Education, Employability and Shift of Occupation of Transgender in Pakistan: A Case Study of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Naila Nazir* & Aqsa Yasir**

Abstract
This paper evaluates the status of occupational skills and willingness of transgender population to change and switch over to other jobs in the study area. The study covers five districts of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province with a total sample size of 100, as their total population is unknown and scattered. Their population in all five districts is mostly found uneducated. Presently they are engaged in such professions which are not socially considered as honorable. A positive aspect of transgender population with respect to employment is that there is a high tendency of willingness to adopt other honorable professions. Their choice of acceptance of other professions is interesting but they need government support to adopt the professions of their choice.

Keywords: Transgender, Occupations, Job choices; Willingness to work.

Introduction
The English word eunuch comes from the Greek words ‘Eune’ which means bed and ‘Ekhein’ which means to keep, i.e. “bed keeper. Indian region has a history of the existence of transgender people for more than four thousand years. Traditionally gender is binary and limited to sex classification: male and female while transgender is an umbrella term used for all those who do not lie in these two categories. The transgender umbrella is explained as Male-to-female (MTF), female-to-male (FTM), intersex, cross dressers, transsexual individuals, and gender queer etc. Khawaja Sara, Hijra, Khusra or Murat, are different names given to third gender in Pakistan. From the early childhood they are treated and are considered derogatory by the society. They face discrimination at family level, in schools and in places where they live.

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Discrimination and vulgar remarks by the inhabitants and schoolmates lead them to fly from educational institutions, thus closing down the doors of honorable employment. They are compelled to adopt such means of earning which in no case are acceptable in Islam and are also not honored by the society.

The Supreme Court of Pakistan in 2013 ruled that according to the constitution of Pakistan eunuchs have equal rights as all citizens of Pakistan. The court directed both; the federal and provincial governments to give them rights in all fields of life including education, employment and inheritance. A number of eunuchs got the opportunity to work in different government departments during the same period. Following the official “third gender” classification of the Supreme Court eunuchs were granted right to vote moreover five transgender contested their first elections in 2013.

**Literature Review**

Recently queer theory has become highlighted as demand of new thinking because Lesbian and Gay Studies are not enough to address sexual difference through literature and philosophy. Once Queer theory was just a negative connotation regarding a person as not normal but now it is an umbrella term including all those whose gender and sexual identity is outside of the societal norms. It was also viewed that Queer theorists work towards demarcating each category of transgender. From conceptualization to politicization, the debates have articulated feminist, queer and transgender studies since the early 1990s. Transgender studies are born of sexuality studies and feminism. The same notion has been discussed that it is an emerging theoretical orientation while feminist and queer theories incorporate social identities in the conflict between social and self-determinants.

Feminist theory addresses biological characteristics of gender as with issues of sexism and multiple forms of oppression and exploitation. Feminism challenged the male social dominance. Queer theory has been criticized on the ground that it lacks live realities of transgender people. Transgender theorists have been organized to rework on a queer aspect of transgender. A Human Population Ecology theory, a field of Social Work that studies the relationship between human beings and the environment and claims the applicability of population study of one area of the same population in other areas. It includes different demographic characteristics. Human Population Ecology theory studies, transgender people and their environment, systems and
work places, work conditions which are more suitable and better in excess. Different studies show situations that are guidelines for Human Ecologists for instance it is mentioned that discrimination in employment, housing and health care is resulting in homelessness and negative consequences. It is also quoted national estimates of homeless transgender youths as about 40% of 1.6 m in USA. The present research showing the socioeconomic information is another addition to this effort.

Another research based on the responses of transgender shows more insight into different aspects of the transgender population. It is discussed in detail that there are a number of theories about why transgender people exist, yet there is no scientific consensus. These theories are based on cultural, biological, psychological and other medical grounds. Cultural theory is based on how people identify themselves in different cultures; some cultures define people as two, some as three or more based on their roles they like or roles different from their status at birth. Biologists define it on the basis of sex expressed in terms of chromosomes. In case chromosomes are not in normal order they are called intersex; may or may not be called transgender. There are medical theories based on imbalances in hormones or the use of certain medication during pregnancy that causes the birth of intersex children. Psychology theory links brain structure and identity of a person. There are people who think that everybody has the right to express themselves the way they want. Transgender people are of the view that institutionalizing transgender and alliance is important whether it be the LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) or queer, this alliance is important for their civil rights. A postmodern feminist theory is embracing transgender as an expression of diversity and playing strategic role. This approach is more preferable to other models of feminism.

