LGBT - Building a Foundation for Better Understanding.

A literature review of LGBT Youth

Naz Male Health Alliance - April, 2016





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Literature Review

Introduction

There is a deficiency of information about the experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender individuals in Pakistan. More specifically, there is little to no research about the lives of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender persons in Pakistani society and whether LGBT people feel that their experiences are being affected by their sexual identity. This literature review elaborates on a number of these issues. First, the history of the Gay rights movement is explored. Secondly, attitudes towards LGBT individuals in general and in Pakistan are addressed. Then more specifically attitudes towards sexual minorities and homosexuality in education sector are investigated along with the effects of homophobic bullying on sexual minority students.

Background

Pakistan is the sixth most populous country in the world with a population approaching 200 million people. Over half of the population is younger than 18 years of age. Pakistan is a low-income country, ranked 146 out of 187 countries and territories in the Human Development Index (UNDP 2013). Islamic laws and customs dominate social life, and strong cultural norms and practices protect family honour and pride. Socially unacceptable behaviours such as sex outside marriage, sex work and same-sex relationships are carefully hidden. An unacceptable act is considered wrong less because of its impact upon the individual who commits it or upon whom it is committed, than because it brings shame or dishonour upon the entire family or community (Frederick 2007).

In Pakistan, as in other Islamic societies, the purity and protection of women is of high importance. Relationships between men and women outside of marriage are strongly discouraged, while displays of affection between men are socially tolerated. Because men and women are strictly segregated in family and social life, some Pakistani men have sex with other men and boys to satisfy their sexual desires. Such men usually do not consider themselves homosexual. Because of their 'masculine' role in sexual behaviour (i.e. their role as insertor in anal penetration) they continue to qualify as normal men (Frederick 2007). Although anal sex is considered sinful, it is also understood among men as pleasurable, both with men/boys and with women. Anal sex may be exchanged as a mutual pleasure between young men who would perhaps prefer a female partner but are too poor to get married or too poor to pay a female sex worker (Schmitt and Sofer 1992). Because of the pleasure associated with it, anal sex has value and can be offered in exchange for money, goods or services; this is therefore common in Pakistan, especially among young men with few other options to earn an income.

Methodology for Literature Review

Our approach and methodology for this literature review was to identify the relevant literature from the peer-reviewed research literature and a select number of web-based research literature. The peer-reviewed literature was the main source of information for this literature review. NMHA staff shared research material on the situation for LGBT in Pakistan and abroad. The Google Scholar search engine was also used to conduct more general searches.

Patriarchal Society

In Pakistan as in other countries men are allowed considerable leeway in their homosexual pursuits so long as they are not discovered. Khan (1997) explains why:

"Homosexual sex is uninteresting since it neither creates children, nor adds the potential for children to the family's resource base (except to supplement the income of lower-class hustlers). In fact, sex in general is [deemed] interesting primarily because of its impact on family, rather than it's potential for individual pleasure or carnal fulfillment" (p. 276).

Most Pakistani men who have sex with other men are pragmatic and combine their sexual behaviours with the dominant expectations of family and society: getting married and having children. Pakistani notions of masculinity provide enough leeway for men with sexual desires for other men (or boys) to combine these with their obligations as a husband and a father. The fact that men are widely available for sexual encounters, either for pleasure or in exchange for money, makes leading a double life easier.

Legal Context

Pakistani laws criminalise prostitution. The Pakistan Suppression of Prostitution Ordinance 1961 (Prostitution Ordinance) outlaws prostitution but does not apply to men and boys, only to women. Although earlier laws in Pakistan provided some protection to children from sexual exploitation, much of this protection was removed by the Islamic-inspired Hudood Ordinance introduced in 1979. This criminalised all sex outside marriage, and imposed harsh penalties on both children and adults involved in sex and sex work. In addition, the Pakistan Penal Code criminalises homosexual acts chiefly sodomy as they are deemed to conduct 'unnatural offences...against the order of nature' (PPC Article 377); this legislation being originally part of the 19th century colonial British penal code.

