aj dil kry ga chal ni shehzan piyay. Mard bhe yehi hain. Dil bhar jae to naya piece dekhain. Mera girya esa kr ky wapas aya. Me ny kaha ni tu harjae hy. Inhu phur karwao, ty nawa janwar phasao, unho khao*

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piyo te lut maro. Fir sadi life wich pyar ni rehnda. Ek insan nal honda ay. Judh o dokha dainda ay, fir usi yehi kehndiya ne hur banda aeho jaya sanu pyar ni karda. Onhu lao, churi phero, toka huth ich phurh ke, to lao, te jao. ((laughs))

[*TRANSLATED*]

Tulsi: He should be loaded, first and foremost. Handsome, manly, the one who can match up to my beauty. Men…if you drink Pepsi on daily basis, you will get fed-up one day and would like to drink *shehzan* one day. Men are exactly like this. Once satiated, they look out for a new piece. My *girya* once did this to me. I told him right away, "You are unfaithful." Such men should be hushed away. And, after that trap a new animal [*girya*], extract from him and then throw them away. After which, we don't value love [in our lives]. We fall for one man only, after being betrayed by him we believe that all men are the same. Bring the [loaded ones] in, extract money from them, and the leave them.

(Interview extract: Tulsi, 26, Islamabad)

Khushboo, *uqwi* from Mansehra, explained that she had the choice of leaving her previous *girya* as he was possessive, controlling and wanted her to subservient to his undue demands and untimely sexual needs. The agency of choice, of using body and sexuality for economic entitlements, and of emotionally giving in and moving out, are some of the examples of how despite living at the face of socio-economic adversity, the respondents do create agency and set examples of breaking away exploitative cycle, for other *khusras* and *zenanas*.

[*VERBATIM*]

Khushboo: *Dekhay je moorat ka jo girya hota hy wo to kuch bhe bardhast nahin karta. Wo to kisi ka phone bhe nahin bardhast karta. Kahi dafa ye bhe hota hy, kisi Saheli ki taraf jana hy, kiyun jana hy, chalo choro. Kia karna hy jake. Bus aisay. Mera girya bahut jazbati tha, acha bhe tha, lekin jazbati bahut tha. Esay kar kar ky mera jee bhar gaya us se. Islye me side pe hogae.*

[*TRANSLATED*]

Khushboo: See, a *moorat's girya* doesn't tolerate anything. He doesn't even tolerate anyone else's phone call. At times, he is also critical of us paying visits to our friends [other *khusras* and *zenanas*], they constantly ask, where do you want to go, why do you need to go, leave it, why to go. Like this. My *girya* was very temperamental, he was nice at times. I couldn't take up with these behaviors. That's why, I distanced myself from him.

(Interview extract: Khushboo, 30, Mansehra)

In the following table is illustrated one of the social situations which depict how a *zenana* is accruing a kind (TV set) from her *girya* and how does feigning romance plays out a significant

factor in it. In addition, she speaks to him in a very assertive tone of voice. This conversation is between Pooja and her *girya* over a phone call. Her *guru* is also present in the room. Her *girya* who has been released from a court case of a murder charge is coming to meet her after six months of stay in the jail.

On cellphone (call is on speaker)
Rawalpindi
Day Time

Pooja: *Chal fir TV le ke ae iki inch da. Kiday inch da.*

Pooja: Now, you need to get me a 21 inches TV. How many inches?

Girya: *Choda inch da.*

Girya: Fourteen inches.

Pooja: *Choda ni, iki inch da. TV stand wi le ky ae. TV bhe tey stand wi. Le ky aween fir. Pandra hazar naqad wi lewan ge fir.*

Pooja: Not fourteen, twenty-one inches. I need a TV stand too. Both TV and stand. Bring me these, then. I also need fifteen thousand cash.

Girya: *Wekhan ga*

Girya: [I will] see.

Pooja: *Wekhna nahin, bund parh dewan ge teri. Kine time tak?*

Pooja: Dare you disagree. I will tear your ass apart. Give me time, till when?

Girya: *Ghentey tak*

Girya: In an hour.

Pooja: I love you (kisses)

<div align="center">

[CONVERSATION ENDED]

[Guru: Mubarkan mubarjkan]

[Pooja: Khair Mubarak huway]

</div>

The last excerpt from Saiba, a *nirban* from Rawalpindi, sums up the discussion about instrumentality of love, complexity of emotional proximity, promiscuity in romantic

relationships, economic exchanges between a *khusra/zenana* and her *girya*, momentariness of these relationships, and keeping multiple men for economic and social security (*chamka*, *tamashbeen* and *girya*).

[VERBATIM]

Saiba: Girya to ek hota hy jis ne sara kharcha uthaya hota hy. Baqi dost hain, khany ke lye. Girye ke sath dhai saal se hu, usky bhai ki sunyary ki dukan hy Islamabad me, me ny dukan dekhi to me ny usko pattu dala. Bat cheet shuru hwe, phir ahista ahista wo mera khawar hogaya. Dhai sal me usko kafi kha chuki hu, uski do gariyan bhe bikwa chuki hu, to abhi aur kuch khao gi. Meri saalgirah pe girya bhe tha, chamke bhe. Meny pehly usko bata dia tha tere elawa mere do teen tamshbeen hain. Agar tu betha hy aur koe tamashbeen ajata hy to tu ne mind nahin krna. Inse hum ny kharcha nikalna hota hy. Wo chup kr ke side pe betha hota hy. Saalgirah pe sound wagera, deck wagera, ganu ka kahrcha chamku ne uthaya tha. Mere teen chamkay bhe detay hain, paka wala bhe deta hy. Paka wala beshak mujh se le lain.

Me: Aur shadi?

Me: And marriage?

Saiba: Me khawar nahin hugeen. Me baqi moortu ke tarha nahin hu jo khawar ho girye ke peechay baduae de jab uski shadi ho. Jab uski shadi hogi wo apni life khud guzare, me apni life khud guzaru gi.

Me: Ap chorh de gi?

Saiba: Chorh du gi. Banda bhoolta to nahin. Lekin taluq phir wo nahin na rehta.

[TRANSLATED]

Saiba: There is one *girya* who bears the expense. The rest are friends, to extract from. I have been with a *girya* since two and a half years. His brother has a gold shop in Islamabad due to which I trapped him. We started seeing each other, slowly and steadily he fell for me. I have been extracting from him for the last two and a half years. I have made him sell his two cars. I will extract from him for a little longer. My *girya* was present in my *saalgirah*, my *chaamkay* were also there in presence. I told him from day one that I have 1-3 *tamashbeen*. In case if you are around [in *dera*] and any of my *tamashsbeen* visits me then you will not mind it. We earn from them [*tamashbeen*]. During all this, he [*girya*] sits on the side [of *dera*]. All *chamkay* bore the expense of sound, deck, songs at my *saalgirah*. [Apart from a *girya*], my three *chamkay* also give me money, my *girya* [she is in *pakki* with] also spends. I don't mind if my *pakka girya* demands money from me.

Me: And marriage?

Saiba: I will not ruin my life [after him]. I am unlike others who ruin their lives after their *giryas* and curse them when they get married. Once he decides to get married, we both will part our ways.

Me: Will you forget him?

Saiba: Yes, I will leave him. I know I will never forget him. But I also know that the relationship doesn't and will never remain the same.

(Interview extract: Saiba, 28, Mansehra)

Commenting on the state of their lives, importance of money in life and relative importance of love, Nirma commented.

[VERBATIM]

Nirma: *Kuch bhe insan ki majboori ho cheez to pesay ki hi ati hy. pesay ke beghair koe cheez nahin milti. Muhabbat apni jagah hy. pesa apni jagah hy. agar muhabbat hi ho aur pesa na ho to hum kahan se khae gy. Kahan se kapre pehny gain. Makeup kahan se lae gy. Hur cheez to pesu ki milti hy.*

[TRANSLATED]

Nirma: All human needs are met by money. Which need can be met without money? Love has its own importance, but money has its own significance. Where will we eat from if there is only love and no money in life? How will we provide clothes and makeup for ourselves. Each and everything costs money.

(Interview extract: Nirma, 30, Islamabad)

Among the items of necessary consumption are clothes and makeup as Nirma described above.

Sherry in the extract below wishes of finding a true love but she is also aware of men, their unfaithfulness, and no transient romance between a *khusra* and her *girya*. So, she prefers to instrumentalize romance to her end.

Sherry: *Muhabbat krny wala mile to kia hi bat hy. Pese ko phir kia janay. To agar ho hi esa harjae type ya har kisi ko janay wala, ya moortu se nikla hwa, tou us se wafa ki kesi umeed rakhna. Us se khao peeyo aur pesa lo.*

Sherry: Is there anything better than finding a true lover? Money becomes irrelevant, in this case. Instead, one finds an unfaithful, a promiscuous one who visits multiple *moortay* all the time, then what to expect of faithfulness from him. To such men, we say, 'come, eat, and pay'

Me: *Aur janay do.*

Me: And, leave.

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Sherry: *Han?*
Sherry: What?
Me: *Aur phir janay do.*
Me: Then leave.
Sherry: *Janay do ya beshuk anay do.*
Sherry: Leave or I don't mind [these men] coming again.
((*laughs*))

7.2.2. Fuzzy Lines: Emotive Force & Socio-economic Exchanges

Some respondents also shared experiences and incidents of cash and kind being offered by *giryas* as a romantic expression of love, the feeling of love being manifested and strengthened by offering gifts and *khusra* (rather than *girya*) playing a provider role to a *girya*.

7.2.2.1.   Gift Exchange

Ruby explains of normalcy of reciprocity in gift exchanging between her and her *girya*. She describes it as something normal which happens in these relationships. She also described that there is not a compulsion to offer a specific gift of specific quality and of a specific price.

[VERBATIM]

Ruby: Valentine a gaya de dia gift, eid a gae de dia. Usny gift dia meny ni dia to naraz hogaya. Tumhy mujh se emotional attachment ni hy ya, tum ne mjy koe gift hi ni dia. Kuch bhe… tum ne mjy important ni smjha. Uski salgirah me ny manae, mere salgirah usny manae. Jo normal relationship me hota hy.

[TRANSLATED]

Ruby: On Valentine's Day, we exchange gifts, on Eid, we exchange gifts. If he gives me gifts and I don't, then he complaints. You aren't emotionally attached with me, [*because*] you haven't presented me with a gift. Anything…you haven't considered me important. I celebrated his birthday, he celebrated mine. The [*things*] which happen in normal relationships.

(Interview extract: Ruby, 30, Kot Radha Kishan)

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7.2.2.2.   Khusra in the Hour of Need

Kiran in the interview excerpt below, describes of *khusra* playing a provider role than the *girya*. Like Kiran, there were incidents quoted by the respondents, of bearing the expense of *girya's* urgent financial needs (which were never returned to a *khusra/zenana*), of *girya's* sister's dowry and paying for the rent of room where *girya* resides.

[VERBTAIM]

Kiran*: Haan tou! Kae bar! Ek bar tou pakra gaya tha=*

Me*:*   *= Phir?*

Kiran*: Pakra gaya tha na dostu ke sath. Ik mahena raha tha ubash dostu ke sath jail me. Me ne jaky churhwaya tha tees hazar me.*

[TRANSLATED]

Kiran: Yes! Many a times! He once got arrested=

Me: = Then?

Kiran: He got arrested with his friends. He was in jail for one month, along with his friends. I got him released [*from jail*, *by paying*] thirty thousand [*rupees*]

(Interview excerpt: Kiran, 35, Kot Radha Kishan)

7.2.2.3.   Girya as Need

Girya is not there merely for securing potential *tamashbeen* or a *chamka* or for accruing benefits from. A few respondents also talked me through the importance of a *girya* for their own security. More eloquent and comprehensive among them was Dildar. In the extract below she details why keeping a *paka banda* is a need for their safety.

[VERBATIM]

Dildar*: Jerhay usi dost rakhan onday ay, jerhay pyar kardy onday ay, kiyunkeh marda di adat ondy ay, koe mananday ay, koe manden ay. Aurat howe ya usi hoeye. Inhan hu chaeye den mashooq. Koe mashooq di manda ay, koe mashooq ki mananda ay. Barhi barhi ziadityan wi o jandiyan ny. Road tu chuk jaeye, chaperan laganiya, ziaditi kiti, budtameezi kiti, sharab pe ke gul pe gaya, bura palak eh dita, chad dita. Te is waja tu usi pakay ek jagah te rukh lenrhi aan. O*

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sari bahur andur, niklan de zimawar onday an. Keh sanu zamana tung na kare. Kalay usi jadu jeewa gy na tey sanu kisi ne jeen ni derha. Fir es waja tu usi koe na koe banda rukh lernhi an.

[TRANSLATED]

Dildar: The men who we fall for, the ones who we love, it's in their nature. Some of them are stubborn and to some we act stubborn. They are stubborn to their *mashooq* [lover], either its women lovers or us. Many misfortunate incidents happen to us. Kidnapping, battering, raping, abusing, charging [at us] after getting drunk and later leaving us off. For this reason, we keep a *pakka* with us. He takes our responsibility of safe mobility. So that no one bothers us. We just cannot survive on our own, nobody lets us live. Due to this reason, we keep a man with us.

(Interview extract: Dildar, 20, Islamabad)

Mishi also speaks of mandatory existence of a *girya* in a *khusra's* life because in situations of *rarha* (fight) *girya* comes as a savior and saves her from violence from a stranger. She also commented if there is an expectation of economic transaction in her relationship with a *girya*.

[VERBATIM]

Mishi: Khayal karta hay. Koe rarha ya jhagra hojae mera ya badmash wadmash tou who mujhay churha deta hay. Esa abanda hay. Khayal karta hay.

Me: Aur koe maheenay ka kharcha pani deta hay?

Mishi: Nahin, maheenay ka kia. Jab mujhay zarurat parh jae me us se mang lete hu. Koe suit banana hota hay, koe cheez banana hota hay tou mang lete hun. Woh de deta hay.

Me: Ap bhe unko koe gift wagera dete hain?

Mishi: Me usko sirf pyar dete hu.

((laughs))

[TRANSLATED]

Mishi: He is caring towards me. He pulls me out of fights and saves me from rowdies. He is a man of character. He looks after me a lot.

Me: Does he offer you rupees for monthly expenditure?

Mishi: No, why does he? That too, on monthly basis? I ask him for money whenever I am in need. I ask him when I need money for a suit or for any other work. He always gives me money.

Me: Do you also reciprocate by gifts, etc.?

Mishi: I only give him love.

((laughs))

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7.2.2.4.   Khusra as Provider's Role

Unlike incessant and urgent financial needs, as detailed in the preceding text, *khusras* also spend on gifts (other than special occasions) without an expectation of being reciprocated back with the same gesture. Rozi, in the extract below, also asserts that she never spends on any man other than the special one. When asked why, she replied because she loved him. Hence, there is a disposition towards expressing love in material manifestations.

[VERBATIM]

Rozi*: Jo paka dost ban jata hy na usko hum khud bhe de detay hain pesay. Jesay uski zaroorat puri krna. Jesay pyar se bazar gae, jersey achi lagi. Woh le ky de dye, shoe achay lagy wo lejy de dye. Wesay hum kisi insan ko nahin koe detay cheez. Sex bhe hota hy lekin hum us se puchti nahin hain pesay.*

Me*: Kiyun?*

Rozi*: Kiyun keh humay unse muhabbat hay na!*

[TRANSLATED]

Rozi: We give money to our special ones. Like, meeting his needs. In love, we get for them jersey, shoes, etc. Otherwise, we never buy anything for anybody else. Sex also happens, but we never ask for money from him.

Me: Why?