Economic theory states that employers who discriminate are at a competitive disadvantage relative to firms that have a less discriminatory policy. The discrimination costs $64 billion and a job loss of around 2 million Americans, costing $1.4 billion in loss of output each year and also costing millions of dollars to companies in litigation cases resulting from unfairness and job discrimination. There is an encouraging element for human rights activists that transgender political movement has emerged as a new way of conceptualizing transgender. The term transgender has emerged only recently and come in political use. Institutional work towards estimation of transgender population, their
socioeconomic conditions and rights are gaining importance in recent years, for example; National Centre for Transgender Equality, The William Institute, University of California, USA, International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, and many other educational research based institutions. In developing countries like Pakistan, no country wide single comprehensive study is available. However, individual efforts are being made to develop profiles so as to construct a data base in order to step towards a more effective policy for the rights of the third gender.

One of the difficulties in addressing the problems of eunuchs is the lack of data of their population. In the USA the estimated number of transgender is between ¼ and 1% of the total population. Exact data is not available because transgender are not public. Another attempt to trace transgender in India shows rough estimates of 1,000,000 among a billion population. Many other information are available in India but very little is documented about them in Pakistan. There are no official records but roughly there are about 1.5 million eunuchs in Pakistan.

Since social hatred and discrimination keeps them away from educational institutions, therefore, very few attain good education. Although there is no separate literacy ratio calculated for the third gender, however, individual studies give estimates of their literacy at district level. In one of such studies 6,450 transgender people in all 50 states in the USA have education, employment, health care, accommodation, criminal justice, social life and access to public documents. The results showed that transgender people have experienced unemployment twice the rate of the population as a whole. 97% of the surveyed population was facing mistreatment on the job. Out of total 47% faced an adverse job outcome, including job refusal, or being fired or denied promotion. 26% lost their job because of being transgender. 15% of the sampled respondents lived in poverty which was double the rate of the general population. Although discrimination of transgender people is common, but with African American it is worse. A Suicide attempt is very high (41% of the respondents attempting suicide) especially those who lost their job on the basis of discrimination (55%), were harassed in schools (51%), were physically assaulted (61%) or sexually assaulted (64%). Further, ninety percent (90%) survey respondents reported facing discrimination and harassment at work place.
Objectives
The present study aims at addressing the problems of eunuch population in the study area as the existing literature on their socio-economic condition is limited. In this context it is intended to find out the literacy and education status of their population, status of their present occupation and the length of the job in case they are employed somewhere. It further explores the types of jobs which transgender prefer and consider more honorable and easily acceptable by the society.

Any person who is transgender if loses job due to discrimination means reduced income, loss of health insurance and instability in the housing. The government suffers from reduced income tax revenue and has to bear health cost. Due to the anti-transgender bias the common wealth in the USA spends $3 million annually in Medicaid. Transgender in New York are also facing the same discrimination in employment and housing, such as refusal of home or apartment and job loss. The policy makers are considering broad protection for the transgender. Fiscal impacts are one of the reasons for reducing discrimination. Employment discrimination costs New York State more than $1 million annually in Medicaid expenditures. Housing discrimination costs from $475,000 to $5.9 million annually in housing program expenditures and other costs related to homelessness. In the USA the unemployment is at double rate among transgender as compared to general population. Furthermore 16% of the respondents were compelled to work in the underground economy as sex workers or sell drugs for income. Those who were becoming jobless and homeless were using 70% more alcohol and drugs, 85% more incarceration, more than double the rate of working in the underground economy and more than double the rate of HIV infection rate as compared to those who did not lose the job due to discrimination and bias.