Male to Male Sex in Pakistan

Limited research has been conducted on male to male sex work in Pakistan to date. How common male to male sex is, including in exchange for money, became clear from a 2008 study conducted by UNICEF. As part of this work, 97,346 working and streetbased children and adolescents aged 10-19 years were mapped across seven urban areas, including Lahore and Karachi. Their average age was 15.4 years, and 85.3% were boys. Overall, 51.5% of this sample reported having been sexually active. Of those who were street-based, 60.5% had been sexually active, with 13.4 years being the average age of first sex. Consensual homosexual behaviour was common with 55% of boys working in auto-workshops, 44.1% street-based youth and 60.5% of carpet weavers reporting sex with 'a male friend', and 57% reporting sex 'for pleasure' rather than in exchange for money or favours. The study found that in Karachi 16.2% of street-based young people aged 10-19 years reported being involved in sex work, either full-time or part-time, of whom two-thirds were male; in Lahore 26.9% of young people reported regularly or occasionally selling sex, of whom 80% were male. 45.1% of those working in carpet weaving factories (of whom 72% are male) and 26.2% of those working in auto workshops (all are male) had exchanged sex for money. Overall, 42.9% of those sexually active had been paid for sex; 37.4% had paid somebody else for sex, and 32.8% reported having forced sex (NACP/UNICEF Islamabad 2008).

Pakistani society allows male-to-male sexual contacts to occur relatively easily and safely, hidden by a variety of cloaks: friendship, father-son, brothers, colleagues, students-teachers, and so on. Because of negative attitudes towards male homosexuality, Pakistani society indirectly encourages fleeting liaisons of the type facilitated by sex work, rather than more lasting malemale partnerships. In Pakistan, same-sex attracted men are forced into heterosexual marriages due to the lack of options for other life choices. This facilitates a strong(er) demand for male sex work as the safest and easiest option to fulfill desire for male-male sex.

Male Sex Work

Hasan Mujtaba (1997) offers a description of the male sex work scene of Karachi. Despite his unfortunate adoption of non-Pakistani concepts (he calls the clients of male sex workers 'homosexuals' and 'gay', for example) this is one of the first studies to reflect the voices of male sex workers themselves. The incidence of blackmail and the involvement of police in this and in other aspects of the male sex work in Karachi are well described. Mujtaba also draws a link between widespread sexual abuse of boys and their consequent entry in the sex trade. More recently, Collumbien et al (2009) has conducted a 'peer ethnography' of male and transgender sex work in Pakistan, aimed at improving HIV prevention interventions. Apart from kushras, who rally around their transgender identity, two different groups of male sex workers were identified: khotkis (feminised men) and banthas who had a 'mainstream male identity'. The latter

did not operate in networks and felt part of mainstream society, although they carefully hid their sexual involvement with other men.

Social and Health Needs:

Gay men in Pakistan have difficulty accessing sexual health services in a political, moral and legal context where sex between men is strongly criminalised or perceived not to exist. It would be almost unthinkable for them to go to health services with anal warts or anal STIs because of the stigma attached to being the receptive partner in anal intercourse. The repressive social and religious climate towards homosexually active men causes many of them to be unable to identify any social or health needs as such, and the idea that others might provide services or support for them was an almost alien concept.

The LGBT Movement

In the following paragraphs we will look at the LGBT rights movement abroad and contextualize it for Pakistan. Issues of discrimination against homosexuals were brought forward in society over one hundred years go by Magnus Hirschfeld (Fone, 2000). Hirschfield, considered the father of the Gay rights movement abroad, established The Scientific Humanitarian Committee in Germany in 1897, whose main purpose was advocating for the rights of LGBT individuals. The organization successfully supported and campaigned for the rights of LGBT persons for over three decades until it was forced to end its advocacy activities as a result of Nazi Germany's policies against homosexuals and those who supported them. Harry Hay is recognized as the father of the contemporary Gay rights movement in the United States (Abcarian, 1990; Fone, 2000). At the beginning of the 1950s, Hay and his fellow advocates began a discussion about homosexuality and the need for a community that LGBT individuals could claim as their own. Hay and friends subsequently founded the Mattachine Society in 1951. The Mattachine's mission statement illustrated the need for community as well as the desire to educate the greater society about the needs of homosexuals. The mission statement elaborated this need:

