

Factors Affecting the Social Exclusion of Eunuchs (Hijras) in Pakistan

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Abstract

This study investigates the role of Sociological factors in exclusion of eunuchs from the main stream of Pakistani society. The nature of study is quantitative and the samples of 223 respondents were selected from three major cities of Punjab Province i.e. Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan by proportionate sampling. The researcher selected 20% sample from each Dara (community) of eunuch, identified 5 key informants and approached respondents through them. Interview schedule was the tool and data was analyzed through chi Square. Collected data showed that the majority of Eunuchs are socially, culturally, politically and economically discriminated and they are being physically, verbally, and sexually abused. Extreme social exclusion weakens their self-esteem and sense of social responsibility. They are known as 'abnormal' and ultimately become 'marginalized', and finally because of standing at the lowest level in a hierarchical social system, their access to resources and services remain restricted. Results concluded that the socio-cultural, economical and political aspects are closely linked, exerting a collective exclusionary force in the lives of Eunuch. The deprivations, alienation, and hostilities encountered by Eunuchs since early childhood are so deep and extreme that, at some point, finding no other social space, they exclude themselves.

Keywords: Eunuchs, Hijra, Condition of Eunuchs in Pakistan, Social Exclusion of Eunuchs.

1. Introduction

Sex is biologically defined while gender refers to socially constructed difference between man and woman. Third gender-the eunuch "*Hijra*" (Is south Asian language) refers to individual who do not come under the definition of male or female gender. They are socially deviant in their sexual orientation. Eunuch, generally, looks like a huge and unattractive person, wearing high tone colors and makeup (facial hair is visible) with big hands and feet , non verbal activities as well as naughty jokes, clapping, speaking vulgar and gesticulate with exaggerated movements of certain body parts (breasts, hips) (Talwar, 1999 p. 23).

There are three types of eunuchs:

- Those who are born inter sex or with mix genitalia are called Hermaphrodite.
- Those who are castrated and hence become Eunuch are called Transsexual.
- Those who are males but have feminine sexual orientation; hence wear and behave like women are called Transvestites.

Eunuchs or "*Hijra*" communities existed in nearly all parts of world with their own limited identities, customs and rituals. History of subcontinent showed the presence of unique power of eunuch community. They were known as "*Khawjasaras*" in Mughal era. *Khawjasaras* were primarily hermaphrodites and were engaged as care takers of their personal rooms (*harems*). Eunuchs were having powerful positions in military, courts and were intimates of Mughal rulers (Gwinn, Peter & Goetz, 1990, p. 598; see The Encyclopedia Americana, 2000, p. 661; Nanda, as cited in Brettle & Sargent, 1997; Sharma, 2000; Talwar, 1999). Latterly, they restrained to begging and dancing on rituals with the desolation of princely rulers. After deterioration of their status, Eunuchs were considered as social "outcasts" and "strangers" in the society. Presently, Pakistan has extensive Eunuch or *Hijra* communities, divided into family groups living generally in ghettos and officiated over by a leader or *guru*. These communities are generally known as *Chellas*. Eunuchs in past, earned their living by dancing at weddings, carnivals and births. However, with the outgrowth of novel means of celebrations, sex work and begging remain the only available occupational choices for the Eunuchs or *Hijra* community. It is wrongly believed that Eunuchs are only those people who have ambiguous sex (hermaphrodite, transsexual or transvestites). The Eunuchs may wish to be regarded as women, or at least as having a special affinity for the female sex. Eunuch is an exclusive type of gender role in Pakistan where man performs like woman; people believe

that such an individual acts like Eunuch or *Hijra*, but not as a woman. All the Eunuchs dress themselves in saris or the "*salwar-kameez*", clothing common to women, however the minority has been viewed in men's clothes. As well, all Eunuchs wear a bra, which is most probably stuffed. Female kinship terms are used for Eunuchs, such as "aunty" and "sister," in addressing (Lal, 1999). Eunuch is often recognized as an abuse to a man who is feminine, effeminate, fanciful, impotent or ineffective. Eunuchs are considered as physically and psychologically unconfident, so people consider them freaks (hitting their sexual characteristics). Therefore, they are marginalized/ stigmatized in community. There are some reasons for becoming Eunuch or "*Hijra*", such as: their own interest, pleasure, unemployment, psychological problem, family and societal embarrassment. Eunuchs may be suffering from any psychological problem or real handicap afar their control (Jami, 2005).