Rozi: Because we love them *na*!

(Interview excerpt: Rozi, 20, Rawalpindi)

Dimple in the excerpt below, explains the context of why they would be ready to spend on their giryas, why would they be ready to offer help or provide emotional support. She grounds her argument on the fact that they long for love, acceptance, and affection. Love, acceptance, and affection from a man is reflection of acceptance from the society at large, for her.

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[VERBATIM]

Dimple*: Pata ay ki gal ay. Dowan cheezan ei. Usi wi eday bequf ni an. Usi wi insan aan. Usi wi dekhrhy an usan nu muhabbat mildi ay, tey dusa dina ich ik din ni wi mildi tey koe tension ni. Usi apny kolu wi kharcha kar dewa geen hazar, do hazar, punj hazar, dus hazar, sanu koe tension ni. Keh usi pyar de pukhay aan. Kisay kulu wi saanu milay. Zamany de satae hwe an, loka de satae hwe an. Usi pyar de pukhay an. Agar koe mard saday nal pyar kary na, kisi log ya taluq tu hath ke, usi wi hur zaruratan puriyan kardiyan an. Ay pyar, ikhlaq ay, qadar hy, deed ay, sadi qadar karda ay. Koe tension ni. Ziada ae ay keh donu cheezan honrhi chae diyan ay. Pyar ziada howe te ki hi gul ay.*

[TRANSLATED]

Dimple: You know what! Both things are very important. Both. We are not fools. We are also human beings. We also see if we are loved or not. We don't take tension if out of ten days, we aren't reciprocated with love for one day. It doesn't bother us if we spend [on *giryas*], thousand, two thousand, five thousand, or ten thousand… no tension at all. We long for love, for acceptance…no matter where it comes from. We are abhorred by the society, by the people. All we need is love. If men love us, without any ulterior motive, we also offer to meet their needs. We realize that they love us, they are affectionate towards us, they value us. No tension [in this case]. We prefer both things [love and money]. If there is love, then what else do we want.

(Interview extract: Dimple, 30, Mansehra)

7.3.   Yearning and Longing for Love

The yearning for love, the quest for an ideal man with whom *khusras/zenanas* develop *pakki* relationships was one of the dominant responses narrated by many of the respondents. This happened despite having experienced violence, abuse, and humiliation from their *chamkay*, *tamashbeen* and *giryay*. The experiences of violence and abuse are narrated in the forthcoming chapter. The helplessness in love, idealization of a personal relationship with a *girya*, financial and emotional support, and the joy of being in love are some of the themes narrated by Guddu in the following extract.

[VERBATIM]

Guddu*: Hae mujhay bht ishq hy. abhi to kam hogaya hy lekin me puri puri raat ni soti the usky lye. Golyan kha ky soti the.*

Me*: Wo apki mali zarurat puri krta hy?*

Guddu*: Thori thori krta hy. Ziada nahin krta.*

Me*: Ap krti hain?*

Guddu: Haan.

Me: Phir kia hy esa taluq me jo rakha hwa hy apny/

Guddu: /Mujhay who dil se
bahut acha lagta hy. Usay dekh lu to dil bht tez dharakta hy. Mere lye ye muhabbat bht zaroori
hy. Us se me pesay nahin lete. Mujhay de bhe to me nahin lete. Wo ye smjhta hy keh ye kaam
nahin kry gay to karaya kesay de gain, ghar ka kharcha kesay chalain gain. Ap ye kar lia karain,
jab faarig ho to mujay bula lia karain. Wo samajhdar hy na, parha likha hy na. wo mujhay
khana khila deta hy, jo bhe ho, choti moti zarurtay wo puri kar deta hy. ab me usky baghair
nahin reh sakti. Do din na bullae to mujhay bukhar. Mushkil me kam atay hain. Jb me uski
mushkil me madad kru to wo mujhay wapas bhe kar deta hy. Pur me khud nahin na mangti.
Mera dil nahin krta us se kuch bhe mangny ko. Aur dost hain na. Un se me mang leti hun, wo de
bhe detay hain. Mera dil krta hy keh wo bas betha rahay.*

[TRANSLATED]

Guddu: *Hae*, I am in love. Not that much now as it used to be [*in the past*], but I didn't use to
sleep for nights in his love. I used to take pills.

Me: Did he use to meet your financial needs?

Guddu: Not much. Occasionally.

Me: Do you?

Guddu: Yes.

Me: Then what is in this relationship that you just can't…/

Guddu: /I love him by
heart. My heart races very fast the moment I look at him. For me, this love is very important. I
don't ask for money from him. Even if he gives me, I refuse. He intends to provide because he
realizes that how will I incur expense when I won't have money, how will I pay for [*dera*] rent.
He asks me to call him when I am free. He knows about my whereabouts *na*. He is educated *na*.
He takes me to lunch. Whenever I run short of money for, he provides [*but I bever ask him*].
Now, I cannot live without him. I fall sick when he isn't around [even] for two days. We are
always available for each other in hours of need. When I provide for him, he always gives me
back. but I never ask him. My heart doesn't allow me to ask him. There are other friends. I seek
from them; they provide for me. The only thing I want is have him around.

(Interview extract: Guddu, 34, Kot Radha Kishan)

Shabo details the story of a *soodi moorat* (old *khusra*) who has fallen for a young man. She
shares that a *moorat* does not have any control on her feelings. She wants to develop sexual and
romantic relationship with a man she has fallen for.

Shabo: *Ek ke safaid bal hain. Jis ke saray safaid bal ho, ek bhe kala bal na ho, wo socho kis umar me hoga. Wo ek larkey se ishq kerti hy. Me usay smjhati hu dafa kar. Chor apny akhrut kharab kar rahi hy, tere jawan beti hy ghar me. Tu apni bete ka soch. Wo kehti hy nahin, mujay baba btao me koe taweez karwao, me ath yad us hazar rupay bhe de du gi. Bus ye banda mujy mu lagae. Me us se kehti hu fitay mu tu baby nu das hazar rupay dainy ki bajae bnday nu das hazar ewe tey o banda teray kol a jaway. Me usay itna sumjhati hu, tu boorhi hogae, marny wali, tu ye kam na kar, Wo kehti nahin, mujhay ishq hogaya hy, kia kiya jae bechari ka. Meray dil nu lagi, tenu ki pata howay. Wo banda isnu mu nahin lagata. O budi bund kiway marye arhye.*

[TRANSLATED]

Shabo: One has all white hair. Think of her age who has all white hair, with no black hair left in head. She is madly in love with a guy. I try to make her understand that she must refrain from having such emotions. I also tell her that she is ruining her after-death life, that she has young *chelas* at *dera*, that she must find men for them. She forbids and asks me for a baba who can help me get this man in exchange of eight ten thousand rupees. The only wish she has is to gain his attention. I curse her for saying this. I spend a lot of time and energy in convincing her, that she is old, she is near deathbed, that she shouldn't do such a thing. She doesn't agree. She says that she is helpless in love. I feel sorry for her. She says that her heart is in pain, how can I realize. He just doesn't reciprocate to her feelings. I often tell her that how can she be sexually active with her.

(Interview excerpt: Shabo, 27, Rawalpindi)

7.4.   *Rootha* Relationships

Those who developed *rootha* relationships are living as partners with each other. There are commonalities of these marriage relationships with the regular marriages that take place between men and women. But there are a few differences, as well. Also, the relationships are at different stages: initial, breakup and reflective take on past relationships. In the following text are four different cases.

Case 1: Sana Panga

Sana Panga has been in *rootha* relationship since 2010. She found her match from a dance function she was invited to, in Multan. After approving him from guru, Sana Pange's rootha function was celebrated in the presence of guru and *saheliyan*. Reflecting on her long-term relationship with a girya, Sana Panga, said:

[VERBATIM]

Mera ek husband hy na. Wo mere zindagi ka sathi hy. wo mere ankhu ka kajal hy. mere kanu ki bali hy. mere hontu ki shurkhi hy. mere sir ka taj hy. Wo mera sab kuch hy. Mera tun mun he. Wo mere sath rehta hy. wo apna kam krta hy. me apna kam kartu hu. Wo apny kam ke bad mere pas a jata hy. jese aurat aur admi ka hisab hy na, wesa hisab he mera. Dhunde wali moorty girye kam rakhti hain. Me ziada function, melay, dhinga aur girya rakha hwa hy paka. Mere hur zarurat puri krta hy, kapra, makan ka kraya. Mujhay us se ziada to pyar he, mujhay us se kisi cheez ka lalach nahin hy. me khud acha kama leti hu. Usko bhe mujh se zarurat parhy to puri kar dete hu. Wo bhe krta hy. Jesy donu sathi hain. Wo mujhay aur me usay nahin chorh sakty. Wo bas ek hi rahay ga, baqi dunia ko me lootu gi, khao gi. Wo mera karobar hy, kanjri ke kothay pe tamashbeen ne ana hi ana hy. wo to mera khula ka khula hi rahay ga. Har anay waly ko welcome karu ge, janay waly ko bye-bye kahu ge. Jab husband hota hy na to wo bardhast nahin krta, phone kisi tamashbeen ka suny nahin deta, usky samny esa kam nahin kia, jo bhe kam kia hy chori ki hy.

[TRANSLATED]

I have a husband. He is my companion for life, he is the beauty of my eyes, an earing of my ear, the redness of my lips, and my head crown. He is everything to me. He is my heart; he is my soul. He lives with me. He has a job. I do my work. He comes back to me after his job hours finish. Just like a woman and man reside with one another. Those who work as sex workers rarely live with their girye. I earn mostly through functions, melay, dhinga, and I have one girya for life. He meets all my needs, clothes, house rent. I love him more than this, I haven't kept him with me for greed. I earn well. I also help him whenever he is in need. He does the same. Just like companions. We both can't live without each other. He will always stay there, I will extract from the rest, eat from them. That's the need of my business, a client will come to a sex worker's place, that place will always remain open. I will welcome whoever comes in, and farewell with a bye. Husbands are very possessive, they don't tolerate their wives providing sex to other men in their presence. I don't do such things when he is around. Whatever I do, I do secretly.

Case 2: Gori

Gori was in a seven-years long relationship with a *girya*. She shifted to his flat and started working in a pharmacy- a job which his *girya* worked out for her. He worked in the same pharmacy. Gori shared that she tried her best to not act feminine in the public, especially in the pharmacy, because her femininity brought embarrassment to her *girya*. Eventually, he asked her to leave. Sharing the details, Gori said.

[VERBATIM]

Gori*: Moorat to moorat hoti hay. Ladies kapry pehn leny. Larkiyun ke sath khelna. Hae, yeh wo. To usay ye to ni malum hogaya keh ye to khusra hy, me to isay larka samajh ke sath rakhta tha pas. Wo job pe jata tha mujhay sath le ky jata tha. Tou khusra to khusra hota hy. 'Han jan, theek ho, han jan theek hy, ye wo'. Kafi time theek guzri hamari, Usny phir kaha nahin nahin jao,*

hamari nahin ban'ni. Faisalabad ka tha, pharmacy me kam karta tha. Me bhe sath kam karti the uske. Par me ne kaha mujh se nahin hoga ye kam. Hum dealing to kar skty hain par mard to nahin ban skty. Wo sharminda hota tha. Me ny usko keh dia, keh me ye cheez hu, dil manta hy theek hy, nahin manta tab bhe theek hy. Chorh gaya. Ab bhe yad ata hy mujhay.

[TRANSLATED]

Gori: *Moorat* will always remain a *moorat*. She is fond of wearing ladies' clothes, of playing with girls. *Hae*, this that. He then realized that I am a *khusra*, that he mistook me for a man- the reason for which he kept me with him. I used to accompany him to his job place. He didn't realize that once a *khusra* will always be a *khusra*. At workplace I used to ask around in feminine tone of voice, '*Hae jaan*, how are you doing *jaan*, this and that'. We spent good time with each other. Later, he asked me to leave, we cannot keep going like this. He was from Faisalabad, he used to work in a pharmacy. I also used to work with him. I did it for him, but I told him that I just cannot continue doing this job. We are good at public dealing, but we just cannot be men. He was embarrassed of me. I blatantly told him of who I was, it's okay if his heart agrees, and it's okay if it doesn't. He left. I still miss him.

Case 3: Naina

Naina who has been with a *rootha* relationship with her *girya* for more than ten years speaks highly of her *girya* and shows reverence towards him. She shared that he understood her life and what it takes for her to survive. She communicated to him about her promiscuity and *paisha* as her dominant form of economic survival. She also takes pride in not hiding anything from her *girya*, regarding which, she commented.

[VERBATIM]

Naina*: Mere girye ko pata hy keh isky tamashbeen hain. Meny pehly din usko btaya tha keh mere tamashbeen hain. Agr tu betha hy to upar se koe ajata hy to tu ne mind nahin karna. Jo khurcha nikalna hota hy inse hi nikalna hy. Usko pata hy wo chup kr ke side pe betha hota hy. Baqi chamke mere gaany krwate hain. Deck, sound wagera ka khurcha wo sab uthaty hain.*

[TRANSLATED]

Naina: My *girya* knows that my *tamashbeen* visit me. I had not kept anything hidden from him. I told him from the start that if anyone of them visits me at a *dera* then he wouldn't feel bad about it. All that we can spend is due to these men. He understood it, well. He always sits in the corner when such a situation arises. Rest are my *chamkay* who spend on my dance performances [during *saalgirah* and functions]. They are the ones who spend on deck, sound, etc.

Case 4: Nargis

Nargis has been in a relationship with her *girya* for eight years. She said that she lives as his wife, shares a flat with him, and they both provide for each other. Her following excerpt also

details the gendered domestic division of labor. She also shared about her socialization with him which initially happened while she was in the street for *paisha*, but now since she is his wife, and she has quitted *paisha* and totally refrained from *chamkay* and *tamashbeen* visitation.

[VERBATIM]

Nargis: *Mujhay rarhay pe chis hua tha. Usky bad ahista ahista qareeb hwa. Mere har zarurat puri ki.*

Me: *Konsi?*

Nargis: *Ghar ki jitni bhe zaruraty hoti hain. Kapry, khana peena, rashun har cheez. Me us se mangti nahin hu. Mujhay bas jitni zarurat hoti hay na wo de deta hy. Wo jitna kamata hy mujhay pakra deta hay. Jab apny ghar jata hy to le jata hay. Ab dekho mere kamry me koe cheez nahin hay to wo koe bacha to nahin na, usko nazar arha hy. Usko esa lgta hy keh uska apna flat hy, ye nahin kehta keh ye sirf mera hy. Phir bhe sab cheezay usi ki hain. Wo dekhta hy keh mere kamre me is cheez ki kami hy, to wo le ata hy. Me nahin usko kehti. Han agr usko na pata chalay to phir me usko keh dete hu, han yar menu ae chae di hay.*

Me: *Aur ap?*

Nargis: *Me bhe khayal karti hu. Usko paka ke… pakana mera lam hy, bahir se le ana ya wo khana shana le ata hy. Hum ikhatay khatay hain, ikhatay rehty hain, ikhatay sote hain. Usny mere har zarurat puri ki hay. Mere sister ki shadi hay. Usny mujhay do lakh rupay dye hain, yeh lo. Baqaya jitna mujh se hwa tha meny jama kia tha apni behen ke lye.*

[TRANSLATED]

Nargis: I was out for prostitution where I fell for him. Then we slowly got closer to each other. He has met all my needs.

Me: Which ones?