Socio-economic problems faced by transgender has always remained emphasized. Queer theories have been discussed by researchers highlighting some theoretical background. Their involvement in sex business has also been widely discussed. All the above mentioned studies and facts show that there is a dire need to address such issues considering their socio-economic importance so as to save the society and economy from unemployment, lower incomes, loss of fiscal resources and crimes in the society particularly in a developing country like Pakistan.
Methodology
In the absence of national statistics the exact number of total eunuch population in the study area is unknown. The total population of the province is 21 million. The Population of these five districts is approximately 8,66,8067 which estimate to 43% of the provincial population.34

There is limited literature based on primary data of eunuchs in Pakistan35 particularly in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. In the absence of primary information it is therefore difficult for the government to set policy targets for the third gender rights. Before conducting the present research, our first attempt was to start a campaign for the rights of transgender people in the study area which in reality proved less effective. The main reason was the lack of basic information about their employment, income, jobs, and areas of interests for work. This study based on primary information covers five districts out of 25 districts of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. A sample size of 100 respondents was selected from these districts namely Peshawar, Abbottabad, Swat, D.I. Khan and Swabi. Districts Abbottabad and Swat are hilly and cold weather areas and district D.I.Khan and Swabi are hot areas. District Peshawar; the capital of the province is also taken. The sample size was limited to hundred (100) because eunuch population was not accessible as they live in marginalized places usually unknown by most of the general public. Secondly, a single respondent was representing the group with whom he was living. The sample was equally distributed among all districts because the transgender population keeps on moving between hot and cold climatic areas. The respondents were selected randomly because of difficult access. The data was collected through questionnaire (Appendix 1) which was filled one at a time based on the information taken from individual respondents. The questions were deliberately kept simple and few in numbers in order to be understandable. The questionnaire was first written in Urdu and then translated into English. The transgender population was found good in understanding Urdu language because of their frequent mobility across cities and provinces. The descriptive analysis included variables such as literacy rate including six levels of education from primary to masters, employment status with duration of employment and shift to other employment segments and skill adoption trends. During the study eunuchs were experienced as difficult to interview, many a times they did not want to answer questions immediately. Observation and interviewing their neighbours was the most important tool to
explore the facts of their lives. Secondary sources helped to cross check and validate the information given by transgenders and their neighbours. Another study also highlighted the same hurdle mentioned above.

Results and Discussion
Transgender population keeps on moving from one place to another. The most important reason of their mobility is to keep away from those who know them and their families. Since their professions such as begging and dancing are not honorable professions in our society so they feel more independent in doing these things at places other than their native towns. Secondly, since they do not own houses and most of them do not live with their families thus they prefer to live either at places more welcoming for employment or have favorable conditions. For example, they move to northern areas of Pakistan because of cold weather in summers but since earning opportunities are rarely available and the culture is hostile to transgender population therefore they prefer big cities although they are very hot during summer e.g. Lahore, Multan, Bahawalpur etc. The present study and other surveys show a weak educational background of eunuchs in Pakistan. The reason is that their families feel shy of their presence at home so they always keep them away from their social set up including their introduction and admission in educational institutions. To be a parent of a eunuch is a stigma and in a Pakistani society. Parents when contacted responded that relatives and people in the neighbourhood give them unspoken or sometimes open remarks about their disability to produce a normal child. At times of conflict of any sort; social or financial, within the family or with neighbours, these parents are unable to argue and defend their case even though in matters of conflict they are right but are stopped by giving remarks and taunts. Sometimes the remarks are; you are having “two in one”, and you are not able to produce a complete boy or girl – thus leaving no room for them except to conceal the birth of such a child and to give away their baby to elderly transgender. No religion of the world allows any creation of God to be treated in a derogatory manner, let alone the crown of all beings: a human. Low literacy level drags the society to such situations where parents are compelled to disown their transgender child and send them to eunuch community where the child is brought up by Guru thus depriving him from normal life, education and later on earning means through such professions not honorable in the society. This attitude of the society further brings
disaster in the form of physical abuse to their eunuch child, quarrel and sometimes divorce among the parents.