"To Unify" homosexuals "isolated from their own kind and unable to adjust to the dominant culture..."; "To Educate" and improve the "woefully meager and inconclusive" information about homosexuality...; and "To Lead"...the whole mass of social deviates" to achieve the missions of unification and education. (Timmons, 1990, p. 154)

While Hay and his friends worked tirelessly to create the group, and consequently, a sense of community, the threat of legal persecution was high and the society's meetings were forced to be held in secret. Persecution of LGBT individuals was not uncommon during the 1950s and into the 1960s. Homosexuals were targeted by law enforcement officials for a litany of acts that were considered illegal during this time period. An article published in the LA Times, The Consenting Adult Homosexual and the Law: An Empirical Study of Enforcement and Administration in Los Angeles County (1966), provided comprehensive descriptions of illegal practices that an individual could be cited and/or arrested for at that time.

Friends Frank Kameny and Jack Nichols also founded the Washington, DC Chapter of the Mattachine Society (McGarry & Wasserman, 1998; Clendinen & Nagourney, 1999). Kameny, Nichols and fellow society members in DC vehemently and publicly opposed the American Psychological Association's (APA) stance on homosexuality (McGarry & Wasserman, 1998; Clendinen & Nagourney, 1999). The two spearheaded a campaign against the medical model that labeled homosexuality as a psychiatric disorder (McGarry & Wasserman, 1998; Clendinen & Nagourney, 1999). The group of activists' main goal was to enlighten the APA about the non-pathological nature of homosexuality. It would take almost a decade, and the efforts of both members of the Mattachine Society, and members of the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), as well as a sympathetic psychiatrist by the name of Kent Robinson, for homosexuality to be officially removed as a diagnostic category in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) in 1973 (McGarry & Wasserman, 1998; Clendinen & Nagourney, 1999).

Meanwhile, a younger, more radical, group of Gay rights advocates was forming. The Gay Liberation Front (GLF) was formed in July of 1969 (McGarry & Wasserman 1998). The GLF was established during a time when civil rights injustices were being fought on several fronts in the United States. The GLF modeled its activities after many of these other civil rights movements. The GLF operated similarly to movements such as the New Left, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the counterculture, the Black Panthers, and other liberation movements. They utilized their energy and followings aggressively, organizing rallies, protests and engaging in fights in the political arenas as well – including the American Psychological Association's annual conventions from 1970-1973 (McGarry & Wasserman 1998).

Youth Involvement in Gay Rights Movement:

As various Mattachine Societies were forming around the United States, similar movements were taking place on campuses of higher education in America. The first Gay rights organization on a campus of higher education was the brain child of Stephen Donaldson who started a "Mattachine-like organization" on the Columbia campus (Beemyn, 2003, p. 207). Donaldson and friends faced tremendous challenges in establishing the Student Homophile League (SHL), an organization whose roots were in creating a community for LGBT students on Columbia's campus (Beemyn, 2003). Students, fearing for their safety both on and off campus, wanted to remain anonymous within the organization, yet administration at that time at Columbia would not grant recognition to any student group without a membership list. Eventually, Donaldson was able to recruit student campus leaders to become "proforma" members of the organization – submitting prominent student leaders' names on the roster, allowing other student members to remain anonymous within the group (Beemyn, 2003, p. 207). Successfully satisfying the administration, while still maintaining the safety and anonymity of the group members, "Columbia officially chartered America's first student Gay rights group on April 19, 1967" (Beemyn, 2003, p. 207).

Unfortunately, receiving University recognition did not create a smooth transition for the first student-run Gay rights group. Following their official charter, the New York Times ran an article

detailing the groups inception which caused a "national controversy and nearly cost the students involved in the SHL their careers at Columbia" (Beemyn, 2003, p. 207). The University received intense scrutiny leading campus administration to question the merit of the existence of the SHL, including the dean of the college who called the SHL "quite unnecessary" and the director of counseling services who suggested that the SHL would "promote deviant behavior amongst the students" (Beemyn, 2003, p. 207). The media attraction, however, had one positive effect for the SHL; it lead to great student interest in the group and assisted immensely with student recruitment. The media coverage also led students at other institutions to contact Donaldson about starting their own chapters of SHL at their respective campuses. Cornell was the next major institution to begin the process of creating a student homophile league chapter (Beemyn, 2003).