Nargis: The household needs, as they exist. Clothes, food, ration, each, and everything. I don't ask him for my needs. Whatever needs I have, he fulfills. Whatever he earns, he hands over me. When he visits back to his home, he takes money from me. See, if he observes that there is something missing in my room, then he isn't a kid, he can see. He considers this space as his own flat. He doesn't profess that it's his room. All the items inside flat are not mine, only his. Whenever he finds that any item of utility is missing, he gets it for me. I ask him only when he doesn't realize about it, only then I ask, 'yes dear, I need this thing'

Me: And, you?

Nargis: I also look after him. I cook…cooking is my job, I also buy grocery and he brings food, too, we eat together, stay together, and sleep together. He has fulfilled all my demands; my sister's wedding is around the corner. He gave me two lac rupees. I arranged the remaining amount for my sister's wedding.

Case 5: Mina

Mina is in two and a half years relationship with her *girya* husband. She met him at a *mela,* and they both exchanged their cellphone numbers. She introduced him to her life, made him meet her *guru* and introduced her to her *dera* life. He learnt about her life and language soon after he started spending time with her at *dera*. He moved with her. He works as a fruit vender and as an anchor person during mela seasons. The following excerpt is a conversation with Mina, her *guru* and *girya*. The excerpt speaks of acceptance of *khusra* life for a *girya*, the reciprocal relationship between them and the critical point of love-money conundrum which Mina solves by stating that money as a need is important for her, more than love as an emotion. But, when it comes to her *girya*, she will choose him over money. The details are in the following box.

Rawalpindi
March 2022
Evening
Mina's Dera

[VERBATIM]

Mina: *Muhabbat hwe apko kabhi?*
Mina's guru: *Kabhi? Koe ek dafa muhabbat hwe hai? ((laughs))*
Me: *Koe paka dost hay? Koe girya?*
Mina: *Haan hy.*
Me: *Kitnay arsay se?*
Mina: *Taqreeban do dhai saal se.*
Me: *Pehli mulaqat kesy hwe the?*
Mina: *Melay pe hwe the na.*
Me: *Inke sath apka taluq kesa hy?*
Mina: *Acha hy.*
Me: *Ap inky koe kam karteen hain?*
Mina: *Haan. Kapry dhoti hun, malish karti hu, khana paka ke dete hun, khana khilati hu, agar ziada tang kry to isko chup bhe krati hay.*
Me: *Chup kesay krati hain.*
Mina's guru: *Seenay se lgaty he.*
Mina: *Pyar se na. istrah to hota hy na.*
Me: *Tou ye apki mali zarurat puri karty hain?*
Mina: *Je. Melay pe kam karta hy na. Announcement krta hy speaker pe.*
Me: *Kia ye apki zarurat puri karte hain?*
Girya: *Han har mushkil me.*
Me: *Apko koe aitraz to nahin hota jab ye dhinge wagera pe jati hain?*
Girya: *Nahin humay kia aitraz hona hy. Apni rozi kamaty hain. Me bhe iski mali zarurat puri*

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karta hu.

Mina: *Pata hy kia hy. pesa bhe hona chaeye, muhabbat bhe honi chaeye. Kia faida muhabbat khali kar kar ke banda mar jae. Bhooka pyasa mar jae. Esi muhabbat ka kia karu. Lekin agar isky pas kal ko ye bhe na ho to me itna hi pyar karu ge.*

[TRANSLATED]

Me: Have you every fallen in love?
Mina: Once? I have fallen multiple times! *((laughs))*
Me: is there any permanent dost? Any girya?
Mina: Yes, there is one.
Me: For how long?
Mina: Since two to two and a half years.
Me: How did you meet each other?
Mina: We met at a mela *na*.
Me: How is your relationship with him?
Mina: Its good.
Me: Do you do his work?
Mina: Yes, I wash his clothes, massage him, cook for him, feed him, I also control him whenever he tries to show his power over me.
Me: How do you handle him?
Mina's guru: By hugging him to her chest.
Mina: With love *na*. This is usual *na*.
Me: So, does he meet your financial needs?
Mina: Yes, he does. He works at melas as a professional announcer.
Me: Does she meet your needs?
Girya: Yes, she does. Stands by my side every time I need her.
Me: Do you disapprove of her when she goes out for *dhinga* etc.?
Girya: Why would we complaint. They earn by themselves. I also meet her financial needs.
Mina: You know what, both love and money are necessary. What is the use of love without money if a person dies of hunger. What is the use of this love. As far as I am concerned, I will love him even if he is broke, tomorrow.

Case 6: Bebo

Bebo, a *zenana* currently residing in Rawalpindi, shares her story of initial socialization with her ex-*girya*, the sacrifices she made for him (leaving *dera*, residing with him and his family, working as a domestic help in his home, and unfaithfulness in his end). In the following excerpt she details all these themes with occasional corroboration from her *girya*. The excerpt is different from others as it speaks of the instance where *girya's* family, including his wife, was accepting of this relationship. Upon knowing his sexual and romantic involvement with a younger *moorat*, Bebo not only left him but ran away with his new love-interest (*moorat*) to save her from

exploitation. The details unfolding events as they happened in her life are detailed in the box below.

Rawalpindi
November 2021
Late Evening
Bebo's Dera

[VERBATIM]

Bebo*: Menu hoe si muhabbat Guranwala de bandy nal. Halain ithay te koe ni ay, Pindi de hain hi bewafa.*

Me*: Bewafa?*

Bebo*: Pakay ni na banday kisi de. Harjae hain. Bewafa hain.*

Me*: Gujranwala wala jo banda tha.*

Bebo*: Haan. Us de nal gul bat hondi si, anda jandi si, tey phir pyar muhabbat hwe, galan batan barhiyan mere nal. Kamre wich agaya. Bas fir, banda khawar ho janda ay, o kharant girya si. Tez jyah.*

Me*: Khawar kis tarah se kia?*

Bebo*: Bas galan batan kar kar ke tey me os di deewani o gae. Menu changa lagda si.*

Me*: Taluq jismani bhe tha?*

Bebo*: Haan haan. Jismani sab kuch, aur ki muhabbat hondi hy. Me oday nal hi raheen an, sab kuch chorh chad ke, che sut sal.*

Me*: Unky sath?*

Bebo*: Haan.*

Me*: Family?*

Bebo*: Haan, sab ke sath. Sab nu pata si sab kuch. O menu kharcha wi denday si, maheeny da ceh sut hazar. Subha subha kum te janrha tey sham nu ghar wapas anrha. Sahi si. Na o menrhu tey na me unhu dendi si. Isi tarha sari zindagi guzar diti.*

Bebo's guru*: Isny gana chorh dia us waqt ke lye. Muhabbat me itni andhi ho gae the.*

Bebo*: Me ghar kam kardi si, te menrhu pesa dendy si, maheenay da che sut hazar. Unj achy si, jooti kapra wi tey odhi begum wi achi si, kadi jootay kadi kapry, kadi suit le denday si. Kharha peerha wi uthay, bacheyan de kol, uthna bethna wi, khanrh peenrh.*

Me*: Phir ye taluq khatam kiyun hwa?*

Bebo*: O koe or le aya si, sokan mere uty. Ik or kothi. Me chapa marya si jithay janda si dere tey. Me utay gae an tey donrha nu kut lae. Ghar le ke ae, unrha de bacheya de samny wi kuteya. Unha de ma piyo de samny wi kuteya. O mar barhi khanda si mere tu. Darda wi si. Me bhag gae*

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udrun. Me kaeya ay ki kanjar khana ay, me fir chorh chudeya. Me bhe fir chup ni rae, me bhe usdi kothi nu bhaga ke Sialkot le aaen ((laughs)). Uthay nach nach ke, toleyan de janrha, shadiyan te, Nachna nuchna, o the wi cheesi wadh wadh. Me kayan ay wi bechari khawar howay ge, behnchod seeshiyan peendi si ay . Dawae diyan sheeshiyan, muhabbat wich. Me le ky ae an Sialkot te roway pitay me jarha ay. Fir girye da phone away, kadi menu away, kadi unu away. O fir kendi me ja ri an. Me kaha, ja fir apni marzi kar.

Me*: Apky lye is taluq me pesay ya muhabbat me se kia zaruri tha?*

Bebo*: Muhabbat, muhabbat. Peseyan da ki karna ay. Pesay te me Lahore wi barhy kamae si.*

[TRANSLATED]

Bebo: I one fell for a man from Gujranwala. There isn't anyone around here in Pindi. Men from Pindi are unfaithful.

Me: Unfaithful?

Bebo: They are not into stable relationships with each other. They are all unfaithful.

Me: The same man from Gujranwala?

Bebo: Yes. We were in talks with each other, he used to visit me, then we fell for each other, we got closer. He had access to my room. After that, I was madly in love with him. He was a cunning girya. He was clever *na*.

Me: How did you suffer?

Bebo: I got mad after him. I loved him.

Me: Were you physically involved?

Bebo: Yes! Yes! Physical all of it, what else in love except this. I lived with him, left everything for him, for six-seven years.

Me: Lived with him?

Bebo: Yes.

Me: Family?

Me: With family?

Bebo: Yes, with his family. They knew everything. He used to provide for me, six-seven thousand for month. I used to work [in his house], he also used to work and return in the late evening. I spent my youth like this.

Bebo's guru: She left singing and dancing for that time-period. She got blind in love.

Bebo: I used to work for his family, my monthly income was six-seven thousand. They were good people, used to get me shoes and clothes, his wife was also nice to me. Gave me shoes, sometimes cloth pieces, other times clothes. They bore my expense, food also, I was never forbidden from mixing up with his kids, we used to sit together, and eat at one place.

Me: Then why did this relationship end?

Bebo: He brought another *moorat*, she was my *sokan*, one more *kothi*. I raided the *dera* where he started visiting regularly. I chased him to her *dera* and beat both there. I dragged him to home and beat him up in front of his kids. Did the same in front of his mother and father. He used to get thrashed by me many times. He was sacred of me. He ran from that place. I said to myself, what kind of a brothel this place is. Then I left the place for good. I didn't sit quiet, I made her *kothi* ran with me to Sialkot. I made him dance on different songs, took him along to *toleyan*, to marriages. She was young and beautiful. I was sure that she will ruin her life after him, she used to take drugs in love. When I brought her with me to Sialkot, she used to cry out loud to go back. girya used to call her, and then me. She, then, decided to leave. I then asked her to take her own call.

Me: What is more important to you in this relationship; love or money?

Bebo: Love, love it. What to do with money. I had earned a lot of money in Lahore.

7.5. Multiple Girye

All the respondents who were interviewed for the current research claimed to have a single *girya* at a point in time. A few shared to have kept *chamkay* and *tamashbeen* in addition to a *girya* for material entitlements and out of necessity (economic, romantic, or sexual). Sherry is an exception who claims to have multiple *girya*. The primary one is she is most emotionally attached with and had been in a *rootha* relationship for six years. The other 3 are in her life to run as she said, 'circus of life'. Speaking of her economic necessities and why is it important to have more than one girya, she said:

[VERBATIM]

Sherry: Mujhay bas ek ke sath hwa tha rootha. Baqi sab lallu punju khanay ke lye hain.

Me: Kia matlab?

Sherry: Circus chalany ke lye. Apna guzara karny ke lye. Har zarurat puri karte hu. Function pe dance karti hun, Jahan panch ki zarurat ho, panch ka karti hu, Jahan dus ki zarurat ho, dus ka karti hu, bees ka, tees ka. Wahan se zarurat puri karti hu. Kamre ki zaruriat puri karti hun. Sirf ek bandy pe ni kia ja skta na. Koe ek khusre ko pura kar skta hay? Lakh rupya de do tab bhe pura nahin hoskta. Kharchay ki kaheen na kaheen kami reh jati hy, Hae ye nukar khali kiyun khali hy. Yahan pe cement lagna chaeye. Khusre ko koe pura nahin kr skta, is wajah se, panch che rakhay hwe hain.

[TRANSLATED]

Sherry: I fell in love with one man. The rest were there to eat from.

Me: What does this imply?

Sherry: To run circus of life. To make end meet. I make sure to meet all my needs. I dance at functions. I take five thousand when I need this amount, I take ten when I need this amount, twenty, thirty. This way, I make money and meet my needs. Same holds true for my room. I cannot rely on single man *na*. Is there anyone who can fulfill all the needs of a *khusra*? Give her one lac rupees, still she is insatiable. Somewhere, her expense remains unmet, '*Hae*, why this corner is empty, this part needs cement.' No man satiates a *khusra*. This is the reason why I have kept five six men.

(Interview extract: Sherry, 32, Rawalpindi)

Despite her instrumental stance on love and feigning romantic love, when she was asked about love-money dichotomy, she commented:

[VERBATIM]

Sherry: *Muhabbat krny wala mile to kia hi bat hy. Pese ko phir kia janay. To agar ho hi esa harjae type ya har kisi ko janay wala, ya moortu se nikla hwa, tou us se wafa ki kesi umeed rakhna. Us se khao peeyo aur pesa lo.*

Me: *Aur janay do.*

Sherry: *Han?*

Me: *Aur phir janay do.*

Sherry: *Janay do ya beshuk anay do.*

((laughs))

[TRANSLATED]

Sherry: Is there anything better than finding a true lover? Money becomes irrelevant, in this case. Instead, one finds an unfaithful, a promiscuous one who visits multiple *moortay* all the time, then what to expect of faithfulness from him. To such men, we say, 'come, eat, and pay'

Me: And leave.

Sherry: What?

Me: Then leave.

Sherry: Leave them or I don't mind if they come again.

((laughs))

7.6.   Love Games

One recurrent theme which I observed while spending time with the respondents was the feeling of jealousy whenever they met their ex-*girya*, dost or yar or when they saw him with a new *khusra* or a *zenana*. Some shared reemergence of heartache, some tried to block their brains and ignored if their *giryas* ever existed and a few came up with a premeditated plan of making their giryas feel jealous. Khushi, in an extract from interview conducted with her, spells out the same plan which she had once successfully executed, and it also worked.

[VERBATIM]

Khushi: *Humay jealous pan dikhatay hain, hum un se ziada unhain jealous pan dikhateen hain. Uff Allah! I kisi ke sath mil jae na, to usko bahut chis karateen hu.*

Me: Chis?

Khushi: *Jesay us se samnay karteen hu kisi aur ko, 'Hi, darling! Kia hogaya hay. A jao na! Uff Allah, mazay de du ge. Ye kar du gee.' Usko to jalati hu na. Uske samny uske dostu se khati hun, paanch so wala nahin, dus barah hazar wala. Unse kha ke phir unhain lift dete hu.*

[TRANSLATED]

Khushi: Not only they make us jealous, but we also make them jealous. *Uff* Allah! I make him so jealous [*chis*] whenever I see him with anyone else.

Me: *Chis*?

Khushi: In his presence, I flirt with another man and say things like, '*Hi, darling! What happened. Come with me na! Uff Allah, I will give you immense pleasure. I will do this and that to please you*.' This way he feels jealous *na*. In front of him, I empty pockets of his friends, not five hundred rupees, but ten and twelve thousand rupees friends. Only after eating from them, I offer sex.

(Interview extract: Khushi, 26, Mansehra)

In Mehrabadi, while getting ready for a *saalgirah* function, I heard one *zenana* from one *koli* (small room of a *dera*) saying to a *khusra* in another *koli*, "*Khasam kara khasam kara, me tujhay karao tu mujhay kara*" (Find a husband, find a husband. I will find for you; you will find for me.) Later, that night I asked them what they meant by the rhyme. They laughed and shared that since in functions there is a possibility that a *khusra* or a *zenana* can fall for one man so both try their luck and whoever is successful in impressing the guy first should find a suitable match for the

other *khusra* or a *zenana*. In other locales, as well, despite professional rivalry and jealousy, findings suitable men for one another was common.