1.1 Social exclusion

"Social exclusion is an accumulation of confluent processes with successive ruptures arising from the heart of economy, politics and society; gradually distances and places persons, groups, communities and territories in positions of inferiority in relation to center powers, resources and prevailing values" (Estivill J. 2003). Beall & Piron (2005) proposed a method and a condition that averts individuals or groups from full involvement in socio-cultural, political and economic life and from declaring their rights. It derives from exclusionary connection based on supremacy. Thus, the excluder eliminates social dealings denying right to use the possessions and services, infringing citizenship privileges to particular individual and groups. Silver (1994) suggests three standards—solidarity, monopoly and specialization, which are trapped in the socio-cultural, political and economic perspectives. These standards were in perspectives of republican, moderate, and democratic societies. Their importance to Asian Muslim community has not been investigated.

Socially-excluded people or groups of people are incapable to take part in social mainstream activities. There are some factors involved in social exclusion: poverty; subordination in social identities, e.g., race, ethnicity, religion, and gender; social places (refugees, migrants); demographic features (educational, occupation level); and health conditions, e.g. disability, stigmatized diseases, such as HIV and AIDS. The Social Exclusion Knowledge Network (SEKN) model, developed by Popay et al, (2008) suggests that social exclusion is drive from extreme power dynamics and work in four interrelated and relational proportions (e.g. socio-cultural, economic and politics) at different levels (e.g. individuals, groups, households, communities, countries, and the world as a whole). The power dynamics make a ground: inclusion to exclusion beside the line of interconnected and co-dependent factors, such as socio-cultural, economical and political issues. Economic features of exclusion contain hurdles to employment opportunities, embarrassed access to commodities, and livelihood opportunities, such as income, housing, land, and working conditions.

Social aspects of exclusion refer to limited or no access to social, educational, legal and health services, resulting from ruptured social protection and social cohesion, such as kinship, family, neighborhood, and the community. Cultural features of exclusion refer to subordination of certain norms, behaviors, cultural practices, and lifestyles which exclude certain individuals or groups. Political features of exclusion refer to lack of citizens' rights, voter rights, including limited access to organizations, constitutions, legislations, and decision-making in policy. This multidimensional model of social exclusion will also make frame analysis of the experiences of Eunuch. An explicit link between exclusion and rights encompasses discrimination on the basis of gender orientation. Many scholars explained excluded groups as ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, and disabled persons (Khan et al, 2009).

1.2 The Social Exclusion of Eunuchs in Pakistan:

Eunuchs are living in the extreme margins of Pakistani society. They are facing extreme forms of social exclusion. The word Eunuch or socially known as "*Hijra*" itself is considered a derogatory word. The social response towards Eunuchs in Pakistan is also very discriminatory and prejudiced in general. They are even deprived of in their own families. Eunuchs are deprived of any quota in employment on the basis of their handicap and are also deprived of opportunities to take education because of people's negative feelings towards them. Wounded of gender identity problem brings out castrations without any psychological and medical aid. They treat themselves in self-remedy including hormone taking without prescription, use silicon injections at extreme auto-castrations. By and large people do not like to interact with them. Talking about them in the family is not taken in good stead. People hate the idea of having any Eunuch or "*Hijra*" in the family. Some people believe that children born with sexual deformity should be given away to the Eunuch's community. People charge them for homosexuality or sex business.

In the Pakistani society, majority of Eunuchs come from the lower socio-economic class where their actions cannot be hidden. While, in upper socio-economic class they remain in their household and follow their careers along. They can

afford to have hormonal therapy and sex reassignment surgeries from abroad, but those who belong to lower socio-economic class rely on self remedy or auto-castrations and remain embedded in the quagmire for the rest of their life. Due to negative prejudices towards Eunuchs they have no employment opportunities in Pakistan. Most of them make a living by begging, performing in ceremonies, and in prostitution. So Eunuchs constrain access to commodities, and better livelihood opportunities, such as income, housing, land, and working conditions and no access to social, educational, legal and health services for Eunuchs in Pakistan, resulting from ruptured social security and social cohesion, such as kinship, family, neighborhood, and the community. In the Pakistani society, Eunuchs cannot perform any ritual or any cultural activity in the society. Due to the subordination in certain norms, behaviors, cultural practices and lifestyles, Eunuchs are marginalized in society. They are deprived from citizens' rights, including restricted access to organizations, voter rights, legislations, constitutions, and decision-making in policy in Pakistan.