The Cornell SHL chapter faced a variety of challenges but also served as an active ally for LGBT students not only within the confines of the academic institution but also within the greater community. The students in the Cornell SHL attempted to create publicly Gay spaces by mobilizing LGBT students as well as sponsoring campus events and movements. Through various activities and events, and staging a public protest campaign, the Cornell SHL eventually became more radical and changed its name to the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) (Beemyn, 2003). Needless to say, the GLF had a great effect not only on the Gay rights movement at institutions of higher education but also on the nation's Gay rights movement as a whole. The nationally-recognized Gay student sit-ins strengthened the GLF's power on campuses. The GLF also created an arena where sexual identity could be aligned with other political movements, convincing non-Gay activists to support Gay rights which helped to develop a "progressive coalition" which continues today (Beemyn, 2003).

Arguably most importantly, however, the development of Student Homophile Leagues and the Gay Liberation Front, created a space for LGBT individuals to be more open within and outside of the context of higher education to be more open. In the beginning of the movement in the 1950s and 1960s, most LGBT groups were extremely discreet due to the members' fears of being revealed as Gay and persecuted socially and legally. The dropping of pseudonyms in progressing student groups, openly held meetings and dances, and publicly speaking out about their pride in being Gay created an arena for many more Gay individuals to become more self accepting and come out throughout the nation. It also allowed LGBT individuals to discuss their lives in front of various populations which greatly helped counter deeply entrenched stereotypes and create an even greater sense of security for LGBT students and outside community members to accept themselves and find pride in their identities (Beemyn, 2003).

Recent Challenges Facing LGBT

Gay rights advocates today continue to try to gain equality for LGBT individuals in all social and political arenas. While it appears that there have been improvements in some arenas for LGBT individuals, research shows that there continue to be new legal and social issues concerning Gay rights (Cuomo, 2007). The struggle concerning Gay marriage has been a hot topic in the Gay rights movement abroad (Green, 2006).

Homophobic Bullying

Along with the fight to create equal legal and institutional opportunities for sexual minority individuals, Gay rights advocates still endeavor to fight homophobia and violence in everyday society including in schools. Gay students are still the subject of violent verbal and physical attacks (Smith, 1998). Unfortunately, many educational institutions and instructors continue to ignore ostracized Gay students and the verbal and physical abuse of sexual minorities (Smith, 1998).

Institutionalized Homophobia

Institutionalized homophobia is one of the largest barriers still facing LGBT individuals in today's society. LGBT persons face heterosexist and homophobic attitudes and issues of oppression in their daily lives. Homophobia and heterosexist attitudes create a social climate that is often detrimental to sexual minorities. Many LGBT individuals' psychological health suffers due to the significant amount of stress they feel because of heterosexist and homophobic attitudes and environmental climates. Living with great stress often causes LGBT individuals to experience "greater vulnerability to depressive distress and anxiety" (Mays & Cochran, 2001, p. 1870).

Findings of the Literature Review

The LGBT youth in Pakistan are faced with many challenges but there is little to no data available on the situation for sexual and gender minorities from the country. However the few researches conducted in this regard paint a very gruesome picture. One research study states that feminised men in Pakistan face high levels of stigma, violence and sexual abuse (Wijngaarden et al, 2012). Another study claims that between 2011 and 2015; out of all reported hate crimes against LGBT persons in Pakistan, 41% constituted murders & killings while 35% constituted rapes and gang rapes (Neengar, 2015). In 2015 alone, Naz Pakistan documented over 300 cases of Human Rights Violations of sexual minorities in Pakistan. The data on lesbian women, bisexual women and trans men is even harder to find. There is only one known research that documents the experiences of sexual minority women completed by O Pakistan. Most widely reported violence against LBT women is emotional violence, ranging from sexually explicit verbal abuse in the streets to intense humiliation and psychological torture in the home (O Pakistan, 2014).

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