7.7.   Case Studies

Case Study 1: Sheela

Sheela is 35 years old *nirban* residing in Rawalpindi. She owns a *dera* and has six *chelas* working as her disciples. She was born and brought-up in a small town in Punjab and unlike a common practice of running away from home at a younger age, she lived among her marginalizing family who disapproved of her femininity. She used to look around *khsura dera* communes and slowly started visiting these spaces which reinforced femininity in them. She also started to change her attire and accompany her among other khusras and zenanas to dance functions, mela functions and *salgirah*. Upon observing her rebellious nature, she was forced into a marriage with a woman which couldn't last for long. While sharing about her marriage, Sheela detailed, '*Mere shadi hwe the aath das saal pehly. Susral walay acha nahin samjhty the keh ye khusra hy, ye gand marata hy na. Phir mujhay acha nahin laga. Wo kehty the gand marana chor do, ye shoba chor do. Me ny kaha me tumharai larki chorhti hu, tumhy bhe chorhti hu, ye kam nahin choru gi. Ye karobar jo decide kia hy yehe karu gi, yehe karti rahu ge aur me mazdoori nahin karu ge. Agr dil manta hy to rakho, werna koe baat nahin.* [I got married eight, ten years ago. My in-laws didn't approve of me being a *khusra*. They said to me, 'he is a *gandu na'*. I didn't succumb to their pressure. They wanted me to not be in this line. I asserted by retaliating that I leave your daughter, I leave you all, won't leave this job. I will stick to this business and will continue doing this. Come what may. If you accept me the way I am, its fine, otherwise its perfectly fine.]

After formalizing her entry into a *khusra* life through following the ritual of *chatai*, she actively participated in the prevalent forms of socio-economic organization. Sharing her details of how she earns, Sheela commented, '*Me cash chalati hu, bahir road me bhe jati hu, functions bhe karti hu. Ek dost rakha hy manheny ka sath hazar wo bhe deta hy, 2 hazar hur roz ke hisab se. Ek Gujranwala ka rakha hy wo mujhay pachees deta hy, ek Narowal ka I bhe maheenay ka pundra bhej deta hy.'* [I run business [*paisha*], I do *paisha* myself, I also perform in functions, I have a

[*girya*] friend too. He gives me sixty thousand per month, 2 thousand per day. Another is from Gujranwala; he gives me twenty-five thousand for one month. One more is from Narowal, he gives me fifteen thousand per month.] The forms of economic organization she earns through, are not just contingent on dance functions and *paisha*, but also on having relationships with multiple men who all monthly contribute to her earnings of one lac Pakistani rupees.

Sheela is also very open about her love-life. Before moving to Rawalpindi, she was in a serious relationship with a man from her village who left her after getting married to a woman, '*Meny ishq kia tha, usny mujhay bht dukh dye the. Usny mujhay chor ke shadi kr li. Usky bad me Pindi ae. Teen saal hogae. Abhi ek larky se aath maheenay hogae, ishq karti hu. Full ishq karti hu. Usky beghair rehti nahin. Full ishq, jhappi dal ke soti hu. I rat ko mere pas a jata hy. Uski jhappi dal ky soti hu, agr ziada jazbat jagay to uska mu me le ky so jati hu.* [I once fell in love with a man, he caused me a lot of pain. He got married after he left me. After that, I settled in Pindi. It's been seven years since I left him. I have recently been in a relationship in the last eight months. I love him. Madly in love with him. I don't live without him. Mad in love, I hug him and went off to sleep. He comes to me every night. I hug him and we sleep together. To feel him even more, I take [*his dick*] in my mouth and sleep.]. After facing heartbreak and suffering emotional pain, she is watchful of the men in her life. She is demanding, assertive and sexually awakened with her current long-term *girya*. When questioned about the financial arrangements between the two, she replied:

[VERBATIM]

Me: Mali zarurat puri kerta hy?

Sheela: Han wo mujhay sab kuch la ky deta hy. kharcha, kapray bhe, chadry, shirt sab kuch. Agar na la ky de to me kehti hu chal tujhay chor du ge, koe aur rakhu   yah . Phir wo kehta hy tu kisi aur ko na rukh, me hi tujhay la ky du ga. Ye bed sheetay bhe usi ne la ky de hain.

Me: Is taluq me pesay ya mohabbat me se kia zaruri hy?

Sheela: Pesa. Muhabbat ko kia kry gy jab pesa nahin pas hoga. Muhabbat ko kia kary gy. Dafa. Jab ghar me ata nahin hy, roti nahin hy khanay ko to muhabbat kia agy hy khany peenay ke? Tum btao.

Me: Hmm!

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Sheela: Kia hmm. Jab pait me kuch jae ga to muhabbat hogi. Jab pait me kuch nahin jae ga to muhabbat ko lun marni hy. Khali muhabbat nu ki karna ay. Nahin wo mujhy deta hy sab ko pata hy. Mere se kuch nahin leta.

[TRANSLATED]

Me: Does he also meet your financial needs?

Sheela: Yes, he provides me for everything. He bears my expenses, clothes too, bedsheets, shirts all of it. If he doesn't provide for me, I retaliate by saying that I will leave you, will keep another [*girya*]. He then pleads me to not be with another [*girya*], I will provide for you. He has bought these bedsheets, too.

Me: What is more important in this relationship; love or money?

Sheela: Money. What is love got to do with us when there isn't any money [in a relationship]. What love to do to us? *Dafa*. When there isn't food at home… will love be enough to feed?

Me: *Hmm*!

Sheela: What *hmm*! There will be love when our stomachs are filled with food. What alone love will do for us with an empty stomach. What to do with love only? It's not that he doesn't provide for me, all among us know that. He hasn't asked anything in return.

Case Study 2: Laila

Laila is 28 years old *uqwi* residing as a *chela* to a famous *nirban guru* in Kot Radha Kishan. She ran away from her home at a very young age and joined *dera* commune at the age of 14. She has been living in *dera* since then. She is tall, lean, and very feminine in her attire and in her bodily and social mannerisms. She earns mostly through *paisha* and dance functions. She also occasionally goes out in the streets and in surrounding households for tola bazar. Her love-life is complex which she details as, '*Barah saal hogae mamay ka putar rukhya hwa ay. Usky barhay bhai se mera tha, 3 saal tuk phir meny uski shadi kar di uski ma se kehlwa ky. Uski shadi kar di. Bad me me itna puchtae keh hae me ny iski shadi kiyun kr di ye to apni biwi se muhabbat krta hy. Meny usko dobara mu lgaya lekin usny mujhy wo company nahin di jo mujay deta tha pehly, me ny usko chor ky, usky bhai ko rukh lia. Uska bhai mera khwahishmand tha, ab mujhay barah saal hogae. Rakha hwa hy.*' [I have been in a relationship with my maternal uncle's son for over 12 years. Before him, I was with his elder brother for three years then I got him married to a woman through his mother. I remorse why did I get him married as he loved his wife. I started enticing him, but he didn't reciprocate *na* the way he used to. In retaliation, I left him and got his

younger brother involved in me. His brother dreamt of my company; it's been 12 years since then. I am with him [till date].'

A conversational excerpt about fulfilment of needs is detailed in the following text. The text below details about sexual availability, socio-economic reciprocity, and mutual respect.

[VERBATIM]

Me: Apki sari zaruriyat puri karta hy?

Laila: Koe ziada nahin, agr me Lahore jao na. wo Lahore rehty hain, idhar nahin rehtay. Agr me jao to mujhay khana achi jaga se khila deta hy. gawal mandi wagera Jahan bhe kahu. Machi, jo bhe me kahu. Maheeny ka mujhay pandra hazar khila deta hy aur kuch nahin. Kupray jootay le deta hy me jesay bhe kahu. Me abhi kahu mere ghar me bees hazar de ao, de ae ga, bad me me usay wapas kar du ge. Jab mere pas ae gy. Acha taluq hay. Pehly mujhy us se muhabbat the na to mujhy itni aqal ni the. Mujay ye muhabat the keh mujy choday pyar kry ye wo. Ab barah sal hogae hain na to wo wala nahin raha taluq, ab sumjho jesay bahaiyu wala pyar hy. Me uski who meri izzat krta hy. ab wo wali batay nahin hy. kabhi saal bad ceh maheenay bad hojata hy. har bar nahin hota.

[TRANSLATED]

Me: Does he meet all your needs?

Laila: Not much, when I visit Lahore *na*… he lives in Lahore, doesn't live here. When he visits, he hosts me in a good restaurant, Gawal Mandi etc. Wherever I demand. [Fried] fish, for instance. Wherever I want to eat. He also sends me ten, fifteen thousand rupees each month, nothing else. He also buys for me clothes and shoes, as he likes. If I request him to send home twenty thousand rupees, he sends. Later, I also return him the amount. It's a solid relationship. In the beginning I was madly in love *na*, at that time, I didn't think through things much. I was naïve. I was only looking for love and sex. After twelve years, the relationship has turned brotherly. It's not very emotively and sexually charged, now. We both respect each other. It isn't what it once used to be. We give in sexually after six months or a year. Not every time we meet.

Laila also detailed about the role social capital plays in not only accessing potential *giryas* but also in knowing about the whereabouts of their *girya* boyfriends. Khusras are very well-connected with each other. They share information related to forms of socio-economic organization, about fights within the community, and snowball information about *mela* and dance functions. In addition to sharing this information, *khusras* and *zenanas* are well-informed about whereabouts of their *giryas*, especially the information about where their *giryas* are,

whether they are being unfaithful in a relationship, if they are eyeing on other *khusras* or *zenanas*. These details are narrated in the following excerpt.

[VERBATIM]

Me: Kia unka taluq kisi aur se hy?

Laila: Nahin nahin kisi se nahin hy. me udan saan na pi jawan.

Me: Apko paka pata hy?

Laila: Haan

Me: Kesy pata lgwati hain?

Laila: Mujay yaqeen hy yar. Pata chal jata hy. ek bunday nal dus barah sal suta ho, bnday da pata chalda ay. Ay meri Saheli nu ay dita si. Us welay mere nawi nawi lagy si. Uday bad me unhu dunia da mariya si. Uday bad usny kasam kadi si o ni krda. Us se meny kaha hy tu ja kisi larki se bhe mil mujay koe aitraz ni hy. tu kisi khusre nu milun ga menu aitraz ay. Hum sab khusre jany walay hain. Mera dost isko mily ga na. ya kisi khusre ko silakot me milay ga na, to mujhay pata chal jata hy, humay fori pata chal jata hy. Karachi me kisi ko milay, mujhay pata chal jae ga. Hafta maheena nahin to saal bad pata chal jata hy. Wo khusru me ata hi ni hy, function salgirah pe bulati hu, gana krwati hu phir wo chala jata hy.

[TRANSLATED]

Me: Is he seeing anyone?

Laila: No no; [he is] not with anyone. I will kill him if he does.

Me: Are you sure he isn't seeing anyone?

Laila: Yes.

Me: How do you make sure?

Laila: I know it, my friend. It's very easy to know. I have been with him for twelve years, how on earth will I not get to know. He once got physical with my *saheli*. At that time, we just started seeing each other. Once I got to know about it, I beat him black and blue. He promised that he would never do such a thing again. I told him categorically that I will react if you meet a *khusra*. I have allowed him to go and see girls, though. We are very well-connected with each other. If my *dost* shows interest in her or sees another *khusra* in Sialkot, for instance, then I will be immediately informed. Even in Karachi if he sees another *khusra*, I will get to know about it. If not after a week or a month, I will get to know [about it] after one year, but I will eventually [get to] know. He isn't social among *khusras*, I invite him to function or *salgirah*, he pays for my dance then he takes a leave.

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Despite applying such tactics, Laila is not ignorant of the fickleness, temporariness, and emptiness of these relationships. Commenting on the emotional proximity with her *girya*, she said:

[*VERBATIM*]

Laila*: Pehly aqal nahin the, tey pyar shyar zaroori si. Tey jadu di aqal ae hy, pyar shyar sab jhoot ay. Wo apni shadi karty hain, larki ko shadi kar ke ghar pe latay hain, behen bhai rishtaydaru ke sath, usky gandu nahin bnty. Usko chorh ke humay chodny aty hain. Hamary kidhar se banay gain ye log. Bus koe acha lgy to usay bana lete hain hum log. Khwahish puri krty hain, phir pesa le ky ja.*

[*TRANLATED*]

Laila: I wasn't wise earlier on. At that time what mattered was love. With time, I have become wiser. They get married, bring women to their homes, in front of their sisters and brothers and relatives. They leave them [*their wives*] and come to us to get laid. How can they be sincere to us? End to this story is that we go for men whom we fall for. We get physically involved with them, we extract money from them and ask them to leave. That's it!

The chapter covers various themes related to the structure and dynamics love. For *khusras* and *zenanas*, love is primarily an emotion but its also performative and action-oriented, especially when feigned for materialistic reasons. Having said that, love is also an entrapment to condition and govern the behaviors of *khusras* and *zenanas*. This theme is detailed under the heading of *guru-girya* as an exploitative complex. Love is also agentic when zenanas and *khusras* use their sexuality and bodies to pronounce feigned romantic love to accrue material benefits from their multiple *giryas*.

Case Study 3: Tejo

Tejo is a 40-year-old *zenana* residing in a Babu Building of Mansehra City. She owns a *dera* in Babu Building and lives with her 3 *chelas*. She earns through *paisha*, dance functions and *bidhae*. Her younger *chelas* also share a part of their incomes with her. Tejo often shared that volumes can be written on her life and her love interests. She had been in one serious relationship but after experiencing heartbreak, she purposefully refrains from getting involved in a serious relationship with any man. Often during fieldwork in Mansehra City, she talked at length about what *pyar* is, how is it different from *dilagi* and why is it always wise to avoid *pyar*

and experience *dilagi*. Following excerpt from one of the interviews conducted with her, explains the same with her experiential narrative of heartbreak and pain.

[VERBATIM]

Me*: Apka koe girya hay?*

Tejo*: Nahin.*

Me*: Koe paka banda?*

Tejo*: Na.*

Me*: Kiyun?*

Tejo*: Kabhi mehsus nahin kia. Girya is mohol, is waqt, is sadi me, koe kisi ka nahin hota.*

Me*: Kiyun? Kia pesa khata hay?*

Tejo*: Nahin, pesa nahin khata hamara. Usko bas laluch hoti hay. Jitna bhe taluq ho, aik sal, dou sal, dus sal. Me kehti hu panch din bhe kar lo. Wo mujhay kehta tha ky me tumhy chahta hu, me usay kehti aye hu me tumhy chahti hu. Phir bhe agar kal ko mere dost ae hay, yani keh agar hum donu idhar bethay hotey hain ikathay. Wo kahay ga uff yar, ye kia cheez hay. Isko choro, usky pass jao. Esa dor hay. Wo ye nahin sochta keh ye gareeb hay, ya mujh se pyar karta hay, isi se mujhay kuch hasil ho skta hay. Lekin nahin. Mujhay chorh ke I uske peechay chala jae ga. Kuch bandu se beinteha pyar karteen hain moortay, phir bhe chorh ke chalay jatay hain kisi ke peechay. Yeh to galat bat hay na. Me isi lye kisi se payar nahin karteen. Mera ab who dil nahin raha keh kisi se pyar karu, ya kisi ke pas bethu, kisi ke sath batay karu, ratay guzaru. Ab bas mera yehe dil hay keh me kam karu.*

[TRANSLATED]

Me: Is there a *girya* in your life?

Tejo: No.

Me: Not a stable relationship with a man?

Tejo: No

Me: Why is this so?

Me: I don't feel like keeping one. Currently, one cannot trust a *girya*. No one is sincere to anyone.

Me: Why?