1.3 Rational/Significance of the Study

This study is unique in the sense that it explores social, cultural, economic and political exclusion of the Eunuchs in districts of Punjab. They are playing their role and contributing the overall development to the society, but still they are neglected and socially excluded just because of their sexual orientation. Present study was an effort to understand social, cultural, political and economic aspects of their lives. This research also focused on the need of giving special care to this sexually handicap part of our society in order to prevent them, as well as others from becoming a victim of different kinds of moral evils and medical problems. The Eunuchs are regarded as the most disgraceful creature. They are denied due status and other social facilities necessary for living a life and earning a decent livelihood. This study gives a brief account of the social mobility of Eunuchs, social responses towards them and their social integration. This study also points out the features and factors with reference to the income generating activities of Eunuchs which force them to live in their own circles.

1.4 Objectives

1. To study the socio economic characteristics of the respondents
2. To investigate the role of social, cultural, economic and political factors in exclusion of Eunuchs
3. To study the economic strategies of Eunuchs for their survival in the society.
4. To offer the suggestions/recommendations for mainstreaming the Eunuchs.

2. Research Methodology

The universe for the present research was Eunuchs living in three cities of Punjab: i.e. Multan, Lahore, and Rawalpindi. In order to conduct the study a sample size of 223 respondents (Eunuchs) was drawn through simple random technique. 223 respondents were selected from three cities of Punjab including Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan by proportionate sampling. The researcher selected 20% respondents from each *Dara*. The researcher identified the 5 key informants for in-depth interview, through which the other respondents had approached.

Cities	No. of <i>Daras</i>	Tentative population of <i>Daras</i>	Sample size
Lahore	3	422*20/100	84
Rawalpindi	4	560*20/100	112
Multan	1	135*20/100	27
Total	8	1117	223

Note. The above tabulated information was collected by the key informant.

In this study the researcher used interview schedule for data collection. The interviewing schedule refers to a number of questions formulated keeping in view the objective of the study. The collected data was analyzed by SPSS and Chi-square was used to calculate the different level of relationship among study variables. In the present research, researchers formulated the number of hypothesis on the behalf of literature review and were tested on the basis of collected data. The chi-square test was used to determine if observed data deviated from those expected under a particular hypothesis. It is the most commonly used method for comparing frequencies or proportions (Grant and Ewens, 2001).

3. Results and Interpretations

The findings of the present study show that deprivations, alienations, and hostilities encountered by Eunuchs since early childhood are so deep and extreme that, at some point, finding no other social space, they exclude themselves. Castairs (1993) reports that Homosexuality is the outcome of familial relations, when the greatly indulged infant at weaning time, faces rejection, and contends with the father for the mother's love. The 64% Eunuchs said that their family member had abusive and harsh behavior when they continued feminine behavior in the adolescences and even 87.4% Eunuchs said that their family had abusive behavior with them as compared to other siblings. Feminine behaviors were initially nourished and nurtured, with time but were condemned and discouraged. (Khan et al, 2009) stated that Criticisms of neighbors and incidents of offensive teasing from neighboring males often created unpleasant situations where parents felt offended. The 93.7% Eunuchs said that their family member felt embarrassment in neighborhood due to their feminine behavior. (Khan et al, 2009) also stated that most informants failed to find a safe space at school. Unable to adapt within hostile school environments, most became reluctant to continue schooling. The eunuchs, who had joined the school, explained their experience. The majority (87.2%) of the Eunuchs said that their classmates and teachers had teasing behavior with them. So, Data indicated that the 61% Eunuchs said that they discontinued their education due to humiliation in school.

Table no 1: Percentage distribution of respondents regards to their perception about factors that are responsible for social exclusion in the society.