A research study showed that 79% of the surveyed population of eunuchs in Pakistan is uneducated.\textsuperscript{39} Drop out of eunuchs from schools is very common.\textsuperscript{40} The main reasons are gender discrimination, sexual and verbal harassment, beating by teachers and lack of finance. As a result, they join a eunuch community from where they participate in begging, dancing and prostitution.\textsuperscript{41}

The present study shows that only 23% of eunuchs were educated in district Abbottabad and Peshawar being hub of education centers of the province whereas rest of the 77% respondents were uneducated.

Table 1: District-wise Prevalence rate of Literacy of Transgender in the Study Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Status</th>
<th>Peshawar</th>
<th>Abbottabad</th>
<th>Swat</th>
<th>D.I.Khan</th>
<th>Swabi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary data collected from five districts of KP 2013

In individual districts about 65% to 85% of the sampled population was uneducated (Table 1). The results of the present study and another were similar showing the figure for uneducated eunuch as between 77-79%. These two studies cover two provinces of Pakistan; KP and Punjab. Low literacy and deprivation of employment are adding to the reasons of their social isolation thus making them drug addicts. A rough estimates shows that 99% of the eunuch population is taking sleeping pills and other narcotics every day.\textsuperscript{42} Since the literacy rate of eunuch population is very low so it is hard to find them at higher seats of learning. Most of their population is found at lower levels of education. In the same study, 319 eunuchs in Pakistan were interviewed along with more than 200 people attached to eunuch community as musicians, servants, and organizers of their functions. Out of 319 eunuchs only two were Master degree holders, fifteen were F.A\textsuperscript{43}, four were graduates, twenty were middle passed and eleven were primarily educated. Out of the total, 252 eunuchs were uneducated and 100 got religious education (only a recitation of Holy Quran) at home or at a local mosque.
The present research shows that as we move from the lower to higher levels of education there are very few left to attain any education. Most of the eunuch’s sampled population in all five districts was educated either till primary or middle levels. Unfortunately there was not a single master’s degree holder. Out of total, only 4% were graduated, 17% were matric, 35% were middle pass and 30% attained education till primary level. However, the ratio of their population at different levels of education is not much different in both the studies.

There is no quota system in educational institutions for eunuchs in Pakistan. Therefore they are compelled to search for livelihood. Another reason for quitting education is the fact that even though they could get a higher degree still they would not be able to get jobs according to their qualification due to being pushed back by the society’s attitude. So they do not focus on their studies.

According to another survey of a sample of 2755 men and women in rural and urban areas of all four provinces of the country, it has been found that 55% of the population is in favor of giving special quota to transgender in educational institutes and offices but 25% have opposed the idea (20% gave no opinion). A large number of the sampled population (60%) did not like transgender to be their friends; only 14% liked it. Older people (51 years of age and above) have higher tendency (21%) than the younger population (13%) to be their friends.

In China eunuchs were not allowed to get education on the assumption that if they would be educated, they may distort messages for which they are deputed. With the passage of time the emperors realized that it is convenient to work with intelligent eunuchs so they established institutions to educate them up to a certain level. In these institutions, officials were provided to teach them. Eunuchs had to study the domestic administration and the classics of Confucianism. They were supposed to appear in exams but were not allowed to continue after the age of 35. After passing the exams they were guaranteed high ranks so they had to work hard to pass the exams and to have a successful life. Some emperors had the rule not to pay to eunuchs, but to provide only with a place to live and three times meal. In Mughal era the eunuchs were in Islamic courts and in kings’ palaces to guard their ladies.
A part of a question in the present research was about their job status. The data in figure 1 shows that 57% of the total eunuch’s population was unemployed, whereas 30% were self employed and only 13% are employed by others. Most of the unemployed population was in district Abbottabad. The main reason is that they move to hilly areas of Abbottabad for begging and spending summer season. Employment opportunities are rarely available in the district. Other districts comparatively have more opportunities of employment. The eunuchs who are employed by others were very few in number. There is no trend of accommodating eunuchs in jobs by the general population. This trend is seen not only in KP province, but in the entire country. People do not hire them for household work, for daycare services or for any other job for which they can learn the skills easily. Social unawareness and involvement of some groups of the eunuch community in sex business has created doubts and distrust in the society.