Tejo: Everyone is greedy these days. Whoever loves us is greedy. This is the truth.

Me: Does he extract money?

Tejo: No. he doesn't extract money. He is greedy, otherwise. No matter for how long the relationship has sustained, one year, two years, ten years. If it has stayed for five days. That's not relevant here. He has been saying this to me that he loved me, I have kept on telling him that I loved him. Still whenever my friend [another *khusra*/*zenana*] visits me and we are sitting together. He will appear and think, 'Oh God! How beautiful is she, leave her [the existing one] and get her [the new one]'. This is what they do. It will never cross his mind that I am in love with him, and that he should remain faithful with me. But no. he will leave me and run after the new one. There are a few among who are in intense love with their *girye*, still they leave them for another *khusra*. This is unacceptable *na*. This is the reason that I never love anyone. I don't have a heart anymore that can love anyone, or that can wish for sitting with anyone, long for conversing with anyone, or spend nights with. Now, I only think of earning.

The current chapter has explained respondent's experiential realities regarding love: the materiality of love, the monetized manifestations of love, unconditional love, love conditioned on economic exchanges, love as social reciprocity and sex-love as well as love-money articulations.

CHAPTER 8

EMOTIONAL PROXIMITY AND HIV/AIDS AT-RISK BEHAVIORS

The current chapter encapsulates the findings of HIV/AIDS at-risk behaviors and intends to respond to the research question on risky sexual practices. The chapter starts by explaining the risky sexual practices in general especially for *khusras* and *zenanas* whose survival is dependent on *panpaisha*. The chapter, furthermore, explains the sexual practices with a *girya*, the types of sexual acts performed in such relationships, the role of emotional proximity in sexual relationships with a *girya* and prevalence of violence in such relationships. The chapter concludes with a few findings detailing physical and oral violence as a precursor for sexual violence against the community and how does that, increases their vulnerabilities towards at-risk behaviors.

8.1. Sexual Practices: Risky?

To elicit data on the sexual behaviors and practices of *khusras* and *zenanas* with their *giryas* and to explore that how do emotions of romance or feigned romance play out in describing the sexual relationships between them and their *giryas*, data related to risky sexual behaviors (in-general) was elicited in individual interviews and focus group discussions. After having elicited data on such behaviors, more personalized questions on themes such as safe sex with *girya*, promiscuity of *giryas*, violence and sexual intercourse, romance and safe sex and consensual safe sex were asked.

8.1.1. Question of Safe Sex, in General

Reema, an *uqwi guru* from Islamabad, asserts her take on the implausibility of safe sex for a *zenana* or a *khusra*. She explains that if a *moorat's* single source of income is through prostitution, then how can she claim to have safe sex. She also comments on the sexual promiscuity of *khusras* and *zenanas* by explaining that if she wants to have safe sex, then she must have one man, not the multiple ones to be in these sexual relationships with.

Reema*: Safe sex ko prostitute practice krty hai! Mjy to ye sawal herat zada kr rha hy! Prostitute to safe sex ko to ni na kr skti. Aik am insan ho, jis ne ek life partner rakha ho, woh already safe hy, safe sex kry gi. Ab jis ny din ke sou bndu se milna hy, wo safe kesay hy. Koe bnda din ky dus bees bandu ko mil rha ho aur kahay kehy bees bndu se safe sex kr rha ho…Agr usko safe sex krna hy to ek bndy se kry. Ek moorat jo bees bndu se mil rhy hay, usko safe sex ka nam kesay dia ja skta hy. Bees bndu ke sath woh kon si protection use key gi. Apko lgta hy keh bees bndu se milu aur phir bees bndu ke sath krny se pehly hath sanitize kru, phir usky kru, phir peechay se saf kru, phir krty hwe bhe usko kahu keh dekhay krty hwe phat na jae. Esa possible hy? Agr practically possible hy to bata dain mjy.*

[TRANSLATED]

Reema: Prostitute will practice safe sex! <u>REALLY</u>! This question surprises me! A prostitute cannot do safe sex *na*! A person who has only one life partner, is safe, she will do safe sex. The one who is promiscuous with hundred men, how can she claim that she is safe! If she is sexually active with ten, twenty men per day and claims that she is having safe sex…she must be with one man if she wants a safe sex. How can a *moorat* be practicing safe sex if she is active with twenty men per day. Which protection can she practice with twenty men? Does it ring true to you if she is sanitizing her and each one of [her customer's] hands, then she is cleaning herself from behind each time, then asks each client to make sure that [the condom] doesn't spill…Is it [all] possible? If it's practically possible then please illuminate me.

(Interview extract: Reema, 30, Islamabad)

Tina and Kajal, on the other hand, detailed during a focus group discussion conducted in Kot Radha Kishan, about various sexual acts they both perform. They both are vocal about sexual acts but not many respondents were, including the ones I had developed close friendships with. Instead of vocal communications, they communicate meanings related to sexual acts through using their hands, fingers, mouths, lips, and tongues. For instance, encircling first finger and thumb to make a circle shape, using middle finger of second hand, and inserting the middle finger into an encircled shape means anal sex performed to a respondent. Broadening palm of a hand and rubbing middle finger of second hand connotates hand job performed by the respondent, and sucking a thumb means oral sex performed by a *zenana* or a *khusra*. Tina, in the excerpt below, also shares that she also plays an insertive role to her clients on-demand. There is little negotiation power over safe sex and choice of clients. Kajal, despite her dislike for older men, give in sexually.

[VERBATIM]

Tina: *Bund Marwa ky, bund maar ky, choopay wi landi aan. Fucking wi te sucking wi…*

Kajal: *Gariyun walay choopay lagwaty hain. Me nahin lgati chupay, me sirf gand marwati hu, woh bhe majboori me. Munda sonrha lgy te free wi de dendi aan, babay menu zeher lgdy aan. Barhay umar de bandy zeher lgdy aan, unha nu me chunday mara…*

[TRANSLATED]

Tina: She gets inserted, she inserts, too, she gives blowjob too. Fucking and sucking, both.

Kajal: The ones in cars are interested in oral sex. I don't give blowjob; I am into anal sex only; that too when I am helpless. I give in when the man [client] is good looking, I hate older men, I wish to slap them.

(Excerpt from Focus Group Discussion)

Most of the respondents from all the locales knew what HIV/AIDS was, how it can be transmitted and how vulnerable *zenanas* and *khusras* are to the disease. They also knew that practicing unsafe sex increases their vulnerability, but they could not afford practicing safe sex for three reasons. First, lack of negotiating power with clientele over practicing safe sex. Second, there is always another *zenana* or a *khusra* who is ready to agree to unsafe sex because unsafe sex is preferred over safe one by *chaamkay* and *tamashbeen*. Thirdly, insistence over safe sex, led to sexual and physical violence on *zenanas* and *khusras* by their *chaamkay* and *tamashbeen*.

8.1.2. Question of Safe Sex, with *Girya*

The data presented so far is related to risky sexual acts and behaviors performed between the respondents and their *chaamkay* and *tamashbeen*. When leading and probing questions related to sexual intimacy, relational dynamics and sexual acts, and violence in *khusra/girya* relationships were asked, the respondents came up with following replies.

Rano, for instance, cannot think of having a safe sex with her *girya*. She found him on a dance function at a *mela* in Pattoki. Since then, she has been in a relationship with him. She is in love; he loves her too. It's a sixteen-year long relationship and she finds, in him a good, mature husband, with whom practicing safe sex is out of question, as she says during an interview:

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[VERBATIM]

Rano: *Jo paka dosy hai, uske sath nahin krty.*

[TRANSLATED]

Rano: [*I*] don't use [*condom*] with my man.

(Interview extract: Rano, 23, Islamabad)

The issue arises when the same man who is married to a woman, is also sexually active with other female sex workers. And Rano, herself, practices unsafe sex with other men who come to her *dera* for *pan*. In this way, a risky sexual behavior increases the susceptibility of catching or transmitting sexually transmissible diseases such as Syphilis and Gonorrhea among risky groups, transgender and female sex workers through their *giryas*.

Going in-depth about finding an articulation between *panpaisha* as a form of economic organization and sexual violence by a *girya*, Zamurat shared that her sexual promiscuity with other men is the only way for her survival, due to which her *girya* rapes her. This implies not only unsafe and condomless sex but also forced sex which takes place alongside physical violence. Her *girya* also visits female sex workers, is married to a woman, and has three kids. The *girya*, in this case, can become a transmitter of disease among two at-risk groups: transgender and female sex workers. He can also become a carrier of a disease from these at-risk groups to a wider population by transmitting to his wife.

[VERBATIM]

Zamurat: *O menu kharcha kurcha nahin denda, te me marwa lendi aan. Tey mera mard menu torda wi ay.*

[TRANSLATED]

Zamurat: Since he doesn't provide for me, I earn through prostitution [*she performs unsafe anal intercourse*]. In anger, my man rapes me.

(Interview extract: Zamurat, 19, Mansehra)

Pinky, while commenting on a *girya* of her *shoormi saheli*, also highlighted the commonality of forced sex in such relationships.

[VERBATIM]

Pinky: *Baji iss da honda girya tey iss da kut bharya janda si uj. Adi wi la lenrhi si. Hae wi painrha ki kalam wajun lagi saday ghar. Ay tey lotraan di moorat ay, parhi parhae.*

[TRANSLATED]

Pinky: *Baji*, if her *girya* was here, he would have coerced her to sex. He would have penetrated her anally. *Hae wi*! What have you come to talk to us about? This seems to be an untouched *moorat* [and] learned, as well.

(Interview extract: Pinky, 19, Rawalpindi)

Kaanchi's and Maira's conversation during an informal conversation highlights a few important points. First, it speaks of clientele expectations of sexual acts, which are not always about *zenanas* and *khusras* playing a passive sexual act in the sexual intercourse. As Kaanchi details in the text below, that the whole twin city is full of men irrespective of white-collar or student status, or those residing in domesticated or hostel settings, want to be inserted. Switching this conversation to her *girya*, Maira explains her relational association. She is no more in a relationship with him. She used to provide for him because she loved him. After breaking up with him, she is in love with a new *girya* (a policeman) whom she gives fifteen thousand rupees each month. This conversation also speaks of unfaithfulness of *giryas*. Many *zenanas* and *khusras* claimed that given a choice they wouldn't want to have multiple sexual partners. Its due to poverty and hunger that they must resort to *panpaisha* for survival. Giryas, on the other hand, are by nature unfaithful, insatiable, and promiscuous. Kaanchi, in the text below, narrates that once he forced her into sex because she refrained from paying extortion money. He left her bleeding. The last comment by Maira, '*khula khata*' connotes wideness of anal hole and lack of pain due to multiple coerced sexual encounters.

[VERBATIM]

Kaanchi: *Pura Islamabad Pindi gaanduu se barha parha hy. kia hostel, kia student, kia job walay, sab gaandu hain.*

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Maira: Hae hwe the.

Kaanchi: Ek paka banda rakhya si, paka girya rakhya si.

Maira: Ek paka banda rakhya si, unhu me hi khawandi si. Wo Lahore ka tha. Ek idhar hy, police wala hy. usko maheeny ka dus pandra hazar bhe dete hu.

Kaanchi: Han han ye dete hy usko maheenay ka. Ek bar me paisahy pe the iska banda mjy utha ke le gaya. Mujhay esay choda, khoon o khoon hogae.

Maira: Ja way khoon o khoon, ithay tey khulay khatay aan.

[TRANLATED]

Kaanchi: The whole Islamabad and Pindi is full of those who like to be inserted, including hostels, students, white collars, name anyone, all are *gandu*.

Maira: Yes, I fell in love, once.

Kaanchi: I once fell for a man, he was my *paka girya*.

Maira: Yes, I once had a *paka girya*, I used to provide him. He was from Lahore. Now, I have one in Islamabad, he is a police officer. I give him ten fifteen thousand on monthly basis.

Kaanchi: Yes, yes, she provides for him on monthly basis. One day when I was out for *paisha* his man forced me into sex, I was in blood after that encounter.

Maira: *Ja way* [go away], in blood! Her hole is wide open due to promiscuous sex.

(An extract from Focus Group Discussion)

Deedar, a *nirban* from Rawalpindi, describes the types of sexual acts she performs to her clientele. She also expresses how her body after undergoing multiple operations and surviving through many incidents of forced sex has become void of pain. The commonality of sexual violence is a recurrent narrative in her response, too.

[VERBATIM]

Deedar: *Me char char companiyan dete hu. Ek idhar ikhatay kar ky, ek mu me, ek peechay, ek kus me.*

Me: Dard nahin hota?

Deedar: *Mujay koe dard nahin hota. Dard mere jism se urh gaya hy. Mujhay koe maray bhe to dard nahin hota. Gosht me gosht gaya to kia dard hoga, tum khud samjhdar ho. Mere me se dardy wurday khatam hogae hain. Zulm itny logu ne kye hain. Mujhay chuk ke le gae se, wah wah bunday tup gae si.*

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Deedar: I can take in four men at a point in time. One man between the boobs, one from ass, one in *chuchee* [the hole which appears after castration].

Me: Is it painful?

Deedar: I don't feel any pain. My body has become void of pain, now. I feel no pain even if I am beaten up. Sex is just like meat inserted into another meat, what is pain to do with it? You can surely understand that! I feel no pain. My body has borne so much pain. Many a times, I am brutally forced into sex, I have been raped multiple times.

(Interview extract: Deedar, 33, Rawalpindi)

8.2. Violence: A Precursor

The following excerpt is a conversation between Gori, her *saheli* Mishi and me. The conversation sparked a series of incidents from Gori's life. The incidents explain physical and sexual violence exercised against her by eight men who wanted her to sexually give in. Upon refusal, they did not only chase her and cut her hair but also gang-raped her. Towards the end of the conversation, the respondent also shared that in addition to perpetuating physical and sexual violence against them, *zenanas* and *khusras* are also robbed. Hence, violence in its physical (chopping off hair), sexual (gang-rape), oral (oral abuse) and existential (violence because of a feminized identity) ways, are practiced against the community members.

[VERBATIM]

Me: Koe badtameezi karta hy?

Gori: To ki hay na mere sath. Jab me function pe gae the.

Me: Kahan gae thee?

Gori: Lahore me.

Me: Phir?

Gori: Han. Mere bal kat dye function pe.

Me: Kiyun katay. Wajah kia the?

Gori: Function pe wo kehtay the, do. Sath aath janay the. Me ny kahan nahin. Me bhag gae. Unhu ne pakar lia.

Me: Phir?

Me: Bal kat dye?

Gori: Hmm. Wo dikhana meri tasveer.

[Her saheli gave her the photo frame]

Gori: Ye dekho.

Me: Bal kiyun katty hain?

Gori's saheli: Bal kat detay hain na.

Gori: Han han, functionu pe. Wo kehty hain, Idhar ao, choday tumhy. Kehty hain pura dalay gain.

Mishi (Gori's saheli): Sab se barhi kamzori to yehe hai na, bal.

Gori: Sab se barhi kamzori hay.

Me: Dobara a jae gy na.

Gori: A to jae gy, par ab kesay ae gay. Itni dair bad ae gy, ab me kia karu. Ab bus esay night dress pehan ke soti hu bas. Pehly bal the na to function wagera kar sakti the na.

Me: Ab bhe kar skteen hain na?

Gori: Ab kesay?

Me: Bal bahut zaruri hotay hain?

Gori: Han na. Ab kesay ghumao. Wig to utar jae gy phir.

Me: Unhu ne puray kat dye the bal?

Gori: Han na, meny thapar mara tha. Me bhag gae the. Lekin pakarh lia. Lahore ke qareeb gao tha. Pakarh ke le gae. Agay kutty, peechay mard.