Factors effecting the social exclusion of eunuchs	Percentage distribution of the respondents on agree variables
1. Abusive and harsh behavior of family	63.6%
2. Abusive behavior of family as compare to other siblings	87.4%
3. Joking and teasing behavior of neighbors	78.6%
4. Family felt embarrassment in neighborhood by the respondent's feminine behavior	93.7%
5. Teasing and joking behavior of class mates and teachers in school	87.2%
6. Discontinuing of education due to humiliation in school	61%
7. Identity crisis (who I am? Male or female)	74.4%
8. Join eunuch community due to humiliation in family and school	84.8%
9. Living in slums	56.1%
10. Bagging, prostitution & dancing on rituals	49%
11. Lack of recreational activities due to teasing behavior of people when they go outside	52%
12. Abusive behavior by police or no security	62%
13. Physically abuse	54%
14. Sexually abuse	62.3%
15. Negligence by doctors and healers when they ill	72.2%
16. People Stare wonder, when they go to doctors or healers	59.6%
17. Dependent of <i>challa</i> or student when they get old	59%
18. People hesitate to perform death ceremony when any eunuch died	63.4%
19. Dissatisfaction of life	88.3%

International aids conference (2008) in this conference Biological challenge coupled with stigma and discrimination leads to low self esteem. The third sex for eunuch is a big threat to their identity as Eitzen et al,(1965) has written that "sex is one of the several master status determining traits. Sexual orientation goes to the very heart of social and personal identity". The data revealed that the 74% Eunuchs said that they were fallen in the identity crisis, when they realized that they are different from others. Zafar (2007) stated that the other day while visiting a foreign embassy to get a visa, I noticed men and women standing in two separate queues waiting for their turn to get them interviewed. In the meantime a Eunuch came and stood in the female queue. The women standing in the queue abused him/her and told him/her to stand in the male queue. The Eunuch tried to move to the men's queue, but was again denied permission to be there. The poor Eunuch, after shuttling between the two queues, finally gave up and stood in between, crying over his/her miseries. The men and women present there seemed oblivious to his plight and were making fun of the poor soul. Blackwood (1986) stated that many Eunuchs are involved in prostitution and live in small group. "*Hijra*"s houses emerge to be pattern after the 'gharanas' (literally houses).The table reveals that 85% Eunuchs said that after leaving their family they joined Eunuch community or *Dara*. Most Pakistani cities have sizable Hijra communities, divided into clan groups living mostly in slums and presided over by a leader or guru (Drenner 1999). The data indicated that 56%

Eunuchs said that they lived in the slum areas. Gallni (2008) explained that the surprising news is that many boys are opting to become Eunuch, as they are unable to get any jobs after their studies. They are becoming Eunuch because they say they cannot commit any crime or harm anyone, and that is the most harmless way to earn their living. Some of them are getting themselves operated in the cheap clinics and lose their manhood. Eunuchs have adopted the low occupation to earn money e.g. dancing, begging, and prostitution. Drenner (1999) also explained that the Eunuchs at present make their living as dancers, prostitutes and beggars. Eunuchs have adopted the low occupation to earn money e.g. dancing, begging, and prostitution. Eunuchs in colorful dresses with shy face and naughty gestures fascinate everyone from children to old man by their jokes, dance, singing and funny behaviors (Ahmad 2002). The majority of the respondents (49%) said that their source of income was begging and dancing on rituals. Zafar (2007) stated that the issue of men's and women's rights in the society are always being debated in our society. When it comes to Eunuchs' rights there are no social forums where they can fight the social discrimination meted out to them. The 87% Eunuchs said that when they went outside, they faced the teasing behavior from people.

Karnataka (PUCLK) on human rights violations against the transgender community released in September 2003 revealed that eunuchs in India have virtually no safe spaces, and no protection from prejudice and abuse. The report has documented the kind of prejudice which is translated into violence (often of a brutal nature) in public spaces, police stations, prisons and even in their homes. Factor behind the violence is that society is not able to come to terms with the fact that eunuchs do not confirm to set standards of sexuality. In addition to this, most eunuchs have a lower and lower middle class back grounds which make them susceptible to harassment by the police. The discrimination based on their class and gender makes the eunuchs' community one of the most disempowered groups in Indian society. In the present study, the 62% Eunuchs said that they faced the negligence and abusive behavior by the police. The majority of the respondents said that they were physically abused and the mostly Eunuch were physically abused by their family members. The majority 54% of the respondents said that they were physically abused and the mostly Eunuch were physically abused by their family members. The 62% of the respondents said that they were sexually abused and mostly respondents said that they were between 10-12 years old when they were sexually abused. 72% Eunuchs said that they faced the negligence attitude by the doctor or healer.