Table 2: Prevalence Rate of Transgender with respect to Time Duration of Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Peshawar</th>
<th>Abbottabad</th>
<th>Swat</th>
<th>D.I.Khan</th>
<th>Swabi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than one year</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 1 &amp; 3 years</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 5 years</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary data collected from five districts of KP 2013
The situation in all five districts (Table 2) shows that employed eunuchs (13% of the total) are also vulnerable and have very temporary jobs i.e. less than one year especially in district Abbottabad. Long period jobs are not available in either district.

Table 3: Present professions of working eunuchs in the study area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professions</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Begging</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House keeping</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair dresser</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office work (lower level)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>80</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary data collected from five districts of KP 2013

Eunuchs are mostly doing such work for their livelihood in Pakistan, which are prohibited by Islam and condemned by the society. For example as shown in table 3: prostitution (37.5%), and singing and dancing (31%). Beggars are 15% of the total sampled population. Some of the groups who sing and dance also beg. Overall 83.5% of the eunuch population was engaged in these three professions which is the main cause of hatred they face from the society. It is debatable here that whether hatred and social isolation has led them to adopt such professions or vice versa. Eunuchs and general public may have different views but the ground reality is; it is the society, parents, relatives, lawmakers all are responsible for their social isolation. The present result proves that mockery compel them to live in separate setups where adopting such means of livelihood becomes an easy option.

The number of prostitute Hijra in Pakistan is estimated at 35,000. Others have not given an estimated number of prostitute Hijra but mentioned that it is about one quarter of all prostitutes. The present study did not estimate the income of eunuchs from dancing and prostitution so it is not clear that from which profession the income is higher but many other studies showed that eunuchs are the cheapest source of providing these services. In many cases, these rates are as low as 100-200 rupees. However while conducting the present research it has been observed that prostitution was a regular source of income whereas dancing depended on number of events and occasions. In the study area some groups of eunuchs, on religious grounds not only condemned
prostitution but were also against dancing. They preferred begging and gave the justification that the Prophet (PBUH) ordered to give alms to eunuchs; however no source from the literature could confirm the validity of their claim.

Frequent mobility of eunuchs from one place to the other for economic security has been observed. The same trend has been discussed in another study.\textsuperscript{50} There are proposals for eunuch’s employment such as nursing as they are suitable for patients of both gender and as police to overcome the problem of night shift of female police. Using the services of eunuchs as tax collector and administering polio vaccines to children has been experienced in Pakistan and the results are successful because of their ability of blessing, cursing, supplicating, and imposing through religious believes.\textsuperscript{51} Although more than 80% of the sampled eunuch population was engaged in professions condemned by the Pakistani society but it is understandable that most of them are doing these jobs out of compulsion and non-availability of honorable jobs. Out of the total sampled population, 80% were willing to shift their present occupation to other honorable jobs (Table 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Peshawar</th>
<th>Abbot.</th>
<th>Swat</th>
<th>D.I.Khan</th>
<th>Swabi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes. I want to shift to other Profession (80%)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. I am satisfied with my present occupation (20%)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary data collected from five districts of KP (2013)

Those who were satisfied with the present job (20%) were mostly either beggars or doing temporary jobs on their own. For some dancers shift of profession was difficult, as they had no other skill. No conflicting and varied responses were seen in the willingness and adoption of other professions by the eunuchs.

Eunuchs were once employed by emperors but salaries and payments to eunuchs was also a problem. Some emperors in past dynasties allotted lands which eunuchs were supposed to return on their retirement. Many eunuchs did not do so rather passed on this land to their step heirs or illegally occupied the land-used (whereas the ownership was with the owners) thus became powerful. This illegal expansion become a social problem and also contributed to
the collapse of the dynasty. Other rulers set the rule to give eunuchs materials like food items, but no land to avoid their control on assets.\textsuperscript{52} Today such discrimination has not been observed at official level. They are exploited by the society in sex business because they accept the offer at very low rate. The Islamic history in Southeast Asia shows that eunuchs were trusted as officials because they had no heirs and were involved in palace administration. One Muslim ruler in the early ninth century created three corps of military eunuchs but his successor did not follow it.\textsuperscript{53} Since eunuchs were suitable for both male and female pilgrims so they had been given the task to guard the holiest places of Islam; the great mosque of Mecca and the tomb of the Prophet (PBUH) in Medina.\textsuperscript{54} Eunuchs were also employed in palaces by sultans because of their reputation as trusted officials and traders.\textsuperscript{55}  
Some other professions adopted by eunuchs include tailoring, cooking and cleaning. However, eunuchs prefer dancing over these professions for higher returns from dancing. Some had been observed as cook in the army but gender discrimination leads them to leave the job. The most important and interesting aspect of the employability status was the choice of different professions which they wanted to adopt if given opportunity.