Mishi (Gori's saheli): Kabhi do, kabhi teen. Pesay bhe cheen lety hain. Mobile bhe cheen lety hain. Martay hain. Jiyazti kartay hain.

[TRANSLATED]

Me: Do men misbehave?

Gori: Yes, they do. They misbehaved with me when I went for a function.

Me: Where did you go?

Gori: In Lahore.

Me: Then?

Gori: Yes. They forcefully cut my hair short.

Me: Why did they cut off? What was the reason?

Gori: They asked me to give in sexually at the function. They were seven, eight in number. I refused and tried to run. They still found me.

Me: Then?

Gori: What then? They raped me.

Me: They also cut your hair?

Gori: Hmm. Give that photo frame.

[Her saheli gave her the photo frame]

Gori: Look at this.

Me: Why do they cut hair?

Gori's *saheli*: They cut hair *na*. its common.

Gori: Yes yes, especially at functions. They expect us to comply to their sexual demands.

Mishi (Gori's *saheli*)**:** Our biggest weakness is our hair.

Gori: <u>The biggest weakness.</u>

Me: They will grow again *na*.

Gori: They will, eventually but how will they! It is going to take a lot of time! What will I do till then? Now, these days I only sleep at nights while wearing nights dresses. I used to perform at functions *na* when I had hair.

Me: You can still do *na*?

Gori: How?

Me: Is hair this important?

Gori: Absolutely *na*, how will I swirl my head now. Wig doesn't stay longer.

Me: Did they chop all your hair off?

Gori: Yes, I slapped one of them. I tried to run away but they found me. It was a village in the vicinity of Lahore. [They] took me to a dingy area. There were dogs ahead, and men behind.

Mishi (Gori's *saheli*)**:** Sometimes two, sometimes three. They steal money from us. They also steal our mobile phones. They beat us. They rape us.

Similar view is shared by Katrina who resides in Mansehra City. She showed me the empty buildings and unvisited parks where men force *zenanas* and *khusras* into coerced sexual violence. When she was inquired about the possibility of safety measures, she responded with

negation stating that many among them are gang-raped by alcoholic men. It is very difficult to escape from such men. The interview extract is described in the text below.

[VERBATIM]

Katrina: Aur idhar mar peet bhe ziada hay. Le jatay side pe. Jhoot bol ke le gae hain. Humay leja ke martay hain. Hamaray pas jo bhe cheezain hain, pesay hain, mobile hain, woh bhe cheen letay hain. Jitnay banday hain woh ziaditi bhe karain gain. Kar ky phir kapru ke beghair hi bahir nikal de gain ya mar de gain.

Me: Aur koe hifazit?/

Katrina: */ Kia honi hay. Ek idara tha. Wahan se latay the aur ek medical store hay wahan pe adhi qeemat par baich detay hain.*

[TRANSLATED]

Katrina: Violence is very common here. They forcefully take us to deserted areas. They trick us and take us to some deserted places. They beat us, they snatch things such as money and mobile from us. They take turns and rape us. After getting done, they throw us bare bodied in an open space or will kill us.

Me: Any safety measures? /

Katrina: /What is there? Nothing. There was one center. They used to secure condoms from there and sell in a nearby medical store at a half price.

(Interview extract: Katrina, 30, Mansehra)

Rekha also details of one violent incident she experienced in Islamabad. The experience explains that how duress and captivity create extreme sense of fear. The physical violence in situations like these result in sexual violence; gang-rape in this situation. Such incidents of physical violence, threat, duress, and sexual violence by stranger/s were cited by respondents from other locales as well.

[VERBATIM]

Rekha: Kaheen banday esay hotay hain jo galiyan detay hain. Bakwas karty hain. Kuch din pehlay ki bat hay. Hum donu tayar hoke nikleen theen. Ye bahut pyari lag rahi the, mujhay bhe ek larki ne bola aj tu into pyari lag rhy hay, utha lena hay tujay kisi ne. Esa hi hwa. Ye kam pe chali gae. Me ghar se wapas a rhy the. Mujhay bandu ne pakar lia. Kehty lay ke jae gy aj. Me ny kaha nahin jao gi. Do pathan mard the. F11 ke pas jungle sa hy wahan le gae. Ek ne kaha tujhay karu ga, me ny kaha chalo tum kar lo. Woh kehta dusra pesa de ga. Meny kaha chal koe nahin tu de ya who de pese ek hi bat hay. woh ker ke gaya aur dusra aya. Kehta kry ga tujhy. Me ny kaha

kar par pese de. Kehta hy me pathan hu, zaban ka paka hu. Usny kia. Me ny pese mangy to us ny pistol nikal li. Me ne kaha yar tu jo kuch krna chahta hy kr, bas mujhay mar na. Mere kapre phar de, mere kapre utar day, bas ye kam na kar. Usny jatay hwe mujhay kaha tum ye bees rupay rakh lo. Me ny usko dye aur kaha tum ye bhe rakh lo. Tumhary kisi kam ae gy. Mere us din koe kamae nahin hwe. Istarah bhe hota hay.

[TRANSLATED]

Rekha: There are men who orally abuse us, call us with names. I will tell you what happened to me a few days ago. Both of left home after getting ready. She was looking gorgeous. On our way one girl remarked, 'You are looking so pretty today, you will be get picked up today.' This is exactly what happened that day. She went for *panpaisha*. I was on my way back to *dera* when two men blocked my way who wanted to pick me up. I told them back that I wouldn't go with them. They were *pathan* men. Using force on me, they took me to a jungle in F-11. One man said that he wanted to do me, I replied to him to do it. He said I would be paid by the second one. I said that its okay, as it would make no difference if he paid, or the other person did. After getting done, the second one came. He demanded the same. I asked him to pay me first. He said that he surely would as he is a *pathan* and would never retract from his words. After he got done with me, I demanded money to which he took his pistol out and pointed at me. I pleaded him to not kill me, and he can do anything to me he wants except killing me…he can tear my clothes, he can take my clothes off. Whatever he wants. While leaving, he gave me twenty rupees note. I handed those back to him and said, 'These may be of some use for you! You keep it!'. I did not earn a single rupee that day. Incidents like these are very common.

(Interview extract: Rekha, 32, Islamabad)

Meher, again, speaks of physical violence in the excerpt below but exercised by her *girya* than by a stranger. Her *girya* once broke a water glass after getting drunk which had left a lifelong scar on her forehead. The scars left by cigarette burns on her chest, arms and shoulders also haunt her of the ways he used to exercise violence on her. Eventually, she left him and the city of Lahore. The details are in the extract from an interview below.

[VERBATIM]

Meher*: Pyar kia hy yar. Hamari zindagi me agar wo bhe na ho to kia reh jata hy peechay. Me ny usay chorh dia tha. Jab us ny sharan peeni shuru kar di the. Marta tha sab kuch karta tha, mere chehry pe ye dekho Nishan uski wajah se hain. Ek din sharab pe ky itni ki mar pitae, mere sir par glass torh dia. Usi se pyar tha. Usky bad bus dillagi ki hy. Pyar nahin kia. Pyar bas ek bar hi hota hay.*

[TRANSLATED]

Meher: I did fall in love *yar*. What else is left if we don't have a man in our lives. I left him since the time he started consuming alcohol. He used to beat me. Look at my face, all these are scars are because of him. One day after getting drunk he beat me black and blue and broke a

glass on my head. I loved him only. After him, I haven't fallen in love, had been in temporary relationships but not love. Love happens once in a lifetime.

<div align="right">(Interview extract: Meher, 20, Rawalpindi)</div>

The chapter details that unsafe sex is practiced with and by both strangers and *giryas*. Their male clientele is sexually active with other female sex workers and transgender sex workers. The situation is not different for *giryas*, as well; *girya's* sexual promiscuity with female sex workers works as an intermediary of disease carrier between the two at-risk groups (transgender and female sex workers). The data also shows that not only *giryas* prefer unsafe sex but the *khusras* and *zenanas* find practicing safe sex condescending with their *giryas*. For them, a wife cannot use a condom with her husband. I heard this anomaly many a times during focus groups discussions. The *giryas* are also sexually violent towards their *khusra* or *zenana* lovers; a situation which is not very different from experiencing sexual violence from a stranger as in both situations safe sex is out of question. Respondents also quoted excessive consumption of alcohol by violent male clientele which compromised the decision of safe sex. A few respondents also cited greater consumption of alcohol before going for *panpaisha* because it helps in reducing the pain of unsafe anal intercourse.

CHAPTER 9

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The final chapter of the thesis builds the connections between research findings and cited literature. While doing so, the chapter also connects the relationships between research findings and the concepts of conceptual framework. A discussion on research findings and research questions as posited in the first chapter of the thesis is also stated in this chapter. Study's research questions have also been revisited in the light of research questions. A summary of findings and way forward for future research introspection is also presented.

9.1. Research Findings and Cited Literature and Conceptual Framework

As cited in the study's review of literature that the concept of transactional relationships is researched and hence theorized for economically poor women such as bar hostesses of China, bar girls of Thailand and poor female-headed households of Africa. The axis along which the concept was contextualized for these women across varied geographical locales is poverty and deprivation. Therefore, the attempt in the current research was to first explore if the concept holds valid for *khusra*/*zenana* communities of selected locales and if found relevant, then explain the ways how the concept holds true, who are the key actors in such relationships, what types of transactions take place between these actors, what is the longevity of such relationships, are such relationships a survival strategy, what goes into nurturing such relationships, and what is the role of love and sex in the sustenance of such transactional relationships. The research findings as stated across different chapters reverberate reasons of poverty and deprivation. In addition, social exclusion, socio-economic discrimination, and lack of integration with the wider population further limit the possibilities of earnings for the *khusras* and *zenanas* of selected locales. Hence, being in long-term relationships with a man, keeping a man for socio-economic security and in a few instances, having multiple *girye* is a financially viable option for the community members. The economic transactions (cash and kind) taking place in these relationships strengthen the cause for securing material entitlements and to increase the longevity of such transactions, love, and sex both are used as instruments. Hence, the concepts of instrumentality of emotions and love are substantiated and supported by the research findings of the current research. One of the

differences marked by ethnographic studies conducted in Africa was the distinction between prostitution and transactional sex. Sex-for-money exchanges take place in both prostitution and transactional sex, but in later transactional relationships also build up and the nature of transactions in response to sex are not merely in cash. Since transactions, as a response to sex are not always in cash, hence transactional sex is socially acceptable in African societies (as detailed in the studies cited in the review of literature). The same is highlighted in the research findings. Panpaisha (prostitution) is cited as one of the prevalent forms of economic organization. The reasons for it are also detailed in the chapter on socio-economic organization. One of the reasons is that *panpaisha* is an easy money. For this reason, a few *gurus* disapprove of those *chelas* who earn only by *panpaisha* and hence bring shame to the *gurus*. Therefore, despite being quoted as the most viable form of economic livelihood, *panpaisha* is looked down upon. On the other hand, economic transactions based on transactional sex, are approved by *gurus*. There are three reasons for this. First, the sex-for-money exchanges are with a steady partner with whom sustained long-term relationships are built. Secondly, the men *zenanas* and *khusras* get romantically involved with are chosen (in many cases) and approved by the *gurus*. Third, *zenanas* and *khusras* prefer being in such relationships because, for them, transactional relationships are intimate and personalized. These relationships also provide them with an opportunity to exercise their agency by using their bodies, sexualities, and feigned romance as instruments. Having said this, the element of sex-for-money exchanges remains the commonality between *panpaisha* and transactional sex. While explaining the difference between the two Madhu came up with a clear lived-in difference, which is detailed in the following extract.

[VERBATIM]

Madhu*: Nahin, nahin. Bilkul nahin. Yeh jhooti bat hay. Ye to phir a jati hay soday bazi. Ye to a jati hay jism faroshi wali baat. Esa to nahin hota keh me us se panch so hazar mangu aur wo bad me kahay chalo isky sath jism faroshi to karo. Ye wo bat ajati hay. Esa nahin hay hamare taluq me. Gift wagera chalta hy, jese larkiyu ke sath taluq me hota hy. Mere bat suno, jab zindagi ka sathi hay to baqi sab kuch chalta hy, jese bahir le gae, ser kara di, dera le dia…*

[TRANSLATED]

Madhu: No, no. Not at all. This is all false. What you are talking about is trade. This is what is called selling your body for sex. It's not like I ask him for five hundred or one thousand rupees and he later on demands for sex from me. This is not what happens. This happens in prostitution.

This has never happened in our relationships. Yes, we do give gifts to each other, the same which is usual in a man-woman relationship. Lisen to me, when we have chosen each other as life partners, then the rest follows organically like travelling, outing, buying me a *dera*…

<div align="right">(Interview extract: Madhu, 30, Rawalpindi)</div>

Not only sex is not reciprocated with financial compensation, which is the case in prostitution, Madhu also speaks of the longevity of such relationships, which once developed, can lead to both partners living as life partners. This view is further corroborated by Dimple in the following extract from an interview conducted with her.

<div align="center">

[VERBATIM]

</div>

Dimple: *Suno na jerha miyan biwi da pyar onda ay. Aurat nu pyar howay te aurat sewa kardi ay banday di. Agar mard nu koe ada changi lag gae ay, tey fir mard ne wafa karny ay. Saada wi yehi hisab onda ay. O jerha dost ay na paka, o sanrhu bahar ni nikalny derha marzi de beghair, phone ni sunan derha, saday lad pyar saray chukny an, usi agr beemar o jawan tey unha ne sab tu pehly puchna ay.*

<div align="center">

[TRANSLATED]

</div>

Dimple: Its exactly like a husband-wife relationship. If a woman loves her man, she subservients to his needs. If a man falls for a man, then he will always be faithful to his woman. The same holds true for us, as well. Our men are so protective of us that they don't even let us move around alone, don't even let us attend phone calls, they are subservient to our needs too, if we ever fall sick, they will be the first ones to enquire about our health.

<div align="right">(Interview extract: Dimple, 22, Kot Radha Kishan)</div>

Another commonality between cited literature and transactional sex is that of multiple partners. Multiple partners who play provider roles to *zenanas* and *khusras* are also in sexual relationships with them, which has one serious consequence of practicing unprotected anal sex with them. Since the respondents who had multiple partners also earned of *panpaisha* so the practicing of at-risk sexual behaviors and the chance of acquiring and/or transmitting sexually transmissible diseases including HIV/AIDS also increases. Another commonality as highlighted in the research findings is that such relationships are not merely a survival option but also a way to supplement incomes earned through other forms of socio-economic organization. Avenue of prostitution such as soliciting areas are specified for looking out for potential male clientele but finding a potential *girya* or *yar* or *dost* is mediated by contacts and social capital. The socio-sexual settings for finding such men are mostly dance functions and *saalgirah* functions. I often observed

exchange of flirtatious smiles and looks between men during the start of such functions and by the end, phone numbers are already exchanged followed by long late-night calls. In the chapter which illustrates structure and dynamics of love, is mentioned that *khusras* and *zenanas* keep multiple *giryas* which meet their different needs; one for paying utility bills, one for social mobility, one for monthly expenditures, one for paying *dera* rents and one for spending on various forms of entertainments (trips, cinema, outing, etc.). This finding also intersects with one qualitative research (cited in the literature review) which details different boyfriends playing a different type of provider role. Gift exchange in such relationships was also a commonality but unlike cited literature in which gifts offered to women by their boyfriends increases sexual inclinations of men towards women who accept gifts and hence shifts power dynamics in favor of men and disadvantage to women, the current study highlights that gift sharing between *zenanas* and *khusras* is act of reciprocity which brings equality in a relationship. Unlike *giryas* who can be exploitative and extractive, a *pakka dost* is someone with whom gift giving deepens the emotional bond. In such relationships *zenanas* and *khusras* are even willing to and in many cases play provider roles to their *giryas* and *pakkay dost*. This is that one finding which isn't cited in any of the cited studies or in the scholarship of transactional sex and relationships. Many such cases are detailed in the chapter on structure and dynamics of love. Cited literature also highlights of women in such relationships expressing love through performing domesticated roles of cooking food, washing clothes, and taking care of their permanent boyfriends. So are the ethnographic studies by Nanda and Reddy. The current study also highlights domestic division of labor between a *girya* and a *khusra* or a *zenana*, in which a *girya's* expression of love is signified by his provider role and *khusra's/zenana's* expression of love is signified by doing domestic chores, cooking, cleaning, providing emotional support, and being sexually available to her *girya*.