In result, the majority of the respondents said that when they were visited to the doctor or healer, the other patients stared at them wondering. The 41% Eunuchs said that their future is unsecured and only 59% Eunuchs said that in future they will depend on there *challas* (students) by financial and physical support. The majority of the respondents said that their Eunuch's identity was not disclosed to the public after death or during funeral and those who said that the Eunuch's identity was to the public after death or during funeral; they people hesitated to perform their namaz e janaza or death ceremony. The 88% Eunuchs said that they were not satisfied with their life.

4. Test of Hypothesis

4.1 Hypothesis no1

Table no 2: Cross tabulation between abusive or harsh behavior of the family and relationship among siblings

Agree on abusive or harsh behavior of the family due to effeminate behavior	Feelings of outcast or stranger as compared to other siblings		Total
	Yes	No	
Yes	112	50	162
No	31	30	61
Total	143	80	223

Chai square(X^2) = 6.462, df= 01, level of significance= 0.05, Tabulated value= 3.84, P=0.01

The rigid behavior of the parents of eunuchs seemed more to be a deciding factor in leaving their family and joining the eunuch community (Khan et al, 2002). Family, as an institution, plays a crucial role in marginalization of eunuchs. Intolerance of gender non-conformity in terms of attitudes, identity, and behavior results in violent and insufferable attempts by family members at maintaining and reinforcing the more acceptable heterosexist regime. Moreover, there are not many cultural or social examples for families to draw on and try to understand the gender identity and behavior of their children. Therefore, instead of protecting a child from the mental and physical torture inflicted on them by the wider society, the family itself humiliates beats and, in most cases, banishes the child from the house. Contrary to the popular myth that gurus demand custody of a child born with ambiguous genitalia, most of these children spend their early

childhood with their families till they start demonstrating inappropriate behaviors based on gender identity. At this point in time they start experiencing repercussions from their family members in the form of physical and psychological reprimands. Eunuchs as children are many a times socially excluded by their own family members, who consider them as a cause of disgrace and stigmatization for the whole family. Many eunuchs claim that they have “a woman’s soul trapped in a man’s body”, and this characteristic was identified by most respondents at a very early age. Most of the eunuchs spend a disturbing childhood where the battle for an identity is always haunting their conscious and subconscious practices. The researcher assumes the relationships among two variables (the abusive and harsh behavior of the family increase the exclusion among siblings’ relationships). The calculated values is greater the tabulated value. So the alternative hypothesis was true. The value of chi-square is 6.462 and the tabulated was (3.84). Above table shows that their parents had abusive behavior with them so they felt outcast among their siblings.

4.2 Hypothesis 2

Table no 3: Cross tabulation between the social exclusion and level of life satisfaction

Agree on socially excluded in society	Level of satisfaction of life			Total
	to greater extant	to some extant	not at all	
Yas	8	20	101	129
No	15	9	70	94
Total	23	29	171	223

Chai square(X^2) = 6.592, df= 02 , level of significance= 0.05, Tabulated value= 5.99, P=0.03

4.3 Discussion No.2

Various forms of discrimination impacting eunuchs’ include workplace discrimination, housing discrimination, discrimination in public accommodations, and bias-motivated violence make them socially excluded in the society Beall and Piron’s (2005) also support this statement. Due to their physical and/or psychological state eunuchs’ in Pakistan put up with, a disproportionate amount of homelessness, unemployment, low income and other financial disadvantages. Harassment and discrimination at educational institutions, workplaces and health facilities are the most recurrent complaints. The basic source of income of every Eunuch is dancing at rituals. Now in Pakistan, many Eunuchs are involved and adopt the prostitution as an occupation. To give sexual pleasure to their customers, Eunuchs take special course which longs for one to two year. Usually this exercise is given by guru or senior Eunuch. Majority of Eunuchs are adopting bag ginning due to earn money. Mostly Eunuchs are unemployed but their occupations are beggary, circus, and prostitution, dancing and singing at ceremonies and domes ties servant. The Eunuchs claimed powerlessness in getting a mainstream job due to lack of education; ‘unusual’ non-conforming lifestyle is unacceptable for the working environment. They claim that they do not have access to any job and livelihood opportunities due to their feminine gestures. They are always kicked out from the job on the grounds of ‘destroying’ the job environment’. In some cases, many Eunuchs were abused verbally, physically, and sexually at workplaces for which they never received any justice. They lose the job because the employers wanted to ‘save the workplace from sexual pollution’. They are unsatisfied with their source of income because no one wants to contact them due to their source of income. This table shows that the P value is 0.03 which indicates that there is significant relation association between level of social exclusion and satisfaction of life. The chi-square test result shows that null hypothesis was rejected and alternative hypothesis was accepted.