Table 5: Choice of transgender willing to adopt other professions (skill shift trend)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooking</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailoring</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Person</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion Designing</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cell Phone Repairing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Secretary</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>80</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary data collected from five districts of KP 2013

Table 5 shows that preference wise choices of transgender. These professions were; cooking (27.5%), tailoring (27.5%), housekeeping (25%), and fashion designing (12.5%). However, other professions such as sales, repairing, office jobs got less preference for lack of such skills. It has further been observed that professions with high level of public interaction got less priority such as sales person, repairing works or a secretary. Eunuchs also showed interest in being professional match makers although there were no
proper ‘marriage bureau’ opened by them. They reported that they could enter any house and could discuss all aspects related to a marriage settlement between the two parties.

In addition to the above information many other facts have been collected from the individuals and groups of eunuchs from the province. It is an alarming fact that Pakistan is facing fast growth of eunuchs who are not eunuchs by birth, but pirates who have entered in this field either for earnings or as fonders. According to an observation and group discussion with eunuchs, 60% of the growth in their population is due to these pirates. However the fonders are not very common in the study area being culturally strict. The origin of these pirate/fonder is not known since time immemorial. However by birth eunuchs were skillful riders, archerers, warriors, etc. Eunuchs are of the opinion that prostitution is actually the revenge in return for social hatred they face and monetary return is an additional benefit out of that revenge activity.

**Conclusion and Policy Recommendations**

On the basis of the research, following policy recommendations are given:

- Firstly, eunuchs’ literacy level is very low not because of financial constraints but mainly due to lack of family support and social hatred. At different levels of education, financial matters do come in their way because they face bread and butter problem. Increase in their literacy level is not possible until and unless the government fixes quota in all public and private institutions to accommodate third gender, financially support them and create an accommodating environment. The law should prohibit and penalize those who are making fun of them at educational and professional institutes.

- Secondly, the unemployment rate among eunuchs is very high. The country has no technical institutions for their skill development or job quota in any field of teaching, office job, police or military where they can enter. Although the law of the country does not ban their entry in any field, but the fact is the law does not facilitate them as well. There is no clear definition of the role and responsibilities according to their gender status. The question whether eunuch would be assigned a duty of a male or a female is not explained in any law thus blocking the entry to thousands of employment opportunities for eunuchs.
• Thirdly, considering the reality of the situation, one cannot expect eunuchs to join honorable professions for their survival. Disowned by the families with no government support and facilitation, with no legal support, they are compelled to adopt professions of singing, dancing, prostitution and begging which according to them is the only choice which also helps them overcome depression and revenge from the society. Changing social attitude towards eunuchs, a ban on disowning by families, legal protection, establishment of training institutions, all are direly needed.

• 80% of the sampled population showed their willingness to leave the present occupation and adopt socially acceptable professions like housekeeping, fashion designing, tailoring and repairing work. This change in people’s attitude can be brought very easily through visual media and impact is very hard to contradict.

• The fifth and most important is the need of awareness and education to all segments of society about third gender. There is a need to incorporate special subject or introduce gender course with emphasis on third gender at some levels of education as compulsory. Until and unless people understand the problems and sufferings of parents having such children, the grass root problems would be there which cause the parents of such children to disown them in early childhood. As a result the society will have uneducated eunuchs who live on begging and prostitution.
Notes & References

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15 Vickie M. Mays and Susan D. Cochran, “Mental health correlates of perceived discrimination among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults in the
24 Malik Asad, “SC rules: Eunuchs have equal rights”, op.cit.
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Guru is the elder of eunuch group living together and is considered as their mother.

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