Padilla's study highlights the classification of regular male clients as western union daddies, by *sanky pankies*, and *bugarrones* based on their age, financial entitlements, and emotional support. The classification of potential men into *phukar*, *chamka, bheela, cheesa, wadeela/sareela*, in the current research, by *khusras* and *zenanas* is based on masculinity, beauty and richness of men. The relationships of sanky *pankies* and *bugarrones* with western union daddies is most emotionally stable because of financial security. These daddies send remittances back to their

lovers which helps in sustaining a long-term relationship between feminized men and their daddies. Emotionality also plays an important role in *girya/khusra* relationships. Based on the intensity of emotional fondness, physical attraction, and sexual comfort, in chapter on world view of love, classifications of love are detailed, such as, *dilagi*, *mashooqi*, *chahat* and *dosti*. The daddies/*sanky panky* relationships and *dosti*-based *girya/khusra* relationships are similar because of emotionality and economic transactions. One recurrent finding of scholarship on transactional sex is the exploitation and power imbalances. The power imbalances with respect to sexual, economic, and emotive power of *girya* over *zenana* or a *khusra* are corroborated by the research findings on HIV/AIDS at-risk behaviors and structure and dynamics of love. One additional factor is the *guru-girya* complex which has not been cited in the South Asian literature on the third gender. The entrapment of a *khusra* or a *zenana* in the hands of a *girya* who is chosen by a *guru* is also detailed in the chapter which conceptualizes love as a structure. There is a strong materialistic reason to this entrapment as *gurus* fear their *chelas* of becoming independent in their decision-making which eventually compromises on their household decision-making power. For this reason, the *gurus* choose such a *girya* for her *chela* who not only feeds her, spends on her but also finds potential *chamkay* and *tamashbeen* for her. Through such a *girya*, a *guru* exudes and exercises her power on a *chela*. Such *giryas* are violent, extractive, rowdy and temperamental, due to which agency and freedom of *zenanas* or *khusras* becomes questionable. A study conducted on the transgenders of Mysore describes the budding of emotional relationships between transgender sex workers and their steady, long-term clients. The study explains that when relationships are developed based on mutual respect and morality then economic exchanges between social actors no longer remain immoral and unethical. Such economic transactions in cash and kind between social actors are termed under moral economy, for instance in the aforesaid Mysore research, sex workers provided food for their steady clients and clients in turn extended financial support not in exchange of sex but as an act of reciprocity. Such transactions lying within the domain of moral economy were not cited by any of the respondents in the current study. But a few respondents shared of steady relationships based on friendships with their regular male clients who once used to visit them for *pann*.

A study by Stoebenau et. al. (2016) explains a detailed conceptual framework of transactional sex. The three dimensions of transactional sex as detailed in this study are: Sex for basic needs,

Sex for improved social status and Sex and the material expressions of love. Absolute deprivation, household insecurity and gendered division of labor are the reasons cited for Sex for basic needs. The respondents of the current study did cite transactional relationships with a *girya* as a survival strategy, but they did not cite it as the only strategy to earn (i.e., sex for money). Hence, the dimension of Sex for basic needs is ruled out. Sex for social status is cited as one of the important dimensions by many respondents. Professional rivalries, competition with other *cheesi moortay*, the craving for latest smartphones, heavy jewelry, expensive clothes, and modern appliances compelled many respondents to opt in for transactional sex. Sex and material expressions of love can be substantiated by one of interviews conducted with the *giryas*, who took pride in playing a provider role to his *khusra* wife. Receiving and giving gifts is also a common practice observed in his relationship with his *khusra* wife (a component relevant in Sex and material expressions of love).

[VERBATIM]

Noori*: Pyar ki wajah se dosti chal rahi hay itnay arsay se. Saat din nahin, saat maheenay nahin, dus saal hogae hain.*

Me*: Khandan kis tarah se dekhta hay keh ek mard aur khusra sath reh rahay hain.*

Ali*: Hum donu ka istarah rehna muashra galat samajhta hay. Dost log bhe Mazak uratay hain. Tum bhe ban jao gay inki tarah. Is tarha bhe kartay hain.*

Me*: Kia jismani taluqat bhe hain?*

Ali*: Mere hain jismani taluqat jo kisi aurat ke sath nahin hi saktay.*

Me*: Isme esa kia hay?*

Ali*: Bass.*

Noori*: Iski mangetar bhe hay, Us say iski shadi bhe hogi.*

Me*: Shadi kiyun kar rhy ho?*

Ali*: Ghar waly karwa rhy hain. Yahan ijazat hoti shadi karny ki to me shadi kar leta. Shadi ke bad bhe isi tarha rahu ga. Ek din is ke pas aur ek din wife ke sath. Me karta rahu ga isky lye sab kuch, kapra, kharcha, pani, sab kuch.*

[TRANSLATED]

Noori: Love has sustained our relationship for this long. Not seven days, not seven months, but for ten years.

Me: What does your family think of this relationship between a man and a *khusra*?

Ali: They don't approve of this relationship. Friends also mock me that one I will become a *khusra*. They say such things.

Me: Do you have sex?

Ali: Yes. I cannot have a relationship with any woman the way I have with her.

Me: What is so special about her?

Ali: *Bass*!

Noori: He is engaged. He will marry her.

Me: Why are you getting married?

Ali: Due to family. I would have married her if this country allowed me. I will live the same life, one day with her and one with my wife. I will keep providing for her, every item…clothes, monthly expense, food, everything.

(Extract from an informal conversation)

In the conversational excerpt above, the *girya's* provider role can be explained in the sex and material expressions of love. The *girya* also explains of the sexual intimacy with her *khusra* wife and claims to live the same life with him being the provider, after he gets married to her fiancé (a woman).

Stoebenau et. al. (2016)'s conceptualization of transactional relationships also highlights the role of instrumentality (sex used as a drive for laddering-up the social status) in transactional sexual relationships. The study signifies that the level of instrumentality goes up when sex is used to improve social status. This point can be viewed in the light of the findings in chapter on structure and dynamics of love. But one excerpt sums up this point more than others. The excerpt is from an interview conducted with Khushi who has multiple *giryas*. When asked about the reason for multiple *giryas*, she replied:

[VERBATIM]

Khushi: *Muhabbat mujhay kisi ne bhe nahin di jaan. Me pesu ke sath pyar karti hun. Me hur cheez bikati hun. Hur andaz pesu me, batay bhe pesu me, nachna bhe pesu me. Sahi baat keh rahi hu. Khati hu, peeti hu, outing karteen hu na jaan.*

[TRANSLATED]

Khushi: I have never been loved by anyone, *jaan*. The only thing I love is money. Everything is for sale. I exchange everything with money…talk, dance, everything. Telling you the truth. [Then] I eat, drink, go out for outing, *jaan*.

(Interview extract: Khushi, 30, Islamabad)

Khushi, like many *zenanas* and *khusras* I interviewed, is not only using sex as an instrument but also is agentic because this instrumentality of sex, which is accompanied with the instrumentality of feigned romance, gives her enough agency to make sexual decisions, extract cash and kind from multiple *giryas* and gain symbolic capital (respect and reverence) within community members. Contrary to Khushi's viewpoint is Mishi who speaks of absolute deprivation (poverty) which compels *zenanas* or *khusras* towards sex for basic needs paradigm. Mishi states:

[VERBATIM]

Mishi: *Me kiyun jhoot bolu! Ab ek insan ko bitha rahi hu, dusra dost ae us se kuch na milay. Me kiyun bithao fazul. Log to humy nahin dete keh yeh lo kha lo beta, keh ye khusre log lain, marhay log hain, chalo de do inko. Koe nahin karta. Ye insan ki auqat hay. Aj kal te zamana hay jaan.*

[TRANSLATED]

Mishi: Why should I lie to you? Now if there is a man in my *dera*, and if another man comes in and he doesn't pay me the what's the point of it all? People don't come and offer us food saying that these are poor, deprived people, that they should be provided. No one does that. This is the worth of a human being. This is what today's world is like, *jaan*.

(Interview extract: Mishi, 20, Rawalpindi)

Speaking of relative importance of love or money in transactional sexual relationships, literature speaks of money being the most important, often taking over the importance of love in long-term sustained relationships. However, the ethnographic studies of Nanda and Reddy have highlighted case studies of *hijras* married to their husbands who not only play the caregiver domesticated roles but also provider roles. The findings of the current study also substantiate this point. There are, however, many cases in which material possessions (cash and kind) take precedence over emotions. Roopa, in the conversational excerpt below, vividly explains this point.

[VERBATIM]

Roopa: *Quaid-i-Azam ko salam hay.*

Me: Kia matlab?

Roopa: Pese ko salam hay.

((Laughs))

Roopa: To sahi bat hy na. Itna sab kis ke lye kia hay. Mu kala kis ke lye kia hay. Koe kamae bhe na ho? Koe khawar na ho.

[TRANSLATED]

Roopa: I always prefer Quaid-i-Azam.

Me: What does that mean?

Roopa: I prefer money [above anything else].

((Laughs))

Roopa: I am correct in saying this *na*. What is the outcome of this all? For what, have we brought shame on ourselves? Nothing to earn at the end of it all? This is because we want to secure ourselves, our futures.

(Interview extract: Roopa, 28, Rawalpindi)

The discussion and the excerpts from interviews as detailed in the preceding text, illustrate that the concepts of agency, instrumentality and deprivation hold true for the current study.

One of the concepts discussed in the thesis is Structures for which Giddens theorization of structures has been detailed in the study's conceptual framework. The research findings explain different types of structures which create hierarchies and inequalities not only between larger society and community members but also within the *zenana/khusra* communities. For instance, within community, the decision of castration and the resultant inequalities of earning opportunities between the *nirban* (castrated) and the *uqwi* (uncastrated). This implies that within community there is a constant struggle for acceptance of being feminine enough for the *uqwi*. This goes against *uqwi* members as they are not revered (deduced from most of the interviews I conducted and through participant observation) the way *nirban* members are. The *gurus* allocate labor-intensive domestic duties to the *uqwi* members than *nirban* members. Moreover, the most lucrative *chamkay* and *tamashbeen* are first introduced to the *nirban* members, which provides a wider range of men to select from for *nirban* members. The *uqwi* members, in many cases, earn through *panpaisha*. They are also ridiculed for their facial hair, their flattened chests, and bulging crotches- all the factors which make them masculine. There is another structure which

irrespective of *nirban* or *uqwi* divide, bounds a *khusra* or a *zenana* to an exploitative and extractive relationship. This structure is *guru-girya* complex. This complex perpetuates material, emotive, existential, and psychological violence over *zenanas* and *khusras*, as detailed in the chapter on the structure and dynamic of love. Outside the community, society which socially discriminates against the community members and economic depravity which propels economic discrimination against the community members can be theorized as structures. In this context, HIV/AIDS also functions as a structure against the community members for three reasons. First, it is a stigmatizing disease socially conceived as transmitted only through unsafe sexual contacts. Second, those contracting HIV/AIDS are socially occluded as they are considered sexually promiscuous. Third, the delimitation of earning opportunities if people contract the disease. Hence, for male-female transgender lives which have been cited in literature as deviant, socially unacceptable, and stigmatized, HIV/AIDS functions as a structure against them. One of the points of Giddens thesis is Structure versus Agency debate. The structures have been explained in the preceding text in the light of research findings. The agency component is also substantiated in the research findings. The ways through which *zenanas* and *khusras* create agency are explained as follows.

The data shows that the modus operandi of *zenanas* and *khusras* to negotiate, resist and challenge these structures are varied. The ways of negotiation, showing resistance and challenging these structures are bodily, and sexual. Bodily ways of retaliating to the existing structures are expressed through literal manifestations such as calling names back to those who mock and violate their spaces and themselves, chest humping, palm beating and other bodily gesticulations. Use of Farsi Chand as a secret-coded language is also an effective tool not only for communication among themselves, but also as a hidden script for speaking, plotting, and scheming against their greedy *gurus* and *giryas*. Under sexual ways, comes the instrumentalization of *zenana* or *khusra* bodies and sexualities. Sex and bodies used as instruments for securing cash and kind from their *giryas* (or multiple *giryas*) is another way of manipulating the existing structures.

Blau (1964)'s typology is also indigenized in the light of research findings. Based on Blau's concepts, Cohen (1982) explained four stages of love: mercenary, staged, mixed and emotional. The data explained in the chapter on structure and dynamics of love, explained each one of the

stages. There were respondents for whom sex for money exchanges were critically important with no emotionality attached to such exchanges (as explained in the chapter on the structure and dynamics of love). Such respondents can be grouped under the mercenary stage. The respondents in this stage had many steady clients interested in sex for money exchanges, only. Next is the staged stage, in which steadiness of the visitation of male clientele translates into feigning romance on the *zenana's* or *khusra's* end. The goal is the material acquisition not only from one but multiple clients. In this stage, as well, there are no emotions involved or the intent is not necessarily to cement relationships based on care, and mutual respect. Rather, the intent is to apply strategies to secure money for rents, clothes, TV set or any other item of need or want. The data in chapter on love illustrates views and explains experiences of *zenanas* and *khusras* wherein love is staged. Next in discussion is the mixed staged where a person who feigns romance starts to develop genuine emotions for the one who plays a provider role. Some of the respondents, while responding to the questions related to relative importance of love or money, seem to be torn between the two, but they cannot be grouped under this mixed stage because they eventually chose either love or money. There were, however, respondents who belonged to the final stage of emotional, wherein respondents though accepting the fact that love and money are not mutually exclusive, preferred love over money. Such respondents even spent and a few played provider roles for their men (*giryas*). It is important to mention here that the nature of transactions which happened in the mercenary stage were purely economic and extrinsically gratifying while the nature of transactions in the final stage, despite being mostly economic, were based on care, respect, and mutual reciprocity, and therefore social and intrinsically gratifying. Hence the research findings conform to the concepts of social and economic exchanges, mercenary, staged, and emotional stages of Blau's typology.