4.4 Hypothesis no.3

Table no 4: Cross tabulation between the public response and behavior of family

family member felt embarrassment in neighborhood by your feminine behavior	Teasing or joking behavior by the people when go out side		Total
	Yes	No	
Yes	115	43	158
No	31	34	65
Total	146	77	223

Chai square(X^2) = 12.827, df= 01, level of significance= 0.05, Tabulated value= 3.84, P=0.000**

Early childhood preference of a Eunuch for female clothing, make-up and attire, playing with girls rather than with boys, preferring household work culturally assigned for females, and possessing a 'soft' nature like girls, was not taken negatively by family members, particularly by mothers who enjoyed looking at 'soft' nature of their 'boys'. Other family members did make fun of these boys but of only strongly opposing feminine behaviors during adolescence. Parents and other family members expected boys to portray 'boyish' images. When boys at adolescence did not fulfill their familial expectations, it becomes problematic. When informants being biological males continued to display feminine attitude and behavior even in adolescence and adulthood, they encountered various types of neglect, abusive and harsh behavior. 'Unusual feminine development' of early childhood tarnishes the family image (Khan et al, 2009). Family members felt uncomfortable with feminine behaviors of their male adolescents, particularly when the family encounters negative and unpleasant societal experiences concerning to feminine attitudes and behaviors of their children. Incidents of social disapproval and rejections eventually influenced families to take up opposing roles. As feminine male adolescents, the Eunuch informants confronted discriminatory and conflicting behaviors in their homes. In many instances, feminine males were accused of creating societal 'problems'. Eunuchs faced psychological torture by relatives and neighbors and their taunting behavior became intolerable for eunuchs family so they left house to join a eunuch community where they had acceptance and more respect as a human being. "Neighbors and relatives scorned them because of their effeminate behavior. Especially father and brothers felt they could correct them by punishing and beating up. The researcher assumes the relationships among two variables (the family behavior and public experience). The calculated values is greater the tabulated value. So the alternative hypothesis was true. The value of chi-square is 12.827 and the tabulated was 3.84. According to the table, eunuchs said that their family members felt embarrassment when they go outside the home.

5. Conclusion

In Pakistani society, there is less space for Eunuchs in socio-cultural, economical and political spheres; they are unable to get proper benefits from conservative social structures and institutions. They are incapable to use power or to found enjoy citizenship rights at their homes or in society. Socio-cultural, legal, educational and health services are extremely constrained for a person with a Eunuch identity. They are known as 'abnormal' and ultimately become 'outsiders', and finally because of standing at the lowest level in a hierarchical social system, their access to resources and services is constrained. Socio-cultural, economical and political aspects closely mix together in an incorporated manner, exerting a collective exclusionary force in the lives of Eunuch. The findings of the present study show that deprivations, alienations, and hostilities encountered by Eunuchs since early childhood are so deep and extreme that, at some point, finding no other social space, they exclude themselves.

6. Recommendations and Suggestions

- Parents should have a keen observation on the activities of their children reaching the age of adolescence. They should induce a friendly environment encouraging young to discuss freely.
- A very comprehensive program of awareness including local influential, religious leaders, teachers, and civil society should be launched to aware general public regarding the issues of eunuch community.
- There should be complete record of born Eunuchs on district level. So that these Eunuchs can either be provided financial help publicly to restrain them from falling in socially unacceptable activities and they should be assigned a fixed.
- There should be the complete record of the eunuch community at town committee level and completed at national level so some policies regarding the overall uplift of eunuchs may be ensured.
- Government, private and civil society should involve the eunuchs in their activities either on paid or on volunteer basis so that they should feel confident and show their potentials like tax collectors in city District Govt. Karachi.

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