One concept in the study's conceptual framework was the feminist and queer epistemological positions on love. The findings of the current research resonate with the fact that love is sexist, patriarchal, and heteronormative. The heteronormativity of love is elucidated in the findings where respondents repeatedly referred to the man-woman wedlock as the normal relationship. Few respondents also quoted that they cannot give their *giryas* a child, hence their relationship is not normal. Adherence to domesticated roles, normalization of violence in *girya-khusra* relationship, confinement to *dera* communes, fear and duress by *bheelay* towards *zenanas* and

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khusras and subservience to *guru-girya* complex are some of the critical findings as detailed in the previous chapters which signify love as patriarchal and sexist. Hence the research findings conform to the existing scholarship of this domain. For the current research the concept of power was critical. Power, in its various forms, exists, as quoted by the respondents, and observed by me during fieldwork. According to Foucault, power is capillary, horizontal and embedded in the daily routinized conversations, articulations, conversations, mannerisms, non-vocal conversations, and bodily gesticulations. Power prevailing along these axes was observed by me and quoted by respondents during interviews. In guru-girya complex, it is not necessarily the direct, coercive, and authoritative power due to which a *zenana* or a *khusra* succumbs to the former's stringent conditionalities. It is in the baritone of the *guru*, in the intensity of her palm beating, and in her sharply piercing anger glance to the *zenana* or *khusra* that the later is conditioned not to disagree or be disrespectful towards the *guru*. Similar non-vocal and non-coercive mediums of conveying anger and displeasure is communicated to the *zenanas*/*khusras* by their *giryas*. Giryas, however, also used coercive strategies such as physical and sexual violence against their *khusras* and *zenanas*. Here Dahl's conceptualization of the instrument of power holds true. Lastly, to explain the power dynamics in interpersonal relationships, Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and capital have been contextualized for the current research. *Zenanas* and *khusras* possess different amounts and types of capital. Most prevalent form of capital possessed by the respondents was social capital based on relationships, associations, and reciprocities developed with their *zenana* and *khusra* community members (conceptualized as the horizontal social capital) as well as with their *giryas* (indulging in multiple and promiscuous transactional sexual relationships to gain social status)- conceptualized as vertical social capital. Both conceptualizations of social capital were prevalent as explained in the preceding chapters. Cultural capital, not in institutionalized, but in its embodied and objectified form was also visible in the research findings. Female facial features, enlarged breasts, castrated bodies, feminine attires, feminine bodily mannerisms, suggestive dance moves, and versatility in sexual acts performed to the *girya* are some of the embodied forms of cultural capital possessed by the *zenana* and *khusra* respondents. Among the objectified forms include cash, kind, cellphones, expensive latest clothes, and makeups possessed by the *zenana* and *khusra* respondents. The respect and reverence associated to *zenana* and *khusra* respondents

based on the possession of aforesaid forms of capital is called symbolic capital. The concept of the field includes all the spaces (including the socio-sexual ones) where interactions, associations, conversations and transactions take place among *zenanas* and *khusras* and between *zenanas*/*khusras* and their *giryas*.

9.2. Revisiting Research Questions

The current study was conducted to respond to six research questions. In the following text I have phrased each of the research questions, revisited a few in the light of research findings, and articulated which ones have been met and which haven't.

First research question which the current study aimed to respond was: How *zenanas/khusras* as part of community construct a worldview and social reality of love through their secret-coded language, Farsi?

This research question aimed to explain the importance of secret-coded language for a closed community of *zenanas* and *khusras*. The aim was also to decode and deconstruct their certain worldview of love such as How do *zenanas*/*khusras* perceive love? Is love sacred or desacralized? Who is a lover and what features should qualify him as one? What are the variant ways love is expressed and emoted. The findings of the study reveal that language plays a critical role in the social construction of love. Language expressed in vocal and non-vocal ways, communicate intensity, extensity, and depth of love. In addition, the typology of love classified into *chahat*, *dillagi*, *mashooqi* and *dosti* explains varying degree of emotional resonance, nuances and subtilities. This typological classification also reflects on the levels to love with *dillagi* at the last and *dosti* at the top of this vertical hierarchization of love. Moreover, the conversational data elicited from the respondents detailed that love can be instrumental, normative, sacralized, de-sacralized, musical, and titillating. Hence, all the reasons for which this research question was added in the current study have been met.

Second research question was: What is the positioning of political economy of love in the broader political economy of *zenanas/khusras* of selected locales?

This research question was added to understand the socio-economic organization of *zenana/khusra* community. The findings of the study have highlighted each one of the forms of

social and economic organization. The findings have also detailed circulation of money within the community, expenditure incurred on some forms of social organization, and economic livelihood options for the community members. The data reveals that the forms of socio-economic organization are not sufficient for the community members and hence cannot be relied upon as the sole source of income. Therefore, transactional sexual relationships are economically and socially critical.

The third and fifth research questions were:

Third: What is the structure and dynamic of the instrumentality of love in the lives of *zenana/khusra* of selected locales?

Fifth: What is the importance of money in the love relationships of *zenana/khusra* with *girya* (lover)?

The intent was to understand both the structure and dynamics of instrumentality of love. In this regard, love as an instrument of social security, securing economic entitlements, and communal uplift were looked deeper into. While doing so, the aim was also to see whether, love is always feigned for economic benefits, whether long-term relationship(s) with single or multiple *giryas* always driven by financial interests, and whether *girya*(*s*) always play(s) a provider role. The research findings reflect that the concept of love despite being largely instrumental is also normative. Love is staged, performed, and feigned for economic reasons by the *zenanas* and *khusras*, as an effective economic arrangement in which *giryas* play a provider role. But findings also signify that economic benefits don't always take precedence over love. Normative construction of love clearly indicates that *zenanas* and *khusras* also provide for their *giryas*. The third and fifth research questions have been stated together here because to respond to the fifth, third should have been answered first.

The fourth research question was: What are the formal and informal *khusra/zenana* socio-sexual settings? Are these settings important to their lives and how do they socialize into these settings?

Through this research, the aim was to explain the *dera* households, spaces of economic work, spaces of socialization, and socio-sexual spaces where sex-for-money exchanges happen. The findings have signified *dera* communes, importance of *dera* communes to their lives, *dera* as a

socializing space, and as a business center. The research findings also detail other socio-sexual settings of *saalgirah*, dance functions, and soliciting areas from where a potential *girya*, *dost* or a *yar* can be found.

Why and in what ways *khusras/zenanas* practice HIV/AIDS related risky behaviors and how does love fit in this dynamic?

This research question intended to explain what role does love through *khusra/girya* relational dynamic play in practising at-risk HIV/AIDS related behaviors. The findings reveal incidents of sexual violence between *zenanas/khusras* and their *giryas*, impossibility of using condoms with a *girya* lover on the pretext of husband-wife relationship and prevalence of oral, physical, and sexual violence exercised on *zenanas* and *khusras* by both strangers and their *giryas*.

9.3. Self-reflexivity

I am a gay man. I was raised and brought up in an affluent Muslim family. My family always had and provided me with all the resources to excel in life, be it education, health, and healthcare, and travelling. One thing they couldn't secure me from was the repeated incidents of child abuse which happened to me at the hand of a male domestic helper. I was seven when it first happened to me, and it continued till the age of nine. Sexual exposure and being inserted at a very young age, gradually changed my sexual identity. This is one of the many ways my experiences intersect with that of my respondents. Repeated sexual abuse by strangers and the male members of the family (also quoted by a few respondents), inclined a few *zenanas* and *khusras* sexually attracted towards men. It also increased their sexual curiosity. Sexual ambivalence, frustration, and trauma are the consequences reported by the respondents. As a 35 years man who can resonate and reminisce with the physical, emotional and phycological pains of sexual abuse, I connected with my respondents at an emotional level, when they shared similar incidents in their lives. The commonality of experiences translated into commonality of emotions. Femininity in me (voice, bodily mannerisms, and socialization with females) was the basic trait of my personality that led my respondents to believe that I was/am like them. I have never negated this to them. Their understanding of my sexual orientation was based on their conceptualization of who I was/am. To them, I was/am is a *kothi* (feminine gay man) and I would always want to be their *kothi shoormi*. I never claimed to them that I am a *nirban khusra*

or an *uqwi zenana*. They viewed me as a feminine, biological uncastrated man. I was/am feminine enough to be their *shoormi* sister. One of the respondents, while speaking about her gender identity, commented:

[VERBATIM]

Mishi: *Me apny ap ko larki mehsus karti hu. Me jab soti hu na, me sochti hu subha uthu to Allah karay larki bani hu. Me ye sochti hu. Jism mard ka, rooh aurat ki. Andar rooh bilkul aurtu wala hay. Jesy aurat hoti hay. Dekho ab ap hamaray pas hain. Hum ne apko pehchan lia, dekh lia keh ap hamari saheli hain. Kia hogaya keh apki muchain hay ya dhari hay, rooh to koe aur hi hay na, Bat to esay hi kar raheen hain. Hamain achi lageen hain. Bas yehe baat hay.*

[TRANSLATED]

Mishi: I consider myself a girl. I wish to turn into a woman overnight. I think like this. Body of a man, soul of a woman. I have a soul of a woman. Just like a woman. See, you are here with us, now. We recognized you. We got the idea that you are our friend. It doesn't matter that you have a moustache or a beard, you have a soul of a woman. You are talking just like us. We have instantly connected with you. This is what matters.

9.4. Limitations of Research and Future Research

The limitations of current research are in stated in the following text:

- An attempt was made to ensure pluri-vocality by choosing multiple locales for the current research. Still, this research couldn't be conducted in locales located in Balochistan and Sindh. This territorial diversification would have added more depth and may have brought in a different perspective about political economy of love.

- The sample size for UDC 3 (*giryas*) is not comparable to the sample size of other UDCs. This primarily was the result of reluctance of *giryas*, *dost* or *yar* to be interviewed. For future research, a detailed study focusing on *giryas* can be conducted.

- For future research, in addition to conversation analysis, discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis can also be conducted.

- COVID-19 caused restricted mobility but as mentioned in methodology section that alternatively online formats, in addition to fieldwork, helped in eliciting data (through WhatsApp groups, audio and video calls).

- Current research suggests that *girya* relationship with a zenana or a *khusra* can be sexually violent as well as sexually romantic. In both the cases, there is prevalence of

unsafe oral and anal intercourse. Therefore, the findings of the current study may be of some use to existing healthcare practitioners working within HIV/AIDS domain. Secondly, it is also critical for existing epidemiological research on HIV/AIDS to include findings of such cultural studies in their programmatic interventions about HIV/AIDS control.

- Current research used case study as the research design. For future a different research design such as ethno-methodological, or narrative with different methodological and analytical methods and tools can be used.

9.5. Conclusion

Transactional relationships are essentially economic-based relationships in which one party instrumentalizes sex, sexual intimacy and staged romantic love- all the factors which lead to securing cash, kind and services from a man who plays a provider role. In the context of current research, this man is a *girya* and the person uses who sex, sexual intimacy and staged romance as instruments of securing finance, goods and services is called a *khusra* or a *zenana*. To explore the relational dynamics between *khusras/zenanas* and their *giryas*, current research was conducted for which case study research design was adopted. The case study research design helped in including multiple UDCs, tools of data collection, research instruments, sampling techniques and approaches as well as tools of data analyses. Among the study's UDCs were *zenanas*, *khusras*, *giryas*, and social situations and events. The data elicited from these units, highlight instrumentality of emotions, sex-for-money exchanges for basic needs and for raising social status, and financial security accrued from being in a steady or an long-term relationship with a *girya*. This study explains conceptualizations of love as articulated by *zenanas* and *khusras*, their forms of socio-economic organizations, the socio-sexual settings they are part of (*dera*, dance functions and *saalgirah* functions), and the plausibility of locating a man within these spaces and using love in tandem with sex for economic benefits and survival, and social status. The study has both normative and instrumental values attached to it. For normative value, the results of the research can be used for future introspection and instrumental value can be linked with how the findings can be of

use for epidemiological studies and how critical cultural analyses of at-risk groups are for epidemiological intervention.

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LIST OF GLOSSARY

Farsi	English
Karay kara	Asking someone to keep mouth shut
Mashooqi	Performing love
Nato	Refraining someone from doing something
Cheesa	Beautiful looking, handsome looking man
Cheesi	Beautiful looking, feminine *khusra* or a *zenana*
Baseet	Ugly (mostly used for *tamashbeen* men)
Mashooq	Handsome and masculine looking man
Bheela	A rowdy (used for extractive, violent and exploitative man)
Bheelay	Plural of a bheela
Ghanghor	Diffcult (used for a person)
Nirban	A castrated feminine man
Uqwi	An uncastrated feminine man
Katka	One thousand rupees
Katkay	Plural of *katka*
Pan	Sexual intercourse
Panpaisha	Prostitution (sex-for-money exchanges)
Koonda	Food
Rarha	Male penis (contextau meanings imply toxicity and violent fights)
Kalam	To talk
Kalama	Plural of *kalam*
Thapar	Rupees
Khawar	State of being in love
Londaybaz/Lotarbaz	A pedophile
Tamashbeen	A male spectator of a *khusra* or *zenana* dance
Chamka	A male spectator of a *khusra* or *zenana* dance (difference between him and *tamashbeen* detailed in the chapter on the worldview of love)
Chamkay	Plural of *chamka*
Shoormi	Sister (within community)
Shoorma	Brother (within community)
Girya	A provider man with whom intimate relationships may or may not develop
Chatai	A ritual performed when a recruit joins a *dera* commune
Dhinga	Beggary
Tola	A group
Tola Bazar	Communcal beggary
Moorat	A *khusra*
Firqa	Female getup
Kacchi	Argument
Pakki	Marriage

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Arhibaz	A stubborn person
Chamariyan	Eyes
Chamkana	To dance
Chango (bhang)	A concoction made of marijuana leave
Fukar	Jokes
Khailwa	Alcohol
Khamara	Meat
Nakhuta	A useless man

<center>**Appendix**</center>

<center>**INTERVIEW GUIDE[11]**</center>

Themes included in narrative guide and focus group discussion.

1. ***Zenana/khusra* identities**

Self-definition

Self-actualization

History of transgenderism

Childhood

Coming out

Family

Physical attire

Socialization

Sexual identity

Secret coded language (Farsi Chand)

Bodily modifications (castration, breast enlargement, estrogen injections, etc.)

Educational background

Ethnicity

Concept of beauty and femininity

Khusra identity (reason/s of castration, importance of castration to the socio-economic organization of male-female transgender persons, injection of female hormones, surgery, cost incurred, and recuperation period)

Zenana identity (feminine soul, change in physical attributes other than castration and breast enlargements, inhabiting female attires)

2. ***Dera* life**

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[11] This includes a bsic list of themes and sub-themes; questions were asked on. Probing and prompting techniques were used throughout to elicit detailed and nuanced responses from the respondents during narrative interviews and foucus group discussions. So, the list may not be considered exhaustive.

Social security

Livelihood/survival options

Freedom/socialization

Business center

Difference between a *dera* and a flat

Importance of *dera* to *khusra* or *zenana* life

3. Socio-economic organization

Guru/*chela* relationship (importance, fatherly figure, relational hierarchy, strict code of conduct, and relational reciprocity)

Saalgirah (important form of socio-economic organization, circulation of money within the community, preparations and planning, scale of functions and the main event)

Dhinga/*tola bazaar* (reason/s, main areas covered, and the division of areas/locales)

Bidhaee (reason/s, fading in comparison to other forms/types of economic organization, main areas/locales covered, and the division of areas/locales)

Dance functions (reason/s, variety of dance functions, public display of femininity and sexuality, and dance forms)

Panpaisha, *dhandha*, *rarha*, *pan* (reason/s, formal and informal sexual avenues, soliciting areas, difference between prostitution and transactional sexual relationships)

Socio-sexual settings

4. Transactional relationships: Love, money and sexuality

Economic dimension (*girya* performing a provider role for a *zenana*/*khusra*)

Subjective dimension (*girya* filling in a lacuna of a lover/husband for a *zenana*/*khusra*)

Social dimension (*girya* as a need)

Girya/*zenana* relationship (trade-off between love and money, dichotomy between love and money, *zenana*/*khusra* playing tricks and commodifying love for material satiation)

Longing, belonging and yearning

Forms of capital possessed (economic, social, cultural and erotic)

Nature of transactions

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5. At-risk behaviors

At-risk behaviors (reason/s, actual behaviors, and HIV knowledge)

At-risk behaviors specifically with *girya/s* (condomless intercourse as an expression of love)

Sexual, physical and oral violence